

South Korean Political Consolidation through a Political Trust approach in Overcoming Conflict on the Korean Peninsula

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Abstract – South Korea has multiple interests and has set goals in its foreign policy. But the pursuit of these interests and goals, especially with regard to stability on the Peninsula, is often faced with challenges. Provocative actions from North Korea are one of the serious issues and behaviour that South Korea does not want. Therefore, South Korea has carried out a number of foreign policies in an effort to prevent provocative actions from North Korea, one of which is through the political trust approach taken by President Park Hyun-Geu. By using qualitative methods and explanative analysis methods through document or literature analysis approaches, this article attempts to identify South Korean foreign policy in overcoming conflicts on the Korean Peninsula. The article shows that the concept of Trust Politic is the key word for foreign policy and politics in the Park's administration era. The basis of the political philosophy of trust or political trust is manifested in the trust process on the Korean Peninsula (Korean Peninsula Trust Process). As a way to build trust between the two countries, South Korea has carried out three stages as a trust process: the first, the humanitarian assistance for the poor and neglected people in North Korea; the second is, the exchange and cooperation between the two countries in the social, economic, and cultural fields; the third is, the Korean Vision Project to build and establish a single market community on the Korean Peninsula. In the third stage, the Vision of the Korean Project is used as the reference in conditioning the accumulation and progress of mutual trust, especially in the issue of the denuclearization of North Korea.

Keywords – Political consolidation, Political trust, Conflict, Korean peninsula.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Korean Peninsula is a strategic area in East Asia that still faces security issues, due to the North Korean nuclear issue which has raised anxiety in surrounding countries. Tensions also often occur in this region due to military maneuvers from each country that 'opposes' each other. Tensions on the Korean Peninsula are of international concern, as they have far-reaching implications for regional stability. The unstable security situation on the Korean Peninsula has the potential to lead to an open conflict, if there are no peaceful efforts to resolve it. The Demyelisation conflict between South and North Korea, which has lasted for 65 years so far, has yet to find a comprehensive solution even though many parties have been involved and various strategies and solutions have been pursued. Although the two countries had previously been in a single unit during the Choson Dynasty in 1392-1910. The Korean strategic geographical condition is located among three major countries, namely China, Japan, the Soviet Union and the Northeast Asia as the connecting areas with the outside world. As a result, Korea has been repeatedly attacked, especially from Japan, the country with the largest power in Asia which always expands its colonies, including to Korea as the closest area. (Djelantik, S. 2015: 224).

During the Pacific war, the United States dropped atomic bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima on August 6 and 9, 1945. The long journey for Japan to dominate Asia was stopped on August 15, 1945, when it surrendered to its defeat of the United States and its allies in World War II (Setiawan et al, 2020). At that time, all Japanese colonies declared their independence, including Korea. After the independence from the fall of Japan during World War II, there was a struggle for territory between the United States and the Soviet Union in areas that were once controlled by Japan.

The fight for Korea and the spread of ideology, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt decided that Korea would be jointly managed through multilateral trusteeships among the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom. The United States considered the multilateral trustee situation as a way to stem the Soviet Union from its influence on the Korean peninsula. And finally, the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union did not work until May 1947 which then the United States handed over the Korean issue to the United Nations (UN). The UN General Assembly recognizes Korean right to independence and forms a special commission to oversee a general election. The General election was held on May 10, 1948 and Syngman Rhee was the elected President and formed a government that represented all of Korea.

According to Martin (1998: 87) explained further that when the UN General Assembly recognized the establishment of the Republic of Korea in October 1948, the Soviet Union vetoed preventing Korea from joining the United States and held its own elections in North Korea. Since then, Korea has officially split into two, each of which considers itself the legitimate government of Korea. Each claim territory on the peninsula by the two Korean governments, leading to the outbreak of a Korean war that was initiated by the North Korean Military, Korean People's Army (KPA) crossing the 38th parallel border zone to invade South Korea on July 25, 1950. The unlikely situation of war allowed to lead to the holding of negotiations and a ceasefire on July 27, 1953, the United States, China and North Korea signed a ceasefire agreement. At that time the president of South Korea, Seungman Rhee, refused to sign it but promised to respect the ceasefire agreement. So that the war situation has not ended up to the present time. (Frassminggi, 2014: 23).

