

THE SOUTH KOREAN COMPONENT IN THE DOCTRINES OF THE UNITED STATES PRESIDENTS (1945-2022)

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Manuscript received: 10/08/2022

DOI: 10.52123/1994-2370-2022-866

UDC 327

CICSTI 11.25.91

Abstract. In the given article we are going to consider the issue of American doctrines in the period starting from 1945 up to the present time. With the presidency of each president, America faced with a new doctrine and regime. For South Korea this period was really challenging. There were fourteen Presidents during the period from 1945 until 2022. We are going to discuss the politics of each of them, slowly moving from one to another according to the timeline of their Presidency.

This article presents materials which were mainly collected by reviewing different sources of references, that considered the topic of American President's doctrines in a specific period of time. This article also describes methodology by using secondary sources, that helped to answer the main topic of this study. The theoretical significance of this study lies in assisting to understand the founding bases of the relationship between United States and South Korea, by analyzing the influence of American's doctrines on the South Korea. The practical significance is contributing to scientific knowledge by presenting discussion on understanding the political relationships between America and South Korea, since 1945 until current time, based on the doctrine's strategy led by the American Presidents.

Keywords: USA, China, South Korea, doctrine, cold war, geopolitics.

JEL code: F0.

Аңдатпа. Бұл мақалада біз 1945 жылдан бастап қазіргі уақытқа дейінгі кезеңдегі американдық доктриналар мәселесін қарастырамыз. Әр президенттің төрағалығымен, Америка жаңа доктрина мен жаңа режимге тап болды. Мақалада көрсетілген кезең Оңтүстік Корея үшін айтып кетсек - өте қиын болды. 1945 жылдан 2022 жылға дейінгі кезеңде он төрт Президент болды. Біз олардың әрқайсысының саясатын талқылап, олардың төрағалық ету мерзіміне сәйкес бірінен соң біріне ақырындап тоқталамыз.

Бұл мақалада негізінен белгілі бір уақыт кезеңінде Америка Президенттерінің доктриналарының тақырыбын қарастырған әртүрлі сілтеме көздерін қарау арқылы жиналған материалдар ұсынылған. Бұл мақалада осы зерттеудің негізгі тақырыбына жауап беруге көмектесетін қосымша көздерді пайдалану арқылы әдістеме де сипатталған. Бұл зерттеудің теориялық маңыздылығы Американдық доктриналардың Оңтүстік Кореяға әсерін талдау арқылы Америка Құрама Штаттары мен Оңтүстік Корея арасындағы қарым-қатынастың негізін салу негіздерін түсінуге көмектесуде. Практикалық маңызы АҚШ пен Корея арасындағы 1945 жылдан бастап қазіргі уақытқа дейін Америка президенттері басқарған доктрина стратегиясына негізделген саяси қарым-қатынастарды түсіну бойынша пікірталас жүргізу арқылы ғылыми білімге үлес қосуда.

Түйін сөздер: АҚШ, Қытай, Оңтүстік Корея, доктрина, қырғи-қабақ соғыс, геосаясат.

JEL код: F0.

Аннотация. В данной статье мы рассматриваем вопрос об американских доктринах в период с 1945 года по настоящее время. При президентстве каждого из них Америка сталкивалась с новой доктриной и новым режимом. Упомянув, о Южной Корею период, указанный в статье, был достаточно сложным. В период с 1945 по 2022 год сменялось четырнадцать президентов. Мы собираемся обсудить политику каждого из них, медленно переходя от одного к другому в соответствии с периодом их президентства.

В данной статье представлены материалы, которые в основном были собраны путем изучения различных источников литературы, рассматривающих тему доктрин Американских президентов в конкретный период времени. В этой статье также описывается методология с использованием вторичных источников, которые помогли ответить на основную тему этого исследования. Теоретическое значение этого исследования

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заключается в том, чтобы помочь понять основополагающие основы отношений между Соединенными Штатами и Южной Кореей путем анализа влияния Американских доктрин на Южную Корею. Практическая значимость заключается в том, чтобы внести свой вклад в научные знания, представляя обсуждение понимания политических отношений между США и Республикой Корея с 1945 года по настоящее время на основе доктринальной стратегии, возглавляемой американскими президентами.

Ключевые слова: США, Китай, Южная Корея, доктрина, холодная война, геополитика.

JEL код: F0.

Introduction

The Korean peninsula has a favorable geographical position, but Korea is divided into two parts, and each of them is under the influence of the communist ideology and socialist economy (North Korea) and the market economy and liberal ideas (South Korea). This issue, in the context of modern geopolitical confrontation between the United States of America (USA) and the Republic of China (PRC), is reflected in the economy of the Republic of Korea (ROK). This process will determine not only the position of the region but the whole world.

The Republic of Korea is one of the high technologically, industrially and agriculturally developed countries, which takes a leading position in international arena. Korean products are sold in many countries from food supermarkets with popular ramen noodles to cosmetic stores, and in every city, you can buy products from companies like Hyundai, Daewoo, Samsung, Lotte, LG and other Korean companies. Undoubtedly, each American Presidents' doctrines starting from Truman affected to the South Korea's economy, military system, and politics because to any extent they had Korean component. That is why, the role of the United States is an ongoing process, because it is not only the military security guarantor, the main financial and technological investor, but also the main market for South Korean industry, which is a main topic of this study.

