

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Sunshine Policy is the name given to the foreign policy of South Korea's toward the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) firstly established during the Kim Dae Jung's government.¹ It was applied by South Korea in reaction to the North Korean nuclear weapon development. Through this foreign policy, Kim Dae Jung attempted to reduce military tensions between North and South Korea as the main goal of Sunshine Policy.²

Historically, the North Korean nuclear weapon development was rooted in the United States' attempt to develop nuclear since the early 1950s and it had become a significant threat against North Korea and triggered the growth of self-reliant existential nuclear deterrent.³ There are two major driving factors for North Korea in developing its nuclear strategy: (1) the external United States' nuclear and non-nuclear threat and (2) internal decision-making structures.⁴ The first nuclear crisis took place in 1993 and 1994 where the issue of North Korean nuclear first emerged as a salient crisis.

More importantly, the behavior of North Korea surely gave certain impacts to the region especially the nearest neighbor in the peninsula – South Korea. When North Korea withdrew from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) regime in 1993,

¹Ministry of Unification Republic of Korea. 2001. *White Paper on Korean Unification: Peace and*
²*Ibid.*

³ Samuel Kim. 2010. *North Korea's Nuclear Strategy and the Interface Between International and Domestic Politic.* Lynne Rienner

⁴*Ibid.*

President Kim Yong Sam shifted his stance from a non-aligned nation to aligning against North Korea by addressing that “we cannot shake hands with a partner with nuclear weapons”.⁵ By this speech, it showed how South Korea did no longer claim North Korea as its partner.

In responding to North Korea’s nuclear in 1993, President Kim Yong Sam labeled it as something to fight against and had managed to switch his country’s position in conducting international relations. South Korea had switched the country stance by acknowledging the existential threat from North Korea. It followed by an emergency action to conduct “substantial measures including special inspection” in the Coordination Committee for Unification and Security Policies.⁶ In Kim Yong Sam’s administration, North Korea’s nuclear was the trigger of this shifting stance.

However, when Kim Dae Jung came in the surface to replaced Kim Yong Sam in 1998, he drew some distinctions regarding the North-South relations. Unlike the previous government, Kim Dae Jung provided a different view on the North Korean nuclear weapon threat. During his administration, he attempted to downplay the threats by offering a more friendly approach. His stance firstly stated in the inaugural speech emphasizing that Inter-Korean relations should be based on the reconciliation, cooperation, and peace-making agenda in 1998.⁷

⁵ Sanghyun Yoon. 1996. *South Korea’s Kim Young Sam Government: Political Agendas*. Asian Survey. Vol. 36, No.5. University of California Press.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷ The New York Times. 1998. *Words of Kim Dae Jung: Call for Reconciliation*. [Online] <https://www.nytimes.com/1998/02/25/world/words-of-kim-dae-jung-call-for-reconciliation.html> accessed on August 29, 2018.

He managed to build a bridge between the North and South Korea by transforming this high politic issue to low politics in term of economic and peaceful cooperation. Since North Korea's nuclear had been labeled as a threat during Kim Yong Sam government, Kim Dae Jung did not readopt the previous agenda. He managed to lower the tension due to the North Korean nuclear threat as one of the goals of his well-known Sunshine Policy. The establishment of the Sunshine Policy was a unilateral act by the architects, Kim Dae Jung and Lee Dong Won, Kim's long-time follower. A reconciliation between the two Koreas was Kim Dae Jung's priority on his political agenda.

The key feature of the Sunshine Policy of Kim was the flexible reciprocity which meant that South Korea would give assistance to North Korea without demanding the North to give back an equal return.⁸ It implied a mere requirement for North Korea to improve and maintain inter-Korean relations.⁹ Another important point that Kim's ruling government did not pursue the policy by demanding North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program.¹⁰ It was caused by Kim's intention to prioritize economic and humanitarian needs to North Korea. These features have led to the debates within political domestic over the radical departure of Sunshine Policy.

