

Impact Of GSOMIA (General Security Of Military Information Agreement) Treaty Bilateral Military Cooperation Between Japan And South Korea

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Abstract.

North Korea's nuclear missile test launches in the East Asian region create security tensions for regional countries, especially Japan and South Korea, which are geographically very close. Faced with these problems, the two countries stabilized their national security by carrying out military cooperation as stated in the GSOMIA treaty pact. The GSOMIA Agreement is an agreement made by both countries in response to North Korea's nuclear developments, the agreement allows the two countries to exchange information related to North Korea's nuclear developments supervised by each country's weapons. However, in the process of ratification of the GSOMIA agreement experienced many obstacles that came from South Korea's domestic, namely the negative sentiment of the South Korean people towards Japan related to problems in historical times, this can be evidenced by the delay of the GSOMIA agreement in 2012 during the reign of Lee Myung-bak. In 2016 the GSOMIA agreement was successfully realized by both countries at that time Japan led by Shinzo Abe, South Korea by Park Geun Hye. Of all the processes that have been passed have an impact on each country, namely the abdication of the South Korean president which is analyzed using the concept of Public Policy and affects the dynamics of bilateral relations between the two countries from decisions made by Japan and South Korea analyzed by the concept of Foreign Policy.

Keywords: *Impact, GSOMIA and Public Policy.*

I. INTRODUCTION

World War 1 was a major war between countries that shook the world since 1914, then World War 2 in 1939-1945, with this incident making the country's security¹ threatened which resulted in death and suffering to its people. With cases that occurred in the past, it became an important point in the study of International Relations to discuss military problems and military capabilities between countries, so as not to cause war or threaten one country due to the treatment of other countries. But lately the world has been shaken by the development of nukes in the East Asian Region launched by North Korea, the case has attracted world attention especially threatening the regional countries. Series of nuclear test missiles² carried out by North Korea in 2010 in the East Asian Region threatened the security of surrounding countries, especially Japan and South Korea. Both countries geographically have a very close distance to North Korea, with this both countries feel threatened to the safety of the country and the people in it.³ The existence of nuclear provocations carried out by North Korea traumatized Japan the destruction of its country in World War 2. This is what makes Japan strengthen its determination to establish bilateral cooperation relations with South Korea and make cooperation in the military field.⁴ South Korean Defense Minister Kim Kwan-Jin and Japanese Defense Minister Toshimi Kitazawa⁵ On January 10, 2011 a banquet was held to discuss Cooperation in the Security Sector, contained in the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) which discusses the exchange of information on nuclear developments in North Korea.⁶ The agreement was created as an effective defensive response to the growing military threat from North Korea regarding its nuclear activities .

⁷ The bilateral cooperation stipulates how Japan and South Korea share and possess military intelligence relating to nuclear information from North Korea.⁸ Policy decisions made by both countries in accordance with R. Dye's Public Policy⁹ in the perspective of International Relations scholarship which says that "Public policy is whatever public policy the government chooses to do or not to do, which

authority will be given to all members of society. This can be proven by looking at the decision-making process in detail, by each state leader in terms of various aspects including the government and public opinion in it to agree on the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA). A date was due to be agreed in 2012 but was delayed¹⁰ agreed upon by then-president Lee Myung-bak.¹¹ The postponement of the agreement was due to the rebellion of the South Korean public who did not agree with the existence of the agreement due to historical factors that are still felt today regarding the sensitive issue of sexual slavery carried out by the Japanese military colonials against South Korean women during World War II, at that time the issue was known as "*Comfort Woman*".¹² In addition, the Dokdo/Takeshima island dispute between Japan and South Korea is also an illustration of the dynamics of bilateral relations between the two countries.

