



THE MOONSHINE POLICY: THE IDIOSYNCRASY FACTORS OF PRESIDENT MOON JAE-IN IN IMPROVING INTER-KOREAN RELATIONS

Bella Wardha Devita Sinuraya¹, Fahlesa Munabari^{2*}

¹Department of International Relations; President University; Indonesia

²Department of International Relations; University of Budi Luhur; Indonesia

*email: fahlesa.munabari@budiluhur.ac.id

Abstrak

Program nuklir Korea Utara telah mengancam keamanan di Semenanjung Korea. Setiap tahun, Korea Utara meluncurkan berbagai jenis uji coba nuklir yang menimbulkan kekhawatiran masyarakat internasional. Sebagai negara yang bertanggung jawab menjaga keamanan di Semenanjung Korea, Korea Selatan telah melakukan berbagai upaya untuk menghentikan pengembangan nuklir Korea Utara. Kebijakan luar negeri yang dikeluarkan Korea Selatan cenderung direorientasikan sesuai dengan identitas dan perspektif Presiden Korea Selatan pada waktu tertentu. Artikel ini menganalisis faktor-faktor idiosinkratik Presiden Moon Jae-in yang mempengaruhi kebijakan Sunshine Policy baru yang dikenal dengan Moonshine Policy untuk mengatasi ancaman nuklir Korea Utara. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk membuktikan bahwa faktor idiosinkratik memiliki pengaruh yang signifikan terhadap proses pengambilan kebijakan luar negeri Korea Selatan. Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa Presiden Moon Jae-in adalah pemimpin yang memiliki kecenderungan untuk menerapkan nilai-nilai perdamaian untuk mengatasi dinamika ketegangan nuklir Korea Utara dan Korea Selatan saat ini.

Kata Kunci: ancaman nuklir; idiosinkratik; keamanan; Korea Selatan; Korea Utara

Abstract

The North Korean nuclear program has threatened security on the Korean Peninsula. Every year, North Korea launches various types of nuclear trials that raise the concern of the international community. As a country responsible for maintaining security on the Korean Peninsula, South Korea has made various efforts to stop North Korea's nuclear development. Foreign policies issued by South Korea tend to be reorient in accordance with the identity and perspective of the South Korean president at a certain time. This article analyzes the Idiosyncratic factors of President Moon Jae-in which affects the Moonshine Policy to overcome North Korea's nuclear threats. This study aims to prove that idiosyncratic factors have a significant influence on the foreign policy making of South Korea. This study shows that President Moon Jae-in is a leader who tends to apply peace values to overcome the dynamics of North Korea and South Korea's nuclear tensions today.

Keywords: idiosyncrasy; North Korea; nuclear threats; security; South Korea

Introduction

The prolonged conflict between South and North Korea has occurred since the Korean geopolitical separation after Korea's independence from the Japanese colonial on August 15, 1945. The Japanese's defeat had an impact on the conquest of the Korean nation by two great powers that became allies in World War II, namely the United States (US) and the Soviet Union (USSR) (Key-Young, 2006: 37–41). Initially, the US did not have a specific interest in the Korean Peninsula until President Truman realized that the Korean nation was very influential in East Asia and could have a domino effect in maintaining peace in Asia (Dudziak, 2019). The US and the USSR encountered an ideological war between Liberal-Democratic and Communist-Socialist, making the Korean Peninsula a strategic area for spreading the ideology (Muhamad, 2017: 6). Therefore, the US demanded the United Nations (UN) through the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea to conduct a referendum to determine the fate of the Korean nation in 1948. Nonetheless, the North refused to participate, which later founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) by Kim Il Sung with the help of the USSR, and the South formed an anti-communist government led by Syngman Rhee was influenced by the US (Özev & Erdoğan, 2019: 27–30).

