

**DETERMINANTS POLICY ORIENTATION OF
THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA TOWARD THE D.P.R.K:
AN EXPLANATION OF SOUTH KOREA'S CONFORMITY OR
DIVERGENCE WITH THE UNITED STATES**

By
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(Under the Direction of HAN S. PARK)

ABSTRACT

U.S. - South Korea relations have been one of the success stories of international cooperation during the Cold War on the basis of the robust bilateral alliance. In the post Cold War, the security environment of the Korean Peninsula and the importance of the United States for South Korea's security are no different from that during the Cold War. However, unlike the past, South Korea has not complied with U.S. leadership since the Kim Dae-jung administration, but has adopted policy opposed to that of the U.S. This study started with the question of what variables explain South Korean policy toward North Korea in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations and why South Korea has not followed the U.S. leadership since the Kim Dae-jung presidency, unlike the past. In order to answer the research questions, this study set up three hypotheses based on the features of liberalism and constructivism. The hypotheses assumed that the development of civil society, generational change, and the change of unification education affect South Korean policy toward North Korea and the policy agreement between the U.S. and South

Korea. From this study, I found three determinants; first, South Korean civil society has constituted an important aspect of an initiative of the South Korean engagement policy through playing important roles, especially in areas in which the government could not actively take initiative and affecting South Korean's positive thinking on reconciliation and unification. Second, South Korean young generations who don't experience the Korean War and have progressive political stance played an important role in the emergence of nationalism and anti-Americanism in the society, and led South Korean public opinion for asking better inter-Korean relations and equal partnership toward the U.S. Third, the change of South Korean unification education contents influenced the formation of the South Korean political attitude and made a great contribution to the change in national identity of South Koreans from a state-centric paradigm to a nation-centric paradigm.

Therefore, civil society, generational change, and unification education are obvious determinants to explain South Korean policy orientation toward North Korea and the policy agreement between the U.S. and South Korea.

INDEX WORDS: South Korean Policy toward North Korea, U.S.-South Korea Relations, Civil Society, Generational Change, Unification Education

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my work and talents to God for being my constant companion and strength.

“Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for you are with me; your rod and your staff, they comfort me” (Psalms 23:4).

To God be the Glory.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. The Puzzle

United States-South Korea relations have been one of the success stories of international cooperation between two countries during the Cold War era. A close relationship between the two countries developed from the establishment of the U.S.-South Korea alliance after the Korean War (1950-53). The United States recognized South Korea as a critical partner for security cooperation in East Asia and for containing communism from the Soviet Union and North Korea. At the same time, South Korea, under constant military threat from North Korea, attempted to strengthen its relations with the U.S. for its national survival and security. Thus, to South Korea, the United States was the most reliable patron for protecting South Korea from North Korea's military threat. Although the two countries at times experienced political friction, their differences were downplayed and pacified by the compliance of South Korea to U.S. leadership. On the whole, the political relations between the two countries during the Cold War era are understood to have been solid and harmonious.

In the post Cold War era, the security environment on the Korean Peninsula has remained an antagonistic and conflict-ridden environment as it was during the Cold War era. North Korea's conventional weapons and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), including nuclear weapons, are still a threat to South Korea and the United States. South Korea also relies on U.S. military capability, in large part, for its national security, and a stable security environment on the Korean Peninsula is important to the United States for its world strategy. That is, even though

the Cold War era is over, the security environment of the Korean Peninsula is no different from that during the Cold War, and the importance of the United States for South Korea's security remains substantial. However, most recently, U.S.-South Korea relations have undergone dramatic changes. Unlike the past, since 2001, South Korea has not complied with U.S. policy or leadership, but has adopted policy opposed to that of the U.S. and even demanded change in U.S. policy toward North Korea in spite of no major change in the security environment. After George W. Bush's inauguration, the United State took a hard-line policy toward North Korea, but the South Korean administrations of Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Moo-hyun opposed the U.S. hawkish approach and adopted engagement policies such as the "Sunshine Policy" and the "Peace and Co-Prosperity Policy." Eventually, the bond of friendship between the U.S. and South Korea was shaken by their disagreement in policy orientation toward North Korea.

The goal of this dissertation is to examine the change in degree of agreement between South Korea and United States policy toward North Korea since 2001 and to analyze the determinants that influenced South Korea's engagement policy toward the North.

2. Research Questions

To analyze the change in degree of agreement between South Korea and United States policy toward North Korea, this study is designed to address the following questions:

- 1) What variables have determined South Korean policy toward North Korea in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations?
- 2) Why has South Korea not complied with the U.S. leadership since 2001, unlike the past?

CHAPTER 2

IR THEORIES AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In International Relations, realism, liberalism, and constructivism have been regarded as major theories to explain and analyze the inter-state affairs and foreign policy behavior of countries. This chapter evaluates how well the theories of international relations explain South Korean policy toward North Korea and U.S.-South Korea relations since the Kim Dae-jung administration based on the overview of three IR theories—realism, liberalism, and constructivism—and which theory offers the most powerful explanation.

1. Realism

Realism is one of the dominant schools of thought in the international relations discipline. It has a long intellectual history, dating at least from Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War. For Thucydides, power constituted the basic element of international relations. The dominant Greek city-states of his time, Athens and Sparta, struggled to maintain and expand their power. Security and survival were the main drives motivating their leaders. Military power transcended justice and ethical commitments when war broke out between the two city-states (Andrain & Apter, 1990; Kegley & Wittkopf, 2001).

In recent history, realism emerged in its modern form largely in reaction to idealism which was the dominating idea after World War I. Idealism maintained that the goal of foreign policy should be to promote peace and it emphasized optimism, cooperation through international law and organization, the role of public opinion and broader political participation

(Ferguson & Mansbach, 1988). However, the idealist view was shattered by the outbreak of the World War II, and the realist approach emerged immediately before and after World War II as a dominant analytical framework in world affairs. E.H. Carr, who is known as one of the fathers of realist theory with Hans Morgenthau, insists that utopian aspirations for peace, through institutions and treaties, had failed with the onset of World War II. According to him, power politics is the most appropriate pattern of states' behavior based on his observations of the historical behavior of states.

Hans Morgenthau provided a clear statement of realism, and converted the international relations field from idealist advocacy to realist analysis. According to Morgenthau (1978), realism consists of the following six principles that describe and explain state-to-state interaction. (1) Politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. (2) Interest is defined in terms of power. (3) Interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally valid, but whose meaning can change. (4) Universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in the abstract; the circumstances of time and place must be considered. (5) The moral laws governing the universe are distinct from the morals of any one nation. (6) The difference between political realism and the other school is real and profound.

There are four basic assumptions based on Morgenthau's six principles:

First, the state is the most important actor in international relations. This means that the national government is the main player in the game of international politics. Realists concentrate on studying interstate relations and consider international organizations, non-government organizations (NGOs), multinational corporations and other non-state actors as only secondary role-players in international relations. It is the state and its interactions with other states that

shape the character of global politics and only through studying these interactions will one be able to truly understand the dynamics of international relations (Viotti & Kauppi, 1999).

Second, the state is a unitary actor. Unitary means that the states speak with one voice: “States have sufficient autonomy from their national societies to recognize and pursue the interests of the nation as a whole, and not just those of particular powerful groups within the community, and they might actually establish goals and strategies that run counter to the preferences of important parts of society” (Grieco, 1997, p. 166).

According to Viotti and Kauppi (1999, p. 6), “A rational foreign policy decision-making process would include a statement of objectives, consideration of all feasible alternatives in terms of existing capabilities available to the state, the relative likelihood of attaining these objectives by the various alternatives under consideration, and the benefits or cost associated with each alternative.”

Third, states’ ultimate goal is survival in the anarchic international system. Anarchy means that there are no rules and reliable central authority to govern states, unlike domestic politics, where hierarchy enforces laws and agreements. In the absence of a reliable central authority, individual states tend to use force or the threat of force against other states to keep national interests and security. Thus, states are perpetually supposed to compete and fight over issues of national security and must do whatever is necessary to survive. In an anarchic environment, no state can be secure in its borders from the ambitions of other states and can survive only precariously through the system of a balance of power. Morgenthau argued that as sovereign nations compete with and oppose each other for power, their survival becomes the minimum requirement. Therefore, “the survival of a political unit, such as a nation, in its identity,

is the irreducible minimum and the necessary element of its interest vis-à-vis other units” (Morgenthau, 1952, p. 973).

Fourth, international relations are essentially conflictual because of power competition between states. Realism emphasizes the assumption that the essence of politics is the competition for power and that international politics is best understood in terms of the conflict that arises from this struggle. Morgenthau (1978) defined international politics as a continuing effort to maintain and increase the power of one’s own nation and to keep in check or reduce the power of other nations. He explained that the factors that make for the power of a nation vis-à-vis other nations are geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, military capability, population, national character, national morale, diplomacy, and the quality of government (Morgenthau, 1978). Gilpin maintains that power encompasses the military, economic, and technological capabilities of states (Gilpin, 1981). For realism, the dynamic nature of international politics is a reflection of the competition among nations to increase their power and influence, and thus their shares of the earth’s limited resources. Therefore, realists see conflict as an inherent feature of international politics.

According to Morgenthau (1948), “the aspiration for power on the part of several nations, each trying to maintain or overthrow the status quo, leads by necessity to a configuration that is called the balance of power and to policies that aim at preserving it” (p. 173). Morgenthau (1978) asserted the importance of the concept of balance of power which determines the behavior of sovereign states. In his view, the balance of power and policies aiming at its preservation are not only inevitable but are an essential stabilizing factor in a society of sovereign nations. He viewed the balance of power as the most effective technique for managing power in an international system which is based on competitive relationships among states.

Classical realism has strongly influenced the study of international relations. However, the basic hypotheses of classical realism have been challenged from several different perspectives. Classical realists like Hans Morgenthau maintained that interactions among states are shaped by the power-hungry nature of human beings. To them, power is an end of itself and international relations is a struggle for power.

However, neorealists like Kenneth Waltz differ from their ancestors in this assumption. While neorealists still consider individual states as the most important actors in international relations, they believe that international structure has the most impact on states' behavior rather than human nature which is the evil spirit of the human being. Neorealism has as its focus the international system as the structure that shapes the political relationships that take place among its members. For a neorealist, international politics is more than the summation of the foreign policies of states and the external balance of other actors in the system. Waltz (1991) pointed out that "international structure emerges from the interaction of states and then constrains them from taking certain actions while propelling them toward others" (p, 29). In neorealism, as in classical realism, anarchy is the most important and enduring property of the structure of the system. Neorealists define anarchy as the absence of any central authority above states, and consequently the absence of a mediator to resolve conflicts on an international level. Therefore, a state should necessarily keep its own security and survival in the principle of self-help. Neorealists believe that states do not differ in the tasks they face, only in their capabilities. According to them, capabilities define the position of states in the international system, and the distribution of capabilities defines the structure of the international system and shapes the ways the units in that system interact with other units (Kegley & Wittkopf, 2001, p. 34).

Power also remains a central concept in neorealism as well as classical realism. Neorealists assume that international politics is a struggle for power as in classical realism. Classical realists argue that the only way to ensure lasting national security and thereby the survival of the state is through the pursuit of enough power to deter aggression from another state or coalition of states. However, neorealists do not see power as an end in itself, but rather as a means to an end which is survival in an anarchical system. They assert that states pursue a strategy of power balancing because of the instinct for survival in the system. States seeking security will balance against other states that they perceive to be threats to their security with every means available. As Waltz (1979) explained, the “means fall into two categories: internal efforts (moves to increase economic capability, to increase military strength, or to develop clever strategies) and external efforts (moves to strengthen and enlarge one’s own alliance or to weaken and shrink an opposing one)” (p. 118). In anarchical system, if some states undertake any such measure, others will emulate immediately. As other states emulate them, power balancing ensues. Thus, the international security order is governed by balance of power politics (Ruggie, 1983). Waltz (1979) further emphasized that “balance of power politics prevails whenever two and only two, requirements are met: that the order be anarchic and that it be populated by units wishing to survive” (p. 121).

Although realism perceives a world that is inherently competitive, cooperation between states is almost impossible. Neorealists argue that two factors inhibit cooperation: relative-gains considerations and concerns about cheating (Grieco, 1998). According to neorealism, states contemplating cooperation must consider how profits and gains will be distributed among them. Each state, as Waltz (1979) put it, worries about a division of possible gains that may favor others more than itself. Since states in a realist world are concerned about the distribution of

power in the international system so that they do no worse than other states in cooperative endeavors, they must be motivated primarily by relative gains concerns when considering cooperation. States that worry about relative-gains make cooperation more difficult, since they are always concerned about how the pie is divided.

According to realism, concerns about cheating also hinder cooperation. “States are often reluctant to enter into cooperative agreements for fear that the other side will renege to gain a relative advantage” (Brown, 1998, p. 338). Due to anarchy and the absence of a central authority, cooperative agreements are ultimately unenforceable. This “peril of defection,” as Charles Lipson (1994) calls it, is a further concern of states because power capabilities and intentions can shift rapidly and change the distribution of power. Such a development can create a window of opportunity for the cheating state to realign with another state and/or inflict a decisive defeat on the victim state.

Even with these barriers to cooperation, states do work together in a realist world in the pattern of alliance. Stephen Walt (1987) insisted that the emphasis on self-help does not prevent states from forming alliances. An alliance is a formal or informal arrangement for security cooperation between two or more sovereign states (Walt, 1987). Effective alliances either preclude attacks or threats of attacks by adversaries in an extended deterrence environment or to achieve victory in war (Weede, 1983). Balance of power logic often causes states to form alliances and cooperate against common enemies. The Nixon administration’s rapprochement with China to balance against Soviet power in 1969 demonstrated that in a triangular relationship, it was better to align with the weaker side (Kissinger, 1979, p. 178). States sometimes cooperate to gang up on a third state, as the Germans and the Soviets did against

Poland in 1939 (Schweller, 1994). For realists, rivals, as well as allies, cooperate and form deals that roughly reflect the distribution of power and temporarily satisfy concerns over cheating.

However, cooperation among states has its limits, mainly because it is constrained by the dominating logic of security competition. A well-known piece of realist conventional wisdom is that since alliances are unenforceable, they will be viable only to the extent that they reflect the national security interests of their members. “A nation will shun alliances if it believes that it is strong enough on its own or that the burden of commitments resulting from the alliance is likely to outweigh the advantages to be expected” (Morgenthau, 1993, p. 197). Ultimately, in a realist world where states compete for power, neorealists argue that cooperation is ephemeral, alliances are usually marriages of convenience, and genuine peace is not likely.

2. Liberalism

Liberalism has played a role as the strongest rival theory and the most consistent critic of realism in the international relations discipline. The most fundamental principle which distinguishes between realism and liberalism in international relations is an understanding on the possibility of international cooperation and peace under anarchic conditions (Doyle, 1997; Keohane, 1990). Doyle (1997) emphasized the difference between realism and liberalism: “the Realists described for us a state of war that could be mitigated but not overcome short of a world Leviathan. The Liberals, with important variations, announce to us the possibility of a state of peace among independent states” (p. 206). According to Doyle, liberals argue that “world politics, rather than being a relatively homogeneous state of war, is at the minimum a heterogeneous state of peace and war and might become a state of global peace, in which the expectation of war disappears” (Doyle, 1997, p. 210). Keohane’s explanation on the critical

difference between realism and liberalism is also similar. First, liberalism stresses the importance of not merely states but social groups and firms. The activities of social groups and firms in inside and outside of the country are important for liberalists, “not in isolation from the actions of states but in conjunction with them” (Keohane, 2002, p. 45). Second, liberalism does not emphasize the significance of military force but the activities of several actors to increase economic efficiency and to avoid military conflict. Finally, “liberalism believes in at least the possibility of cumulative progress, whereas realism assumes that history is not progressive” (Keohane, 2002, p. 45).

Liberalists argue that peace and cooperation under anarchy are not only possible but are also realized in international relations. Moreover, peace for liberalists is not a negative one as that for realists, which is simply no state of war in international relations, but a positive one cooperative relations between states to achieve common and individual interests. Therefore, liberalism is a theory to explain how and when international peace and cooperation are available and what states should do to achieve peace and cooperation. Many liberal theorists describe a set of core theoretical assumptions of liberalism.

According to Michael Doyle (1997), the emphasis on international peace and cooperation of liberalists is based on three theoretical assumptions.

First, although states live under international anarchy, meaning the absence of a global government, they do not experience a general, state of war. Realists argue that the international anarchic condition is the state of war among states and peace is only available when a war is restrained by balance of power. In addition, cooperation among states is unavailable because of the concern of relative gains even if cooperation can give common interests among states. However, in contrast with realists, liberalists understand anarchy differently: “For none of the

Liberals does the state of nature (without government) produce the state of war” (Doyle, 1997, p. 301). Anarchy in international relations can be the state of war or the state of peace. The state of peace available even under anarchic conditions in international relations depends on the effort of states, and states need cooperation to achieve common interests and individual interests among them. In addition, states have the rationality to try cooperation. Therefore, international relations, according to liberalists, is not a “jungle” which is rampant power politics and a lawless world but a “garden” available to cultivate international cooperation and the state of peace (Doyle, 1997). International anarchic structure is not controlled by states’ action but is made by states’ behavior. For liberalists, the process is more important than the structure in international relations.

Second, states are inherently different “units,” differentiated by how their domestic societies relate to international society, and different actions among states in international relations reflect these differences. Andrew Moravcsik (1997) argued that “the relationship between states and the surrounding domestic and transnational society in which they are embedded critically shapes state behavior by influencing the social purposes underlying state preferences” (p. 516). That is, the state’s behavior is decided in the order of the relationship between the state and society, social purpose of the state, preference of the state, and the state’s behavior; it is this order, according to Moravcsik (1997), this is the fundamental premise of liberal international relations theory. The various groups in domestic and international societies have all different purposes and they exert influence on the decision of the state’s foreign policy with various levels. States’ behavior in international relations reflects a specific social group’s interest based on the social-state relationship in a specific time. Liberalism, therefore, takes political processes seriously when it tries to explain the states’ behavior (Keohane, 1990).

Third, states pursue various goals inside and outside of the country as well as security. Of course, national security can be the most important and urgent of these goals at a given time. However, most countries do not merely pursue the national security goal. A modern state is established based on mutual recognition of sovereignty among states. That is, with mutual recognition of sovereignty, states can pursue various national aims besides constant anxiety about the security. States can be collapsed by not only war against other countries but also socio-economic failure and the domestic political confusion, so socio-economic and political issues in domestic society can be more important than international issues as the state's preferences. In fact, international cooperation and the state of peace are frequently needed to achieve the state's preferences. Liberalists argue that international cooperation and the state of peace come not from the state's altruism but its egoism.

Mark Zacher and Richard Matthew (1995) identify three central theoretical components of liberal international theory. First, the international realm is moving in the direction of greater "peace, prosperity, and justice." Second, peace and justice are achieved by the "growth of international cooperation." Third, international relations are "being transformed by the process of modernization that was unleashed by the scientific revolution" (p. 110).

According to Andrew Moravcsik, liberal theory in international relations is that "states are embedded in domestic and international society, which decisively constrains the underlying state interests on which foreign policy is based" (Schmidt, 1998, p. 436). He explained the three hard core assumptions shared by all liberal theories. First, "the fundamental actors in international politics are rational individuals and private groups, who organize and exchange to promote their interests" (Moravcsik, 2003, p. 161). The most fundamental premise of liberal theory is that the decision of government is constrained by social context. Society, according to

liberals, is comprised of individuals who tend to make groups and organizations to achieve their social and political goals, and social and political order come from the aggregate interactions of individuals in society. Thus, the study of domestic society is very important in international relations because issue areas and situations are distinguished by different sets of constraints and opportunities for governments which come from distinctive patterns of social interests (Mansbach & Vasquez, 1981).

The second hard core assumption is that “states represent some subset of domestic society, whose weighted preferences constitute the underlying goals (‘state preferences’) that rational state officials pursue via foreign policy” (Moravcsik, 2003, p. 163). Liberalism argues that the state is not an actor but a representative institution for social actors’ interests. According to Moravcsik (1997), government policy is therefore constrained by the underlying identities, interests, and power of individuals and groups (inside and outside the state apparatus) who constantly pressure the central decision makers to pursue policies consistent with their preferences. However, there is no government that rests on universal or unbiased political representation. That is, “every government represents some individuals and groups more fully than others” (Moravcsik, 1997, p. 518). Therefore, regarding representation of societal interests, liberalism emphasizes not only government, which is a formal institution but also the role of informal institutions such as a political party and Non Governmental Organizations (NGO).

The third core assumption is that state behavior is shaped by the configuration of governmental interests, rather than resources, institutions or other external political constraints. Liberalism claimed that state preferences reflect the social context of the state. If states have convergent preferences, they will cooperate in international relations. However, if states have divergent preferences, interstate conflict among the states will be enhanced. Realist theory

explains that state behavior and international outcomes are the result of external constraints such as power or resources; therefore, changing incentives come from states' position in the international system. In contrast, liberalists argue that the most fundamental determinant of variations in foreign policy is the change of relationship between states and their domestic and international civil society (Moravcsik, 1997).

Robert Keohane (2002) regarded liberalism "as an approach to the analysis of social reality that (1) begins with individuals as the relevant social actors, (2) seek to understand how aggregations of individuals make collective decisions and organizations composed of individuals interact, and (3) embeds this analysis with a worldview that emphasizes individual rights and that adopts an ameliorative view of progress in human affairs" (p. 45).

In short, based on several liberalists' descriptions of core assumptions, the key arguments of liberalism include the following: First, liberalism is less concerned about the influence of anarchic international structure which constrains states' behavior. Second, liberalism emphasizes that states' behavior originates from domestic society through the rising importance of the relationship between the state and society. Third, liberalism emphasizes that states have various aims which are not only security but also socio-economic issues, and international cooperation and peace to achieve states' various aims.

As states became more interdependent during the 1960s and the 1970s, with expanding global capital markets and increasing international trade and investment, scholars such as Cooper, Morse, Keohane, and Nye theorized that growing economic interdependence would alter the political agenda and military behavior of states. As economic interdependence grew, it was argued, the utility of military power among states would be reduced, due to the cooperation facilitated by the interdependence (Woods, 1996). In other words, a new liberal critique of

neorealism had emerged. This approach stressed the importance of international institutions in reducing the inherent conflict that neorealists assume in an international system. This reasoning is based on the core liberal idea that seeking long term mutual gains is often more rational than maximizing individual short term gains. The approach became known as “neo-liberal institutionalism” or “neoliberalism” for short.

The neoliberal approach differs from earlier liberal approaches in that it concedes to neorealism several important assumptions. For example, like neorealism, neo-liberalism argues that states are major actors in world affairs and unitary actors rationally pursuing their self-interests. Also, neoliberals accept realism’s stance on anarchy, as an explanation for state behavior. However, unlike neorealists, neoliberals maintain that “states will be able to achieve cooperation fairly often because it is in their interest to do so, and they can learn to use institutions to facilitate the pursuit of mutual gains and the reduction of possibilities for cheating or taking advantage of another state” (Goldstein, 1999, p. 102). Neo-liberals believe that as modern communications make the world smaller, and as states become economically more interdependent, they cooperate more because it is to their mutual benefit. In other words, neoliberals believe that states cooperate to achieve absolute gains.

The neoliberals basically argue that even if the neorealists are correct in believing that anarchy constrains the willingness of states to cooperate; nevertheless, states can work together and can do so especially with the assistance of international institutions. Interdependence can create shared values, meanings, rights, and obligations and within the anarchic condition, interdependence can pave the way for a redefinition of the interests of states in ways that can embrace human interests (Adler & Crawford, 1991). International institutions enhance cooperation by improving the quality of information, reducing transactions costs, facilitating

tradeoffs among issue-areas, facilitating enforcement of accords, and enhancing ethical concerns of states (Keohane, 1984). International institutions make it more sensible to cooperate by lowering the likelihood of being double-crossed, so they incorporate the norm of reciprocity and delegitimize defection (Axelrod & Keohane, 1985).

International institutions facilitate the making of substantive agreements by providing a framework of rules, norms, principles, and procedures for negotiation. International institutions are much more important in providing an established negotiating framework (reducing transactions costs) and in helping to coordinate actor expectations (improving the quality and quantity of information available to states). The most important functions of these arrangements are to establish stable mutual expectations about the patterns of behavior of others and to develop working relationships that will allow the parties to adapt their practices to new situations. International institutions perform the function of reducing uncertainty and risk by linking discrete issues to one another and by improving the quantity and quality of information available to participants. Another means of reducing problems of uncertainty is to increase the quantity and quality of communication. Keohane (1984) suggested the possibility that international institutions can help to compensate for eroding hegemony by reducing organization costs and other transaction costs associated with international negotiations. Once established, then, institutions often prove robust when confronted with challenges stemming from changes in the perceived benefits and costs of living up to commitments, the distribution of power among the participants and the overall relationship of the parties (Levy, Young, & Zurn, 1995).

In sum, neoliberal institutionalism pays attention to the roles of institutions in state behavior. Institutions are the components that help foster cooperation in the self-help system. International institutions give several benefits to their member-states: They reduce costs of

transactions among member-states; they reduce problems caused by the uncertainty about the other states' intentions.

3. Constructivism

Beginning in the 1980s, constructivism has been emerged as a significant approach in the international relations discipline. During the Cold War there was a clear pattern of power balancing between the two big powers of the world, the United States and the Soviet Union. After the end of the Cold War and following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the situation of world politics turned fluid and open. It soon became clear that the parsimonious neorealist theory was not at all clear about the future developments of the balance of power. "Neorealist logic dictates that other states will balance against the U.S. because offsetting U.S. power is a means of guaranteeing one's own security; such balancing will lead to the emergence of new great powers in a multipolar system. But since the end of the Cold War, this has not happened" (Jackson, 1999, p. 161). In addition, Christopher Layne, who is a neorealist, argued that it may take 50 years before Germany and Japan adjust to the collapse of the Soviet Union by balancing militarily against the United States (Layne, 1993). However, the constructivists insist that neorealist uncertainty is closely connected to the fact that the theory is overly spare and materialist and argues that the study on thoughts and ideas leads to a better theory about anarchy and power balancing.

Some liberals, like neoliberalists, have accepted neorealist assumptions for the analysis of world affairs and have been criticized by constructivists as well as neorealists. However, other liberals also began to focus more on the roles of ideas after the Cold War ended. For example, in "The End of History," Francis Fukuyama emphasizes the role of ideas and especially the

progress of liberal ideas in the world (1989). But he and other liberals are mostly interested in the concrete advance of liberalism. Although constructivists agree in some degree with liberal thinking, their focus is less on the advance of liberal ideas; it is on the role of thinking and ideas in general.

Constructivism focuses on human awareness or consciousness and its place in world politics. Many international relations theories, especially neorealism, are materialist, thus focusing on how the distribution of material power like military and economic capabilities defines balances of power among states and explains the behavior of states. Constructivists reject such a one-sided material focus. They insist that the most important aspect of international relations is social, not material. They argue that this social reality is not objective, or external, to the observer of world affairs. The world of international relations is not a physical entity or material object that is outside human consciousness. Constructivists argue that the study of international relations should focus on the ideas and beliefs that inform the actors on the international scene as well as the shared understanding between them.

“States want to survive and be secure; neorealists and constructivists agree on that. But what kind of security policy follows from this? Constructivists argue that we can only find out by studying identities and interests as they are shaped in the interaction between states” (Jackson, 1999, p. 167). Alexander Wendt, who is the advocate of constructivism in the field of international relations, proposed two basic tenets of constructivism: “(1) that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and (2) that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature” (Wendt, 1999, p. 1).

Constructivism raises the agent-structure problem in existing structural theories such as neorealism and neoliberalism. The agent-structure problem concerns how to think about the relationship between agent and structures. First, constructivists criticize neorealist conceptualization of material structure. According to constructivism, structures are constituted by “distribution of ideas” in society rather than by “distribution of power” (Wendt, 1999). Second, for constructivists, structures are not dominant vis-à-vis agents. Constructivism rejects the structural determinism of neorealism which argues that material structure constrains states’ behavior. For constructivists, agent and structure are co-determined. Structures not only constrain the actors’ behavior but also constitute the identities and interests of the actors. In addition, structures are recreated by the actors’ (states’) practices and interactions (Barnett, 2005). Constructivists’ conceptualization of structure in international relations comes from structuration theory in sociology. The concept of structuration is a starting point for suggesting a less rigid view of anarchy. Anthony Giddens proposed the concept of structuration as a way of analyzing the relationship between structures and actors in general. Giddens points to duality of structure – structure as a medium and an outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes; the structural properties of social systems do not exist outside of action but are chronically implicated in its production and reproduction (Giddens, 1984). Structures which are the rules and conditions that guide social action, do constrain the actors, but the actors can also transform structures by thinking about them and acting on them in new ways. This notion of structuration leads to a more dynamic view of the relationship between structure and agents. What should be noted is that this view does not posit that actors or agents are free to act regardless of structural constraints in international relations; structure and agents constitute each other.

Constructivists criticize the rationalist (e.g., neorealist and neoliberalist) explanation that states are unified rational actors acting on the basis of exogenously given self-interest. For constructivists, state interests in international relations are all social construction through practice. The definition of the state interest varies according to the meaning and value that the agent attaches to it. State interests are not fixed but endlessly defined and redefined by the agents' discursive social practice. An actor's interests depend on how the actor understands its roles, its social situation. Ideas and norms might not only constrain but actually construct how states define their interests.

Neorealism accepts self-help by states and the security dilemma as given in the anarchical structure. In contrast, constructivism posits that self-help and the security dilemma do not exist "out there." They are social facts and social structures discursively produced by agents within international relations. Social structures exist not in heads nor in material capabilities, but in practices (Wendt, 1995). The security dilemma is a structure where states are full of distrust and imagine the worst-case when assuming the intentions of other states and it is a 'social' structure in that it is constituted through intersubjective understanding. Social structures are products of states' ideas and, in turn, they affect state behaviors.

Wendt's argument that "anarchy is what states make of it" was the simplest explanation of what constructivism was about, and the most powerful challenge to existing mainstream IR theories. To paraphrase, anarchy is no more than a type of social structure that states as agents discursively produce and reproduce. To constructivists, anarchy was an institution, not the state of nature. As opposed to brutal facts, social facts are dependent on human agreement. Wendt proposed three types of culture in anarchy that possibly appear by states' endeavors in the international system: 1) Hobbesian, 2) Lockean, and 3) Kantian. First, the Hobbesian culture that

appeared in the 17th century refers to the state of “leviathan,” in which states conceive another as an enemy and the violence is likely the primary tool to survive. Second, the Lockean culture, dating from the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, permits states to consider each other as a competitor, possibly using violence to achieve one’s interest, but they cannot eliminate each other. Third, in the Kantian culture, states can be viewed as friends working on their security collectively and dealing with a conflict in a peaceful way. Those arguments are not suggesting that wishful thoughts can make the world as we wish. By this constructivists are calling attention to how existing beliefs and practices make the world.

Constructivism also focuses on human awareness or consciousness. It puts emphasis on the ideational factors such as ideas, identity, norms, and culture vis-à-vis neorealism and neoliberalism, which are based on materialism. Ideas are mental constructs held by individuals. Put simply, ideas are what people think. If an individual changes their ideas, it cannot bring about some changes to the world. If the subjective idea is not properly shared by others, then it is not an intersubjectively shared idea. It is socially meaningless. Constructivism argues that an individual idea is meaningful only when it is intersubjectively shared by others. Therefore, constructivists reject the one-sided material focus, and shared ideas among states play important role in the terms of the constitutive nature in the states and international system. Previous schools of international relations theory, such as neorealism and neoliberalism, conceived that ideas and materials are two separate variables. For example, neorealism puts material forces including power and interest as the independent variable for a structural change, while neoliberalism emphasizes the role of the institution as an independent variable (Wendt, 1999). However, for constructivism, materials cannot have meaning and value independent from the shared ideas of people. In the case of threats posed from another state, for example, “five hundred British

nuclear weapons are less threatening to the U.S. than five North Korean ones because of the shared understanding that underpin them” (Wendt, 1999, p. 255).

Identity is an understanding of the self and one’s position in the relationship with another. It is the group’s image of itself in relation to the external world, providing its members with a sense of relatedness. Identity is what people fight for and defend against outsiders and, when challenged, arouses the greatest passions in politics (Buszynski, 2004). Identities are social, not material, and thus are always formed in relationship to others. Constructivists generally hold that identities shape interests; we cannot know what we want unless we know who we are (Barnett, 2005).

Collective or shared memories play a key role. Memory is a collective phenomenon reconstructed through language and symbols creating myths which sustain personal identities and support foreign policies. Collective memory provides group members with a sense of orientation in the world, identifying allies, friends, enemies and threats. There may also be a generational memory which refers to the traumatic experience of a particular generation that may not be shared with a later generation (Buszynski, 2004). Cultures influence their social groups and, in turn, the groups influence individual behaviors. Culture shapes people’s perceptions of the external world and attitudes towards events as to what is important. Political culture establishes the parameters of decision-making, discourses, and values from which the logic of action is drawn. A norm may be regarded as a cultural expectation for a proper behavior in a given situation. Regulative norms operate as standards of behavior for the identity in question while constitutive norms create expectations that identity will be associated with a particular behavior and will specify actions accordingly (Buszynski, 2004).

Consequently, constructivism emphasizes the impact of ideas in contrast to neorealism and neoliberalism which focus on material factors. Constructivists pay attention to the prevailing discourse(s) in society because of its influence on the shaping of beliefs, interests, and norms which influence the states' behavior. Constructivism emphasizes how ideas and identities are formatted, how they develop, and how they affect the states' behavior, so it can well explain states' behavior in the post-Cold War world in which old norms, beliefs, and interests are changing.

4. Theoretical Framework: Selected Features of Leading Theories

In establishing a theoretical framework for this dissertation, the leading theories of International Relations are consulted. A set of selected features of leading theories will be contributed to the theoretical framework for this study.

1) Realism

Realists describe that the world as a potential, and often an actual, battleground. There are two basic assumptions of realists that support this argument.

First, the primary national interest of each state is its national security and survival. According to realists, states are locked into a power struggle, and security is the pursuit of power or a balance of power, essentially military power, between states. To states, the primary threat of security and survival is the possible military attacks from other states; for this reason, the deterrence of military attacks has been the key determinant of foreign policy. Therefore, decision-makers of a state should do anything and everything they can to defend their main interest, which is national security, and to maintain the survival of the state. The pursuit of

national security compels states to maximize their military capability, often through forming alliances which are weighed against one another in a “balance of power” configuration. Since the division of Korea into South Korea and North Korea in 1945, South Korea has been threatened by North Korea, and military confrontation between the two Koreas has been deepened through the Korean War. Thus, for half a century, security has been a dominant goal in South Korea. With a turbulent and conflict-prone security environment, South Korea adopted a “security-first” policy as its policy toward North Korea for its security and survival during the Cold War. However, the South Korean policy toward North Korea has drastically shifted from a security-first policy to a peace-oriented policy known as the “Sunshine Policy” even though South Korea’s security threat from the North still persists and, on the contrary, increases through the North Korea nuclear crisis. The change of South Korea policy toward North Korea goes in the opposite direction with the realists’ argument. Realists argue that states regard national survival and security as the highest interest for a state so states can preserve this value through acquiring military capabilities. However, South Korea’s engagement policy insists that South Korea be patient and tolerant in dealing with North Korea and reconciliation and cooperation should be pursued persistently in any circumstances. Therefore, South Korea’s new approach toward North Korea is improper to the analysis using realist theory even though realism has provided the most persuasive explanation of South Korea’s security-first policy toward North Korea in the Cold War, and has still powerful explanation on the military policy and foreign relations in the post Cold War.

