

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On March 26, 2010, South Korean naval vessels, Cheonan (PCC-772) destroyed and sunk by an explosion. Cheonan was on patrol in the Yellow Sea from the south-west coast of the Baengyoeong Island and near in the disputed maritime border with North Korea, Northern Limit Line (NLL). NLL has been a place of many naval battles and incidents over the years. The conflict between North Korea and South Korea actually has been long time ago, particularly marked by the Korean War which ended in 1953. The war only ended with a ceasefire agreement, between the two sides, and the determination of the neutral region by the United Nations in the Korean peninsula.

An international investigation commission concluded that North Korea was responsible in case of the attack, mediation through the dialogue conducted in which the United States has the momentum in the role of balancing actors in the process of solving problems directly or indirectly. United States as the allies of South Korea takes immediate measures to give economic sanctions against North Korea in order to stop their provocation action. Korean peninsula conflict that never ends makes the writer interested to analyze deeper the problems that arise after the Cheonan incident. So that, I give the title "**United States Policy in issuing Economic Sanctions toward North Korea related to Cheonan incidents**".

A. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research is a requirement to obtain S1 degree majoring in International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. However this study also has several objectives, including:

1. Intends as a manifestation and application of theories learned in college.
2. Answers the research question and to prove the hypotheses.
3. Gives insights about the history of the conflict between South Korea and North Korea, and also the escalation of the conflict among them until now.
4. Gives insights on issues Cheonan incident as a new chapter of the Korean peninsula conflict.
5. Knows how the U.S. role in providing economic sanctions against North Korea related to Cheonan incident with its interests behind the incident.

B. BACKGROUND

East Asia is regional in international politics that continues to change gradually and tread on the successful economic and political development, thus becoming a serious concern of international actors, particularly after the emergence of Chinese economic growth that dominated the global economy and began to show political and military capabilities.

Besides, there are still quite tense problems whether small-scale or large-scale in defense and security issues at the level of regional countries still color the region political dynamics such as the Korean peninsula issue. This area also lacks

of regional integration, less conducive situations of political and economic security which is allowing U.S. to use propaganda to carry out good relations with East Asian countries, especially for countries that have the same understanding proximity and can be invited to cooperate. Where in the United States cooperative development effort could indirectly affect a country, such as U.S. propaganda to Japan and South Korea which has proximity of ideology that can enable a partnership in building a regional dynamics, which can create political escalation in the region experiencing less conducive conditions, if assessed mainly by the parameters of historical values, ideology in regional studies.¹

The phenomenon that is less conducive to the East Asian region raises to several phenomena such as the gap of international actors in this region, then even this gap is a positive thing for the U.S which has political power impression in make efforts to prominence became one of the dominant actor in the form of a strategy such as the political and economic policies as well as the phenomenal contemporary issues in international politics scale, especially in the implementation of policies that truly comprehensive.

U.S. as a superpower country has a very big role in the movement of the world. This big role was played by the United States for the world so that, its policy can influence in determining the direction of the world in all fields. No exception for the Korean peninsula related to Cheonan incident on March 26,

¹ Sumantri B. Sugeo, (February 2010), *Strategi Prpoganda Amerika Serikat*, Retrieved from: http://indonesianvoices.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=69:strategi-propaganda-amerika-serikat&catid=1:latest-news&Itemid=50
Accessed on December 18, 2010. 01.45 am.

2010. The conflict between North Korea and South Korea has long been in fact occurred, particularly marked by the Korean War which ended in 1953. The war only ended with a ceasefire agreement, between the two sides, and the determination of the neutral region by the United Nations in the Korean peninsula.

