

## BAB V

### KESIMPULAN DAN SARAN

Kebijakan publik *Sunshine Policy* yang mulai diterbikan oleh Presiden Kim Dae-jung yang kemudian dilanjutkan oleh Roh Moo-hyun sampai kepada Moon Jae-in sayangnya dinilai tidak banyak membantu untuk mengubah cara pandang Korea Utara dalam melakukan reformasi ekonomi dasar, dan bahkan gagal mencegah Korea Utara untuk melakukan uji coba nuklir. Sederhana nya, pendekatan yang dilakukan oleh Korea Selatan melalui *Sunshine Policy* tidak dapat mencapai tujuan yang diinginkan untuk mereformasi ekonomi, menghentikan pengembangan nuklir Pyongyang, atau bahkan merestrukturisasi sistem politik Korea Utara.

Jika melihat dari analisis psikobiografi yang dilakukan terhadap Presiden Moon Jae-in ia bisa dikatakan sebagai seorang pemimpin yang kompeten, mempunyai tekad yang kuat, dan memiliki pandangan kedepan mengenai persatuan yang bisa dicapai oleh Korea Selatan dan Korea Utara melalui proses reunifikasi. Berdasarkan 5 aspek *big five personalities* Moon Jae-in merupakan individu yang cenderung berada pada empat aspek yaitu ***Extraversion* (bersosialisasi), *Openness to Experience* (keterbukaan terhadap pengalaman), *Agreeableness* (keyakinan dan rasa optimisme), serta *Conscientiousness* (pribadi yang ambisius dan disiplin), dan cenderung tidak berada pada aspek *Neuroticism* ( pribadi yang cemas)**. Kemudian pada model *Type of Leaderships* Moon Jae in termasuk presiden yang berada dalam kategori ***director* (sifat kebutuhan akan kekuasaan dan keterlibatan yang tinggi)**.

Sementara dalam penyusunan kebijakan *Sunshine Policy* apabila berkaca dari keinginan Moon yang ingin menciptakan reunifikasi melalui kerja sama ekonomi dan dialog. Maka dari itu untuk mendukung hal tersebut ia mengisi posisi- posisi kunci dalam kabinet pemerintahannya dengan orang-orang yang datang dari latar belakang akademisi dan ekonom bukan dari kalangan militer, sebab Moon Jae- in melihat Korea Utara bukan sebagai anomali melainkan sebagai mitra yang bisa diajak untuk bekerja sama. Sehingga dalam pengimplementasiannya pada aspek penguatan terhadap ekonomi, melalui *sunshine policy* Moon Jae-in ingin mengaktifkan kembali KIC (*Kaesong Industrial Complex*) sebagai daerah pusat pengembangan ekonomi antara Korea Selatan dan Korea Utara. Untuk hal diplomasi selama menjadi Presiden Korea Selatan Moon Jae-in dan Kim Jong-un sudah melakukan 3 kali pertemuan untuk mendiskusikan rencana unifikasi negara mereka. Kemudian ia juga bertekad untuk mengurangi sebisa mungkin keterlibatan penggunaan militer dalam menangani isu yang melibatkan Korea Utara, karena menurutnya pendekatan dengan melibatkan militer dinilai radikal.

Namun sangat disayangkan dari segala upaya yang telah dibuat oleh Moon Jae-in reunifikasi antara Korea Selatan dan Korea Utara masih gagal untuk diwujudkan penulis menilai apabila Moon Jae-in terlalu naif dalam melihat kondisi pemerintahan Korea Utara yang ia nilai sudah “jinak”. Memang hal tersebut tidak dapat disalahkan karena ada alasan yang bisa dijelaskan mengapa Moon Jae- in memiliki pola pemikiran tersebut. Perlu diingat Moon Jae-in adalah seorang individu yang memiliki pemahaman dan pemikiran liberal, yang dimana bagi kaum liberal menilai pada dasarnya semua manusia itu baik dan perdamaian dapat tercipta

apabila adanya kerja sama ekonomi. Pemikiran seperti itulah yang ia coba terapkan ketika ia melihat dan berurusan dengan Korea Utara..

