



The Reason South Korea Approved The Placement of A High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) Terminal System in 2016

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Abstract

The United States counts South Korea as one of its most significant allies. Relations between the two countries began when the US and South Korea became military allies in the early 1950s, with the US promising to assist South Korea in defending itself against any North Korean assault. Since 2014, the US has attempted to include South Korea in the East Asia region's anti-missile defense system, but it has always been refused. There are several causes for this, including disagreements among South Koreans, relations with China, and complaints from neighboring countries such as China, North Korea, and Russia. South Korea, on the other hand, stated on July 8, 2016, that the United States would be placed in a special category. However, on July 8, 2016, South Korea stated that the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) anti-missile defense system from the United States would be stationed in the country. This oddity piqued the writer's interest, prompting him to investigate the reasons behind South Korea's approval of THAAD placement in 2016. This research is expected to have an impact on decision-makers in choosing a defense strategy that reduces the risk of security dilemmas as has happened in South Korea.

Keywords: *South Korea; North Korea; THAAD; Security Dilemma; Offense-Defense.*

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Introduction

South Korea is an important partner country for the United States. Relations between the two countries began when the United States and South Korea became allies in the early 1950s when the United States was committed to assisting South Korea in defending itself against any North Korean aggression. There are about 28,500 US troops based in South Korea. In the alliance made by the United States and South Korea, the main focus is on all matters dealing with North Korea. (Congressional reasearch service, 2016).

Under the leadership of the South Korean President during the tenure of Park Geun-Hye, South Korea and the United States carried out close coordination on North Korea's provocative policies, namely nuclear tests and several missile launches in 2016. Coordination was carried out to expand UN security council sanctions and launched a global campaign to persuade other countries to limit relations with North Korea. South Korea also closed the Kaesong industrial complex, an 11-year industrial complex located in North Korea opposite the demilitarized zone (DMZ), where there are more than 50,000 North Korean workers. On July 8, 2016, South Korea and the United States suddenly announced that the United States' Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) anti-missile defense system would be deployed in South Korea. (Congressional reasearch service, 2016). Terminal High Altitude Area Defense or known by the abbreviation THAAD is a defense system developed by the United States weapons and equipment manufacturer Lockheed Martin. The purpose of THAAD is to protect and defend United States troops, allied forces, population centers and critical infrastructure from short- and medium-range ballistic missile attacks. The THAAD system works by shooting

incoming missiles and detonating them in the air using kinetic energy or commonly known as hit-to-kill technology. The THAAD system has a range of up to 200 km and an altitude of up to 150 km.

THAAD is one of the elements of the United States' Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) system, which can be easily moved from one place to another by land, sea, and air, and can quickly intercept and destroy ballistic missiles in the air. Inside and outside the Earth's atmosphere during the flight phase or the final phase before landing. THAAD consists of 4 main components, namely launcher, interceptors, radar, and fire control. (US Department of Defense).

North Korea responded to the decision to deploy the THAAD anti-missile system in South Korea with a provocative physical response. North Korea launched several missiles, one month after the announcement of the decision between South Korea and the United States on the deployment of the THAAD anti-missile defense system in South Korea in August 2016. However, the continued provocation from North Korea only made South Korea and the United States increasingly convinced by the decision to install the THAAD anti-missile defense system in South Korea. (Putri, 2016) Despite several times refusing to deploy the United States THAAD anti-missile defense system on its territory and although neighboring countries expressed disapproval of it, in the end, South Korea agreed to place the THAAD system on its territory.

Method

The research used by the author in this study uses a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative methodology according to Strauss and Corbin is a type of research in which the results of the research are not obtained through statistical processes or other forms of calculation. This qualitative method provides complex details about phenomena that are difficult to explain using quantitative methods. Qualitative methods emphasize more on the search for meaning behind the empirical reality of the existing social reality. Qualitative research becomes easier to understand as a method where the data can be in the form of statements and the resulting data is also in the form of descriptive data about the subject being studied, namely words both written and spoken.