Further, this article aims to explore deeply each American doctrines in the period starting from 1945 up to now. In fact, administration of the USA presidents led such policy which in any case affected South Korean internal and external politics. The actuality of this study is to research the topic of US and South Korea relationships in the context of political development. Different authors and sources of data were used for this article, among the popular authors were Brazinsky, Lee, Oberdorfer and Snyder.

The article's database consists of the

information mostly collected from the American, European and Korean authors and websites, because the main reason is lied on the lack of an open source in Kazakhstan scientific field. Kazakhstani scientists pay more attention to the cultural, linguistic direction on the process of researching Korean topic, and the less attention is paid to modern Korean political issues.

Materials and methods

Materials for this article were mainly collected through literature reviewing process of scholarly articles and different primary and secondary sources of information based on the given topic. There were books, scientific articles, monographies, research reports, pre-election campaigns (speeches), text of constitutions, memorandums, mutual agreements, working papers in hard copy and online versions.

Reviewing literature played an important role for researchers in order to get acquainted with the research question and understand the topic deeply. Researchers set the deadline dates for reading the literature related to the research topic and made notes, while reading the materials. Data in the world wide web were found by the key words, that were set by the researchers, in advance.

Given the topic of this article, researchers decided to use secondary analysis for their research methods, as interviewing Presidents of the USA during the period from 1945 until 2022 correspondingly was not possible. According to the definition, secondary analysis includes using already available data and research materials that were collected by other researchers (Heaton, 1998;2000), for exploring new or additional research question (Johnston, 2014). In principle, for this article, secondary analysis involved reviewing various sources of information in order to investigate new research question. All in all, the main benefit of using secondary

data was to utilize existing data then provide own ideas, perspectives and alternative opinions and thus contributing to scientific knowledge.

Harry S. Truman's (1945-1953) doctrine

Harry S. Truman was the 33rd President of the United States but also he was counted as the most effective leader in foreign affairs. Truman came to the ruling the States in the period when the World War II was coming to an end, and he was the personality who made the destiny solving decision as authorizing the first and only use of nuclear weapons in war against Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. So, he was one and only person in the World history who gave a green light for using atomic bomb. This action cold up counterpart and the World War II was ended. It is widely known that after finishing the World War II there was a time named "cold war". And in the very beginning the first in the history Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill asked Harry Truman to join him Westminster College in Fulton where he had the most influenced speech that is famously known as "The Iron Curtain Speech". From that moment it counts that the Cold War has officially started.

According to the history review from all over the world there were held a serious of, so called "hot wars" which were held in the third country showing the strength of each of the counterparts, the main actors of the Cold war: the United States and the USSR.

March 12, 1947, after Fulton's speech Truman coming back to the US announced his doctrine that was aimed to provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from external or internal authoritarian forces. The main idea of his doctrine was about the politics of deterrence communism (the USSR) in all over the world.

The list of actions took a place after as "Marshall plan", establishing NATO, the win of the PRC in 1949, leading by Mao Zedong and escape of Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan. Actually, "Marshall plan" was the first step of coming American hegemony as far as we remember the main idea of the given plan was providing aid to Western Europe following the devastation of World War II. The idea took its' continuation in NATO

creation and nowadays we clearly see the presence of NATO (in other word Americans) in all over the world. Counter answer for these actions was sent with love from China to the US, called establishing the People's Republic of China. Overall, the US were forced to leave Chinese land and have influence only in Taiwanese island.

In 1949 Truman expressed commitment to South Korea's security by implementing National Security Council (NSC) 8/2. That meant the US would continue supporting a 65,000-man army "suitable for maintaining internal order under conditions of political strife and inspired disorder and for maintaining border security." In addition, NSC 8/2 appealed to the sustaining of a 35,000-man police force capable of "performing normal police functions." Security forces funded and equipped by the United States played a significant role in wiping out the guerillas who remained in Cheju and South Cholla (Brazinsky, 2007, p.24).

However, Truman's doctrine's final point was about Korean war that has started on June 25, 1950. Before the beginning of the Korean War American interests in the Korean Peninsula was a very little. However, Truman's doctrine's the key point was about preventing the spread of Communistic regime in Japan, therefore the geopolitical interests seized up to South Korea, especially after the intervention of the USSR and support to the North, America decided to place own military bases throughout the Pacific. As the result, in October of 1953 the Truman's administration decided to extend a formal security guarantee to the ROK in the form of the Mutual Defense Treaty, so the origins of US-ROK relations took their beginning from this point. Two parts took a decision to make a Memorandum. There were indicated that the U.S. automatically respond in South Korea's defense in the case of the attacks from the North Korea and this treaty included both economic and security cooperation between America and South Korea.

According to the calculation the participation of the US in the Korean war increased military expenses of the States for big amounts, especially after World War II, that was the first time when it had happened. The first Korean war was challenging both for America and personally for Truman. In

numbers almost 40,000 Americans died in action in Korea, and more than 100,000 were wounded. According to the expert's calculation the war in Korea is counted as one of the top 3 losing military activities of the USA, the rest of two are World War II and Vietnamese war. Because of this, a lot of Americans were against military intervention to Korea organized by American establishment, also this was the main reason of the Eisenhower's win in the next Presidency race. The relations between the South Korea and America started in the period of Truman's presidency and continued to Eisenhower's century.