Dibalik itu semua Moon Jae-in terlihat memang ingin menunjukkan apabila dirinya bukan presiden Korea Selatan yang konservatif serta memiliki ambisi yang sangat besar dimana ia bersih keras untuk meyakinkan Amerika Serikat agar melihat Korea Utara sama dengan seperti apa yang ia lakukan. Namun demikian pada faktanya disaat Moon Jae-in sudah ingin mengedepankan terobosan dan pandangan yang tidak konservatif, justru Amerika Serikat lah yang pada posisi ini masih konservatif dimana mereka masih melihat Korea Utara sebagai anomali dan juga mewaspadai seluruh kegiatan aktivitas uji coba senjata nuklir yang mereka lakukan. Akibat dari ambisi Moon Jae-in tersebut hubungan antara Korea Selatan dan Amerika Serikat sempat mengalami ketegangan.

Saran yang bisa dimunculkan dalam penelitian ini adalah, dikarenakan penelitian ini membahas analisis psikologi Moon Jae-in dalam mewujudkan reunifikasi antara Korea Selatan dan Korea Utara melalui implementasi *Sunshine Policy*, sehingga ada baiknya juga dilakukan penelitian yang serupa terhadap pemimpin Korea Utara yaitu Kim Jong-un. Hal tersebut disebabkan oleh sempat adanya rasa keinginan dari seorang Kim Jong-un untuk merealisasikan reunifikasi dengan Korea Selatan. Sehingga akan menarik apabila penelitian selanjutnya meneliti bagaimana karakter psikologi dari seorang Kim Jong-un sehingga membuat dia sempat ingin melakukan reunifikasi bersama Moon Jae-in.

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku:

- Amstutz, Mark R. (1995). *International Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to World Politics*. Dubuque: Brown and Benchmark.
- Burchill, S. (2014). *National Interest in International Relations Theory*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cha, V. D., & Kang, D. C. (2018). *Nuclear North Korea: A debate on engagement strategies*. Columbia University Press.
- Cheol, K. Y. (2010). In *10 years of Inter-Korean Relations under the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo Hyun Administrations* (Vol. 22, pp. 133–134). essay, Memory & Vision.
- Feist, J., & Feist, G. J. (2008). *Theories of Personalities* (Seventh). The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
- Hadiwinata, B. S. (2017). *Studi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional Arus Utama, Alternatif, dan Reflektif*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor.
- Haas, E. B. (1964). *Beyond the nation-state: Functionalism and international organization*. Stanford University.
- Hill, C. (2016). *Foreign policy in the twenty-first century*. Palgrave. Hudson, V. M. (2014). *Foreign Policy Analysis Second Edition: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (2001). *Power and Independence*. Longman.
- Kratochwill, F. (2019). *Rules, Norms, and Decisions: On the Conditions of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs*. Cambridge University Press.
- Malkasian, C. (2001). *The Korean War 1950-1953*. Osprey Publishing.
- Morin Jean-Frédéric, & Paquin, J. (2018). *Foreign policy analysis: A Toolbox*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mosler, H. B. (2022). In *Lessons learned? South Korea's foreign policy toward North Korea under the Moon Jae-in Administration* (p. 17). essay, Institut of

East Asian Studies, University of Duisburg-Essen.

Onuf, N. (1989). *World of Our Making. Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*. University of South Carolina Press.

Preston, T. (2001). *The President & His Inner Circle*. Columbia University Press.

Sharp, P. (2009). *Diplomatic theory of international relations*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations "Clingendael, ".

*Understanding Korean unification*. (2015). . Education Development Department of the Institute for Unification Education.

Unification, M. of. (2008). In *Unification White Paper* (pp. 21–22). essay. Webber,

Mark and Michael Smith. (2002). *Foreign Policy in Transformed World*.

London :Prentice Hall.

