

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

When Japan surrendered to the allies in World War II, Allied forces consisting of the United States and the Soviet Union immediately occupied Korea. On the basis of disarming the remnants of the forces of the Japanese army in the North, the Soviet Union began launching attacks and occupying the territory on August 12, 1945. Meanwhile, US troops only landed in southern Korea in September 1945. The Korean Peninsula Region occupied by two superpowers, the United States in the south and the Soviet Union in the north. 38 ° latitude is the boundary for the area they occupy. United States forces since 1948 have gradually begun to withdraw their troops. Only a small number of military advisers were left in that place (Savada & Shaw, 1990).

The Government of the Republic of Korea (South) was established on August 15, 1948. The center of its government was placed in Seoul. The first president of the Republic of Korea was Dr. Syngman Rhee. The Soviet Union apparently did the same to the territory it occupied in the north. The Soviet Union formed a state of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) on May 1, 1948. The Soviet Union appointed Kim Il Sung as its president (Nur Aini Setiawati Y. S.-Y., 2003). The new Soviet Union left North Korea after signing an agreement on the granting of economic, military and technological assistance to its satellite country. South Korea has emerged as a new industrial country and is almost equal to Japan, thanks to US assistance to stem communism.

Besides that the people have very high work discipline and the military budget is not prioritized, because there is a US military cooperation agreement with South Korea. Until that time there were 5,000 As troops in South Korea. North Korea, on the other hand, prioritizes the implementation of

communist ideology so that the budget for military spending is greater and efforts to make nuclear weapons have not been successful. As a result, people's welfare is very little considered compared to the decision of the leader Kim II Sung with the many monuments of the figure. So the government is an individual communist dictator, especially after Kim II Sung died who became president and also the chairman of his son's party.

North Korea also established diplomatic relations with China. The formation of the North Korean Government increasingly heated the political and military constellation in Asia, this was due to the increasing influence of communism in Asia. North Korea is believed to be an ally loyal to China and Russia, this is because North Korea borders regions that are not too far from China and the Soviet Union so that it is easy to direct. The tense atmosphere began to be felt on the Korean Peninsula, after the North began to provoke various violations on the border around 1949. For reasons to reunite Korea on July 25, 1950 North Korean soldiers crossed the demarcation line and invaded South Korea. The South Korean army because of its inadequate weaponry failed to dispel the North Korean army. For North Korea's aggression, South Korea filed a complaint with the UN Security Council (Mas'ud, 2005). As a solution, the UN Security Council passed a resolution which essentially ordered North Korea to withdraw its forces to latitude 38 °. In addition, the UN Security Council also requested assistance from UN members to provide military assistance to Korea. For this reason, a UN force was formed immediately from sixteen member countries. The United States has a UN Security Council mandate to lead UN troops to Korea. As commander of the United Nations forces, General Douglas Mac Arthur was chosen. UN forces succeeded in urging North Korean troops to even cross latitude of 38 °.

On October 19, 1950 UN forces succeeded in occupying Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. The move was carried out by UN forces because according to Mac Arthur security on

the Korean Peninsula would occur if the two countries were put together. China, which has diplomatic and ideological relations with North Korea, does not accept the actions of the UN forces. At the end of the month, UN forces detained 135,000 prisoners of war; and they saw a split in the North Korean army (Sejarah, 2017). General MacArthur and several American politicians had proposed to attack the China Communists to destroy the depots of the China People's Army that supplied North Korea's war needs, but President Truman did not agree, and ordered General MacArthur not to cross the China-Korea border. China argues that it is only the United States' strategy to expand its influence in Korea. Because it did not accept the actions of UN forces, China sent its troops and assisted the defense of North Korean troops. On January 4, 1951 UN forces were crushed by joint China-North Korean forces. In fact, the capital of South Korea, Seoul fell to the combined forces.

For the shocking event, the UN Security Council convened again. The UN Security Council decided that China's actions to help North Korea were wrong and as a consequence an economic embargo was imposed on the country. On March 12, 1951 UN forces which had consolidated themselves managed to retake the city of Seoul, South Korea. North Korea's biggest military weakness, although supported by 135,000 troops, is the inability to transport much-needed equipment to keep up with the invasion of the south. North Korea does not have an adequate supply distribution system, South Korea has an army with inferior weapons and an army of only 65,000 (Yang Seung-Yoon, 2003).