Apart from the different ideologies, after The Korean War, North Korea began to develop its nuclear capabilities in the 1950s with the USSR's assistance by signing a thirty-year cooperation agreement to be responsible for using nuclear energy and allowed Moscow to be trained and set the supporting technology for the nuclear expansion. Afterward, from 1960-1965, North Korea established the Yongbyon Nuclear Research Center, complete with the IRT-2000 reactor, and successfully conducted its first fission experiment. North Korea's nuclear development peaked in the 1980s when North Korea showed significant expansion and raised international concern by upgrading the nuclear reactors up to 50MW(e) and building a nuclear resource complex that processes uranium, fuel, and light water reactors (Wertz et al., 2016: 2). Seeing the critical nuclear development, both Koreas agreed to sign the Joint Declaration on Denuclearization that aims to stop producing, receiving, or testing nuclear weapons and the withdrawal of the US' nuclear system in South Korea in 1991 (Oberdorfer, 1991). Nevertheless, North Korea betrayed the declaration by firing the Nodong-1 missile test in 1993 and the Taepodong-1 over Japan in 1997. Pursuing the previous leader, Kim

Jong-II continued to examine North Korea's nuclear program six times and launched the Taepodong-2 missile test in 2006-2009, which has an average nuclear range of 6000 km that poses a security threat to South Korea and worsen the relation in Korean Peninsula (Isnaeni et al., 2017: 49). The tension between South Korea and North Korea recurred when Kim Jong-Un actively developed nuclear weapons tests and modern ballistic missile programs believed to acquire chemical weapons capabilities.

In September 2017, North Korea successfully conducted its sixth nuclear test in the form of a long-range missile hydrogen bomb with an explosion power 17 times that of a Hiroshima bomb, with a range of 100-150 kilotons at the Punggyeri site (BBC News, 2017). Furthermore, in May 2019, North Korea again launched two short-range missile rockets from Kusong and flew an estimated 260 and 170 miles. According to South Korea's Joint Chiefs of Staff and Defense Ministry, these rockets were directed to explode at the North's east coast water, which is North Korea's territory, marking the continuation of the nuclear development. Therefore, North Korea's unpredictable behavior turns into the beginning of North Korea's nuclear threats that catch South Korea's attention because of its insecurity. Furthermore, the Korean War ended with a truce, not a peace treaty. Therefore, both countries were still hostile, and the North Korea nuclear program continuously remains a significant threat to South Korea and stability in the Korean Peninsula (Denyer, 2019).

In May 2017, South Korea's new president Moon Jae-in introduced South Korea's new approach in dealing with North Korea by implementing his version of Sunshine foreign policy, which is labeled by many as the Moonshine Policy (Baik & Hollihan, 2021: 94). Previously, the Sunshine policy was originated by President Kim Dae Jung that emphasized more on open economic cooperation with North Korea in 1998. The main purposes are to improve diplomacy and reunification between the two Koreas. One of the successful progress of the Sunshine policy is the establishment of the Inter-Korean Summit that became the first historical meeting when both of the Korean leaders met for the first time since the Korean War without any third-party intervention (Anindita, 2017: 109). In addition to the diplomacy approach, Sunshine policy also commits to economic cooperation with Kaesong Industrial Complex (KIC) in Pyongyang as the first industrial complex for both countries. However, the Sunshine policy under his era did not produce significant output to prevent North Korea's nuclear

issue since the summit only discussed reunification without any further suggestion to stop North Korea's nuclear development (Govindasamy, 2012: 3).

Sunshine policy continued in Roh Moo Hyun's era as the next South Korea's president in 2003-2008. Similarly, Roh continued the second Inter-Korean Summit with President Kim, resulting in the peace agreement with Kim Jong Il. The agreement relied more on inter-Korean cooperation to reinforce peace in the Korean Peninsula (Nadhiva et al., 2018: 158). South Korea has also actively given supply to North Korea in terms of aid and financial assistance, approximately reaching US\$ 500 million since 1999 (Yoo, 2006: 14). For Roh, helping North Korea's economy can achieve the unification process; thus, he firmly believes that the conflict between both countries can be solved peacefully through economic approaches. Unfortunately, the financial assistance given by South Korea was misused to defray North Korea's weapons of mass destruction since international parties imposed economic sanctions on North Korea (Niksch, 2005: 2). He is also known for his Roh Moo Hyun Doctrine that wants to make South Korea a singular actor in dealing with North Korea's issue without any intervention from the third party, namely the US and the UN. Nevertheless, the Sunshine policy under president Roh still did not address the nuclear issue as North Korea started to re-active its nuclear reactor and withdraw from the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) (Kim, 2005: 13). Furthermore, even though President Kim and Roh implemented the same policy differently, two key factors contributed to the Sunshine policy failing to resolve the nuclear issue effectively. First, both presidents did not prioritize trust-building because North Korea continued to violate the agreement and lacked mutual respect so that all assistance provided did not benefit South Korea (Hemmings, 2012). Therefore, the mediator's international support needs are essential as most Inter-Korean agreements cease the deadlock.