¹³The General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) pact was successfully agreed¹⁴ on November 23, 2016 by both countries. The content of the agreement allows Japan and South Korea to share intelligence related to nuclear developments in North Korea, which at that time was held by South Korean president Park Geun Hye and Japan by President Shinzo Abe. The agreement is annually extended, during the duration of the agreement the two countries conduct 29 exchanges of information.¹⁵ Policy decisions made by each country in accordance with one of the levels of the Foreign Policy Concept according to Waltz in the perspective of International Relations Science, namely the systemic level involving the balance of power in the international system, the network of state interdependence, global political dynamics, and others can be proven by the impact resulting from the GSOMIA agreement, namely has a good impact on the dynamics of bilateral relations between the two countries. Looking at the process of making cooperation that is quite complicated, it seems difficult for Japan and South Korea to carry out bilateral cooperation, especially in the military sector, it is because there are many considerations that must be done by each country, especially in the past history which has become public sentiment. This study will analyze the impact that occurred after the GSOMIA (General Security of Military Information Agreement) was made on the dynamics of bilateral relations between Japan and South Korea, whether it had a good impact or vice versa worsened the dynamics of bilateral relations between the two countries.

II. METHODS

This research will use qualitative research methods, with a descriptive approach. This is intended to make it easier for readers to understand the cases presented in the study. The descriptive-qualitative elaboration method according to Michael Patton and Michael Cochran is considered to help readers to better understand the situation described in a report in the form of ¹⁶words or pictures and not in the form of numbers (*numbers*). This type of research focuses on *meaning* and understanding *rather* than quantification. The problem in this study is how the impact of the GSOMIA (general security of military information agreement) agreement on Japan and the Selatan. The data collection technique in this study uses *secondary data* in the form of literature studies from various library materials.

M. Katherine Mc Caston¹⁷ states that there are two main processes in secondary data analysis, namely *collecting and analyzing a vast array of information*. This data is obtained through the results of publications issued by related institutions or institutions in the form of books, journals, electronic news and articles related to the subject of this research to answer the formulation of the problem that has been determined. In analyzing the data in this study, researchers used qualitative data analysis techniques. Qualitative data analysis is an identification and search for general patterns in the relationship of a group of data that become the basic material in an analysis to be examined which is then drawn conclusions.¹⁸ The analysis conducted by the author in this study was carried out through 3 stages, namely using data both through primary and secondary data, data analysis and then drawing conclusions. Data collection techniques used by researchers are in the form of library research, namely by collecting data through scientific books, print media and documents related to the object of research.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After the Cold War, East Asia has been marked by various problems, both regional and international, which are quite attractive to the world community. One of them is focused on security issues including the military capabilities of countries in the region such as Japan, China, Taiwan, North Korea and South Korea.¹⁹ The increasing development of military capabilities of East Asian countries, especially China and North Korea regarding nuclear programs, worries and threatens security stability in the East Asian Region, especially Japan and South Korea which are geographically very close to North Korea, making them feel threatened to the safety of countries and people within them.²⁰ Japan's concern about North Korea's nuclear development is inseparable from the past that traumatized Japan due to the devastation in World War 2,²¹ at that time Japan was experiencing physical destruction, humanitarian catastrophe, declining economy and existing nuclear chemical pollution.²² In response, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe strengthened his determination to establish bilateral cooperation with South Korea in the military field to counterbalance China and North Korea. The cooperation is planned under the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA), the purpose of which is to exchange information related to North Korea's nuclear development supervised by each country.

Ratification Process of The GSOMIA (General Security of Military Information Agreement)

During Lee Myung-bak's Reign

The GSOMIA Intelligence Cooperation Pact was originally to be agreed at 4 o'clock on June 29, 2012 in Tokyo.²³ At that time South Korea was led by Lee Myung-bak who had changes related to South Korea's foreign policy, Lee Myung-bak's pragmatism in making policies had a distinctive characteristic, known as MB (*Myung-bak*) doctrine, the main focus of his policy was known as the orientation of wanting better relations with Japan.²⁴ According to Lee, North Korea's denuclearization is one of the agendas in his foreign policy, because of the demands of the South Korean people who feel concern due to the development of nuclear launches carried out by North Korea.²⁵ Although North Korea does not carry out continuous attacks against South Korea, the impact of some of North Korea's provocative actions damages South Korean territory²⁶ and threatened the security of his country. In addition, it can affect Lee's credibility and integrity as president in resolving the issue of nuclear developments. The demands of the South Korean people made Lee think of doing cooperation by agreeing to make a cooperation pact in the military field with Japan contained in the GSOMIA agreement which aims to control nuclear developments in North Korea, besides that the agreement is considered able to open the way for improving bilateral relations between the two countries in resolving disputes that occurred in the past.