However, this conflict re-emerged to the surface with a high tension when the North Korean navy vessel torpedoed South Korea (Cheonan), with more than 100 people drowned, on March 26, 2010,² off the coast of the island near by the disputed border Baengyeong.³ This attitude appears on the basis of North Korea's displeasure over South Korea's efforts into the Demilitarized Zone as an area to visit and even tourism. So this is considered a way to give warning to South Korea for not approaching the zone.⁴

An international investigation team of South Korean joint team, the U.S., Sweden, Australia, Canada, and Britain declared that the corvette Cheonan ship sank as torpedoed by North Korea. They reported that parts of the torpedo was lifted from the seabed has a label of alphabet which is similar to North Korean design.⁵ The attack on the Cheonan corvette ship is not a mistake. Moreover, this is not trivial problem. The attack on a ship of war is an act of war. Unjustified torpedo

² Joseph Primus, (March 2010), *Kapal AL Korsel Tenggelam*, Retrieved from: <http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2010/03/27/02534787/Kapal.AL.Korsel.Tenggelam> Accessed on December 29, 2010. 02.01 am.

³ (2010), *Penyelam Korsel Berhasil Mencapai Lambung Kapal*, Retrieved from: <http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2010/03/29/19393011/Penyelam.Korsel.Berhasil.Capai.Lambung.Kapal> Accessed on December 29, 02.36am.

⁴ (2010), *Korut Peringatkan Korsel tidak Dekati Perbatasan*, Retrieved from: <http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2010/03/29/20560432/Korut.Peringatkan.Korsel.Tidak.Dekati.Perbatasan> Accessed on December 29, 02.43am.

⁵ Rene L.Pattiradjawne, 2010, *Cheonan Ditorpedo AS atau Korsel*, Retrieved from: <http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2010/05/31/06315567/Cheonan.Ditorpedo.AS.atau.Korut> .. Accessed on December 29, 2010. 04.01am.

shooting in a South Korean warship is an act of aggression. So that it remains important for the international community to issue a strong criticism to stop provocative actions by North Korea.

South Korea has brought the case Cheonan navy ship sinking to the Security Council of the United Nations (UN). This step was taken after an official announcement that the cause of the sinking of the Cheonan ship was torpedo attack from North Korean submarines. But so far, the UN Security Council only expressed concern over the Cheonan incident and condemned the provocation action carried out by Cheonan warships attack and very careful to mention the perpetrators of the attack.⁶ In this case the UN Security Council seems to be very careful in handling the Cheonan problem to prevent the situation heats up, when the UN issued sanctions against North Korea for Cheonan warship sinking considering North Korea has denied involvement in the incidents of the sinking of Cheonan and will declare war if given the UN sanctions .

Seeing no act of imposing sanctions from the UN, the United States as a superpower and the world police took action by issuing a policy of economic sanctions against North Korea as an act of solidarity with its allies South Korea and to stop provocative actions by North Korea. Sanctions will target the black market trade in weapons, drugs, and luxury goods.⁷

⁶ (2010), *Pernyataan Ketua DK PBB yang Mengecam Penenggelaman Kapal Cheonan* http://rki.kbs.co.kr/indonesian/news/news_issue_detail.htm?No=19243
Retrieved on February 23, 2011. 04.40am.

⁷ (2010), *Kena Sanksi Amerika Serikat*, Retrieved from: <http://bataviase.co.id/node/367548>
Accessed on: December29, 2010 01.20am.

It is inevitable that one motive for the development of nuclear programs by North Korea is to face the U.S. policy which stands against towards North Korea and military threats against North Korea. During the reign of Bush Junior, North Korea was considered part of the "Axis of Evil", along with Iran and Iraq. The world witnessed how two sovereign states, Afghanistan and Iraq, invaded by the United States. Very clear message to North Korea: first, there is no international law that can protect a country from the superpower action of the U.S.. Second, the only thing that could hinder the U.S. carried out the attack is the ownership of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons as the ultimate weapons of mass destruction. North Korea considers deterrent effects ownership capability of attack nuclear will guarantee the survival of Pyongyang regime.⁸

In this case the U.S. should not have issued sanctions against North Korea in order to maintain the stability of the Korean peninsula. In the case of the Korean peninsula, the U.S. showed arrogance in watching, and invites the world to condemn North Korea together. America building military bases in South Korea, and held a military exercise with South Korea at the border, at anytime to help the South Korean that at any times attacked by North Korea. For North Korea, the U.S. presence is an act of provocative and arrogant attitude. Sanctions against North Korea just only make North Korea more aggressive to continue their provocative action in order to reduce U.S. domination.