During Kim Jong-un's era, the existence of North Korea's nuclear program keeps increasing and does not show any intention to stop the development. North Korea holds two doctrines that form the potent foundation of nuclear development; Kangsong Taeguk is about the importance of building a solid and prosperous country, and Songun Chongchi on settling the military as the priority. Kim well represents these doctrines with his nuclear policy named Byungjin, which prioritizes nuclear and missiles as the

central sector in the country's development that gains the highest state allocation among the economic and military sectors (Sagan, 1996: 55; Tan, 2019: 98)

Kim's seriousness to develop his nuclear weapons became the closest threat and the most considerable responsibility for the South Korean president. Since his presidential campaign, President Moon's intention and motivation to change the fate of the suffering relations between the two Koreas. Under Moon's administration, he believes that military power cannot solve the problems but must emphasize diplomacy and economic approaches (Ferida, 2017). President Moon stated that he would generate the Sunshine policy from President Kim and President Roh by combining the diplomacy and economy spheres to apply soft approaches toward North Korea. The approach means that South Korea will rebuild the trust as the priority to support other mechanisms. The trust issue remains one of the most enduring problems between the two countries. The Inter-Korean Summit is one of the diplomatic efforts carried out to unite the interests and needs of the two Koreas, which results in a specific agreement. Meanwhile, Moon also applies open cooperation in the economy through Kaesong Industrial Complex and other Inter-Korean cooperation (Martin, Timothy W and Jeong, 2017).

Unlike President Kim and Roh, Moon is willing to cooperate with the US to handle the nuclear issue. The bilateral cooperation between South Korea and the US in a joint military exercise to secure the Korean Peninsula and bring North Korea to the negotiable table with the US (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of South Korea, 2019). Unfortunately, there are still international parties that are not convinced with the efficacy of the Moonshine policy in dealing with the nuclear issue since the previous implementation did not directly resolve the nuclear threats. The South Korean Conservatives party criticized Moon's resolution as North Korea tends to always misuse the Sunshine policy in economic cooperation to develop its nuclear power. Aware of the problem, Moon attempts to minimize economic aid and make no concessions before the Inter-Korean Summit has been conducted. This remains significant to ensure that all peace efforts are effective (Pardo et al., 2019: 3). The core principles of Sunshine policy that rely on cooperation, trust-building, and peaceful resolution are still believed to have an important impact on Inter-Korean relations, which President Moon would continue to maintain and develop (Kim, 2005: 3). Therefore, President Moon took the initiative

to shift South Korea's foreign policy by applying the principles of soft approaches to deal with North Korea's nuclear threats.

This article aims to analyze how President Moon's idiosyncrasy influences the same foreign policy differs from its predecessor to prevent North Korea's nuclear threats and examine South Korea's national interest in generating the President Moon's version of Sunshine policy or the Moonshine policy. Throughout the discussion, this article also emphasizes how important actors are in the foreign policy-making process, particularly showing the significant role of South Korea's President as the main factor that can shift the policy's implementation according to his initiative. This study argues that, learning from the past implementation of the Sunshine policy under previous administration that are deemed ineffective, President Moon modified the policy in such a way as to improve the Inter-Korean relations.

Theoretical Framework

Foreign Policy Analysis

In achieving the national interest, the state has to formulate a set of foreign policies to defend the citizen and the country's national interest. There are a variety of definitions from many scholars that define the meaning of the foreign policy. Foreign policy is a comprehensive direction of a nation-state made by the government to react towards external parties across the border or an international issue that is under the concern of that government to pursue its national interests (Bojang, 2018: 5). According to Modelski (1962: 11), foreign policy is the activities developed by the state to influence or change other countries' behavior and adapt their own activities to the international environment. Foreign policy must explain how countries seek to change and succeed in changing the behavior of other countries. Foreign policy has three concepts that are "end", "mean", and "way". The "end" means the desired outcome or the national interest; the "mean" is the available resources that the state used to deal with other parties (economy, military, etc.); the "way" is the strategy or the implementation on how the state utilize the "mean" (persuasive, diplomacy, coercion, etc.) (Ahmed, 2020: 715).