Knowing that the government would cooperate with Japan in the GSOMIA treaty security pact, the response given by the South Korean citizens did not fully support the ratification of the treaty. A number of protests took place in South Korea expressing opposition to the planned ratification of the treaty. Historical problems in the past that occurred between the two countries have a nationalistic nature such as territorial disputes on the island of Dokdo/ Takeshima and the issue of Comfort Woman during the Japanese colonization period which is still a bitter history and the main reason for the hatred of the South Korean citizens towards Japan. The lack of domestic support from South Korea can influence the government in making policies towards the ratification of the GSOMIA agreement. The final decision made by Lee was to delay the signing of the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) in 2012. The decision was made with the aim of calming the domestic turmoil of South Korean society and avoiding a huge risk to his domain from the bad view of South Korean society. In addition, the decision made by Lee Myung-bak to postpone the Cooperation pact was because Lee was more following public opinion against the GSOMIA agreement, this Lee did solely to get the people's vote in the election of the next generation of leaders, because 2012 was the year of the general election in South Korea. The decision to postpone the agreement was reported an hour before the scheduled signing of the agreement represented by South Korean Foreign Minister Kim Sung-hwan to Japanese Foreign Minister Koichiro Gamba.

²⁷ In response to the final decision made by Lee Myung-bak by postponing the agreement, the Japanese side, represented by Koro Bessho as the Japanese Ambassador to Seoul, gave a statement of the decision made by Japan in April 2013 which affirmed that Japan will always open the door at any time to sign the information exchange pact,²⁸ According to him, the GSOMIA agreement will provide benefits for both parties, namely Japan and South Korea. In addition to Koro Bessho, Japanese Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida also stated that Japan will never change the agreement made by GSOMIA.²⁹ The argument was stated at a *press conference* on October 28, 2016, although South Korea's internal domestic conditions are unstable, the Japanese government will accept the continuation of discussions related to GSOMIA with a positive outlook in order to increase bilateral cooperation with South Korea as soon as possible. The end of the discussion of the GSOMIA agreement pact with the final decision made by Lee Myung-bak to postpone the ratification of the agreement, had an impact or feedback on Lee Myung-bak's domain, namely the decline in votes for support for the South Korean presidential election held at the end of 2012 made Lee Myung-bak step down from his leadership position as President of South Korea in 2012. This is due to the low popularity and tendency of South Koreans to be unsympathetic to President Lee Myung-bak.

The Process of Ratification of the GSOMIA (General Security of Military Information Agreement) Treaty during the Reign of Park Geun Hye

At the end of December 2012, the South Korean government appointed Park Geun Hye as the first female President of South Korea with the highest acceptance score.³⁰ During her tenure, Park Geun Hye applied the strategic philosophy of "*Trustpolitik*" as a political tool in the application of South Korea's foreign policy making, especially on international diplomacy and inter-Korean relations. One of Park's policy focuses is to improve bilateral relations with regional countries, especially Japan, which has a bad history in the past and is still a negative sentiment issue for the South Korean domestic community.³¹ The main problem Park faced at the beginning of her tenure was the increasing development of North Korea's nuclear activities that made South Koreans feel increasingly threatened to their country's security. The event reopened the door to discussion of the GSOMIA agreement which was delayed in 2012 during the Lee Myung-bak government. Speculation about the continuation of discussions related to GSOMIA was explicitly expressed by the National Security Council under South Korean Minister of Defense Ha Min Koo who specifically planned to discuss security cooperation with the Japanese Minister of Defense in June 2016 explaining the importance of GSOMIA in the continuity of national security and peace in the region.³² Ha Min Koo's statement, based on several nuclear tests that North Korea has conducted, worries about the stability of his country's security.

