

CHAPTER 1

This thesis analyzes the United States' foreign policy under the Joe Biden administration to achieve denuclearization in the face of threats from the development of nuclear weapons carried out by North Korea. This study also analyzes the national interest of the United States in the denuclearization process of North Korea.

A. BACKGROUND

North Korea has developed a nuclear program since 1956 when it established a cooperation in the use of nuclear energy with the Soviet Union. In addition, efforts in developing the nuclear program are also considered a form of modernization of the state's military power. 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 with the potential to cause crises in various aspects such as security and economy as well as hunger and the anxiety of the international community in triggering the emergence of an arms race (Cookson & Stirk, 2019).

Initially, North Korea-US relations remained tense. In Trump's first year in the White House, he exchanged harsh insults with Kim. At the same time, North Korea has also conducted a nuclear test for the sixth time, and the first time it has tested an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) that has the potential to reach Washington. So, sanctions were again imposed by the Trump administration and the United Nations. Among the sanctions from the United Nations are restrictions on oil imports, textile exports, and the number of workers from North Korea abroad. Nevertheless, North Korea-US relations then warmed up, even recording a historical moment when Kim invited Trump to negotiate directly for the first time the North Korean ruler had met the US President face to face. This occurred three times, in Singapore in 2018, and in Hanoi, Vietnam and the Korean Demilitarized Zone in 2019 (Kinasih, 2022).

However, these efforts still failed to push for denuclearization. Despite being promised the elimination of economic sanctions, North Korea remains reluctant to abandon its entire nuclear weapons mission. On the other hand, The United States

authorities are still wary of the possibility of similar projects in different locations. In addition, they also object to North Korea's request to lift economic sanctions first before the Yongbyon nuclear facility is decommissioned. At the beginning of Joe Biden's administration, North Korea was reportedly still willing to negotiate with the US. The condition is that sanctions on mineral exports and oil imports are lifted first. They also asked for imports of luxury products such as alcoholic beverages to be opened again, for Kim Jong-un and Pyongyang's elite consumption. whatever response the United States and South Korea give to North Korea's missile tests, the Kim regime will continue to test weapons and remain silent when invited to negotiate. Therefore, it is seen that the Biden administration needs to work harder in expressing its seriousness in inviting North Korea to dialogue, as well as considering a gradual denuclearization process (Kinasih, 2022).

North Korea's development of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles throughout 2020 has prompted the United States to push for Trilateral Diplomatic Cooperation with its two East Asian allies, namely Japan and South Korea. Relations between the United States and Japan and South Korea are intertwined because the three countries have interrelated historical backgrounds. Japan is a country that lost in World War II against the United States and its allies, and the United States is a very influential country against the division of the Korean peninsula into two countries and influenced the formation of the South Korean state. The act of self-defense claimed by North Korea has re-inflated tensions in the East Asia Region and threatened the United States as a hegemonic state. Therefore, the United States is Pushing for Trilateral Cooperation with Japan, and South Korea for Violating North Korea's International Sanctions (2021 Development of nuclear weapons and Ballistic Missiles) (Pertiwi, 2019).

Although various denuclearization efforts through diplomacy pathways to the application of sanctions from the United Nation Security Council have been carried out, North Korea continues its nuclear program to ensure regime security and increase its influence in the dynamics of international relations. This is a challenge for the United States foreign policy during Joe Biden. Since the election of the 64th President of the United States, Joe Biden's government had to inherit various impacts of Trump's foreign policy in the Korean denuclearization effort which tends to apply an inappropriate diplomacy approach by making incorrect concessions for

North Korea and only succeeded in achieving some of the achievements in denuclearization problems. In addition, Joe Biden's government also tried to restore the United States who withdrew from several alliances during the reign of Donald Trump (Salma, 2022).