Based on the long history of the conflict between South Korea and North Korea above, it is interesting to study several approaches of the President of South Korea in reducing conflict with North Korea, one of which is through the political consolidation of the Trust-Political Policy as one of the foreign policies of South Korean first female president, Park Geun-Hye in the 2013-2016 period. Trust-Politics Policy is about how to build trust as a way to promote institutional cooperation at a higher level and collaboration that is expected to reach the level of nations among regions in the future.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses qualitative methods and explanative analysis methods by applying the document or literature analysis approach. The use of this method aims to obtain empirical material and data obtained through journals and scientific papers, reports, books, and other documents related to the research being carried out (Setiawan et al, 2020). Activities in data analysis according to Miles and Huberman (1984) include, a) Data collection, in the form of information obtained from primary and secondary data. The data that will be used by the author in this research are data obtained from literature studies such as from books, document journals, reports and internet sources, b) data reduction, in the sense of making a summary, selecting the main things, focusing on the important things, and then determining the themes and patterns. Thus the data that has been reduced will provide a clearer picture, and facilitates the researcher to carry out further data collection, and search for it if necessary. The data that will be used by the author is data that could specifically explain and accommodate the problem formulations and objectives in this research; and c) presentation of data in the form of descriptions that narrate data in the form of numbers and information to strengthen arguments.

III. THEORETICAL REVIEW

Political consolidation is an effort to strengthen political position or strengthen political power. Meanwhile, according to Soerjono Soekanto, Conflict is a conflict or disagreement with a process carried out by a person or group of people to fulfill his objectives by opposing the opposing party accompanied by threats and violence. Therefore conflict is identified by acts of violence. (Soerjono Soekanto, 1992: 86).

In Relation to foreign policy is a strategy or action made by decision makers to deal with other countries or international political units where this leads to the achievement of national interests. To achieve their national interests, countries will establish

bilateral, trilateral and multilateral cooperative relations. According to Rosenau, foreign policy is a state effort through attitudes and activities in overcoming problems or benefits that are identically outside of its.

Along with the development of foreign policy based on the national interests, foreign policy develops into how to defend, protect the regime of power and secure the country. The increasing uncertainty of security guarantees at this time makes every country strives to always be alert and vigilant in responding to any activity outside the country, either it is military or non-military provocation (James N. Rosenau, 1981: p. 47).

Meanwhile, according to Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, foreign policy is a number of decisions and actions taken by the state in relation to actors outside the country, both state actors and non-state actors. (Paul R. Viotti, 2013, pp. 187-210).

In his leadership, Park implemented a foreign policy that was quite different from the policies of the previous leader. In Which the Trust-Political policy puts forward the concept of "trust" in every process that will be carried out (Setiawan et al, 2020). Trust, according to Park, is a core value of the entire political philosophy which is an asset needed to help develop the cooperation not only among individuals but also nations. In addition, trust is defined as an asset and a common means for international cooperation as well as an indispensable element in creating real peace. Peace without the concept of trust is something that is impossible to achieve, because seriousness in the trust process requires time and a gradual and consistent approach.

There are three major frameworks for South Korean "Trust-Political Policy", namely the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula, the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative and the First Eurasia Initiative, the Trust building Process on the Korean Peninsula is a way to build trust between South Korea and North Korea and the movement of inter-Korean relations based on strong security in the international order to achieve final peace on the Korean Peninsula and hopes for future unification. This is consistent with Park Geun-hye's speech during his inauguration as President of South Korea on February 25, 2013. "Through a trust-building process on the Korean peninsula, I intend to lay the groundwork for an era of harmonious unification where all Koreans can lead prosperous and free lives and where their dreams can come true. I will move forward step-by-step on the basis of credible deterrence to build trust between the South and the North. Trust can be built through dialogue and honoring promises that have already been made. It is my hope that North Korea will abide by international norms and make the right choice so that the trust-building process on the Korean peninsula can move forward." (President Park's Inaugural Address, February 25, 2013).