As Breuning (2007) elaborates in his book *Foreign Policy Analysis, A Comparative Introduction*, there are three levels of analysis in foreign policy analysis;

individual level, state level, and system level. First, the individual level concentrates on the decision-maker in understanding the surrounding situation, assessing the benefits and risks that have an impact in defining the problem, which is the purpose of implementing the foreign policy. Some of the main focus has been on analyzing the beliefs, personalities, perceptions, and backgrounds of actors who influence decision-making. Second, the state level focuses on the state's institutional scheme, such as executive, legislative, or government bureaucracy and domestic values that are public opinion, economic condition, or state's history that can influence the behavior of the state on the international stage. Lastly, the system level attends to interaction among the states that correlate with their relative power, such as economy or military capabilities. The changes in the power of a state can be a threat or opportunity that can affect states' behavior in the international system (Breuning, 2007: 51).

However, in this article, the authors use an individual level of analysis to examine the role of President Moon in determining the new foreign policy to North Korea. As stated in the background, the Sunshine policy was already implemented by two previous presidents differently. The most significant changes happened in Moon's era when he emphasizes and implements more on economic and diplomacy spheres, not by sanction or military approach toward North Korea's nuclear threats like the previous presidents. It shows a distinction in perception or behavior between the presidents in dealing with the same issue that creates differentiation in implementing the same foreign policy.

The Individual Level of Analysis (Idiosyncrasies)

The individual level analyzes the role of leaders and decision-makers in determining foreign policy. It concerned the study of personality traits and values of the leaders to define what influences the foreign policy. A leader's decision is crucial in determining foreign policy. The decision will establish the state's behavior through foreign policy. However, it is not only the leader figure that has an important role but also the process that is passed to produce the right decision or option and face the existing obstacles. In the individual analysis, the author will use the concept of idiosyncratic to explore the typical indicators of a leader in determining a policy. The term idiosyncratic in foreign policy plays a significant role as one of the individual characters in determining the country's policy-making process. Not only shaping the policy of a country, the

idiosyncratic factor of a leader can also determine the political direction and movement of a country (Gravelle et al., 2020: 3).

The personality of a leader that consists of backgrounds, beliefs, motivations, and perceptions, are interrelated to form a point of view that determines the policy's process and purposes (Mirza, 2018: 35). Notably, the individual generates the decision, not the state; hence, each leader has different foreign policy objects even though they face the same problem. Therefore, the distinction of viewpoint or stance in dealing with a particular issue can result in foreign policy changes (Damaschin & Ciot, 2020: 65). The analysis of individual characteristics applies to the leader himself and the magnitude of the influence he exerts on his surroundings. Idiosyncrasy factors can affect how the leader handles the cabinet and the stakeholders to solve the problem. It proves that the individual as the basic instrument is still fundamental since it will arrange and form other larger systems such as the state, government, or society. There are several methods to analyze the idiosyncrasy factor of a leader. In this article, the author will utilize the personality or individual assessment by Hermann (Hermann, 1980, 2005). According to Hermann, there are three types of assessment to analyze the leader idiosyncratic: personality assessment, leadership style, and decision-making style (Hermann, 2005: 179).

Method

This article employs a qualitative method to analyze President Moon's idiosyncrasy that influences Moonshine foreign policy in dealing with North Korea's nuclear threats. The qualitative method is used to understand the world by examining social phenomena; this type of research is useful for answering research questions that explore concepts, implementations, and sensitive topics by providing flexible explanations to reduce the difficulties (Hancock et al., 2001). This method is interpretive which uses descriptions and perspectives to provide insight and meaning from certain behaviors that occur in social phenomena. The article uses an observation technique through archival research that is very useful for analyzing social processes and interactions that require consideration from various levels of analysis (Lamont & White, 2005).

The article uses primary and secondary sources to collect the data and information related to the topic. The primary sources used in the article are South Korea's

Government Official Documents that address all relevant indicators to analyze the implementation of Moonshine Policy. These comprise data on South Korea's national interest that will be in the Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity, and Unification of the Korean Peninsula that can be accessed on the South Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs official website and South Korea Policy Tasks in Ministry of Unification official website. In addition to South Korea's national interest, South Korea's President also serves as the main actor in the foreign policy decision-making process and the data of President Moon Jae-in's idiosyncrasy factors were provided in Korea.net Official Website. These data were then analyzed through theoretical perspectives used in this article such as foreign policy analysis and the individual level of analysis of President Moon Jae-In's idiosyncrasy to answer the research question.