The data collection technique chosen by the author in conducting this research is the data obtained through library research because the author uses secondary data types. The data used in the literature review research includes information contained in books, journals, articles, news, and reliable reports relating to the author's research case. Data collection techniques are carried out by the author systematically by looking for as much data as possible, then the data will be selected by the author according to research needs. The method used in the selection of literature is to look for books and journals that match the research focus, especially on the topic of THAAD and the topic of the Security Dilemma so that several articles are selected.

Data analysis is one of the things that must be done by a researcher in research. Without data, research will only contain data without meaning. According to Albito Anggito and Johan Setiawan, qualitative data analysis is related to data in the form of words or sentences generated from the research object.

Results and Discussion

Security Dilemma

Komodo In the international system, sovereign states have the main goal of defending themselves and protecting their national interests rather than choosing to maintain peace. This is because the state and its behavior are not limited by international institutions that are above the state. Every country must try to defend itself from threats and attacks from other countries by prioritizing the interests of its own country above the interests of other countries. Measures that can be used by the state are increasing military capabilities, cooperating with allied

countries in the military field, and other strategic steps. However, such actions may be considered a threat by other countries.

The security dilemma according to Robert Jervis is "many of the means by which a state tries to increase its security, decrease the security of others". The definition of a security dilemma is when a country tries to increase the military capabilities of its country, to reduce the security level of neighboring countries or other countries. Trying to increase the country's military capability is carried out if the country is in a state of anarchy where the country feels fear and uncertainty about the potential for other countries to take offensive actions so that the country does self-help to protect the national interests of its country from other countries. According to Buzan, "in seeking power and security for themselves, states can easily threaten the power and security aspirations of other states."

Jervis explained the potential for security dilemmas, conflicts, and cooperation in two variables, namely whether defensive weapons (weapons) and defensive policies (policy strategies) can be distinguished from offensive ones, called offense-defense differentiation; and whether a defensive or offensive defense strategy that is more profitable for the country is called an offense-defense advantage. Jervis distinguishes the two variables by asking whether the country should spend more or less in a defensive context for each of the same amount of costs in the face of an opposing attack; and with the country's inventory of strengths, is it better to attack or defend.

In the discussion of the differentiation of offensive-defensive, when the intensity of offensive-defensive can be distinguished, then a country can increase its security without making other countries feel insecure, but when defensive action is more profitable than offensive action, then increasing security in a country will have less impact in terms of security. threaten other countries. Countries can still implement offensive strategies even in conditions where differentiation is possible due to high defensive costs and anticipation of enemy attacks. Several things are important, namely the identification of strengths between the status quo powers and the importance of warning against attacks when one country is about to commit aggression. Countries can still implement offensive strategies even in conditions where differentiation is possible due to high defensive costs and anticipation of enemy attacks.

The difference between the two security dilemma variables makes countries in a certain condition called the four world conditions (Four Worlds). First, if the nature of offensive and defensive cannot be distinguished but offensive has an advantage, then the current security dilemma situation is very strong and the surrounding environment is very dangerous. Countries that have the status quo will behave aggressively and there will be a possibility of an arms race, besides the possibility for cooperation between countries is low. Second, if offensive and defensive traits can be distinguished but offensive has an advantage, then the security dilemma situation is not intense and there is a security problem where the surrounding environment is safe but the offensive nature has an advantage that can lead to future aggression. Third, if the nature of offensive and defensive cannot be distinguished but defensive has an advantage, then the current security dilemma situation is intense but not as strong as the first case. In a situation like this, a country can improve the security capabilities of its country without endangering the security of other countries. Fourth, the current security dilemma situation has little or no intensity and the surrounding environment is safer. Since there is little danger from the offensive actions of other countries, the country can use some of its defense budget and other resources for the beneficial development of its country.