The contents of the speech above explained that through the policy of trust-building process on the Korean Peninsula, Park wants to set the basis for realizing a harmonious unification era where all Korean people can live prosperously and freely so that they can realize their dreams.

In addition, Park wants to gradually build trust in the Korean Peninsula based on the prevention of any provocative actions by North Korea. According to Park, trust can be built through pre-existing dialogue and agreements so that later North Korea could accept international norms and select the right choice in running the administration. The second South Korean policy framework, namely, the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative (NAPCI) is a dialogue process that aims to build trust between nations in Northeast Asia by strengthening habits for dialogue and cooperation by prioritizing non-traditional issues then gradually developing scope of cooperation. South Korea tries to promote this action because of the absence of effective actions in finding sources of conflict in the region such as territorial issues and the emergence of new joint threats regarding environmental issues and energy use such as nuclear energy.

In which it hinders efforts to maximize the full potential for regional development (South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs paper, "Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative: Moving beyond the Asian Paradox Toward Peace and Cooperation Initiative", Pp. 9).

The third South Korean policy framework, the Eurasia Initiative, is a major national strategic and cooperation initiative proposed by South Korea in order to achieve sustainable prosperity and peace in Eurasia (Europe and Asia). Based on one of these policy points, South Korea sees threats to peace and security as a major obstacle to building cooperation. Therefore, the problem of these threats must be resolved first in order to usher in a new era of Eurasia. This is consistent with the issue of peace that occurred on the Korean Peninsula. Peace on the Korean Peninsula is not only important for North-South Korea, the regions, and Eurasia, but also for the entire world communities.

South Korea realizes that trust is very important for countries to establish cooperation. So the South Korean government is trying to strive to build a peaceful Korean Peninsula and Eurasia as a "Continent of Peace." Based on the three Trust-Political

policy frameworks, it could be depicted that the security issues on the Korean Peninsula caused by nuclear development activities and provocative actions by North Korea are a matter of great concern. There, therefore, needs to be anticipations to be able to reduce or stop North Korea's actions, especially by South Korea as the closest country. This is in line with the Political Trust policy that emerged based on the historical experience of the Korean Peninsula as well as the difficulty in estimating the security reality where there is a clear decrease in the level of trust between countries on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia. The increasing uncertainty over the level of security on the Korean Peninsula in the previous decades plus the ideological differences and poor history of South-North Korean relations, made the two countries conflicted and difficult to be in harmony and work together. This makes the two countries try to maximize their state defences and security in order to avoid dominating each other.

North Korea, with its difficult domestic state, attempts to develop nuclear as a national priority in order to ensure the security and national interests achievement. On the other hand, South Korea remains focusing on its developing economic, defence and security cooperation so that it would be able to face provocations from North Korea. The concept of Trust Politic is the key word for foreign policy and politics in the Park's era. The first premise of the concept of political trust is firmly facing all threats and obstacles that disrupt peace based on the strong defence principle. In this principle, President Park affirmed that she did not recognize North Korea as a nuclear state and would make every effort to negotiate to end North Korea's nuclear development capabilities.

The second premise is trust diplomacy which describes an effort to create relationships and cooperation between global communities that are connected to the principle of trust. Park emphasized the importance of trust in international relations, in which South Korea hopes for a mutually beneficial cooperation (mutual cooperation) and a relationship between the two countries based on mutual trust. And the third premise in political trust is the process of harmonizing relations between Korean countries (Seoul and Pyongyang). The basis of the political philosophy of trust or political trust is manifested in the trust process on the Korean Peninsula (Korean Peninsula Trust Process); As a way to build trust between the two countries, South Korea has carried out three stages as a trust process, including the first, humanitarian assistance for the poor and neglected in North Korea; second, exchange and cooperation between the two countries in the social, economic, and cultural fields, third, the Vision Korea Project to build and establish a single market community on the Korean Peninsula. In the third stage, the Korea Project Vision is used as a reference in conditioning the accumulation and progress of mutual trust, especially in the issue of denuclearization of North Korea (Cheon, 2013).