Results and Discussion: President Moon Jae-in's Idiosyncrasies

Personality Assessment

This study employs political personality profile that consists of several indicators, such as those of Hermann (1980: 33):

a. Political History and Personal Experiences

The political history and personal experience of a leader in a government can influence his or her determinant action toward other countries. The background history or experience in political or economic fields creates a lesson for the leader as the primary instrument to shape or define foreign policy based on their understanding in political or economic fields. This part will examine President Moon's political experience that has already influenced or contributed to South Korea's politics starting in 2003 when he became the Chief of Staff to President Roh Moo-hyun (Rahn, 2017).

b. Political Personality

In this part, political personality has a categorization scheme, namely the aggressive leader and the conciliatory leader. There are some indicators that classify a leader to be an aggressive person that is desire to take control of the state power, minimum in conceptual complexity, mistrustful with other parties, strong nationalistic, consider having a powerful authority to control all events related to the leader. Meanwhile, the conciliatory leader has a high affiliation,

maximum conceptual complexity, more trust and confidence with others, low nationalistic, fairly not centralize the power to the leader itself but distribute it to others. The personality characteristics will be measured by these indicators and later will become the criteria to identify President Moon's political personality.

Leadership Style

According to Hermann et al. (2005), the personal analysis that includes the leader's characteristics will determine the type of leadership. President Moon Jae-in has the character of high nationalism, high need of affiliation, high need of power, high conceptual complexity, firm belief in own control, and low distrust of others. Simultaneously, those characteristics categorize President Moon as having a leadership style as the active independent. Individuals with an active independent type are oriented to maintain their contributions to international parties without endangering their relations with other countries. Moon continues to maintain his power as the leading actor in the Inter-Korean relations and does not limit or hinder the intervention of other countries to deal with the issue of North Korea's nuclear threats as long as it is under supervision and approval from South Korea. In addition to pursuing the interests of South Korea with North Korea, Moon must monitor the development of other countries involved so that there are no overlapping interests in the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, as actively independent, President Moon will prioritize South Korea's national interest toward North Korea by garnering support and contributions from its alliance or other international partners.

Decision-Making Style

According to Hermann et al. (2005), there are two characteristics in the decision-making style: situational and problem characteristics. These types are greatly influenced by a leader's leadership style, where the leadership's character can shape the decision-making process. The situational characteristic depends on environmental and social influences. Meanwhile, the problem characteristic tends to be based on the problem's nature and time context (Hermann, Suedfeld, & Post, 2005). According to the political and personality assessment of President Moon, changing or adjusting his strategy based on the environment and the information he has, indicates that he is classified as having a

situational characteristic. Situational characters put the environment as an indicator that can influence an individual when processing the information obtained and the consequences of the strategies that are carried out that can affect the individual's response to the current environment (Hermann, Suedfeld, & Post, 2005). Other indicators influencing situational decision-making style are time pressure, threat perception, conflict, and uncertainty (Laksono, 2018). President Moon's personality influenced by his environment can be seen from his action and perception of his environmental conditions such as the Inter-Korean relations, bilateral relations with the US, and other countries' interest in the Korean Peninsula when making a policy. South Korea's position as the driver and is in the middle between North Korea and other international parties causes Moon to prioritize the peace process with dialogue, strengthen relations with other countries and strengthen national defense. Therefore, Moon carried out various reforms to prepare his country's resilience in defense, politics, and economy to encounter North Korea's provocations and balance its partner countries (Lee, 2018).

President Moon's independent leadership style makes his decision-making process more situational-centric. Moon became the diplomatic navigator in his era, as he saw in the previous administrations, South Korea barely maintains its diplomatic style to balance relations with all parties in the Korean Peninsula. Moon decided to change his diplomatic style to support his foreign policy by inspecting the tense circumstances since the previous president's era. There are several principles that Moon established to shape South Korea's diplomatic stance. The first point is that besides all the power and interest distinctions between South Korea and the external parties, Moon will always show sincerity towards the cooperation he wants to do to form mutual trust. Second, Moon studied the characteristics and interests at stake to reach a consensus with other countries. Third, he continues to prioritize the welfare of his people by pursuing bi-national cooperation that can benefit and safeguard the interests of South Korean citizens domestically and internationally. Fourth, South Korea will carry out a long-term strategy to succeed in its national interest rather than temporary profits. Lastly, Moon will create affinity and a great impression to secure and foster friendly and cooperative relations with other countries (Choon, 2018).