Donald Trump's foreign policy on the alliance has repeatedly affected South Korea. During his tenure, Trump questioned the value of the alliance and suggested that allies like South Korea and Japan protect themselves by developing their own nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the Trump government also implemented its transactional approach to the alliance by demanding an increase of 150 percent or the equivalent of \$1.2 billion per year against South Korea to maintain the presence of the United States military on the Korean Peninsula. Over the past four years, the humiliation of United States President Donald Trump against the United States-South Korea Alliance has damaged the partnership and caused a wide gap between the two parties (Salma, 2022).

On the other hand, North Korea's denuclearization efforts during Joe Biden adopted a practical and calibrated approach that was open to diplomatically with North Korea. In his speech in the joint session of the Congress which marked his first hundred days last month, United States President Joe Biden described the Korean policy as a combination of diplomacy and harsh precautions. The strategy is a combination of the strategies implemented by President Barak Obama and that President Donald Trump. In terms of rebuilding the United States relations with his alliance, President Joe Biden issued a joint agreement with South Korean President Yoon Suk Yeol on his first visit to Asia since becoming president in January 2021. The two presidents argued that the action of the North Korean missile test in recent times cause concern. Considering the potential for the emergence of North Korea's nuclear threats, the two parties also discussed expanding the scope of defense cooperation and holding a joint military exercise around the Korean Peninsula.

The United States also reiterated its commitment to continue to mobilize the United States strategic military assets on the Korean Peninsula. Although the agreement tends to be oriented to increase the deterrence of the United States and South Korea against North Korea, the United States-South Korea Alliance remains committed to opening the door to dialogue with North Korea President Yoon

outlines its vision to normalize inter-Korean relations through a brave plan aimed at the Korean Peninsula that is denuclearized and prosperous, and President Biden expressed their support for inter-Korean cooperation. The two leaders underline the importance of South Korean-United States of Trilateral Cooperation to answer North Korea's nuclear challenges, protect joint security and prosperity, uphold shared values, and strengthen the international order based on rules (Salma, 2022).

Then United States Relations with Japan and South Korea are intertwined because the three countries have related historical backgrounds. Japan is a country that lost World War II against the United States and its allies, and The United States of America is a country that has a great influence on the division of the Korean peninsula into two countries and its influence in the formation of the state of South Korea. The claimed self-defense actions of North Korea re-escalate tensions in East Asia and threaten the United States as a hegemonic state (Damayanti et al., 2022).

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

How is the United States' policy to achieve the denuclearization of North Korea during the Joe Biden administration?

C. PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The goal to be achieved by the author of this research are:

- a. To analyze the national interest of the United States to achieve the denuclearization of North Korea.
- b. To analyze the United States Policy towards North Korea's denuclearization efforts under the Joe Biden administrations.

D. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The national interest of a country is an agenda must be achieved by the country. National interests of the state can be achieved in the territory of the country and also the outside the territory of the country. In achieving national interests, which can only be achieved outside of the country, must use a special instrument, referred to as foreign policy (Afandi, 2010).

Foreign policy is basically "action theory", or the policy of a country aimed at other countries to achieve a particular interest. The general understanding, foreign

policy is a formula for values, attitudes, directions, and targets for maintain, secure, and advance national interests in the international world. Foreign politics is a commitment which is basically a basic strategy to achieve a goal both in the domestic and foreign context and at the same time determine the involvement of a country in international issues or the surrounding environment (Lararenjana, 2021).

A country's foreign policy reflects domestic conditions and at the same time is influenced by the dynamic changes of the regional and international environment. This is also clearly seen in the application of the United States foreign politics.

In facing the international world to meet the national interests of the United States, the US foreign policy aims to carry out the national interest of the United States, namely, to protect the territory, citizens, income, and allies of the United States. United States' foreign policy is always dynamic depending on policy making that is adapted to its national interests. The United States foreign policy makers, among others, are congress and presidential congresses, and there are also supporting bodies that can influence the decisions of foreign decisions such as the CIA, Department of Foreign Affairs, Department of Defense and Military Power. A country's foreign policy is a serious problem so it cannot be decided by one party. So that each of these actor has a role and influence each in the decision making process US foreign policy (Lararenjana, 2021).