**Journal:**

- Corson, M. W., & Minghi, J. V. (1994). Reunification of partitioned nation-states: Theory versus reality in Vietnam and Germany. *Journal of Geography*, 93(3), 125–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00221349408979707>
- Kim, D.-Y., & Oh, H.-J. (2001). Psychosocial aspects of Korean reunification: Explicit and implicit national attitudes and identity of South Koreans and North Korean defectors. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 7(3), 265–288. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327949pac0703b\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327949pac0703b_5)
- Glaser, B. S., & Sun, Y. (2015). Chinese Attitudes toward Korean Unification. *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, 24, 71–98.
- Haas, M. (1984). Paradigms of political integration and unification: Applications to Korea. *Journal of Peace Research*, 21(1), 47–60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234338402100104>
- Hahm, S. D., & Heo, U. (2020). President Moon Jae-in at midterm: What affects public support for Moon Jae-in? *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 55(8), 1128–1142. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909620911145>
- Kihl, Y. W. (1998). Inter-Korean relations and multilateral organizations: Problems and prospects. *International Studies Review*, 2(2), 43–62. <https://doi.org/10.1163/2667078x-00202003>
- Lee, D. H. (2008). The Korean sunshine policy: Its light and shade. *Pacific Focus*, 18(1), 175–200. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1976-5118.2003.tb00281.x>
- Lee, H.-L. (2022). The mobilizing power of the president: South Korean presidents policy-making vis-à-vis North Korea. *Korea Observer - Institute of Korean Studies*, 53(1), 161–187. <https://doi.org/10.29152/koiks.2022.53.1.161>
- McKibbin, W. J., Lee, J. W., Liu, W., & Song, C. J. (2018). Modeling the economic impacts of Korean unification. *Asian Economic Journal*, 32(3), 227–256. <https://doi.org/10.1111/asej.12160>
- Paik, H. (2002). Assessment of the Sunshine Policy: A Korean Perspective. *Asian Perspective*, 26, 13–35. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42704372>
- Ruzgar, Dr. N. (2019). Moon Jae-in: A contemporary strategic and Visionary leader. *The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention*, 6(2), 5291–5296. <https://doi.org/10.18535/ijsshi/v6i2.05>
- Sotto, C. J. (2018). Big Five Personalities Traits. *The Sage Encyclopedia of Lifespan Human Development*.

[https://doi.org/https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324115204\\_Big\\_Five\\_personality\\_traits#:~:text=We%20will%20be%20utilizing%20the,personality%20composition%3A%20Openness%2C%20Conscientiousness%2C](https://doi.org/https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324115204_Big_Five_personality_traits#:~:text=We%20will%20be%20utilizing%20the,personality%20composition%3A%20Openness%2C%20Conscientiousness%2C)

Yim, H. (2002). Cultural identity and cultural policy in South Korea. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1), 37–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630290032422>

Yoon, I. J. (2021). Social integration and well-being of North Korean migrants in South Korea. *Journal of Social Issues*, 78(3), 627–644. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12475>

Monday, P. I., & Rosyida, H. N. (2022). Motif Moon Jae in Dalam Merekonsiliasi Hubungan Korea Selatan Dan Korea utara melalui korean peninsula peace initiative. *AL-ULUM : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 8(2). <https://doi.org/10.31602/alsh.v8i2.8020>

*Website:*

Augustyn, A. (n.d.). *Roh Moo-hyun*. Encyclopædia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Roh-Moo-Hyun>

BBC. (2016, February 10). *What is the Kaesong Industrial Complex?*. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-22011178>

Campbell, C. (2021, June 23). *Moon Jae-in's final attempt to heal South Korea*. Time. <https://time.com/6075235/moon-jae-in-south-korea-election/>

Curry, J. M. (2019, August 15). *Korean Peninsula will be united by 2045, says Seoul Amid Japan row*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/aug/15/korean-peninsula-will-be-united-by-2045-says-seoul-amid-japan-row>

Dae, C. W. (2018). *Moon Jae-in President of The Republic of Korea*. Korea.Net. [https://www.korea.net/FILE/pdfdata/2018/06/MoonJae-in\\_PRESIDENTOFTHEREPUBLICOFKOREA\\_en.pdf](https://www.korea.net/FILE/pdfdata/2018/06/MoonJae-in_PRESIDENTOFTHEREPUBLICOFKOREA_en.pdf)

Encyclopedia Britanica, E. of. (2023, October 6). *Democratic Party of Korea*. Encyclopædia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Democratic-Party-of-Korea>

Exclusive, T. (2017, April 19). *Will South Korea's Moon Jae-in pull the World Back From Nuclear War?* <https://time.com/4745910/south-korea-elections-moon-jae-in/>

Gowman, P. (2019, July 7). *The June 15 North-South Joint Declaration: London Korean links*. London Korean Links | Covering things Korean in London and beyond since 2006. <https://londonkoreanlinks.net/2000/06/15/north-south-joint-declaration/>

