

CHAPTER III

SOUTH KOREAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER MOON JAE IN ADMINISTRATION

In May 2017, the presidential election was held in such a hurry, since the previous South Korea's president had been impeached. Moon Jae In was elected as a new president of South Korea. Along with a new elected president, usually coming a new foreign policy as well. One of the most interesting topic related to South Korea's foreign policy is its foreign policy toward North Korea. Because, South Korea and North Korea have never settled in a peaceful and harmonious relationship even though they are neighbouring countries. Including in this Moon Jae In new administration, the international sphere was paying attention carefully on what kind of new foreign policy approach would South Korea implement toward North Korea.

Moon Jae In's inauguration ceremony was in the same day as the election day on the May 9th 2017, President Moon opened his speech by sending his gratitude to be chosen as a president of Korean people. Then, on his speech related to his stance on international issues President Moon emphasized his effort to resolve Korean security challenges and create peace in the peninsula. Moon Jae In stated that he is willing to take any effort, even if needed he will flight to Washington, Beijing, Tokyo and Pyongyang as well if the conditions are met (Jae-In, 2017). Moreover, on July 6th 2017 President Moon Jae In gave speech on Körber Foundation Germany and mentioned clearer statement related his administration and stance toward North Korea and Korean peninsula issues. President Moon stated that:

“We do not wish the collapse of North Korea, nor will we pursue any form of unification by absorption. We do not seek any artificial unification. The only goal my administration and I seek to achieve is peace.” (Ho-Jun, 2017)

From the direct quotation of President Moon speech can be implied that Sunshine Policy is being implemented again as South Korea's stance toward North Korea. Furthermore, Deputy Minister for Unification Policy from Ministry Unification Kim Nam Joong mentioned that there are four main points related to President Moon's policy on Korean Peninsula: peace—not the passive ways avoiding conflict but actively seeking for peace; mutual respect; sustainability; and Korea-led international cooperation (Nam-Joong, 2018).

The biggest question is would Moon Jae In's Sunshine Policy be exactly the same with two previous era? The answer is of course, it would be different. The fact that today's international politics situation and condition is different from back then in the era of Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun inevitably would make Moon Jae In's action different. On Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine, North Korea had not been declaring itself as a state who poses nuclear power or an active nuclear state. However, today, North Korea has openly admitted and used its nuclear power and even against United Nations Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapon Nuclear Declaration. It makes North Korea today is under United Nation's economic sanction. Of course this situation would unease Moon's Sunshine to approach North Korea using economic cooperation like the previous two Sunshine Policy.

Beside the challenge to approach from economic sector, from the politic and security situation also create certain challenges. Previously, in Park Geun Hye administration South Korea had agreed to establish Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) with the United States. The establishment of THAAD was directly affecting South-North relation; North Korea felt threatened and became hard to approach to South Korea. Moreover, not only North Korea, but also China felt threatened by THAAD. People's Republic of China had declared travel ban for Chinese citizen to travel to South Korea and also boycotting Korean brands to Chinese market (Lo, 2017).

The Moon Jae In's Sunshine Policy surely would not be easy. President Moon should carefully choose the best strategy to make his Sunshine Policy work effectively, also which ways or sectors is the best to approach North Korea today. Furthermore, Moon Jae In has to consider geo-politics situation among his country, North Korea, China (PRC), Japan, Taiwan, even the United States as well (Noland, 2017). Even though it would be difficult, Moon Jae In still decided to use soft-ways approach and implement Sunshine Policy again. The further explanation on Moon Jae In's Sunshine Policy would be mentioned below:

A. Suspending on THAAD

After Moon Jae In elected on May 2017, his first action to implement soft ways in Sunshine Policy can be seen where President Moon decided to suspend THAAD program. In June 2017, the statement on suspending THAAD missile deployment was officially released from the presidential office. Even though this would slightly make disruption for South Korea-U.S relations, but still President Moon decided to freeze the anti-missile system (Je-Min, 2017). This is showing a real implementation of Moon Jae In's stance on soft ways approach. Rather than continuing to use security threat to North Korea, President Moon decided to suspend it. Using missile system is not the best way to create better situation between South Korea and North Korea.

In addition, on the interview with CNN, President Moon stated that on responding North Korea right now by having our own nuclear or missile weapons would not create peace in Korean Peninsula, it would make arm races between South and North instead (Jae-In, South Korean President Moon Jae-in on nuclear weapons and North Korean tensions., 2017). Another important reason to suspend THAAD was because this missile program also directly influences the natural environment in South Korea. THAAD program was causing environmental damage in South Korean land (Smith, 2017).