The US foreign policy is inseparable from its national interests, namely, to protect citizens, territories, livelihoods, and protect the Allied State. The United States' foreign policy is always in line with the national interests that they want to achieve. American foreign policy experienced the dynamics of change that was influenced by the development of domestic and international situations. Dynamic US foreign policy adjusts the national interests and international contexts being faced. Each leadership period establishes certain priorities related to the United States foreign policy which shows an interesting change (Suparyanto dan Rosad, 2020).

To analyze the United States' policy in response to North Korea's nuclear program, the researcher builds this research on Rational Choice. According to Graham T. Allison, "National Security and National Interest are the principal categories in which strategic goals are convenience. National Sex Security and

Range of Other Objectives." So, every process of foreign policy making can indeed be influenced by many factors. This is called the decision-making process, and it involves many domestic actors from various institutions. However, from the resulting foreign policy, it can help the US meet its national interests with a note that considers the existing contest (Suparyanto dan Rosad, 2020).

In general, rational choice or rational theory is a general term for various models in explaining a social phenomenon because of individual actions that can be interpreted in several ways as rational. Rational behavior itself is a suitable behavior for specific realization purposes. This theory can also be based on the assumptions of values and conduct assessments based on cost and benefits (good and bad and profit and loss) on a policy including in International Relations. Rational Choice is an instrument guided by the results of actions that is an action that is valued and chosen not for themselves, but as a means that is considered efficient for a further goal. As well as in a decision making, there will be several factors both external and internal that also influence the course of decisions that have been taken or made, both from the individual level or from the group level. All of the actions of a country have been allied with the assumption that a country considers all choices and acts rationally to maximize it a profit that will be obtained. According to James S. Coleman, this rational choice theory is an action can be considered if and only that action is carried out as a rational action, so rational actions have their own advantages as a basis for social theory (Arjlia, 2019).

According to Coleman, individual actions must lead to a goal, and the goal is determined by the value or choice. Coleman stated that he intended that a person or actor had a purpose to contain values and choices; this would maximize and satisfy the actions of their own activities and needs. Rational Choice theory focuses attention on the actor. The actor itself is seen as a human who has a goal or the intention for their actions. This means that this actor has a goal and action aimed at an effort to achieve that goal. Then, the actor itself is seen as having a choice or value, needs, and stating that the actions taken to achieve it to a goal in accordance with the level of choice (Arjlia, 2019).

In Rational Choice theory. there are several focuses; this study focuses on the theory of the Rational Actor Model. The rational actor model is the first theory put

forward by Graham T. Allison which was built from the structure of thinking of the paradigm of rationalization of the dominant actors and has a connection with certain concepts, such as the most rational choice and the game strategy used in rationality. Graham T. Allison explained in detail basing on academic literature and other books that discussed foreign policy, which both gave a big conclusion, namely an analogy about the relationship between the nation and individual. In his explanation of this theory, Allison gives a view of the state as an entity that has the authority to make decisions that contain certain goals and objectives that have been arranged in such a way. Alison's explanation is considered quite simple remembering that the state is an abstract and complicated institution to explain. Then, regarding foreign policies and international relations built by the state, there are similarities found between the two, namely the realization of the initial objectives or background of the state to take a policy for the continuity of its existence in the international region. The researchers found that the main actor who carried out this basis was the national or state centric government. The government must take this policy because it returns to the national interests brought by each country. In the theory of this rational actor model emphasizes the standard framework that lies in differences in views between national interests, diplomatic abilities of a country, international relations that have been built, as well as theories and strategies used in their implementation (Arjlia, 2019).