The war between the two countries lasted until 1953 which led to an agreement for peace and a ceasefire, even the two countries agreed to connect the telephone line to maintain harmony between the two countries by establishing optimal communication and this was done so that the peace plan could be realized. But this did not last long until North Korea finally cut off communications with the South Koreans for reasons

that could not be accepted by South Korea. Even so, the South Koreans still really want peace efforts can still be carried out by the two countries. Still, this is only a hope from South Korea and in fact these two countries cannot approach the word peace because at that time there were still small-scale conflicts between the two countries.

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In 1970 South Korea and North Korea reached a stable period in terms of the economy. But South Korea's economic orientation is slightly different, North Korea prefers to improve the military sector at that time so that the death rate in North Korea increases because the people there experience a lot of food shortages (Raisamaili, 2011). In this phenomenon North Korea requested assistance from other countries and South Korea was no exception. In the same year, South Korea and North Korea have begun to dare to appear on the international stage because the economic growth of the two countries has increased with a relatively short time. Not only

from the economic sector of the two countries that are in the spotlight of the world, but even more sharp disputes in both countries have also become the spotlight of the international community.

One of the causes of the high attention of the international community in 1970 to the two Korean Peninsula countries was one of them due to the increasingly tense conflict between these two countries. Right in the same year, the biggest sports event in Asia, the Asian Games, should have been held in Seoul, the capital of South Korea. But the South Koreans were forced to cancel the Asian Games in their country because the South Koreans were threatened by North Korea if the Asian Games were held in Seoul. As a result of the incident the Seoul Asian Games was canceled and moved to Bangkok, the capital of Thailand with full funding from the South Korean side. South Korea was only able to hold the Asian Games in 1986 or the 10th Asian Games. In a very long period of time several athletes from both countries appeared in one delegation but in their togetherness in one team it was not as imagined, even the athlete has never greeted each other when they are in a team (Wirayudha, 2018).

Conditions on the Korean Peninsula have been known to be heating up in recent decades. This is related to the nuclear program launched by North Korea. Obsessed to create peace on the Korean Peninsula, South Korean President Park Guen Hye said he was ready to sit at one table and dialogue with North Korean President Kim Jong-Un. To end the mutual missile strike between North Korea and South Korea, Park Guen Hye will hold a meeting with President Kim Jong-Un. Park Guen Hye formed a committee working under his control to bring about reunification with North Korea. The committee will include experts from every sector of society to expand inter-Korean dialogue with the ultimate goal of reunification between South Korea and North Korea.

2013-2014 is a hi-tension year for the two countries because North Korea is fond of carrying out missile tests and the problem is the target of the North Korean missile tests,

namely the waters of South Korea so that the South Korean side feels threatened and this creates an attitude The US as a close friend of South Korea by sending troops to South Korean waters.

But on April 27, 2018 it was noted as an important event in the long history of the feud between the two countries of the Korean Peninsula. It was the day on which the two heads of state Kim Jong-Un and Moon Jae-In met and this meeting seemed to be a bright spot for the future of the Korean Peninsula because at this meeting the two countries discussed the unity and stability of the Korean Peninsula because of the warming relations between the two countries it is very worrying for both parties and as is well known that if these two countries are involved in a high-level dispute, not only these two countries will be involved but will involve allied countries of the two parties to the dispute. So from these concerns arises the desire of these two countries to ease the tension that has continued to tap. The two countries have discussed many things including the availability of North Korea to carry out denuclearization actions and are ready to maintain the stability of the Korean territory.

Not only is that one historic event that took place in 2018, there are still more historic events for these two countries in the sports sector, at the opening of the Winter Olympics in PyeongChang, South Korea was an important event for both countries because at that time North Korea sent the younger siblings from Kim Jong-Un's leader named Kim Yo-Jong as the representative of his country. Responding to the harmony that took place, South Korean Foreign Minister Kang Kyung-wha said that South Korea would seek close collaboration with the international community to bring about denuclearization of North Korea, and he also said that if North Korea participated in the PyeongChang Olympics, it would increase the profile this event as a Peace Olympics.

And the top is during the 2018 Asian Games held in Jakarta-Palembang, Indonesia. All eyes and media from all corners of the world are highlighting the same thing, the very

thing that the world really wants is the realization of Reunification. With a long history of North Korea and South Korea's feud that even in the same event North Korea threatened South Korea which eventually affected the 1970 Asian Games in Seoul to be relocated in Bangkok, Thailand, finally in the 2018 Asian Games delegates from Korea were able to perform under the Korean Unification Flag.

## **B. Research Question**

From the background that has been written above, the writer can find a research question : *Why did the two Koreas agree to perform as one nation and under one flag at the Asian Games 2018?*

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

To make a proper analysis, this undergraduate thesis also is supposed to use the proper theory. By using the theory, itself, it can be said that this is an undergraduate aimed for analysis. Thus, the author chose the concept of national interest, rational choice theory, and soft power concept as the theoretical framework.