IV. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The speech by Park Geun-Hye during his inauguration as President of South Korea on February 25, 2013. The "era of happiness for the people" that I dream of is one that ushers in an era of happiness on the Korean Peninsula and indeed throughout the global village. We will build even more solid ties of trust with the United States, China, Japan, Russia and other countries of Asia and Oceania by reducing tension and conflict to build peace and cooperation in Asia. (President Park Geun-hye, Inaugural Address, February 25, 2013).

The contents of the speech were a response to security issues in various regions of the world whose peaceful solutions had not yet been seen to be a concern of the international community, including the issue of security on the Korean Peninsula which has recently re-emerged. The security situation on the Korean Peninsula has not been yet fully conducive until now, as a result of the absence of a peace agreement between the two Koreas (North and South Korea), and the North Korean nuclear issue. The instability of political and security conditions on the Korean Peninsula currently cause North and South Korea to compete to maximize the security capabilities of their countries in order to avoid the domination by one another. These make the two countries seek to find ways to ensure the security and defence of their countries.

South Korea through a defence cooperation alliance with the United States, while North Korea prefers to develop nuclear weapons to be able to maintain the security defence of the country and achieve its national interests. The activity and aggressiveness of North Korea and the intensity of its provocations are sufficiently deemed to threaten the international community, especially South Korea as its closest rival. Hence, South Korea tries to respond to this by implementing a Political Trust policy. In which through this policy, South Korea expects to be capable of facing the nuclear provocations and aggressiveness with the aim of securing the country and the Korean Peninsula. Park Geun Hye's Political Consolidation Steps through her foreign policy (2013-2017) in pursuing reunification as a momentum for peace on the Korean Peninsula. Park seemed to be committed to continuing the

efforts of her predecessors in realizing the unification, denuclearization of North Korea, and solving problems on the Korean Peninsula by bringing a new concept known as the “trust politics” approach (Setiawan, 2017).

This approach is present as an alternative idea that emphasizes non-material aspects, namely trust. This policy is interesting to learn to find out to describe the motivation, reasons, and interests behind the formulation of the policy. This step is a careful decision to cover the weaknesses of the previous approach which tended to be traditional. The author uses the traditional term to refer to a series of previous policies that put forward material aspects such as military confrontation, economy, and political alliances that are considered unable to completely resolve the obstacles and problems on the Korean Peninsula. (Manyin, 2013; Jong-Chul Park, 2008; Glaser & Snyder, 2010).

Park Geun Hye has introduced a political trust policy strategy related to three pillars, namely: strong deterrence / defence, trust diplomacy, and the process of building trust in the Korean peninsula (Cheon, 2013). This idea is basically very close to the perspective of constructivism in the study of International Relations. This is based on the core ideational elements contained in the constructivist approach such as intersubjective beliefs and ideas, conceptions and assumptions which are broadly reflected in society both to individuals, social groups, organizations and policy makers. Ideas are social constructs which are carried out by individuals through a set of beliefs, principles, attitudes and behaviours that provide broad orientations in behaviours and policies. This is in line with what is expressed by Tannenwald (Setiawan, 2019) which states that “Ideas are mental constructs held by individuals, sets of distinctive beliefs, principles and attitudes that provide broad orientations for behaviour and policy”.

Basically, the segregation of the Korean nation is a reality that the Koreans have never intended, but the result of coercion by entities outside them (Hui, 2010: 8). The division of the territory was contrary to the Korean people’s expectation and wishes, in fact the separation of the region originated from the wishes and interests of the great world powers at that time, namely the United States and the Soviet Union. Post-World War II, the United States assisted to build a democratic state now called South Korea (Republic of Korea) on August 15, 1948. On the other hand, the Soviet Union helped build a communist state in the territory they occupied which became known as North Korea on the 9th. September 1948 (Suh, 2013).