Herald, K. (2017, September 9). *What Moon Jae-in pledged to do as president*. The Korea Herald. <https://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20170509000521>

Ho, P. Y. (2014, January 21). *South and North Korea's views on the unification of the Korean ...* Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Park-Young-Ho-paper.pdf>

Hyelin, K., & Minji, K. (2019, December 19). *President thanks Sweden for "continuous support" for inter-Korean peace : Korea.net : The Official Website of the Republic of Korea*. Korea.net. <https://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/policies/view?articleId=180789>

Hutagalung, S. (2023, November 16). *Modern South Korea under Park and the sunshine policy*. koreatimes. [https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/opinion/2023/12/137\\_363241.html](https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/opinion/2023/12/137_363241.html)

Hyun, G. M. (2017, June 28). *Moon's North Korea policy: Reengaging North Korea to regain strategic ...* The Asan Institute for Policy Studies. <http://en.asaninst.org/contents/moons-north-korea-policy-reengaging-northkorea-to-regain-strategic-balance/>

Jeong, A., & Martin, T. W. (2019, February 19). *Kim Jong Un purges wealthy elite and opponents of outreach to U.S.* The Wall Street Journal. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/kim-jong-un-purges-north-korean-elite-in-violent-crackdown-11550593810>

Jung, B. H. (2017a, July 7). *Full text of Moon's Speech at The Korber Foundation*.

The Korea Herald. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20170707000032>.

*Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula*. 통일부. (n.d.). [https://www.unikorea.go.kr/eng\\_unikorea/policyissues/koreanpeninsula/goals/](https://www.unikorea.go.kr/eng_unikorea/policyissues/koreanpeninsula/goals/).

Mosler, H. B. (2021, July 15). *President Moon Jae-in – the right choice for South Korea*. Startseite. <https://www.bertelsmannstiftung.de/en/publications/publication/did/president-moon-jae-in-the-right-choice-for-south-korea>

Mosler, H. B. (2022). *Lessons learned? South Korea's foreign policy toward North Korea under the Moon Jae-in Administration*. EconStor.



<https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/250065>

Noland, M., & Boydston, K. (2018, August 31). *President Moon Jae-in and Sunshine Policy 3.0*. PIIE. <https://www.piie.com/blogs/north-korea-witness-transformation/president-moon-jae-and-sunshine-policy-30>

Oh, E. I. (2022, January 14). *Ambitions are not opportunities: South Korean president Moon Jae-in's failed North Korea policy*. Yale Journal of International Affairs. <https://www.yalejournal.org/publications/ambitions-are-not-opportunities-south-korean-president-moon-jae-ins-failed-north-korea-policy>

Pardo, R. P. (2018, February 15). *Moon's Pyeongchang Propaganda Coup*. – The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/moons-pyeongchang-propaganda-coup/>

Park, P. C. (n.d.). *Battle of Yeonpyang*. 연평해전(延坪海戰) - 한국민족문화대백과사전. <https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0066633>

Park, S. N. (n.d.). *The road remains open: Moon Jae-in's Berlin speech as a pathway to peace*. Global Asia. [https://www.globalasia.org/v14no2/cover/the-road-remains-open-moon-jae-ins-berlin-speech-as-a-pathway-to-peace\\_s-nathan-park](https://www.globalasia.org/v14no2/cover/the-road-remains-open-moon-jae-ins-berlin-speech-as-a-pathway-to-peace_s-nathan-park)

Ray, M. (n.d.). *Kim Dae-jung*. Encyclopædia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Kim-Dae-Jung>

Ray, M. (2023, October 20). *Moon Jae-in*. Encyclopædia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Moon-Jae-In>

*Reunification - definition, meaning & synonyms*. Vocabulary.com. (n.d.). <https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/reunification#:~:text=Coming%20back%20together%20again%20after,to%20war%20against%20each%20othe> r

Reverve, E. J. R. (2015, January 20). *Korean reunification and U.S. interests: Preparing for one Korea*. Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/korean-reunification-and-u-s-interests-preparing-for-one-korea/>

Rogin, J. (2017, November 15). *Opinion | trump asks South Korea's president: "do you have to reunify?"* The Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2017/11/15/trump-asks-south-koreas-president-do-you-have-to-reunify/>