⁸ Dian Firmansyah, (April 2009), *Motif Nuklir Korea Utara dan Prospek Perdamaian di Semenanjung Korea*, Retrieved from: <http://hankamindonesia.wordpress.com/>
Accessed on February 23, 2011. 04.12 am

C. RESEARCH QUESTION

From the description that has been stated in the background above, the principal problems that can be formulated is “Why does United States issued a policy to sanction North Korea related to Cheonan incident?”

D. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The basic framework of thought has a function as an early foothold, so to choose the concepts that are useful for observing a problem. This is to show a reciprocal relationship between theory and data obtained from the source. To be able to describe and analyze existing problems, the writer uses:

1. Foreign policy concept

Study of the theory of foreign decision-making process (the decision process) explains that foreign policy is seen as a result of existing alternative with optimization results (i.e to get maximum profit and minimum loss.) Decision-makers are also assumed to obtain enough information so they can conduct thorough searches of all alternative policies that might be done and all the resources that can be used to achieve the goals they pursue.⁹

Foreign policy itself can be formulated as follows (Hans J. Morgenthau in his book *Politics among Nations*);

⁹ Mochtar Mas' oed, *op.cit*

*"Foreign Policy is the strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of a state vis a vis other states or international entities aimed at Achieving specific defined goals of national interest."*¹⁰

The theory of decision makers to identify a large number of relevant variables and suggests that there may be an interplay of these different variables. This theory leads directly to specific human behaviors that the real decision makers form a government policy that is "those who iterative act, the intention or purpose, is state action. State action is the action taken by those who done on behalf of the state"¹¹

The overheating in the Korean peninsula after the sinking of Cheonan warship that killed 46 sailors was the worst military disaster in the history of South Korea since the 1950-1953 Korean War. A multinational investigation blamed the attacks that killed 46 sailors to North Korea. However, the North Korean government denied that. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) chooses to take no action against Pyongyang when the world body condemned the incident. This makes the U.S. as an ally of South Korea take firm steps to follow up action that will be undertaken on the provocations of North Korea.¹²

Various things are conducted by the U.S. to show its solidarity action against to its ally, South Korea, related to the sinking Cheonan warships, U.S. President Barrack Obama has ordered his military commanders to coordinate

¹⁰ Plano, Jack C and Roy Olton, 1978, *The International Relation Dictionary*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, page 127.

¹¹ James E Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., *Contending Theories of International Relations; A Comperhensive Study*, terjemahan Amin Rais, Harwanto Dahlan dan Tulus Warsito (Yogyakarta: Fisipol UMY, 1995), pag. 373

¹² (2010), *Pernyataan Ketua DK PBB yang Mengecam Penenggelaman Kapal Cheonan* http://rki.kbs.co.kr/indonesian/news/news_issue_detail.htm?No=19243
Retrieved on February 23, 2011. 04.40am.

closely with their partners in the South in order to ensure readiness and to deter future aggression. Others who support the U.S. decide that Cheonan is related incidents on economic sanctions targeting the black market trade in weapons, drugs, and luxury goods. The U.S. Treasury Department announced that it had imposed sanctions against four individuals and eight organizations suspected of providing aid to North Korean government through illegal trade. President Barack Obama also issued an order freezing the assets and ban Ned travel to North Korea's implementation.