Second, the international structure constrains states’ behavior. Realists argue that states’ behavior for their national interests or decision making of foreign policy is conducted within international structure. Realists argue that the study of international structure can further clarify

the analysis of states' policy decision making and behavior. In short, international structure gives state policy-makers guidelines that they can use to identify enemies, threats, and strategies for the prevention of conflict. As mentioned above, in the bipolar regional structure, South Korea should keep step with the U.S. because the South relies on the U.S. – South Korea alliance for its national security due to unbalanced military power, compared with North Korea. Also, the bipolar structure identified that North Korea was the main enemy and threat to both countries and clarified strategies for the prevention of conflict, which were a strengthening of the alliance relationship and policy coordination. Thus, in the Cold War structure, South Korea tended to follow U.S. leadership, and policy coordination between the two countries was well done. In the post Cold War, the regional structure surrounding the Korean peninsula still maintained a bipolar structure like the Cold War. To South Korea, the importance of the U.S. – South Korea alliance is not different from that during the Cold War period, and South Korea's dependence on the U.S., in the security area, has not changed. However, South Korea has adopted an engagement policy toward North Korea since the Kim Dae-jung presidency instead of the "security-first" policy, and the policy change eventually led to the discord between the two allies, the U.S. and South Korea. Even though the U.S. pursued a hard-line policy toward North Korea after the inauguration of the Bush administration, South Korea refused to accept U.S. hard-line approaches and engaged in intensive efforts to try to persuade the United States to change its hard-line approaches to soft-line approaches. This discord was deepened in the second North Korean nuclear crisis. That is, unlike the Cold War era, regional structure did not much impact the same identification of the enemy and threat between the two countries and did not present the best strategies to solve the security crisis to the two allies. To the United States, North Korea was subject to punishment because the North was one of the axis of evil. However, to South Korea, North Korea was

subject to cooperation with the principles of reconciliation and tolerance. In addition, for the U.S., the best strategy for the prevention of conflict was the hard-line approaches toward North Korea. But, South Korea considered soft-line approaches as the best strategy.

As a result, realism hard to explain South Korea's new engagement policy toward North Korea in the same security environment, which is the similar as that in the Cold War era. Although the two main factors of realists, security and international structure, provide the explanation of South Korea's policy toward North Korea in the Cold War, they hard to explain the adoption of South Korea's engagement policy since the Kim Dae-jung presidency.

Therefore, in this dissertation, a combination of selected features of liberalism and constructivism provides useful alternative theoretical framework for analyzing the South Korea engagement policy since the Kim Dae-jung presidency.

2) Liberalism

Liberalists argue that all states do not behave similarly in similar situations. Thus, the variation in decision-making processes can be accounted for by variations in the social structure and in the domestic actors of the state. This level of analysis emerged in order to overcome the shortcomings of the realist approach. In liberalism, scholars pay more attention to the influence of domestic factors by revealing and analyzing the areas inside the black box neglected by realism. Liberalism is based on the assumption that the state is not a unitary actor in foreign policy-making. Contrary to the realist assumption, liberalists acknowledge that there are many different foreign policy making processes and the differences can lead to different policy choices. These vary according to the nature of the political system in each state, according to the intensity

of the situation, according to the policy issues, and according to the domestic actors that become involved.

This dissertation shows that domestic factors, such as civil society, can influence foreign policy making. Civil society has been regarded as an important domestic factor in South Korea's policy making toward North Korea. As mentioned above, liberalism sees that a state is not a unitary actor in world affairs. Bureaucracies, the political opposition, interest groups and other sub-national actors, all have an influence on the state and are potential domestic variables for foreign policy outcomes. The more democratic a state is, the more likely it is to have active domestic actors, and thus the more influence they may have on the foreign policy making process. In democratic society, civil society has the power to influence the government's policy decision making process. Civil society is the realm of organized social life, which is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, and autonomous from the state. Civil society involves "citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions, preferences, and ideas, to exchange information, to achieve collective goals, to make demands on the state, to improve the structure and functioning of the state, and to hold state officials accountable" (Diamond, 1999, p. 221). Robinson (1994) contended that civil society advances democracy not by tearing down the state but by engaging the state as interest groups for the purpose of influencing the state's policy. Therefore, the existence and the strength of organizations in civil society are vital to the democratization process. Diamond et al (1988) argued that "the organization of the citizenry, autonomously, pluralistically, from grassroots, both inside and outside the formal polity, is indispensable condition for the development and maintenance of a secure democracy" (p. 49).

Many scholars point out that the democratization in South Korea led to the growth and strength of organizations in civil society, particularly nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (H.S. Moon, 2004; S.J. Lee, 2004; S.H. Kim, 2000). The rise of interest groups in civil society in South Korea as a result of democratization has broken the hold of the elite on foreign policy. This situation has opened up foreign policy issues for debate among the populace. Large proportions of the organizations in South Korean civil society are in favor of cooperation and improving inter-Korean relations. Since improving North-South relations usually imply weakening relations with the U.S., this orientation of groups within South Korean civil society towards the North affects the country's perception of the U.S.-ROK alliance. Moreover, an increasing number of organizations in civil society, priding themselves on the achievements of South Korea, demand autonomy from foreign powers, particularly the United States. South Korean civil organizations have become a dominant force in South Korean society with the ability to influence the country's policy as well as to mobilize and shape people's perceptions.

3) Constructivism

Constructivists do not see international relations within the context of international power structure. Instead, they emphasize the impact of 'idea', 'identities', and 'shared-beliefs' in international relations and argue that identities and interests are central determinants of state behavior. According to constructivists, 'identities' and 'interests' are shaped and sustained by social practice which is the inter-subjective relations with others. Constructivism views that 'socially constructed' knowledge (ideational forces) such as norms and shared beliefs constitutes state interests and identities. Thus, changing norms and shared beliefs change state interests and identities, and create new interests and identities.

Although realists argue that the interests are pre-determined and fixed, constructivists insist that the states' interests are redefined with social interaction and shaped with the 'logic of appropriateness'. Within the tradition of 'logic of appropriateness', human actions are seen as rule-based interaction in which actors are expected to follow rules that associate particular identities to particular situations. According to Wendt, identities provide the basis for interests, thus what kind of anarchy prevails depends on what kinds of conception of security actors have and how they construe their identity in relation to others. Stuart Hall argued that "the social construction of identities ... is necessarily prior to more obvious conception of interests: a "we" needs to be established before its interests can be articulated" (Lichbach, 2003, p. 119). That is, national identity determines national interests, which in turn produces policies. Regarding threat perception, constructivists have different assumptions from those of realists. For realists, the actions of an adversary constitute an objective threat. In contrast, constructivists argue that threat is constructed. "Constructivism posits that security is a political construction while also prioritizing social interaction, identity, and shared-beliefs" (Karacasulu & Uzgoren, 2007, p. 38). For constructivists, security and threats are not objective and fixed but are socially constructed. That is, states can change their threat perceptions by evolution in their environment and modified social practices.

In South Korea, the national identity of the South affects policies toward the North. There are two perspectives on South Korean national identity which influence policies toward North Korea: (1) the state-centric paradigm and (2) the nation-centric paradigm (Kim & Yoon, 1999). The state-centric perspective views inter-Korean relations as those between two sovereign states. Due to the antagonistic relationship between the two Koreas, South Korea's national interest has been to protect its survival as a sovereign state against North Korea's military threat. To this end,

the U.S. - South Korea alliance is very important for the national security of the South and should remain a core strategy in the future. This perspective was the dominant national security ideology of the regimes during the Cold War in South Korea.

In contrast, the nation-centric perspective views inter-Korean relations to be an internal issue of the Korean people. According to this perspective, South Korea's policy toward North Korea should focus on the North Korean people, so reconciliation and cooperation should be pursued consistently and persistently. This perspective expects that cooperation in nonpolitical sectors will lead to political and military integration and eventually unification. Therefore, South Korea should be patient and tolerant in its relationship with the North to avoid any military confrontation. This view has been the foundation of the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations' policies toward North Korea known as the "Sunshine Policy" and the "Peace and Prosperity Policy."

In effect, South Korea has the change of national identity from the state-centric perspective which was dominant in South Korea under the military authoritarian regimes during the Cold War to the nation-centric perspective which has gradually taken over after the Kim Dae-jung presidency. Two factors made significant contributions to this national identity change in South Korea. First, generation changes led to a policy change more sympathetic to the nation-centric paradigm. Russell Dalton (1987) argued that generational change is an important phenomenon in changes in the opinion and beliefs about any political issue. He insisted that one of the contributory factors to the change in elite political attitude in Europe is generational change. Dalton suggested that different population cohorts have different priorities and opinions about similar issues. Therefore, the needs and demands of a country gradually change with the eventual replacement of an old population cohort with a new cohort.

In South Korea, the old generation who experienced the Korean War and economic deprivation consider North Korea as the enemy and are in favor of a strong U.S.-South Korea alliance. However, the post-war generation who never experienced the war and are enjoying a good economy view North Korea less as a belligerent threat and more as a one-nation sentiment. Therefore, the postwar generations are imbued with nationalistic sentiments, but they are also advocates of cooperation and better relations with the North. Furthermore, they are in favor of a balanced and equal relationship between the U.S. and South Korea.

Second, unification education in school contributes to the change of South Korean national identity. Gillis (1994) argued that national identities are, like everything historical, constructed and reconstructed. For this reason, the role of education is important to shape the national identity of the younger generation because, through education, they acquire a sense of their national history, their traditional/religious/ethnic backgrounds and shared identity. Education plays a crucial role, as it is not only an important and influential part of a person's development in early years, it also affects the entire people concerned, providing all identical information and views on issues. Lee (2003) explained that "even though intentions may vary with different countries, national education contains the intention to homogenize the constituent members comprising a nation or a country" (p.334). In short, education plays an important role in creating and strengthening national identities and attitudes on the issues.

In the Cold War era, school unification education in South Korea focused on anti-communism and security-oriented education and considered North Korea as the main enemy and the biggest threat to South Korea's national security, but the contents of unification education since the post Cold War has focused on the ethnic communalism and peace-oriented education that views the North as a neighbor and cooperation partner for unification.

To summarize, realism has been widely regarded as the most influential theoretical tradition in International Relations. It assumes that the major behavior in international politics is the nation-state and that the world is anarchy and therefore is a dangerous and insecure place. Thus, the competition and conflicts between states are inevitable and endemic, and power is the most important concept to explain state behavior. In addition, neo-realism argues that foreign policies of nation-states are quite similar despite their very diverse internal nature because of the existence of international structure. The international structure, that is, constrains and affects states' behavior. During the Cold War, realism's influence on the practice of international diplomacy and on the analysis of inter-state affairs was huge and no other theory has given as much form and structure to the study of international politics and to the subfields of security studies and foreign policies of countries. Thus, in the competitive and conflicting environment of the Cold War, most inter-state affairs and foreign policies of countries could be explained and analyzed by realism as a theoretical framework. In the same vein, the regional environment surrounding the Korean Peninsula during the Cold War was also competitive and conflicting as a result of the military and political confrontation between South and North Korea and the ideological competition between democracy led by the United States and communism led by the Soviet Union. Therefore, realism provided the best explanation in the analysis of South Korean foreign policy, especially the policy toward North Korea.

In the post Cold War era, however, unlike the past, states tend to behave in unexpected ways due to various domestic and ideal reasons in the change in the international environment; thus, the issue of the necessity of an alternative analysis tool which considers states' domestic and ideal conditions has been raised in academia. The change in the international environment, such as the demise of communism, enhanced the influence of liberalism and constructivism in

the field of International Relations. Liberalists argue that all states do not behave similarly in similar situations and that variation in decision-making processes can be accounted for by variations in the social structure and in the domestic actors of the state. In liberalism, scholars pay more attention to the influence of domestic factors by revealing and analyzing the areas inside the black box neglected by realism. And, constructivists do not see international relations within the context of an international power structure. Instead, they emphasize the impact of ideas, identities, and shared-beliefs in international relations and argue that identities are the central determinants of state behavior. Constructivists assert that changing norms and shared beliefs change state interests and identities, and create new interests and identities. That is, national identity determines national interests, which in turn produce policies.

The change in international environment in the post Cold War era needs “inside-out” approaches such as liberalism and constructivism rather than an “outside-in” approach like realism to analyze world affairs and foreign policies of a country because the state’s behavior tends to be different from that in the Cold War era. In the same manner, in the analysis of South Korean policy toward North Korea and policy agreement between the U.S. and South Korea during the Cold War, realism, which emphasizes such concepts as security, power, alliance, and international structure, provides the most powerful explanation, but it becomes inadequate for explaining such analysis during the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations. On the other hand, domestic and ideational factors as well as other concepts of liberalism and constructivism are more suitable to analyze South Korean policy toward North Korea and disagreement between the two countries’ policies toward North Korea since the Kim Dae-jung administration. Thus, the theoretical framework of this dissertation is founded on the combination of selected features of liberalism and constructivism applied to empirical research to

demonstrate what variables affected South Korean policy toward North Korea since the Kim Dae-jung administration and the degree of agreement between South Korean policy and U.S. policy toward North Korea.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

1. Hypotheses

Based on the above puzzle and theoretical framework, this study sets up three hypotheses.

- 1) An increase of civil society's role in South Korea will influence the degree of agreement between the South Korean and United States' policy toward North Korea.*

Democratization in South Korea led to growth in the strength of organizations in civil society, particularly nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (H.S. Moon, 2004; S.J. Lee, 2004; S.H. Kim, 2000). The rise of interest groups in civil society in South Korea as a result of democratization has broken the hold of the elite on foreign policy. This situation has opened up foreign policy issues for debate among the populace. Large proportions of the organizations in South Korean civil society are in favor of cooperation and improving inter-Korean relations. Since improving North-South relations usually implies weakening relations with the U.S., this orientation of groups within South Korean civil society towards the North affects the country's perception of the U.S.-ROK alliance. Moreover, an increasing number of organizations in civil society, priding themselves on the achievements of South Korea, demand autonomy from foreign powers, particularly the U.S. With the ability to influence the country's policy as well as to mobilize and shape people's perceptions, civil organizations have become a dominant force in South Korean.

2) *The generation gap in South Korea will influence the degree of U.S.-South Korea policy agreement toward North Korea.*

In South Korea, the older generation who experienced the Korean War and economic deprivation consider North Korea an enemy and are in favor of a strong U.S.-South Korea alliance. However, the post-war generation who never experienced the war and are enjoying a good economy hold the viewpoint that North Korea is less a belligerent threat and view the North more from the perspective of one-nation sentiment. Therefore, the postwar generation are imbued with nationalistic sentiments, advocate cooperation and better relations with the North, and are in favor of a balanced and equal relationship between the U.S. and South Korea. In addition, the South Korean younger generation are eager to express their opinions in public. They pay more attention to society and politics, creating a critical mass that at many times makes them politically relevant. The younger generation tend to participate actively in all society events, influencing public opinion through the internet and off-line protests.

3) *Unification education in South Korea will influence the degree of policy agreement between South Korea and United States toward North Korea.*

South Korean unification education strives to create a desirable value and a social consensus on a realization of unification and for the formation of a wholesome perspective on security. In the Cold War era, school unification education in South Korea focused on anti-communism and security-oriented education which considered North Korea as the main enemy and the biggest threat to South Korea's national security, but the content of unification education since the emergence of the civilian government in 1993 has focused on ethnic communalism and

community-oriented education that the North is a neighbor and cooperation partner for unification.

2. Methodology

1) A Case Study

A case study is chosen in this dissertation. In order to examine and understand the degree of policy agreement between South Korean and the United States' toward North Korea since 2001 and to analyze the decision making processes of South Korean policy toward the North.

This study employs a qualitative case-study methodology. According to Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett (2005), a qualitative case study can establish causal effect between the independent variable(s) and the dependent variable. Moreover, a case study allows the researcher to uncover causal mechanisms and analyze more observable implications for the competing theories. This study is based on what Arend Lijphart (1971) called “interpretative case studies.”¹ Interpretive case studies use theoretical variables to provide historical explanations of particular cases. In other words, they use theories to show that in the particular historical circumstances of the case, the outcome was to be expected (Sprinz & Wolinsky-Nahmias, 1999). Lijphart (1971, p. 692) argued that, in interpretive case studies, “a generalization is applied to a specific case with the aim of throwing light on the case rather than improving the generalization in any way.” According to Lijphart, interpretive case studies can be called “applied science” because they do not aim to contribute to empirical generalizations, and theory-building in the studies is nil (Lijphart 1971: 692). On the other hand, it is precisely the purpose of empirical

¹ . Lijphart divides case studies into six ideal types: 1. Atheoretical case studies; 2. Interpretative case studies; 3. Hypothesis-generating case studies; 4. Theory-confirming case studies; 5. Theory-infirming case studies; 6. Deviant case studies.

theory to make such interpretive case studies possible. In the same vein, Przeworski and Teune argued that “the main role of a theory is to provide explanations of specific events. These explanations consist of inferring, with a high degree of probability, statements about particular events from general statements concerning classes of events.” (Przeworski and Teune, 1970, p. 86)

According to these scholars, the goal of this method is to employ a theoretical framework for purposes of description and explanation. With the application of a theory to a historical case, this method describes and analyzes the outcome of a particular case in terms of theory and presents a new interpretation of the case (Eckstein 1975, pp. 99-104; George, 1979, pp. 47-51).

In this sense, this study proposes a combination of liberalism and constructivism as a theoretical framework and analyzes the degree of policy agreement between South Korea and the United States toward North Korea after Kim Dae-jung’s presidency and seeks to provide a more accurate interpretation for South Korea policy outcomes than other competing explanations.

2) Process Tracing

In order to analyze policy coordination between South Korea and the United States, this study uses the “process-tracing” method. According to Bennett and George (2005), process-tracing is a special type of historical explanation that enables the analyst to identify causal links within the context of a single case. Process-tracing is a suitable method for addressing the conditions that allowed an event to happen and is similar to historical methods such as genetic or sequential explanation that show in detail how one event leads to another (Bennett and George 2005). For Andrew Bennett and Alexander George (2005) process-tracing “has many advantages for theory development and theory testing, some of them unique: it can identify paths to an

outcome, point out variables that were left out in the initial comparison of cases, check for spuriousness, and permit causal inference on the basis of a few cases or even a single case” (p. 223). That is, process-tracing helps not only develop or test theory but also explain what happened, and what actors at the time thought happened. Thus, the purpose of applying the process-tracing method to this study is to discover how the variations of South Korean domestic and ideational factors have influenced its policy toward North Korea since 2001.

3) Sources of Information and Data

a. Dependent Variable: The Degree of Policy Agreement between South Korea and U.S. toward North Korea since 2001

For the purpose of this research, the degree of policy agreement between South Korea and the United States toward North Korea since 2001 will be regarded as a dependent variable. The policies toward North Korea between South Korea and the United States since 2001 will be mainly described and explained. Also, in order to show the change of policy agreement degree, previous policy toward North Korea will be briefly described. Qualitative sources, such as the governments’ official reports and archival documents, will prove sufficient evidence to demonstrate the degree of policy agreement of both countries. Both countries’ policy toward North Korea is the government’s official policy as declared and stated in the Republic of Korea (ROK), *Defense White Paper* from the Ministry of National Defense, *Diplomacy White Paper* from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and *White Paper on Korean Unification* from the Ministry of Unification, and in the United States, *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement* and *The National Security Strategy of the USA* from the White House, and *The*

United States Security Strategy for the East Asian-Pacific Region and Nuclear Posture Review
from the Department of Defense,.

b. Independent Variables: Civil Society, Generational Change, Unification Education

Civil Society

For the civil society variable, this study will examine the growth of nongovernmental organizations in South Korea and their influence on policy toward North Korea and U.S.-South Korean relations. Since the beginning of the country's democratization process in 1987, civic organizations have emerged as important political actors, initiating policies, monitoring politicians and the policymaking process, and mobilizing the public to engage in political action. As a result, not only does the public pay close attention to the activities of the civic organizations in South Korea, but political leaders also seek their support and advice on certain policies. To analyze the role of civil society, this study primarily looks into the increased number of nongovernmental organizations, the important activities of these organizations in applying pressure on the government for better inter-Korean relations, and overviews of the major civic groups and nongovernmental organizations on policy toward North Korea. This study will use statistical data from the Korean Statistical Information Service under the Korean National Statistical Office and *A Study on the Way to Activate Civic Organizations* from the Institute for Population and Development Studies at Seoul National University, and other secondary sources.

Generational Change

Generational change is one of the significant variables in explaining South Korean policy toward North Korea and U.S.-South Korean relations. The demographic change of South Korea

led to a generation gap between the younger generation (Post-War generation) and the older generation (War-generation) about the understanding of social and political issues. The different generations in South Korea have different political and socio-cultural orientations. This divergence has had effects on the policymaking of the country. To analyze generational change, this dissertation will use the *Population Census* from the Korean Statistical Information Service. The political inclination of the younger generation, such as nationalism and anti-Americanism, and voting patterns of the younger generation will be studied using *Perception on the National Security Affairs* from the Research Institute of National Security Affairs under the Korea National Defense University, public surveys from newspapers and research institutes, and other secondary sources.

Unification Education

Pertaining to the unification education variable, South Koreans have been educated on inter-Korean relations since the foundation of the country due to the peculiar political situation which has divided the nations. An examination of the evolution of unification education reveals that the contents of unification education influence perceptions of North Korea. To analyze the unification variable, I will use the *Public Survey on the Consciousness for Unification* from the National Unification Advisory Council, *Unification White Paper and Unification Education Curriculum* from the Ministry of Unification, *A Thirty-Year History of Unification Education* from the Education Center for Unification under the Ministry of Unification, and several other sources of material from the Korea Educational Development Institute and the Korean Council for Unification Education.

3. Expected Findings and Significance

The goal of this study is to analyze the determinants which influence the degree of policy agreement between South Korea and the United States toward North Korea rather than to test theory or prove the superiority of a certain theory. Thus, the primary findings will be the analysis that explains why South Korea adopted an engagement policy toward North Korea and why the country has not followed U.S. leadership since 2001. There will be two expected findings from this study. First, an increase in, as well as positive activities of, South Korean nongovernmental organizations is expected to affect South Korea's engagement policy toward North Korea and the autonomous policy against the United States. Second, the rise of young generation (Post-War generation) power in South Korean society and a change of unification education content are expected to lead to a spread of nationalism and anti-American sentiment throughout society. Thus, the younger generation's perception of North Korea and the United States will affect South Korean policy outcomes.

This study will show that the explanatory power of realism on the degree of policy agreement between South Korea and the United States is diminished in the changed international and domestic political climate. On the other hand, domestic and ideational factors will be shown to affect policy coordination between South Korea and the United States. This means that foreign policy decision making no longer takes place in a "black box," and that there are endogenous influences on foreign policy decisions. This study will provide a lesson to policymakers that they cannot promote a certain policy without the careful consideration of domestic and ideational factors.

4. Dissertation Organization

Chapter 1 introduces the issues and the research questions, as well as the purpose of this study. Chapter 2 of the dissertation contains theories that guide my research. It first explores major theories such as realism, liberalism, and constructivism in the international relations discipline, and then introduces the limitation of realism as a theoretical framework in this study and explores theoretical framework about the analysis on South Korean policy toward North Korea and U.S.-South Korea relations. In chapter 3, I overview the research design, present three hypotheses, and indicate a proper methodology including a case study and process tracing for this study. In chapter 4, I review the history of U.S.-South Korea relations. This chapter reviews the evolution of U.S.-South Korea relations since Korean independence from Japanese colonial rule. In order to show the degree of friendship between the U.S. and South Korea, the contents are categorized according to administrations South Korea. In chapter 5, the security environment surrounding the Korean peninsula in the Cold War and post Cold War era and the change of South Korean policy toward North Korea are reviewed. Chapter 6 presents the alternative explanation that regime and leadership change influences the policy change of South Korea. This argument would be falsified by the overview of engagement policies in previous administrations before the Kim Dae-jung administration and the policy change of the current South Korean government. In chapter 7, I look at how civil society has affected the South Korean adoption of an engagement policy toward North Korea. In this chapter, the increase in the number of South Korean NGOs, reasons why civilian organizations in South Korea obtained power, and the main activities of South Korean NGOs will be studied. In chapter 8, generational change will be studied as one of the main factors that affect the South Korean engagement policy toward North Korea. To analyze the role of generational change in the decision making of South Korea toward

North Korea, demographic change in South Korean society, characteristics of South Korean generations, and anti-Americanism and ethnic nationalism are reviewed in this chapter. In addition, I look at how South Korean perceptions on the United States and North Korea have changed over the last decade. In chapter 9, the importance of education on the formation of people's political attitude and identity is discussed. And, through the overview of change of South Korean unification education contents, the chapter explores the relationship between unification education and South Korean political attitude and identity. The final chapter summarizes the overall findings and highlights the implications of this research.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORY OF THE U.S.-SOUTH KOREA RELATIONS

The beginning of U.S.-South Korea relations can be traced back to the *Chosun Dynasty*² in the 17th century. The United States was the first Western country to attempt to open Korea (*Chosun Dynasty*) to trade in 1866 and 1871, and the U.S. efforts resulted in the United States-Korea Treaty of 1882.³ However, the relation between both countries was broken off during the colonial period (1910-1945). The relationship between the two countries restarted and became stronger only after the Korean War (1950-1953), when both countries signed the Mutual Defense Treaty in 1953. Since then, the U.S.-South Korea alliance has survived for over 50 years and considered that “the alliance has significantly contributed to the maintenance of peace, security, and stability in the Northeast Asian region as well as on the Korean peninsula” (J.K Ryoo, 2004, p. 23).

1. The Post-Independent Era (1945-1949)

The beginning of cooperation between the U.S. and Korea prior to its division was triggered by the Cairo Declaration. At the Cairo Conference in December 1943, the U.S. publicly declared that “in due course Korea shall become free and independent” (U.S. Dept. of State,

². Chosun Dynasty (1392-1897) known as the Yi Dynasty was a Korean sovereign state founded by Taejo Yi, Seong-gye that lasted for approximately five centuries.

³. The United States-Korea Treaty of 1882 established mutual friendship and assistance in case of attack; and the treaty also addressed extraterritorial rights for American citizens in Korea and most favored nation trade status.

1951. p. 10; Borton, 1970, p. 445), thereby committing itself to Korean independence and security. After the Cairo Declaration, three U.S. policy decisions were consequential. The first was to divide the Korean Peninsula along the 38th parallel as a means for administering the surrender and repatriation of Japanese troops. The second was to govern the southern half of the country for three years (1945-1948) through direct military rule. And the third was to terminate U.S. military occupation in 1948 and to establish the Republic of Korea (ROK) through elections held under the supervision of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) (Levin, 2004, p. 6). Thus, the U.S. became the sponsor and *de facto* security guarantor of South Korea.

In 1945, Korea was liberated from Japan after decades of colonial rule (1905-1945). However, the liberation was followed by the division of Korea into the South, the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the North, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). The reason for the division of the Korean peninsula was ostensibly to facilitate the surrender of Japanese forces on the Korean peninsula but, in reality, the power struggle between the great powers surrounded the Korean peninsula. In August 1945, the United States tried to prevent the Soviet Red Army from occupying the entire Korean Peninsula, so Washington proposed to Moscow a temporary demarcation line along with the thirty-eighth parallel. Subsequent U.S. efforts to end the national division did not yield any result due to the Soviets' determination to maintain its influence on the Korean peninsula (Kang & Chamberlin, 2004).

The United States eventually installed the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) from September 8, 1945 to August 15, 1948. However, the occupation authority was alienated from South Koreans because of politically and culturally inept policies emanating from Washington and USAMGIK. For example, the U.S. initially proposed a five-year

international trusteeship but this was unacceptable to South Korea, which was eager for the immediate self-rule after nearly 40 years of Japanese colonial rule. Moreover, U.S. Army Major General John R. Hodges, who became the head of the USAMGIK, did not see any difference between the Japanese and Koreans, calling them “breeds of the same cat,” and he revealed his intention to treat the Koreans as “conquered enemies” (Kang & Chamberlin, 2004). In addition, after receiving the Japanese surrender, Hodges approved the Japanese commander’s request to keep the Japanese police armed to protect troops and about 600,000 Japanese civilians on the Korean peninsula. Although Washington ordered Hodges to rescind his decision, it could not change Korea’s discontent toward USAMGIK. Furthermore, the USAMGIK dissolved local political groups and appointed in positions of authority U.S. military personnel who were quite ignorant about the local language and customs. The U.S. somewhat assisted South Korea in a transition to a democracy but was not welcome to South Korea due to several missteps which involved misreading what South Korea wanted. The USAMGIK was ultimately dissolved in 1948, after the establishment of the Republic of Korea. In 1949, the U.S. then withdrew all U.S. troops from South Korea except a 500-man Korean Military Advisory Group. Such a move implies that the U.S. did not regard South Korea as a significant political and security partner.

2. The Korean War (1950-1953)

On June 25, 1950 North Korea invaded South Korea, leading to the three year Korean War (1950-1953). With the outbreak of the Korean War, the Truman administration decided to help the Rhee Syng-man administration in South Korea resist North Korean aggression because the invasion of the North was interpreted as the opening shot in Stalin’s campaign of world conquest (H.J. Kim, 2003, p. 2). The North Korean invasion of South Korea in 1950 significantly

facilitated security cooperation between the U.S. and South Korea to maintain South Korean independence as a critical component of the U.S. global effort to contain Communist expansion. The U.S.-South Korea cooperation emerged as a result of the Cold War and an integral part of a global anti-Communism strategy. Thus, the U.S.-South Korea relationship was strengthened to “forged in blood” quality on the basis of security cooperation (Levin, 2004). By the end of the Korean War, the U.S. suffered nearly 165,000 casualties, including over 54,000 deaths and 8,000 persons missing in action.⁴ As a result of the Korean War, Washington acknowledged the strategic importance of the Korean Peninsula to prevent expansion of communism to Japan and other Asian countries. Thus, Washington finally came to join their counterparts in Tokyo, Moscow, and Beijing in considering the Korean Peninsula as the strategic center of East Asia (Kang and Chamberlin, 2004).

3. Post-Korean War Era (1953-1960)

The Korean War officially ended on July 27, 1953 with an armistice agreement rather than a formal peace treaty. The status of armistice strengthened the need for close security cooperation between South Korea and the United States given continued North Korean truculence and inter-Korean confrontation. After the armistice agreement, the U.S. and South Korea signed the U.S.-ROK Mutual Defense Treaty on October 1, 1953. Thus, the Treaty gave the U.S. more strategic importance on the Korean peninsula and codified and underpinned a close relationship between the two countries. Article 2 of the Treaty commits both countries to consulting with each other and taking suitable measures “whenever, in the opinion of either of them,” the security or independence of either is threatened by external attack. Article 3 describes

⁴. According to the American Battlefield Monuments Commission (ABRAM), the number of U.S. casualties is as follow: Dead: 54, 246; Wounded: 103,284; Captured: 7,140; and Missing: 8,177.

an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the parties as being dangerous to its own peace and safety and pledges both to “act to meet the common danger.” This article requires the intervention of the other party when the armed attack is external. And, Article 4 grants the U.S. the right to station military forces “in and about” South Korean territory. Thus, the Mutual Defense Treaty provides a legal basis for close security cooperation between the U.S. and South Korea and the assurance of U.S. military access. The Treaty is the foundation of the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), the Wartime Host Nation Support (WHNS) agreement, and many of the hundreds of other military agreements between the U.S. and South Korea.

At the time of the Treaty, U.S.-South Korea relations was difficult due to different political stances even though the two countries agreed on the need of a close relationship including security and economic cooperation. A cause of discord between Seoul and Washington went back to the time of the armistice agreement. While the Truman administration sought an armistice under the condition of the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*, the Rhee Syng-man administration wanted to continue the war until the final military conquest of North Korea. The discord between the Rhee and Eisenhower administrations continued after the Korean War. The Eisenhower administration put pressure on the Rhee administration to normalize diplomatic relations with Japan to establish an anti-Communist alignment in East Asia but Rhee who had fought against Japanese colonialism, rejected to do so. Furthermore, Washington criticized the dictatorial tendencies of President Rhee. When the Rhee administration passed, in December 1958, the new National Security Law to allow public security authorities to exercise arbitrary power against anti-government elements, Washington expressed its regret and recalled its ambassador as well. In addition, in April 1960, the Eisenhower administration publicly supported a series of demonstrations against Rhee government’s rigging of the presidential election. The

U.S. also pressed President Rhee that if he refused to rectify the irregularities done during the presidential election, the continued supply of American weapons to South Korea might be cancelled with the withdrawal of all American forces. A few days later President Rhee resigned, and his government fell. However, those events neither reflected nor caused a change in the fundamental nature of the alliance between the two countries (H.J. Kim, 2003).

4. Authoritarian Era (1961-1992)

1) Park Chung-hee Administration (1961-1979)

After the resignation of President Rhee Syng-man, Chang Myon was inaugurated in July 1960, adopting a pro-America stance. For instance, he supported the unequal U.S.-South Korea Economic and Technical Agreement which passed South Korean National Assembly in February 1961. However, Chang Myon's administration was short-lived. On May 16, 1961, Major General Park Chung-hee carried out a *coup* against the Chang government and established a military government, pursuing an anti-Communist policy and continuing a pro-America stance. Although Washington initially condemned the *coup* and the military *junta*, the Kennedy administration, three days after the *coup*, subsequently accepted it and formally recognized Park's leadership in South Korea. In return, Washington exacted a promise from General Park that he would restore civilian rule in South Korea in the near future (H.J. Kim, 2003). Under pressure from the U.S., the Park regime held presidential election in October 1963 and won the election. Thereafter, in order to show his pro-America stance, President Park complied with the U.S. demands. For instance, the diplomatic normalization treaty between South Korea and Japan was signed on June 22, 1965. Although the treaty was negotiated between South Korea and Japan, the role of the United States as a mediator was the most important factor expediting the early normalization of

relations. In order to facilitate normalization, Washington applied a variety of political, economic, and security pressures on South Korea. The role of the U.S. in the rapprochement between South Korea and Japan was viewed as a part of America's global policy to contain Communism. The policy goal of the U.S. in East Asia emphasized the maintenance of regional security and stability. To achieve this goal, the United States signed a mutual defense and security treaty with South Korea as well as Japan, and peaceful relations between South Korea and Japan were desirable not only for the two countries' security but also for the defense of free Asia in the face of the growing threat of communist power. A closer relation between South Korea and Japan was vital to the interests of the United States (K.I. Baek, 1982).

The Park Chung-hee administration accepted another demand of the U.S. which was the participation in the Vietnam War as well as diplomatic normalization with Japan. South Korea dispatched about 50,000 combat troops to Vietnam from 1966 through 1973. The decision to commit South Korean troops to the Vietnam War resulted from a series of negotiations between South Korea and the United States.

