CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

International Relations is a study which discuss and analyse the phenomenon in international sphere. It includes the nation-state as one of actors in international realm itself. The behaviour of the state on how it takes action, reaction, or even interaction among each other is discussed as well in International Relations studies. Those interactions is also called as foreign policy, it is the framework for a nation-state to achieve its national interest. A nation-state has to have many foreign policies as its action and reaction toward any situation and condition in international sphere.

One of the most conflicting area in international sphere today is located in Korean peninsula. The countries which located in this East Asia region had been through lot of history especially wars since years ago. South Korea and North Korea are the nation-state which still got affected from the wars in the past. These two Korean were divided as the impact of Korean War, which happened right after World War II ended. The war of ideologies and proxy war that happened in 1950 had made Korean peninsula divided in 38th parallel until today. Even the cease fire had already ended long time ago, but the conflict is still exist since North Korea and South Korea both are still having different ideologies till nowadays. South Korea becomes a liberal democratic state, while in contrast North Korea grows into a communist and closed state.

Therefore, discussing and analysing issues related to relations and interaction between South Korea and North Korea is always an interesting topic. Especially the foreign policy from those two Korean state, as foreign policy is showing the action, reaction, and stance of a nation state itself. In this particular paper, the writer had discussed about South Korean foreign policy toward North, which cover several different foreign policies of South Korea toward North Korea under several presidential administrations.

One of the most influential foreign policy of South Korea toward North Korea is Sunshine Policy. Sunshine Policy is defined as foreign policy that emphasizes on the soft-way approach toward North Korea where South Korea is more actively promote reconciliation and cooperation. The aim of Sunshine Policy is not trying to create reunification by collapsing and absorption of North Korea, but instead create peaceful coexistence between South Korea and North Korea in the peninsula. The Sunshine Policy is a foreign policy framework that firstly emerged and was implemented in 1998 under South Korean president Kim Dae Jung and the continued on the presidential era after that which was Roh Moo Hyun in 2003-2008.

As Sunshine Policy is the foreign policy approach that refers on more interaction between two Koreas through cooperation, there are several important events happened under these two presidents implementing Sunshine Policy. South-North succeeded to established joint economic cooperation through Kaesong Industrial Complex which gained some economic advantage for both Koreas. Under Sunshine Policy also, South Korea and North Korea opened tourism site named Mt. Kumgang tourism where allowed millions of South Korean citizen travel to North Korean region. The first diplomatic meeting also could be held during Sunshine Policy where leaders from both South Korea and North Korea met in Inter-Korean Summit in 2000 and 2007. Those diplomatic meetings are very important as event for South Korea and North Korea history, which under those meeting had signed several agreements and cooperations between two Korea. Besides holding diplomatic meeting, Sunshine Policy implementation also arranged reunification meeting for separated families of War victims. Thus, during Sunshine Policy Korean implementation South Korea had achieved better relation and even engaged cooperation with North Korea.

On the next president, Lee Myung Bak administration stopped the implementation of Sunshine Policy. South Korea instead applied hard-line policy which called "Vision 3000:

Denuclearization and Openness" which emphasize more on strengthening military power by engaged to United States as alliance. Under this foreign policy also, South Korea did not continue to implement the cooperation and summit with North Korea. After Lee Myung Bak era, South Korea ruled by President Park Geun Hye in 2013-207. Park Geun Hye was the first female president of Korea who also did not implement Sunshine Policy. The foreign policy named *Trustpolitik* policy had been applied as the framework for South to North interaction. The principle was similar to Lee Myung Bak's foreign policy approach, where not really referring on the better and closer relation with North Korea through cooperation; instead, it was focusing more on military power.

In 2017, Moon Jae In was elected as the new president of South Korea. President Moon emphasizes the use of soft-ways approach toward North Korea in his administration. Moon Jae In personally stated that he would take any effort to create peaceful coexistence in Korean peninsula. Moreover, South Korea would not try to collapse and absorb North Korea in order reunification; instead, pursuing respect, mutual sustainability, and cooperation with North Korea. President Moon so far has approached North Korea through soft-ways including sending humanitarian aid to North Korea. South Korea also approaches North Korea to join Pyeongchang Winter Olympic in 2018. President Moon also tries to reduce military tension by suspending Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD)—the military cooperation with the US. Moon Jae In was also conducting talk with China as one of the alternative way to approach North Korea. President Moon Jae In succeeded to hold the thirs Inter-Korean Summit as well. The decision of President Moon Jae In to reorient implementation of Sunshine Policy has become interesting issue to be discussed.

The background behind President Moon Jae In implementation on Sunshine Policy again was influenced by South Korea's domestic politics today. Today, the Democratic Party of Korea was the dominant party in the government. This party is where President Moon Jae In coming from. Democratic

Party of Korea is the party that emphasize values on human right, market-based economy, and engaging with soft-ways approach toward North Korea. This Democratic Party of Korea was the party where Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun came from. As Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun was the very first president of South Korea who emerged and implement Sunshine Policy as a platform for South-North relations. Furthermore, Moon Jae In's personality as a leader is also included becomes the domestic politics influence. Besides, previously Moon Jae In was a human right activist and lawyer, Moon Jae In also has close relationship with Roh Moo Hyun. President Moon was the staff under Roh Moo Hyun presidential era.

Moreover, the military capability of South Korea as well becomes one of the determinant factors for President Moon Jae In on re-implementing Sunshine Policy. Compared to North Korea, South Korea has lower number of weaponry because North Korea is influenced by its Songun ideology to spend the most of its national income on military and security. Especially, North Korea clearly owns nuclear missile weapon that the power could not be denied. From several nuclear tests that had been conducted by North Korea, it showed that North Korea possessing bigger power of weaponry compared to South Korea. Another thing, South Korea possesses less human resources in the term of army troops compared to North Korea since North Korea implementing Juche ideology which obliged every North Korean citizen serve in the military.

The behaviour of North Korea responding toward Sunshine Policy implementation in the past has also became an influence for President Moon Jae In to reapply Sunshine Policy again today. North Korea's behaviour responding on Sunshine Policy implementation can be included as international context aspect that affecting Moon Jae In's decision. As the behaviour, action, reaction from a state it can be seen as a foreign policy or a stance of a state itself. North Korea was reacting a different behaviour toward South Korea on previous Sunshine Policy compared to non-Sunshine Policy implementation. During

Sunshine Policy, North Korea showed positive reactions toward South Korea. South and North had closer relations and even established several cooperation and agreements such as Kaesong Industrial Complex, which made the highest level on economic trading between South-North. North Korea was willing to open of Mt. Kumgang tourism site for South Korean tourists. North Korea agreed on conducting Inter-Korean Summit that was the first diplomatic talk ever after Korean War. Thus, the positive responds coming from North Korea were contrast compare to its reaction on non-Sunshine Policy implementation.

Overall, President Moon Jae In on re-implementation to Sunshine Policy was proven to be caused by the domestic politics aspect, military capability aspect, and international aspect that successfully shaped South Korea under Moon Jae In view on what kind of foreign policy is the best to be implemented. In addition, Sunshine Policy was finally decided as the foreign policy that suitable to be implemented again today as the framework for relations between South Korea and North Korea