⁸ Chan Kyu Suk. 2010. "The Future of Sunshine Policy: Strategies for Survival", in Geetha Govindasamy. 2012. *Kim Dae Jung and Sunshine Policy: An Appealing Policy Option for Inter-Korean Relations*. Volume 27.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰ The Society for Northeast Asian Peace Studies. 1999. "The Kim Dae Jung Government: The Sunshine Policy", in Geetha Govindasamy. 2012. *Kim Dae Jung and Sunshine Policy: An Appealing Policy Option for Inter-Korean Relations*. Volume 27.

As a foreign policy, the Sunshine Policy has a close tie towards the domestic situation. According to Hudson, foreign policy is simply the continuation of domestic politics.¹¹ More importantly, the implementation of foreign policy concerns itself on the output of the policy itself.¹² It implies that the success of foreign policy depends on domestic support during the implementation process.

In this case, it is obvious that South Korea, during the Kim Dae Jung's administration, had also experienced competing constellations within the domestic politic coalitions in the implementation of Sunshine Policy. It involved the polarization of progressive and conservative views regarding the engagement policies to North Korea. It was also caused by the behavior of North Korea that seemed to be comfortable with the economic incentives and eventually sidestepped its nuclear development program.¹³

The Sunshine Policy had faced dynamics in its implementation due to the polarization between the progressive and the conservative views. The implementation became important since it was "an inherent part of the political process of foreign policy".¹⁴ The debate within the domestic situation was inevitable because of the quick shifting stance. It had drawn certain implications for the implementation of the Sunshine Policy. Essentially, it was

¹¹ Valerie Hudson. 2007. *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Temporary Theory*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

¹²P.G. Moore and H. Thomas. 1976. *The Anatomy of Decisions*. London.

¹³ Geetha Govindasamy. 2012. *Kim Dae Jung and Sunshine Policy: An Appealing Policy Option for Inter-Korean Relations*. Volume 27.

¹⁴ Michael Clarke. 1979. *Foreign Policy Implementation: Problems and Approaches*. British Journal of International Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

because foreign policy is a purposive behavior.¹⁵ In this research, the domestic political constellations in responding to the Sunshine Policy implementation will be further analyzed through two domestic variables, (1) Presidential System and (2) Representing Groups.

1.2. Research Question

Based on the background of the problem above, the research question of this thesis is: “how was the dynamic of the presidential system and representing groups constellation in South Korea in responding to the Sunshine Policy implementation during Kim Dae Jung’s administration?”

1.3. The Objective of the Research

1.3.1. General

The general objective of the research is to present a contribution to the political and social science for public and academia in the form of scientific research. Other than that, the objective of the research also intends to satisfy a final requirement needed to complete the bachelor’s degree in International Relations program at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional “Veteran” Jawa Timur.

1.3.2. Specific

According to the statement of the problem above, the specific objective of the research is to explain the dynamic of domestic political constellation of South Korea in responding to the implementation of Sunshine Policy as the foreign

¹⁵ David A. Baldwin. 2000. *Success and Failure in Foreign Policy*. Institute of War & Peace Studies. New York: Columbia University.

policy towards North Korea under Kim Dae Jung's administration. Other than that, the arguments addressed in the research is the alternative study from previous scientific researches on the same topic.

1.4. The Significance of the Research

The general significance of the research is to present a contribution in the form of scientific research regarding International Relations studies for the public and academia. Whereas the specific significance of the research is expected to be useful to broaden perspectives about Sunshine Policy during South Korea's Kim Dae Jung administration and the role of the presidential system and representative groups to in responding to the foreign policy implementation.