The U.S. had strong political and military reasons for urging the entry of South Korea into the Vietnam War. First, the U.S. wanted South Korean forces to demonstrate the solidarity of U.S. allies and international support for the war. Second, the entry of South Korea would minimize the domestic anti-war environment in the United States. Finally, the U.S. would be relieved of some of the burden of combat (K.I. Baek, 1982).

South Korea's decision to dispatch combat troops to Vietnam had several motives: 1) to induce the U.S. to maintain the existing level of forces in South Korea; 2) to strengthen the alliance of South Korea with the U.S.; 3) to obtain financial and economic benefits from the U.S.; and 4) to repay a debt and moral obligation for what the U.S. and other countries had done on

behalf of South Korea during the Korean War (K.I. Baek, 1982). Consequently, the dispatch of South Korean troops to Vietnam strengthened the alliance between South Korea and the U.S., and South Korea, in return for the dispatch, benefited immensely from the U.S. economic aid. For instance, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) promised South Korea 150 million U.S. dollars for economic development, as well as payment for the cost for stationing troops in Vietnam (Kang & Chamberlin, 2004; S.J. Kim, 1970).

On January 21, 1968, a band of 31 heavily armed North Korean commandos attempted to raid the Blue House (South Korean presidential mansion in Seoul) and assassinate President Park. On January 23, 1968, two days after the Blue House incident, North Korean gunboats seized the U.S. intelligence ship *U.S.S. Pueblo* in international waters off Wonsan. Just after these two incidents, the South Korean government asked the U.S. government for a joint retaliation against North Korea. However, the Johnson administration rejected South Korea's request because the U.S. believed that a moderate measure against the North Koreans was the best way to prevent a second war front in the Asia region. Thus, President Johnson dispatched the special envoy Cyrus R. Vance to Seoul to avoid another war in Asia and to persuade Seoul to soften its hard-line stance. Through various pledges, Vance's mission succeeded in avoiding a military retaliation and in renewing confidence in the solidarity of the alliance. In addition, President Johnson and President Park met in April 1968, in Honolulu. As a result, South Korea received a firm military commitment. President Johnson pledged to extend immediate assistance to South Korea in case of a North Korean invasion and to continue and increase military aid to South Korea (K.I. Baek, 1982).

In 1970, 40,000 U.S. troops were in South Korea but with the withdrawal of the Seventh Infantry Division from South Korea under President Richard Nixon's new Asian policy, the

number of U.S. troops in South Korea was reduced to about 30,000. And President Jimmy Carter proposed to withdraw all U.S. ground troops from South Korea, but the plan, announced in March 1976, was not carried out. However, some 3,400 troops were withdrawn in December 1978. Meanwhile, in order to enhance mutual cooperation between the U.S. and South Korean military establishments, in November 1978 the United States-South Korean Combined Forces Command (CFC) was created. Under the CFC, senior South Korean military officers were allowed to participate in operational decision making (Nahm & Hoare, 2004). Although it did not completely satisfy South Korea's request for a NATO-type command structure in which both sides could enjoy equal and integrated operational status, the new CFC mechanism provided them with a sense of sharing operational responsibilities with their American counterparts (C.J. Lee, 2006)

Although the U.S.-South Korea relationship was strengthened by the creation of the CFC in spite of the political friction between Washington and Seoul regarding issues of human rights and the withdrawal of U.S. troops in Korea, dictatorial tendencies of Park's regime gave rise to severe domestic demonstrations. Eventually, in the midst of the domestic tensions, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) Director Kim Jae-kyu assassinated President Park Chung-hee on October 26, 1979.

2) Chun Doo-hwan Administration (1980-1987)

After the assassination of President Park, Prime Minister Choi Kyu-ha, who was a pro-American diplomat, took over as President of South Korea. However, Major General Chun Doo-hwan, who at that time was commander of the Defense Security Command, first staged an internal coup against the military leadership on December 12, 1979, and then proceeded to take

control of the government. In response to the reemergence of a military junta, in the spring of 1980, South Korea began to demonstrate against the new authoritarian rule in the country. The military junta quashed one such demonstration in Kwangju. This action by the military resulted in the death of 240 people (according to the official South Korean government) or possibly 2,000 people (according to critics) (Yang, 1994).

In January 1981, the Electoral College elected Chun as the President of South Korea. In spite of the military *junta*, the U.S. recognized the Chun administration with an invitation to Washington. President Ronald Reagan, at the time of his inauguration, rejected the liberal premises such as human rights and democracy that had guided Carter's military and diplomatic approaches toward South Korea and took a militantly anti-Communist foreign policy approach instead (C.J. Lee, 2006). In the summit meeting with President Chun in February 1981, President Reagan unequivocally declared that "the United States, as a Pacific power, will seek to ensure the peace and security of the region" and that "the United States has no plans to withdraw U.S. ground combat forces from the Korean Peninsula." And, in a joint Communiqué, Reagan and Chun pledged to "strengthen U.S.-Korean cooperation in deterring and defending against aggression as an indispensable contribution to peace and stability in Northeast Asia." At the summit meeting, the presidents of both countries did not mention human rights and South Korean domestic political issues such as the oppression of opposition party leader and democracy. Even though Reagan publicly invoked the issues of human rights and democratic liberalization to assail and undermine the Soviet Union, he was relatively reticent about violations of human rights in South Korea. Instead, Reagan assured Chun that South Korea would be a full participant in any negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea and that the U.S. would not develop any relationship with North Korea without South Korean support and

agreement. And the two presidents agreed to normalize a wide range of bilateral cooperative arrangements including the annual Security Consultative Meetings and economic consultations.

President Reagan and Chun tried to restore and strengthen military, diplomatic, and economic cooperation between the U.S. and South Korea throughout their presidency (C.J. Lee, 2006).

3) Roh Tae-woo Administration (1987-1992)

In February 1987, when South Korea's democratization movement was irreversible, a public speech in which Gaston Sigur, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Public Affairs advocated the restoration of civil rule in South Korea encouraged South Korean resistance against the Chun administration which culminated in the "the June Struggle for Democracy" in 1987 (H.J. Kim, 2003). As the result, "the June 29 Declaration" which promised a direct presidential election by Roh Tae-woo, a presidential candidate of the ruling party. Three months later, President Reagan met Roh at the White House, and this event elevated Roh's image as a new national leader. In December, Roh defeated Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung, who were powerful opposition leaders, in a presidential election and was elected as the first president elected by a popular vote since 1972. With the enhancement of legitimacy, President Roh pursued a rapprochement policy known as "the Northern Policy" whose primary aim was to expand South Korea's foreign relations with socialist countries, including the Soviet Union and China, and to achieve reconciliation with North Korea (H.J. Kim, 2003). However, Washington felt uneasy about South Korea's arbitrary walking toward socialist countries without a deliberation with the U.S. so President Roh met President Reagan in Washington in October 1988 to allay U.S. doubts about South Korea's the Northern Policy and to keep the strong

relationship. Thus, President Roh agreed that South Korea would share the cost of the U.S. troops stationed in South Korea, beginning in 1989.

After the inauguration of George H.W. Bush, friendly relations between the U.S. and South Korea continued into the era of the collapse of communist regimes in East Europe between 1989 and 1991. With the support of the U.S., South Korea could establish diplomatic relations with all East European countries and the Soviet Union, and concluded with North Korea “the Inter-Korean Agreement of Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Exchanges and Cooperation” in 1991.

Both countries cooperated in dealing with North Korea’s nuclear development project at Youngbyon. In September 1991, the U.S. announced that it would reduce nuclear weapons throughout the world and South Korea responded quickly by announcing a far-reaching initiative calling for a nonnuclear Korean peninsula. The attempt to stop the North Korean nuclear program through diplomacy resulted in the Joint Declaration for the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula of December 31, 1991 (Berry, 1996).

In general, the Bush administration had endorsed and assisted President Roh’s “northern policy” because Seoul’s diplomatic normalization with Moscow and Beijing might have a sobering effect upon North Korea and would promote peace and stability in East Asia. It also reduced an important diplomatic source of disagreement and contention among the major powers over the Korean Peninsula (C.J. Lee, 2006). As South Korea diversified the scope of its diplomatic activities, Washington feared that Seoul would feel less dependent on U.S. support and protection and that the U.S. might have a diminishing influence over Korean affairs. In the same vein, South Korea felt uneasy about Washington’s fear. Thus, a number of summits between Washington and Seoul, especially President Bush’s visit to Seoul in January 1992 and President Roh’s trip to the U.S. in September, were held to solidify the bilateral alliance cohesion.

5. Democratic Era (1993-2007)

1) Kim Young-sam Era (1993-1997)

In 1993, there was a simultaneous change of leadership in the United States and South Korea. Bill Clinton was inaugurated as President of the U.S. in January 1993. A month later, Kim Young-sam took office as the South Korean President. Both Clinton and Kim soon faced a nuclear crisis originating from North Korea. When pressured either to accommodate a full inspection of sites suspected to be nuclear facilities or to face measures beyond that by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), North Korea announced in March its intention to withdraw from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). In the midst of this nuclear crisis, there was tension between the U.S. and South Korea because the Clinton administration engaged in a series of bilateral negotiations with North Korea at the exclusion of South Korea. Nevertheless, two presidents in both countries agreed to take “a thorough, broad approach” toward North Korea to solve the nuclear crisis in the summit meeting in November 1993. However, the negotiation between the U.S. and North Korea was not done on oiled wheels and serious disagreements between the U.S. and North Korea continued, not only heightening military tensions but also increasing the probability of war on the Korean Peninsula. At this critical juncture, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter visited Pyongyang and met with Kim Il-sung on June 15-18, 1994. After the meeting, Carter announced that Kim Il-sung proposed the South-North summit meeting and that Kim would guarantee nuclear transparency at the third-round meeting of the North Korea-U.S. talks. However, both the inter-Korean summit meeting and the U.S.-North Korea talks were suspended due to the sudden death of Kim Il-sung on July 8, 1994. Under new leadership of Kim Jung-il, son of Kim Il-sung, in North Korea, the U.S. and North Korea continued bilateral talks to solve the nuclear crisis and, finally, both countries

concluded the “Agreed Framework,” which would freeze all nuclear activity under the supervision of IAEA and remain a party to NPT. And the U.S. and North Korea agreed that they would take steps toward the eventual full normalization of diplomatic relations (H.J. Kim, 2003; C.Y. Pak, 2000).

Since the Agreed Framework was a product of bilateral negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea, the South Koreans, who were left on the sidelines in the process of negotiations, felt a feeling of uneasiness in the issues related to themselves and were uneasy about strong the alliance relationship between the U.S. and South Korea. To ease the tension between the two countries, President Clinton held a brief summit meeting with President Kim at Jeju Island on April 16, 1996. At the meeting, Presidents Clinton and Kim reaffirmed “the fundamental principle” that “establishment of a stable, permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula is the task of the Korean people” and that “separate negotiations between the United States and North Korea on peace-related issues cannot be considered” (C.J. Lee, 2006, p.188).

After the meeting, both presidents proposed a four-party meeting of representatives of South Korea, North Korea, China and the United States as soon as possible and without any preconditions to construct a permanent peace agreement. However, the four-party talks were threatened by an unexpected event a North Korean submarine incursion into the east coast of South Korea in September 1996. When a North Korean submarine with 26 armed commandos ran aground near the east coast of South Korea on September 18, 1996, the South Korean government declared it an act of military provocation in violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement and started to prepare for military retaliation against North Korea. However, Washington did not want any military conflict on the Korean peninsula after the peaceful solution of the nuclear crisis and wanted a stable and peaceful security environment in the region,

so the U.S. stressed the patience of South Korea and pressed North Korea to express regret on the incident. On November 24, Presidents Kim and Clinton discussed the incident at an Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in Manila and reaffirmed their support for the Four-Party Talks. With an elucidation of the will of cooperation between both countries, under intense pressure from the United States, the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs at last issued a statement on the North Korean submarine incident at the end of December. In the statement, North Korean government expressed “deep regret” over the incident and promised to ensure that “such an incident will not recur.” In response, the South Korean government accepted the North Korean regret statement and the United States issued a welcoming statement for North Korea’s expression and South Korea’s patience and positive efforts. Thus, in the nuclear crisis and North Korean submarine incident, the U.S. and South Korea reaffirmed the security cooperation and solid alliance cohesion.

2) Kim Dae-Jung Era (1998-2002)

In December 1997, Kim Dae-jung, who was a presidential candidate of the progressive opposition party, became the South Korean president after defeating Lee Hoi-chang, a candidate of the government party, and Lee In-jae, a candidate of the conservative opposition party. It has been argued that this political event was not only a mere leadership change but also a qualitative change in the South Korean political system (Diamond & Shin, 2000). In the 1997 presidential election, Kim Dae-jung, a longtime opposition party leader, was elected as the first opposition party candidate to win a presidential election in South Korea. Thus, Kim Dae-jung’s electoral victory represents a major turning point in South Korea’s journey toward a fully consolidated democracy.

After inauguration, President Kim took a different political orientation from his predecessor. He adopted a pro-rapprochement position in relation to North Korea. Concretely, President Kim took a policy of reconciliation and cooperation with North Korea known as the “Sunshine Policy,” which complemented the Clinton administration’s engagement policy toward the North. For instance, in June 1998, President Kim proposed that the U.S. lift economic sanctions against North Korea because it was counterproductive but the U.S. government did not accept the South Korean request due to the need for Congressional approval.

In spite of the congruence in the policy orientation of the two administrations toward North Korea, it was ironic that Washington took some hard-line positions in dealing with the North. For example, with satellite evidence, Washington gave the military intelligence to Seoul that Pyongyang intended to build a new nuclear reactor and reprocessing plant at Kumchangri, a nearby Yongbyon. South Korea, however, played down the significance of the issue. The Clinton administration also took the issue of North Korea developing and selling missiles abroad very seriously. But the Kim administration argued that the primary objective of the North would be to earn foreign currencies through limited sales to Middle East countries (H.J. Kim, 2003). The August 31, 1998 North Korean missile tests over Japan and into the Pacific Ocean justified the Clinton administration’s suspicion against North Korean missile development, but two countries, the U.S. and South Korea, took a directly opposed stance against the North’s missile launching. While Seoul adopted more of an engagement policy toward Pyongyang, Washington took a more hard-line position.

The Kim Dae-jung administration used independent channels of communication to normalize relations with North Korea. The result of this effort was the April 10, 2000 announcement that President Kim would officially visit Pyongyang from the 12th to the 14th of

June and would meet with Kim Jung-il, the Chairman of the North Korea National Defense Commission. In the summit meeting, the leaders of the South and the North declared on June 15 the following: 1) The South and the North have agreed to resolve the question of reunification independently and through the joint efforts of the Korean people, who are the masters of the country; 2) for the achievement of reunification, both leaders agreed that there are common concepts between the South and the North; 3) the South and the North have agreed to promptly resolve humanitarian issues; 4) the South and the North have agreed to consolidate mutual trust by promoting balanced development of the national economy through economic cooperation and by stimulating cooperation and exchanges; and 5) the South and the North have agreed to hold a dialogue between relevant authorities in the near future. Although inter-Korean relations were developed by the summit, surrounding the summit there was some friction between the U.S. and South Korea such as 1) South Korea's short advanced notice (just 36 hours) to the U.S., 2) no discussion between the U.S. and South about the tone of reconciliation between the two Koreas, and 3) growing anti-Americanism in Seoul. In spite of this political friction, Washington officially supported the inter-Korean summit with the principle of the engagement policy and sought an improvement in U.S. relations with North Korea. As a result, on October 12, 2000, the U.S. and North Korea agreed to turn their hitherto hostile relations into friendly ones and to convert the armistice agreement into a "peace arrangement" (H.J. Kim, 2003).

The Kim Dae-jung administration maintained a smooth political atmosphere with the Clinton administration because both countries were committed to the engagement policy toward North Korea even if the degree of their softness was different.

However, a reconciliatory environment on the Korean peninsula was changed in an instant with George W. Bush's win in the Presidential election in November 2000. With the

inauguration of the Bush administration in January 2001, the Bush administration adopted a foreign policy that would be generally characterized as ABC (Anything But Clinton), so Seoul and Washington had a serious discord on their North Korean policies. For instance, when North Korea requested South Korea to supply electricity as a part of inter-Korean economic cooperation, based on an agreement in the 2000 inter-Korean summit meeting, the U.S. and South Korea had different opinions. While South Korea positively considered the North's request, the U.S. opposed South Korea's energy assistance to North Korea on the ground. Washington considered that even if Seoul's energy assistance to Pyongyang might help the North's energy situation and thus help to improve inter-Korean relations, the mitigation of the electric power shortage in North Korea could make nuclear inspections difficult to conduct. In a statement of June 6, President Bush stressed that early nuclear inspections should be a prerequisite for implementation of the 1994 Geneva Agreement and improvement of Washington and Pyongyang relations.

In addition, both countries reconfirmed a rift in President Kim's trip to Washington and the summit meeting with President Bush in March 2001. In the summit meeting, President Kim attempted to persuade President Bush to soften his hard-line stance toward North Korea and to restart talks with Pyongyang. However, in the summit meeting, President Bush indicated that the U.S. continued to regard North Korea as a major threat as well as a "rogue state" and that they were wary that Seoul's peace initiative moved too fast with too few concessions from North Korea (H.J. Kim, 2003). Douglas Paal, director of the Asia Pacific Policy Center in Washington D.C., expressed the summit atmosphere using a metaphor: "Bush is like a cop and Kim Dae-jung is like a priest. The cop wants to get the North Koreans disarmed and off the streets, and the priest wants to give him the resources to become a very different person" (Sanger, 2001).

Both the September 11 attacks and Bush administration's preoccupation with the war on terror further exacerbated its relations with the South and North. In the new security environment, North Korea was defined by the U.S. Department of Defense as the third greatest security threat after Iran and Iraq in terms of proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Since the inauguration of Kim Dae-jung, South Korea attempted to make progress in inter-Korean relations, and improved relations between the U.S. and North Korea was a prerequisite to realize the South's goal. To Seoul, Washington's hard-line stance toward Pyongyang was regarded as one of the main obstacles for carrying out the Sunshine policy.

Furthermore, the U.S. pushing forward of the national missile defense (NMD) system against international opposition meant that Washington maintained national interest centered on a unilateral approach and hard-line foreign policies. In addition, hard-liners in Washington known as "neo-con" began to raise their voices for a hard-line stance against rogue states including North Korea. Although U.S. policy toward North Korea was inclined toward a hard-line policy, Kim's administration did not give up its efforts to make the Bush administration change its policy toward North Korea. In the New Year news conference on January 14, 2002, President Kim called for "a face-saving formula for North Korea," hinting that President Bush would not exacerbate tensions with North Korea by publicly criticizing it (H.J. Kim, 2003, p. 24). However, President Kim's hope was cruelly crushed by President Bush's state of the union address on January 29, 2002. In his speech, President Bush proclaimed that North Korea, Iraq, and Iran constituted an "axis of evil" whose pursuit of WMD posed a "grave and growing danger" (Bush, 2002). As for North Korea, he termed "a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens." He continued: "The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive

weapons.” The next day after the state of union address, the U.S. ambassador to Seoul, Thomas Hubbard, said that President Bush discounted President Kim’s desire “to find a way to save face for North Korea.” Ambassador Hubbard emphasized that “saving one’s face is not the American way of thinking at least when it comes to North Korea. It is the American style to engage in dialogue in a pragmatic and straightforward manner” (Kirk, 2002, p. 7). The South Korean government was embarrassed because President Bush’s speech questioned the validity of President Kim’s engagement policy toward North Korea, and Ambassador Hubbard’s remarks were tantamount to a slap in President Kim’s face. Thus, the South Korean government expressed its concerns that Washington’s remarks could promote destabilization of the Korean peninsula. For instance, the South Korean minister of unification, Chung Se-hyun, argued that “the North Korean weapons are not for the purpose of attacking the South, but to serve as a bargaining chip when negotiating with powerful countries.” He added “even if the North does possess nuclear weapons, she would be reluctant to make use of them on the small Korean peninsula.” He concluded that they might be defensive (*Korea Joongang Daily*, February 3, 2002).

In the summit meeting in Seoul on February 20, 2002, both Presidents confirmed their disagreement about the perception of North Korea. At the joint press conference, after the meeting, President Bush said, “I am troubled by a regime that starves its people, that is closed and not transparent; and I am deeply concerned about the people of North Korea.” He added, “I will not change my opinion on Kim Jong-il until he frees his people and accepts genuine proposals from countries such as South Korea or the United States for dialogue.” Both leaders reconfirmed that Washington’s distrust of the North Korean regime was in sharp contrast with Seoul’s perception of Pyongyang (H.J. Kim, 2003, p. 27).

In spite of Washington's insistence on a hard-line stance toward North Korea, the South Korean government continued to make an effort to engage the U.S. in dialogue with North Korea. In the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in September 2002, President Kim and Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi urged the U.S. to promptly resume talks with North Korea. In addition, in the ASEM, President Kim endeavored to adopt the Political Declaration for Peace on the Korean Peninsula by ASEM leaders.

3) Roh Moo-hyun Era (2003-2007)

In December 2002, Roh Moo-hyun was elected as South Korean President, marking the first time a new generation progressive candidate had been elected. Roh Moo-hyun's election did not augur well for U.S.-South Korea relations. As a presidential candidate, Roh vowed that if elected he would not "kowtow" to Washington and that he would play the role of mediator between U.S. and North Korea to prevent a second war on the Korean peninsula. In addition, he also mentioned that he would keep economic and diplomatic channels open to Pyongyang and demand an equal partnership with the U.S. (Oh, 2003). In an interview with *Newsweek*, Roh also strongly opposed the possible use of force against North Korea: "It is a life-or-death issue [for Koreans]. A president is responsible for his people's safety." And, he continued that he would make two points when he met with President Bush: "I want to stress that North Korea was opening up and that it is already changing. If we give them what they desperately want—regime security, normal treatment and economic assistance—they will be willing to give up their nuclear ambitions. We should not, therefore, treat them as criminals but as partners in negotiations" (Wehrfritz & Lee, 2003, p. 229). Since the presidential campaign, President Roh consistently insisted that "for the existence and prosperity of the nation, the Sunshine Policy is absolutely

necessary, and thus must be carried on.” And he mentioned that he might favor neutrality if a war ever broke out between the United States and North Korea (Levin, 2004). In the new South Korea policy toward North Korea known as the “Peace and Co-prosperity Policy,” President Roh promised to maintain the general framework of the Sunshine Policy of former Kim Dae-jung’s administration while aiming to establish permanent peace on the Korean peninsula and promoting common prosperity in East Asia.

The Roh administration’s top priority was reconciliation with Pyongyang. The peace and prosperity policy’s intention was not only to expand the scope of the Sunshine Policy but also to enlarge inter-Korean cooperation. The policy aims to “reinforce peace on the Korean peninsula and seek the co-prosperity of both South and North Korea to build a foundation for a peaceful unification and a base for South Korea to become the economic hub of Northeast Asia” (Jeong, 2004, p. 7). This implies that the Roh administration tried not only to seek peace and prosperity through inter-Korean reconciliation and cooperation but also to promote security and economic cooperation with countries in the region, especially China and Russia (Park, 2004). Roh’s policy toward North Korea was based on the view that providing assurance of economic, political, and security survival to North Korea would foster an exchange between North Korea and other countries in the world and would eventually modify tensions on the Korean peninsula.

When Roh came to power in February 2003, North Korea’s nuclear issue topped the agenda in U.S.-South Korea relations. At that time, Washington spurred to invade Iraq, and Seoul was concerned that North Korea would be the next target for the U.S. attack. Roh had consistently and unequivocally opposed the Bush administration’s hard-line policy toward North Korea and advocated an engagement policy with North Korea (Jeong, 2004). Seoul’s policy toward North Korea was entirely opposed to Washington’s hard-line policy which applied

pressure on North Korea to abandon its nuclear program before providing any rewards. Seoul believed that improved inter-Korean relations would prevent tensions on the Korean peninsula. By increasing North Korea's dependence on South Korea, Seoul could improve its leverage in persuading Pyongyang to give up its nuclear weapons program.

President Roh's soft views on North Korea were reiterated in his interview with *The Times* on March 3, 2003, two days after a U.S.-North Korea military confrontation in which four North Korean MIG fighters came within 50 feet of an unarmed US RC-135 surveillance plane and tried to intercept it over international waters in the East Sea. President Roh refused to condemn North Korea's military provocation. Instead, he urged the United States "not to go too far" in its dealings with the North. He continued: "It was a very predictable chain of events.... [because] the United States had increased its aerial surveillance of North Korea's reopened nuclear facilities." Repeating his viewpoint that only direct talks between the U.S. and North Korea could resolve the nuclear crisis, he said: "When I meet President Bush, I will convince him by saying that although North Korea does not meet the values of the United States and may not be likeable from their standpoint, there is a possibility to improve their relationship" (Thompson & Parry, 2003).

Unlike his expectation, in the summit meeting in May 2003, President Bush and President Roh failed to narrow their differences over North Korea's nuclear crisis. Both leaders shared the goal of a nuclear-free North Korea, but differed on its strategy. South Korea insisted that all peaceful means should be exhausted first before application of any sanctions or the use of force against North Korea. In contrast, the United States wanted to consider all options including economic sanctions and the use of force. After the summit, the joint statement issued by both leaders was vague on the question of when and how pressure could be increased on North Korea.

The statement said: “While nothing that increased threats to peace and stability on the peninsula would require consideration of further steps [Mr. Bush and Mr. Roh] expressed confidence that a peaceful resolution can be achieved” (Thompson & Parry, 2003). In effect, the vague wording in the statement reflects the differing approaches to the North Korea nuclear crisis within the two countries.

Although Washington insisted on a hard-line stance on the North Korean nuclear crisis, it at heart feared that the U.S. might lose control over the North Korean issue if inter-Korean relations rapidly warmed up. Thus, the U.S. tried to begin the talks with North Korea to resolve the nuclear crisis, but both countries differed on the format of the talks. North Korea maintained that the nuclear crisis should be resolved through direct talks with the U.S., but the U.S. insisted on multilateral talks and denied bilateral talks with North Korea. In the beginning stage, South Korea sided with North Korea stating that the crisis should be settled through bilateral talks between the U.S. and North Korea, but soon changed its position in favor of multilateral talks. Finally, six-party talks were held involving the U.S., North Korea, South Korea, Japan, Russia and China. In the six-party talks, the U.S. made a proposal which called for North Korea’s complete and quick dismantling of its nuclear programs with the concept of CVID (Complete, Verifiable, Irreversible, Dismantlement) before the provision of security guarantee and economic aid from the U.S. Although Washington started to attend multilateral talks to resolve the North Korea nuclear crisis, its fundamental position did not change, insisting that North Korea should take steps to dismantle its nuclear program first before security and economic rewards by the U.S. In response, North Korea denied the U.S. proposal, arguing that freezing the nuclear program and U.S. rewards should proceed simultaneously. South Korea became frustrated and critical of the inflexible attitudes of Washington. Seoul insisted that the North Korean nuclear crisis should

be resolved peacefully and objected to any U.S. attempt to further isolate, pressure, or overthrow the North Korea regime.

The divergence between the United States and South Korea continued. With Bush's reelection in 2004, the United States continued attempting to isolate North Korea, refusing to engage in negotiations until Pyongyang dismantled any nuclear weapons program (Cha & Kang, 2004). Conversely, South Korea continued an engagement strategy, leading to open friction between the two military allies.

In a series of speeches during his tenure, Roh Moo-hyun has reiterated the rationale behind the engagement of North Korea. In a speech to the World Affairs Council of Los Angeles on November 12, 2004, Roh said he hoped that the United States would not use "hard-line measures" against the North and that "North Korea will not develop nuclear arms" (*Yonhap News*, 2004). The South Korean Embassy in Washington D.C. argued in a press release that "a more confrontational U.S. policy approach is not likely to bear fruit. North Korea has never succumbed to external pressure over the past fifty years, despite the wishes of foreign ideologues" (Oh, 2004).

In 2005, the United States began to publicly pressure South Korea to take a more active stance against North Korea's illegal financial activities, such as counterfeiting U.S. money. However, President Roh said that "I don't agree (with) some opinions inside the United States that appear to be wanting to take issue with North Korea's regime, apply pressure, and sometimes wishing for its collapse. If the U.S. government tries to resolve the problem that way, there will be friction and disagreement between and South Korea and the United States" (*Los Angeles Times*, 2006). When the United States released a press statement through the U.S. Embassy in Seoul "urging" South Korea to take action against North Korea financial transactions,

the South Korean Foreign Ministry released a response calling the U.S. press release “inappropriate” (Salmon, 2006).

While differences between South Korea and the United States over how to deal with North Korea are nothing new, in the past such differences often were tactical and so were resolved in large part because of the common perception that North Korea represented a serious security threat and South Korea’s following the U.S. leadership. In recent years, however, Seoul viewed the Bush administration’s apparent interest in fostering Pyongyang’s collapse or in using military force as unacceptable, since either option would threaten the progress made over the past decade. Disagreement over how best to deal with North Korea has both led to open friction between the United States and South Korea and put a severe strain on the alliance.

CHAPTER 5

SOUTH KOREAN POLICY TOWARD NORTH KOREA

1. Cold War Security Environment on the Peninsula

Since the Korean War, North Korea has posed an external threat of military attack on South Korea. North Korea's grand strategy, in sort, has been to prevail and to win the war over South Korea in the long run. North Korea was poised to launch a preemptive surprise attack on the South in a revolutionary war to unify the country by force, if necessary. Pyongyang's military strategy has consistently been to create great turmoil in the South by launching simultaneous attacks on the front line and in the rear area in the early stages of a hypothetical war. The North Korea policy toward South Korea is revolution oriented and is manifest in the "United Front Strategy," which fosters antigovernment revolution and turmoil in the South. Thus, Pyongyang has tried to undermine the political stability in the South by sending espionage agents and commandos into the South.

In addition, after the Korean War, North Korea maintained military superiority over the South in all categories, including absolute amount of military spending, actual combat force, and overall military stock. Furthermore, North Korea's rate of increase in military spending was much higher than that of South Korea even though the North already possessed unquestionable military superiority over the South. With the military buildup, there were continuous military provocations from North Korea during the Cold War era. On January 21, 1968, North Korean commandos raided the Blue House, the South Korean presidential mansion. Two days later, North Korea seized the USS Pueblo and its 82 crew members. A year later North Korea shot

down a US EC-121 reconnaissance plane and its crew of 31. On August 18, 1976, American soldiers were attacked by North Korean soldiers while trimming a poplar tree in the demilitarized zone (DMZ) at Panmunjom, resulting in two American officers being killed. In 1983, North Korean commandos attacked South Korea's high-level delegation visiting Rangoon, Burma (now Myanmar), killing 18 officials, including 4 cabinet ministers. In 1987, North Korean agents exploded a bomb in a Korean Airlines jet killing all 115 aboard.

The hostile political line of the North toward the South contributed to the security threat to the South and the constant military provocations and military buildup of North Korea led South Korean leaders to perceive a dangerous vulnerability in their country's security in the event of an all-out attack by the North (Chan & Mintz, 1992).

With the military threat from North Korea, the regional security structure also influenced the South Korean policy toward North Korea. The regional security environment surrounding the Korean peninsula after the Korean War in 1951 largely depended on alliance politics between major powers such as the United States and Soviet Union and the two Koreas along with the Cold War structure in East Asia. The main characteristic of the East Asian security environment during the Cold War era had been the balance of power between the 'northern triangle alliance' and 'southern triangle alliance'.⁵ Such military alignments were the basic means for the two Koreas to ensure their national security against each other's threats.

In the northern alliance, the Soviet Union was the core supporter of North Korea. The Soviet Union and North Korea signed an agreement in 1955 that the Soviet Union would provide financial, technological, and industrial assistance to North Korea on mostly a free basis. In addition, both countries were committed to upholding the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and

⁵. The 'northern triangle alliance' is the strategic alliance between North Korea and the Soviet Union, and also North Korea and China. The 'southern triangle alliance' is the alliance between the United States and South Korea, and also the United States and Japan.

Mutual Assistance signed in July 1961. Thus, the Soviet Union was a strong security guarantor of North Korea throughout the Cold War era. The other ally of North Korea in the northern alliance was China. China has supported North Korea since China's participation in the Korean War in 1950 and both countries' relationship has been expressed "as close as lips and teeth." With the development of a close relationship between the two countries, China and North Korea also signed a treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance in 1961, similar to the treaty between the North and the Soviets signed in 1961.

In order to balance the power of the 'northern triangle alliance', the triangular relationship between the United States, South Korea, and Japan developed as a southern alignment from the 1950s. In the 'southern triangle alliance', the United States is the core of the South Delta alliance, the U.S.-South Korea alliance and the U.S.-Japan alliance are the two axes. Following the Korean War of 1950-53, the United States signed the U.S.-South Korea Mutual Defense Treaty with South Korea in 1953. During the Cold War era the United States provided not only a security shield but also military and economic assistance to South Korea on the basis of a "blood-forged relationship". To South Korea, the United States was the strongest supporter of the post-war reconstruction of South Korea. In the same way, to the United States, South Korea was one of most reliable allies in its policy of containing Soviet expansion in East Asia.

Throughout the Cold War period the United States played an important role in creating and maintaining the strategic alignment in the East Asia region. The United States has been the security shield for South Korea as well as its major trading partner. South Korea has depended heavily on the United States for security protection, economic assistance, and trade partnership. This strategic alliance developed in the context of the Cold War and the Korean War, as these

new allies sought to counter what they perceived to be the expanding influence of the Soviet Union and China, as well as the North Korean military threat to South Korea.

2. Cold War South Korean Policy toward North Korea

The South Korean security environment after the Korean War was well-defined by the Cold War security structure described above. The source and type of threats to the national security of South Korea were considered very clear. Since the national division in 1945, North Korea has been an explicit enemy. Military threats from the North have been real from the South Korean perspective, and tension has run constantly high. After the Korean War, the severe memory of it shaped Seoul's tense and even emotional perception of threats from the North. Thus, the South Korea policy toward North Korea during the Cold War focused on a security-first policy centered on military competition and confrontation rather than cooperation with the North. In reality, in the Rhee Syngman presidency, South Korea heavily relied on the U.S. military capability to diminish the South's security vulnerability to the North by trying to eliminate the threat, North Korea, through 'March North' and the 'annihilation of North Korean communists' policies. The Park Chunghee government in the 1960-70s also concentrated on the strengthening of the U.S.-South Korea alliance and the increase of self-reliance capability to diminish security vulnerability to the North. In Chun Doowhan presidency in 1980s, the South maintained the policy of strengthening its military capability with security cooperation with the United States to deter the military threat of the North.

With the threat from North Korea, the regional structure heavily influenced the South Korea policy toward North Korea decision making. The nature of the Korean peninsula's security environment and structure evolved in line with the U.S.-Soviet Union rivalry. In the

bipolar structure, South Korea relied heavily on the U.S. for patronage and protection within the framework of the bilateral defense treaty in coping with North Korea's military threat, which was compounded by its military alliances with the Soviet Union and China. Since the Korean War, the United States has played a dominant role on the Korean peninsula as an ally of South Korea. During the Cold War era, U.S. policy on the Korean peninsula was determined by the bipolarity between the U.S. and Soviet Union and China's changing role in the region.