Dwight D. Eisenhower's (1953-1961) doctrine

In 1952 Eisenhower's "I Shall Go to Korea" called speech during his election campaign was very successful. In the given speech Eisenhower criticized the way the Truman administration had conducted the war, mentioning about 20,000 American soldiers who died in Korean war, after he promised to visit the war zone himself to assess the problem, and to "concentrate on the job of ending the Korean war — until that job is honorably done." Eisenhower won the presidential election over Adlai Stevenson in November of 1952 but his involvement with the Korean War did not end.

After Truman the next American President's was Dwight D. Eisenhower — military officer who was involved to politics again, after Truman's inviting him to lead the NATO. The main reason of Truman's decision was concluded in Eisenhower's experience and proficiency which was shown during the World War II. After leading the country and coming to President's place Eisenhower declared obviously his own doctrine. The main idea of his doctrine lied that any country could ask economic or military aid from the US but if the US has their own military strategy there, and also there were other way of calling his doctrine is "doctrine of massive retaliation". In spite of the fact that Eisenhower's doctrine was directed to Middle East, however big events had a place during his presidency time.

In late 1952, being on the post of the NATO's leader and keeping his word Eisenhower visited Korea for discovering a military and political statement over there.

After coming to the post of the leader of the country the Korean war came to its' logical end. However, the relationship between America, Red China (leading by Mao), the USSR was very tough. Eisenhower recognized the Republic of China (Taiwan) and cut off all existing relationship with communists (China mainland). Chinese communists and the North Korea all the way long of Korean war were supported by the USSR. Also, this war as it was mentioned above is called one of the wars that happened between the US and the USSR but in the territory of third Republic. The phenomenon of the Cold War is conducted in the meaning that counterparts have no open conflicts but also the relations cannot be possibly named as normal. So, as the result of the war, Korea was divided into two parts by 38 parallel. In 1953, two countries first signed the mutual defense treaty, providing security in the region giving the counteraction to global threats both in Korean Peninsula and the United States of America.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy's (1961-1963) doctrine

After Eisenhower's presidency there was John Fitzgerald Kennedy's doctrine in the period of 1961-1963 and the main role in his doctrine was given to Latin America and Cuba. Mostly, Kennedy's doctrine called to Truman's doctrine about standing against to communism. The most memorable fact of Kennedy's presidency was about arms race, especially in outer space. On October 7, 1963, the first time in the history there was signed the agreement about nuclear weapon. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty prohibited nuclear weapons tests or other nuclear explosions under water, in the atmosphere, or in outer space. At the same time was allowed underground nuclear tests as long as no radioactive debris falls outside the boundaries of the nation conducting the test. Coming back to Korean question, according to Gregg Brazinsky, author of "Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy", the period of 1961-1962 was the class of economic policy for America (2007). Kennedy administration tried to make some efforts for Park's government to pay more attention to proposing Washington

reforms as improvement of agricultural productivity, exports increases, and normalizing relations with Japan and Korea. Overall, Kennedy's administration was comparatively to Truman and Eisenhower's representatives more insistent. As a result, the US Operations Mission (USOM) reduced economic development grants to the ROK from 177,5 million USD in 1961 to 92,5 million in 1962 (Brazinsky, 2007, p.130).

Lyndon B. Johnson's (1963-1969) doctrine

However, Kennedy's century was too short and after his death the president's post was taken by Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1969). President Johnson continued the policy of his predecessors as Eisenhower and Kennedy. In 1965 he declared his own doctrine which prohibited any external intervention to internal affairs of Western Hemisphere, especially the doctrine was dedicated to Dominican Republic where American troops have already brought. Consequently, the doctrines geography enlarged to Asia-Pacific Region which directly touched Korean Peninsula. In 1965 Johnson administration requested troops from all its Asian allies but the only country that supported the US was Republic of Korea (ROK). South Korean this action truly showed their interaction to American problems. As a result, Park Chung-hee's administration took an active role in Vietnamese war dated From September 1964 to March 1973, sending about 350,000 own troops to Vietnam, participating in the war as an ally of the United States of America. There should be mentioned that none of the US allies act the same. The Korean participation in Vietnamese war can be understood in different ways but also there were a beneficial fact that Korean part made a business, manufacturing goods for American forces in Vietnam. This fact was declared by ex-foreign minister of ROK – Yi Tong-won, who said that Vietnam was either battlefield or also marketplace. So, for this reason Korean side decided to take everything they can from American. Sending their troops for supporting America gave big chances to Korea, saying the truth Korea was the poorest country among all allies that helped the US. But also, for South Korea it was a chance to gain some money and the

most important is to build good relationship with the global market leader – America.

