

# CHAPTER I

## Introduction

### 1.1 Research Background

North Korea is one of the countries that has developed a nuclear program since 1956 when it established cooperation in the use of nuclear energy with the Soviet Union. In addition, efforts in developing the nuclear program are also considered as a form of modernization of its military power (Perry, 2006). The development of North Korea's nuclear program has caused anxiety from various levels of the international community because it is suspected that it has the potential to become an actor that will cause instability in the East Asia Region. North Korea is a country with an image as one of the countries that has the potential to cause crises in various aspects such as security and economy and hunger as well as the anxiety of the international community in triggering the emergence of an arms race (Purwono & Zuhri, 2010).

Historically, North Korea began researching nuclear development since 1956 but was still under the auspices of the Soviet Union. Research carried out by North Korea at that time was still limited to research, not aimed at strengthening the country's military defence (Jr, 2010). In order to prove North Korea's sincerity that nuclear development was carried out only as research, the communist state was incorporated in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1985 (Sanders & Zakre, 2018).

The split of the Soviet Union at the end of the Cold War in 1991 forced North Korea to stand alone without the auspices of the Soviet Union and must be able to protect its country which made North Korea also increase the intensity of its nuclear development for military purposes (Jr, 2010). Meanwhile in 1992, The Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, signed on January 20, was an agreed-upon action item between South and North Korea that signed by Chung Won-shik, Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea, and Yon Hyong-muk, Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's Administration Council (MOFA, Joint Declaration on The Denuclearization of The Korean Peninsula, 2008). The Democratic People's Republic of Korea would remain a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Parts of the declaration were as follows:

Desiring to eliminate the danger of nuclear war through denuclearization of the Korean peninsula,

1. The South and the North Korea shall not test, manufacture, produce, receive, possess, store, deploy or use nuclear weapons.

2. The South and the North Korea shall use nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes.
3. The South and the North Korea shall not possess nuclear reprocessing and uranium enrichment facilities (MOFA, Joint Declaration on The Denuclearization of The Korean Peninsula, 2008).

Then, since the issuance of the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula agreement in 1992, several phenomena emerged that made the relations between North and South Korea worse because the agreement was not implemented properly. Like in 2009, North Korea openly conducted a ballistic missile test in the vicinity of the Sea of Japan. This made the relations between North and South Korea which had previously improved turned into a bad one. The role of the United States at this stage is to encourage the formation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) in 2009 related to East Asian security, namely Resolution 1887 and Resolution 1874.

During the Kim Jong Il era, North Korea only conducted tests nuclear tests twice in October 2006 and May 2009. However, when there was a regime change in the North Korean government, namely the Kim Jong Un regime, the intensity of North Korea's nuclear test launches was increased, starting in 2013. North Korea also decided to withdraw from membership of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in the same year (Sanders & Zakre, 2018).

The existence of a test launch of a nuclear weapon by North Korea has drawn criticism from the international community including the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) (Louis, 2013). Many resolutions and sanctions have been given to North Korea since the first nuclear weapons test was launched, namely during the reign of Kim Il Sung. One of the resolutions imposed by the UN Security Council as a sanction against North Korea is UN Security Council Resolution 1718. This resolution contains a prohibition on continuing the nuclear development program and prohibiting the sale and purchase of weapons (Charbonneau, 2013). Several countries have also criticized the activities carried out by North Korea, such as The United States, China, Japan, Russia, and South Korea, these six countries are the Six Party Talks group.

Six Party Talks (SPT) was formed in 2003 with one goal, namely, to try to anticipate the development of North Korea's nuclear weapons by making the SPT a means of multilateral diplomacy in overcoming the issue of developing nuclear weapons. The first Six Party Talks negotiations, which began on August 27, 2003, in Beijing, discussed the normalization of relations between North Korea and the United States and the normalization of relations between

North Korea and South Korea (Association, The Six-Party Talks at a Glance Facts Sheets and Brief, 2022). However, these negotiations did not have a good impact. On the other hand, the United States has imposed economic sanctions on North Korea. Since 2003, the SPT has held six meetings but in 2008 this group failed. This is due to the United States' accusations against North Korea that it has launched a uranium enrichment program and restarted development of its nuclear weapons tests. Disappointed with North Korea's non-commitment to the dialogues that had been held previously at the Six Party Talks meeting, the agreement between the United States and North Korea failed because it did not reach the verification stage (Moore, 2008).

The United States under the George Bush administration, which failed to reach an agreement in the SPT, continues to try to get North Korea to stop its nuclear development program. This was shown by the United States under the new government, namely Barack Obama, who implemented the Strategic Patience policy to deal with and anticipate the development of North Korea's nuclear power. One of the actions taken in the Strategic Patience policy is to provide economic sanctions against North Korea. Economic sanctions are considered the most powerful way to enable North Korea to denuclearize (UN, Security Council Imposes Fresh Sanctions on Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2270, 2016).

