

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The United States is republic federal country that consist of 50 states and 1 federal district. The US has the largest and most technologically powerful economy in the world, with a per capita GDP of \$46,400.¹ US becoming the winner of the Spain-US war and World War I and also have the big military powers in the world. In World War II, US becomes the first country that develops nuclear weapon. In the end of the Cold War and Soviet Nations collapse, US become the only one superior country and become the head start for military, economic, culture and politics.²

Based on the short explanation above, we know that US the biggest military forces and nuclear weapon that makes it the winner in any war and conflict. Becoming the superior country makes US straightly concern about the military and especially nuclear development by other countries such as India, Israel, Pakistan, Iran, South Africa, and North Korea. Because of the concern and the awareness of the US about security issues especially nuclear makes US becoming the country that never abstains on nuclear or security meeting, negotiation or treaty.

North Korea known as the nuclear country and becomes the US government concern related to their nuclear program. North Korea also the country that assist by

¹ United States, The World Fact book (retrieved on 15 November 2010) from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/us.html>

² Amerika Serikat, (retrieved on 7 August 2010) from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amerika_Serikat

Soviet Union to become a communist country. North Korea's nuclear program began in the mid-1950s when the country started its practical training at the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research in Dubna, located in the Soviet Union region, where they studied electronic physics, radiochemistry, high-energy physics and other subjects related to nuclear development.³

In the beginning, the training of North Korean scientists in the Soviet Union was focused on the peaceful use of atomic energy for electricity. Soviet and North Korean agreements signed in this connection specifically emphasized the peaceful nature of bilateral cooperation in the nuclear sphere.

An intergovernmental agreement on cooperation of atomic energy, signed in 1959, was the foundation for joint nuclear activities between the Soviet Union and North Korea. On the basis of this agreement, the two countries signed a number of so-called Series 9559 contracts which concerned such areas of bilateral cooperation as the conduct of geological studies, the construction of a nuclear research center (called a "Furniture Factory" by the North Korean side) and the training of North Korean labor. Besides the Soviet Union, other North Korean scientists also received their education in East Germany and China. The scientific and experimental infrastructure in the nuclear program was also built with Soviet assistance. Soviet specialists also took part in the construction of the Yongbyon nuclear center 103 km north of Pyongyang.⁴

³ Nuclear Power in North Korea, (retrieved 6 January 2010) from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuclear_power_in_North_Korea

⁴ *Ibid*

In the late 1960s, the North Korean government made a decision to accelerate the development of nuclear science and technology: new research institutes, laboratories, and chairs were established in the North Korean government. The initial goal of this decision was to create the basis for the development of a nuclear energy sector. In 1970, at the fifth congress of the Workers' Party of Korea and also at the sixth congress in October 1980, delegates again stressed the necessity of constructing "nuclear power plants on a large scale in order to sharply increase the generation of electrical power".⁵ At the same time, the North-Korean government also concerned on explored oil deposits and impossibility of compensating for electric power shortages by means of hydro and thermo-electric power plants. The North Korean government decided to develop a nuclear energy on the basis of gas-graphite reactors (which can be run on enriched uranium) because the country possessed sufficient deposits of natural uranium. There are also substantial graphite deposits in North Korea.

In order to accelerate scientific and technological developments, including those in the nuclear field, the March 1988 Plenum of the Central Committee of the North Korea Party made a decision to elaborate a Three-Year plan (1988–1990) for the development of North Korea's science and technology, which identified four main directions: electronics, thermo-technology, Chemistry and metallurgy. This plan gave special attention in the developments of electronics, particularly large integrated circuits, Computer science, robotics, new materials, and digital program control. In 1990, allocations for science constituted 3.8% of national income according to the

⁵ *Ibid*

official figures. Before the plan was adopted, these allocations did not exceed 2% of national income.⁶

In the 1970s, Kim Il-sung made a decision to begin the project on the development of a domestic nuclear program. He concluded that the development of a nuclear deterrence was the only means of ensuring the regime's survival. After the political decision has been made, working on the development of nuclear weapons was begun, it adopted a number of practical steps aimed at expanding the network of research institutions dealing with the developments in the field of nuclear physics, energy, radiochemistry and others. The nuclear center in Yongbyon, the Nuclear Energy Research Institute, and the Radiological Institute were some of the organizations established at this period. In addition, a department of Nuclear Physics was opened at the Pyongyang State University as one of major and a nuclear reactor technology chair was opened at the Kimchaek Polytechnic University. In terms of equipment, Soviet made research cyclotron was installed at Kim Il-sung University in Pyongyang and an industrial cyclotron was installed in one of Pyongyang suburbs. Various estimates suggest that North Korea already has up to about ten nuclear warheads.⁷