Mentioning about the relations between ROK and US, they were confusing of their actions, as an example, President Johnson's personal assistant, Cyrus B.Vance, flew to Seoul in 1968, to provide appeasement to Park, such as financial support for the construction of a munitions factory to produce M-16 rifles, and also \$100 million in military aid (Kim H.A., Sorensen C.W., 2011, p.22). However, Park had doubts about the U.S. commitment to the defense of South Korea increased. As the result, President Park cancelled his commitment to deploy South Korea's Third "Light Division" to Vietnam, not looking to their previous agreement with Johnson in Australia. The given cancellation was too expensive for Park, but Johnson wrote a personal letter where he promised to cover expenses, promised hefty rewards, there were a military hardware, a special program aimed to develop national police system of the ROK and help to build a modern highway between Seoul and Pusan (Kim H.A., Sorensen C.W., 2011, p.22).

Richard Milhous Nixon (1969-1974) Doctrine

In the period of 1969 and 1974 was Richard Nixon's presidency century. After receiving the reins of the government, he announced so-called Nixon doctrine. The main idea declared in defense and development of all allies and friends but would not "undertake all the defense of the free nations of the world". As the result, after accepting the doctrine, one full division of U.S. combat forces was taken off the ROK, that really made nervous Park administration. Actually, Nixon doctrine was about Vietnamese action, to the moment when Richard Nixon came to the presidency there was about 4 years of continuing the war. For that time the bloody war has taken lives of 25,000 American soldiers and countless Vietnamese lives.

However, the era of Nixon was popular of his policy of establishing diplomatic relations between America and China. Before America had the picture of the People's Republic of China as an aggressor, especially after establishing the government, expulsion the government of Chiang Kai-

shek to Taiwan and obviously the relations have dropped down, after Korean war where China took one of the leading roles supporting the North.

United States Secretary of State – Henry Kessinger played an important role for organizing Nixon's first visit to China in 1972. Subsequently, the world was introduced a popular terminology so called "ping-pong diplomacy" and Kessinger himself paved the way for "Chinese and American opening". The President Nixon aimed rapprochement with China because he wanted to make some cooperation in solving Korean issue. Saying the truth, the Nixon's and Kissinger's plan worked as it was planned. So, the Nixon doctrine made big changes in South Korea. As a result, there was created the Fourth Republic leading by Park-Yusin Reforms. In the content the Yusin Constitution was named after Meiji Restoration, and was aimed for creation new rules, new generation, and democratization process of the ROK. Finally, American rapprochement with China forced both Koreas to install direct phone cable between them and after they had the first constructive negotiations for a long time from the Korean War. Concluding the Nixon's period of presidency there can be mentioned that this period made a big progress in getting Korean relationship back on track. However, other trouble came into existence that time. During 1973-1979 there was a heavy and chemical industrialization in the Republic of Korea. To be precise, the process of industrialization was set by Park Chung-hee's policy, that promoted "independent economy" (1960) and "independent defense" (1970) ideas. These two phases of the country's development are explained in terms of the impact of the Cold War, including the changes in U.S. foreign policy in the Northeast Asia region that pushed the historic East-West détente when U.S. President Richard Nixon visited China in February 1972.

As the result, the North Korean commando attempt to assassinate Park in January 1968, an unequivocal act of terrorism, Park decided to construct weapons factories to arm a reserve force of 2.5 million, which he founded as the "Homeland Guard" in 1968. This defense industry turned into the South Korean government's Military Modernization Program when the United States started the

normalization of relations with China (Kim H.A., Sorensen C.W., 2011, p.19).

Park's idea was concluded in developing national security through implementation of heavy and chemical Industrialization, so at that very moment the Yusin reforms were very in time. As the result, with the power of the new Constitution, the President Park Chung-hee took under his administration's control over all country, so it was a kind of monolithic control that covered both governmental and non-governmental institutions, as good example are *chaebols* development (*chaebol is big families' businesses, i.e., Samsung, LG, Lotte, etc.*).

There is no doubt that America was worried about Park's policy and the ally's independent actions. Also, Park had doubts about American containment policy on the Korean Peninsula, as well as in Asia, meanwhile in July 1969 Nixon declared American new foreign policy and at the same time officially announced the withdrawal of the 17th Infantry Division's 20,000 troops.

Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr's (1974-1977) doctrine

The next American president was Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr, served as the 38th president of the United States from 1974 to 1977. President Ford as his predecessors continued former presidents' policy, as a result Ford continued Nixon's US-USSR confrontation doctrine. As it was during Nixon's administration so during the Ford's presidency period a lot of attention was paid to China. America was not involved to internal situation in South Korea including human rights and local people's minds about cooperation between them. Meanwhile, in South Korea ruled the dictatorship of Park Chung-hee leading by Yusin reforms, the administration put a lot of changes in economy, politics of the country. This inattention from American part missed away producing of nuclear weapons works which started in the South leading by President Park. For that moment the information was secured and not long ago only State Security Archive in George Washington University announced about Secret Korea Nuclear Weapon Program. The point was that Park Chung-hee started to develop new political economy where the core points were in

developing “independent economy” in the 1960’s and an “independent defense” one decade later. The United States starting from Nixon’s time had normalization of relations with the PRC and South Korean leader started to think about having own Military defense industry by producing nuclear weapons in response to North Korean armed aggression.