Obama also broadened the scope of previous sanctions against those involved in trafficking arms, drugs, and luxury goods to North Korea. One of these sanctions is Office 39, a branch of the allegedly secret effort related with the Korean Workers Party. The company allegedly sold her thamphetamine in China and South Korea and supply of luxury goods to North Korea a number of government leaders. Office 39 also allegedly involved in the effort to buy a luxury vessel made in Italy worth USD 15 million to Kim Jong-il. However, the transaction failed because no agreement is reached.¹³

¹³ (2010), *Kena Sanksi Amerika Serikat*, Retrieved from: <http://bataviase.co.id/node/367548>
Accessed on: December29, 2010 01.20am.

2. National Interest Concept

National interests can be interpreted as an interest for a minimum of public welfare, the right to maintain viability (survival) of a State, the right economic interests, rights of legal protection. In a more specific meaning which is preserving and maintaining a political identity and culture. So for its national interests are realized, a state could have made a cooperation or even conflict.¹⁴

KJ Holsti explains, is basically the national interest in a state include the four elements of interest, namely:¹⁵

1. Security

Is the main aim of every state to defend itself (self-defense) in the sense to protect population, territory and sovereignty and keep the threats are not just a war or things that are physical, but also include residents, government, ideology and economy.

2. Autonomy

Ability to formulate domestic policy and foreign policy based on government's own priorities with all the risks, and the ability to withstand pressure, influence, or the threat of another state.

3. Welfare (welfare)

¹⁴ J. Frankie, *Hubungan Internasional*, terjemahan Laila H, Hasyim Jakarta, Bumi Aksara, 1991.

¹⁵ K. J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, New York Prentice Hall International Inc, 1995. Hal. 137.

Factor in providing a barometer of success in a State. Countries that are worse example are the state which has a large military force, but less attention to the welfare of its people. But on the contrary, the state with a weak military but has a great attention to the welfare of its people is a good country.

4. Prestigious

Excellence in science and technology involved plays an important role in addition to the traditional view that considers the main source is the status of military power. For example, countries that are developing in the industry to change its status to a State.

According to H. J. Morgenthau, the essence of foreign policy is national interest, so that the foreign policy of a country based on the interests of domestic or foreign policy is extensions of domestic political summarized in the national interest.¹⁶

Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton define national interest as:

*"The fundamental objective and ultimate determinant that guides the decision makers of a state in making foreign policy. The national interest of a state is typically a highly generalized conception of those elements constitute That the state's most vital needs. These include self-preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well being. "*¹⁷

¹⁶ Mohtar Mas' oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, Disiplin dan Metodology, LP3ES, Jakarta, 1990, hal. 164.

¹⁷ Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, *The International Relations Dictionary*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., Western Michigan University: New York, 1969, hal. 128.

Regarding foreign policy speech that captured a nation always begins with its national interests. National interests of a state would be more easily achieved if followed by national strength.¹⁸

According to Hans J. Morgenthau, the national interests of each country is pursuing power, that can establish and maintain "control" one country on another country. The relationship of power or control can be created through the techniques of coercion and cooperation of other States.¹⁹

In their relation to the Cheonan incident, many people assume, especially military and security experts, the Cheonan incident may be only a pretext for the U.S. to trapped North Korea to return to the negotiating table to achieve the closure of their nuclear stations. Incidents Cheonan assessed strange and odd to some circles as a possible North Korean military capacity to blow up and sink the ship made in South Korea advanced. This is because the North Korean-made ships are generally old vessels made in the 1980era. This contrasts with the vessel carousel equipped with advanced technology that it is impossible to ship sophisticated Cheonan unable to detect the existence of North Korean ships. Many have likened the U.S. motives in the North is to the incident the U.S. Navy destroyer, the USS Maddox in the Gulf of Tonkin.²⁰

¹⁸ Jack Plano and Roy Olton, *The International Relations Act Dictionary*, (New York: Renehartend)

¹⁹ *Mohtar Mas' oed, op.cit., hal.* 143

²⁰ Rene L.Pattiradjawne., (February 2011), *Dua Ikan Paus Berkelahi Punggung Udang Meledak*
Retrieved from:
<http://cetak.kompas.com/read/xml/2010/05/26/03421610/dua.ikan.paus.berkelahi.punggung.udang.meledak> Accessed on December 30, 2010. 01.12 am.