Roh, C.-M. (2021, March 31). *Four Years of sunshine: Examining South Korea's policy of Reconciliation Toward North Korea under the Moon*

*Administration*. Synergy. <http://utsynergyjournal.org/2021/03/30/four-years-of-sunshine-examining-south-koreas-policy-of-reconciliation-toward-north-korea-under-the-moon-administration/>

Sang-hun, C. (2017, May 10). *South Korea's new president, Moon Jae-in, promises new approach to north*. The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/10/world/asia/moon-jae-in-president-south-korea.html>

Sbs. (2010, November 23). *North Korean Military's Main Provocation Log*. SBS NEWS. [https://news.sbs.co.kr/news/endPage.do?news\\_id=N1000824284](https://news.sbs.co.kr/news/endPage.do?news_id=N1000824284)

*S. Korean president names presidential staff, Cabinet members*. S. Korean president names presidential staff, cabinet members[1]- Chinadaily.com.cn. (2017, May 22). [https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2017-05/22/content\\_29438374.htm](https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2017-05/22/content_29438374.htm)

Shin, H. (2018, February 15). *Moon's Chief of Staff Takes Center Stage in Inter-Korean Détente*. New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2018/02/15/world/asia/15reuters-olympics-2018-northkorea.html>.

Shin, M. (2022, May 4). *Has Moon Jae-in's North Korea peace process failed?* – The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2022/05/has-moon-jae-ins-north-korea-peace-process-failed/>

Straub, D. (2018). *Salvaging the sunshine policy - Korea Economic Institute of America*. Korea Economic Institute of America. [http://www.keia.org/sites/default/files/publications/jukas\\_1.1\\_salvaging\\_the\\_sunshine\\_policy.pdf](http://www.keia.org/sites/default/files/publications/jukas_1.1_salvaging_the_sunshine_policy.pdf)

United Nations Human Right Council. (2014, February 7). *Report of the Detailed Findings of the Commissions of Inquiry on Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*. United Nations Human Right Council. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/hrc/coidprk/pages/commissioninquiryonhrindprk.aspx>.

World, K. (n.d.). *The Korean Workers Party*. The National Defense Commission | Korean peninsula A to Z | KBS world radio. <http://world.kbs.co.kr/special/northkorea/contents/archives/politics/NSA.htm?lang=e>

Wyeth, G. (2020, February 27). *Time to reopen the Kaesong Industrial Complex? A conversation with Jin-hyang Kim*. – The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2020/02/time-to-reopen-the-kaesong-industrial-complex-a->

conversation-with-jin-hyang-kim/

Yeon, K. S. (2017, June 13). North Korea : News : The Hankyoreh.  
[http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english\\_edition/e\\_northkorea/798959.html](http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_northkorea/798959.html).

*Yomiuri: US refused S. Korea's request to make exception in sanctions on N. Korea.* Yomiuri: US Refused S. Korea's Request to Make Exception in

Sanctions on N. Korea I. (2023, June 22).  
[https://world.kbs.co.kr/service/news\\_view.htm?lang=e&Seq\\_Code=162328](https://world.kbs.co.kr/service/news_view.htm?lang=e&Seq_Code=162328).

개성공단 사업추진 경과. 통일부. (n.d.).  
<https://www.unikorea.go.kr/unikorea/business/kaesongIndustrialComplex/status/promotion/>

남북이산가족 고향방문(南北離散家族 故鄉訪問). 남북이산가족 고향방문(南北離散家族 故鄉訪問) - 한국민족문화대백과사전. (n.d.).  
<https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0011931>

*2007 Inter-Korean summit.* 2007 Inter-Korean Summit I. (n.d.).  
[https://world.kbs.co.kr/service/contents\\_view.htm?lang=e&board\\_seq=350827](https://world.kbs.co.kr/service/contents_view.htm?lang=e&board_seq=350827)

*6.15 North-South Joint Declaration.* 6.15 남북공동선언(2000.6.15). (n.d.).  
<https://dialogue.unikorea.go.kr/preView/wabz9CbhW9LJrAdSaMKt0ayUTCsaW5GyI723w424flo6wGdpr14n6fkYMdRQOqp3KLcgSXmgGwIW6r28g/view.htm>