Generally, Ford’s administration faced with the First Nuclear Crisis in the Korean Peninsula in 1975-1976. There should be also mentioned that at the first period of his Presidency he made an effort for normalization the relations between the ROK and the US. Also, there should be noted that Ford had supported Truman’s policy in Korea, interpreting the North Korea as a truly evil (Lee, 2006 p. 76). Early in his term he made a personal visit to the President Park in the Seoul, aiming to have a good conversation and as a result, President Ford promised not to reduce American troops and promised to support the South Korea in military and defense spheres (Department of State Bulletin, 1974, pp. 877-878). The policy of the Guam Doctrine was suspended in South Korea for some time. Ford Administration, leading by Henry Kissinger as a Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger threatened that and North Korean aggression would be faced with massive retaliation and if necessary, with a use of tactical nuclear weapons stationed in the South (The New York Times, 1975.) Although the Ford Administration was taking measures to convince the ROK, the announcement of Ford’s “Pacific Doctrine”, which like Nixon’s Guam Doctrine emphasized the need for U.S. allies to take more responsibility for their own defense, which restored much of South Korea’s fears of being left. Throughout 1975, Ford Administration made acts to strengthen South Korean self-defense capabilities, with a mix of reassurance and emphasis on self-reliance that sent mixed signals to the ROK. Meanwhile, some actions that improved were similar to the Nixon Administration the temporary suspension of the Guam Doctrine, cancellation of plans for further troop withdrawals from the ROK. On the other hand, U.S refusal to withdraw troops from Vietnam in 1975 meant to the South Korea that America may not be fully committed to the defense of its allies, even if they initially

back them in a confrontation. In addition, Ford offered Pacific Doctrine which emphasized burden-sharing and his continuation of Nixon’s approach to China and the Soviet Union still left the ROK with some unclarity.

James Earl Carter Jr.’s (1977-1981) doctrine

Carter doctrine was in the period of his presidency 1977-1981. The main idea was about controlling the territories and defend Persian Gulf and Afghanistan. All previous presidents’ doctrine always covered one of the regions of the World, going against USSR troops and government. That was one of the rules of the Cold War time. However, during Carter’s time there were big changes in the South Korea. First, we should say that in the very beginning James Carter campaigned on the protection of human rights globally, and publicized dislike of Park administration. Because Carter was informed about the abuse of Human rights in the ROK. Moreover, one of his pre-election campaigns significant points was concluded in withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. Moreover, there was also mentioned that tactical nuclear weapons located in South Korea would also be withdrawn. Carter aimed to withdraw his troops from the ROK and come to the agreement with the PRC to convince North Korea not to attack South Korea.

Carter brought to naught the Ford Administration’s policy on troop withdrawals with Presidential Review Memorandum 13 with a significant reduction in U.S. troop deployments to the ROK (Oberdorfer, 2001, p. 87). As soon as it was officially announced Korean part opposed the withdrawal in every available forum. The main reason of Korean disappointment was in the fact that after the Vietnam war, where as it was mentioned above, South Korea has lost a lot of people and generally whole country had been badly shaken by this war and their loss. Carter’s idea was criticized both at home and abroad. In spite of bad talks, at the end of 1978, there had been withdrawn 3500-4000 American soldiers. One interesting fact that popular Zbigniew Brzezinski was President’s advisor and among others, he was the only one that supported Carter’s actions.

After the withdrawal there also had

been made actions for maintaining relations between two countries. So, Carter apparently approved \$1.9 billion in military aid as a compensation package. However, none of the officials did not even mention that this was a support of the withdrawal. But it is widely known that President Park not once mentioned about this compensation to Washington. During Carter's presidency Park was assassinated and Korea stepped for the new era of development. Having analyzed the period of Park Chung-hee's administration and American Presidents' relations, generally they were harmonious enough, not including Vietnam war period held under President Johnson (Kim H.A., Sorensen C.W., 2011, p.35).

In the following time, the Carter's and Park's administration had co-ordinational work at the low level. As a key idea of President Carter was global human rights protections, and he considered that South Korea broke these standards. So, it was hard for South Korea to see any place for themselves in broader U.S. security strategy. President Park tried to reassure American counterpart that national security interests supersede human rights, but Carter still denied to support for the ROK if these abuses continued (Memoranda of Conversation, 1979). As a result, Carter did not sell and prevented others from selling advanced conventional weapons systems to the ROK while continuing to focus on South Korea's own responsibility for defense.

Ronald Wilson Reagan's (1981–1989) doctrine

Ronald Reagan was the 40th President from 1981 until 1989. As previous leaders of America were fighting against Communists regime, Reagan actually was the last period of Cold War. In 1985 President Reagan announced the following: "We must not break faith with those who are risking their lives—on every continent from Afghanistan to Nicaragua — to defy Soviet-supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth" (Pach, 2006). From declaring this his doctrine had started. However, going back to the beginning of Reagan's administration ruling period in 1981, the administration could finally put the end in the mentioned nuclear program in the Korean Peninsula. Reagan "carrots and

sticks" strategy was aimed to reassure South Korea that they would not be left if they stopped nuclear production, but also, he promised them that they would gain more than lose. The idea of strategy was political, economic, and military costs of breaking a dialogue with the U.S. by continuing its nuclear weapons by South Korea.