Since then, the United States and the Soviet Union left the legacy of two countries on the Korean Peninsula, this has resulted in the existence of two identities such as twins who have the same history of ancestors but differ in character and action. This difference is related to the second constructivist concept of identity, namely the identity that classifies a country into a certain group (type identity). This identity is a derivation of personal (corporate) identity which is intrinsic without requiring a definition from an external environment such as the application of ideology, government systems, for example a fascist state, a liberal state, communism, and others. The division of the Korean nation has resulted in a very large difference between South and North Korea in the political, economic, and cultural fields from what was previously homogeneous, both in terms of history, culture, language and homeland. After the separation of the Korean nation, the two resulted in different ideas and political systems in both North and South Korea. On the basis of those differences, the two countries have to undergo different patterns of development and development (Setiawan, 2016).

The Korean War in 1950-1953 - also known as “the forgotten war” - only sharpened tensions and at the same time deepened the gap between the two Korean states (Suh, 2013: 1). As a result, the two countries competed with each other to build military strength (Sheongho, 2007). This division of Korea also brought about a relationship of confrontation and enmity between the two. Furthermore, as a result of the separation of Korea into two countries, the mistrust and confrontation between the two Koreas worsened. Rulers in the South Korean region see their compatriots in the north as the principal enemy and punish pro-northern figures into the national security law as well as the North Korean state (Hui, 2010: 12).

Since then the two countries have redefined each other's identities from brother to enemy and this has consequences for their future relationship. The Korean people are aware that reunification is their big goal after the various conflicts and aggression that occurred on the Korean Peninsula. However, for approximately six decades of separation between the two, reunification has not occurred to this day. This is due to several obstacles that are considered to be barriers for them to reunite. There are three obstacles that are generally held by the international community. This barrier became the main factor in the barrier to reunification among them. The three obstacles are the differences in ideology and systems between South and North Korea, provocation of the military alliance of the United States and South Korea, and North Korea's nuclear weapons program (Jina, 2015: 3-4).

At this point, Park Geun Hye's political trust policy should be a breakthrough in building hopes for unity and peace on the Korean Peninsula. However, based on the Constructivist Perspective, the public generally believes that there are several main obstacles that prevent reunification from being created on the Korean Peninsula. These obstacles are as follows:

The first Obstacles is the differences in ideology and systems, the second is North Korean nuclear problem, and the third one is the provocation from the military alliance of the United States and South Korea.

The System barriers and ideological differences between the two countries can be illustrated since the time of the division of the Korean state into two countries, the reunification has been a major concern for both the ruling regimes of South and North Korea. Since 1972, South and North Korea have started to work for the reunification on the Korean Peninsula. At that time the leaders of the two countries, Kim Il Sung from North Korea and Park Chung Hee from South Korea, held a meeting to discuss reunification. This meeting resulted in a document called the July 4 North and South Joint Statement. This document contains the principles that must be implemented by both countries to seek the reunification (Suh, 2013: 2).

There are principles that must be implemented by the two Korean countries. The first, the reunification could be achieved through the efforts of the related parties themselves without interference or intervention from other parties; the second, the reunification would be able to be achieved through peaceful means, without using (coercion) one another's armed forces; the third is that the national unity and the existence of a homogeneous society must be sought as the main priority compared to differences in ideas, ideologies and systems (Jin, 1976). It is expected that this would be able to maintain peace on the Korean Peninsula as well as a means to increase an atmosphere of mutual trust, then the two countries also seek to have exchanges in various fields to restore the Korean national identity between the two countries, a mutually beneficial understanding to create peaceful reunification (Suh, 2013: 3).