The theory of the rational actor model is considered as the best model to explain and predict the behavior of individuals and the process of generalization of goals possessed by the state. Moreover, this theory can be used in limited circumstances or when there is a lack of information possessed about enemies. Interactions that occur between actors can also cause pros and cons. The theory of this rational actor model is highly recommended to be used as an analysis step. However, the use of this theory is always trying to eliminate the behavior of large countries and complex bureaucrat authority so that there is no misunderstanding in determining the political and ideological perspectives used. The actors in this theory themselves must know what is expected and they can also make the ranking sequence of the results they receive after the implications of the policy they have agreed on (Arjlia, 2019).

The researcher uses the Rational Choice theory framework based on the model described by Graham T. Allison, that state behavior in an international issue will be accompanied by its goals or interests, by using available alternative policies so that it can produce the best decisions to achieve its goals by conducting an assessment based on Cost and Benefits. In the Rational Choice model, there are four assumptions, namely Goals and Objectives, Alternatives, Consequences, and Choice (Damayanti et al., 2022).

1. Goals and Objectives

The indicators in this point are used to explain whether there is value from various policies decided by a country by considering the risks or consequences that will be obtained if the policy has been implemented. In accordance with Graham T. Allison's policy-making model, the goals and objectives of the United States on the issue of North Korea's nuclear program are to stop the development of North Korea's nuclear program.

At the goals and objectives stage, in determining goals, policy makers have several aspects that need to be considered, which can be seen from the factors of profit, usability, or preference. Aspects that became a factor for the United States to choose goals and objectives to stop the development of North Korea's nuclear program, one of which can be seen from the profit factor. The advantage for the United States if North Korea gives up on its nuclear program is the stability and security of the region which will lead to the fulfillment of the economic needs of the United States from the region.

The United States' goal to stop North Korea's nuclear program is also driven by the usability factor from a security point of view. The United States' goals and objectives will also be useful for the security of the United States' allies, namely Japan and South Korea. Another factor that prompted the United States to take the goal of ending North Korea's nuclear program was the United States' preference for preventing nuclear proliferation, in this case in the East Asia region. This is in accordance with one of the foreign policy focuses on Biden's leadership, namely reducing threats posed by countries such as Russia, China, and North Korea.

2. Alternatives

Then at this point, it requires that a country has alternatives in their policy in any situation. Taking alternatives must be carried out with careful planning to minimize the risks that will occur. Regarding the case of North Korea's violation of international sanctions on the development of its nuclear and ballistic missile programs, America has several policy alternatives, namely, economic sanctions and military steps.

3. Consequences

This point determines the risks or consequences a country receives after the policy is made. In this case, if the United States does not aim to stop North Korea's aggressive actions, then the United States will suffer losses. For instance, conditions in the East Asia region will experience instability due to activities in the form of nuclear development and testing carried out by North Korea. This has a side effect that can hinder and threaten other United States interests. So, stopping North Korea's nuclear program is a rational goal for the United States.

4. Choice

This indicator refers to the choices available in the alternatives and shows the risks based on the choices given. Choice means that the country will choose one of the policies that allow the state to achieve its goals in an issue. Trilateral Diplomatic Cooperation of the United States, Japan and South Korea is the most appropriate policy in directly targeting the goals and objectives of the United States, namely stopping North Korea's nuclear development. Japan and South Korea's active involvement in North Korea's nuclear program will give hope for the opening of a joint dialogue with North Korea that ultimately aims at denuclearization.