The United States during the Barack Obama administration experienced a significant shift in foreign policy, which initially focused on the Middle East in countering terrorists, shifted to Asia. This policy is called Pivot to Asia. The addition of military strength in the Asian region is one of the main programs of this policy. Therefore, this policy also includes a military alliance with South Korea and Japan as an Asian defence base, especially to overcome the threat of North Korea (Lieberthal, 2011). The Strategic Patience Policy is a policy in which the United States will wait for North Korea to make a denuclearization decision, it is related to the sinking of a North Korean ship and the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island in South Korea in March and November 2010. The policy was formulated in the Obama administration in March 2010. December 2009 and was publicly announced by Hillary Clinton (Kim D. , 2015). However, after serving for two terms, Barack Obama's Strategic Patience policy did not produce results (VOA, Korea Utara: Kebijakan Presiden Obama Tidak Efektif, 2016).

In 2017 the United States experienced a change of government. Republican President Donald Trump was elected and will serve for the next four years. The North Korean nuclear issue certainly does not escape the focus of the Donald Trump administration. At the start of

the Donald Trump administration in 2017, North Korea had conducted two nuclear missiles launch tests as of May 2017 (Asmardika, 2017).

Denuclearization of North Korea is arguably very difficult, because of the difficult government. The reason for the failure of the negotiations was the differences between the two parties that could not be bridged. Troubles do not stop in their administration, in several attempts at dialogue between the United States and North Korea, North Korea did not reply to American dialogue efforts directly. They even responded through statements in the media. The North Korean government has also threatened to end inter-Korean relations with South Korea because the United States has always urged them to stop their nuclear activities. If not terminated, they said they would complicate the relationship by increasing military activity at the border and disbanding inter-Korean organizations. Various efforts have been made by the United States, but so far have not produced the desired results.

## **1.2 Research Question**

Based on the problems above, the problems that will be discussed in this research are: What are the United States' strategies, especially during the Donald Trump administration in handling the denuclearization of North Korea?

## **1.3 Theoretical Framework**

Power is the keyword most often found in the study of international relations. Power is used as a concept known as political power (power politics). Power has shared a role with the concept of 'state' since the birth of the discipline of international relations and is considered a basic concept of international relations (Burchil & Linklater, 1996). The goals of a state and power cannot be separated. In other words, the goal of each actor (state) is power. Arnold Schwarzenberger saw that power is one of the main factors in international relations. According to him, countries in an international system will do what they want to master physically rather than what they should do morally (Perwita & Yani, 2005). This is as stated by Thucydides in his work entitled "The Peloponnesian War" which states that in international relations, "might makes right." (Baylis, Wirtz, Gray, & Cohen, 2002).

Joshua S. Goldstein in his book entitled "International Relations" defines power as, "the ability to influence the behavior of others. Military force and economic sanctions are among the various states use to try to influence each other." (Goldstein, 2004). Joshua S. Goldstein

defines power as the ability to influence the behavior of other (actors). Military force and economic sanctions are options used by states to try to influence other actors.

Daniel S. Papp in his book entitled "Contemporary International Relations: Framework for Understanding" defines power as, "the ability of any actor to persuade, influence, force, or otherwise induce another actor to undertake action or change an objective that the latter otherwise would prefer not to do." (Papp, 1984). Daniel S. Papp defines power as the ability of an actor to persuade, influence, coerce, or encourage other actors to take an action or change a goal that should not be done (by the actor).

From these definitions it can be concluded that power is the ability of a country to influence or control other countries to obtain or maintain state objectives (national interest), namely prestige, territory, and security; using influence, persuasion, providing rewards, threats, and use of force through military force and economic sanctions so as to make other countries act what they don't want.

Based on the problem statement that has been described previously, in this study the researcher will use the framework of the smart power concept introduced by Joseph Nye. By using this concept, it is hoped that it can become a tool in analyzing and answering research questions comprehensively.

In his writing entitled *Soft Power*, Nye said that power is the ability of a person to do something and control others to achieve their goals. Power is also divided into two, namely soft power and hard power. Nye explained that soft power is the ability to control or influence others through persuasive communication, culture, and values (Nye, 2004). While hard power is the ability to control or influence others through pressure or coercion. In carrying out their actions, actors who use hard power will try to achieve their goals by hard means such as military intervention, military threats, coercive diplomacy, and economic sanctions (Campbell, 2006).