The outcome of Ha Min Koo's talks with the Japanese Minister of Defense will then be determined by Park Geun Hye³³ to approve or not make a General Security of Military Information Agreement. The momentum for the continuation of talks is in line with Pyongyang's increased nuclear activity with two nuclear tests and missile launches in 2016.³⁴ Seeing the problems faced and the concerns of the South Korean citizens, Park made the decision to continue discussions related to the military cooperation pact contained in the GSOMIA agreement, according to him, the agreement was considered rational and relevant to the problems faced, namely the fear and tension experienced by the South Korean citizens, at least it could be overcome by efforts to share military intelligence information with Japan related to activities North Korea's nuclear arsenal is contained in the GSOMIA agreement, because the agreement not only affects the two countries, but also the whole world. So on November 23, 2016,³⁵ South Korea, represented by Defense Minister Han Min Koo and Japanese Ambassador to South Korea Yasumasa Nagamine, officially signed an agreement to make the GSOMIA agreement that was previously delayed during the Lee Myung-bak administration. Park's decision to ratify the GSOMIA agreement in 2016 had a good impact on the dynamics of bilateral relations between Japan and South Korea. In the agreement, the two countries make a treaty or the content of the agreement as a rule, process and flow of information exchange carried out by both countries.

In addition, the treaty is proof that the GSOMIA agreement was successfully ratified by Japan and South Korea, and both countries are obliged to follow the rules contained in the agreement. The GSOMIA Agreement was created to make it easier for both countries to exchange information and determine the rules and laws that must be implemented when the agreement takes place. In addition to the nuclear development problems faced by Park during her reign which affected the ratification process of the GSOMIA agreement, on the other hand South Korea was faced with the issue of the transfer of trust made by Park to the civilian party, namely Choi Soon Sil who was Park's friend and confidant whom she had known during the era of Park Chung Hee, the father of Park Geun Hye.³⁶ Choi Soon Sil is not someone who has power or position in government, not even a history in the field of government. However, most of Park's decisions were influenced by Choi Soon Sil, who was then freely formulated and implemented into South Korea's domestic and foreign policy.³⁷ Problems related to the handover of trust made by Park to the civilian party, namely Choi Soon Sil, have spread widely to the South Korean citizens, making the domestic situation unstable and affecting the public's view of Park Geun Hye's trust. Therefore, many argue whether Choi Soon Sil was also involved in deciding the continuation of the GSOMIA pact or to cover up Park's surrender of trust scandal against the civilian party, Choi Soon Sil. The successful ratification of the GSOMIA agreement by Park Geun Hye reaped an impact on her domain from public assessment. After the public learned that the GSOMIA agreement was successfully ratified and the scandal of transferring trust to the civilian party, Choi Soon Sil, the South Korean citizens protested and took an act of condemnation against him, namely to step down from office, he was considered unfit as President of South Korea and had committed treason against his country, the opinion was because the South Korean citizens thought that Cooperation with Japan is not worth doing because Japan is a former colonial country in the past that has a bitter impact on its citizens.

In response, Park said in a statement, "As president, he will strive to fulfill his obligations and restore the state of the country that is already his duty."³⁸ The statement gave an indication of his determination to maintain authority in state relations. This can be proven by the decision to continue the discussion of ratification of the GSOMIA agreement even in the midst of problems that occur in the country's politics. The impact of some of the problems faced by Park during her tenure gave feedback to relinquish her seat, The decline was based on people's aspirations for her, because of the criticism made by the South Korean citizens to the government to remove Park from her position as President of South Korea, these aspirations were accepted by the government with increasingly low polling evidence then on December 9, 2016, Park Geun Hye has officially stepped down from her term as President of South Korea. Although Park received a negative response from public opinion to her domain, Park gained an international advantage as the president of South Korea who was considered able to improve bilateral relations with Japan, resolve problems that occurred in the past, and be able to realize agreements that were delayed during the previous administration. This is an achievement for Park Geun Hye, even though her status and image are bad in the eyes of South Korean society.