Containment was the dominant goal and the basis of U.S. and allied policy. All other goals were subordinate to this. With this background, the United States' primary objectives were to ensure stability on the Korean peninsula and avoid an armed conflict with North Korea and/or China. In this security environment, South Korea could not carry out its autonomic foreign policy because of South Korea's weak position compared to the big powers on the Korean peninsula such as the United States and the Soviet Union. Thus, South Korea significantly followed the policy direction of the strong military power of the U.S. during the Cold War period and was at the frontline of the U.S. containment policy. In short, South Korea's behavior was constrained by the international structure led by big powers, such as the U.S. In reality, South Korea could not correspond militarily against North Korea's continuous military provocations and had to follow U.S. leadership because the United States did not want armed conflict with North Korea and wanted a balance of power in the region.

3. Post Cold War Security Environment on the Peninsula

Although the Cold War ended, the Korean peninsula has remained a source of military tension, due to the danger of armed conflicts inherent in North Korea's military posture,

including the proliferation of nuclear and ballistic missile technology. Thus, the Korean peninsula is still the center of the regional struggle among powerful nations and the two Koreas.

In the post Cold War era, North Korea has either modified or abandoned its political line toward South Korea which was that South Korea would one day undergo a socialist revolution and join the North under a single revolutionary government. The North's revolutionary strategy, formulated in 1964, emphasizes the strengthening of the "three revolutionary capabilities: (1) creating a home base in the North to support all revolutionary activities in the South; (2) fostering strong revolutionary potentials in the South, which is the main stay of the Korean revolution; and (3) nurturing the world progressive potential as supportive forces for the Korean revolution" (Kihl & Kim, 2006). This revolutionary strategy, resorting to the use of force as necessary, has been upheld consistently as North Korea's political line toward South Korea in the post Cold War era.

With the continuance of the hostile political line, North Korea's military provocations have continued in the post Cold War period. In September 1996, a North Korean submarine ran aground on the East Coast of South Korea with 26 commandos and crew members on board. The South Korean government regarded this incident as a deliberate military provocation and mobilized 60,000 troops to search for the North Korean commandos and crew. The operation ended with a death toll of 24 North Korean infiltrators and 14 South Korean soldiers and civilians. Also, due to provocations of the North, bloody naval battles between the two Koreas flared up on the West sea of South Korea in 1999, and then in 2002. On June 15, 1999, the first battle of *Yeonpyeong* took place between the navies of North Korea and South Korea, off the island of *Yeonpyeong*. The battle was initiated by North Korea insisting, that the maritime boundary line, known as the Northern Limit Line (NLL), between the two Koreas was invalid by

citing the United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea. On June 6, 1999, the North Korean state-controlled *Korean Central News Agency* (KCNA) claimed that the NLL had been violated by South Korean warships. After nine days, on June 15, a North Korean torpedo boat advanced southward beyond the NLL and suddenly fired on South Korean vessels and the South Korean navy launched a counterattack in response. In 2002, the second battle of *Yeonpyeong* occurred. On June 29, 2002, a North Korean patrol boat crossed into South Korean waters and launched a surprise attack on a South Korean patrol boat, *the Chamsuri 357*. As a result, six South Korean seamen were killed and 18 others were wounded, and *the Chamsuri 357* was destroyed and sank.

In addition to battles between the navies of the two Koreas, South Korea's security threat was increased twice with the North Korean nuclear crises in 1992 and then in 2002. The first nuclear crisis ended with the 1994 Geneva Agreed Framework. However, the second nuclear crisis was worse with the testing of long range ballistic missiles in 1998, 2003, and 2005; North Korea's admitting of nuclear weapons capability in 2005; and a nuclear test conducted in 2006. To South Korea, the military threat from the North has persisted in the post Cold War, and the development of North Korea's nuclear program still aggravates South Korea's security vulnerability to North Korea.

With the continuance of a confrontational security environment, the regional structure surrounding the Korean peninsula still largely depends on alliance politics between the major powers as during the Cold War. Although the bipolar structure of the Cold War confrontation collapsed with the demise of the Soviet Union, the regional Cold War bipolar structure essentially remains intact on the Korean peninsula. During the Cold War, the bipolar structure was created by two rivals – the United States and the Soviet Union. However, in the post Cold War era, the two great powers – the United States and China – have maintained the bipolarity on

the Korean peninsula. The major strategic beneficiary on the Korean peninsula of the collapse of the Soviet Union was China because it quickly filled the vacuum left by the loss of the Soviet influence in the region. China has grown as a great power with rapid economic development since the 1990s and the increase of its influence in world affairs since the end of the Cold War. Therefore, China has become a strong ‘strategic competitor’ to the United States in East Asia, and the end of the Cold War consolidated China’s great power status and led to a regional bipolar structure (Ross, 1999). Thus, two traditional military alliances – U.S.-South Korea and China-North Korea – are the two axes of the Korean peninsula bipolar structure in the post Cold War era.

In the North Korea-China alliance, China is continually North Korea’s most important security supporter with the Mutual Cooperation Treaty, as in the past, and is the biggest trading partner and main source of food, arms, and fuel. Although the relationship between the two countries became alienated with the end of the Cold War and the establishment of Chinese-South Korean diplomatic relations in August 1992, North Korea and China fully restored their previous “blood alliance” when the National Defense Commission (NDC) of North Korea placed top priority on normalizing relations with China. With the restoration of its relationship with China, North Korea soon came to rely on China for economic aid. In fact, China provides most of North Korea’s consumer goods and half of its food. North Korea also imports most of its fuel from China. In short, the military alliance between North Korea and China is maintained solidly as a “lips and teeth” relationship and North Korea’s economic dependence on China has rapidly increased in the post Cold War era.

The U.S.-South Korea alliance, one of the two axes of the bipolar structure on the Korean peninsula, has still played an important role for balance of power in the region. There is no doubt

that the combined U.S.-South Korea deterrence against possible North Korean military adventurism remains the primary goal in the post Cold War era. As long as the North Korean military threat persists, security based on mutual cooperation remains a top priority to both the United States and South Korea. North Korea still has military superiority and threatens the South with new asymmetric weapons including nuclear weapons, so the South relies on U.S. military capabilities for its national security. And, the U.S. military presence in the South still plays the role of a “trip wire” against North Korean attack. In effect, in the security area, the U.S. role in the deterrence against a North Korean military attack on South Korea and in the support of South Korea’s security has remained unchanged, compared with its role during the Cold War period.

4. Post Cold War South Korean Policy toward North Korea

As mentioned above, the security environment on the Korean peninsula during the Cold War and post Cold War era was primarily the same, but South Korea’s policy toward North Korea has significantly changed compared with existing policies. During the Kim Dae-jung presidency in 1998, South Korea adopted an engagement policy toward North Korea known as the “Sunshine policy” and adopted the “Peace and Prosperity policy” in the Roh Moo-hyun presidency, instead of the “security-first” policy. Of course, the past regimes in South Korea tried to take the engagement policy toward the North, but this did not last; subsequently, the “security-first” policy became the basis of policy toward the North because of the security threat facing the South. However, since the Kim Dae Jung presidency, the South Korean engagement policy was maintained even though the South had a continuous security threat from military provocations from North Korea and the development of the nuclear program of the North.

The Sunshine Policy in the Kim Dae-jung administration based on the assumption that North Korea, despite its creation of numerous crises such as economic hardship and international isolation, will not collapse anytime soon. The Sunshine Policy was more realistic and reasonable to quietly promote reconciliation and cooperation between the two Koreas with a durable peace rather than attempting to promote early unification in an environment in which both sides have existed in a state of confrontation and enmity for over half a century. Therefore, the Sunshine Policy is designed to induce incremental and voluntary changes in North Korea for peace, and opening of reforms, through a patient pursuit of reconciliation, exchanges, and cooperation. The Kim Dae-jung administration has set the primary goal of its North Korea policy at “laying the foundation of peaceful Korean unification and to sever the vicious cycle of negative and hostile action and reaction through peaceful co-existence and peaceful exchanges and cooperation” (Yang, 1998, p. 22). The Kim administration established three principles to realize the goals of its engagement policy toward North Korea: 1) South Korea would not tolerate armed provocation by North Korea; 2) South Korea would explicitly seek not to absorb the North; and 3) the South would seek a policy of reconciliation and cooperation with North Korea (Ministry of Unification, 1999).

To better promote these objectives and principles, the Kim administration had set six themes for policy implementation: 1) parallel promotion of national security and inter-Korean cooperation; 2) realization of peaceful co-existence and exchanges; 3) fostering a climate conducive to changes in North Korea through reconciliation and cooperation; 4) promotion of mutual interests; 5) securing international support for the resolution of North Korean issues by those parties directly involved; and 6) promotion of North Korea policy based on national consensus (Kwon, 1998, p. 31). In order to carry out these tasks, six guidelines have been

formulated: 1) implementation of the 1992 North-South Basic Accord through dialogue between the two parties; 2) promotion of inter-Korean economic cooperation based on the principle of separating economy from politics; 3) resolution of the issue of dispersed families in South and North Korea; 4) flexible provision of aid to North Korea to help alleviate its food crisis; 5) promotion of the light-water nuclear reactor project as scheduled; and 6) creation of a regime for durable peace on the Korean peninsula (Yang, 1998, p. 25).

The Kim Dae-jung administration engagement policy toward North Korea was an attempt to achieve gradual and peaceful change of the North Korean regime through economic cooperation and exchanges (Moon, 1999). The policy derived from the premise that the previous containment policy proved to be an ineffective way to reform North Korea isolated from international society. The South Korean government believed that the exposure of North Korea to the Sunshine Policy was expected to change its centralized command economy structure and throw away its aspiration to reunify the Korean peninsula by force of arms. That is, the ultimate of Kim's engagement policy is to induce North Korea's openness to international society and the abandonment of its long-standing desire to communize the Korean peninsula, and the Kim administration believed that bilateral exchange and cooperation would reduce the military tension between the two countries and help prompt the reform of the North Korean economy.

The Roh Moo-hyun administration, which succeeded the Kim Dae-jung administration, also adopted an engagement policy toward North Korea, called the "Peace and Co-prosperity Policy", which was widely seen as a successor policy of the "Sunshine Policy." Although the Roh administration inherited the evolving second North Korean nuclear crisis, the reconciliation and cooperation with Pyongyang was its top priority of North Korea policy. The Peace and Co-prosperity Policy was intended not only to expand the scope of the Sunshine Policy but also

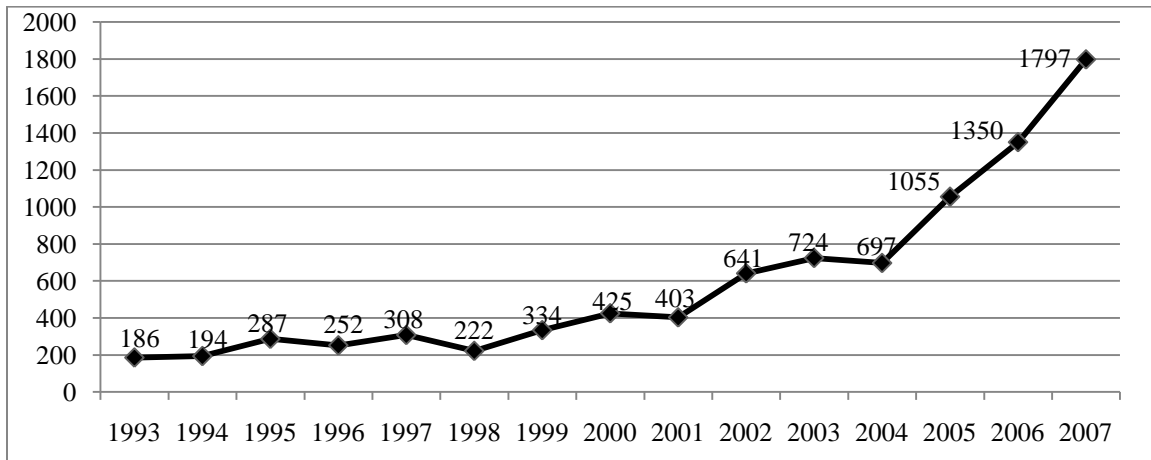
accelerate inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. The Roh administration's engagement policy toward North Korea had two goals: 1) the promotion of peace on the Korean Peninsula, and 2) the pursuit of mutual prosperity for South and North Korea and contribution to prosperity in Northeast Asia. The promotion of peace on the Korean Peninsula is to increase actual cooperation between the two Korean upon resolving security issues, starting with the North Korean standoff, so that an unstable armistice regime originated after the Korean War can be transformed into a permanent peace regime through military and political confidence building between the two Koreas. In addition, pursuit of mutual prosperity can expand benefits for the two Koreas by vitalizing economic cooperation to achieve an inter-Korean economic community and can contribute to prosperity of nations in Northeast Asia (Ministry of Unification, 2004).

To accomplish these goals, the Peace and Co-prosperity Policy was founded on four key principles: 1) resolution of issues through dialogue; 2) mutual trust and mutuality; 3) promotion of international cooperation based on the principle of the "parties directly concerned," and 4) expansion of public participation (Chae, 2004, p. 19). With four principles, in order to promote the Peace and Co-prosperity Policy, the Roh administration presented three action plans: 1) peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue; 2) establishment of a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, and 3) building inter-Korean economic community for promoting era of Northeast Asia. The Roh administration recognized that the North Korean nuclear issue must be resolved in a peaceful manner for establishing peace on the Korean Peninsula and progressing in inter-Korean relations. In this respect, the Roh administration set up following principles: 1) zero tolerance for the North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons; 2) peaceful resolution through dialogue, and 3) an active role by South Korea on resolving the matter (Ministry of Unification, 2004). And, the establishment of a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula entails the transition

from the unstable armistice state, which has defined as the security order of the Korean Peninsula for the past 50 years, to a state of peace on the peninsula. For the establishment of a peace regime, it is important to normalize inter-Korean relations and continue to deepen cooperation to increase the substantial peace between the two Koreas. The Roh administration believed when mutual dependence increases through economic exchanges and cooperation, military tensions will be reduced accordingly (Ministry of Unification, 2004). In the long term, the Peace and Co-prosperity Policy seeks to build inter-Korean economic community. In the inter-Korean economic community, the two Koreas would maintain their separate economies, but work to gradually integrate the economies through expanding exchanges and cooperation. The creation of economic community between the two Koreas will be relatively easier than the integration of other areas such as political and ideological systems, and can serve to facilitate promotion of communities in other areas (Ministry of Unification, 2004). That is, the Peace and Co-prosperity Policy sought to foster peace on the Korean Peninsula and achieve mutual prosperity between the two Koreas in order to build the Korean Peninsula as an economic hub of Northeast Asia. To this end, the Roh administration's policy toward North Korea focused on a peaceful resolution of the security issues such as North Korean nuclear issue, and it seeks to build a permanent peace regime and inter-Korean economic community (Ministry of Unification, 2004).

South Korean engagement policy toward North Korea in the Kim Dae-jung administration and Roh Moo-hyun administration led substantial products for promoting inter-Korean relations. Since the opening of the inter-Korean economic cooperation, total trade between the two Koreas expanded rapidly.

Figure 1: Inter-Korean Trade Volume (million\$)

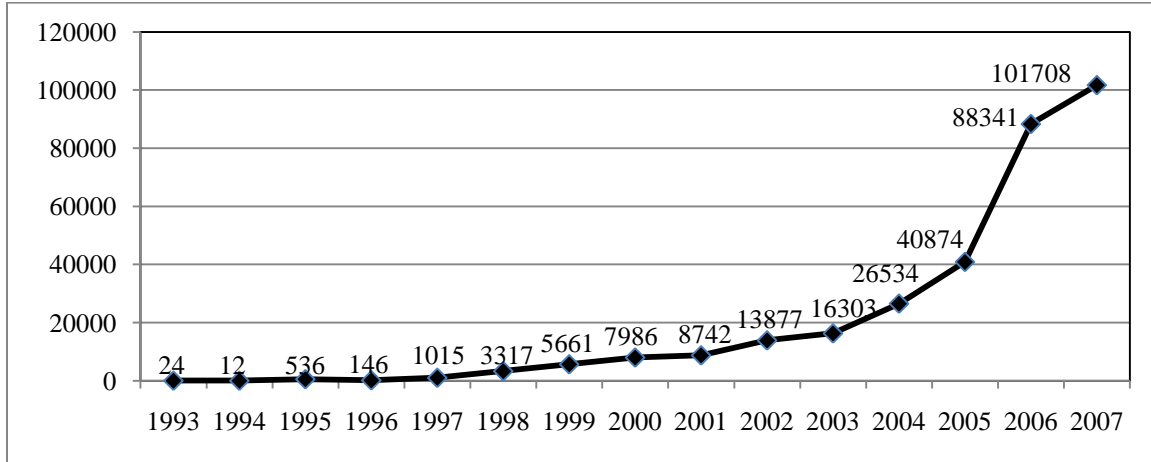


Source: Ministry of Unification

According to Table 1, the inter-Korean trade volume was at just 186 million dollar in 1993, but nine years later in 2002, it had four times to 641 million dollars. And, in 2007, the trade volume between the two Korea reached to 1,797 million dollar which was almost ten times as compared to 1993. With continuous South Korean engagement policy toward North Korea, inter-Korean trade had grown more rapidly.

The Sunshine Policy in the Kim Dae-jung administration and the Peace and Co-prosperity Policy in the Roh Moo-hyun administration also brought about dramatic progress in the area of inter-Korean personal exchange.

Figure 2: Inter-Korean Personal Exchange (persons)



Source: Ministry of Unification

As shown table 2, the inter-Korean personal exchange was only 12 persons in 1994, but four years later in 1998, it had three hundred times to about 3,300 persons. And, it increased to 101,708 persons in 2007. The fields of inter-Korean personal exchange included the press, the media, religious groups, civilian groups, non-governmental organizations as well as in the areas of culture, arts, sports, and education.

The basis of the South Korean engagement policy is that inter-Korean relations must be developed on the basis of reconciliation and cooperation, and the confrontational relations between the two Koreas, which is the Cold War-style relationship, must be liquidated as soon as possible. Therefore, with the principle of reconciliation and cooperation, South Korea takes a soft-line approach although it has no different security environment as compared with that of the Cold War period; the military tension, on the contrary, continues to increase due to the development of the North Korean nuclear program. However, since the George W. Bush administration came into power in 2001, the policy coordination between the U.S. and South Korea has encountered trouble and South Korea tends not to follow U.S. leadership. The Bush

administration announced that the United States would take a hard-line policy against North Korea in a review of its policy toward North Korea in June 2001. In the review, the U.S. concluded that it would expand the agenda for negotiations to missile development and export programs, human rights practices, and humanitarian issues as well as conventional arms control. The terrorist attacks of September 11 served as a big momentum of U.S. strategic thinking change. After September 11, the U.S. perceived that the greatest threat was the nexus of rogue states with weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capabilities. Thus, when the second North Korean nuclear crisis broke out in 2002, the U.S. dealt with it as a nonproliferation issue. The Bush administration eventually engaged in multilateral diplomacy, but Washington refused to talk to North Korea for months, insisting that it abandon its nuclear weapons program, and pursued a policy of isolation. The United States emphasized reciprocity between aid and nuclear and long-range missile development. Washington has even said that it is not going to provide any more aid until Pyongyang makes significant changes. This approach is different from South Korea's engagement policy which heavily relied on carrots (economic cooperation and humanitarian aid) to stop North Korea from developing its nuclear program. That is, in the security crisis, the U.S. and South Korea were out of sync. While the U.S. viewed North Korea as part of an axis of evil and pursued a hard-line policy to contain the threat, Seoul had no intention of changing or temporarily suspending its engagement policy. This was not simply a matter of poor policy coordination between allies but rather a case of diametrically opposed policy approaches on the very issue that formed the basis of the alliance: the threat from North Korea. The two governments' different approaches on the security crisis, specifically the development of the North Korean nuclear program, meant that South Korea was no longer willing to just follow the U.S. leadership in the security area.

CHAPTER 6

FALSIFICATION OF ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATION

1. Alternative Explanation: Regime and Leadership Change

Some scholars emphasize that the influence of regime and political leadership change on the foreign policy behavior of a country. They indicate that if states of the same type behave in the same way, then changes in other factors, such as regime and political leadership, will not produce significant changes in foreign policy, and foreign policy analysis is not required to study a state's regime type and the beliefs and perceptions of political leaders. However, there is no guarantee that states behave the same way in similar situations. That is, according to the nature of the issue area and the situation, different actors can operate in different decision-making processes.

Other studies have highlighted the relationship between the regime change and foreign policy behavior in a country. J.D. Hagan engaged in the examination of 432 regime changes in 87 countries to see whether regime change results in a corresponding change in foreign policy. His finding was that a change in regime leads to a subsequent change in a country's foreign policy. More specifically, the greater change in regime, the greater the change in a country's foreign policy (Braveboy-Wagner and Snarr 2003, p. 22). In addition, Park, Ko and Kim (1994, p. 171) studied the impact of political transition such as democratization on foreign policy change and restructuring, and argued that there are two stages in the causal link leading to foreign policy change. In the first stage, democratization brings about changes in the nation's ideology, the political structure and process, and the regime's political interests. These

developments, in turn, affect the foreign policy goals, capacity, and decision making, ultimately producing specific changes in foreign policy behavior in the second stage.

Political psychologists have noted how political leaders' orientations, perceptions, and leadership styles influence a foreign policy outcome in an attempt to open the "black box." They argue that a political leaders' ways of processing information, beliefs about the world, and personal needs affect their foreign policy decision outcome (Hermann and Kegley, 1995; Hermann and Hermann, 1989). In effect, it is argued that the leader's images, beliefs, and perceptions about other actors in the international system influence and determine their behavior attitude toward others (Hermann and Kegley, 1995). Political psychology and decision-making literature also explore the impact of leadership styles on a state's foreign relations. Hermann and Kegley (1995, p. 521) assert that leadership style determines the way a leader will respond to constraints in their political environment in a decision-making situation. Thus, the orientation of a leader determines which approach will be taken toward a foreign policy issue; thus, leaders with different orientations will approach a similar issue differently.

According to the above scholars' arguments, in South Korea, the 1997 presidential election led to change in the country's regime and leadership. After many years of being part of the opposition against the authoritarian regime, Kim Dae-Jung was finally elected as the leader of South Korea. The 1997 election ended the dominance of the military junta and Conservatives of the country's foreign policy. This brought in a new group of leaders known as Progressives. In the following presidential election in 2002, Roh Moo-Hyun, who was the candidate of the progressive camp, was elected as the new president. The 2002 election brought a postwar generation progressive leader into power and meant a change in the ideological flow of South

Korean society from conservative to progressive.⁶ The regime and leadership change in the South Korean political system was accompanied with a foreign policy orientation that was inclined towards cooperation with North Korea. New leadership (Progressives) in South Korea had been opponents of the military-centered and conservative hard-line policies toward North Korea. Therefore, the Progressives' capture of political power signaled closer cooperation between Seoul and Pyongyang and better inter-Korean relations and thus pursued an engagement policy toward North Korea. The regime and leadership change after 1997 in South Korea also led to weakening the way the South Korea elite and the public perceived the U.S.-South Korea alliance relationship. This dynamic contributed to the change in South Korea's foreign policy orientation.

However, in reality, the South Korean engagement policy toward North Korea is not a peculiar feature of progressive administrations (Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations) but a continuous policy in successive South Korean administrations. In South Korea, the position of president is requested to achieve its historical task, unification. And most South Korean presidents had the ambition for unification of their fatherland, so they aimed for inter-Korean reconciliation and cooperation.

2. Engagement Policies in Successive South Korean Governments

The origin of the South Korean engagement policy toward North Korea can be traced back to the Park Chung-hee administration in the 1970s. In the middle of a sharp confrontation between the South and the North, the Park administration wanted to ease the extreme military and political tension on the Korean Peninsula; therefore, he tried to talk with North Korea and

⁶. In South Korea, because of its peculiar security environment, the political ideology can be classified into Conservatives and Progressives based on the perception of North Korea. While Conservatives are staunchly anti-North Korean, the Progressives are benevolent towards North Korea, which they see as a kindred nation.

Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) Director Lee Hu Rak visited Pyongyang from May 2, 1972 to May 5, 1972 in secret and met with Pyongyang's Director of Cadre Organization Kim Young Ju; and Pak Sung Chul, the 2nd Vice-premier, on behalf of Director Kim Young Ju, visited Seoul from May 29, 1972 to June 1, 1972 and met with Director Lee Hu Rak.

In the two meetings of representatives of both parties from May to June in 1972 in Pyongyang and Seoul, the parties exchanged their views on the early peaceful unification and made progress in mutual understanding. As a result, both parties reached an agreement for reducing inter-Korean tensions which were due to the lack of mutual communication and for promoting the unification of the Korean Peninsula. Thus, the July 4th South-North Joint Statement established three principles for unification. First, the unification must be achieved with no reliance on external forces or interference from them; it must be achieved by South and North Korea. Second, the unification must be achieved peacefully without the use of military forces against the other side. Third, both parties must promote national unity as a united people over any differences of ideological and political systems.

After the inauguration of Chun Doo-hwan in 1981, the South Korean government embarked on its engagement policy toward North Korea and proposed inter-Korean talks. In the state address in January 1982, President Chun outlined measures for national reconciliation and democratic reunification. Following the address, the South Korean government suggested 20 pilot projects to North Korea for developing national reconciliation and mutual understanding under a “policy of national unity and democratic peace” (the Ministry of Unification, 1997).

The Roh Tae-woo administration (1988-1992) also tried to maintain an engagement policy toward North Korea, known as “the Northern Policy,” from the beginning of the presidency. In 1988, Park Chul-un, who was the President’s special advisor, visited North Korea

in secret, and discussed about the promotion of inter-Korean relations with high-level officials in North Korean government. With the contact between the two Koreas, South Korean President Roh Tae-woo announced the “7.7 Special Declaration for Unification,” which was based on the recognition that it was necessary to promote an exchange between the two Koreas in order for a Korean national community to be defined (The Ministry of Unification, 1997, p. 30).

Subsequently, in 1989, the Roh government published basic guidelines relating to the exchange and cooperation with North Korea and, furthermore, published its “policy directions for unification of the Korean national community,” which stressed the importance of the recovery of trust and homogeneity between the two Koreas for unification.

The succeeding administration of Kim Young-sam (1993-1997) adhered to the key components of Roh’s policy. The Kim administration reinforced Roh’s engagement policy by publicly professing no desire for either unification by absorption, like the German-style unification, or isolation of North Korea from the rest of the world. The Kim administration affirmed the goal of a gradual, long-term, peaceful process of unification, with the building of a single “national community” being the interim objective.

As mentioned above, successive South Korean governments tried to take an engagement policy approach toward North Korea, so the soft-line approach toward North Korea is not a distinctive feature of the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun governments. However, there are some differences between the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun governments and other successive South Korean governments in the adoption of an engagement policy toward North Korea. Successive South Korean governments, except the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun governments, changed their policy direction to hard-line without the product of an engagement policy due to the lack or absence of grass roots’ aspiration for restoration of inter-Korean

relations and support for the engagement policy toward North Korea. As mentioned in previous chapter, before the Kim Dae-jung administration, South Korean national identity was the state-centric paradigm. The state-centric paradigm argues that inter-Korean relations must be viewed as relations between two sovereign states, just like normal interstate relations. The state-centric paradigm defines the inter-Korean relations as mutually antagonistic relations in which South Korea's vital national interest is to secure national survival as a sovereign state, particularly from the military threat from North Korea. This paradigm emphasizes the possibility of military provocation by North Korea, so strong national security based on a sound U.S.-South Korea alliance is the priority in the national policy. This state-centric national identity is led by generational character and the effect of education. During the Cold War, in the South Korean society, public opinion leaders were the Korean War generations who experienced the brutality of war and economic hardship in the post-War era. Therefore, the Korean War generation has an absolutely negative perception on North Korea and cannot imagine reconciliation and cooperation with North Korea. And, anti-communism and security-oriented unification education inculcated North Korea's belligerence and the lack of legitimacy of the North Korean regime. Thus, in this social environment, South Koreans considered that North Korea was the objective of removal rather than the objective of cooperation and reconciliation. And, during the Cold War era, civil society did not mature in the South Korean society and most of the NGOs in the limited number of organizations, such as the Korean Freedom Federation and the Veterans' Association, were conservative, perceiving North Korea as an enemy and supporting a hard-line policy toward North Korea. Thus, engagement policies of the previous South Korean governments of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun could not persist because of the state-centric national identity led by generational characteristics and unification education and the immature civil society. Thus, in the

case of this study, the argument that regime change and the political inclination of leaders influence the adoption of a particular foreign policy such as the engagement policy toward North Korea is insufficient to explain why the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations adhered to a soft-line approach toward North Korea.

3. Lee Myung-bak Administration's Policy toward North Korea (2008 – Present)

President Lee Myung-bak, since his inauguration in 2008, has criticized the engagement policy known as the “Sunshine Policy” and the “Peace and Co-prosperity policy” pursued by the previous two South Korean governments toward North Korea, and has evaluated the engagement policy toward North Korea as a failure. President Lee emphasizes that the policy toward North Korea should be changed to one based upon principles of reciprocity and national consensus and regards the 10 years of the engagement policy as a “lost period” during which inter-Korean relations moved in the wrong direction. Thus, the Lee administration proposed the “Denuclearization-Openness-Three Thousand” (DOT) policy. The strategic initiative of the DOT policy is that if North Korea abandons its nuclear ambitions and opens its market to the world, South Korea would help North Korea raise its annual per capita income to \$3,000 within 10 years. However, the DOT policy has been criticized by the South Korean people who opposed strained inter-Korean relations, so President Lee has presented a more advanced new policy toward North Korea called the “Mutual Benefits and Common Prosperity” (MBCP) policy. This revised policy toward North Korea indicates that North Korean denuclearization is not an absolute precondition for the implementation of the many economic benefits such as the promise of \$3,000. In addition, the South Korean government announced that it respects the spirit of

agreement between the two parties as expressed in the June 15, 2001 and October 4, 2007 declarations through two inter-Korean summits.

Although the Lee administration's policy toward North Korea is slightly mitigated from its first strong hard-line policy, the tough stance of its policy toward North Korea is substantially preserved. For instance, the Lee administration has reversed the policies that the previous two administrations had maintained toward North Korea in the area of human rights, humanitarian aid, and leaflet dispersion. More specifically, the South Korean government has continuously raised North Korean human rights issues in the United Nations and has stopped the provision of humanitarian aid such as food and fertilizer toward North Korea. And, unlike the previous administrations, the Lee administration has tolerated the sending of leaflets into North Korea, and has conducted full-scale U.S.-South Korea joint military exercises and participated in the U.S.-led Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). Thus, as a result of the change of the South Korean government policy toward North Korea, inter-Korean relations have become rapidly deadlocked since the installation of the Lee Myung-bak administration in February 2008.

1) Change of Civil Society

With the discontinuance of government-level dialogue between South and North Korea, the activities of South Korean NGOs regarding inter-Korean relations have apparently decreased since the installation of the Lee administration. South Korean civil organizations have emerged as one of the major powerful institutions in the society since democratization in the 1990s and their top agenda for activities has been changed according to the change in the social environment. Thus, in the democratization process, South Korean civil organizations focused on domestic political issues such as human rights, labor activities, and fair elections, and moved

their top agenda from domestic political issues to inter-Korean relations issues during the last decade under Presidents Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun. However, after the late Roh Moo-hyun presidency, issues relating to North Korea were no longer a top priority in civil society. Instead of inter-Korean relations issues, economic and other domestic concerns such as welfare, distribution of wealth, collapse of public education, and overemphasis of private education in the society became the major agenda of the South Korean civil society because South Korean NGOs faced criticism from the general public for over-politicization. The increase in criticism of civil society resulted in the South Korean people losing trust in NGOs, so the political power of civil society has been drastically decreased in South Korean society.

a. Boomerang Effect of Over-Politicization

South Korean NGOs composed the Citizens' Solidarity for the 2000 General Elections and led the "blacklist campaign." The Citizen's Solidarity exposed 86 allegedly corrupt and incompetent candidates who were known to have engaged in the military coup and anti-democratic activities, corruption, violations of election laws, tax evasion, and draft dodging (Kim 2009, p.887). As a result of the campaign, two-thirds of the blacklisted politicians, 59 of 86, were defeated in the 2000 general election. This campaign was possible due to the strong support and trust of the general people, and it enabled the South Korean NGOs to emerge as one of the major political actors in South Korean society. Since then, South Korean NGOs actively participated in and had an effect on the decision-making process of government policy and real politics. However, as their political power was growing, the active participation of NGOs in the real political field backfired on them. The direct and excessive political participation of the NGOs damaged the image of NGO neutrality and sapped their credibility because most South Korean

people valued the nonpartisanship and purity of NGOs and expected them to remain uncontaminated by dirty politics (Kim 2009, p. 888). In this social environment, South Korean NGOs launched the second blacklist campaign during the general elections in 2004, but it totally failed to attract people's attention or make any significant impact on the election. Worse still, the advent of numerous politicized NGOs left the impression that most NGOs were partisan and power-oriented, thus damaging the appearance of neutrality and the public-interest image of NGOs in South Korea.

In the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun presidencies, South Korean NGOs were the most trusted institution in South Korea and enjoyed a prestigious status vis-à-vis other institutions. However, the loss of the NGOs' prestige in South Korean society influenced their trust level from the general public. According to recent data, NGOs' status is in clear decline with the criticism on over-politicization.

Table 1. Institutional Trust

	2003	2005	2010
1	NGOs	Academia	Military
2	Academia	Medical Circle	Supreme Court
3	Media	Supreme Court	Media
4	Military	NGOs	Blue House
5	Supreme Court	Media	Religious Circle
6	Religious Circle	Religious Circle	National Government
7	Blue House	Military	NGOs
8	National Government	Blue House	Prosecution
9	National Assembly	National Assembly	National Assembly

Source: JoongAng Daily (June 25, 2005) & Realmeter Research Center (December 8, 2010)

According to data presented in Table 1 based on the newspaper *JoongAng Daily* and Realmeter Research Center's 2003, 2005, and 2010 survey results, NGOs' institutional trust ranking dropped from first in 2003 to fourth place in 2005, and fell to seventh in 2010. In the 2010 survey, NGOs institutional trust lagged behind even the Blue House and the government.

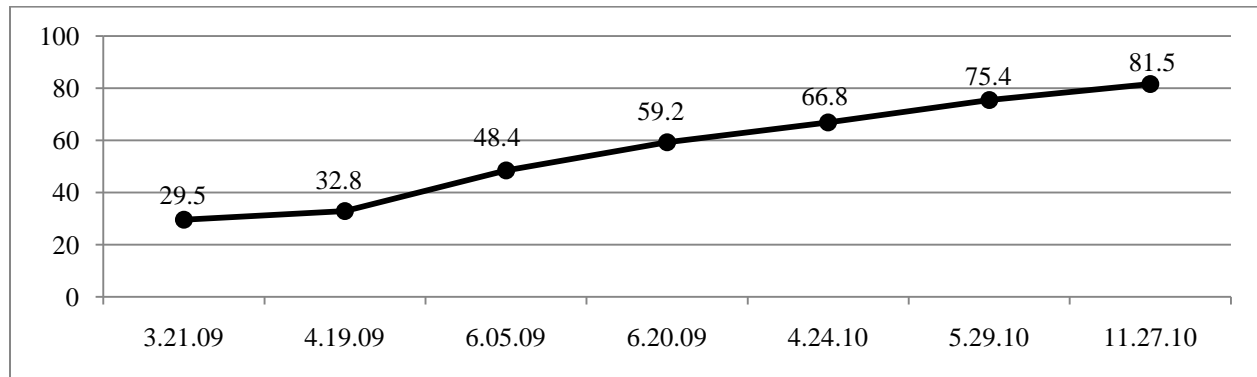
With the drop in their level of trust from the general public, South Korean NGOs cannot persist with their existing agenda such as the inter-Korean relations issues, and tries to look for a new way to recover their trust from the people. Thus, South Korean NGOs refrain from raising inter-Korean issues as their main activities and focus instead on basic domestic issues such as economic and social issues.