1.5. Conceptual Frameworks

1.5.1. Level of Analysis

Level of analysis is necessary for the research to determine which actors to be further analyzed. It also provides the Author with a clearer subject to be emphasized. In the process of deciding the level of analysis, the Author needs to specify the analysis unit to be discussed. The analysis unit is the dependent variable as the main focus to analyze, whereas the explanation unit or independent variable is the phenomenon resulted to implicate the unit analysis.¹⁶ Level of analysis contributes to explain an international phenomenon, set which factor to be emphasized and to sort out the impacts of other factors.¹⁷

¹⁶ Iva Rachmawati. 2012. *Memahami Perkembangan Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Aswaja Pressindo.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

According to Valerie Hudson, level of analysis is divided into certain realms which are individual, group, culture and national identity, domestic politics, national attributes, and the international system.¹⁸ In this thesis, the Author applies domestic politics as the level of analysis. In ensuring that a foreign policy can be analyzed through domestic politics, there are six domestic variables need to be taken into account, (1) representing groups or franchise, (2) the electoral system, (3) the size of electoral constituencies, (4) the length of representatives' terms, (5) presidential versus parliamentary government, and (6) the veto mechanism within the country.¹⁹

The domestic political level of analysis is suitable for the research since it focuses on the domestic constellations in responding to the foreign policy. The unit analysis or dependent variable in this thesis is the Sunshine Policy as a foreign policy of South Korea during the Kim Dae Jung government toward North Korea. Whereas, the explanation unit is the constellation within domestic politic represented by the presidential system and representing groups during the Kim Dae Jung administration on Sunshine Policy implementation. In this paper, the Author will apply the proposition of variables of the presidential system and representing groups.

¹⁸ Valerie Hudson. 2007. *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

¹⁹ Ronald Rogowski. 1999. "Institutions as Constraints on Strategic Choice", in *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, ed. David A. Lake & Robert Powell. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. 36-115.

1.5.2. Theoretical Approaches

1.5.2.1. Presidential System

As the system of government, presidential system lies in the separation of powers.²⁰ Presidential systems have also been acknowledged as a series that possess more unity of purpose and ability for quick action.²¹ However, these system spark debates due to two things: (1) they centralize power too much or do not centralize power enough and (2) they represent the people or less representative of the people.²²

The major crucial problem in the presidential system lies in more case-specific mechanisms.²³ The potential consequences of adopting this system of government begin at the most fundamental level by analyzing social cleavages and how they are manifested in a nation's party system.²⁴ There are three aspects of the importance of party system: (1) the number of political parties, (2) their internal structure, (3) and their respective strengths.²⁵

In the presidential system, where the president's party is in a legislative minority, multiple internally-cohesive opposition parties can provide effective checks upon presidential prerogatives.²⁶ Otherwise, when the president's party has a legislative minority comprised of multiple parties, he will likely have less power in

²⁰ Richard Rose. 1991. *The Postmodern President*. Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers.

²¹ Byung-wha Lee, Donald A. Gross, and Jeong-sook Kim. 1992. *A Presidential or Parliamentary System: The South Korean Debate*. Inha: Centre for International Studies, Inha University.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Duverger, in Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Party System and Voter Alignments*. New York: The Free Press. Pp. 26-27.

²⁶ Byung-wha Lee, Donald A. Gross, and Jeong-sook Kim, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

maximizing his position as a party leader to influence the legislature.²⁷ It implies that in the presidential system, presidents often face obstacles in securing stable supports in the legislature because of the multi-fragmented and undisciplined parties which lead to the possible deadlocks.²⁸

Given these explanations, in regards to foreign policy, it is crucial to consider the system of government in analyzing the topic of discussion. It is because the implementation of foreign policy also depends on the state's system of government including the actors within – political parties. According to Hermann, the role of actors will lead to the product of the decision of foreign policy.²⁹ Regarding the presidential system, there are some factors which will be analyzed as follows: (1) the number of political parties, (2) their internal structure, (3) and their respective strengths that give certain implication toward the political environment.³⁰

1.5.2.2. Representing Groups

Representing groups or franchise refer to the group of people represented by political actors.³¹ Actors represent the ideology through the representing groups. Foreign policy concerns itself on the outputs of the policy during the

²⁷ Byung-wah Lee, Donald A. Gross, and Jeong-sook Kim. 1992. *A Presidential or Parliamentary System: The South Korean Debate*. Inha: Centre for International Studies, Inha University.

²⁸ Scott Mainwaring. 1992. *Dilemmas of Multiparty Presidential Democracy*. Heshburgh: Kellogg Institute.