Impact of the Ratification of the GSOMIA (General Security of Military Information Agreement) on Bilateral Relations between Japan and South Korea

Seeing the process in making decisions on the GSOMIA agreement is quite complicated, due to several obstacles that occur by several domestic factors of South Korea. However, the final decision made by both countries is the foreign policy of Japan and South Korea, namely by agreeing to the GSOMIA agreement, because both countries have the same goal of maintaining their national security as well as the welfare of their countries from threats and provocations from North Korea's nuclear weapons that do not have the intensity to end their nuclear missile launches.³⁹ The agreement is considered capable of providing benefits for each country, for South Korea with the technological sophistication owned by Japan,⁴⁰ which utilizes Japanese military technology such as; 77 sea patrol aircraft, intelligence satellites capable of monitoring the northern part of the Korean Peninsula,⁴¹ 3 *Aegis Destroyers*, and world-class submarine-destroyers, which provide good benefits to South Korea due to North Korea's nuclear

developments launched by submarines.⁴² With the tools used by Japan, South Korea can gather information related to North Korea's nuclear development.⁴³ The capabilities provided by South Korea to Japan include Baekdu and Geumgang reconnaissance aircraft, Humint or information from Korean defectors, and submarine intelligence.

⁴⁴ The successful conclusion of a military intelligence agreement between Japan and South Korea, namely the exchange of information related to North Korea's nuclear developments contained in the GSOMIA agreement, is able to provide national security guarantees against both of the threats of nuclear development in North Korea with monitoring devices used by each country, South Korean radars that cannot reach to the East. The sea will get information about the downing of missiles from Japan, while Japan will get information about missile launches.⁴⁵ In addition to the impact of security guarantees for the two countries, the ratification of the GSOMIA agreement carried out by Japan and South Korea was able to improve the dynamics of bilateral relations between the two countries which historically had poor relations due to inherent historical factors that made the negative sentiment of the South Korean citizens towards Japan. So, after the successful realization of the GSOMIA agreement, the dynamics of bilateral relations between the two countries improved, this can be proven by the success of information exchange carried out by the two countries which was achieved because of the mutual trust of the two countries able to build good cooperation. From the agreement made by the two countries provide an example to countries in the region, namely by leaving aside historical conflicts between the two countries, both try to have the same focus related to security and stability in the East Asian Region.

IV. CONCLUSION

The author concluded that from all the processes that have been passed by the two countries with various challenges that hinder the decision to make cooperation in the military sector of Japan and South Korea contained in the *General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA)*, each country issues different public policies. This can be seen from each state leader who served during the process of making the GSOMIA agreement. During Lee Myung-bae's policy issued by postponing the GSOMIA treaty cooperation pact, the decision was made because it was more in line with public opinion than how good his international opinion or reputation was. The policy was made to stabilize the domestic situation of the country, on the other hand to maintain its position in the next general election, which will be held at the end of 2012. However, the impact reversed, in that year Lee had to step down from office due to low popular support in a poll conducted in 2012. Different With Lee Myung-bae, during Park Geun Hye's time the agreement was successfully agreed precisely on November 26, 2016, it was because Park was firm with the strategy she made with the policy of *political trust*, besides that Park emphasized more on the impact and results of the GSOMIA agreement for the safety, security and welfare of her country.

From the results of his policy, Park received negative assessments from various parties including the public, similar to what happened during Lee Myung-bae's government. However, Park received a positive view from the international side because he succeeded in establishing cooperation with Japan which was delayed during the Lee Myung-bae government. In addition to the ratification of the GSOMIA agreement, Park was faced with a scandal over her domain regarding the handover of trust to the civilian Choi Soon Sil. The impact of the scandal made the public view of her worse, Park also received criticism in the form of threats to step down from her position from the South Korean public. Shortly after ratification of the GSOMIA agreement, late in 2016 in December Park was removed from his post as president of South Korea. While the policy issued by Japan is, although the process of making the GSOMIA agreement did not go well because it was delayed in 2012, but Japan still opened the door to agree on the agreement, according to him the GSOMIA agreement is very important for the security of Japan and South Korea from the North Korean nuclear launch, while it was able to pave the way for improving the dynamics of bilateral relations between the two countries.

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