North Korea had already launched their missile tests for 4 times and two nuclear tests in 2006 and 2009. On August 31, 1998, North Korea test fired a three stage rocket, apparently the prototype of the Taepodong I missile; the third stage apparently

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ *North Korea's Nuclear Program*, published in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (retrieved on 7 January 2010) from <http://thebulletin.metapress.com/content/hn15761201wg02/fulltext.pdf>

was an attempt to launch a satellite. U.S. intelligence estimates reportedly concluded that such a missile would have the range to reach Alaska, Guam, and the Northern Marianas Commonwealth. Media reports in early 2000 cited U.S. intelligence findings that without further flight tests, North Korea could deploy an intercontinental ballistic missile that would be capable of striking Alaska, Hawaii, and the U.S. west coast.⁸

On February 24, 2003 North Korea fired a missile into the sea between South Korea and Japan. On March 10, 2003 fired second missile into the sea between South Korea and Japan.⁹ North Korea reportedly deployed nearly 100 Nodong missiles by 2003. U.S. officials claimed in September 2003 that North Korea had developed a more accurate, longer-range intermediate ballistic missile that could reach Okinawa and Guam (site of major U.S. military bases) and that there was evidence that North Korea had produced the Taepodong II, which could reach Alaska, Hawaii, and the U.S. west coast. Then, on May 1, 2005 North Korea fires a short range missile into the Sea of Japan, on the eve of a meeting of members of the International Non-Proliferation Treaty.¹⁰

North Korea launched a missile in July, 2006, and on July 4 North Korea test fires at least six missiles, including a long range Taepodong 2, despite repeated warn-

⁸ Nicksch, Larry A, *North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program*, (retrieved on 29 January 2010) from CRS Report for Congress updated on 5 October 2006, page 15

⁹Timeline of North Korea nuclear program, (retrieved on 1 July 2010) from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_North_Korea_nuclear_program

¹⁰ *Ibid*

ings from the International community.¹¹ July 5 North Korea launched a seventh missile, despite International condemnation of its earlier launches.¹² Re-focused U.S. attention on North Korea's missile program and Pyongyang's apparent attempts to develop long range missiles that could reach U.S. territories. However, the apparent failure of the Taepodong missile launched July 4, 2006, indicated that North Korea had not succeeded in developing such a long-range missile. However, evaluations of all seven of the missiles launched on July 4, 2006, by intelligence agencies of the US and other governments reportedly has concluded that North Korea already increased the accuracy of its Scud and Nodong missiles and that the launches displayed the ability of North Korea's command and control apparatus to coordinate multiple launchings of missiles at diverse targets.¹³

On May 25, 2009 North Korea tested its second nuclear test. The Test was once again conducted underground and exploded with a yield comparable to the Little Boy and Fat Man bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The US was also pleased with China and Soviet Union's move, which condemned North Korea's actions even though they are both strong allies of North Korea.¹⁴

Most of North Korea's plutonium based nuclear installations are located at Yongbyon, 60 miles from the North Korean capital of Pyongyang. They are the facili-

¹¹ *Ibid*⁹

¹² N Korea launches 7th missile: Japan. 05/07/2006. ABC News Online (retrieved on 30 July 2006) from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200607/s1680604.htm>

¹³ *Ibid*⁸

¹⁴ North Korea – United States relations, (retrieved on 1 July 2010) from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Korea_United_States_relations

ties covered by the 1994 U.S.-North Korean Agreed Framework. The key installations are:¹⁵

- An atomic reactor, with a capacity of about 5 electrical megawatts that began operating by 1987. It is capable of expending enough reactor fuel to produce about 6 kilograms of plutonium annually enough for the manufacture of a single atomic bomb annually.
- Two larger (estimated 50 megawatts and 200 electrical megawatts) reactors under construction at Yongbyon and Taechon since 1984. According to U.S. Ambassador Robert Gallucci, these plants, if completed, would be capable of producing enough spent fuel annually for 200 kilograms of plutonium, sufficient to manufacture nearly 30 atomic bombs per year.
- A plutonium reprocessing plant about 600 feet long and several stories high. The plant would separate weapons grade Plutonium-239 from spent nuclear fuel rods for insertion into the structure of atomic bombs or warheads.¹⁶

China, South Korea, and Japan also made some actions and warnings to North Korean government as a respond toward the test was considered dangerous and threatened their national security.