Saying the truth, the "carrots and sticks" method was very successful, of course South Korea had no own weapons, but it gained nuclear security guarantee from American part and it's worth the cost. Before his presidential post Reagan was a very popular actor and domestic people gave him a strong populist mandate to restore American global leadership. Thus, the President took a chance to give the ROK a NATO-like status in terms of USA global interests. For South Korea that was very beneficial conditions because of the following terms:

1. Advancement of the U.S.-ROK mutual security cooperation based on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) pattern.
2. Mixed trainings, cross-servicing, and mutual support activities similar to those contained in the NATO Mutual Support Act of 1979.
3. Complete all U.S. withdrawals as ground, air, and naval from South Korea.
4. Systematic security assistance to promote South Korea's defense industry and armed forces.
5. Military and financial assistance to the ROK economy in order to reduce the burden of defense costs.

The Reagan Administration served two types of the ROK's security needs by resolvment and compatibility of interests. For improvement of the U.S.-ROK alliance to one comparable to NATO, Reagan showed that U.S. security guarantee was credible by reinstating military sales and integrating troops that further strengthen the U.S.- South Korean relationship. Moreover, Reagan reversed the Guam Doctrine and Pacific Doctrine's emphasis on allied burden-sharing in defense, replacing it by 'bringing allies back in.' This coincided with the increase in tension between the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the Reagan Administration but which ensured South Korea of their place is U.S. security interests and ultimately resulted in the permanent

reversal of South Korea's nuclear activities.

George Herbert Walker Bush's (1989-1993) doctrine

President Bush took part in election with Reagan but lost, that time they were opposites and had no good relations. However, Bush became a vice President during the Reagan time, and he never was against the former President, so it gave some benefits. Actually, Reagan and Bush had one sight for many questions, also Reagan supported Bush in the election, but it was not officially. After taking the post, we can truly say that he put a pause in Reagan's détente policy, also he had good relations with Gorbachev and the Cold War ended with American victory, during his presidency. Moreover, Bush convinced Gorbachev to reunify Germany and let it be a part of NATO's country. Meanwhile, NATO gathered European states and started to have today's appearance.

President Bush's interest in Asia was deep. He had headed the U.S. Liaison Office in China during the critical period before full normalization of U.S.-China relations. As Vice President to Ronald Reagan, his national security advisor was Donald Gregg, one of the U.S. government's top Asia experts. When he transitioned to the oval office, President Bush demonstrated his continued attention to the U.S.-Korea alliance by selecting Donald Gregg to serve as ambassador in Seoul.

Welcoming South Korea's transition to democracy, in 1991 he invited President Roh to make a state visit to the United States, the highest form of official invitation that can be extended to a foreign leader, making President Roh the first South Korean leader to be so honored since Syngman Rhee in 1953.

President Bush also extended his support to South Korea's efforts to build relations with Moscow, Beijing, and the countries of Eastern Europe. As retold by Ambassador Hyun, Seoul's ultimate objective was to join the United Nations and create avenues to improve relations with Pyongyang. President Bush supported this approach. In addition to facilitating a meeting between President Roh and Gorbachev in San Francisco that helped pave the way to the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between the two countries in early

1991, President Bush supported the two Koreas' membership in the United Nations, as articulated in his speech of the UN General Assembly on October 1, 1990: We believe that universal UN membership for all states is central to the future of this organization... the United State fully supports UN membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean peninsula and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Inter-Korean dialogue also found its footing, resulting in two important agreements between the ROK and the DPRK: the "Basic Agreement" on December 13, 1991, which pledged both countries to work towards "reconciliation, non-aggression, exchanges, and cooperation" and the "Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula," signed on January 20, 1992.

William Jefferson Clinton's (1993-2001) doctrine

President Clinton was the first leader who started his presidency after Cold War. New era had presented new doctrine. President Bill Clinton took an office on October 18, 1994, with a speech that reads like a sigh of relief with the announcement of a landmark nuclear agreement between the United States and North Korea. He stated that: "This agreement is good for the United States, good for our allies, and good for the safety of the entire world". Named as, the Agreed Framework, it was aimed to stop North Korea's nuclear program and it promised to put an end to years of nuclear tension, including a near war, to a halt.

Clinton argued that: "This agreement represents the first step on the road to a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula. It does not rely on trust". In exchange for North Korea terminating its nuclear weapons program, the United States agreed to stabilize relationships with the nation, and both agreed to follow "formal assurances" not to use nukes against one another (Blackmore, 2018).

Though, Bill Clinton tried to solve nuclear problem on the Korean Peninsula with making agreement between North Korea. However, the most attention of

America was focused on Iraq's operation. Bill Clinton could achieve the first results in maintaining relations between de-nuclearization process in Korean Peninsula.

George Walker Bush's (2001-2009) doctrine

Actually, all the results of Clinton's policy aimed to Korea had changed in September 2001. Bush Jr. took an office and started his own policy. The tragedy in September 11, 2001 automatically turned North Korea as an "Axis of evil" and America stopped all relations with it. Excluding North Korea in the list of "evils" were Iran and Iraq. President Bush had just begun his presidency when terrorist attacked twin towers. This action made President Bush's mind and he dedicated his doctrine for preventing terroristic attacks that means to fight against three countries mentioned above. South Korea was terrified of being a part of Korean Peninsula that can be a target for Bush's administration according to his new doctrine which is able to turn upside down the whole Peninsula.