²⁹ C.F. Hermann. 1978. 'Foreign Policy Behavior: That Which is to be Explained', in M.A. East S.A. Salmore and C.F. Hermann. *Why Nations Act*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage. Pp. 25-47.

³⁰ Duverger, in Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Party System and Voter Alignments*. New York: The Free Press. Pp. 26-27.

³¹ Ronald Rogowski. 1999. "Institutions as Constraints on Strategic Choice", in *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, ed. David A. Lake & Robert Powell. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. 36-115.

implementation.³² It implies that the representing group has a crucial role in framing a set of values and expectations of the policy.³³ Because it stands between the administrative scale on one side and direct social impact of principle on the other.³⁴ More than that, it also portrays the political relationship between the government and the targets of policy.³⁵

Representing groups became important since it shows how the state has differences and domestic constraints. According to Adnan, it affects the mobilization and the use of state capabilities regarding foreign policy.³⁶ One of the domestic constraints over foreign policy is the political party.³⁷ However, Jensen argued that political party's role in foreign policy is less as compared to the executive and bureaucracy.³⁸

Representing groups or franchise shows that institutions vary and their variations matter. It “profoundly affect the style and relative success of the foreign policy”.³⁹ It caused by the variations drawing certain effect over the actors' abilities to formulate strategies and find the means to pursue them.⁴⁰

³² P.G. Moore and H. Thomas. 1976. *The Anatomy of Decisions*. London.

³³ Michael Clarke. 1979. *Foreign Policy Implementation: Problems and Approaches*. British Journal of International Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2. Cambridge University Press.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Hood, loc. cit. pp. 7-123.

³⁶ Mubeen Adnan. 2014. *Foreign Policy and Domestic Constraints: A Conceptual Account*. A Research Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol. 29. Lahore: University of Punjab.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Lloyd Jensen. 1982. *Explaining Foreign Policy*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc, Englewood Cliffs.

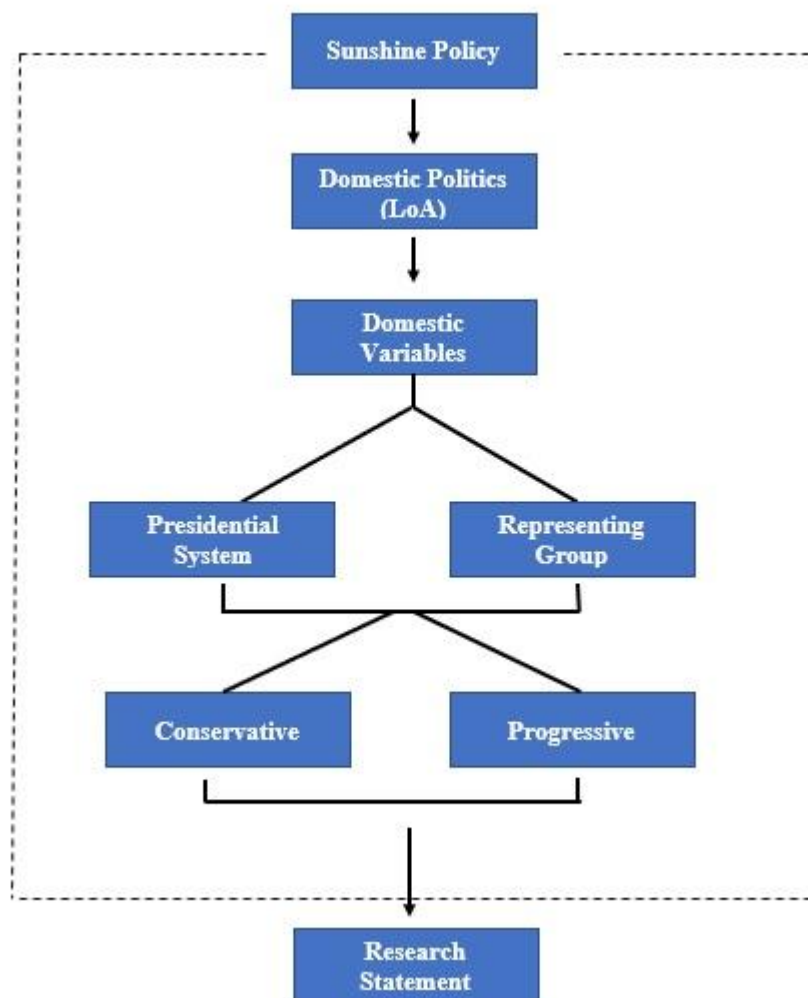
³⁹ Ronald Rogowski. 1999. “Institutions as Constraints on Strategic Choice”, in *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, ed. David A. Lake & Robert Powell. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. 36-115.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Given these explanations, to be analyzed the distinction of representing a group that determines the interest and goal of each franchise. Other than that, strategic environment will also be analyzed as the implications of representing groups toward foreign policy.

