



### **About the Author:**

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Sungjae Han is a Business major at Korea University with a strong interest in geopolitics and international affairs. His work explores global power dynamics and strategic state behavior. As an editorial writer at the Asia Pacific Democracy Incubator, he publishes bi-monthly analyses. He aims to pursue a career in institutions like the United Nations.

### **About the publication:**

#### **3 Main Points:**



Can economic engagement change a hostile authoritarian regime? This article is arguing that South Korea's left-wing policies toward North Korea failed to reduce tensions but instead enabled Pyongyang's military expansion. By prioritizing symbolic reconciliation over deterrence, progressive administrations underestimated North Korea's intentions, eventually strengthening a nuclear adversary than promoting peace.

**Highlight Sentence:**

*“Progressive engagement policies gave Pyongyang economic concessions without altering its long-term military ambitions.”*

**Definition:**

The Sunshine Policy was South Korea's diplomatic policy aimed at improving relations with North Korea through economic cooperation.

Subsidizing the Enemy: How Decades of Engagement Built a Nuclear North

By Sungjae Han

In May 2026, the political landscape surrounding the Korean Peninsula no longer resembles the optimistic summits of the last few decades. With Pyongyang's recent constitutional amendments officially designating Seoul as its [‘primary foe and invariable principle enemy’](#) and the solidification of the [Russia-DPRK military alliance](#), the hope for a ‘reunified nation’ has been diminishing, and has been replaced by a cold, two-state reality.

For years, the [‘Sunshine’ policy](#) and its succeeding ideologies worked on a fundamental Liberal International premise that economic integration and strong diplomatic ties would eventually help mitigate hostilities. However, looking at the situation in 2026, it is obvious that these policies were not effective, but rather counterproductive.



By prioritizing trust-building over practical deterrence, South Korea's progressive administrations fell into a security dilemma trap. From the [Kaesong Industrial Complex](#) to the [2018 Comprehensive Military Agreement](#), Seoul viewed these actions to be a measure of tension reduction. On the other hand, Pyongyang viewed them as opportunities to extract economic and strategic concessions while continuing to expand its military and nuclear capabilities without making meaningful compromises.

While some people might argue that North Korea's provocations were simply "cries for attention" or reactions to joint military exercises, a thorough analysis shows Pyongyang's actions were always a part of an effort to secure regime survival and maximize leverage over the international community, especially South Korea.

The historical record under leftist regimes is proof of this strategic deafness. The [destruction of the Inter-Korean Liaison Office in Kaesong \(2020\)](#), a building built by \$15 million Korean taxpayer money, was the clearest symbol of how Pyongyang viewed these engagements not as reconciliation, but as a tool to be disposed of and exploited whenever politically convenient. Even during the Moon Jae-in administration's early years, North Korea launched the [Hwaseong-15 ICBM](#), demonstrating that Pyongyang's military ambitions continued uninterrupted despite Seoul's peaceful approach.

Looking further back into history, during the 'Sunshine' era of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun, North Korea was consistently making advancements in its nuclear programs while consistently receiving financial aid and humanitarian assistance from Seoul. Instead of changing their behavior, Pyongyang used this period and resources to develop the military capabilities that now threaten the Korean Peninsula, or even the entire world.

The irony of the Sunshine Policy became more apparent during the 2002 World Cup. While South Korea was celebrating their achievement in the tournament, the North Korean navy launched an unprovoked ambush against South Korean vessels near the [Northern Limit Line](#). Known as [The Second Battle of Yeonpyeong](#), it resulted in the deaths of six South Korean soldiers, 18 injured, and the sinking of a



PKM-class patrol boat. This offense proved that even during the peak of the 'Sunshine' policy, Pyongyang had no intention to reciprocate peace.

Ultimately, the leftist pursuit of an impossible 'shared national identity' ignored the fundamental reality that the two Koreas had evolved into completely different political and ideological systems. Progressive administrations repeatedly assumed that economic cooperation and symbolic gestures backed by historical and ethnic ties could help overcome North Korea's hostile objectives. By doing so, they ignored multiple cases of evidence showing that North Korea consistently has been exploiting engagement policies for economic gain, of which they utilized in expanding its military and nuclear capabilities. Rather than producing genuine connection, this approach created an asymmetry, leaving South Korea invested in peace while the North focused on territorial expansion, thus giving Pyongyang an upper ground. By misinterpreting a calculating autocracy for a sentimental partner, progressive leadership mistook Pyongyang's tactical pauses for a genuine shift in strategic intent. By prioritizing symbolic reconciliation over the harsh realities of military readiness, these administrations compromised the integrity of the South Korea-US alliance and unintentionally validated Pyongyang's nuclear program.