Offense-defense Balance Robert Jervis

Offense-defense balance is generally explained by mentioning material factors that will affect military operations both offensively and defensively, as well as affecting potential crises and the occurrence of war in the international system. The basic prediction regarding the offense-defense balance is that if offense dominates, the security dilemma will increase, followed by an arms race, which in the end might lead to war. Therefore, war can be prevented if the defense can outperform the dominance of the offense. War is more likely to occur when countries are in a state of being able to conquer each other easily. That is when an offense is

easier than a defense. However, on the other hand, when a defense is easier than an offense, security is more secure, incentives for regional expansion are reduced, and international cooperation is growing rapidly. Then, if the defense is profitable, and countries can distinguish offensive weapons from defensive weapons, countries can get the means to defend themselves without threatening others, thereby reducing the impact of the anarchic nature of the international system.

There are ten causes of war if offense dominates the balance in a region, namely (1) If countries are easy to control, then the situation will open up opportunities for expansion even for countries that have medium power; (2) Self-defense is difficult so that the state becomes increasingly insecure; (3) The sense of insecurity felt by the state also encourages the state to resist the expansion of other countries in a more violent way; (4) The opportunity for the state as the first aggressor will increase the risk of a preemptive war; (5) The window of opportunity and vulnerability is bigger thereby increasing the danger of preventive warfare; (6) Countries will more often adopt the tactic of diplomacy of fait accompaniment and tactics that will trigger war more often; (7) Countries are not cooperative so that negotiations will often fail and disputes or disputes will be difficult to end; (8) Countries keep their foreign and defense policies in strict secrecy which can increase the risk of miscalculation and diplomatic blunders; (9) The arms race was so fast that it was difficult to control; (10) Offense dominance is self-feeding, if the conquest becomes easier, the state will adopt policies that make it easier for the state to conquest.

This explains that the value of the offense-defense balance will determine whether the occurrence of offensive or defensive dominance affects the amount of risk and the possibility of war, which is in line with the offense-defense advantage and offense-defense differentiation proposed by Jervis. Offense-defense balance assessment will be based on military, geographical, social & political, and diplomatic factors.

Discussion

In the concept of security dilemma from Robert Jervis and using the offense-defense balance variable Stephen Van Evera, regarding the policy background for placing the THAAD system in South Korea. In military and technology indicators, there are three factors, namely the comparison of the military budget, manpower and weaponry, and military data. These three factors will prove the reason South Korea approved the deployment of the THAAD system in 2016.

According to a recent report, North Korea is the country that spends the most military budget in the world, when compared to the country's economic capabilities. According to the 2016 world military spending report released by the United States Department of State, North Korea ranks first in the percentage of spending on defense compared to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which reached 23.3%. This means that about a quarter of all economic activity from North Korea is spent on military spending, including the development of nuclear weapons. On average, over the 11 years since 2004, North Korea's defense spending, relative to GDP, is much higher than that of any other country. While South Korea is ranked 47th. South Korea then increased its defense budget for the following year by 4% to increase its defense capabilities amid the increasing threat from North Korea, the South Korean government has allocated a total budget of US\$ 34.5 billion to strengthen its capabilities. national defense in 2017. The total defense budget increased from the previous US\$ 34 billion.

In weapons technology that can increase the country's defense power are lethal weapons such as firearms, missiles, bombs, and technological vehicles such as tanks, fighter planes, and others. North Korea's weapons technology continues to improve over time. Based on data from Global Fire Power 2017, North Korea's weapons development is supported by a budget of US\$ 7.5 billion-plus and foreign debt of US\$ 5 billion. Air power is one of the important components of today's military power and North Korea has air power such as airplanes and helicopters for the air, sea, and land forces amounting to 944 units of air power. The number of tanks owned by North Korea has also increased by 825 units from 4,200 units to 5,025 units. North Korea

has many weapons that have the characteristics of weapons that are offensive as described previously. In addition to tanks and warplanes, North Korea also has nuclear missiles. The nuclear missile program began in 1980 and the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) estimates that North Korea produced at least one atomic bomb in 1992. In October 2006, North Korea conducted its first underground nuclear test and the years 2009 to 2011 marked a significant intensification of North Korea's ambitions regarding nuclear and ballistic missile technology. In September 2016, North Korea announced that it had successfully tested a thermonuclear bomb. The increase in the strength of North Korea's military capabilities can be seen in the increase in North Korea's ranking from 36th in 2016 to 23rd in 2017.

