

Actor in Diplomacy: A reflection of the Park Chung-Hee's Roles on Korean Diplomatic with Indonesia

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Park Chung-Hee, who later became the president of South Korea in 1961, was a dictatorial figure both politically and in terms of economic national development. In the context of the Cold War, the ideological framework of the state played a crucial role in shaping Korean diplomacy, particularly during Rhee Syngman's government. Using historical methods and focusing on the role of the actor in diplomatic strategy, this paper examines Park Chung-Hee's role as an actor in diplomacy and highlights his influence on the long-term relations between Korea and Indonesia. Diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia began with consular ties in 1966 and were formalized in 1973. The diplomatic relationship between the two countries has continued through bilateral, regional, and multilateral channels. This paper explores Park Chung-Hee's leadership alongside the shifting position of Korea in international relations. The analysis reveals that the liberal and pragmatic ideological foundations of diplomacy during the Park Chung-Hee era have had lasting effects on the modern diplomatic relationship between Korea and Indonesia.

주제어 South Korea-Indonesia. Diplomatic Relation, Park Chung-Hee, Southern Policy.

I. Introduction

The upheaval surrounding Park Geun-hye's leadership in the mid-2000s set the stage for the introduction of the New Southern Policy (NSP), which was initiated by President Moon Jae-in in 2017. The NSP emerged in response to the competitive regional diplomacy in East Asia (Asia Pacific Bulletin, Number 513) and was designed to strengthen Korea's relations with ASEAN countries. The key objective of the NSP is to enhance cooperation with ASEAN, aiming to elevate the partnership between the region and Korea to the same level as Korea's established relationships with China, Japan, the United States, and Russia. The NSP emphasizes a multilateral economic and diplomatic framework, strategically designed to balance Korea's relations with the United States

amid China's growing influence in East Asia.¹

President Moon Jae-in, who was inaugurated in May 2017, conducted official visits to ten ASEAN countries. In November 2017 he visited Jakarta, completing this series of visits by 2019². The implementation of the New Southern Policy (NSP) was further reinforced by the visit of Korean Foreign Minister Chung Eui-yong in June 2021, during which he addressed issues related to pandemic control and recovery. On June 25, 2021, Chung met with President Jokowi and Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi to discuss cooperation in the health sector and support for COVID-19 response efforts. Following the meeting, Retno Marsudi requested stronger protections for Indonesian manufacturing workers in South Korea.³

The dynamics of South Korean diplomacy, from the establishment of bilateral relations with Indonesia in 1966 to the 2000s, can be seen as a reflection of the transformation in Korean national leadership during the 1960s. In other words, changes in government leadership laid the foundation for the country's diplomatic strategies. The shifts in South Korea's diplomacy, from the presidency of Rhee Syngman (1948-1960) to Park Chung-hee (1961-1979), illustrate how Korea's diplomatic relations expanded from being limited to ties with countries in the North to building stronger connections with Southeast Asia. This expansion was, of course, a strategy shaped by the country's ideological interpretation and long-term goals. This process reflects the development of the diplomatic strategy Park Chung-hee adopted. The political and economic crisis South Korea faced in the early 1960s, due to the aftermath of the Korean War (1950-1953), set the stage for the country's diplomatic dynamism, marking the beginning of its efforts to establish relations with Southeast Asian nations.

In the 1960s, South Korea's diplomatic relations underwent a transition, giving rise to new foreign policies that differed from those of previous periods. During this time, Park Chung-hee initiated a policy

¹ Natalia Desca Lidya, Menengok "New Southern Policy" Korea Selatan. *Antara News*, Senin 12 April 2021.

² Choe, Wongi. 2021, "New Southern Policy": Korea's Newfound Ambition in Search of Strategic Autonomy, *Asie. Vision*, No.118, The French Institute of International Relations (Ifri)-Center for Asian Studies, January, 1.