B. Sending Humanitarian Aid

Approaching North Korea today under Sunshine Policy is not an easy job to Moon Jae In administration especially North Korea is under the United Nations sanction. President Moon should arrange better ways to restore South-North relations, and one of them might be engaging through health issues. In September 2017, South Korea decided to send humanitarian help to North Korea. Around \$8 million, (£5.9 million) humanitarian aid was approved to be sent to North Korea. The distribution of humanitarian aid was not directly from South given to North, but it was under the United Nations. About \$4.5 million was in the form of nutrition-rich supplies, distributed to children and pregnant women through the UN World Food Programme. Moreover, another \$3.5 million distributed to Unicef that would be distributed in the form of vaccinations and treatments for diarrhea, respiratory diseases, and malnutrition in North Korea. Since, according to the UN World Health Organization, around 18 million of 25 million North Korean people require assistance due to malnutrition and food shortages. (McCurry, 2017)

Under President Moon administration, South Korea finally send humanitarian aid again to North Korea after it was stopped during Lee Myung Bak and Park Geun Hye era. Even though from the U.S and Japan perspective it was controversial decision, Moon Jae In believes helping North Korean people through sending humanitarian aid eventually would make situation and relations between two countries better. The decision to send humanitarian aid was restored again, that previously the approach using humanitarian aid was actually used as well under Sunshine Policy in Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun administrations.

C. Conducting Talk with China

With current political situation, Moon Jae In has to choose smart strategy for the implementation of Sunshine. One of the out-of-the-box ways that Moon Jae In use that different from his predecessor's Sunshine Policy is approaching

diplomatic talk with China. On December 2017, Moon Jae In flew to China to meet Chinese President Xi Jin Ping. It was four days visit that discussed several topics between two countries such as THAAD issues, China-South Korea trading, and also tourism ban that previously announced by PRC's government. Moreover, North Korea and its nuclear was also an important topic that was discussed in the meeting. President Moon's visit was also explicitly aimed to have China to persuade North Korea on negotiation table and talk especially related to its nuclear weapons (Kim C. , 2017). On this two countries meeting, Moon Jae In and Xi Jin Ping also share the same goal that North Korea's nuclear should be stopped and creating peace in Korean Peninsula is important.

Approaching talk to China also might be the key to approach North Korea better, after previously PRC successfully sent representative to Pyongyang (Griffiths, 2017). By having diplomatic talk with China, it shows more on how Moon Jae In is really emphasizing soft ways using dialogue approach to solve disputes especially related to North Korea. Even though, it was not directly talk with North Korea but this kind of talk that actually emphasize what Sunshine Policy is. Compared to what South Korea had on non-Sunshine Policy era which was more using on military and security strategy to resolve an issue.

D. Approach through Pyeongchang Winter Olympics

This 2018 South Korea was chosen as the host of international sport event, which is Winter Olympic and Paralympic that takes place in Pyeongchang—125 km south of Seoul. Previously in November 2017, delegation of South Korea and North Korea met on other international event which were on Red Cross General Assembly in Turkey. At that moment, it was the first time the participation of North Korea to Pyeongchang Winter Olympic was discussed. Then in next month, December 2017 President Moon Jae In made a public remark that would facilitate North Korea attendance on Winter Olympic (Padden, 2018).

Then surprisingly, North Korea response the proposal and invitation. On his new year's speech, Kim Jong Un personally stated that North Korea might participate Pyeongchang Winter Olympic. Furthermore, Kim Jong Un also added that North Korea would improve the frozen inter-Korean relation. According to a professor of Public Policy of Hankyong National University, it was the first time hearing Kim Jong Un stating such a positive language about South Korea after Moon Jae In elected (Chan-II, 2018). In the next day, January 2nd on the cabinet meeting, President Moon responded Kim Jong Un statement that South Korea welcome the positive response of North Korea toward the proposal to join Pyeongchang Winter Olympic (Padden, 2018). From South Korea perspective, this can be the chance to restore inter-Korea relation and create peaceful situation in the peninsula.

A high-level talk between South Korea and North Korea was held to prepare its gathering on Winter Olympic. On January 9th 2018 in Gyeonggi-do Province South Korea, both delegates for high-level talks from North Korea and South Korea finally met. Several issues related to Winter Olympic were discussed until the meeting resulted in some important points: North Korea agrees to join Pyeongchang Olympic and Paralympic winter games; both agree to ease military tension and cooperate toward peace; and dispute on the peninsula to be resolved via dialogue, compromise between two Koreas. The success of conducting high-level talks led to North Korea's participation in Pyeongchang Winter Olympic 2018. North Korea sent around 1,000 delegation to Pyeongchang which consist of athletes, journalist, cheering squad, performance artist, taekwondo demonstration team, and IOC Olympic representatives (Chan-II, 2018). This number of delegates was bigger compared to the delegation that North Korea sent in 2002 Asian Games.

The 9th January high-level meeting was the first inter-Korea dialogue in the last two years, and it could bring North Korea to join the Pyeongchang Winter Olympic. This proved that through soft way using dialogue, North Korea could be

approached. Even though it was still far from resolving issues in the peninsula—denuclearization talks—but at least with this first official meeting after two years, it shows bigger chance for South Korea and North Korea to have inter-Korea talks again in the near future (Young-Tae, 2018).