On geographic indicators, conquest will be more difficult when a country is geographically isolated from other countries. South Korea is directly adjacent to North Korea. At the end of World War II, the Korean Peninsula was divided into a northern area occupied by Soviet power and a southern area occupied by American rule which later resulted in two countries namely North Korea and South Korea. The border between the two countries is divided based on the 38th parallel which has a north latitude of 38° or a south latitude of 38°. In 1953, at the end of the Korean War, a border length of 248 KM was established based on the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ). South Korea and North Korea also have a Northern Limit Line (NLL) as a maritime border that is drawn around the islands stretching from the north to the land border in the Yellow Sea.

In the social and political order during the leadership of Park Geun Hye, the concept of foreign policy was known as Trust-political Policy. At the beginning of the government after independence, South Korea prioritized military alliances with the United States and leaders from the military to prioritize stability and domestic security. South Korean policy adapts to the changing dynamics of the international order but is still limited to an effort to be able to survive the threat of a North Korean invasion. After being sworn in as President of South Korea, Park Geun Hye implemented the Trust-political Policy to turn the Korean Peninsula from a conflict zone into a trust zone. The Trust-political Policy is an evolutionary development of South Korean foreign policy toward North Korea in implementing its foreign policy until the end of his tenure.

This Trust-political Policy was implemented by Park Geun Hye by looking at external factors, namely the escalation of threats from North Korea, the existence of international support for South Korea, the existence of UN sanctions against North Korea, and the strengthening of the South Korea-US alliance. Meanwhile, internal factors are the Saenuri Party's change of direction, Park Geun Hye's perception of North Korea, and the role of NGOs and the South Korean Civil Society.

As well as diplomatic factors, North Korea in 1948, the country has had formal diplomatic relations with more than 160 countries and maintains 55 embassies and consulates in 48 countries. Several smaller but still significant countries (25 of them) have diplomatic missions in North Korea, including the UK, Germany, and Sweden. China and Russia, like its communist neighbors, were the earliest countries to establish diplomatic relations after the formation of North Korea. Currently, the US is urging the whole world to cut ties with Pyongyang. US envoy to the UN Nikki Haley called on all countries to end diplomatic relations with North Korea. However, there are problems in diplomatic relations with North Korea. Only six of the 35 member states of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) maintain a mission in Pyongyang. The United States has never established diplomatic relations with North Korea. Japan, South Korea, and France too

Conclusion

The series of North Korean missile and nuclear tests have brought back the conflict between North and South Korea in an increasingly complex direction. Plus North Korea's nuclear and missile developments are growing from time to time. Based on the research results that have been described previously, there are several reactions by South Korea to the threat from North Korea. South Korea's first response can be seen from the offense-defense balance variable. On

military indicators, manpower and weaponry factors, as well as military data between North Korea which are more and more offensive have made South Korea reconsider the deployment of THAAD. In geographical indicators, South Korea is directly adjacent to North Korea within the DMZ and NLL borders. The direct border has made South Korea reconsider the placement of THAAD. On social and political indicators, the differences in social and political order between the two countries made South Korea reconsider the placement of THAAD. And on diplomatic indicators. Fear of the failure of the concept of collective defense, collective security, and unpredictable balancing behavior of neutral states, prompted the policy of placing the THAAD system in South Korea. Therefore, South Korea is trying at least to have a capable and active military force at home and abroad. Thus, based on the indicators in the offense-defense balance, South Korea is in a security dilemma position that affects the actions chosen by South Korea, namely agreeing to the placement of the THAAD (defensive) system because it wants to balance North Korea's offensive level defensively. The THAAD system is expected to be able to ward off missile threats from other countries, especially from North Korea, although the anti-missile system has never countered a single missile in the East Asia region. The limitations of research using literature studies are the answers taken are not directly obtained by the main sources so that researchers can only conclude from what is written from various reliable sources. It is hoped that further research will use other countries in defining the security dilemma that exists in the international world as the object of research.

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