2) Decrease of the Generational Gap

a. The Anxiety about National Security

Since the installation of President Lee Myung-bak in 2008, South Koreans have continuously faced military tension led by North Korea, and their anxiety about national security has been increased. In the Lee administration, North Korea launched the three-stage *Unha-2* rocket, widely believed to be a modified version of its long range *Taepo Dong-2* ballistic missile on April 5, 2009, and conducted its second underground nuclear test on May 25, 2009. In addition, the South Korean patrol ship *Cheonan* was sunk near the South Korean-North Korean maritime border on March 26, 2010. And, on November 23, 2010, North Korea fired scores of artillery shells at the South Korean island of *Yeonpyeong*. Due to a chain of such military actions of North Korea, South Koreans experience high levels of anxiety concerning national security.

Figure 3. South Koreans' Anxiety about National Security: 2009-2010



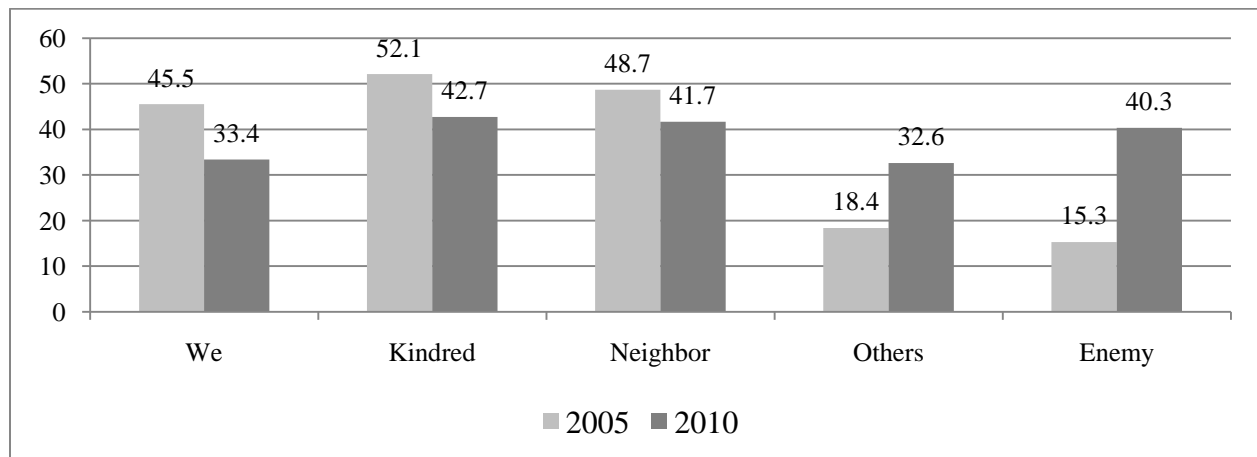
Source: East Asia Institute (EAI)

According to Figure 1, in the beginning of the Lee administration (March 2009), only 29.5% of the survey respondents felt anxiety about national security. However, as the North Korean stance toward the United States and South Korea has become more vigorously offensive and serious, South Koreans' anxiety about national security has continuously increased. When North Korea launched the Unha-2 rocket on April 5, 2009, the anxiety level went up 32.8%, and then rose to 48.4% when North Korea conducted their second nuclear test on May 25, 2009. And, with the start of the discussion in the international community on sanctions against North Korea such as the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), South Korean anxiety over national security increased to 59.2%. In 2010, two significant military incidents—as the sinking of the South Korea *Cheonan* ship and the North Korean bombardment on *Yeongpyung* Island—led to South Koreans' extreme anxiety about the national security issue. When the *Cheonan* ship incident occurred, the anxiety level went up to 75.4%, and it increased to 81.5% with North Korea's attack on *Yeongpyung* Island.

b. Perception on North Korea

With the increase of anxiety over national security in South Korean society, a change in the South Koreans' perception on North Korea occurred. As mentioned before, South Korean national identity was the state-centric paradigm during the Cold War and the authoritarian regime era. But, this changed to the nation-centric paradigm in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations. The state-centric national identity views inter-Korean relations as those between two sovereign states. Thus, it emphasizes South Korea's national interest as a sovereign state. In contrast, the nation-centric national identity considers inter-Korean relations to be an internal issue of the Korean people and thus focuses on not a sovereign state but the Korean people. According to the survey results, in the Lee administration, South Korean national identity shows a sign of changing from the nation-centric paradigm to the state-centric paradigm.

Figure 4. South Koreans' Perception on North Korea



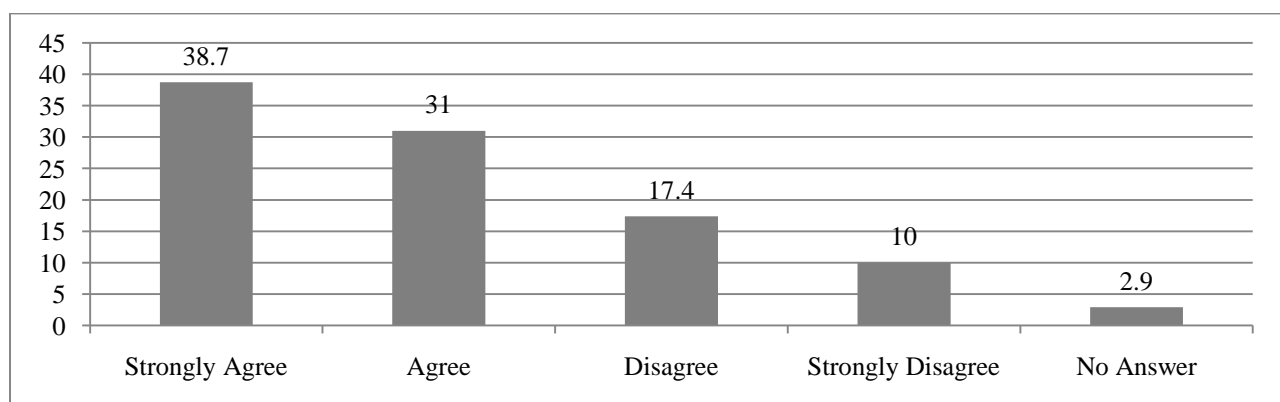
Source: East Asia Institute (EAI) * Results of surveys are the sum of first and second priorities of answers.

Figure 2 shows that many South Koreans still perceived North Korea as kindred in 2010 (42.7%) even though the percentage decreased about 10% as compared to the 2005 survey

(52.1%). And, in 2010, 33.4% of South Koreans regarded North Korea as “we” and 41.7% “neighbor.” Although the rate of perceptions on North Korea based on the nation-centric paradigm such as “we,” “kindred,” and “neighbor” decreased, North Korea was still placed in South Koreans’ consciousness as a Korean people in 2010. However, the important feature in above two surveys in 2005 and 2010 is that the ratio which considered North Korea as an “enemy” drastically increased in 2010 as compared with the 2005 survey. In 2005, only 15.3% of South Koreans perceived North Korea as an “enemy,” but this percentage rapidly went up to 40.3% in 2010. In addition, 32.6% of South Koreans regarded North Korea as “others” in 2010. This means that the ratio of South Korean perception on North Korea based on the state-centric paradigm drastically increased between 2005 and 2010.

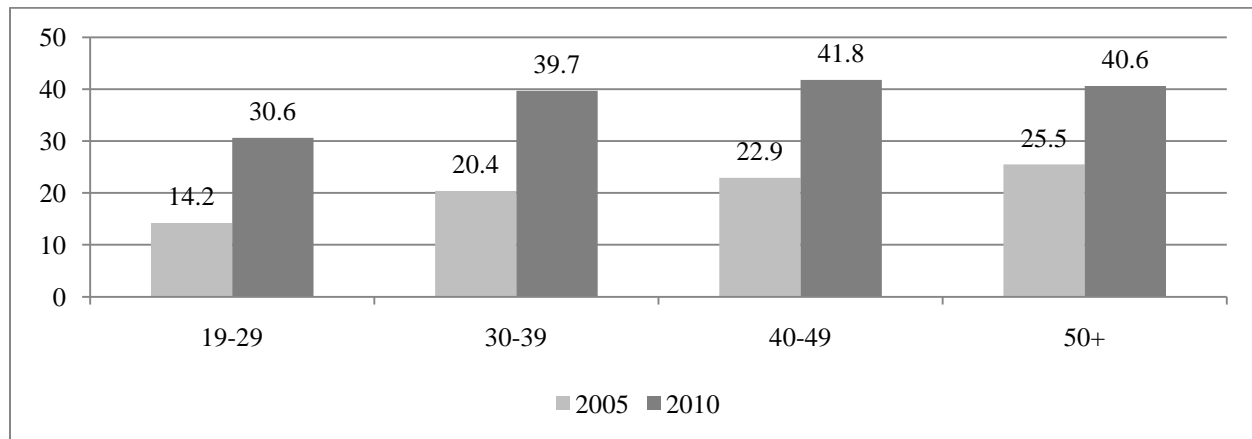
This trend can be confirmed in another survey. The change in perception on North Korea, as reported in the 2010 survey, provides evidence that the majority of South Koreans think that South Korea and North Korea are separate sovereign states.

Figure 5. Two Koreas are separate sovereign states (2010) (%)



Source: East Asia Institute (EAI)

Figure 6. “Strongly Agree” ratio about two Koreas are separate sovereign states (2005 & 2010) (%)



Source: East Asia Institute (EAI)

Figure 3 shows that about 70% (strongly agree + agree) of South Koreans thought that South Korea and North Korea were separate sovereign states. In contrast, only 27.4% (disagree + strongly disagree) of South Koreans answered that the two Koreas could not be considered as separate sovereign states. In addition, Figure 4 shows that the percentage of South Koreans who strongly agreed about the two Koreas being separate sovereign states increased by age groups. According to the 2005 survey by the East Asia Institute, only 14.2% of those in their 20s strongly agreed about the two Koreas being separate sovereign states but this rose to 30.6% in the 2010 survey. Also, those in their 30s, 40s, and 50s had a similar percentage change as well as that for the 20s age group. All age groups in South Korea had different views about South Korea and North Korea being separate sovereign states in the 2005 and 2010 surveys.

The change in national identity of South Koreans also influenced their perception on not only North Korea but also the United States.

Table 2. Which country is the biggest obstacle to unification? (2005 & 2010) (%)

	United States		North Korea		China		Japan	
	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005	2010
20s	52.0	23.4	22.0	42.7	5.9	22.2	8.1	2.5
30s	52.3	18.4	25.4	37.6	6.4	31.4	7.9	4.0
40s	41.9	21.2	27.1	32.5	11.0	31.0	11.4	1.4
50+	32.0	8.7	35.1	41.8	11.0	34.6	10.4	0.7

Source: East Asia Institute (EAI)

Table 2 shows South Koreans' perception on the obstacle of unification by different age groups in 2005 and 2010. In 2005, all age groups, except the 50s age group, answered that the United States was the biggest obstacle to unification. Only those in their 50s considered North Korea to be the biggest obstacle of unification. But, even for those in the 50s group, the percentage gap between the U.S. and North Korea was very slight (35.1% vs. 32.0%). However, those perceptions were totally changed in the 2010 poll. In the Lee Myung-bak administration, all age groups of South Koreans perceived that North Korea was the biggest obstacle of unification, and the percentage of negative perception on the United States drastically decreased.

To summarize, since the installation of the Lee Myung-bak administration, the anxiety over national security has continuously increased, thereby influencing the reemergence of state-centric national identity in South Korea. Although the nation-centric perception on North Korea is still strong in South Korean society, a rapid increase of the state-centric perception on North Korea among all age groups is an important feature of national identity change in South Korean society. In addition, there was a distinctive generational gap between the older generation and new generation regarding the perception on North Korea and the United States in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations. But, in the Lee Myung-bak administration, all age groups have similar perceptions on North Korea and the United States, so it can be inferred that

the generational gap has been closed in South Korean society.

3) Change of Unification Education

Unification in the Lee Myung-bak administration put more weight on security education between peace education and security education. For instance, in January 2008, the Presidential Transition Team announced that one of the major policy issues was reappraisal of “unification and security education.” At that time, the Presidential Transition Team used the term “unification and security education” rather than the term “unification education.” The Lee administration estimates that unification education in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations overemphasized the progress of inter-Korean relations and inter-Korean cooperation, and paid no attention to the facts about North Korea, national security, antagonism, and distrust between the South and the North, leading to confusion about the North Korea view. Thus, the Lee administration set as the goal of unification education that school education truly conveys the real state of affairs in North Korea, the present inter-Korean relations situation, and the reality of national security so that the people can understand the environment of unification with a balanced view.

The basic direction of unification education in the Lee administration pursues 1) a future-oriented sense of unification; 2) a sound sense of national security; and 3) a balanced North Korea view. And unification education emphasizes an awareness of the reality of national security and the necessity of objective understanding about North Korea.

Future-oriented sense of unification means that unification pursued by South Korea is the unification which can contribute to the development of the Korean nation community rather than

simply overcome the division of Korea. And unified Korea aims for the development of liberal democracy in East Asia, national economic development, and the contribution to world peace.

A sound sense of national security means that the people's strong sense of national security is indispensable for surviving in the military confrontational environment and for achieving the peace settlement on the Korean peninsula and the substantive development of inter-Korean relations.

A balanced North Korea view means that the people should recognize that North Korea is both the object of cooperation and reconciliation and a security risk to South Korea. Thus, an objective assessment on North Korea based on correct facts and materials is needed to have a balanced North Korea view.

According to the unification education guidebook in the Lee administration, there are some similarities and differences in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations. The organization of contents, unification education's purpose, definition of unification, the historical background of the division of Korean peninsula, dualism for unification and North Korea, objection against North Korea's nuclear program, economic support by stages of abrogation of North Korean nuclear program, needs for international cooperation, and the importance of both security and peace are similar among the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations and the Lee Myung-bak administration.

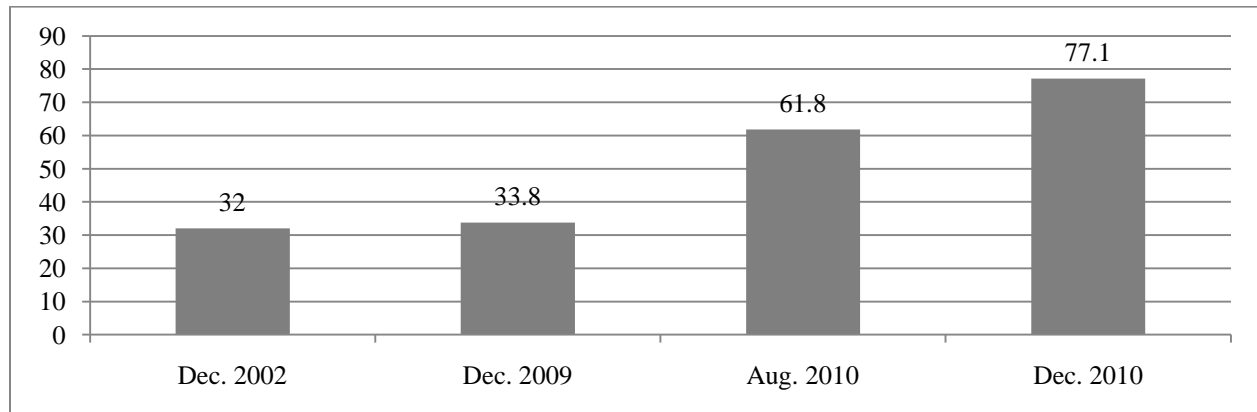
In contrast, there are differences and disparities between the Kim and Roh administrations and the Lee administration in their specific approaches. The unification education guidebook of the Kim and Roh administrations expressed an emphasis on peace, the positive evaluation of the engagement policy and the 6.15 Joint Declaration, meaningful North Korean changes, the importance of an inter-Korean relationship, national homogeneity's

improvement, and helping with the settlement of people from North Korea. On the other hand, the unification education guidebook in the Lee administration expresses an emphasis on security and international relationship, the limits of the engagement policy, the 6.15 Joint Declaration, and the 10.4 Declaration, emphasis on the South and North Basic Agreement instead of the 6.15 Joint Declaration or the 10.4 Declaration, negative expressions of North Korean changes, and the deepening of inter-Korean differences.

The unification education policy in the Lee Myung-bak administration, that is, starts from the recognition that unification education in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations failed to make known the appropriateness of national security because education leaned toward pro-North Korea and anti-Americanism. Thus, the Lee administration emphasizes the balanced awareness between national security and unification and the establishment of a sound national identity. Unification education in the Kim and Roh administrations, that is, was the peaceful and co-existence approach, but education in the Lee administration focuses on national security.

The effect of revised unification education can be confirmed by recent polls. In the Lee Myung-bak administration, those in their 20s are known as the “new conservative generation” or the “new security generation.” This means that the 20s age group in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations received community-oriented unification education so their perception on North Korea was less negative and more positive even though they experienced military tension from such events as the first North Korean nuclear test and military conflicts between South and North Korea in the West Sea.

Figure 7. Negative Attitude on North Korea in Twenties (%)



Source: Gallup Korea, Donga-Ilbo, and KBS

However, in the Lee Myung-bak administration, the 20s age group who received “unification and security education,” which emphasizes national security, have a totally different perception on North Korea than those in the same age group at the end of the 1990s and early 2000s. The current 20s age group, known as the “new conservative generation,” have a very high negative attitude toward North Korea (61.8 % in August 2010 and 77.1 % in December 2010) when they experience military tension from such events as the sinking of the *Cheonan* ship and North Korean attack on *Yeonpyung* island.

To summarize, President Lee Myung-bak disagreed with the approach of the previous two administrations toward North Korea and, therefore, he introduced a new one: the Policy of Mutual Benefits and Common Prosperity. With the four guiding principles (a pragmatic and result-oriented approach, strict principles and a flexible approach, a national consensus, and a balance between inter-Korean cooperation and international cooperation), the Lee administration’s policy toward North Korea pursues dialogue, the peaceful resolution of the nuclear issues, economic cooperation, social and cultural exchanges, and the resolution of the

humanitarian issues such as family separation issues (Korean Institute for National Unification, 2008; Heo and Roehrig, 2010, p.155).

Although the Lee administration's policy toward North Korea is regarded as similar to the policies of the previous two administrations with respect to encouraging social, economic, and cultural exchanges, Lee's policy is significantly different in that it emphasizes reciprocity and national security, and does not separate politics and economics. For instance, the Lee administration speaks out against human rights abuses in North Korea and suggests preconditions such as the abandonment of North Korea's nuclear program for expansion of economic exchanges. Also, it continues and expands the joint U.S.-South Korean military exercises. The changes in South Korea's policy toward North Korea have result in harsh rhetoric from North Korea, deteriorating inter-Korean relations (Heo and Roehrig 2010). However, despite the increase in tension on the Korean peninsula, the Lee administration continuously pushes its hard-line policy toward North Korea based on grass roots' changes in South Korean society. As mentioned above, in the Lee Myung-bak administration, the political power and influence of South Korean civil society has decreased, so civil society focuses more on domestic issues than inter-Korean issues. Thus, the Lee administration is less pressed by NGOs in the North Korea policy decision-making process and pushes its hard-line policy toward North Korea quite easily. In addition, conservatization of South Korean society throughout all age groups and the decrease in the generational gap in the perception on North Korea act as a major power of the hard-line policy toward North Korea in the Lee administration. And, the change in unification education content influences the younger generation's political inclination and perception on North Korea. Conservatization of the 20s age group, who received unification education emphasizing national security legitimizes the adoption of a hard-line policy toward North Korea

in the Lee Myung-bak administration. Ultimately, the changes in the three factors—civil society, generational gap, and unification education—contribute to the Lee Myung-bak administration's taking a hard-line policy. Thus, as explained above in the discussion of the previous South Korean administrations, the alternative explanation that changes in regime and political leadership mainly influence the foreign policy direction of a country has a limitation of explanation about why Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun took the engagement policy approach toward North Korea and did not follow U.S. leadership.

4. Unexpected Result of Local Election

South Korea's local elections were held on June 2, 2010. Just 67 days ago, on March 26, 2010, the South Korean *Cheonan* ship sinking occurred. A total of 46 seamen were killed in that incident and the South Korean government began the investigation with a composition of a team of international experts from South Korea, United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and Sweden. And, on May 20, 2010, the South Korean government presented the results of the official investigation and concluded that the warship had been sunk by a North Korean torpedo fired by a midget submarine. President Lee Myung-bak, who has persisted on a hard-line policy toward North Korea since his inauguration, clarified a stronger hard-line policy toward North Korea and strongly emphasized the importance of national security. Thus, the local elections on June 2, 2010, had assumed a mid-term election character which judged the Lee administration's hard-line policy toward North Korea.

Before the election, most opinion polls and political analysts expected that the *Cheonan* ship incident would give a boost to the conservative ruling Grand National Party, which favors a tough policy toward North Korea and government. Based on pre-election public surveys, an

overwhelming victory of the conservative ruling party was expected. However, contrary to expectations, the results of the elections were that the conservative ruling party was soundly defeated by the progressive opposition party and independent candidates. Even more shocking was the result that the ruling party was defeated in Gyeongnam Province, the backbone region for the conservative ruling party, by the pro-Roh Moo-hyun independent candidate. Also, the ruling party was defeated in the border region, Gangwon Province and Incheon city, where voters were very sensitive to inter-Korean relations.

The election results infer that the military tension triggered by the sinking of the *Cheonan* ship did not influence the elections. And the Lee administration's hard-line policy did not get the support from the general people. The poll which was conducted just after the local elections shows why the ruling party and the Lee government were defeated in the elections.

Table 3. Desirable Policy toward North Korea (June, 2010)

Age	Hard-Line Policy	Engagement Policy	No Answer
19-29	29.7 %	69.2 %	1.1 %
30-39	40.8 %	56.9 %	2.4 %
40-49	40.9 %	58.2 %	0.9 %
50-59	31.9 %	67.7 %	0.5 %
60+	41.0 %	57.4 %	1.6 %
Total	37.1 %	61.5 %	1.4 %

Source: East Asia Institute (EAI)

Table 3 shows that 61.5% of total respondents wanted an engagement policy toward North Korea while 37.1% indicated that they preferred a hard-line policy. This means that the majority of South Koreans prefer the engagement policy toward North Korea despite the

Cheonan ship incident. And all age groups, including the 20s group called the “new conservative generation” and the over-sixties, known as the “Korean War generation,” prefer the engagement policy toward North Korea. Thus, this poll shows although the negative perception on North Korea has drastically increased throughout all age groups in South Korea, most South Koreans prefer the engagement policy toward North Korea as a solution to the military tension between the two Koreas. Three reasons can explain the unexpected results of the local elections on June 2, 2010. First, during the past 10 years, South Koreans have been exposed to much information about North Korea through the activities of the South Korean NGOs. And, the people witnessed that peace-oriented and humanitarian NGOs’ activities contribute to a peace settlement on the Korean peninsula, so they perceive that peace on the Korean peninsula can be achieved by inter-Korean cooperation and reconciliation rather than pressure and confrontation using military methods. A second reason is the generational character. In the Lee administration, most South Koreans are the post-Korean War generation. The post-Korean War generation have been enjoying democracy and economic abundance and fear economic hardship because they experienced the economic crisis in 1997. Thus, in their life, economic prosperity is the top priority and ideological issues are not important, so they do not want a confrontational policy toward North Korea, which is the obstacle to peaceful social circumstances. The third reason is the education effect. Since the beginning of the 1990s, South Korean unification education has emphasized the Korean people community and inter-Korean cooperation and reconciliation. Thus, those who belong to the post-Korean War generation consider North Korea and South Korea as partners who should join together for the future. Thus, South Koreans who received community-oriented unification education choose co-existing rather than destroying each other.

CHAPTER 7

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATION

South Korea's democratic transition began in 1987 and it had a transformative impact on many aspects of South Korean society. South Korea's democratization process was therefore comprehensive. For this reason, South Korea is regarded as among the successful "third wave" democracies of the world and was able to move relatively smoothly and steadily from democratic transition into democratic consolidation. One of the important phenomena in the South Korean democratization process is the presence of groups in civil society.

Diamond (1994) asserted that civil society is the realm of organized social life, which is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, and autonomous from the state. According to Keane (1988), civil society has two main functions: precautionary function against government and function of expansion of liberty and equality in society. Thus, civil society put the pressure on political rulers to give in to the people's demand for influence on government policy.

According to Kim (2000), civil society has been defined as "a set of self-organized groups and movements that are relatively autonomous from the state, basic units of production and reproduction, and political society, and are capable of political activities in the public sphere to express their concerns and advance their interests according to the principles of pluralism and self-governance" (p. 15).

Civil society is seen as important in mobilizing pressure for political change in the democratic transition, and important in checking state power as well as encouraging civil

participation in democratic consolidation (Diamond, 1994 and 1997; Linz & Stephan, 1996). Many academics thus underline the fundamental importance of a vibrant civil society in a democracy because civil society plays an important role in developing civic tradition and social networks, building trust between citizens, and providing an organized avenue through which to articulate and express demands to the government. Therefore, a strong civil society may provide some of the most essential qualities of a functioning democracy and a crucial component to successful democratization (Putnam, 1993). Civil society encompasses a multitude of groups and organizations within society. These include academia, activist groups, social movements, advocacy groups, civic groups, religious groups, nongovernmental organizations (NGO), nonprofit organizations (NPO), grassroots organizations (GRO), think tanks and policy institutions, charities and foundations, among many others. This study highlights two areas of civil society: nongovernmental organizations (NGO) and civic groups. An NGO is defined as a relatively well-developed group, operated by employed staffs who are not agents or representatives of the state, with a relatively large budget and resources. An NGO can be regional, national, or international and funded in part or in whole by the state. A civic group refers to an organization that is smaller and mostly membership-based, holds no employed staff, is reliant on donations from membership and other citizens, and many times is issue-based with significantly less money and resources than an NGO. However, within the contents of this study, the terms “NGO” and “civic groups” will be integrated as the term “NGO” for convenience.

An NGO has a varied role and function in society. Generally, its function is identified as 1) pluralizing politics and the political establishment through integrating a wider range of voices and opinions, and 2) buttressing possibilities for civic participation in politics and political society through mobilizing interests and campaigning for policy, and injecting autonomous

actors as political “watchdogs” or monitors of the state who articulate a different set of goals and policies (Mercer, 2002). However, tactics and activities of NGOs can vary significantly depending on the organization’s purpose, resources, and membership. NGO activity can include a range of tactics: raising public awareness on issues; forming national or international networks to increase pressure on a government or a political lobby; lobbying directly to political leaders to influence policies or political outcome; joining the state in the policy-making process; organizing protests and demonstrations to increase civil engagement with a particular issue, policy, or articulated interest; and dispersing literature to promote an organization’s cause—among a multitude of other tactics.

As will be explored in this study, South Korean NGOs dedicated to the inter-Korean relations issue play an important role in mobilizing public support through several tactics including emotional appeal through protest and advocacy and activities such as reuniting separated families and humanitarian aid for North Korea. Thus, they have an effect on the South Korean government to adopt an engagement policy toward North Korea.

1. Development of Civil Society in South Korea

The civilian demonstrations for democratization in South Korea are indication of the growing strength organizations in civil society, particularly nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (Moon 2004; Lee 2004; Kim 2000). Sunhyuk Kim (2000) argued that one explanation for the Korean democratic transition is that civil society has facilitated various phases of democratization. The rise of NGOs within the South Korean political system as a result of democratization has broken the hold of the elite on foreign policy. The change in the domestic political environment has opened up foreign policy issues for debate among the populace.

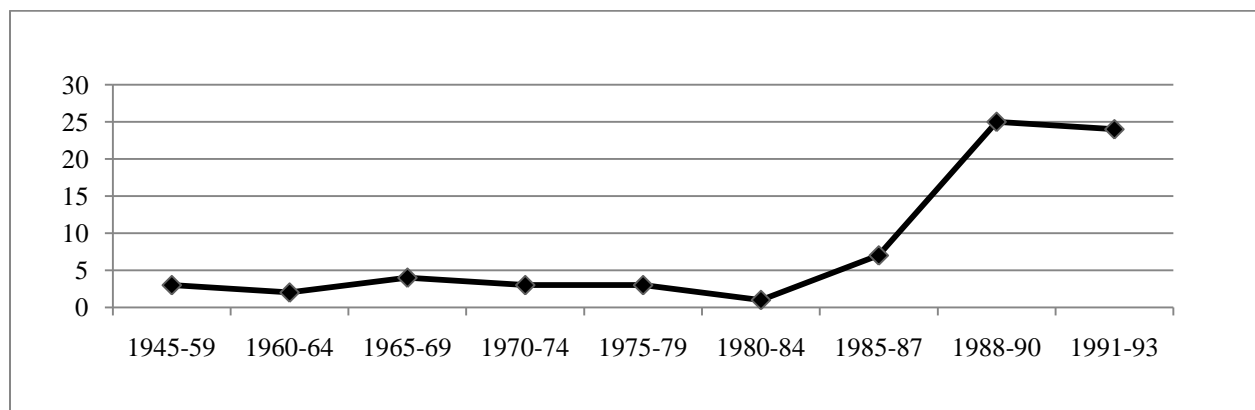
The involvement of groups in civil society in South Korean politics began during the era of President Rhee Syng-man. In the middle of the 1950s, massive demonstrations for democratization were mounted against President Rhee's dictatorial regime. However, the protestors were denounced for weakening the national security and were forcibly put down (Hong, 1997). And, in 1958, a National Security Law was passed which limited freedom of speech and political activities, particularly related to North Korea, so the emergence of new NGOs or civic groups could not be established and the activities of existing groups were strictly restricted; this situation has continued for quite a long time. Since the Rhee administration, other South Korean authoritarian leaders, such as Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan, also severely restricted the operation of groups in civil society. The use of "anti-communism" and other national security laws limited the number of organizations of civil society that opposed the authoritarian regimes (Kim, 2004; Shin, 2003; Levin & Han, 2002). For instance, President Park banned all political activities and watched the civilian organizations' movement throughout the Yushin regime (1972-79), equating national security with the militarization of South Korea's politics, economy, society, and culture. The opposition groups were accordingly infiltrated, co-opted, or forced underground. President Chun not only banned political groups and parties but also banned over 800 people from participating in politics (Levin & Han, 2002). All these repressive and suppressive laws and political constraints resulted in only a few organizations being in place in civil society.

However, the sudden political transition and the events in South Korean society were the turning point of the emergence of civil society in South Korea. The political transition to democracy in South Korea occurred in 1987 as a consequence of massive street protests by college students joined by a large number of white-collar workers and other citizens. This

massive mobilization of anti-government protesters forced the Chun Doo-hwan authoritarian regime to surrender to the “people’s power” and to agree to implement a direct presidential election. After that, substantial political liberalization and the increase of civil organizations began to occur.

The data in Figure 6 from the Institute for Population and Development Studies, Seoul National University, on the number of NGOs between 1945 and 1993 attests to this situation.

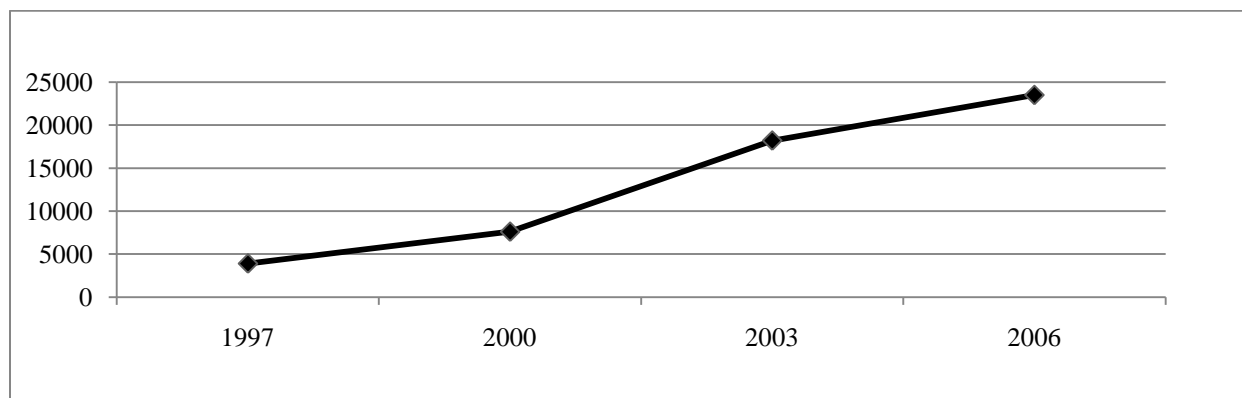
Figure 8. The Number of NGOs: 1945-1993



As the above figure illustrates, the number of NGOs was very small throughout the period of authoritarian regimes and the number of newly founded civic organizations has increased dramatically, from 1 during 1980-84 and 7 during 1985-87 to 25 during 1988-90 and 22 during 1991-93. The rapid growth of civic organizations after 1987 was quite a new phenomenon in the process of democratization. Before 1987, such public-oriented and civic organizations were rare; those that did exist were largely protest organizations like student movement organizations and political movement organizations working for democratization. However, since the “6.29 Declaration,” which promised an eight-point democratization plan and

the amended constitution of 1987, easing restrictions on freedom of association and speech, there has been a tremendous increase in the organizations that constitute civil society throughout the country (Diamond & Kim, 2000; Shin, 2003; Kim, 2004; Moon, 2004). As Figure 6 shows, within three years of the easing of restrictions on the formation of civil organizations and their political activities, the number of organizations promptly increased from 7 to 25. Civil society in South Korea began to grow rapidly after the democratic transition that began in 1987.

Figure 9. The Number of NGOs, 1997-2006



Source: Directory of Korean NGOs, Citizen Times

As Figure 7 shows, there has been a great increase in the number of NGOs since the beginning of South Korea's democratization process. The Directory of Korean NGOs, published in 1997, listed 3900 organizations, and in the 2000 report listed 7600 organizations, the majority of which were formed in the 1990s. And, the number of NGOs in 2006 was 23,500 organizations. The number doubled during the three years from 1997 to 2000 and increased six times during nine years from 1997 to 2006.

Since the 1990s, civil organizations in South Korea grew impressively not only in terms of size and density but also in the amount of influence they wielded in the policy-making arena.

This impact of this phenomenon on the South Korean politics is that NGOs have emerged as important political actors and public institutions.