His characteristics that are categorized as the conciliatory leader, actively independent, and has situational aspects make President Moon confident and have genuine intention to use the Moonshine policy and change the orientation of South Korea's policy during the conservative period, which chose to use hard approaches toward North Korea. The intense relations between the two Koreas and the strained relations between South Korea and its alliance left by the previous conservative administration is a lesson for Moon to bring about changes related to North Korea's nuclear issue. The Moonshine policy that uses economic, diplomacy, and cultural approaches and provides opportunities for international parties to assist South Korea's role in the Korean Peninsula will be a solution to North Korea's nuclear issue and bring significant changes to South Korea.

The Influence of President Moon Jae-in's Idiosyncrasies in the Implementation of the Moonshine Policy

The president's decision-making process strongly influences South Korea's foreign policy towards North Korea. President Moon Jae-in's idiosyncrasy factors are shaped by his political background as former President Roh's college and senior secretariat made Moon the successor of Sunshine Policy. The Sunshine policy has become fundamental for liberal leaders towards North Korea. Simultaneously, Moon returned to using the Sunshine policy modified according to his strategies and the Inter-Korean conditions after being last implemented in 2008. In addition to avoiding the flaws made by his predecessors, the Moonshine policy is also restructuring according to Moon's idiosyncrasy factor. His high nationalism and high need for affiliation led Moon to prioritize soft approaches toward North Korea. President Moon's long-term policy is to make South Korea a leading role in designing and realizing peace and prosperity of the two Koreas and the countries in East Asia. His belief in democratic-liberal makes trust, respect, and cooperation the basis of his foreign policy to improve the security and quality of life without overthrowing one of the parties in the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, based on his characteristics, President Moon Jae-in has three principles of his Moonshine policy as follows:

1. "Peace First" is the value and foundation that South Korea prioritizes to achieve prosperity for both countries;

2. The Spirit of Mutual Respect adheres to "3-Nos" which consists of South Korea has no intention to bring down North Korea, no unification by absorption, and no pursuit of unification by artificial means;
3. The community recognizes and makes Open Policy through public interaction (The Republic of Korea's Ministry of Unification, n.d.).

Moon also established his three policy objectives as follows:

1. Establishment of Permanent Peace and Resolution of the North Korean Nuclear problem. South Korea will be the leading actor in peacefully resolving the nuclear issue together with global partners. The unstable security situation since the ceasefire will be replaced by an era of permanent peace;
2. Development of Inter-Korean Relations
The government will unite internal views on North Korean policies to create a national consensus, and South Korea will continue regularly existing inter-Korean agreements to enhance trust and communication. South Korea is attempting to make Promises for Unification based on South Korean citizen cooperation as an agreement on unification affair;
3. Realizing a New Economic Community System in the Korean Peninsula
South Korea will build an inter-Korean economic scheme to achieve mutual prosperity and bring peace through the economic field. The government will form a New Economic Map by strengthening inter-Korean economic relations and opening up opportunities for other countries to advance the Korean Peninsula (The Republic of Korea's Ministry of Unification, n.d.).

As already explained in the previous section, Moon is classified as a conciliatory leader with characteristics to expand diplomatic relations with other countries, including North Korea. Subsequently, his behavior led his policy to maintain valuable relations with his alliance and other external parties. In his perspective, the US and other international interventions also play a significant role in North Korea's nuclear issue and can assist South Korea in dealing with North Korea. Therefore, President Moon initiated his foreign policy strategies to be more open and based on mutual respect with North Korea and the international parties. Simultaneously, Moon constructed four strategies for North Korea's policy as follows:

1. Step-by-step and Comprehensive Approach

South Korea will carry out sanctions and dialogue approaches to achieve complete denuclearization peacefully. In order to eradicate the security threats, the government will facilitate all efforts along with the international community to improve inter-Korean relations;

2. Respectively Addressing the Issues of Inter-Korean Relations and the North Korean Nuclear Threat

South Korea perceives that improving the Inter-Korean relations and North Korea's nuclear issue must be resolved collectively since they are not two different things that must be prioritized. South Korea will reactivate inter-Korean dialogue and cooperation so that it can facilitate multilateral talks;

3. Sustainability through Institutionalization

Maintaining the consistency of South Korea's policy toward North Korea, the government will continue the National Unification Contract in accordance with the national consensus and enforce the Inter-Korean agreement;

4. Establish mutually beneficial Cooperation as the foundation for Peaceful Unification

The government will expand inter-Korean exchanges to restore homogeneity as a natural unification process through the promotion of coexistence and prosperity of the two Koreas (The Republic of Korea's Ministry of Unification, n.d.).