The second and third obstacles to reunification on the Korean Peninsula are the provocation of a military alliance from South Korea and the United States, as well as the development of North Korean nuclear weapons. Tensions on the Korean Peninsula always increase after North Korea's third nuclear weapons test on February 12, 2013. In its development, North Korea's nuclear test has undergone six nuclear tests, namely twice in 2006, 2013, 2015, and the fifth nuclear test in 2016. Since the third nuclear test North Korea has claimed that the nuclear weapons development program is non-negotiable and North Korea will survive to continue developing the nuclear program (Chllloi, 2013; Tempo, 2017).

In fact, some reports on North Korean international news portal (CNN) describe the requirements for Washington and Seoul to end their military exercises as a condition for North Korea to stop their nuclear tests. This requirement was supported by a statement by the North Korean foreign ministry in a report that said it would end nuclear testing if the United States and South Korea stopped military exercises on the Korean Peninsula. This statement was then responded by Anthony Blinken, the United States Secretary of State who stated that he rejected North Korean invitation to end military training on the Korean Peninsula with South Korea because North Korea was deemed not to have international credibility to keep this promise (CNN, 2016).

North Korea lacks credibility in the eyes of the international community due to being labeled an unpredictable and untrustworthy country. The labeling arises from North Korean practices that always violate the agreement. At that time, North Korea was trying to restore its domestic economic situation through reconciliation with the international community including the United States (Jina, 2015: 4). Since 1995, the United States has provided more than one million dollars in foreign aid to North Korea. About 60% is food aid such as corn, soybeans, vegetable oil, fast food herbal food and 40% energy assistance (Manyin, 2005). However, all of this is expected to lead North Korea to stop the nuclear program and provocations carried out by North Korea, until in the end North Korea returns to provocation with its nuclear tests to which get responses from the international community such as China, to the UN to strengthen sanctions on North Korea (Jina, 2015).

The writer argues that the root cause of the fundamental problem that has been an obstacle to the reunification on the Korean Peninsula is the problem of distrust. The war from 1950 to 1953 actually ended then. However, the change in identity and mistrust gave South and North Korea different perceptions. The mistrust results in the construction that each party feels insecure and a concern that the other will act beyond their expectations, that is, all actions are intended to threaten and attack each party. This was as stated by the South Korean foreign minister, He Yun Byung-se in his speech while attending the Chatam House¹ event in London on December 24, 2014. He said that the main obstacle to the reunification on the Korean Peninsula is the lack of trust between parties with interests, especially countries in the East Asia region, including North Korea. The following is an excerpt from his speech: "Here one fundamental problem is what I call the 'trust deficit'. This deeprooted mistrust can easily escalate into real

conflict ... so my government intends to foster a regional environment where a structure of mistrust and confrontation is replaced by that of trust and cooperation forming virtuous cycles throughout the region” (Se, 2014).

In essence, South Korea is trying to change the existing structure of international anarchy from conflict to cooperation. In this regard, South Korea tries to perceive itself as a friend, brother and nation of Korea by promoting trust and cooperation in its relations with North Korea and other countries.

Through a political trust approach, South Korea is expected to build North Korea's trust in South Korea and the international community, especially to eliminate North Korea's identity as an untrustworthy and unpredictable country. The security tensions and military provocations that occur on the Korean Peninsula are the result of the inter subjective social structure between South Korea, the United States and North Korea. This reality occurs when countries do not have trust (distrust) so that suspicion arises from one another in translating the existing circumstances and the ignorance of each actor in understanding the intentions and goals of other actors (Wendt, 1992: 73). The tension on the Korean Peninsula stems from the perception that South Korea views North Korean possession and testing of nuclear weapons as a possible threat to its country. The realist view argument may believe that the existence of nuclear weapons is capable of guaranteeing peace because it is unlikely that these weapons will be used (Waltz, 1990).