### *a. Rational Choice Theory*

In the context of international relations, there are several ways the state can fulfill national interests. Whether it's in terms of foreign policy, military, economy, security and so on. This then makes the decision makers must be careful, in making all the decision formulations. Formulating foreign policy is one of the most important things in achieving the interests of a country (Guzman, 2008. Perwira, Adhie Putra. Skripsi. 2017:8).

Rational Choice Theory by Graham T. Allison can explain how the reasons for foreign decision making. According to Graham T. Allison, rational choice can be explained as a choice that is consistent and maximizes to value (value-maximizing), within the prescribed limits. So that decision makers must decide rationally in choosing

policy alternatives. The alternatives proposed in policy making are very diverse and also by considering the positive and negative consequences (profit and loss) that will be generated. Therefore, policies issued as rational choices have several components in them, including goals and objectives, alternatives, consequences and choices.

Basically rational choice theory sees that in understanding international actions or phenomena depending on the individuals involved in them or decision-making, goals, contexts, and their relationship with decision makers. In rational choice theory, analysis techniques and profit and loss calculations are very useful before the policy maker determines the choice or takes an action chosen. The choice that will be taken or chosen by the policy maker must be rationality where the choice will surely result in a profit and loss that previously must have been calculated in advance so that when carrying out a choice there will be no obstacles or problems that hinder the policy maker.

**Table 1.1**  
**Analysis of Advantages and Disadvantages in Choosing Rational Options**

<b>Information</b>	<b>Choice Option I</b>	<b>Choice Option II</b>
Advantages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advantage I</li> <li>• Advantage II</li> <li>• Advantage III</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advantage I</li> <li>• Advantage II</li> <li>• Advantage III</li> </ul>
Disadvantage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disadvantage I</li> <li>• Disadvantage II</li> <li>• Disadvantage III</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disadvantage I</li> <li>• Disadvantage II</li> <li>• Disadvantage III</li> </ul>



The table above is a table that is used to analyze a choice that will be chosen which later this choice will produce an impact or effect in the form of profits and losses, therefore a policy maker must analyze in advance in order to maximize the benefits obtained so that it can also be an option rationality that can also be chosen by a policy maker.

By way of calculating the profits and losses obtained then it can be found an option that can be said to be a rational choice, can be of a nature rational if the choice has more advantages than the losses that will be obtained. These advantages and disadvantages can be obtained from the existence of factors that are influenced as well as economy, politics and other factors.

**Table 1.2**  
**Analysis Of The Advantages And Disadvantages Of**  
**Korean Reunification**

<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Disadvantage</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The creation of a peaceful Korean regime which is indeed contained in the Panmunjom agreement</li> <li>2. Realize North Korea and Hyundai agreements regarding expansion of tourism business</li> <li>3. The creation of stability in the East Asia Region, especially the Korean Peninsula, because it has been declared that</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. It is very difficult for North Korea and South Korea to escape from the influence of the US and China, where the two superpowers are countries that North and South Korea have been supporting for decades.</li> <li>2. Enabling there will be more friction in decision making caused by differences in ideology of North</li> </ol>

<p>there will be no more war on the Korean Peninsula</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. North Korea can stabilize again the economic conditions that are experiencing a contraction that is quite severe and even said to decline compared to when in 1997 which had caused the incidence of poverty of North Korean society.</li> <li>5. Providing a new image to the world that Korea is not in a state of war so that it can expand cooperation with the outside world, especially for North Korea which was previously famous with the country with its Political Isolation</li> <li>6. Join the 2018 Asian Games and get 4 medals for the debut of the participation of a united Korea delegation in the Asian Games</li> <li>7. North Korea is no longer dependent on China in terms of</li> </ol>	<p>Korea and South Korea.</p>
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improving the country's economy because it is united with South Korea that it is possible to restore the country's economic stability	
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As is well known that the Korean Peninsula has experienced a long-standing feud even though both of them had existed in the status of a warring state. This happens because each country has its own interests that they want to control or maintain. Not only caused by these factors, but there are also supporting factors in the form of escort from two super power countries, namely the United States and the Soviet Union which are also thought to have their respective interests. The feud between the two Korean Peninsula countries lasted for a long time even in the period of 2014-2016 there were still many small-scale conflicts between the two which had become the spotlight all over the world because of the conflict there was a discourse that a ceasefire would occur.