³ Suoneto, Noto. 2021. "South Korea's New Southern Policy: The Indonesia Dimension-President Moon's policy seems tailor-made for Indonesia, but much more can be done to improve the relationship between two nations", *The Diplomat*, June 29, 2021. https://thediplomat.com

aimed at expanding relations with countries in Southeast Asia. This policy can be seen as a means to achieve the country's goals of becoming politically and economically stronger. However, it is also often viewed as a manifestation of the military regime's power, which caused hardship for the people. Many studies have been conducted on this policy, but what does it signify when we consider the diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia to this day?

This paper adopts a methodological approach to the role of actors in diplomatic relations, specifically examining Korea's diplomatic interactions from the 1960s through the Moon Jae-in administration. It contextualizes Park Chung-hee's role and strategy within the concept of the actor in diplomacy to better understand the changes in Korea's diplomatic strategy and its evolving relationship with Indonesia. The paper focuses on analyzing how Park Chung-hee's role is interpreted, emphasizing the cognitive factors—such as the state's ideology and diplomatic strategy—that shaped his approach. This article argues that Park Chung-hee was a key actor in transforming Korea's diplomatic relations, moving from a focus on countries in the North to an expansion into Southeast Asia, with particular attention to the historical and contemporary context of Korea's relations with Indonesia.

II. Korean Diplomatic Relations 1948-1960

To uncover the patterns of Korean diplomatic relations, it is essential to examine the dynamics of domestic political changes and their evolution. This analysis will demonstrate how Korea responds to shifts in the international political landscape. By studying diplomatic events and governmental dynamics in specific historical periods, we can reconstruct an objective understanding of the development of Korea's foreign relations. However, it is crucial to recognize that there is a unique aspect to the characterization of Korean diplomatic relations. The author interprets the dynamics of Korean diplomacy as an expression driven by agents within a structural framework, leading to the formation of diverse methods and policies.

The state, as both a cultural entity and a product of specific social conditions, is inherently intertwined with the processes of interaction and communication with other nations, as well as within the broader international community. These interactions, whether intentional or not, are deeply influenced by the socio-cultural values held by state actors. This influence is

evident in how a country perceives others, ultimately shaping its diplomatic relations with foreign states.

During the Rhee Syngman administration (1948-1960), diplomatic relations between Korea and China faced a new situation in line with the Korean War (1950-1953). This event divided Korea into two countries that were ideologically different. Because of this new situation, China viewed Korea as a capitalist country allied with America, thus considering it as a "close friend" as well as a hated enemy (Jin Linbo, 2021, Chinese Views of Korean History in the Cold War Era, www.keaia.org). The dramatic shift in China's perception of Korea, compared to its earlier view of the country as a close ally, highlights the significant role that state ideology played in shaping their diplomatic relations, even up until the 1970s. In contrast to China's ideologically driven approach to Korea, Japan adopted a more open stance, largely unaffected by the ideological divide between communist and democratic nations. Historical records indicate that Japan took the initiative to restore diplomatic ties with Korea, which had been severed in 1955. Specifically, Japan sent a formal letter proposing a meeting between the Japanese Prime Minister and South Korean President Syngman Rhee, demonstrating its proactive efforts to reestablish relations.⁴

From the perspective of two nations—China and Japan—that have maintained close ties with Korea since the feudal era, it is evident that differing ideologies or values lead to attitudes that adapt to specific spatial and temporal contexts. The contrasting approaches of China and Japan toward Korea did not emerge spontaneously. Rather, they were the result of ongoing interactions and the construction of relationships, which eventually shaped the distinct nature of their diplomatic ties. This dynamic is also reflected in the severed relations between Korea and Japan from 1945 to 1955. During this period, Syngman Rhee demonstrated his commitment to a new political structure, emphasizing the establishment of a democratic and anti-communist state. As a result, Korea's diplomatic relations in the early 1950s were heavily oriented toward the United States, the nation seen as the cornerstone of democratic ideology.