However, September 11 shifted the historical line of the North Korean and American relationship, so terrorists' attack not only affected on these three counties but also put American absolutely leadership into a big hesitation. Starting from this point further American policy was mainly directed to defend and advance liberal democratic principles of the USA. The relationship between North Korea and America has rolled back to the past, the next thawing of relations occurred many years after. For South Korea, it meant that its' neighbor over again became the sign of danger.

Barack Hussein Obama's (2009-2017) doctrine

Barack Obama was 44th President of the United States of America, in the period 2009-2017. The period of presidency of Barack Obama can be explained as a complicated one. At first, in his pre-election campaign Obama's doctrine was introduced as one that against genocide and wars. However, during his presidency time, there were both a lot of domestic wars and worldwide, which had touched Middle East in bigger part.

According to his policy, South Korean

and American relations had good attention from Obama's side. However, North Korean threatening and provocative behavior in the Asia-Pacific region mobilized the US for deploying a missile defense system, which is widely known as Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system (THAAD).

If there will be touched other fields of mutual relations, two countries until this time achieved valuable goals, so they could build tight relationship and President Obama said between that two countries' relations cannot stand anything that ruins those relations, which took their beginning from 1945.

Obama declared that mutual missile defense cooperation, so called THAAD is only defensive system to deter and defend against North Korean threats. As North Korean actions are mostly about threats that going against the South. Moreover, President Obama confirmed again that the commitment between the ROK and the US is unwavering and aimed to the defense and secure its ally, including extended deterrence. However, the THAAD made nervous Korean neighbor – China, which not inspired of the idea that just nearby would be missile threats in both Koreas (White house news release, 2016).

Donald John Trump's (2017-2021) doctrine

The 45th President of the USA - Donald Trump was complicated personality. Observers can conclude the policy maintained by him – ridiculous and at the same time pragmatic and smart. However, there is a clear achievement of Trump's policy as during his presidency America first time during these long ages turned own attention to own internal politics. Also, there were a big economic growth especially in comparison with the last crisis time before him.

Pointing out Trump's doctrine in the Korean Peninsula, there are clear examples of the successful policy. Donald Trump had a chance to meet North Korea leader face to face and even made an effort for maintaining communication with that side. In the World history it is called as "2018-19 Korean peace process". President Trump made a hot news all over the World by visiting officially North Korean leader, there must be noted that it had happened first time in the American

history. In this case, Trump also cancelled some of the U.S. sanctions against the North Korea. There was a long process of preparation the denuclearization agreement, which was not successful. Further after a day of talks, everything was broken, and North Korea continued to develop the nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles' testing program.

However, not looking to normalization of the US-North Korean relations, the relations and partnership between South Korea and America came up to the point called money question. As there was mentioned above, President Trump, as he was mentioned in his pre-election program was worrying about economic situation in America. So, his first and main idea was about "Making America great again", especially in economical field. It affected to the South Korea in the way of Donald Trump started to conduct negotiations about the expenses of keeping U.S. forces in South Korea, in doing so he intended to get more payment from President Moon Jae-in (Stallard K., 2020). As a businessman Trump was interested more in the economical and partnership relations. At the end of the presidency of Donald Trump, South Korean president put his best efforts to Biden's side because he believed that after coming to the post Joe Biden will free South Korea of some obligations.

Joseph Robinette Biden Jr.'s (2021 up to the present time) doctrine

Today, starting from Trump and continuing to Joe Biden's policy, during the two presidents' main target is between economical confrontation between China and America. Most of the articles are mentioning about this Economical war or Cold War 2.0. For South Korea this affects badly. These two countries are main strategical partners of the ROK and confrontation between them automatically will affect to Koreans.

During the presidency of Biden, the ROK has changed two presidents. In the very beginning of Biden's presidency Moon Jae-in had had several meetings. After President Yoon Suk-yeol took an office, they also had mutual meeting. Today's American policy has more about partnership relations with

South Korea.

President Biden and South Korean President Yoon Suk-yeol expressed their intentions about expanding the military alliance that has been the core of the U.S.-South Korea relationship for decades, pointing out that economic cooperation is also can be the core one today and, in the future, so called "comprehensive strategic alliance."

As an example, there can be underline the activities of big Korean holdings as Samsung. There should be mentioned that Samsung semiconductor production facility serves as a model for the \$17 billion facility Samsung pledged, which was constructed just last year. There also an example, Hyundai Motor Group pledged to invest \$10.5 billion in the building of an electric vehicle and electric battery production facility in Georgia, in addition to other investments in robotics and artificial intelligence.

The ROK's investments in the U.S. will generate American jobs, support economy and many other sectors. Also, there is a strong possibility of future cooperation in both the security and economic realms (Snyder, 2022).

Moreover, mentioning about Yoon, his attitudes to America was better in comparing his attitudes to China. However, China is the number one partner in the Korean export and import, shifting from the first place the USA. Mentioning about Biden's policy, it is also as Trump's concluded in "paying military and defense bills" by South Korea, because of the expenses that America had and up to present day is having.

Discussion and conclusion

To conclude, after researching and analyzing doctrines developed by American presidents during the period 1945-2022, following conclusions were made. First, the alliance of ROK-US was initially set by Harry Truman and all the succeeded president after him developed their doctrines in the frame of two countries' partnership. However, it is important to mention that starting from Truman until Reagan's presidency was the period of the Cold War, which dictated own rules of the leading ideas of each doctrine (see the table 1) existed between 1947-1989.