¹⁵ Albright, David and O'Neill, Kevin. *Solving the North Korean Nuclear Puzzle*. Washington, D.C., Institute for Science and International Security Press, 2000. pp. 57-82.

¹⁶ Niksch, Larry A, *North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Program*, (retrieved on 29 January 2010) from CRS Report for Congress updated on October 5 2006, page 13

Because of this issue, the US concern and responsive toward the North Korean Nuclear test.

B. Research Question

Concerned with the explanation above, a research question can be put forward, “How did US react to the development of North Korea nuclear program of 2006-2009?”

C. Theoretical Framework

To answer the research question above, the writer will use Diplomacy Concept. This concept is conducted by describing this case and in the end will answer the question above.

a. Diplomacy Concept

Conventionally, the definition of diplomacy is as a nation-state effort to fight national interest among the international community. In this case, diplomacy is defined not simply as a negotiation, but all the efforts of foreign relations.¹⁷

The four principal instrument of diplomacy namely, *sama*, *dana*, *danda* and *bheda* means reconciliation or negotiation, giving gift of concession, creating dissension, threat or actual use of force. In order to

¹⁷ K.J.Holsti, *International Politics, A Framework for Analysis*, Third Edition, (New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India, 1984), page 82-83

achieve the diplomatic objectives, a state takes resort to three basic modes of behavior cooperation, accommodation, and opposition. Cooperation and accommodation can be achieved through fruitful negotiation. When negotiation fails to achieve these aims through peaceful means, opposition in various forms including the use of force is adopted. Though *bheda* causing dissension or division has not obtained sufficient recognition as an important instrument of diplomacy, its utility in diplomacy is indisputable. These can be regarded, then as the important means adopted by diplomacy to attain the desired objectives. A function of diplomacy is to reconcile the plurality of these interests or at least to make them compatible.¹⁸

Intervention is an example of diplomacy. Intervention is a political term which is country getting the hand too much in another countries business that is completely not their business. The definition of intervention itself is to much get hand in social, political, economic and cultural sectors. Usually the country that always does an intervention is the antagonize side. The example of interventions are : sending troops to the conflict country and interfering things, that are completely not their business, doing embargo to some country that become enemy of the other organizations or country, doing war by building a blockade to other

¹⁸ Roy, S.L, *Diplomacy, Ibid*, page 13

countries that clearly doesn't have any business. US, UK, France and Dutch are the countries that often do intervention to other countries.

The U.S. government maintains various economic sanctions on trade, aid, arms sales and transfers, and access to assets under U.S. jurisdiction based on these four principles. Sanctions under the first rationale are specific to North Korea while the latter three apply to various country groupings of which North Korea is a part. In some cases categories of sanctions have been imposed under several different laws or regulations. The sanction given by US is one of diplomacy.

Sanction as already explained above is the direct diplomacy through politic as the reaction of the US to North Korea nuclear test. Through sanctions, US do the direct diplomacy to pursue North Korea to stop their nuclear program. After North Korea launch their nuclear test in 2006 and 2009, US give some sanctions to North Korea such as economic and trade sanction. In economic and trade, trading between North Korea and another country especially US ally is forbidden. With Sanctions, US tries to provoke other countries to be at the same side in the intervention in North Korean Nuclear program by using their power toward public opinion and mass media.

Because of US reaction toward North Korea, the diplomatic relations between both of side become worst. According the table bellow, US and North Korea relations are in crisis level. There are some characteristic

when relations between 2 countries include in crisis level. The table below will give further explanation about the reaction or intervention given by US toward North Korea also the level of relations between both.