III. Korean Partnership with Indonesia 1966-2017

The early 1960s marked a critical period for Korea as it sought to reassess and reorganize its national economic strategy. The April Revolution of 1960 underscored the failure of the Syngman Rhee administration to ensure

⁴ Yonsei University Archives, 1955, Digital, B-016-037.

the welfare of its people. This failure, in turn, paved the way for the rise of Park Chung-hee, who seized political power through a coup in 1961. The internal crises and domestic instability during Rhee's leadership compelled Park Chung-hee to take decisive steps aimed at strengthening the nation, both politically and economically. To this end, in 1963, Park introduced the concept of the Information and Culture Bureau, emphasizing its vital role in supporting Korea's foreign policy. As a result, the Bureau was placed under the direct supervision of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, highlighting its significance in advancing Korea's international relations and strategic objectives. ⁵ Furthermore, Park Chung-Hee took steps to improve relations with America and normalized Korea-Japan relations in 1965.

Park Chung-Hee's move, which was more active in interacting with Japan like this, showed a different situation from the previous government. In 1964, Korea also actively opened interactions with other foreign countries, namely Vietnam. Korea proposed sending military aid to Vietnam by considering America's interests regarding the spread of Communist ideology (Foreign Relations of the United States. The deployment of South Korean military forces during the Vietnam War in 1964 was a strategic move by Park Chung-hee to secure economic and security support from the United States. Similarly, the normalization of relations between South Korea and Japan in 1965 aimed to obtain economic assistance from Japan, with the goal of strengthening the nation through industrial development. In this context, South Korea's diplomatic relations at the beginning of Park Chung-hee's administration reflected a reliance on powerful nations, namely the United States and Japan, to address the country's economic and security needs.

The 1960s marked a highly active period for South Korea in expanding its diplomatic relations, not only with Vietnam and Japan but also with countries across Southeast Asia. Trade relations were established with several nations in the region, including the Philippines and Thailand in 1961, Vietnam in 1962, Malaysia and Myanmar in 1964, and Indonesia in 1966.

South Korea's foreign policy during this time was grounded in a framework of international trade cooperation, aimed at strengthening the national economy. Additionally, significant milestones were achieved, such as joining the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

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⁵ Choi, Kwang-Jin, "The Republic of Korea's Public Diplomacy Strategy: History and Current Status" in USC Center of Public Diplomacy. Grayson, James H. 2002. *Korea- A Religion History*. (Routledge: London, 2002), 9-10.

⁶ (FRUS) 1961-1963, Vol. XXII, 1963

(UNCTAD) in 1965 and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1967.⁷

Concretely, this progress had a significant impact on South Korea's foreign policy, particularly as the country entered the 1970s. The oil crisis of the 1970s prompted South Korea to adopt a new approach to protectionism. Under Park Chung-hee's leadership, policies were implemented to advance the industrial structure by focusing on heavy industries, chemical industries, and export-oriented businesses. These efforts were guided by the Five-Year Economic Development Plan and supported by legislation such as the Textile Industry Modernization Promotion Act, the Petrochemical Industry Promotion Act, and the Metal Industry Promotion Act. Additionally, South Korea made various efforts to establish a framework of international cooperation, including investment agreements, double taxation prevention agreements, and technical cooperation agreements with the United States, Japan, and Europe. Revisions to the Customs Law further supported these initiatives.⁸

In the 1970s, trade for all countries became Korean trade policy characteristic. Therefore, countries in the Southeast Asian region became important partners in the expansion of Korean export trade.⁹

The period from 1980 to 2017 was a dynamic era in South Korean diplomacy. During this time, South Korea's approach to China was seen as a strategy to reduce its reliance on the United States, a relationship that had been firmly established since the Park Chung-hee administration. The normalization of relations between South Korea and Japan, initially proposed by the United States and approved by Park Chung-hee, also played a significant role. However, another event that shaped South Korea's diplomatic landscape was the Gwangju Massacre in 1980, which fueled anti-American sentiment due to the perceived involvement of the U.S. military during Chun Doo-hwan's military government (1980–1988). This incident sparked a growing prodemocracy movement, which gained momentum and ultimately led to the end of military rule during the Roh Tae-woo administration (1988–1993).

The 1992 presidential election marked a turning point, as Kim Youngsam (1993–1998), a prominent democracy activist with opposing views to Park

⁷ Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, 1976 No. DA0098166.

⁸ National Archives of the Republic of Korea, 1965 No. AG46/S2, BA013054, 1965 No. BA0137054. 1977, No. (gu)FA0033509.