1.5.3. Logical Flowchart

Figure 1. 2 Logical Flowchart



The scheme above concisely explains the flow of research started with the theoretical approaches followed by the framework. The black arrow lines examine

the direct interaction, whereas the dotted lines used to explain the indirect interaction. Sunshine Policy is the foreign policy of South Korea during the Kim Dae Jung government to reduce the political tension to pursue reconciliation, cooperation, and peace-making agenda within Korean peninsula.⁴¹ The black arrow line between Sunshine Policy domestic politics shows the level of analysis the researcher use in the research.

Hudson argues that foreign policy is simply the continuation of domestic politics by other means so that domestic politics can be applied as a level of analysis.⁴² To explain the variables of domestic politics and the dynamic of Sunshine Policy's implementation, the Author directed a black arrow line to the system of government and representing groups. More than that, the dotted lines around the scheme is to explain the whole synthesis that will result in the research statement.

The proposition of the presidential system and representing group or franchise brought to highlight the response on Sunshine Policy implementation. Other than that, it supports domestic politics as a level of analysis as well as to facilitate the Author to simplify the analysis. The figure of the level of analysis followed by the domestic variables represented by the system of government and representing groups show the attempts of domestic variables to respond the Sunshine Policy implementation. Black arrow lines to the conservative and progressive show the polarization within the domestic politics of South Korea. The result of the synthesis with theoretical framework above shows that the domestic political

⁴¹ Ministry of Unification Republic of Korea. 2001. *White Paper on Korean Unification: Peace and Cooperation*. Republic of Korea: Jungmoonsa.

⁴² Valerie Hudson. 2007. *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Maryland: Rowman Littlefield.

constellation within the presidential system and representing groups in South Korea gave no effect on the implementation of sunshine policy because the Sunshine Policy was maintained accordingly during Kim Dae Jung's administration.

1.6. Research Statement

Based on the conceptual framework, theoretical approaches, and research synthesis, the Author perceives the research statement as follows. In the light of the domestic political constellation by the presidential system and representing groups in South Korea to respond the Sunshine Policy, actors exercised attempts to support and disagree to the sunshine policy.

During the implementation, Sunshine Policy was condemned by the domestic opposition and created the constellation. In the strategic environment, actors in the presidential system managed to conduct budget disapproval, abuse of power, criticism, political campaign, and adherence to the sunshine policy. Other than that, the representing groups exercised support and complain through sending delegations to North Korea, promotion and criticism, and demonstration.

1.7. Research Methodology

1.7.1. Conceptual and Operational Definition of Concepts

1.7.1.1. Strategic Environment

It refers to the implementation of foreign policy when actors meet their environment as a political arena.⁴³ The approach is called strategic because of the actors in the environment form a strategic and dialectic interplay between foreign policy actor and its environment.⁴⁴ It closely related to foreign policy because foreign policy can be fully considered as a form of action.⁴⁵ More importantly, foreign policy is an important matter of discussion for political agency in contemporary world politics.⁴⁶ There are two general ways that ‘domestic environment’ is affected by foreign policies.⁴⁷ First is how the nation’s capacity pursue goals by certain means and the ability of the government in the mobilization of resources due to planned objectives. Secondly, the course of actions in maintaining foreign policy implementation.