But at the beginning of 2018 the two countries began to show their wise attitude, even the two leaders of the Korean Peninsula held their first meeting. The two leaders met for the first time since 10 years ago, this meeting was held in the border area of South Korea and North Korea as a manifestation of the beginning of peace between the two countries. Then earlier on February 9, 2018, when the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics in Pyeong Chang was held, there was a look of peace from the two countries because it could be seen on the VIP bench when the opening ceremony was attended by representatives from North Korea namely Kim Yo-jong who was the younger brother of the South Korean leader Kim Jong-Un. Then on August 18, 2018 at the opening ceremony of the 2018 Asian Games it was seen that the Korean delegation carried the flag of the Union of Korean

Peninsula. Surely the leaders of the two countries determined that attitude because showing that they had returned to building peace to the world was the most rational thing with all the benefits and losses of consideration.

***b. Soft Power Concept***

Power is an important thing in the international world. By having power, a country can get the results it wants. Joseph Nye explains power as "the ability to influence behavior to others to get outcomes one wants". Furthermore, explains that power is not only in the form of commands and coercion. More power can be felt when we can make other parties do things they don't want if they don't get influence from us. Power can change even when the context changes (Nye, 2004). For example, a child who has power in the playground and can order his friends can lose power in the classroom. Power is always influenced by context a relationship. Power is generated by power sources. However, having many sources of power, or power resources, does not guarantee that we can get the results we want. The source of power is not money that can be exchanged directly with the desired item. One source can produce the power needed to solve a problem, but it may not be used to solve other problems. Having the right power source also does not guarantee we can get the desired results, especially if we do not understand how to use it.

Nye explained that there are other ways to practice power other than by ruling, rewarding, and forcing, namely by luring. By 'spreading charm', we can make people others justify our views and finally agree with our opinions. If the other party agrees, then we can get what we want without having to govern or force it. The ability to lure other parties is called Soft Power by Nye.

Nye defines soft power as "the ability to get through what is rather than through coercion or payments".

Soft power is based on the ability to shape the preferences of others (Nye, 2004). In making decisions, we must make friendly and interesting rules so that people want to help us to achieve our common goals.

Soft Power will explain that culture (including sport events) is another way to achieve interests by not using threats or coercion that South Korea and North Korea might not be effective in, so they use or choose a softer, unified path. the two countries are in a 2018 Asian Games delegation.

#### **D. Hypothesis**

Based on the research question that has been written above, the author has the following hypothesis :

1. The governments of the Korean Peninsula countries have agreed to unite in the 2018 Asian Games, which is a fundamental rational choice where the benefits are more than the losses.
2. Asian Games 2018 as the biggest sport event in Asia was chosen as mean/tool because the event was a very prestigious event to show the world that when Korea was united they could compete in an international level event.

#### **E. Research Method**

In this study the authors used a qualitative or descriptive method that is by describing the phenomena that occur to determine the two Koreas effort of reunification until they decided to be united in the Asian Games 2018. Data collection techniques were carried out by looking for library data or library research, namely by collecting data by searching for several literatures related to the problems studied in the form of books, journals, documents, papers, reports, magazines, newspapers, articles, and the internet.

The writing method used is the deductive method, that is by describing the problem in general, then drawing specific conclusions about the dynamics of the two Korea to realize the

Korean Peninsula reunification through the 2018 Asian Games.

The type of research conducted by the author is to use explanatory types of explanatory research, describing explained how the reunification effort was carried out by North Korea and South Korea which could eventually unite in the 2018 Asian Games.

#### **F. Purpose of Writing**

This undergraduate thesis was made to find out why the two Korean Peninsula countries agreed to perform together at the 2018 Asian Games.

#### **G. Scope of Research**

In terms of the discussed material to facilitate the research and avoid the difficulty in analyzing the subject of research, this research discussed the reasons behind the two Korea's effort of reunify and decide to perform together in The Asian Games 2018. The research took the period of study from the beginning of the division of Korea until 2018 when the two Koreas show up in The Asian Games 2018.

## **H. Organization of Writing**

This thesis consists of four chapters and an explanation of each chapter will be explained in more detail with the sub-chapter. Systematic writing of this research is as follows:

- CHAPTER I : describes the background of the problem, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purposes of research, research methodology, the scope of research and organization of writing.
- CHAPTER II : describes the beginnings of the division of the Korean Peninsula and reunification efforts.
- CHAPTER III : focuses on the dynamics of the reunification efforts until it was agreed that North Korea and South Korea would unite as a delegation at the Asian Games 2018.
- CHAPTER IV : contains the conclusions of all the explanations described in the previous chapters.