Peninsula conflict gets worse when the North Koreans who quit the Nuclear Treaty (NPT, 1970) in 2003 and continues to develop nuclear weapons capacity which was condemned by the international community through the International Energy Agency and Atomic Agency (IAEA). Various meeting both international, multilateral, regional and even bilateral have been frequently held to change the policy of North Korea's nuclear-related sanctions and even political and bilateral and international economically by the UN Security Council was also not able to dissolve the North Koreans to make North Korea even more increasingly fierce. The agreement established in 1994 in a Framework Agreement in bilateral meetings between U.S. and North Korean delegations in Geneva would be violated by North Korea who proved to still keep doing the enrichment of uranium and the expulsion of IAEA inspection team by the late Kim Il Sung at the time. Most recently, denuclearization agreement reached the Six Party Talks in 2005 which is a reaffirmation agreement 1994 with the economy compensation package granted by U.S. but remain ignored by North Korea. North Korea still does a few surprises on the Korean Peninsula through an underground nuclear test and test medium-and long-range missiles.²¹

Shortly after the announcement of the cause on the sinking of Cheonan, Secretary of State Hilary Clinton flew to Japan, China and South Korea to seek support for international sanctions North Korea through the UN Security Council

²¹ Dian Firmansyah, (April 2009), *Motif Nuklir Korea Utara dan Prospek Perdamaian di Semenanjung Korea*, Retrieved from: <http://hankamindonesia.wordpress.com/> Accessed on February 23, 2011. 04.12 am

resolutions. These sanctions became new ammunition for the U.S. to force North Korea back to the negotiating table to discuss the issue of its nuclear arsenal.

On the other hand, the U.S. also still has an interest to maintain its leadership position in the Asia-Pacific region and prevent the emergence of an aggressor nation that can change the balance of power in the region. In addition, guarantee of security and stability in the Asia Pacific region will ultimately ensure U.S. economic interests with the Asia Pacific region.

3. Theory of Rational Actor

Mohtar Mas'ood in the book "Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi" explained that the model of Rational Actor, Foreign politics is considered as consequence of rational actors' actions and behaviors, especially for the government created for certain purposes. Decision making process of foreign politic was described as intellectual process. Government behavior was in other term to common sense and coordinative individual action. In this analogy, the actor of individual passed the intellectual phases, by considering real reasonable choice toward the available alternatives. So, unit of analysis of this decision process model was the alternatives designed by government. In addition, analysis of foreign politic must pay more attention toward examination of national interest and the purposes of a state, the alternatives of policy direction that could be taken

by government and calculation of cost and benefit for each of alternative.²² Beside that, Graham T. Allison concluded that there are two characteristics of Rational Actor: First, Governments are treated as the primary actor. Governments play important role in decision making process. Second, The government examines a set of goals, evaluates them according to their utility, then picks the one that has the highest "payoff."²³ The examination of cost and benefit is very important step to determine the policy and meet the national interest.

According to Brown and Marcum, rational actors are simply goal-oriented, their goals may involve, for example, increasing individual wealth or improving the welfare of other actors. The decisions made are in accordance of long future orientation. The actors or decision makers need to calculate about the future and consider the consequences that would be risked in the long term period.²⁴

Every state is illustrated as rational actor which always acted based on the interest of their own. Basically, it is to keeping the sovereignty and meeting national interest. In this model, it could be expressed that decision makers are doing the alternative policies to reach the optimal result. In this theory, the cost and benefit considerations were created and applied by the decision makers upon alternatives provided to be chosen.

²² Mohtar Mas'oed (1990) *Ilmu hubungan internasional, disiplin dan metodologi*, Jakarta: LP3S. Page: 234.