Table 1.1

Relations between Situation, Form, Purpose and Tool of Cultural Diplomacy¹⁹

SITUATION	FORM	PURPOSE	TOOL
PEACE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Exhibition ✓ Competition ✓ Mission Exchange ✓ Negotiation ✓ Conference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Acknowledgment ✓ Hegemony ✓ Friendship ✓ Adjustment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Tourism ✓ Sports ✓ Education ✓ Trade ✓ Art
CRISIS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Propaganda ✓ Mission Exchange ✓ Negotiation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Persuasion ✓ Adjustment ✓ Acknowledgment ✓ Threat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Politic ✓ Mass Media ✓ Diplomatic ✓ High Level Mission ✓ Public Opinion
CONFLICT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Terror ✓ Penetration ✓ Mission Exchange ✓ Boycott ✓ Negotiation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Threat ✓ Subversion ✓ Persuasion ✓ Acknowledgment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Public Opinion ✓ Trade ✓ Para-Military ✓ Official Forum ✓ Third Party
WAR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Competition ✓ Terror ✓ Penetration ✓ Propaganda ✓ Embargo ✓ Boycott ✓ Blockade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Domination ✓ Hegemony ✓ Threat ✓ Subversion ✓ Acknowledgement ✓ Subjugation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Military ✓ Para-Military ✓ Smuggling ✓ Public Opinion ✓ Trade ✓ Consumptive Good Supply (including weapon)

Information:

- ✓ More negative relations between 2 or more countries, so more and more intensive cultural diplomacy is used.

¹⁹ Warsito, Tulus & Wahyuni Kartikasari, *Diplomasi Kebudayaan*, (Yogyakarta, Publisher Ombak, 2007), page 31

- ✓ In general understanding or conventional, cultural diplomacy known just in peace situation.

Table above already explains about the relations between Situation, Form, Purpose and Tool of Cultural Diplomacy that are actually almost same as the diplomacy itself. We can see the purposes are: Persuasion, Adjustment, Acknowledgment, and Threat. The tools are Politics, Mass Media, Diplomacy, High Level Mission, and Public Opinion. And form of the interventions done by the US to North Korea are Propaganda, Mission Exchange, and Negotiation.

D. Hypothesis

From the concept above the writer argues that there is intervention done by the US to North Korea nuclear program 2006-2009. That is : Intervention by giving Sanctions for North Korea.

From the information above, the writer wants to explain and elaborate the information that US has made to intervene North Korea nuclear program.

E. Scope of Research

The scope of research for this undergraduate thesis starts since North Korea tested their nuclear program in 2006 until 2009 and also recent information about the intervention.

F. Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is:

- a. To describe the intervention and how the US reacts toward the development of North Korean nuclear program and tests from 2006 until 2009.

G. Method of Research and Data Analysis

In order to conduct the research and discuss the material mentioned in the system of writing, the writer utilizes several methods below:

- a. Study of literature. This method is used to examine the relevant data related to the case in order to discuss the main problem as the starting point of the research. The data might be obtained through library (books), magazine, internet based sources as well as the scripts and journal (secondary data)
- b. Data analysis. The relevant data obtained through study of literature will be analyzed and examined in order to gain the validity and relevance to use as the source in the research.
- c. The verification of hypothesis derived from discussion of the problem and data analysis.
- d. Time limitation, the writer put time limitation for the research from 2006 until 2009. It was necessary to have time limitation to scope the data used within this research related to US intervention toward North

Korean nuclear program case.

H. System of Writing

In the system of writing of this undergraduate thesis contains chapters and sub-chapters, such as:

Chapter 1 consists of background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purpose of research, scope of research, method of research and data analysis, and system of writing. This chapter was started by background of the problem and followed by research question. To answer the research question, theoretical framework was explained afterward and it can be derived from a hypothesis. After that it was followed by purpose of the research, method of research, data analysis and the system of writing.

Chapter II will consist of the The Dynamic of North Korea Nuclear Program and some information about North Korean nuclear development. Also some recent information that support the data.

Chapters III consist of North Korea nuclear test on 2006 and 2009. This includes other countries reaction toward this nuclear test such as: Japan, China, South Korea and Soviet Union. Also some recent information that support the data.

Chapter IV also will consist of US reaction to the development of North Korea nuclear program and their intervention on North Korea nuclear program since 2006 until 2009.

Chapter V will consist of conclusion of the writer descriptions.