⁹ Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, 1970, No. BA0881098.

Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan, became the first civilian president in decades. His leadership ushered in a new era of non-military governance in South Korea. One of Kim Young-sam's most notable contributions to diplomacy was the Segyehwa (Globalization) policy, a foreign relations strategy aimed at liberalizing and expanding South Korea's trade and integration into the global economy.¹⁰

Globalization, which became the stage for the birth of the *Segyhehwa* policy, must be acknowledged to have succeeded in bringing closer diplomatic relations between Korea and China in mutualistic interactions, also with countries in Southeast Asia. For Korea, countries in Southeast Asia are seen as relatively neutral because their diplomatic relations and economic cooperation with North Korea are quite limited. ¹¹ The implementation of *Segyehwa* (globalization) policy in Korea from 1990s also became the stage for Korea to emphasize its global position, ¹² and also opened opportunities economic and social linkages with North Korea. ¹³ This also became a bridge for closer diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia. Since 1985, during the reign of President Soeharto, Indonesia also began to collude with China. ¹⁴

Diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia, which began with consular relations in 1966 and were formalized in 1973, until the late 1990s tended to focus on economic cooperation. This cooperation emphasized direct investment and gross trade covering oil, gas, and natural resources, which could support the development of an export-oriented economy and the stability of oil prices. ¹⁵ Since then, the two countries have continued to strive to

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¹⁰ Nicolas, F., S. Thomsen and M. Bang, "Lessons from Investment Policy Reform in Korea, OECD Working Papers on Intenational Investment, 2013/02," OECD Publishing, 2013. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k4376zqcpf1-en

¹¹ Hwang, Balbina Y. 2012. Korea-Suotheast Asia-US Relations: The Gap in The U.S. Trianggle? Korea Compass, March. Korea Economic Institute.

¹² Saxer, Carl J. 2024. Globalization as a Policy: Initiation and Implementation of the Segyehwa Policy in South Korea, 1993-2003. *Research in Globalization*, Volume 8, June 2024, 100194. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resglo.2024.100194

¹³ Govindasamy, Geetha. 2012. Kim Dae Jung and The Sunshine Policy: An Applealing Policy Option for Inter-Korean Relations. *Sarjana*, Volume 27, No.1, June 2012, pp. 1-15. Site access:

https://ejournal.um.edu.my/index.php/SARJANA/article/download/11013/7598/21755

14 Seo, Min-Kyo. 2013. Indonesia jinchul kankukgieop-eui hyeonjihwa-e gwanhan sarye (A Study on Case for Localization of Korean Enterprise in Indonesia).

Thongsangjeongboyoengu je-15-kwon 4 ho (International Commerce and Information Review Volume 15, Number, 4, (December), 481—508.

¹⁵ Seo, Min-Kyo. 2013. Indonesia jinchul kankukgieop-eui hyeonjihwa-e gwanhan sarye (A

improve bilateral, regional, and multilateral relations.

The Korean government structure in 1998 reorganized and expanded the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade .his ministry is tasked not only with international relations, but also with international agreements, cultural cooperation, public relations, and policies for Koreans abroad. The reorganization became the gateway to expanding cooperation between the two countries in 2013, namely the successful signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the Indonesian Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy and the South Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, which resulted in cooperation in the creative industry sector. Tourism and Creative Industry sector.

Entering the year 2000 marked a new chapter for both countries. The Presidents of Indonesia and South Korea made reciprocal state visits to each other. The complementarity of resources and advantages possessed by both countries has strengthened their bilateral relations up to the present. In the current South Korean government, President Moon Jae-In issued a policy to improve relations with Indonesia, and with ASEAN countries in general. This policy, known as the New Southern Policy, led to Moon Jae-In making various state visits, with Indonesia being his first destination. The shared values of democracy, human rights, and an open economy adopted by both countries have elevated their relations to a Special Strategic Partnership. In many existing studies, discussions about Korean investment in a country are often focused on economic issues. However, Korea's influence has extended through its popular cultural products since the 2000s, known as the Korean Wave. In Indonesia, for example, this cultural approach has been used to legitimize its economic and political interests. Many have argued that South Korea has succeeded in using soft diplomacy to deepen its ties with Indonesia. This strategy seems to have filled the void left by the anti-Chinese sentiment that has existed in Indonesian society since the 1960s, continuing until the beginning of the Soeharto era.