²³ _____ *The essence of decision, graham allison*” Retrieved from: www.ssundaram.com/.../The%20Essence%20of%20Decision.ppt Accessed on October 16th, 2010, 03:41 am.

²⁴ Brown N. Jonathan & Marcum S. Anthony, (May 2007) *Changing the linchpin: motivational foundations of rational choice in international relations*”, Retrieved from: http://www.bsos.umd.edu/GVPT/irworkshop/papers_spring07-spring09/Brown_Marcum.pdf. Accessed on 7 August, 2010. 11.52 am.

The decision of the U.S. to issue economic policy to North Korea has been through a cost and benefit consideration if compared with issuing Military sanction that have high risk. The benefits to the U.S., by issuing a policy of economic sanctions on North Korea at the start with the interest to bring North Korea to the negotiating table to discuss about possession of nuclear weapons and then will be a lot of benefits that can be reached after the achievement of the talks. By providing economic sanctions on North Korea certainly will make North Korea reconsider because however, North Koreans will continue protect the welfare of its people, so North Korea would be easy to invite in negotiating on the issue of nuclear weapons possessions.

As if the talks have been reached, other benefits that will be gained by the United States include. First, the emergence of North Korea which is a country that develops nuclear energy will endanger U.S. security because it would threaten the stability and existence of the U.S... Second, some of the country in East Asia is the edge of the U.S. nuclear region, such as, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan. For the U.S., these countries are very important in order to maintain the dominance of U.S. power to achieve its interests in East Asia. Third, the U.S. has the role as actor balancer in East Asia so it will ensure stability in the region. Guaranteed security and stability in the Asia Pacific region will ultimately ensure U.S. economic interests with the Asia Pacific region. While the disadvantage for the U.S., if does not issue the sanctions is that North Korea will increasingly aggressive act of provocation that makes the situation on the Korean peninsula increasingly heated.

E. HYPOTESIS

United States policy to give sanctions to North Korea becomes new strategy for the U.S. to force North Korea to return to the negotiating table to discuss the North Korean nuclear issue. Six-Party Talks stalled in April 2009, North Korea withdrew from the talks after the UN imposed sanctions due to test nuclear weapons and long-range missile that carried out by Pyongyang.

F. RANGE OF RESEARCH

In terms of the explanation on material, the writer emphasize the discussion about the provision of economic sanctions by the United States against North Korea related Cheonan incident. Given the Korean peninsula conflict is an ongoing conflict, so this research is not rigid and can progress as far as the data support in this writing.

G. RESEARCH METHOD

The research method used by the writer in this writing is explanative analysis. As for technique of data collection, techniques used by the authors are use secondary data such as literature study (library research) is a data collection which done by reviewing a number of literature appropriate to the subject matter will be researched. The data obtained from various sources such as books, journals, media articles, documents and internet site. Furthermore, for data

processing techniques, the data has been obtained then will be grouped into variable separately according to its category so it can produce a valid classification and can answer the main problem in this research. Data processing is a very important part in the scientific method, because in the data processing, data can be given meaning and significance that is useful in solving research problems.

H. SYSTEMATIC OF WRITING

In a paper that is both scientific and non scientific need a systematic writing to give an idea about the contents or the things that will be discussed in each of the chapter in the text. The systematic is composed as a follow:

CHAPTER I

In this chapter contains the background, research objective, research question, theoretical framework, method of research, range of research and systematic of research.

CHAPTER II

This chapter will discuss how the chronological events in Cheonan incident occurred following the U.S. role in the Korean peninsula conflict.

CHAPTER III

This chapter will discuss how global politics in East Asia as well as the U.S. interests and applying policies

CHAPTER IV

This chapter is a chapter in which the discussion in this chapter will answer the fundamental problems and prove the hypothesis that covers AS strategy to provide sanctions against North Korea related to Cheonan Incident.

CHAPTER V

This chapter is a concluding chapter contains conclusions and suggestions that try to be the author of the description and analysis has given the author in the chapter -previous chapter.