President Moon's political belief in cooperation and dialogue implies that he wants to change the dynamics of the Inter-Korean relations, which experienced tensions during the previous administration and the provocations launched by North Korea. However, Moon did not reply to the incident with military action that could exacerbate the situation. While he is always seeking for international support and has high nationalism to treat North Korea more properly, he arranges five principles to clarify South Korea's stance in the policy as follows:

1. Korea-Led

All peace and denuclearization processes that take place in the Korean Peninsula will be directly related to South Korea and we will lead all cooperation and promote reconciliation;

2. Strong National Defense

South Korea will maintain and enhance its national defense while advancing the ROK-US alliance to bring peace and prevent provocations in the Korean Peninsula;

3. Mutual Respect

All forms of cooperation, dialogue, and exchanges that are carried out will be based on mutual respect and gratitude in order to achieve prosperity for the two Koreas;

4. Interaction with the Community

The government will cooperate with other internal institutions such as the National Assembly, political experts, and civil organizations to reach a national agreement in our North Korea's policy;

5. Maintaining International Cooperation

South Korea, through our principle of openness, will continue to interact with the international parties to achieve prosperity in the Korean Peninsula (The Republic of Korea's Ministry of Unification, n.d.).

The purpose of the establishment of the Moonshine policy is to restore trust and eliminate tensions between the two countries as the Moonshine policy was generated based on cooperation, peace, and reconciliation principles. This policy prioritizes economic, and diplomacy approaches since President Moon believes that it is easier to approach and persuade North Korea with economics and diplomacy than through politics or the military. Thus, President Moon wants to restore the lines of communication with North Korea that were closed in the previous president's era. He intensively arranged meetings with North Korea, which had a positive impact on the Inter-Korean relations, and developed cooperative projects with North Korea. Moon's diplomacy strategies successfully conducted two Inter-Korean Summits that resulted in the Panmunjom Declaration, building the Inter-Korean Rail Project, and opening the Kaesong Industrial Complex. The Moonshine policy also provides the possibility for President Moon to meet with various country leaders who have an interest in the Korean Peninsula. In total, Moon arranged four summits and 15 online conversations by phone with President Trump, three summits and three phone calls with President Xi, four

summits and 12 phone calls with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, and two summits with three phone calls along with President Vladimir Putin (Choon, 2018).

President Moon believes that South Korea must become an independent country and have solid national resilience to contribute or regulate interest in the Korean Peninsula. Moon's aspirations to restore peace and unite the Korean nation impact his cooperative policies. Not only to embrace North Korea but also to provide benefits for South Korea to achieve its national interest. Therefore, the changes brought by President Moon in the Moonshine policy are significantly influenced by Moon's idiosyncratic factors, who are senior colleagues of the former President Roh and his personality assessment.

The Differences between the Moonshine Policy and the Old Sunshine Policy

President Moon Jae-in implemented the Moonshine policy, which has several significant differences compared to the Sunshine policy from his predecessor. The shift occurs to avoid the flaws of Sunshine policy and adapt to the current circumstances. Differences in characters and personality of the leader that implement the Sunshine policy also play a significant role in generating the policy. Although President Moon is the same liberal leader as his predecessor, his idiosyncratic factors are different from former President Roh and President Kim. Therefore, there are three major distinctions between the Moonshine policy and the previous Sunshine Policy.

The first point is about the economic concessions. Previously, Moon declared that his policy would focus on economic and diplomacy approaches to North Korea. However, he did not irresponsibly aid or cooperate with North Korea. The main requirement that he applies is that economic concessions will be given to North Korea when the Inter-Korean Summit is successfully held (Fiori, 2018). Moon's wary behavior is aimed at avoiding protests from South Koreans who have had low support for economic aid to North Korea since the former President Park era; and he avoids the mistakes of President Kim as the founder of the Sunshine Policy who regularly provides economic concessions until it is misused by North Korea to support its nuclear development (Moon C. i., 2001). Therefore, in Moon's era, he does not want to be seen as wasting state money to support North Korea's nuclear capabilities.