In his book, *Hard, Soft and Smart Power*, Joseph Nye says that the facts that are happening in international relations today show that it is necessary to combine the two approaches simultaneously. According to him, if the two approaches are combined in a foreign policy, the two will strengthen each other. If the application of the two concepts is not done simultaneously, then it is not enough to solve the problem and successfully achieve the goal. The combination of two approaches to soft power and hard power by Nye is referred to as the smart power concept. Nye further explained that smart power is the capacity of an actor to combine the elements of hard power and soft power. The combination of the two can give

maximum results if an actor exerts "pressure" through hard power, but on the other hand "pulls" the target back through soft power (Raimzhanova, 2015).

Based on the meaning of smart power, a country can directly use both hard power and soft power approaches to achieve maximum desired results. Both approaches are very relevant to analyze how the United States' efforts towards the denuclearization of North Korea under Donald Trump's administration. In dealing with North Korea, the United States, which is the nuclear umbrella for South Korea and Japan, often poses a military threat to North Korea. In addition, the United States through the UN Security Council has imposed maximum resolution sanctions on North Korea so that it is difficult for the country's economy to develop and in the end, it is difficult to continue the development of their nuclear project.

In addition to the hard power approach, the United States under the Donald Trump administration also uses a soft power approach. The United States asked South Korea to be a bridge between the United States and North Korea to hold a nuclear dialogue. The United States also asked countries concerned about the North Korean nuclear issue to engage in dialogue efforts with North Korea. Through these two approaches, it is clear that the United States is using the concept of smart power as a way to achieve its goal of total denuclearization in North Korea.

#### **1.4 Hypothesis**

From the data that has been collected, the researcher can draw a tentative conclusion that the United States overcome the problem of North Korea's nuclear development and testing that is increasingly threatening and worrying, the United States uses a smart power strategy.

- Smart Power Strategy is a combination of hard power and soft power strategies that will be given to North Korea.
- In 2017 the United States implemented a hard power strategy against North Korea by applying Maximum Pressure Strategy through UN resolution sanctions.
- In 2018, the United States also implemented a soft power strategy through engagement. The purpose of the engagement is that the United States asks countries that support the achievement of verified and total denuclearization to engage in dialogue efforts with North Korea.

#### **1.5 Research Purposes**

1. Explain and analyse the process of the United States' strategies to achieve the denuclearization of North Korea during the Donald Trump era
2. Explain the dynamics of the foreign relations of North Korea and the United States

### **1.6 Research Methods**

Qualitative research is a research method that relies on data from the collection, analysis, and interpretation of non-statistical data. According to Sugiyono, qualitative research is a method used to investigate, find, describe, and explain the qualities and features of social influences that cannot be explained, measured, or described through a quantitative approach (Sugiyono, 2010). This research is descriptive in nature, namely a form of research aimed at describing the phenomena of existing phenomena, both natural phenomena and phenomena resulting from human engineering (Dinata, 2006).

According to Creswell, qualitative research methods are one of the observational methods that generate knowledge primarily from a constructivist perspective (such as multiple understandings of individual experiences influenced by social and historical factors and intended for the development of theories and patterns) or an advocacy perspective (such as politically, issue-oriented, collaborative as well as change-oriented) or even both (JW, 1994).

In answering the research questions, the data or information that will be used by the researcher comes from theses, books related to the researcher's research, scientific journals, online newspapers, and various articles or electronic media from the internet. After collecting data, the next step to be taken by the researcher is to validate or adjust the literature with existing facts from secondary data sources to be tested for relevance and then reduced. These steps are taken so that the researcher can produce a broad, in-depth, and complex analysis based on valid and accurate data.

### **1.7 Research Range**

To limit the focus of the discussion in this study to stay in line with the title that has been presented, the researcher analyses the United States' strategies during the Donald Trump Administration in 2017-2021 in overcoming the denuclearization of North Korea.

### **1.8 Systematic Research**

*Chapter I (Introduction)*

This chapter describes the statement of the problem that the researcher discusses in this thesis, as well as the research questions that are the focus of the discussion. Furthermore, the objectives and benefits of this research are also explained. Furthermore, the researcher explains about Research Range. Finally, it also describes the framework of thought and research methods used by the researchers in this thesis.

### *Chapter II (Dynamics of North Korea's Denuclearization)*

In this chapter the researcher will discuss the Dynamics of North Korea's Denuclearization. The first step, researchers will discuss the history of North Korea's nuclear development. Then, in this thesis, the researcher will discuss the negotiations that have taken place between North Korea and the United States regarding the denuclearization of North Korea. Researchers will also examine further about some of the United States' strategies towards North Korea to achieve complete denuclearization during the administrations of Bill Clinton, George Walker Bush, and Barack Obama.

### *Chapter III (The United States Government's Strategy in Dealing with the Denuclearization of North Korea during the Donald Trump Administration)*

This chapter answers research questions about what are the Donald Trump's strategies to achieve the denuclearization of North Korea

### *Chapter IV*

Conclusion