Table 1 – Key points of American doctrines (1947-1989)

Presidents of the USA	Years	Highlights
Harry S. Truman	1945-1953	<p>to provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from external or internal authoritarian forces. The Main idea of his doctrine was about the politics of deterrence communism (the USSR) in all over the world.</p> <p>To prevent the spread of Communistic regime in Japan, therefore the geopolitical interests seized up to South Korea, especially after the intervention of the USSR and support to the North, America decided to place own military bases throughout the Pacific. As the result, in October of 1953 the Truman's administration decided to extend a formal security guarantee to the ROK in the form of the Mutual Defense Treaty, so the origins of US-ROK relations took their beginning from this point. There were indicated that the U.S. automatically respond in South Korea's defense in the case of the attacks from the North Korea and this treaty included both economic and security cooperation between America and South Korea.</p> <p>For supporting South Korea, both American and UN troops were brought to war field in Korea and this pushed to establish NATO.</p>
Dwight D. Eisenhower	1953-1961	<p>From the very beginning, an interest was shown to terminate Korean War and return back American troops. Thus, Korean Peninsula was divided into two parts as South Korea and North Korea by 38th parallel.</p> <p>any country can ask economic or military aid from the US but if the US has their own military strategy there, and also there were other way of calling his doctrine is "doctrine of massive retaliation".</p>
John Fitzgerald Kennedy	1961-1963	<p>It reflected Truman's doctrine about standing against to communism.</p> <p>the period of 1961-1962 was the class of economic policy for America. Kennedy administration tried to make some efforts for Park's government to pay more attention to proposing Washington reforms as improvement of agricultural productivity, exports increases, and normalizing relations with Japan and Korea. Overall, Kennedy's administration was comparingly to Truman and Eisenhower's representatives more insistent.</p>
Lyndon B. Johnson	1963-1969	<p>continued the policy of his predecessors as Eisenhower and Kennedy. In 1965 he declared his own doctrine which prohibited any external intervention to internal affairs of Western Hemisphere, especially the doctrine was dedicated to Dominican Republic where American troops have already brought. Consequently, the doctrines geography</p>

		enlarged to Asia-Pacific Region which directly touching Korean Peninsula. In 1965 Johnson administration requested troops from all its Asian allies but the only country that supported the US was Republic of Korea (ROK).
Richard Milhous Nixon	1969-1974	declared in defense and development of all allies and friends but would not “undertake all the defense of the free nations of the world.” As the result, after accepting the doctrine, one full division of U.S. combat forces was taken off the ROK, that really made nervous Park administration, because Nixon’s policy set the base for restoring diplomatic relationships with China.
Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr.	1974-1977	as his predecessors continued former presidents’ policy, as a result Ford continued Nixon’s US-USSR confrontation doctrine. As it was during Nixon’s administration so during the Ford’s presidency period a lot of attention was paid to China. America was not involved to internal situation in South Korea including human rights and local people’s minds about cooperation between them. Meanwhile, in South Korea ruled the dictatorship of Park Chung-hee leading by Yusin reforms, the administration put a lot of changes in economy, politics of the country. This inattention from American part missed away producing of nuclear weapons works which started in the South leading by President Park. Throughout 1975, Ford Administration made some steps to promote the ROK’s self-defense capabilities, though it were a mix of reassurance and focus on self- reliance that sent mixed signals to the ROK.
James Earl Carter Jr.	1977-1981	During Carter’s time there were big changes in the South Korea. First of all, campaign on the protection of human rights globally, and Carter, who publicized dislike of Park administration, because he was informed about the abuse of Human rights in the ROK. Second of all, his pre-election campaigns significant points was concluded in withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. Moreover, there were also mentioned that tactical nuclear weapons located in South Korea would also be withdrawn. Actually, Carter withdrawal of his troops from the ROK and come to the agreement with the PRC to convince North Korea not to attack South Korea.
Ronald Wilson Reagan	1981-1989	the strategy called “carrots and sticks” to reassure South Korea that they would not be left if they stopped ideas about nuclear weapons, but also assured them that the consequences would be grave if their nuclear ambitions pursued. The idea of strategy was political, economic, and military costs of breaking a dialogue with the U.S. by continuing its nuclear weapons by South Korea.

Second, starting from 1989 President Bush's including Biden's doctrines, the key idea was to promote stable relationships based on mutual economic, financial, cultural and political cooperation with ROK. So, in order to be sure that between China-US rivalry, Korea will choose to be on the side of the USA. Finally, it is clearly seen that during the period from 1945-2022 under the legacy of American presidents, the doctrine's

policies that they led had a link to South Korea but with a more or less extent during different presidents of the USA. Today, Korean and US relations are friendly partners, at the same time Korea is American «unsinkable aircraft carrier», trading partner, political ally owe to all doctrines that started from Truman and still maintained by the current president Biden.

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ҚҰРАМА ШТАТТАРДЫҢ ПРЕЗИДЕНТТЕРІНІҢ ДОКТРИНАЛАРЫНДАҒЫ ОҢТҮСТІК КОРЕЯЛЫҚ КОМПОНЕНТ (1945-2022)

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