In relation to the success of Korea's soft diplomacy, several studies conducted in Indonesia have only examined it from the perspective of its

Study on Case for Localization of Korean Enterprise in Indonesia).

Thongsangjeongboyoengu je-15-kwon 4 ho (International Commerce and Information Review Volume 15, Number, 4, (December), 481—508.

¹⁶ National Archives of the Republic of Korea, Wegyothongsangbu. AG28.

Afriantari, Rini, dkk. (2017). Kerjasama Indonesia dan Korea Selatan dalam
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influence and impact on certain communities and the broader public, often within the framework of cultural issues. Among these studies, no efforts have been found to highlight an important correlation regarding Korea's diplomatic strategy, other than its role in legitimizing the country's economic and political interests in Indonesia.

IV. Background Behind Park Chung-Hee's Diplomacy Strategy as the Laying Stone of Korean Diplomacy Strategy in Indonesia

Ideological differences triggered the Korean War (1950-1953). As a country that has experienced armed conflict, Korea's international relations since the Park Chung-Hee administration have become multipolar and multicultural, based on Huntington's view (1996) in his book The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. From a political perspective, it can be said that Korea's diplomatic relations with Indonesia during the Park Chung-Hee administration initiated ties with Southeast Asian countries that were considered neutral. Therefore, starting in 1965, the representation of changes in Korea's interests introduced agents who cooperated in this shift. As a result, Korea's diplomatic relations with Indonesia under the current New Southern Policy reflect the legacy of Park Chung-Hee's visionary ideas from 1966.

Epistemologically, the widely known New Southern Policy (NSP) originates from the Korean term "sin-nambang jeongchek." The term "nanbang joenchek" refers to a policy towards the South. The sound 'sin,' meaning 'new,' reinforces the idea that the NSP is not entirely new in the realm of Korean diplomatic terms. Therefore, Park Chung-Hee's views on cooperation with foreign countries tend to reflect both pragmatic and visionary characteristics, a contrast to the approach of Rhee Syngman.

In relation to this, Park Chung-Hee's visionary thinking on national diplomacy must have been influenced by various factors, which also led to the development of Korea's political, economic, and cultural policies thereafter. In diplomatic history studies, most research on Korean-Indonesian relations focuses solely on foreign policy. Additionally, studies of Park Chung-Hee's policies are often tied to the development of economic cooperation. While many analyses highlight Park Chung-Hee's success in building the Korean economy, few have

explored the sociocultural environment that influenced his diplomatic approach. Understanding the socio-cultural factors that shaped Park Chung-Hee's pragmatic and visionary thinking as a diplomat provides a more comprehensive understanding of Korea's efforts to establish cooperation with Indonesia.

As key figures in Korean diplomacy, Rhee Syngman and Park Chung-Hee hold a special place in the documentation of historical sources on Korean nationalist activities and political diplomacy. Both fought for ideologies they believed were best for their country, but each had a different approach shaped by their unique backgrounds. Rhee, as an elite figure, and Park, as a military figure, each brought distinct characteristics to their leadership. Rhee Syngman, recognized for his achievements in the national movement, succeeded in becoming Korea's first president. In the early 1950s, his government sought to position Korea as a democratic country. However, his educational background—earning a doctorate in the United States—played a role in shaping his narrow approach to diplomacy.

Rhee viewed communist ideology as the greatest threat and prioritized its avoidance in South Korea's foreign policy. As a result, diplomatic relations during the 1950s and 1960s were primarily limited to the United States and a few European countries. In contrast, Park Chung-Hee, a military figure, became known for his dictatorial leadership. His government faced national movements demanding democratization, yet Park's administration brought the military into the nation's economic advancement, particularly through its involvement in American military diplomacy in Vietnam. This military involvement in diplomacy during the early 1960s helped shape a more pragmatic approach to foreign relations from the 1960s to the 2000s. Notably, Park's inclusion of conglomerates in Korea's economic diplomacy delegation to Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries allowed Korea to forge new relationships in the region. Unlike Rhee's government, which was heavily focused on anti-communism, Park's pragmatic diplomacy helped Korea develop deeper ties with Southeast Asia, leading to what is now known as the New Southern Policy in Korea's current diplomatic approach.