Operationally, the strategic environment in this thesis refers to the domestic constellation during Sunshine Policy. The environment consisted of political actors represented in the political parties in the governmental system of South Korea during Kim Dae Jung’s administration.

⁴³ Elisabetta Brighi and Christopher Hill. Ny. “Implementation and Behavior”, in *Foreign Policy*, Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne. 2011. Oxford: Oxford Text Book.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ W. Carlsnaes. 1986. *Ideology and Foreign Policy: Problems of Comparative Conceptualisation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁴⁶ C. Hill. 2003. *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁴⁷ Elisabetta Brighi and Christopher Hill. Ny. “Implementation and Behavior”, in *Foreign Policy*, Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne. 2011. Oxford: Oxford Text Book.

1.7.1.2.Domestic Opposition

Domestic opposition has the capacity to control political resources functioning of both institutional structures and the dynamic of political process within a state.⁴⁸ In other words, domestic opposition has its power to influence the incumbent government of a state. Domestic opposition plays a significant role especially in a competitive multi-party politics where the opposition tends to criticize the incumbent government and its policies.⁴⁹ Dahl added that it is an essential part of democratic societies which uphold the values of cooperation, tolerance, and compromise.⁵⁰

More than that, domestic opposition will share their differences in accordance with the ruling government as freedom of speech protected under the law.⁵¹

Refers to the foreign policy implementation, according to Adnan, there are six domestic constraints on foreign policy implementation which are historical experience, political parties, individual or leadership role, public opinion, media, and interest group.⁵²

Operationally, domestic opposition in this thesis refers to the conservative coalition including political parties, media, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and civic groups in South Korea during the administration of Kim Dae Jung. Not all of the domestic opposition is a part of the governmental system.

⁴⁸ Patrick Shea, Terence K. Teo, and Jack S, Levy. 2015. *Domestic Opposition, Institutions, and Conflict Initiation*. Research Gate.

⁴⁹ Julius Kliza. 2005. *The Role of Opposition Parties In a Democracy*. Makerere University.

⁵⁰ A. R. Dahl. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁵¹ Loc. Cit.

⁵² Mubeen Adnan. *Foreign Policy and Domestic Constraints: A Conceptual Account*. South Asian Studies, Vol. 29, No.2. Lahore: University of the Punjab.

However, in some extents, the domestic opposition in South Korea in that period also exercised course of actions in responding to the implementation of Sunshine Policy during the period of Kim Dae Jung.

1.7.2. Research Type

The research type is descriptive in nature by reviewing historical evidence of Sunshine Policy implementation through domestic politics as a level of analysis. The Author choose descriptive research type to seek a detail, the dynamic of the phenomenon, also to deepening the existing theories. The descriptive nature of the research also meant to explain the relationship of actors in the issues that the Author discussed, the Sunshine Policy as explanandum and the presidential system and representing groups as explanan.

1.7.3. Research Scope

The research scope that the Author use is the Sunshine Policy under the Kim Dae Jung administration during 1998 – 2003, as the limit of the research. The time limit was picked because the domestic politics constellation occurred during the administration of Kim Dae Jung as the founding father of Sunshine Policy. Therefore the thesis will be focused on the details in the dynamic within the domestic of South Korean during the implementation of Sunshine Policy.

1.7.4. Method of Data Collection

In this research, the data collection method is done by using secondary data which is qualitative in nature. Secondary data is data that is not obtained directly from the first party which the information is being taken. The data is collected from

scientific journals, books, research reports, news, and reports from various online articles, Silalahi also addressed that collecting data from the internet is appropriate as long as it comes from the valid and reliable source.⁵³ The Author also conduct non-participative observation where the Author has no direct role in collecting the data regarding the topic being discussed in this thesis.