North Korean ambition requires a significant other, namely a western country such as the United States which is considered as an enemy and the existence of South Korea which is still considered as the rival country. In this regard, South Korea, through a political trust approach, has a strong defence principle. On this principle, President Park emphasized that he did not recognize North Korea as a nuclear country and would make every effort to negotiate to end North Korea's nuclear development capabilities (Cheon, 2013). This proves that North Korean nuclear testing practices are not to attack the South Korean state but to seek recognition of its identity as a nuclear state. On the other hand, North Korea also does not have trust (distrust), so that the suspicion arises from South Korea and the United States of America regarding the military training activities of the two countries on the Korean Peninsula. Military exercises between the military forces of South Korea and the United States on the Korean Peninsula are considered as the threatening practices by North Korea.

In this case, of course the level of dependence and similarity in ideological values and as a democratic country and peacemaker between South Korea and the United States is a building block that builds a collective identity. Changes in identity and social realities are very likely to change in international relations. Identity can change at any time due to actors manipulating a situation to change their identity and other actors (Wendt, 1999: 21).

Each of these attributes gives rise to different interests. These kinds of identities are known as subjective identities. The identity of a blood relative was shown by South Korea when North Korea experienced a very crucial situation such as economic sanctions. Anomaly can be seen in the response from South Korea which continues to provide humanitarian assistance to North Korea when the majority of countries in the world stop the flow of trade and aid to North Korea. As reported by the Okezone News news portal on September 22, 2017, even though South Korea condemned the North Korean nuclear test, the South Korean government continued to plan to send 106 billion Rupiah of humanitarian aid through UN agencies for North Korean citizens (Islam, 2017). Meanwhile, the identity of a rival or enemy can be seen when South Korea is in a threatened situation, especially in the international community. South Korea will be more aggressive when standing in front of the international community, such as supporting economic sanctions against North Korea and taking firm action if North Korea carries out a nuclear test in its country. This is the application of strong defence and deterrence from political trust. Park argues that provocations from North Korea still need to be considered and South Korea is always ready to carry out negotiations and negotiations with Kim Jong Un if he shows a serious desire to start negotiations (Tatar, 2013).

According to the writer, South Korea, through its practices, tries to change the condition of the relationship with North Korea which is under a self-help system. In which they (North and South Korean) tend to produce competition for military power, balance of power and war towards a more peaceful system with nuances of trust and cooperation. One of the practices carried out by South Korea is to build a world peace park in the DMZ (DMZ World Peace Park) (MoU, 2013: 19). The South Korean government has been working with the United Nations and relevant countries including North Korea to create a peace park in the demilitarized zone. Therefore, the DMZ World Peace Park is expected to become a landmark of world peace, as a new model for peace and cooperation that brings togetherness among the two Korean countries and the international community (MoU, 2013: 19).

The author finds the fact that the obstacles to denuclearization of North Korea and the military provocations of the United States and South Korea are no longer relevant. This fact was proven by the ability of both parties to stop these two practices during the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics. In which the fear of one party about to attack when one party stopped its military practice was not at all proven then. However, there is a unique fact that the two Koreas only use one flag symbolizing the reunification of the two countries during the 2018 Pyeongchang Olympics. Therefore, a collective identity as one nation could be a top priority for the two countries. According to the author, the political trust is a fairly effective approach in overcoming the obstacles to the reunification in Korean Peninsula. This was evidenced by the historical events of North Korean president Kim Jong Un crossing the DMZ to hold a meeting with South Korean leaders on April 27, 2018. The meeting then resulted in an agreement to declare peace between the two countries.

V. CONCLUSION

Thus, based on the various explanations on hand, the author is able to come to a conclusion that during the administration of the South Korean President, Park Geun Hye, who was motivated to apply the Political Trust Approach due to the obstacles to trust in carrying out the stages of reunification. Through this approach, the South Korean government expects to end the confrontations and provocations that occurred on the Korean Peninsula. The political trust approach is considered as the key to the changing identities and the pattern of relationships between them. The pattern of conflictual relationships is expected to change into a pattern of cooperation based on trust between the two parties. When this pattern is successfully carried out by South Korea through the political trust approach, in which it is expected that the structural change will increase a mutual trust on the Korean Peninsula, thereby it enhance to achieve a peaceful situation and increase the possibility of Korean reunification in the future.

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