E. Arranging the 3rd Inter-Korean Summit

After North Korea participated to Pyeonchang Winter Olympics last February, the bigger chance has come for South Korea and North Korea to create more harmonious relationship. On March 6th 2018, the Director of South Korean National Security Chung Eui-Yong visited North Korea and announced that North Korea and South Korea have reached agreement to hold the third Inter-Korean Summit next month. On this official announcement also adding that, North and South Korea agreed to install a hotline between the two heads of state –Moon Jae In and Kim Jong Un to decrease military tension and facilitate the consultations. This would be the first meeting for two Korean leader after 11 years no official meeting or summit being held. This 2018 Inter-Korean Summit would have several main agenda such as: pursuing North Korea to denuclearization; establishment of permanent peace in Korean Peninsula; and creating sustained advancement of inter-Korean relations. (Background & Significance 2018 Inter-Korean Summit, 2018)

Inter-Korean Summit finally being held on April 27th 2018. This meeting was take place in Panmunjeom –small village included as Joint Security Area located in South Korean border. This was the first meeting ever where North Korean leader stepped on South Korean soil, as previous Inter-Korean Summit in 2000 and 2007 were always the South Korean leaders that visited to Pyeongyang. The meeting was started in the morning, where Moo Jae In and Kim Jong Un finally met up on the border line between two Koreas. President Moon seemed welcoming Kim Jong Un warmly. The both shook hands and had small talks to each other. Official welcoming ceremony was held to welcome Kim Jong Un and North Korean

delegates. (2018 Inter-Korean Summit Peace, A New Start, 2018)

This Inter-Korean Summit resulted named “*Panmunjeom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity, and Unification of the Korean Peninsula*” which contains several points as follows (Panmunjeom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity and Unification of the Korean Peninsula, 2018) :

1. South and North will improve relations to seek shared prosperity and self-reliant reunification
 - a. South Korea and North Korea agree to seek reunification and execute all measures that previously agreed to.
 - b. The Koreas will open high-level talks and negotiations to realize the agreements of the summit meeting
 - c. Between South and North will establish a jointly operated communications office in Kaesong
 - d. Seoul and Pyongyang agree to increase exchange and cooperation in diverse fields
 - e. The two Koreas will open Red Cross talks to resolve humanitarian issues
 - f. South and North agree to execute projects that have been agreed in the October 4th 2007 Declaration
2. Two Koreas will cooperate to reduce military tension
 - a. South Korea and North Korea agree to cease all the hostilities
 - b. Two Koreas will establish a peace zone in the West Sea close t the Northern Limit Line
 - c. Between South and North will take measures to guarantee exchange projects, mutual cooperation, visits and contacts, and hold talks in term of military.

3. South Korea and North Korea will cooperate to establish permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula
 - a. South and North Korea agree to re-affirm the Non-Agression Agreement
 - b. The two Koreas agree to carry out disarmament
 - b. South and North Korea agree to pursue trilateral meeting between two Koreas and United States or quadrilateral meetings involving two Koreas, United States, and China to create peace treaty
 - c. Between South and North Korea reaffirmed the goal to bring peace in Korean Peninsula through complete denuclearization.

Through this Panmunjeom Declaration that resulted from third Inter-Korean Summit has created a new historic stage for the relations between South and North Korea. This 2018 Inter-Korean Summit also created another significant point that the declaration contains United States and China to be approached by talks and negotiations with two Koreas in order to create peace in the peninsula. Besides resulting Panmunjeom Declaration, this Inter-Korean Summit has made North Korea shifted its time-zone to align with Seoul time –North Korea previously had 30 minutes different time-zone from South Korea in May 5th 2018. (Young-Shin, 2018)

Approaching North Korea using the Pyeongchang Winter Olympic momentum to conduct inter-Korea talk was a very smart move from President Moon. It was technically different things that never been done in Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun but it was emphasizing the same soft-ways principle with the two previous Sunshine Policy. Sunshine Policy today is not something that the same with previous Sunshine Policy, the basic principles are the same but the application should be flexible adjusted to current condition and situation. The successful on arranging the third Inter-Korean Summit on this

Moon Jae In administration is also showing its real action and implementation of Sunshine Policy.

Until this thesis is being written, it was only several months after Moon Jae In's first elected as a president—on May 9th 2017, which makes the writer unable to see the whole Sunshine Policy under Moon Jae In administration yet. As it continues to be implemented, President Moon is committed to restart of reunification meetings for separated families of Korean War victim. In the future, there is also agenda to restore Kaesong Industrial Complex as two Koreas economic cooperation site and also reopening on Mt. Kumgang tourism (Noland, 2017) which were previously shut down in Lee Myung Bak and Park Geun Hye era. Thus, there will be many actions and efforts that taken by President Moon Jae In to implement Sunshine Policy in the future.