1.7.5. Method of Data Analysis

The method of data analysis used in this thesis would be qualitative data analysis which is an explanation about a complex social phenomenon. The data and information in qualitative research have to be a focus on which key information or social situation will be further discussed.⁵⁴ Qualitative research requires interactive and frequent research so that data will reach the validity point.⁵⁵ According to Klotz and Prakash, qualitative research has several tools: (1) discourse analysis, (2) historical representations, (3) ethnographic research, and (4) process tracing. In this research, the Author manages to use process tracing as a qualitative tool.⁵⁶ It means this thesis will identify a causal chain that links explanandum and explanation by providing the process tracing of social change.⁵⁷

More than that, the qualitative method of data analysis also has a set of the cycle. According to Miles and Hubberman, the cycle shows the nature of data collection and data analysis.

⁵³ Ulber Silalahi. 2006. *Metode Penelitian Sosial*. Bandung: Unpar Press.

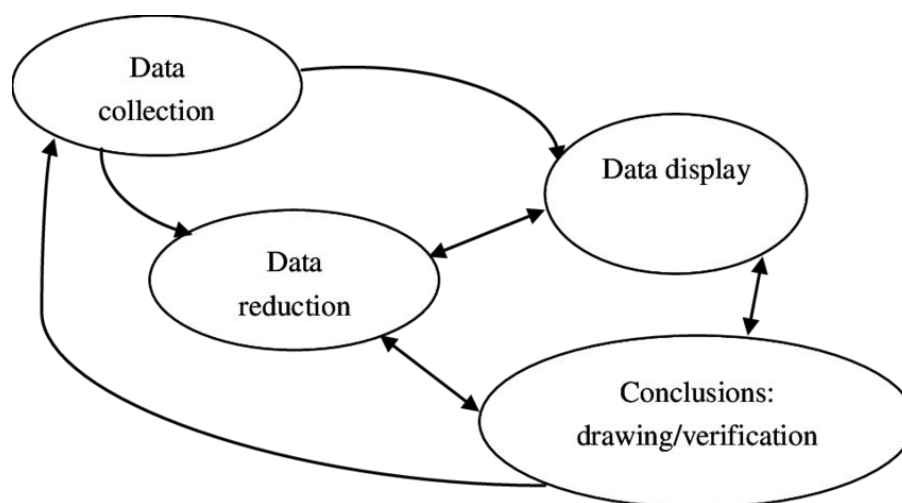
⁵⁴ Burhan Bungin. 2012. *Analisis Data Penelitian Kualitatif*. Jakarta. Raja Grafindo. Persada.

⁵⁵ Sugiyono. 2009. *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta.

⁵⁶ Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash. 2008. *Qualitative Methods in International Relations*. New York: Palgrave McMillan.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Figure 1. 3 Method of Data Analysis⁵⁸



Source: Miles, Matthew B. Huberman, Michael. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: an expanded sourcebook* (2nd edition). London: Sage.

From the chart above, the said qualitative has the data collection which directed toward data reduction because the Author needs to sort out the data before being displayed and concluded. In other words, the data analysis would be then presented through information analysis gotten in the form of sentences or paragraph using three particular steps: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. Numeric data would then be used only as supporting evidence in strengthening the Author's argument and statement.

1.7.6. Structure of Chapters

The discourse structure within this thesis would be divided into four chapters, as follows:

⁵⁸ Miles Matthew B and Michael Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: an expanded sourcebook* (2nd edition). London: Sage.

1. CHAPTER I is the methodology part consists of background of problem, research question, objective of research, significance of research, conceptual framework, theoretical framework, research methodology which consist of conceptual and operational definition of concept, research type, research scope, method of data collection, method of data analysis, and structure of chapters.
2. CHAPTER II consists of the supporting data for research regarding the presidential system of government of South Korea. This chapter will be divided into 4 sub-bab, as follows: political parties, presidential system, implementation of Sunshine Policy under presidential system of South Korea, and the actors' dynamic in presidential system in responding to the Sunshine Policy implementation.
3. CHAPTER III consists of the explanation and analysis of representing groups or franchise in South Korea in influencing the Sunshine Policy implementation during the Kim Dae Jung administration. This chapter will be divided into 3 sub-bab, as follows: progressive views, conservative views, and representing groups constellations in repsonding to the Sunshine Policy implementation.
4. CHAPTER IV is the concluding remarks which consist of concluding remark.