2. Increase of NGOs' Political Power

Since the beginning of the South Korean democratization process in 1987, NGOs have emerged as important political actors, initiating policies, monitoring politicians and the policymaking process, and mobilizing the public to engage in political action. As a result, not only does the public pay much attention to the activities of the civic organizations in South Korea but political leaders also seek their support and advice on certain policies. Thus, with a tremendous increase in quantity, South Korean NGOs have a political power which is able to mobilize people to particular issue and to press political leaders. The contents below analyze how civic organizations get the political power in South Korean society since democratization.

1) Support from Political Leadership

South Korean presidents, Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae-jung, and Roh Moo-hyun, who took office after democratization, provided a conducive environment for civic organizations to flourish in South Korean society. Under the authoritarian regime, Kim Young-sam had stood on the side of democratic forces, acting as an opposition leader. However, he and his party joined the ruling party in 1990, and Kim himself, running as the ruling party's presidential candidate, was elected. Although he took the highest position in the ruling party, his position in the ruling party was weak, as a large number of members had come from Chun Doo-hwan's party. Therefore, Kim often bypassed the National Assembly and parties and sought support directly from the people in order to implement "policies demanded by people." In this process NGOs

began to carry great weight as partners of the government in performing policies. President Kim Young-sam, thus, stressed the importance of universally accepted ideas such as democracy, human rights, environmental protection, and social welfare, plus citizens' participation in policy consideration (Moon 2004; Lee 1994). The Kim administration facilitated the expansion of the NGO sector vis-à-vis the people's movement sector. That is, the Kim government used a two-pronged strategy in dealing with civil society by promoting and supporting moderate civic organizations while suppressing the radical people's movement groups (Kim 2009). On the basis of the government's pro-civil society policy, the number of South Korean NGOs drastically increased compared with previous authoritarian regimes.

The increasing number of NGOs peaked during Kim Dae-jung's government. Since the assumption of office, President Kim faced the unfavorable political situation that the opposition took a majority in the national assembly, so he needed the support of NGOs to fight for political, economic, and social reforms against the opposition of deeply rooted conservative groups (Jeong 2002). Thus, the Kim administration expanded the level of governmental support with the establishment of the Law on Promotion of Nonprofit Civil Organization with the increase in financial support to civil organizations. Shin (2003) argued that the attempts by Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung to involve civil organizations in the political process of the country resulted in the redefinition of the relationship between the state and the civil society. The two political leaders transformed a relationship that before 1987 was a "strong state-weak society" into a "strong state-strong society".

The Roh Moo Hyun government was launched under the slogan of the "Participatory Government." It remains controversial whether the government lived up to this name, but the Roh administration did seek to further develop cooperative relations with the NGO sector. They

tried to institutionalize a close consultative relationship between NGOs and the presidential office, and recruited civil society leaders to the presidential office and other government agencies. Thus, the favorable institutional environment for NGOs as well as the cooperative relationship between the government and the NGO sector has contributed to the increase of civic organizations' political power in South Korea.

2) Distrust of Political Sector and Trust of Civil Society

Another reason for the increase of civil organizations' political power in South Korean society was distrust of the political sector and trust of civil society. Although South Korean democratization externally scored a great success, the democratization process internally generated much dissatisfaction among the public. South Korea is generally regarded as a successful case of transiting smoothly from the transition to the consolidation of democracy. However, the majority of South Koreans are very dissatisfied with the current state of politics. In the democratization process, a political sector is the most difficult field of society to reform. Historically, the South Korean political society has been based on regionalism, personalism, bossism, and parochial ties based on schools, clans, and villages. And, political parties depend on regional and personal loyalties to mobilize support, and they become the symbol of schism and egoism rather than harmony and cooperation. Thus, the National Assembly is an arena of political bickering of a politician considered opportunistic but fails to address important substantive issues which are helpful to constructive policy making. South Koreans were extremely dissatisfied with rampant corruption, bossism, political scandals, and money politics, and recognized that the political society is the most difficult to reform.

Under these circumstances, vigilant civic organizations were looked at as the most reliable means of exerting pressure on politicians even if the results of their activities were not wholly satisfactory.

Table 4. South Korean Institutional Trust

	1996	1998	2001	2002	2003
1	NGOs	NGOs	NGOs	NGOs	NGOs
2	Education	Education	Education	Labor	Education
3	Labor	Labor	Army	Army	Press
4	Army	Army	Labor	Press	Army
5	Press	Press	Press	Education	Law
6	Law	Law	Big Corp.	Big Corp.	Big Corp.
7	Big Corp.	Government	Government	Law	Labor
8	Government	Big Corp.	Law	Government	Government
9	Parliament	Parliament	Parliament	Parliament	Parliament

Source: A Public Survey on Institutional Trust, The Institute for Social Development and Policy Research, Seoul National University, Survey on Institutional Trust, Gallup Korea, Survey on Institutional Trust, *Joong Ang Daily*.

Table 4 shows how South Koreans feel about and trust social institutions. According to the survey results, NGOs were regarded as the most trustworthy institutions in South Korean society, over other domestic institutions from 1996 to 2003. On the contrary, institutions in the political sector such as government and parliament were untrustworthy institutions, and Parliament, in particular, could not avoid the lowest ranking in every survey. Evidence supports that South Koreans are growing sick and tired of the National Assembly, which is involved in political disputes, and of inefficient governmental bureaucracy. Thus, many South Koreans are pinning their hopes on the activities of civil organizations to press stagnant and corrupt politicians and incompetent, inefficient bureaucracy in government. In reality, the so-called

“blacklist campaign,” led by the Citizens’ Solidarity for the 2000 General Elections, is a case in point on the exertion of NGOs’ political power and influence. Several hundred civil organizations established the Citizens’ Alliance for General Election (CAGE) backed by the people’s trust and support to oust blacklisted candidates in the 2000 general election in order to eradicate political corruption and supplant traditional authoritarian governance with citizen sovereignty (Kim, 2004; Shin, 2003). The number of NGOs participating in CAGE increased from 412 when it was formed in January 2000, to 1,055 at the time of the election in April 2000. Civic organizations reviewed the backgrounds of all candidates and blacklisted 86 corrupt and incompetent candidates who had engaged in military coups or other antidemocratic activities, corruption, violations of election laws, tax evasion, draft dodging, and other illegal or immoral activities. The legislators strongly opposed the blacklist campaign, criticizing that the civic groups were not qualified, could not represent the electorate, and violated election laws.

In spite of the criticisms against the campaign, various survey results showed that 60 to 90% of the Korean people supported the rejection campaign. In the end, 59 out of the 86 blacklisted politicians were defeated in the April election. That is, 68.6%, or 2 out of 3, blacklisted candidates failed to be elected. More surprisingly, 95% of those listed by the Citizens’ Solidarity were defeated in Seoul and its vicinities. This event showed that South Korean NGOs have a great political power which can practically press and watch politicians and government officials on the basis of a strong trust in and support for civil society from the general public.

3) The New Stream of Times: Internet

South Korea is known to be the most wired country in the world. In South Korea, about 70% of households are subscribing to a broadband Internet service, compared with an estimated 15% in America and 8% in Western Europe (Kim, Moon, & Yang 2004). The emergence and spread of new information technology and the Internet have brought in a major change in South Korean politics and civil society and have transformed the nature of NGOs' activities in South Korea. There are several features of South Korean civil society in the Internet era. First, offline NGOs utilize the Internet in various ways. According to the 2003 Directory of South Korean NGOs, 60.93% of the listed NGOs have their homepages. With emergence of the Internet era, South Korean civil organizations use the Internet for disseminating information to publicize their activities and mobilize people, communicating with members, other NGOs and the general public, and pressing the government and political parties. In the case of the aforementioned Citizens' Solidarity for the 2000 general elections, the Internet was used to disseminate information about the blacklisted politicians, induce the general public's participation in their campaign, and cooperate with numerous other civil organizations throughout the country. Thus, the anti-candidate campaign in 2000 could make progress efficiently and accomplish the intended goal within a short space of time.

Second, recent years have witnessed the emergence and the growing importance of online NGOs or social movement on the Internet. The new type of NGOs use the Internet to disseminate information and communicate with their members and other NGOs as in the case of the offline NGOs, but many of them also utilize more direct pressing strategies such as e-mail and other web-based petitions, online survey and e-voting, wearing and disseminating banners and flashes, and online sign-ins. And, many other social movements represent the new web-

based civic associations. The most well-known web-based movement in South Korea is the political fan club and support movement called 'Rohsamo' (literally meaning 'supporting group of people who love Roh Moo-hyun'). This group started as a simple discussion forum supporting politician Roh Moo-hyun's attempt at political reform, but soon grew to be an independent organization with the aim of supporting Roh's political vision (Kim, Moon, & Yang, 2004). The main characteristic of Rohsamo was that its activities were based on an online presence. Although it grew to have an offline presence, many of its activities remained online. From its initial membership of about 7,000, the number of members increased to more than 49,000 by July 2002 (Kim, Moon, & Yang, 2004). Rohsamo utilized the Internet and the group's forum as a communication network among its members and rallied its members to encourage people to participate in the election. Some members also participated in off-line rallies and meetings and helped organize them.

Finally, Rohsamo showed their strength on the day of the 2002 presidential election. After the news that the turnout was too low in the middle of election, Rohsamo began to rally other members of Rohsamo and quickly organized a last-minute mobilization of voters. They used a message board, email, and Internet news media in this, and sent thousands of text messages and telephone calls so people would turn out to vote and support the candidate Roh Moo-hyun (Kim, Moon, & Yang 2004). These quite effective last-minute mobilization campaigns are regarded as one of the main reasons for Roh Moo-hyun's election. Thus, Rohsamo played a critical role in Roh Moo-hyun's campaign and contributed a great deal to his subsequent upset victory, challenging the expectations of mainstream political observers (Kim, Moon, & Yang, 2004). This case suggests that broadband Internet access can be a new tool for political mobilization and social movement.

According to a survey⁷, most of the NGOs utilize their homepages for publicizing their activities, communicating with members and other NGOs, disseminating all sorts of information, and collecting citizens' opinions and ideas. In the policy process, the Internet is the most useful for forming public opinion via e-communication, publicizing policy issues to the general public, and applying direct pressure to the government and political parties. In addition, most of the practitioners (72%) stated that online activism is more effective than off-line, and 66 % of them agreed that the citizens' movement on the net contributes to the development of participatory democracy in South Korea.

3. Major NGOs Active in Inter-Korean Issues

South Korean authoritarian regimes produced several pro-government civil organizations such as the Korean Freedom Federation and the Veterans' Association. In the authoritarian regimes, these NGOs enjoyed governmental support including funding and political favors in return for providing mobilized and organized political support for the policy preference of national security. However, with the democratization process, South Korean civil society had an opportunity to increase the number of organizations and power. Many of the new civil organizations have political power and influence on the basis of the support of political leadership, the general public's distrust of politics and trust in civil society, and power of Internet. In the process of democratization, South Korean NGOs focused on the struggle for human rights and democracy. And, after democratization, the civil society movement focused primarily on economic and social problems such as labor rights, welfare reform, and the environmental

⁷. The Survey conducted by the Graduate School of NGO Studies in Kyung Hee University, Seoul, South Korea. On May 13, 2003, a survey questionnaire on the NGOs' Internet-based Policy Participation was sent online to 350 member NGOs of the Korea Solidarity Network of Civil Society Organizations. Out of 350 NGOs, 54 NGOs responded to the online questionnaire.

protection agenda. However, since the mid-1990s, many NGOs have begun to raise their voices on inter-Korean issues. They are increasingly exercising influence in shaping South Korea's policy toward North Korea. The NGOs, particularly those with a nation-centric stance⁸ on inter-Korean relations, have been playing important roles especially in areas in which the government could not actively take initiative.

1) Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation (KCRC)

The Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation (KCRC), an umbrella organization open to all political parties and civil organizations interested in inter-Korean reconciliation, was established in 1998. As an umbrella organization for promoting better inter-Korean relations, KCRC consists of approximately 200 South Korean political parties, religious groups, and civil organizations. There are four objectives of the KCRC: 1) fostering national consensus on inter-Korean relations issues; 2) strengthening inter-Korean reconciliation and cooperation; 3) realizing peace and unification on the Korean peninsula and 4) achieving national co-prosperity. The KCRC has accordingly strongly supported the engagement policy toward North Korea, giving emphasis to implementing "the South-North Basic Agreement of 1991," which is an agreement on mutual recognition, mutual non-aggression, and an increase of cooperation and exchange. It has also emphasized the importance of social, cultural and people exchange for increasing mutual understanding and trust.

⁸. The nation-centric stance suggests that inter-Korean relations are basically an internal problem of the Korean people, an ethnically homogeneous nation. This stance strongly argues that the main objective of South Korea's policies toward North Korea should be focused on the Korean people on the northern part of the Korean peninsula, not merely on the North Korean government or ruling party. Therefore, South Korea must maintain an appeasement policy toward North Korea and pursue policies for reconciliation and cooperation.

2) Citizen's Coalition for Economic Justice (CCEJ)

The Citizen's Coalition for Economic Justice (CCEJ) is one of the most important umbrella organizations dealing with policy toward North Korea. As its title implies, in 1989, the CCEJ was established to promote economic justice in South Korean society. The slogan of CCEJ is "Let's achieve economic justice through citizens' power." The CCEJ believe that the deep-rooted economic injustice in South Korea can be solved by the organized power of citizens rather than by the government's cure. There are five principles of CCEJ activities: 1) being led by the ordinary citizens; 2) using legal and nonviolent methods; 3) seeking workable alternatives; 4) speaking for the interests of all people; and 5) overcoming greed and egoism in order to build a just society.

Since its foundation, the CCEJ has broadened its working field in various aspects of society including the field of inter-Korean relations. In 1994, the CCEJ founded a Reunification Committee which is charged with mobilizing support for engagement with North Korea and promoting unification. The CCEJ shares the "one Korea" orientation of most South Korean progressives and support the engagement policy toward North Korea. Currently, the CCEJ is focused on preserving the gains and legacies made by the engagement policies in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations against conservative attacks.

3) People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD)

The People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy was founded in 1994 with the aim of building a participatory democratic society which guarantees freedom, justice, human rights, and welfare. The main activity of PSPD is monitoring the government, National Assembly, and

judiciary by voluntary citizens' committees. Through continuous monitoring, the PSPD not only proposes policy alternatives to government, but also drafts its own legislation.

Although the PSPD does not have an independent committee for unification or an inter-Korean relations issue, it supports the engagement policy toward North Korea and actively helps mobilize support on the government's behalf. And, the PSPD has become one of the largest NGOs in South Korea using frequent exposure in the mass media so their support for the engagement policy and activities for better inter-Korean relations are easily stamped in South Korean memory, and their influence on the formation public opinion on engagement with North Korea is huge.

4) Anti-U.S. and Anti-U.S. Military Base NGOs.

Although these groups do not focus primarily on inter-Korean relations issues, they generally share such views as Koreans are all "one people" and North Korea is not an enemy but a neighbor. They tend to link the U.S. security policy in East Asia with the state of inter-Korean relations. Many of these groups believe that the ultimate key to peace and unification is fostering inter-Korean reconciliation and cooperation and ending the unequal U.S.-South Korea relationship. Representative groups include the following: Solidarity for Peace and Reunification of Korea; National Campaign for Eradication of Crime by US Troops in Korea; Solidarity for Revision of SOFA; Committee for Joint Measures to Stop US Missile Defense and to Realize Peace; and the National Alliance for Democracy and Unification of Korea.

4. Activities of NGOs in Inter-Korean Issues

1) Reuniting Separated Families

The issue of separated families in South and North Korea is a symbol of the division of the Korean peninsula as well as a tragic legacy of the Korean War. Despite the strong demand and the necessity, efforts to reunite separated families have frequently been constrained by the political situation and the decisions of both South and North Korean governments.

However, the activities for reuniting separated families have increased since the 1990s. There are two implications of this change. First, the issue of reuniting separated families has a time limit. The first generation of separated families in both Koreas are in their late 70s or 80s. This means that they have virtually come to the final stage of their lives and time is running out for them. Second, the attempts at family reunion through NGOs have increased and there have been many successful cases of family unions by activities of NGOs which have been undertaken without official approval from the South Korean government.

There are three major means used by the civilian-level family reunion efforts. The methods are 1) identifying the life and safety of family members, 2) exchange of letters, and 3) temporary reunion in a third country. Although the best way is family union on the Korean peninsula, indirect ways such as identifying the life and safety and letter exchange are the main methods of family reunion because of limitations of civil organizations' activities such as the South Korean domestic legal restriction on the direct contact between South Korea and North Korea and the question of the cost of civil organizations.

Table 5: Separated Family Reunion by South Korean NGOs

Year	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05
Reunion in a third country	19	12	11	17	18	55	108	195	148	165	203	280	187	75
Identifying Life & Safety	132	221	135	104	96	164	377	481	447	208	198	388	209	255
Letter Exchange	462	948	584	571	473	772	469	637	984	579	935	961	776	711

Source: The Bureau of Humanitarian Aid, the Ministry of Unification

Table 6: Separated Family Reunion by South Korean Government

Year	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05
Reunion through visiting to North Korea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	205	100	398	598	400	397
Reunion Through visiting to South Korea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	201	100	-	-	-	-
Identifying Life & Safety	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	792	744	133	963	681	962
Letter Exchange	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	623	9	8	-	-

Source: The Bureau of Humanitarian Aid, the Ministry of Unification

Table 5 shows that there was an annual increase family reunions and this figure increased rapidly in 1996 and 1997. Only 18 family reunions took place in a third country in 1996, and this increased to 55 in 1997. In 1998, the figure jumped dramatically to 108 and it rocketed to 280 in 2003. In addition, identifying the life and safety of separated family members in North Korea increased from 96 cases in 1996 to 337 cases in 1998 and 481 cases in 1999. Since then, cases for identifying the life and safety through efforts of South Korean NGOs have remained remarkably steady at a certain level. Letter exchanges also have a pattern similar to the case of identifying life and safety. However, according to Table 6, there were no family reunions organized by the South Korean government organizing before 1999. Identifying life and safety

and letter exchange also had no result until 1999. Although the South Korean government has also made an effort to reunite separated families since 2000, the role of NGOs the effort to reunite separated families is still considerable.

2) Humanitarian Aid

South Korean NGOs' humanitarian aid to North Korea originated from North Korea's plea for humanitarian assistance in 1995. The South Korean government responded with a huge donation of rice (150,000 metric tons) in order to promote inter-Korean relations, but the result of this donation was not to help better inter-Korean relations because North Korea forced the aid ship to raise the North Korean flag and detained a sailor for taking photos. With this unfriendly reception by the North, political tension between the two Koreas due to the landing of a North Korean submarine on the South Korean coast in 1996 hardened the South Korean government's position on official humanitarian aid for North Korea. Nevertheless, this one-time official humanitarian aid for North Korea was a turning point in the South Koreans' attitude toward North Korea and led to the emergence of civil organizations' activities for humanitarian aid. Meanwhile, the international community, including the United Nations, the United States, other Western countries, and international NGOs, began their program of humanitarian aid to North Korea in the mid-1990s. This unprecedented access by the international community to North Korea led to the release of more information about North Korea's famine conditions (Reed, 2009).

These domestic and international aid efforts had an impact on South Koreans' understanding of North Korea's famine situation, and South Korean NGOs mobilized to collect contributions from the general public and to press the government. The activities of South

Korean civil organizations for humanitarian aid to North Korea have been gaining more momentum since the inauguration of President Kim Dae-jung in 1998, and the amount of aid flowing from South Korean NGOs to the North increased steadily. Although NGO humanitarian activities were hampered by an increase in military and political tensions between the two Koreas, the NGO humanitarian aid effort has persisted and has even expanded over the past decade (Reed, 2009).

There are three major goals of South Korean NGO humanitarian activities to North Korea. First, it is a relief of the suffering of ordinary North Korean people. A relief of North Korean people struggling with famine was the initial impulse of most aid projects of South Korean civil organizations and remains the core purpose as articulated to the South Korean public. Second, it is support for reconciliation between South and North Korea. Most South Korean NGOs participating in humanitarian aid to North Korea aim at easing tensions, building bridges, and improving the understanding between the South and the North. Many of them assert that unification will be brought closer through their activities. Third, it is a creation of opportunities for South Korean civilians to be directly involved in the engagement process. According to many of the NGOs, better inter-Korean relations and unification cannot be achieved by the government alone. The general public should have a way of participating in the process and contributing their ideas and resources (Reed, 2009).

In the motivations and objectives of activities for North Korea, there are some differences between South Korean NGOs and international NGOs. While international NGOs evaluate their success in the narrow terms of aid effectiveness in relieving suffering and solving underlying problems in North Korea, South Korean NGOs take a broader and longer term view. South Korean NGOs assume that they are working within the traditional Korean social normative

world and that their generosity and sincerity will eventually be reciprocated by North Korean people in the form of greater mutual trust and cooperation (Reed, 2009). The strategy of South Korean NGO humanitarian activities, that is, can be viewed as a form of unconditional engagement implemented without the expectation of a direct *quid pro quo*, but with the belief that over time their aids will result in better inter-Korean relations.

Table 7: South Korean Government and NGO Humanitarian Aid to North Korea 1995-2006

(Million USD)				
Year	South Korean Government	South Korean NGOs	Total aid from South Korea	Percent by NGOs
1995	232.0	0.25	232.3	0.1
1996	3.05	1.55	4.6	33.7
1997	26.67	20.56	47.23	43.5
1998	11	20.85	31.85	65.5
1999	1.36	1.89	3.25	58.1
2000	78.6	35.1	113.8	30.8
2001	70.5	64.9	135.4	47.9
2002	195.2	51.2	241.0	21.2
2003	199.8	70.6	263.6	26.8
2004	233.4	141.1	374.2	37.7
2005	285.9	88.7	362.6	24.5
2006	199.4	80.5	279.9	28.8

Source: Ministry of Unification

Table 7 above shows the amount of South Korean aid to North Korea through governmental and nongovernmental channels. After the one-time large government food aid in 1995, military and political tensions between the two Koreas increased and South Korean government aid was restricted. Between 1996 and 1999, aid from South Korean NGOs nearly matched the level of government aid. Even the aid activities of civil organizations in 1998 and

1999 surpassed the aid from governmental channels. As the South Korean government's aid, which was primarily fertilizer, rice, and maize, has increased since 2000, the South Korean NGOs share in the total aid declined somewhat. However, it has still remained at a substantial percentage, which is more than one-fourth of all aid from South Korea, and the value of assistance delivered to North Korea through South Korean NGOs represents about 30% of all South Korean humanitarian aid to North Korea over the past decade. In the early period, the primary aid goods of South Korean NGOs were food, medicine, and clothing. However, after the NGOs' direct negotiation with their North Korean counterparts, the pattern of aid changed from giving emergency aid to providing supplies to particular institutions such as hospitals, orphanages, and cooperative farms.

To summarize, until the beginning of the democratization process in South Korea in 1987, the relationship between the state and the civil society had been "strong state-weak society." Although the authoritarian regimes suppressed the civil society, the introduction of democracy in 1987 opened up the political space in which NGOs could flourish. The result has been a dramatic increase in the number of NGOs in South Korean society and led to the emergence of a "strong state-strong society" relationship. With an increase in quantity, South Korean civil organizations acquire political power by the encouragement of President Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae-jung, and Roh Moo-hyun for the formation and activities of NGOs, the general public's absolute support for civil organizations, and a rapid adaptation to Internet. Thus, South Korean NGOs have emerged as strong political actors with the aforementioned factors and have initiated policy debates and mobilized the public for political action. As civil organizations' importance and influence increase in South Korean society, their activities receive attention from the public and

media and lead people's interest in new social issues. On the basis of increased influence and support from the general public after democratization, South Korean NGOs turned their focus to activities for better inter-Korean relations. Their activities such as reuniting separated families and providing humanitarian aid to North Korea began in earnest in the mid-1990s, and the role of civil society in the inter-Korean relations was recognized and actively promoted in the Kim Dae-jung administration (1998-2002) and the Roh Moo-hyun administration (2003-2007). Over the past decade, South Korean civil society has constituted an important aspect of an initiative of South Korean engagement policy. Many South Korean NGOs share the broad goals of the South Korean government's engagement policy toward North Korea and the assumptions on which they are based. Although many South Korean NGOs receive the government's partial financial assistance, the NGOs operate with a significant degree of independence regarding strategy and program implementation. In addition, South Korean NGOs took the lead in pressing for humanitarian aid to North Korea and family reunions when the South Korean government was taking a cautious and measured approach. And, thanks to the continuous and steady engagement of the NGOs, South Korea has much more information about North Korean society and has more positive thinking on reconciliation and unification. In the same vein, with an increase in the preference for the engagement policy toward North Korea, South Korea has more negative thinking on the U.S. hard-line policy toward the North. Such South Korean NGOs activities made the Sunshine Policy viable.

CHAPTER 8

GENERATIONAL CHANGE

Generational change is an important phenomenon in changes in the opinions and beliefs about any political issue in a country (Dalton, 1987). A generation, in this study, refers to a cohort of population that has experienced a unique event in the history of the country. This definition is usually applied in reference to age as well. Different historical experiences affect the perception of a population cohort about political issues.

Scholars in this area have emphasized the impact of generational change in the political orientation of a country (Dalton, 1987; Abamson and Inglehart, 1986 and 1987; Inglehart, 1981 and 1984). Ronald Inglehart (1981) attributes the emphasis on the post-materialist issue by the youth of the Western countries in the mid-1970s to generational change. He argued that experiences of scarcity will have a major impact on people's values. Persons who have experienced scarcity during their childhood and World War II would tend to have materialistic values, whereas persons who have not experienced scarcity would tend to have post-materialistic values (Scarborough, 1995). Inglehart (1984) explained that "as a result of the historically unprecedented prosperity and the absence of war in Western countries that have prevailed since 1945, the postwar generation in these countries would place less emphasis on economic and physical security than older groups." Such a post-materialist value orientation among the younger generation throughout Europe and in Germany in particular translated into concern with "quality of life, social solidarity, opportunities for self-expression" (Inglehart, 1984, p. 525). For

Inglehart (1981), the environmental and the anti-nuclear movements of the 1970s in Western societies were due to the emerging of age of the post-war generation.

Similarly, in a study of six countries (West Germany, Britain, France, Netherlands, Italy, and Belgium) between 1970 and 1984, Abramson and Inglehart (1986) found that the ratio of post-materialists in West Germany, Britain and Netherlands had rapidly increased and concluded that the priorities of West Europeans shifted from materialist to post-materialist because of population replacement.

In addition, Russell Dalton (1987) suggested that generational change was one of the major factors contributing to change in the attitude of political elites in Europe. Areas of generational change pertain to issue priorities and opinions (Dalton, 1987). He concluded that different population cohorts have different priorities and opinions about similar issues. His findings imply that the needs and demands of a country change gradually with the eventual replacement of an old population cohort with a new cohort.

According to many scholars, generational change in South Korea is one of the main arguments for the change in South Korean's perception on the United States and North Korea (S.J. Lee, 2004; J.H. Lee, 2004; C.S. Kang, 2003; C.M. Lee, 2003; Manyin, 2003). Generational change leads to the change in perceptions on the United States and North Korea, particularly with the rise of nationalism and anti-Americanism in South Korea. Eventually, the perception change on neighboring countries affected the new formation of national identity in South Korea. This chapter analyzes how the changes in lifestyle and outlook of a new generation in South Korea have contributed to the demand for an assertive foreign policy and the quest for better inter-Korean relations, translating into changes in South Korea's perception of the United States and North Korea.

1. Demographic Change

The total population of South Korea was estimated at about 43million in the year 1990 and this increased to about 46 million in the year 2000.

Table 8. Demographic Change of South Korea, 1990 and 2000

Age Grouping	1990	2000
20-29	20.1%	17.3%
30-39	17%	18%
40-49	10.9%	15.1%
50-59	8%	9.4%
60 and above	7.6%	11.2%

Source: Korean Statistical Information Service: online database, <http://www.kosis.kr>

The above demography demonstrates that, in 1990, approximately 37.1% of the population (the 20s and 30s age groups) did not experience the Korean War (1950-1953) and postwar economic hardship. On the other hand, in 2000, approximately 50.4% of South Koreans (the 20s, 30s, and 40s age groups) did not have war memory and did not experience postwar poverty. This means that the majority of the South Korean electorate in 2000 had a different policy orientation from that of their predecessors because they grew up in the different historic circumstances of having no war experience. Thus, the political influence of a new generation who did not have war experience in South Korea was definitely different in 1990 and 2000.

In policymaking, changes in a population cohort have been found to have an impact on policy outcomes (Inglehart, 1997). In democratic societies, population change leads to an emergence of new political leaders who have different political orientations and perceptions on a

policy as compared to their predecessors. In effect, foreign policy as well as domestic policy is affected by the generation replacement from an older generation to a younger generation.

In the same vein, the replacement of a generation in South Korea has affected a change in the spectrum of policy in the country. With a democratization of South Korea, a new generation who did not experience the Korean War and post-war economic hardship entered politics and have gradually become key players in the policymaking decisions and the formation of public opinion in South Korea. For instance, the result of the 2004 general election for the 17th National Assembly provides evidence of the gradual emergence of the new generation in policymaking of South Korea. The large number of the new generation being elected to the 17th National Assembly has led to talk of a “generational changeover” in South Korean politics (S.J. Chang, 2004).

Table 9. Age of the National Assembly Member of the ROK

	14th National Assembly (1992)	17th National Assembly (2004)
30s	8	23
40s	70	106
50s	179	121
60s	42	49
Total	299	299

Source: The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea: Online Database, <http://www.assembly.go.kr>

According to Table 9, in the 1992 general election, only 2.6% (8 members in the 30s age group) were post-war generation and this increased only to 26% even if the 70 members of the 40s group are included as the new generation. Table 9 shows that the overwhelming number of assembly members (221 members and about 74%) represented the Korean War generation,

known as the older generation, in the 14th National Assembly. However, the composition of 17th National Assembly was definitely changed through the 2004 general election. The percentage of assembly members in their 30s and 40s rose from 26% to 43.1%. And legislators in the 60s age group comprised only 16.4% of the 17th National Assembly. In addition, 63% of the 17th National Assembly were first-timers, while less than 30% of the incumbent candidates were re-elected (S.J. Chang, 2004). Based on these statistics, the main actors in the 17th National Assembly were those in their 30s and 40s, not those in their 50s and 60s.

Chang (2004) explained that “the generation that experienced the war has moved aside, making way for the postwar generation to influence the Korean Society.... The presidential and legislative elections have certified this change in generation. A major power shift has occurred.”

Generational change is a reality in South Korean society and politics, and the emergence of the new generation in society means that the new generation will be a politically influential group.

2. Characteristics of the New Generation

In a country which does not experience a significant transformation or rapid change, the chronological distinctions between one generation and another could help one to understand the country's policies and proclivities. However, the chronological distinctions between generations in South Korea are meaningless. In South Korea, the generational distinctions are defined not only by the presence of common experiences but also by the lack or absence of particular common experiences (Flake, 2008). Thus, there are three key generational cohorts in modern South Korean society: the Korean War generation, the 386 generation, and the Internet generation.

1) The Korean War generation

The Korean War generation directly experienced the Korean War, post-war economic hardship, and post-war reconstruction. And they dominated South Korean political and economic fields for most of the past four decades since the 1950s. In addition, they directly experienced the military *juntas* in the Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan administrations and authoritarian regimes in the Roh Tae-woo and Kim Young-sam administrations.

This generation's view of the United States was deeply affected by the U.S. role in liberalization of Korea from Japanese colonial rule and by the U.S. full and bloody assistance against the North Korean invasion of South Korea. The Korean War generation cohort is "bound together in that it most directly experienced the horrible devastation wrought by the Korean War, as well as the poverty and hunger that followed, and they were most directly responsible for the country's rapid industrialization and economic development" (Flake, 2008, p. 104). Based on their experience, this generation's political inclination is generally a conservative orientation which is pro-American and anti-North Korean.

2) The 386 Generation

Like the baby boomers and Generation X in the United States, the 386 generation is a memorable nickname which is a requisite for generational recognition. The 386 generation is a moniker that "gained prominence in South Korea during the late 1990s and refers to those who were in their 30s at the time, entered university in the 1980s, and were born in the 1960s" (Flake, 2008, p. 105). There are some salient features about this new generation. First, the 386 generation did not experience the Korean War. This generation never witnessed the North Korean invasion of their homeland and they only heard about the sacrifice of 50,000 U.S.

soldiers in the course of the war from their parents or grandparents, like a legend. The 386 generation typically considered the U.S. as less the country that helped their country in the Korean War and more as the country that backed past military dictators (Bechtol, 2004). Thus, unlike their elders who are in their 50s and 60s, the new generation is less amicable toward the U.S. and more suspicious of U.S. activities for South Korea. In addition, the 386 generation did not experience poverty after the war which the elder generation lived through, whereas they enjoy the benefits of the increasing economic affluence of South Korea.

Second, the 386 generation experienced the democratization in South Korea. The core of this generation is formed by the university classes of 1980 through 1987⁹, so they directly experienced the Gwangju Democratization Movement in 1980¹⁰ and the June Democracy Movement in 1987¹¹.

In the democratization process, the South Korean political system became amenable to political involvement by individuals and groups without any hindrance of power unlike their predecessors whose political activities were limited by the authoritarian regimes. Thus, the 386 generation benefited from an era when the South Korean political system was open to political activism.

Finally, the 386 generation generally tend to have a progressive political orientation. In the political ideological terrain of South Korea, “conservative” generally refers to a position characterized by strong anti-communism, which regards North Korea as the main enemy of

⁹. South Korean University classes known as “*hakbon*”, are determined by entrance year rather than by graduation year.

¹⁰. The Gwangju Democratization Movement refers to a popular uprising for South Korean democratization in the city of Gwangju, South Korea from May 18 to May 27, 1980. During this incident, citizens rose up against South Korean military dictatorship and took control of the city. Military dictatorship mercilessly crushed citizens by the South Korean Army.

¹¹. The June Democracy Movement was a nation-wide democracy movement in South Korea that generated mass protests from June 10 to June 29, 1987. This incident was led by college students in the beginning and was eventually enlarged to the general public. This movement was regarded as the most important tipping point in the South Korean democratization process.

South Korea and a doubtable and nonnegotiable object, a pro-American stance, nostalgia for the state-led and export-driven economic policy in the 1970s and 1980s, a pro-business stance, and support for a strong state *vis-à-vis* society. “Progressive,” on the other hand, connotes an open attitude toward North Korea, an anti-America stance, a pro-labor stance, and support for a stronger civil society (Peerenboom, 2004, p. 407). The emerging participation of the 386 generation in the most part of South Korean society including the policy making arena has been explained by pointing out that “the ideological transformation from conservatism to progressivism is a natural flow of the distribution of age” (Chang, 2004). Furthermore, Song (2003) explained that “Even the Kim Dae-jung government was not an exception. As far as senior personnel have observed, the confessed panic in their minds is not caused by the ordinal and gradual regime change, but is tantamount to a rupture created by the generational change and the ideological shift to more progressive positions in politics and society” (p. 106). The progressive political orientation of the 386 generation affected the change of South Korean policy orientation and preferences, which are different from those of the older generation.

3) The Internet generation

The upcoming generation, individuals in their 20s and early 30s in South Korea, such as Generation Y in the United States, is called the “Internet generation,” the “wired” generation, the “N generation,” the “World Cup generation,” or the “IMF generation.” In this study, this generation is referred to as the Internet generation.