The second distinction from the Moonshine policy is Moon's strategies to gain more international support to assist the peace-making process in the Korean Peninsula. The old Sunshine policy has no specific strategy for dealing with the international parties. It is because Moon's predecessor had a character that did not allow and put a barrier to other parties to intervene in the North Korea issue and even had anti-America character. Unlike Moon, he does not distance himself from his alliance and other parties but maintains bilateral relations to remain harmonious, and there is no conflict of interest between parties in the Korean Peninsula. He directly gives praise and positive responses to his cooperation partners. However, he established the Korean-led principle, which indicates that no action can be taken in the Korean Peninsula without South Korea's approval. This principle is also to emphasize to its citizens that South Korea remains as a leader and it is not influenced by other countries (Fiori, 2018).

The last point is about a lot of agreements that formed under the Moonshine policy. All the meetings that Moon arranged for North Korea, either with South Korea or the US, were successfully carried out. This indicates that Moon's primary intention to open the flow of communication to reach a consensus and agreement with North Korea is successful. As a result of the regular summit, a lot of Inter-Korean projects were created, such as family reunion for separated families caused by the Korean War, and the Inter-Korean economic projects that consist of the Kaesong Industrial Complex and railway scheme to connect the economic line between South Korea and North Korea (Mosler, 2017). Moreover, in Moon's era, the Inter-Korean Liaison office was successfully built and operated as a communication channel office to facilitate all forms of inter-Korean information exchange located in Kaesong (Arirang, 2018).

Table 1 - The Differences between the old Sunshine Policy and the new Sunshine policy (Moonshine Policy)

The Policy	President	Stance	Approaches	Vision
The Old Sunshine Policy	President Kim Dae Jung (1998-2003)	Anti-America	Economy	Reunification and Reconciliation in Korean Peninsula
	President Roh Moo Hyun (2003-2008)	Anti-America	Economy	Reconciliation with North Korea and Preparing South Korea to Become "The East Asia Center"
The New Sunshine	President Moon Jae-in (2017-	Pro-America and	Economy, Diplomacy, and	Reconciliation with North Korea, Denuclearization,

The Policy	President	Stance	Approaches	Vision
Policy (Moonshine Policy)	2019)	International Parties	Culture	and Ensuring Permanent Peace in Korean Peninsula

Source: other reference or author's own resource

Conclusion

This article attempted to answer the research question of how President Moon Jae-in's idiosyncrasies influence the Moonshine foreign policy in dealing with North Korea's nuclear threats using individual-level analysis and idiosyncrasy theory. In 2017, President Moon Jae-in was elected as the 19th South Korean President and gave new hopes to the people after the internal political conflict that assaulted South Korea's government and the Inter-Korean relations. Since the beginning of his administration, Moon said that he would bring back the Sunshine foreign policy from President Kim Dae Jung (1998-2003) and President Roh Moo Hyun (2003-2008). The Sunshine policy focuses more on economic and diplomacy approaches to achieve cooperation and exchanges toward North Korea and avoid escalation to build mutual trust between the two Koreas. However, each presidential era shaped the Sunshine policy differently according to its strategy. Moon modified the policy according to his visions and measurements influenced by his idiosyncrasy factors and constructed the Moonshine foreign policy.

This article demonstrates that President Moon's idiosyncrasy factors significantly influenced his perception of North Korea and defined South Korea's national interest that directly shaped the Moonshine policy in dealing with North Korea's nuclear threats. This is in line with Hermann's idiosyncrasy theory; three types of assessments can be used to evaluate a leader's idiosyncrasy: personality assessment, leadership style, and decision-making style. The article demonstrated that President Moon's idiosyncrasies could reorientate South Korean foreign policy toward North Korea. Moon directs his policy to eliminate Inter-Korean tensions and prioritize cooperative measurements toward North Korea. As a result of the Moonshine policy, which is more open and fairer to all parties interested in the Korean Peninsula, South Korea generates supportive Inter-Korean relations and has peaceful bilateral relations with the United States, China, Japan, and Russia, the four countries involved in North Korea's nuclear issue.

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