In the following years, 1980-1990s, neo-liberal reforms that were echoed by the Chun Doo-Hwan (1981-1988), Roh Tae-Woo ((1988-1993), Kim Young-Sam (1993-1998), Kim Dae-Jung (1998-2003), to

Moon Jae-In (2017-present), accommodated Korean diplomacy to the South region well to the stage of developing its country's cultural policy including to Indonesia. Since the Kim Dae-Jung administration, the direction of Korean diplomacy has been increasingly expanded to the cultural sector, such as the research of Kim Tae-Young and Jin Dai-Yong in their writing entitled Cultural Policy in the Korean Wave: An Analysis of Cultural Diplomacy Embedded in Presidential Speeches (Kim & Jin, 2016). Kim Dae-Jung mentioned Hallyu for the first time when giving a speech at a tourism promotion conference in 2001. Hallyu is Korea's diplomatic effort to enhance East Asia through its support for the cultural industry, which he conveyed in his speech celebrating South Korea's independence. 19

The cultural mission in Korean diplomacy continued into the Park Geun-Hee administration (2013-2017), which included the mission of enriching culture as one of the important priorities in her leadership. Through this mission, Park Geun-Hee combined traditional industries, information, and communication technology in the context of economic benefits for the country²⁰.

From the explanation above, the author's view is that in the dynamics of Korean diplomacy since the 1960s, there is subjectivity of agent thinking. What is meant by this subjectivity lies in the differences in views of two state figures, between Rhee Syngman as an elite figure and Park Chung-Hee as a military figure. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that Park Chung-Hee's views, which are oriented towards Japanese modernization, led him to be the first to lay the first stone in Korean diplomatic relations with countries in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia.

V.Conclusions

The importance of diplomatic actors in shaping international relations since the Park Chung-Hee administration in Korea highlights how domestic interests and needs can drive more pragmatic foreign policy. Through the

²⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸ Kim, Tae-Young, & Jin, Dal-Yong. 2016. Cultural Policy in the Korean Wave: An Analysis of Cultural Diplomacy Embedded in Presidential Speeches. *International Journal of Communications* 10(2016).5514-5534. http://ijoc.org

¹⁹ Presidential Archives of the Republic of Korea, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c.

figure of Park Chung-Hee, it can be argued that a diplomat must align with and manifest national domestic interests. Park's leadership had a significant influence on Korea's diplomatic relations with countries in the South. More importantly, Korea has succeeded in building strategic partnerships with a range of countries, transcending ideological boundaries, through economic cooperation, military alignment, and cultural diplomacy, from the 1960s (during the Cold War era) to the present day.

The role of diplomatic actors in shaping international relations in Korea underscores that Park Chung-Hee was a conceptual leader who blended political ideology with the country's economic needs. This balanced approach drove Korea's diplomatic relations with Southeast Asia, and particularly with Indonesia, which has continued to develop positively. Today, Indonesia stands as a special strategic partner in Korea's new bilateral policy, known as the New Southern Policy.

From a methodological perspective, Park Chung-Hee's pragmatism and visionary thinking clearly demonstrated the influence of cognitive factors on the actor of diplomacy. Furthermore, it showed that diplomacy between countries was not carried out rigidly in pursuit of a political mission. Historically, the 1960 revolution in Korea can be seen as the turning point for changes in Korean diplomacy. Under Park Chung-Hee's leadership, Korea proved that exclusive diplomatic relations were no longer the cornerstone of its political, economic, or national security strategies. This shift in diplomatic approach ultimately showcased Korea's ability to overcome challenges. The liberal and pragmatic ideological foundation of diplomacy established during Park Chung-Hee's administration continues to have long-term effects on modern diplomatic relations between Korea and Indonesia.

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