Since the early 1990s, the youngest members of South Korean society have been identified by the name “Shinsedae,” the “new generation” (Park, 2007). Unlike their grandparents’ generation, known as the Korean War generation, who suffered from Japanese

colonial rule and the Korean War, the Internet generation has grown up during the time of peace and prosperity. The Internet generation grew up at a time of the greatest economic growth in modern South Korea history and was the first generation in South Korea to grow up in a democracy. They are also the first generation being benefited by the Internet and who travel widely in South Korea. Recently, they were credited with having the most technologically advanced media habits in the world (Shim, Kim and Martin, 2008, p. 111).

Three historical events influenced the formation of the characteristics of the Internet generation: the Asian financial crisis of 1997, the tragic deaths of two young girls in an accident blamed on the U.S. military forces in South Korea, and the South Korea national soccer team advancing to the semifinals of the World Cup in 2002 (Park, 2007).

When the Asian financial crisis hit South Korea, most of the members of the Internet generation were in high school or college. Many young Koreans witnessed their fathers' sudden job loss, some even committing suicide, and families falling apart. Since then, they acknowledged that a college degree could not guarantee their job or an abundant life anymore and they exposed themselves to the frightful competitive economic world without any safety devices. As a result, their concerns are primarily related to their economic well-being, not the ideological issues which dominated their elders' life since the Korean War (Connor, 2002).

The deaths of two middle-school girls who were killed by a U.S. armored vehicle in 2002 influenced the internet generation's forming negative views on the U.S. role in South Korea. This tragic incident and news that the U.S. did not apologize for this tragic affair spread through newspaper and television coverage, internet websites, and text messaging. The Internet generation was convinced, due to this incident, that the United States dominated and ignored

South Korea. And they wanted their nation to be treated fairly and with respect from the United States.

Shortly after the tragic deaths of the two young girls, South Korea celebrated the stunning performance of the national soccer team's winning its way to the 2002 World Cup semifinals. The spirited response was not so much about soccer as it was about national pride (Shim, 2008). With the increase of national pride, the Internet generation is ashamed of their nation's historical oppression and Japanese colonial rule and has a strong desire to see South Korea respected by other countries (Connor, 2002).

In addition, compared with their elders, the Internet generation has more positive views on North Korea. Influenced by South Korean economic development and economic superiority over North Korea's economy and efforts to reduce military tension on the Korean peninsula, the Internet generation does not fear North Korea anymore. On the contrary, they consider that the North Korean people are of the same Korean ethnic-nation. They also believe that the hard-line policies of the Bush administration are only an obstacle to developing inter-Korean relations and this has led to an increased negative attitude toward the United States (Connor, 2002).

In summary, the common features of new generations such as the 386 generation and the Internet generation are that a) they did not experience the Korean War; b) they enjoyed the benefits of democratization and economic affluence; and c) they have generally a progressive political inclination, in particular, a negative attitude toward the U.S. and a positive attitude toward North Korea. This trend will be elaborated upon late in this chapter.

3. Mobilization of the Young Generation

The emergence of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC)¹² such as the Internet and the mobile phone, has had a tremendous impact on the mobilization of the South Korean young generation for political action. According to Inglehart (1997), the information technology brought forth an entirely new generation, complete with post-material values and anti-traditional styles of thinking and acting in all spheres of the society. In the same way, the new technology is more important to the younger generation than to older people. Table 7 shows the ratio of Internet users among various age groups in South Korea.

Table 10. Internet Usage Ratio by Age (%)

	1999	2002
All nation	22.4	60.9
20s	41.9	86.7
30s	18.5	63.1
40s	12.8	37.9
50s	2.9	20.6
60+	2.9	4.9

Source: Korea Internet & Security Agency: Internet Statistics Information System, <http://isis.kisa.or.kr> & Kim Kyong-Dong, 2003: 306

The aggregate number of Internet users in South Korea was only 11 million in 1999 but exceeded 30 million in 2002. According to Table 10, the large proportion of Internet users in South Korea belonged to the younger generation. In 2002, it was found that more than 7 out of 10 people among the young generation, including the 386 generation and the Internet generation, connected on-line daily, while only 3 out of 10 did so among those aged 40 and older (K.D. Kim,

¹². Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) is defined as any communicative transaction that occurs through the use of two or more networked computers. It includes not only traditional computer-mediated formats like instant messages, e-mails, and chat rooms but also text-based interaction such as text messaging.

2003). Although the percentage of internet users in South Korea tremendously increased over all age groups, the younger generations comprise the majority and are the most frequent users.

Lee (2003) described cyberspace as a very effective political space, where younger South Koreans can be mobilized for specific issues. In reality, although anti-Americanism and nationalism comes and goes and lacks a specific political agenda in the early stage, when communicated through the Internet, it can be suddenly escalated as important political issues, and its influences are strong enough to have meaningful political repercussions.

In effect, computer-mediated communication systems have affected the rate at which information is transmitted among the youth, as well as the way that they mobilize for political action. This phenomenon has contributed to the gradual influence of the younger generation in the policy process of their country, in ways that do not affect their predecessors.

4. Emergence of Nationalism and Anti-Americanism

As mentioned above, the younger generation, including the 386 generation and the Internet generation, generally have nationalistic and anti-American sentiments. Thus, with the emergence of the young generation in South Korean society as an important cohort who influence South Korean public opinion, the importance of analysis on their ideological inclinations such as nationalism and anti-Americanism has been raised.

The origin of nationalism can be traced back to the time of the establishment of South Korea. The first South Korean President, Rhee Syng-man, proposed *ilmin chuui* (One People Principle, and ideology of one people) as the state policy of new nation. In establishing a new nation, Rhee preached the timeless homogeneity of the Korean people and nation as well as utilizing the symbolic sentiments of family and organic body. His “One People Principle”

proclaimed that “as a single race nation that has a long history, we are always one and not two. As one nation, we have to be one always” (Rhee, 1949). President Rhee used ethnic-nationalism to strengthen his regime’s legitimacy and to justify his theory of unification by the northward advance (*Bukchin Tongilron*). In the 1960s and 1970s, President Park Chung-hee said that North Koreans were “our brethren in the north of this great Korean race” and proclaimed that “although we are now separated into the south and north, we are one entity with a common destiny, bound by one language, and by one history and by the same racial origin” (Park, 1973). The Park administration attempted to demobilize civil society and establish “the strong state and weak society” by transforming state power into a catalyst for economic development. The Park regime exploited nationalism for economic development, and the economic growth was not a goal but rather a means of giving and consolidating the regime’s political legitimacy.

In the post-Cold War era, especially since the very early 2000s, the characteristics of South Korean nationalism have changed. South Korean perceptions and attitudes toward North Korea and the United States have changed substantially and irrevocably since the early 2000s. To most South Koreans, with the increase of national pride through a remarkable economic development and democratization process, North Korea is no longer viewed as a military threat, and North Koreans are viewed mostly as poor compatriots who need help because North Koreans are part of the Korean race (*Hanminjok*) who share common blood, ancestry, and a unique language with South Koreans.

South Koreans’ favorable perception and attitude toward North Korea based on nationalism were closely linked to the rising tide of anti-Americanism. An increasing number of South Koreans perceive the U.S. as a bully, a threat to peace on the Korean peninsula, and an obstacle to inter-Korean reconciliation and reunification (Joo, 2007, p. 178). In South Korea,

anti-Americanism grew steadily in the 1980s when Washington supported military coups and dictatorial governments in Seoul. However, anti-Americanism grew rapidly and intensely after the inauguration of G.W. Bush. Anti-American sentiment spread in South Korea with an atmosphere of inter-Korean reconciliation and cooperation (Joo, 2007, p. 179). Most South Koreans perceived that Bush's hard-line policy toward North Korea would lead to perpetuating the Korean division and preventing inter-Korean cooperation. In addition, anti-Americanism in South Korea was linked to South Koreans' demand for equal partnership with the United States. While North Korea's military threats were overwhelming and U.S. forces in South Korea served as an effective deterrent against North Korea's military threat, a friendly relationship with the U.S. was very important to South Koreans, so they welcomed the U.S. military presence. However, after the democratic consolidation with the inauguration of Kim Dae-jung in 1997 and an improvement of South Korea's socioeconomic conditions, South Koreans became increasingly impatient with the heavy-handed, self-centered attitudes and behavior of the United States. In effect, with rapid economic development and political democratization, South Koreans have become self-confident and assertive, more willing to readily point out injustices and unfair practices vis-à-vis the United States (Joo, 2007, p. 180).

The emergence of nationalism and anti-Americanism in South Korea apparently affected South Koreans' perception on North Korea and the United States. This impact can be understood by public opinion polls. The South Korean perception on North Korea has continuously changed.

Table 11. South Korean Attitude toward North Korea (%)

	1994	1995	1999	2002	2005
Positive	25.2	36.9	51.9	54.4	64.9
Negative	70.7	63.1	45.0	41.4	31.1

Source: Report of the Public Opinion Survey on Unification Issues, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2002, and 2005, Korean Institute for National Unification (KINU).

Figure 10. South Korean Attitude toward North Korea (%)

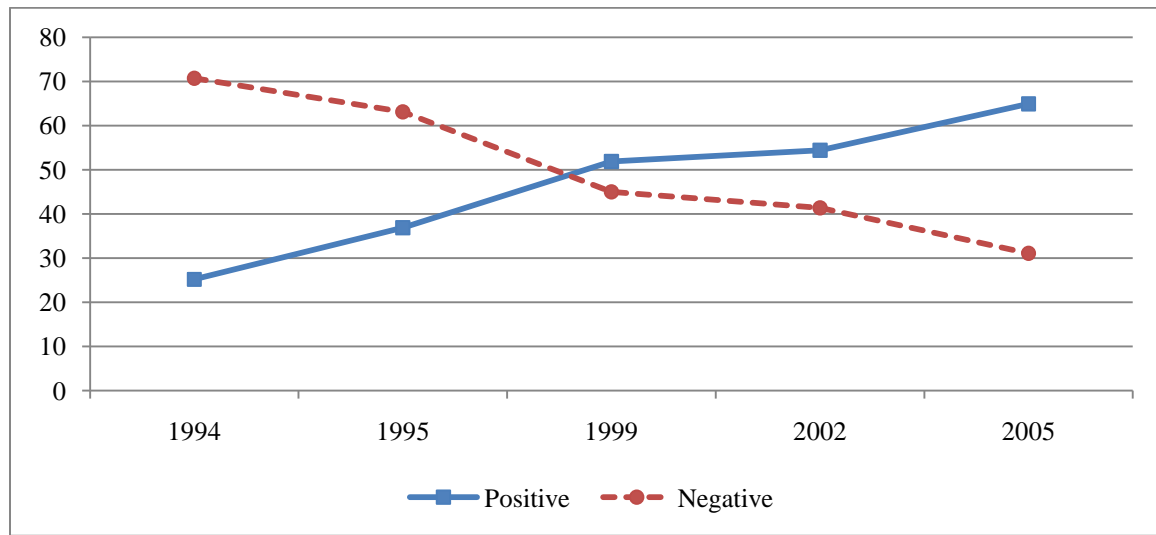


Table 11 and Figure 8 show that the South Korean positive attitude toward North Korea was only 25.2% in 1994 and 36.9% in 1995. At that time, most South Koreans (70.7% in 1994 and 63.1% in 1995) considered North Korea as a main threat, always capable of attacking the South. However, this tendency has changed since 2000. According to Table 11, in 1999, the South's positive and negative attitudes on North Korea were almost half and half (51.9% and 45%), even though the positive attitude was a little higher than the negative one. But, the margin between the two attitudes has increased since 2002. In the 2002 poll, the South Korean positive attitude toward North Korea was 54.4% and increased to 64.9% in 2005. Negative attitude, on

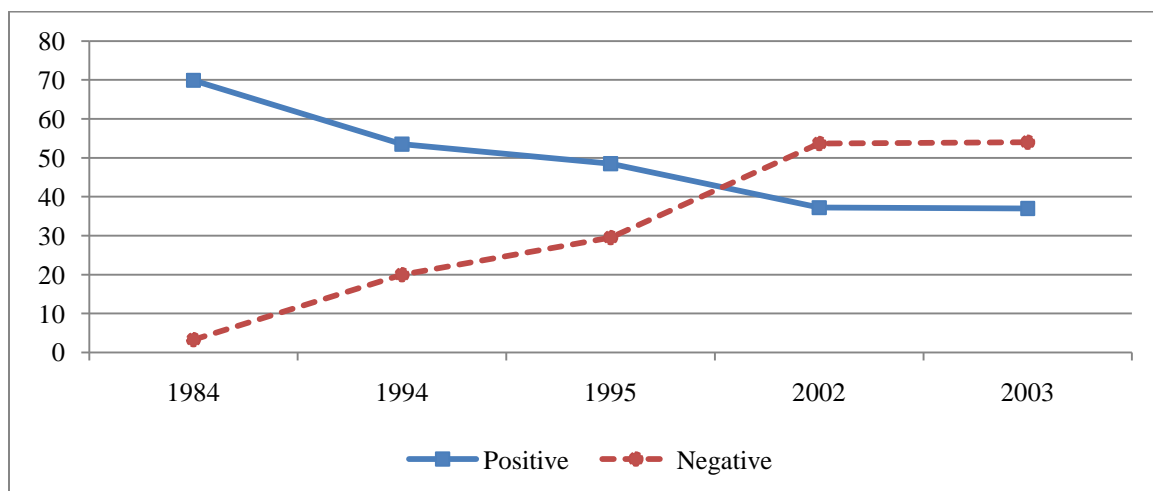
the other hand, continuously decreased to 31.1% in 2005. South Korean attitude toward North Korea diametrically changed over a 10-year period.

Table 12. South Korean Attitude toward the United States (%)

	1984	1994	1995	2002	2003
Positive	69.9	53.5	48.5	37.2	37.0
Negative	3.3	20.0	29.5	53.7	54.0

Source: Dong-a Ilbo, April 1, 1989, Perception on the National Security Affairs, Korea National Defense University, 1994, 1995, Gallup Korea poll, July 2002 and September 2003.

Figure 11. South Korean Attitude toward the United States (%)



Like the attitude of South Koreans toward North Korea, the attitude toward the United States has also changed for the last 20 years. Table 12 and Figure 9 show that only 3.3% of South Koreans had a negative attitude in the 1984 poll even though anti-Americanism had spread to the the younger generation because they considered that the U.S. backed the South Korean dictatorships. And an overall majority of South Koreans (about 70%) was favorable to the United States at that time. Even in 1995, almost the majority of South Koreans (48.5%) had a positive

attitude toward the United States. However, this favorable inclination toward the United States in South Korea changed.. The number of South Koreans who had a positive attitude was merely 37.2% in 2002 and 37% in 2003. On the contrary, the majority of South Koreans (53.7% in 2002 and 54.0% in 2003) had a negative attitude on their strong ally, the United States.

As illustrated by the above polls, nationalistic and anti-American sentiments in South Korea had a big impact on the formation of public attitude toward the United States and North Korea, and those two ideological inclinations tended to be more strongly represented from the younger generation (20s and 30s) than from the older generation (50s and over). Thus, the younger generation's attitudes took the lead in the public opinion in South Korea on the perceptions on the United States and North Korea.

Table 13. Negative Attitudes toward U.S. and North Korea by Age Distribution

Age	United States	North Korea
20-29	76%	32%
30-39	67%	29%
40-49	53%	39%
50+	26%	47%

Source: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2003: 113, Gallup Korea poll, December 2002.

Table 13 shows that negative attitudes toward the United States and North Korea differed by age groups. According to a 2002 poll by Gallup Korea, 76% of those in their 20s had negative attitudes toward the United States and only 32% showed negative attitudes toward North Korea. The 30s age group had a similar percentage to that of the 20s age group: 67% of those in their 30s had a negative attitude toward the United States and only 29% of them were negative toward

North Korea. However, those above age 50 had different attitudes. Only 26% of them were negative toward the United States and 47% of them had negative attitudes toward North Korea.

Table 14. The Country Most Disliked (%)

	20s	Above 50
United States	35.4	5.3
North Korea	4.1	25.3

Source: Sook-Jong Lee, 2004:18; *JoongAng Daily*-CSIS-RAND poll, September 2003

Table 15. Which Country is More Important to Cooperate with? (%)

	20s	Above 50
North-South Koreas	46.2	26.4
U.S.-South Korea	17.6	38.8

Source: Sook-Jong Lee, 2004:18; *JoongAng Daily*-CSIS-RAND poll, September 2003

Another poll in 2005 (Tables 14 and 15) provided results similar to those of the 2002 poll (Table 13). Table 14 shows that 35.4% of the young generation in their 20s responded that the country they disliked most was the United States, with only 4.1% responding that it was North Korea. For those 50 and above, only 5.3% disliked the United States most and 25.3% disliked North Korea most. In addition, when asked about which country to cooperate with, this tendency to prefer North Korea over the United States was clear among the young generation. Table 15 shows while over 46% of the respondents in their 20s expressed the importance of inter-Korean cooperation, the rate for those in their 50s and over was only 26.4%. On the contrary, only 17% of respondents in their 20s regarded as important the cooperation with the United States, but

about 40% of the respondents aged 50 or more overemphasized the importance of cooperation with the U.S.

Table 16. Threat Perceptions in South Korea (%)

Which Country Presents the Most Serious Threat to South Korea's National Security?

Age	United States	North Korea	China	Japan
20s	58	20	9	9
30s	47	22	16	8
40s	36	34	14	7
50+	18	52	8	6
Total	39	33	12	8

Source: www.chosun.com. January 11, 2004, Chae-Jin Lee, 2006:309

Also, Table 16 shows South Koreans' threat perception by different age groups in 2004. In total, 39% of the people identified the United States as the biggest security threat to South Korea, with 33% citing North Korea. This inclination was most serious for people in their 20s, 58% of whom chose the United States as a serious threat, but only 20% considered that North Korea was the most serious security threat to South Korea. However, in the 50s age group and older, only 18% considered the U.S. as a threat and 52% of them identified North Korea as a threat.

Table 17. Who has the responsibility for the North Korean nuclear crisis? (%)

	The United States	North Korea
20s	45.3	31.8
30s	49.8	27.5
40s	31.4	38.7
50s	28.1	44.9
60s	19.4	35.4

Source: *Korea Times* poll, June 2002.

In a poll conducted by the *Korea Times* in 2002, 38% of the respondents thought that the current military tension on the Korean peninsula was attributed to the United States compared to 31% who blamed North Korea. The gap of total percentage between the U.S. and North Korea on the tension responsibility was only 7%, but the generational gap of opinion between the younger and older generations is quite huge. In this poll, in the 20s and 30s age group, about 50% thought that the United States was responsible for the military tension, but only 31.8% and 27.5% of younger groups put that responsibility on North Korea. However, in the 50s and 60s age groups, only 28.1% and 19.4% thought that the U.S. was responsible for the tension on the Korean peninsula.

5. Voting Patterns of the Young Generation

Since the division of the Korean peninsula, the military confrontation with North Korea has been one of the most important factors shaping domestic political processes in South Korea. The military dictatorships and authoritarian regimes had constantly used anti-Communist ideology and “national security” concerns as their campaign strategies. In reality, in the presidential elections during the Cold War era, the polling score of conservative presidential

candidates was larger than that of any other progressive presidential candidates irrespective of age groups.

Table 18. Voting Behavior by Age in the 1992, 1997 and 2002 Presidential Elections (%)

	2002			1997			1992		
Age	H.C.Lee (C)	M.H. Roh (P)	Others	H.C. Lee (C)	D.J. Kim (P)	Others	Y.S. Kim (C)	D.J. Kim (P)	Others
20s	28.5	60.6	10.9	27.9	43.2	28.9	35.1	32.8	32.1
30s	33.5	60.5	6.0	34.8	43.7	30.6	43.4	32.3	24.3
40s	46.6	43.9	9.5	44.1	37.2	18.8	51.9	33.0	15.1
50+	63.0	28.4	9.6	51.0	34.2	14.8	63.9	23.9	12.2

* (C): Conservative presidential candidate, (P): Progressive presidential candidate

Source: www.chosun.com/w21data/html, retrieved on February 21, 2011.

Table 18 shows that Kim Young-sam, a conservative candidate, received more support from all ages than the number of supporters of Kim Dae-jung, a progressive candidate in the 1992 presidential election. The conservative candidate, Kim Young-sam, acquired a greater number of votes from even those in their 20s and 30s.

However, in the 1997 and 2002 elections, the young generation had significant and persistent differences in voting behavior by age unlike during past presidential elections. Table 18 shows that younger voters tended to support progressive candidates and parties, while older voters supported conservative candidates and parties. In the 1997 election, Kim Dae-jung, who was a progressive candidate, received much more support from voters in their 20s and 30s than did Lee Hoi-chang, a conservative candidate. This phenomenon was continued to the 2002 presidential election. According to Table 18, in the 2002 presidential election, Roh Moo-hyun, a progressive candidate, received overwhelming support (about 61%) from voters in their 20s and 30s, while a conservative candidate, Lee Hoi-chang, received about 63% of the votes of the 50 and older group. And, regarding the votes of those in their 40s, Lee Hoi-chang edged Roh Moo-

hyun by a 2.7% point margin. Table 18 shows that the winning margins in the votes of the 20s and 30s enabled him to overcome the losing margins in the votes of the 50 and older age group.

In South Korean political history, there was no other candidate who has ever received such overwhelming support from younger voters. Even though Kim Dae-jung received full support from younger voters (20s and 30s), the extent of the support that Roh Moo-hyun received from voters in the 20s and 30s was much greater than that of Kim Dae-jung in the 1997 election.

These data show the expanding influences of the younger generation in the determination of electoral outcomes in South Korea, undermining the traditional pattern of voting. Several factors have contributed to the overwhelming support of Roh Moo-hyun among relatively young voters. First, Roh Moo-hyun's campaign messages were "the liquidation of old politics" and "the generational replacement in politics" and those were more appealing to the young generation than Lee Hoi-chang's "the indictment and trial of the corrupt regime." In effect, younger voters wanted new political leaders who could speak for their voices and would materialize their political preferences.

Second, the communication networks through the Internet were effective in mobilizing the young generation in the election. The bulletin boards of major newspapers and web portals have provided young voters with chances to exchange their views and opinions to others on the campaign issues. Through these exchanges, campaign issues such as anti-American sentiment and positive views on North Korea could easily spread among young voters and this influenced public opinion during the election campaign. This phenomenon has enhanced the level of awareness of the young voters about the issues and has solidified the young age group into a voting bloc (Shin, 2004).

Third, Roh Moo-hyun's pro-North Korean attitude in declaring the continuation of the 'Sunshine Policy' and his emphasis on South Korean autonomy vis-à-vis the United States attracted the attention of young voters. In contrast to past elections, South Korean voters, especially the post-Korean War generation, were not seriously disturbed by the North Korean nuclear issue and refused to believe that Pyongyang would initiate a military attack on South Korea. On the contrary, they sensitively reacted to anti-American and South Korean autonomy issues.

Therefore, the change in voting patterns in South Korea, emanating from the voting behavior of the young generations, has translated into the policy stances of politicians. Paying attention to the young generation's preferences has emerged as a significant factor in the South Korean domestic politics.

To summarize, the young generation such as the 386 generation and the Internet generation in South Korea has two key demands: an increase of South Korean autonomy in the foreign policy decision making and improvement of inter-Korean relationships. These demands are generally raised throughout all South Korean age groups, but younger South Koreans are more assertive than their predecessors (J.K. Ryoo, 2004; J.H. Lee, 2004; S.J. Lee, 2004). In general, the young generation (the 386 generation and the Internet generation) takes pride in South Korea's achievements such as the rapid economic development and democratization (S.J. Lee, 2004; J.K. Ryoo, 2004). As a result of these achievements, the younger generations in South Korea perceive the relationship with the U.S. as unequal, and they have targeted the United States to test national assertiveness and their newfound sense of autonomy (S.J. Lee, 2004). In the same vein, the younger generation in South Korea tends to view the presence of U.S. forces

in South Korea as “infringement on or usurpation of South Korea’s national sovereignty” rather than a deterrent against North Korea’s aggression (S.J. Lee, 2004, p. 16).

The other implication of generational change in South Korea is the improvement of inter-Korean relations. The young generation in South Korea tend to have a predominantly progressive political orientation and subscribe to ethnic nationalism. Many of the South Korean youth tend to view North Korea more favorably than in the past. With pride in the economic and political developments, the young generation tend to be more sympathetic to North Korea and to support policies with less emphasis on reciprocity and more emphasis on economic aid (C.N. Kim, 2004). In addition, they no longer see North Korea as a major threat but as a poor kindred spirit in need of assistance. With this perception on North Korea, the young generation have demanded from the South Korean government better inter-Korean relations and a continuous engagement policy toward North Korea.

CHAPTER 9

UNIFICATION EDUCATION

All societies tend to use education to integrate and socialize their people, especially the youth. The purpose of education is to transmit the social values, skills, and knowledge necessary for the survival and propagation of a social order (Gaworek, 1977). By controlling the education system by government, the regime seeks to enhance its power, legitimize its authority, promote its policies, and maintain social stability. A state, that is, claims the exclusive right to educate its youth according to its purported aim of achieving the national goal. Thus, education is political and stresses loyalty to the regime, buttressing its claim to sole authority to interpret the present, the past, and the future (Gaworek, 1977).

Many scholars have studied the relationship between the political attitude of individuals and education, and they have widely used education as a predictor of political attitudes. In *The Civil Culture*, Almond and Verba (1963) argued that “educational attainment appears to have the most important demographic effect on political attitude,” and that more education leads to a more positive attitude toward the “civic culture” (pp. 379-384). Some scholars found that in the communist systems the better-educated tended to be more critical of the communist regime and supportive of democratic change (Gibson, 1992; Miller, 1993). Many cultural theorists in political socialization have maintained that generational views and behaviors are formed during childhood by education, and remain relatively unchangeable throughout the rest of their life to shape and interpret later experiences (Greenberg, 1969; Langton, 1973; Searing, Schwartz, and Lind, 1973). For instance, people in authoritarian societies are educated from childhood to

adhere to the social values and behaviors supportive of the regime, and their political inclination formed by a state-led education is likely to continue after they have become adults (White, 1979; Kelly, 2005). This means that the change of social and political attitude or inclination is unlikely to occur or occurs at a gradual pace once those are formed because political attitudes and social values are inculcated from childhood and deeply ingrained by repeated education. Thus, the cultural theorists of learning states argued that school education plays a pivotal role in socializing individuals into certain views, attitudes, and values. Thus, the role of education appears to be the driving factor between those with liberal and conservative views on social and political issues (Van Der Waal, Achterberg, and Houtman, 2007).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, South Korea has maintained a hostile stance toward North Korea for five decades. In recent years, however, a hostile South Korean sentiment toward North Korea has been replaced with a more positive perception, and this change of perception has been led by young South Koreans. Today's young South Koreans view their Northern counterparts as wayward or distant impoverished kin from the other side of the demilitarized zone. This chapter analyzes the relationship between education and the formation of political attitude of young cohorts in South Korea. Thus, this chapter discusses the concept of unification education and the changes in the unification education contents in each administration since the foundation of the country.

1. Concept of Unification Education

The purpose of political education is to develop the social consciousness of young cohorts. Thus, throughout their political education, the youth learn the political structure and institutions in their society and understand that every phenomenon and behavior in life has

political and social meanings. Political education, that is, helps them to understand that society is one living organism and to have the mindset that individual behavior and destiny can be analyzed in the social structure and social development process.

Political education has two different functions (Lee, 1997, pp. 43-44). First, it contributes to ensuring that a society goes in the developmental and progressive direction, so political education focuses on the development of rational criticism, which is the foundation of a democratic society. Second, political education contributes to sticking to the current social structure and phenomenon and protects the existing governance structure in society; in other words, it meets the demands of the ruling power's interests and can be an effective tool for the extension of the current power structure. Moreover, political education has the intention to socialize a student who can contribute to social preservation and development. Thus, unification education in South Korea can be regarded as one kind of political education because it has begun to recognize the current problem facing South Korea—territorial division—and the permanent national goal of peaceful unification for the future of South Korea. Accordingly, South Korean unification education can be said to be a kind of political education related to the unification issue and an education for cultivating a desirable value and attitude for achieving unification.

The concept of unification education has been affected by the South Korean domestic political environment, a national consciousness, and unification policies of the times, and thus has changed several times since the foundation of the country (Lee and Oh, 2000, pp. 6-10). In the Cold War era, unification education just focused on anti-communism and a hostile attitude toward North Korea, but since the 1990s more concrete definitions of unification education have been proposed.

Table 19. Comparison of the Periodic Concept of Unification Education

Time & Source	Concept of Unification Education	Emphasis
Guidebook on Unification Education / 1989	Enlightenment campaign led by government which helps to correct knowledge and provides serious consideration and rational thinking on unification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Preparation for unification - Cautiousness on North Korea
Teaching Guideline for Unification Education / 1993	Education enabled to contribute to reunifying the divided nations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of both unification and national security
Basic Direction for Unification Education / 1995	Education for realization of peaceful unification, a desirable value and attitude for a unified Korea, and formation of a social consensus on unification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understanding of current security situation - Presentation for vision on unified Korea
Objectivities in unification education / 1998	Education for development of the belief on liberal democracy and national community spirit and for the cultivation of desirable value and attitude for unification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emphasis on not an immediate unification but a peace - National community spirit -The cooperation and reconciliation between South and North Korea
Basic Guideline for Unification Education / 2004	Education for the belief on liberal democracy and national community spirit and for the cultivation of desirable value and attitude for unification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National community spirit - A change of inter-Korean relations - Adaptation to the new unification environment

In *Guidebook on Unification Education* (Education Research Institute, Seoul National University, 1989), unification education was defined as “an enlightenment campaign led by government which helps to acquire correct knowledge on unification and to care deeply about unification.” In addition, in *Teaching Guideline for Unification Education* (Ministry of

Education, 1993, pp. 1-5), unification education was defined as “education enabled to contribute to reunifying the divided nations.” According to *Objectives in Unification* (Ministry of Unification, 1998, pp. 4-5), the goal of unification education is “to increase the belief in liberal democracy and the Korean community (*Han-min-jok*) spirit and to cultivate a desirable value and attitude about unification.” South Korean unification education, that is, takes aim at a cultivation of a desirable view and attitude toward unification to respond to the change in the unification environment on the basis of understanding the unification issue.

2. Anti-Communism Curriculum: 1948-1987

Unification education during the Cold War and the authoritarian regimes era (1948-1987) was anti-communist education. Anti-communist education aimed at the exposure of the limitations of communism and criticism of the North Korean regime. Simultaneously, it tried to reveal the superiority of South Korean political ideology (liberal democracy) and the legitimacy of the South Korean regime compared with the North Korean regime. Furthermore, anti-communist education attempted to inspire the fierce rivalry and hostility against North Korea to win in a confrontation against the North.

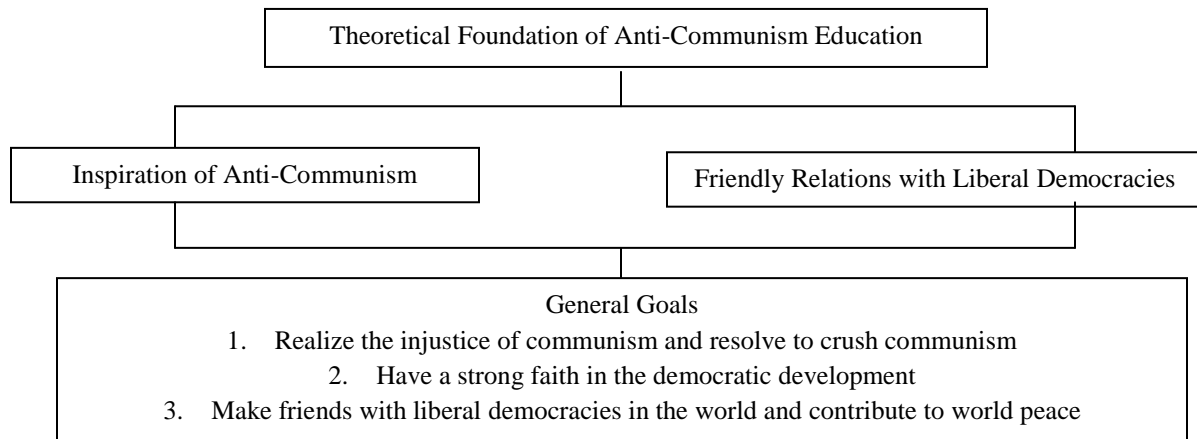
Influenced largely by the Cold War system, South Korea’s unification education during this period (1948-1987) was carried out in a black and white manner, stressing the legitimacy of liberal democracy in South Korea on the one hand and criticizing the limits of the communist system and its ideology in North Korea on the other. Based on those principles, the succeeding military and authoritarian regimes until 1987 were directly in charge of deciding the education policies and executing them. Due to the characteristics of the era such as the ideological division of the Korean peninsula in 1948, the Korean War in 1950, and a series of North Korean military

provocations, South Korea made efforts to bring to light the negative aspects of North Korea, emphasizing its aggressiveness and hostility.

1) Rhee Syng-man Administration (1948-1960)

The first South Korean President, Rhee Syng-man, emphasized a threatening attitude toward North Korea and a complete victory against communism. President Rhee repeatedly mentioned the necessity of anti-communism, the opposition to the appeasement policy toward North Korea, and the importance of the “unification of northward advance” policy. Unification education under the Rhee administration criticized the limitations and inconsistencies of North Korean communism and stressed the legitimacy of South Korean liberal democracy; therefore, these principles developed and strengthened an exclusive and emotional national spirit education. The political structure of South Korea at that time took form mainly by assistance from the United States, which fully influenced ideology and security in South Korea. Thus, the direction of unification education in the early stage was determined to be anti-communist and conservative education. Unification education took a political systemic and ideological approach and focused mainly on anti-communism with stress on the beautification of liberalism, an absolute refusal of socialism, and the negative features of North Korea. The formation of the concrete content of anti-communist education was based on “the First Unification Education Seminar” in 1969. In the seminar, unification education was concretely discussed and, eventually, the educational curriculum, including educational goals, direction, and methods, was decided as shown below in Figure 10.

Figure 12. Theoretical Foundation and General Goals of Unification Education in the Rhee Administration



Source: The Board of National Unification, "Theoretical Foundation & General Goals of Unification Education," 1978

The early stage of South Korean unification education was nothing but national spirit education focused on the instigation of a hostile attitude against North Korea. During the Cold War, the South Korean social and political environments were led by the legacy of territorial division and the Korean War and the continuous coup and authoritarian regimes. With these social and political environments, a long-term seizure of power of South Korean authoritarian regimes accustomed people to a security-oriented way of thinking that the South could be communized by the North if political and social unrests are aroused in South Korean society. Therefore, South Korean authoritarian regimes used people's security-oriented way of thinking to prolong their rule and overemphasized the anti-communism spirit.

2) Park Chung-hee Administration (1961-1979)

Under the Park Chung-hee administration, anti-communism was still a main component of unification education. An event which practically emphasized anti-communism in South

Korean school education was a military coup on May 16, 1961. The main group of the military coup presented anti-communism as the top of the national agenda. In Article I of the revolution pledge, the military *junta* asserted that “we adopt anti-communism as the basis of national policy and should rearrange anti-communism posture.” Based on the revolution pledge, the South Korean military junta employed strong anti-communism measures to push the anti-communism policy.

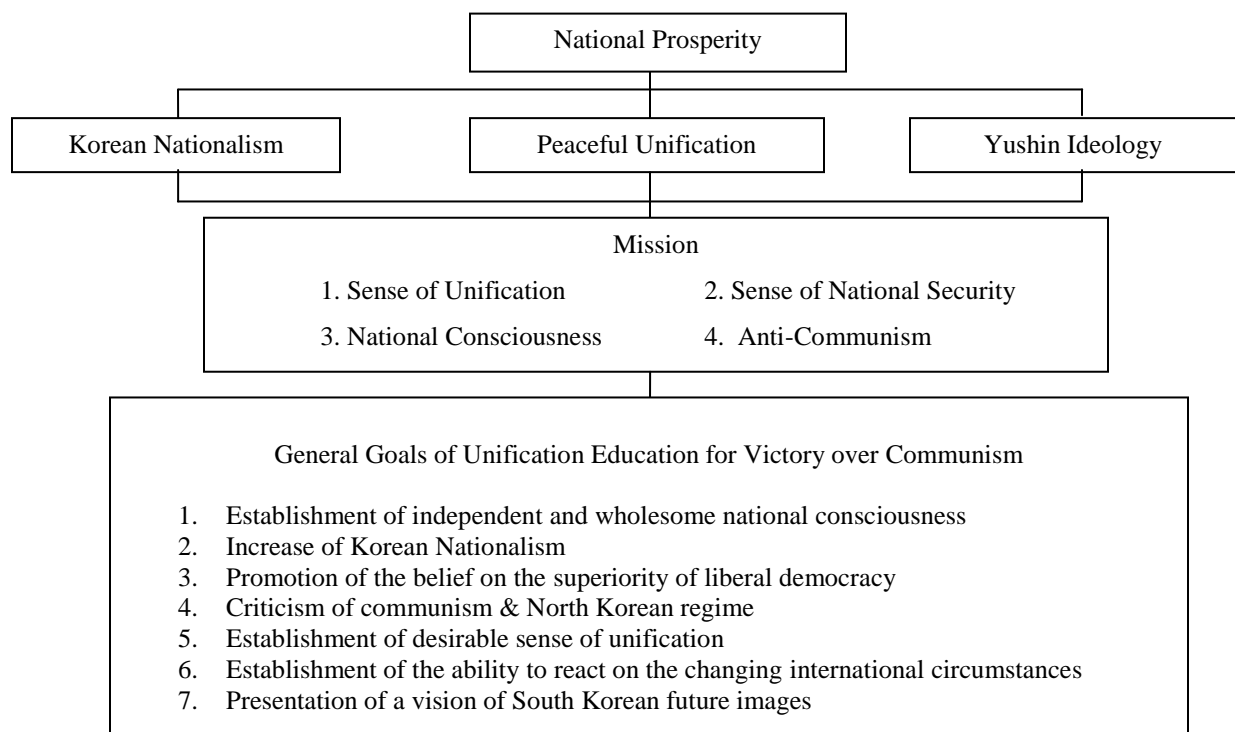
The Blue House (the executive office and official residence of the South Korean President) raid by North Korean armed guerillas on January 21, 1968, was a turning point in anti-communism education. The South Korean government had continuously emphasized anti-communism in all aspects of society but social integration was hard to achieve on the basis of anti-communism ideology. However, the North Korean military provocation in 1968 enabled all South Koreans to be united within the anti-communism framework and the people’s awareness of national security was increased by that incident. The South and the North maintained a face-off without any dialogue and this confrontational environment was reflected in the unification education in the 1960s, thereby planting distrust and antagonism toward North Korea.

The change in the international environment such as the *détente* between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the inter-German rapprochement, the U.S. announcement of the “Nixon Doctrine,”¹³ and the improvement of U.S.-China relations in the 1970s had an effect on South Korean unification education. Those changes in the international security environment meant a South Korean security crisis, militarily balanced between South Korea and North Korea by the presence of the U.S. forces in South Korea. Thus, the Park administration tried to surmount the security crisis with powerful politics to integrate all South Koreans and strengthen national

¹³. The Nixon Doctrine was announced in a press conference in Guam on July 25, 1969 by U.S. President Richard Nixon. He stated that the U.S. henceforth expected its allies to take care of their own military defense, but that the U.S. would aid in defense as requested.

spiritual education and anti-communism education (Han, 1997). With the change in the security environment, South Korean unification education also changed from a passive anti-communism education to a positive “education for victory over communism” (Park, 2006, p.101). The emergence of unification education for victory over communism meant that unification education had changed from a life-centered curriculum to a discipline-centered curriculum. Previous unification education emphasized a blind anti-communism to the general public and could not present an academic basis; thus, education for victory over communism strengthened the academic logic of anti-communism.

Figure 13. Ideas and General Goals of Unification Education for Victory over Communism



Source: The Board of National Unification, “Teaching Guideline of Unification Education,” 1973.

Unification education for victory over communism took the most important aim at the establishment of a strong sense of national security, and the logic of national security and victory

over communism were the main contents of the revised unification education. Thus, unification education for victory over communism reinforced the hostility against North Korea and laid great emphasis on maintaining a strong national security, which is directly connected with national competitiveness (Park, 2006).

Specifically, the goal of unification education is “recognizing the inconsistency and myth of communism, realizing the superiority of liberal democracy, and having a sense of duty about peaceful unification through an inflexible determination concerning the frustration of North Korean aggressive intention” (Ministry of Education & Human Development Resources, 2001). The content of the middle school unification education contained the cause of the division of the Korean peninsula, the real state of affairs in North Korea, North Korean provocations and national security, peaceful unification, a transition of communism ideology, inconsistency of communism and superiority of democracy, and competition between communism and democracy. In the high school unification education, the content contained a mission of national prosperity, criticism of communism ideology, North Korean military provocations, the water-tight national security posture, and the task for victory over communism (Ministry of Education & Human Development Resources, 2001).

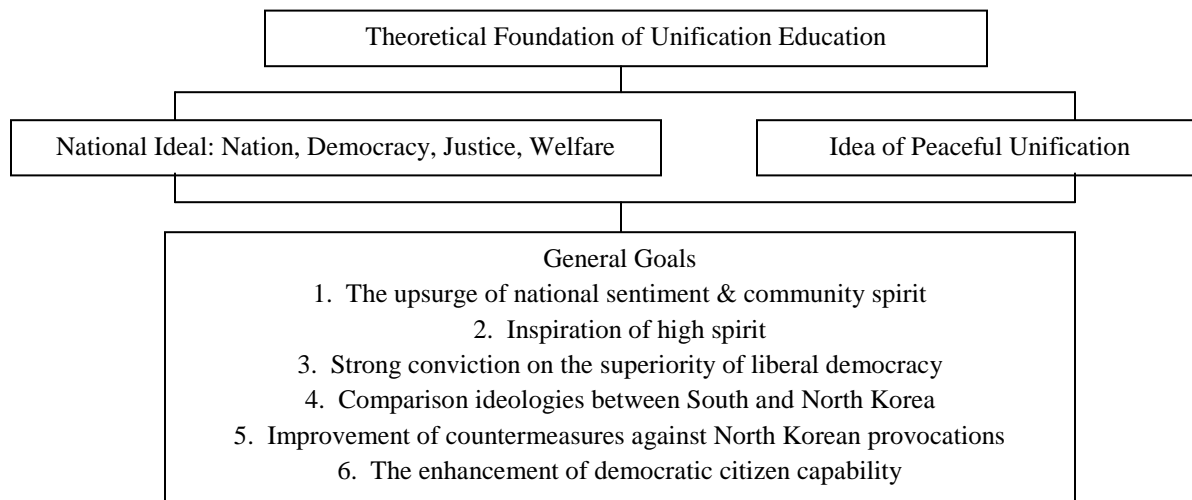
3) Chun Doo-hwan Administration (1981-1987)

The Chun Doo-hwan administration structuralized a coercive dictatorship due to a lack of legitimacy in acquiring the process of political power; therefore, the South Korean government oppressed the political equality to maintain an oligarchic political system by the military and restricted the people’s legal and institutional rights. Through this process, the South Korean military authoritarian regime pushed ahead with a reinforcement of ideological education to

pacify the people's dissatisfaction with the political legitimacy and to support social integration with a strong political ideology (Chung, 1983). Thus, the Chun administration emphasized the role of unification and ideological education and presented revised contents such as the naturalization of democracy, building a welfare state, the realization of a just society, the upsurge of national sentiment, and the early achievement of peaceful unification. Also, North Korea maintained a communization policy toward South Korea, and South Korea stressed the necessity of ideological education as a countermeasure. Thus, unification education in the Chun administration tended to follow the existing anti-communism education and emphasized a more systematic ideological education than the existing education.

Under the assumption that a firm anti-communism policy and awareness of national security is the groundwork for peaceful unification, the South Korean government criticized communism ideology and the North Korean regime, and tried to promote a negative sense toward North Korea that North Koreans suffered from the suppression of the North Korean regime. Simultaneously, the South Korean government emphasized an awareness of South Korea's superiority over North Korea (The Academy of Korean Studies, 1983).

Figure 14. Ideas and General Goals of Unification Education



Source: The Academy of Korean Studies, “A Guidebook of National Spiritual Education,” 1982.

Specifically, in the middle school, the goal of unification education was “recognizing the superiority of democracy, developing capabilities to counteract North Korean aggression and contributing to the peaceful unification of the homeland.” Also, the goal of high school unification education was “having a firm ideology enabled to resist the North Korean challenge and confirming the conviction of liberal democracy and peaceful unification” (Ministry of Education & Human Development Resources, 2001).

The contents of middle school unification education contained the cause of the division of the Korean peninsula, the political and economic reality of North Korea, the features of the communist society, communist countries’ aggressive policies and invasion examples, an aspiration and meaning of unification, inter-Korean relations, and democratic and peaceful education. In addition, the high school contents contained the theory and reality of communism, the international situation surrounding the Korean peninsula, the specific character of the North Korean society, the aggressive policies of North Korea, the unification policy of South Korea,

and the meaning of national security (Ministry of Education & Human Development Resources, 2001).

Unification education under the Chun administration maintained the basis of existing education such as victory over communism and emphasized the national security for democratic peaceful unification. With a definite economic gap between the South and the North, the South Korean government gained confidence in the competition with North Korea, so it emphasized an education of criticizing North Korean ideology and national security instead of the terror of the North Korean communist regime.

3. Security-Oriented Curriculum: 1988-1992

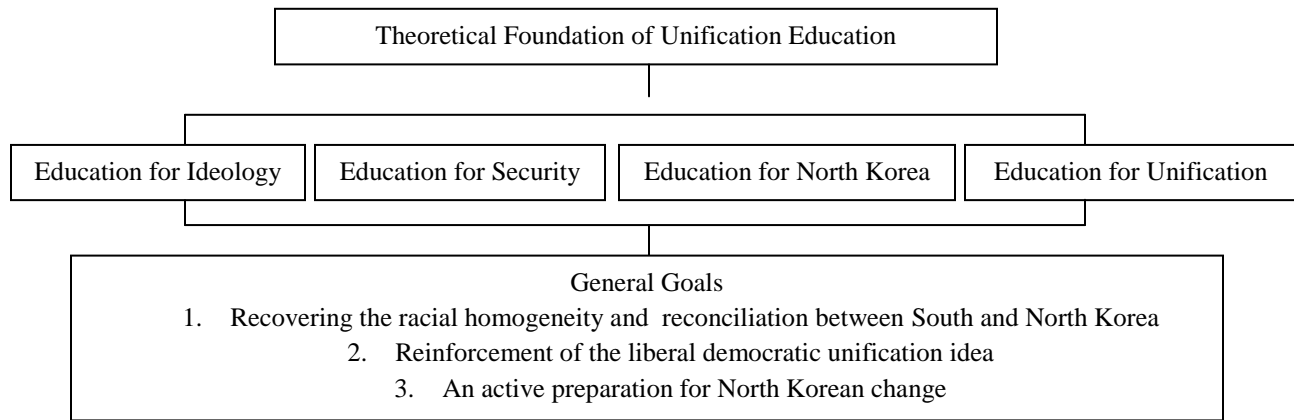
With the breakdown of the Cold War structure, which made the competition of ideology and system no longer relevant, and the confidence from economic superiority over North Korea, South Korea's unification education changed from its main focus of anti-communism to a security-oriented one. The new security-oriented unification education tried to make a balance between keeping the nation on alert against communism and the need for unification. However, the basis of new unification education also regarded "security" as important like the existing unification education. In other words, security-oriented unification education defined North Korea or North Koreans as not the object of competition or enemy on the basis of the Cold War mindset but the Korean people who have to live together. Under this premise, security-oriented unification education was combined with the existing unification education emphasizing anti-communism.

1) Roh Tae-woo Administration (1988-1992)

Security-oriented unification education under the Roh administration attempted to help South Koreans recognize the possibility of two kinds of unification forms—peaceful unification and unification through military force. It premised that South Korea was aiming for a peaceful unification; however, North Korea always pursued a forceful unification. Therefore, South Koreans should take precautions against North Korea's ambition. Security-oriented education indicated that North Korea was not only "kindred," who should live together, but also a "real threat" that could be aggressive toward South Korea. Thus, security-oriented education emphasized the will of the South Korean government for peaceful unification and an appropriateness of reinforcement of South Korean's awareness of national security for defense against North Korean forceful unification (Min, 2001).

Security-oriented unification education was a complex product that influenced international factors such as the end of the Cold War and domestic factors such as South Korean democratization. South Korea could not deny the reality that both Koreas had experienced military confrontation for the last several decades. However, the South also could not refuse the idealism that the two Koreas ultimately should be integrated because both were the Korean race. Thus, conflict and confusion was revealed in South Korean unification education because of dual structures like an ideal and reality, and security and unification. Security-oriented unification education was a product of the dual structure of South Korea (Song, 1994).

Figure 15. Theoretical Foundation and General Goals of Unification Education in the Roh Administration



Source: The Board of National Unification, “Teaching Guideline of Unification Education,” 1989.

In the middle school curriculum, the goal of unification education was that of helping “to recognize the tragic division of the country and to make efforts to achieve peaceful unification with recognition of the legitimacy and superiority of South Korea. Also, through unification education, a student would learn to criticize North Korea’s reality and fabrication and to have the will to protect and develop liberal democracy.” In the high school curriculum, unification education was designed “for understanding the necessary and the matters of unification and having the will about the realization of democratic and peaceful unification through understanding of the fact of North Korea” (Ministry of Education & Human Development Resources, 2001).

The contents of middle school unification education focused on the following: the reason for the territorial division; continuous North Korean military provocations; the will of self-reliant national defense; comparison politics, economy, society, and culture between the South and the North; the necessity of unification; a bolshevization plot of North Korea toward South Korea and national security; the fabrication of communist ideas; and the superiority of democratic ideas.

Included in the high school contents were the roots and principles of democracy, political ideologies in modern societies, the process of the development of communism, the process of the division of the Korean peninsula, the reality of the North Korean regime, and the effort for democratic and peaceful education (Ministry of Education & Human Development Resources, 2001).

Unification education under the Roh administration strengthened the contents of superiority of liberal democracy, criticism of communism, and the inspiration of democratic civility. In addition, it emphasized that North Korea was a real military threat to South Korea and, at the same time, its people were kindred Koreans who should be ultimately integrated with those in the South (Ministry of Education & Human Development Resources, 2001).

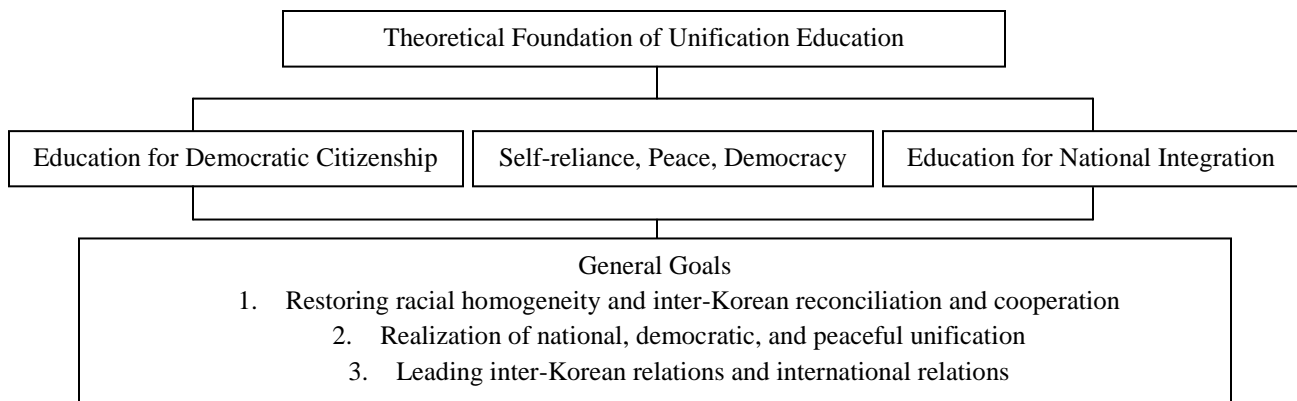
4. Community-oriented Curriculum: 1993-2007

With the emergence of a civilian government in 1993, the contents of unification education was completely changed. The previous unification education described North Korea as a major enemy and an object of criticism and had a black-and-white structure. However, a revised unification education emphasized not the lessons of the past, such as the division of the Korean peninsula and the Korean War, but the future-oriented standpoint after unification. That is, the previous unification education was interested in anti-communistic and security-oriented approaches but the unification education since the civilian government in 1993 made efforts to recognize that North Korea was the Korean race, an object of integration and cooperation.

1) Kim Young-sam Administration (1993-1997)

Unification education under the Kim Young-sam administration pursued an education for real national integration (Park, 2000). South Korean society had experienced a democratization process such as the reinforcement of a democratic system and the creativity of civil society; thus, the goal and contents of unification education was expanded to a civic education to prepare for unification as well as to mirror the North Korean reality.

Figure 16. Theoretical Foundation and General Goals of Unification Education in the Kim Administration



Source: The Ministry of Education, "Teaching Guide of Unification Education," 1993.

Figure 14 above shows that the Kim Young-sam administration, with regard to the contents of unification education, rejected the blind anti-communism and security-oriented education of the previous regimes and strengthened education for national integration.

The goal of unification education in the middle school was that "throughout unification education, students love their homeland, the Korean people, and the Korean culture and recognize the reality of the division of race and country, so they have a community spirit and the will of the realization of unification." In addition, the goal of high school unification education was "to understand the conditions of unification realization and a desirable Korea after

unification and to have a firm will towards unification realization and contribution to world peace” (Ministry of Education, 1999).

In the first year of middle school, the contents of unification education covered the character and spirit of the Korean people, the superiority of Korean culture, patriotism, and relations between a nation and an individual. Education, in the second year of middle school, dealt with the reason and lesson of national division; conflicts between the South and the North; the political, economic, and cultural reality of North Korea; the effort of both Koreas for unification; and a change in the unification environment. Unification education in the third year of middle school covered a desirable Korean people community spirit, restoring racial homogeneity between the two Koreas, and a desirable unification way for the Korean people. In addition, the contents of high school unification education contained the significance and appropriateness of unification, the unification policies of South and North Korea, the obstacles of unification, a precondition of realization of unification, an image for the future of a unified Korea, and the role of a unified Korea in the international relations (Ministry of Education, 1999).

The biggest change in the contents of unification education was the elimination of the contents about a plot of North Korea and criticism of communism and the supplementation of the contents on objective understanding of North Korea, cultivation of a sense of national community, emphasis on gradual unification, preconditions of unification, and a prospect after Korea unification.

Unification education under the Kim Young-sam administration drastically reduced the contents on heterogeneity between the two Koreas and the part on communism which excessively focused on the concept and principle of ideology. And it emphasized restoring the

homogeneity of the Korean people, a national prosperity, and an image for the future of the unified Korea.

2) Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun Administrations (1998-2007)

The Kim Dae-jung administration wanted to find a way for systematization and re-establishment of unification education. On the basis of strong convictions on liberal democracy and the spirit of the Korean community, unification education after the Kim Dae-jung administration aimed at establishing a desirable view of unification and recognizing the appropriateness of the pursuit of a unification policy for the reconciliation and cooperation between the two Koreas.

The Kim Dae-jung government organized “the Council of Unification Education,” making a unification education policy not led by the government but by consultation between the government and the civilian sector. Thus, unification education in the Kim administration raised a democratic civic awareness throughout continuous democratic education, and voluntary civic organizations were established by an educated people. With the emergence of various civic organizations, the major actor of unification education changed hands from the government to the civilian sector.

With a change of the major actor of unification education, there was a change of the educational paradigm. The basic direction of unification education was changed from anti-communism and security-oriented education to education for reconciliation and cooperation between the two Koreas. The orientation of unification was changed from education for political and institutional integration to education for social and cultural integration. The contents of education also changed from an emphasis on the superiority of the South Korean political

structure and ideology to an understanding of North Korean life and an objective comparison between the South and the North. Finally, the teaching method was changed from one-sided communication, limited information, passive participation to open discussion, various sources, and positive participation (Han, 2003).

Table 20. The Goal of Unification Education since the Kim Dae-jung Administration

	Goal of Unification Education
Learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of country and national development - Correct awareness of the real state of affairs in North Korea - Understanding of national culture, history, custom and language - Importance of national security - Awareness of unification necessity - The reason and process of the division of the Korean peninsula - Unification policies of the South and the North - Way for unification
Function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Powers of judgment on the unification issue - Social interaction and participation - The quality of democratic citizenship - A desirable international exchange - Rational decision making
Desirable value, attitude and rational value and attitude	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Love one's country - Spread of democracy - Contribution to national development - Inspiration of a will of unification - Establishment of national homogeneity and identity - Establishment of national community spirit - World peace and global prosperity

Source: Education Center for Unification, "A Guide to Unification Education," 2001.

In the middle school, the goal of unification education was "having an attitude of devotion to Korea and to the Korean people, understanding of the reason and process of national

and territorial division and grasping of unification policies of the South and the North, and having an attitude and ability for a desirable Korean and a citizen of the world after unification.” And the high school’s education goal was “looking for what needs to be achieved for the prosperity of the Korean national community and understanding of a desirable image of a unified Korea” (Ministry of Education & Human Development Resources, 2001).

The contents of middle school unification education contained the meaning and appropriateness of unification, other countries’ unification process, and preparation for unification. Included in the high school education were the reason, process, and lesson of the national and territorial division, the domestic and international environment for unification, a comparison of unification policies between the South and the North, the urgent problem and solution of the Korean community, the future of a unified Korea, and a desirable image of Koreans in the world (Ministry of Education & Human Development Resources, 2001).

There were three distinctive characteristics of unification education after the Kim Dae-jung administration. First, unification education had a change in the security concept. The traditional security concept in South Korea focused on the military aspects since the foundation of the country. However, after the inauguration of President Kim Dae-jung, the security concept was expanded from the military-oriented security to a comprehensive security including political, economic, social, and environmental aspects. Unification education, that is, described that the issues about the division of the country and unification are related to social, domestic, political, economic, and environmental aspects as well as military and political structural confrontation between the two Koreas.

Second, there was an emphasis on social, economic, and cultural integration between South and North Korea. New unification education emphasized social, economic, and cultural

integration between the two Koreas along with institutional and political systematic integration as the basic direction of overcoming the national division. In unification education, liquidating hostility and building up trust between the South and the North on the basis of mutual understanding, coexistence, and co-prosperity on the basis of acknowledgement of mutual opposition, and institutionalization of a cooperation system were presented as ways of achieving a peaceful unification.

Third, in the description of North Korea, unification education in the Kim and the Roh administrations mentioned some good points of North Korea because it tried to emphasize mutual respect and mutual understanding. This feature of new unification education represented breaking from the past blind hostility toward communism and North Korea.

Fourth, unification education suggested an autonomous nation-state, a liberal democratic state, a just welfare state, a high-level democratic state as the image of the future of a unified Korea. In the 21st century, the role of a unified Korea is described as a mediator between developed countries and underdeveloped countries, a troubleshooter of conflicts and disputes in East Asia, the leading country of economic cooperation and trade in East Asia, and the hub country of new Asian culture which combines traditional and modern cultures and Eastern and Western cultures. In addition, the image of the Korean in a unified Korea is an independent person, a person who loves conciliation, cooperation, and peace, an adventurous and creative person, and an ethical person.

The core of unification education in the Kim and the Roh administrations encouraged a sense of ethnic community on the basis of understanding the uniqueness of the Korean people and grasping the exact state of inter-Korean relations. Unification education helped to alleviate hostility and distrust between the South and the North and to encourage harmony and

cooperation between the two Koreas, thereby helping to prepare for national prosperity in an ethnic community.

In conclusion, the Rhee Syng-man administration era (1948-1960) was the time of founding the country, and the dynamics of the Cold War and the political assistance of the United States exercised a powerful influence on the South Korean education system and curriculum. Thus, the then unification education focused on anti-communism and emphasized an ideological factor. Unification education in the Rhee administration was led by a theory of “unification of northward advance,” and anti-communism formed the foundation of unification education.

The Park Chung-hee administration (1961-1979) asserted that South Korea’s earnest wish was unification of the fatherland and considered that building up its national strength to enable South Korea to overwhelm North Korea was the surest unification policy. Unification education under the Park administration was provided in the economic-centered and authoritarian environment and emphasized a theory of victory over communism.

The Chun Doo-hwan administration (1981-87) came into power with a *coup*, so it used the anti-communism and national security issues as a means of political persecution and social control. In this domestic political environment which only focused on anti-communism and security-first ideology, the policy decision-making process was ambiguous and liberal democracy ideology was distorted. Thus, unification education metamorphosed into national spiritual education emphasizing the anxiousness of security and took a security-oriented education form to develop an ideological capability in opposing communism.

The Roh Tae-woo administration (1988-1992) was essentially a military regime which inherited the Chun Doo-hwan administration’s political legacy. However, in the Roh

administration era, political equality was improved compared with the previous regime, and the civilian gradually held a political dominant position. Thus, unification education focused on not only security-oriented education but also civic education.

In the Kim Young-sam administration era (1993-1997), democracy took root in South Korea. In the goals and content of unification education, the real state of affairs in North Korea was contained, and civic education for preparing for unification was reinforced. Also, the then unification education was the first to mention the Korean community and attempted to change the curriculum from a blind confrontational approach to a community-oriented approach.

Kim Dae-jung administration (1998-2002) was a time of democratic consolidation in South Korea, and it pursued peaceful coexistence, reconciliation, and cooperation between South and North Korea through an engagement policy. In addition, the Kim administration provided more organized unification education through the establishment of a legal and institutional system, such as the “Unification Education Support Act” and “A Guide to Unification Education.” In addition, the importance of the spirit of the Korean community was inherent in the content of unification education. Furthermore, the future-oriented unification education which was prepared for the unified fatherland was promoted.

Table 21. South Korean Unification Education Evolution

International Environment	Cold War			Post Cold War		
Democratic Process	Authoritarianism			Democratic Transition	Democracy	
Government	Lee Syng-man (1948-60)	Park Chung-hee (1961-79)	Chun Doo-hwan (1981-87)	Roh Tae-woo (1988-92)	Kim Young-sam (1993-97)	Kim Dae-jung (1998-02)
Curriculum of Unification Education	Anti-Communism Curriculum			Security-Oriented Curriculum	Community-Oriented Curriculum	

The role of education is important in shaping the national identity of young generations because, through education, they get a sense of their national history, their traditional, religious, and ethnic backgrounds and shared identity. Education plays a crucial role, as it is not only an important and influential part of a person's development in early years, it also affects all the people concerned, providing all with identical information and views on issues. As Table 21 shows, the contents of South Korean unification education has been changed by the domestic and international political environment. In the Cold War era, unification education in South Korea focused on anti-communism and security-oriented education, which considered North Korea as the main enemy and the biggest threat to South Korea's national security, but the content of unification education since the post-cold war era has focused on ethnic communalism and community-oriented education emphasizing that the North is a neighbor and cooperation partner for unification. Therefore, this change of the education contents influenced the formation of the political attitude and national identity of South Koreans. As a result, South Korean identity changed from a state-centric paradigm, which emphasized the confrontational environment

between South and North Korea, to a nation-centric paradigm, which stressed peaceful coexistence and co-prosperity between the two Koreas.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

This case study focused on the influence of domestic and ideational factors on South Korean policy toward North Korea and the policy agreement between the U.S. and South Korea since the Kim Dae-jung administration. This chapter summarizes key findings and proffers suggestions for future study.

1. Summary of Key Findings

This dissertation started with the question of what variables explain South Korean policy toward North Korea in the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations and why South Korea has not followed the U.S. leadership since the Kim Dae-jung presidency, unlike the past. In order to answer the research questions, this study set up three hypotheses based on the features of liberalism and constructivism. The hypotheses assumed that the development of South Korean civil society, generational change, and the change of unification education affect South Korean policy toward North Korea and the policy agreement between the U.S. and South Korea.

Chapter 7 has shown that the rise of civil society in South Korea was intimately related to the adoption of the engagement policy toward North Korea. South Korean civil society emerged in the process of pro-democracy movements in the 1980s, and it began to expand rapidly in a more institutionalized and organized form after the democratic transition in 1987. Until the beginning of the democratization process in South Korea in 1987, the relationship between the

state and the civil society had been “strong state-weak society.” Although the authoritarian regimes suppressed the civil society, the introduction of democracy in 1987 opened up the political space in which NGOs could flourish. The result has been a dramatic increase in the number of NGOs in South Korean society and led to the emergence of a “strong state-strong society” relationship. With an increase in quantity, South Korean civil organizations acquired political power by the encouragement of Presidents Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae-jung, and Roh Moo-hyun for the formation and activities of NGOs, the general public’s absolute support for civil organizations, and a rapid adaptation to Internet. Thus, South Korean NGOs have emerged as strong political actors with the aforementioned factors and have initiated policy debates and mobilized the public for political action. As civil organizations’ importance and influence increased in South Korean society, their activities received attention from the public and media and led people’s interest in new social issues. On the basis of increased influence and support from the general public after democratization, South Korean NGOs turned their focus to activities for better inter-Korean relations. Their activities such as reuniting separated families and providing humanitarian aid to North Korea began in earnest in the mid-1990s, and the role of civil society in the inter-Korean relations was recognized and actively promoted in the Kim Dae-jung administration (1998-2002) and the Roh Moo-hyun administration (2003-2007). Over the past decade, South Korean civil society has constituted an important aspect of an initiative of the South Korean engagement policy through playing important roles, especially in areas in which the government could not actively take initiative and affecting South Korean’s positive thinking on reconciliation and unification.

Chapter 8 has shown that generational change in South Korea indisputably has affected the South Korean engagement policy toward North Korea and U.S.-South Korea relations. The

young generation, known as the 386 generation and the Internet generation, is distinguished from the Korean War generation by the fact that they did not experience the Korean War and post-war economic hardship. The key characteristics of these cohorts are that they have enjoyed the benefits of economic development and democracy, have participated in the protest movements for the democratization in the 1980s and the civil social movement in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and tend to be progressive in political orientation. In general, the young generation (the 386 generation and the Internet generation) takes pride in South Korea's achievements such as the rapid economic development and democratization. As a result of these achievements, they perceive the relationship with the U.S. as unequal, and have targeted the United States to test national assertiveness and their newfound sense of autonomy. The other implication of generational change in South Korea is the improvement of inter-Korean relations. The young generation in South Korea tends to have a predominantly progressive political orientation and subscribes to ethnic nationalism. They tend to view North Korea more favorably than in the past. With pride in the economic and political developments, the young generation tends to be more sympathetic to North Korea and to support policies with less emphasis on reciprocity and more emphasis on economic aid. In addition, they no longer see North Korea as a major threat but as a poor kindred spirit in need of assistance. With this perception on North Korea, the young generation has demanded from the South Korean government better inter-Korean relations and a continuous engagement policy toward North Korea. The young generation, who want autonomous U.S.-South Korea relations and better inter-Korean relations, gave progressive presidential candidates Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun full support in the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections, and made a crucial contribution to launch the Progressive administrations in South Korea. Thus, through their voting behavior, the young generation in South Korea took

the lead in the national identity change from state-centric to nation-centric and put pressure on the South Korean government to take the engagement policy approach toward North Korea and have an autonomous policy toward the United States.

Chapter 9 discussed the important role that education plays in shaping the national identity of young generations and also the role that unification education ultimately plays as one of the important determinants influencing the South Korean engagement policy toward North Korea. Education is not only an important and influential part of a person's development in early years but also affects all the people concerned, providing all with identical information and views on issues. The South Korean unification education curriculum was changed by the emphasis on security or unification. To put it concretely, unification education from the 1950s to the 1980s was anticommunist education, and the education in the early 1990s was security-oriented education. South Korean unification education during the Cold War era supported the justification of anti-communism and developmental dictatorship and presented to the people an ideological framework for confrontation against North Korea through the emphasis on a black-and-white way of thinking. In contrast, during the post Cold War era, South Korean unification education was changed from the confrontational curriculum to the ethnocentric curriculum. Unification education since the mid 1990s has encouraged a sense of ethnic community on the basis of understanding the uniqueness of the Korean people and grasping the exact state of inter-Korean relations. Unification education helped to alleviate hostility and distrust between the South and the North and to encourage harmony and cooperation between the two Koreas, thereby helping to prepare for national prosperity in an ethnic community. Ultimately, in the Cold War era, unification education in South Korea focused on anti-communism and security-oriented education, which considered North Korea as the main enemy and the biggest threat to

South Korea's national security, but the content of unification education since the post-cold war era has focused on ethnic communalism and community-oriented education emphasizing that the North is a neighbor and cooperation partner for unification. Therefore, this change in the education contents influenced the formation of the political attitude and made a great contribution to the change in national identity of South Koreans from a state-centric paradigm, which emphasized the confrontational environment between South and North Korea, to a nation-centric paradigm, which stressed peaceful coexistence and co-prosperity between the two Koreas.

2. Future Research Agenda

There are a few topics associated with this study appropriate for the future research.

First, one limitation of this study concerns the assessment of quantitative data such as public opinion polls conducted in the Cold War era. Although surveys of public opinion are used for analyzing the perception on the United States and North Korea, surveys conducted in the Cold War era did not show detailed results which were classified by age, region, and education. Thus, due to the limited data availability, this study had some trouble in accurately comparing the perceptions on the U.S. and North Korea by age distribution between the Cold War and post Cold War eras. Thus, better data availability on the Cold War era would have made the findings of this study more trustworthy, although this limitation does not create significant distrust in the integrity of the study.

Second, I believe that studying the U.S. policy decision-making process toward North Korea would produce valuable findings. As I mentioned, there has been disagreement on the North Korea policy between the U.S. and South Korea since the Kim Dae-jung administration. In this study, I mainly focus on the determinants affecting South Korean policy toward North Korea.

However, a future study conducted on the determinants that influence U.S. policy toward North Korea can present another viewpoint of analysis on the U.S.-South Korea policy disharmony.

Third, this dissertation is predicated on the premises that a changing foreign policy, South Korean policy toward North Korea in this case, can be understood as an extension of domestic political, social, and cultural elements. This premise itself needs to be examined more extensionally by future studies.

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