This theory also studies the other side of individuals who make decisions, namely by learning from past experiences. Experience will influence the formation of individuals character, thus it is necessary to know the experiences that can explain the behavior of these decision makers. Rational theory argues that individuals must anticipate the results of alternative programs and think about what the benefits and losses will be from there which will bring out the best results (costs and benefits). then proceed with the formulation of the relationship between the

macro and the micro so that it can give rise to a social system behavior. The key to the movement itself from micro to macro is through the recognition of individual authority over other individuals. This theory is also said to be a frame of mind that is used to create or design a type of social and economic behavior, where the basic assumption of this theory is that all social behavior is caused by behavior, each of which makes its own decisions. Besides that, there is also an assumption that someone has references among several alternative choices that allow that person to state the choice he wants. The intention here is to make an action for the individual, then do the behavior that allows for an alternative way of taking that behavior by looking at previous circumstances or events which will then be used as a decision view for the future. This also takes place through a set of assumptions which then make predictions about human behavior, where the assumption is that individuals act in accordance with their own interests and do not move in the interests of others.

Decisions are considered rational if the actor calculate the best profit and choose to maximize their own utility. This rational choice model analyzes events that occur in the country and shows the sides of the state and individuals as policy makers that they want to achieve with maximum effort. In the case of this paper, it is the policy-making actors of the United States of America carrying out Joint Cooperation with Japan and South Korea or the Trilateral. Moreover, foreign policy is an effort made by a country through the overall behavior of attitudes and activities to be able to overcome and gain profits. From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the actor in question is someone who has a role in carrying out an action that also has a purpose. Resources are considered important and interesting by other people and those resources can be controlled by other people. In this case, the need is for the interests to be achieved, namely welfare, which is seen from the cost and benefit side of a collaboration in the policies made (Damayanti et al., 2022).

E. HYPOTHESIS

The policy of the Joe Biden government in the framework of denuclearization are carried out by continuing economic sanctions, military pressure (Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense (THAAD)), and building trilateral diplomacy (United States, Japan, and South Korea) to pressure North Korean regime.

F. RESEARCH METHODS

1. Type of Research

This type of research method uses qualitative descriptive research where the method used is by conducting study literature on the object to be studied related to North Korea's policy analysis of the denuclearization deal with the United States. The qualitative research method is research on descriptive research and tends to use analysis. This method can help the writer to understand the problem and focuses on the meaning and process in this research in detail systematically to produce efficient and coherent research. Thus, the author will acquire an understanding to provide explanations and arguments for the problems taken in this thesis.

2. Research Subjects and Objects

The nuclear conflict between the Korean Peninsula and the United States region disrupts the security stability in East Asia and North America and the security of the international community. Knowing how North Korea and the United States seek into denuclearization negotiations, then the subject of this study is the bilateral relationship between North Korea and the United States. Meanwhile, the object of this research is the Government of North Korea.

3. Data Collection Method

In this qualitative research method, the researcher will collect data through secondary data which is obtained by looking for sources of information that support the research, such as books related to the author's research, government reports official journals, internet-based research, website, report, document-based research, and other supporting data that may have relevance to this study.

4. Research Process

The research process that will be carried out by the author is the data analysis method. Researchers will collect data from sources which has been obtained in journals, books, print media, and the internet. The research process will be carried out systematically, starting with managing data, researching, and analyzing the sources that have been collected so that it will produce a conclusion from the formulation of the problem. Given that the method used by

the author is qualitative descriptive, the study obtained is only sourced from literature review to support the research.

G. RESEARCH RANGE

In writing this scientific paper, the author limits the focus of the discussion so that the objectives in writing this scientific paper can be achieved and remain in accordance with the title that has been presented. The scope of the research that the author determines is the diplomacy of the United States to achieve the denuclearization of North Korea under the Joe Biden administration.

H. WRITING SYSTEMATIC

The writing of this thesis is arranged systematically based on the rules that apply in scientific writing and is divided into chapters, with discussions in their own but interconnected areas. The aim is to make it easier to interpret the topic of the problem, so this thesis is divided into four chapters, namely:

CHAPTER 1

In this chapter there is an introduction that will discuss the background of the problems that are formulated into research questions and submission of hypotheses that are proven to be accompanied by a framework, analytical models, and operational concepts.

CHAPTER 2

This chapter will describe about the national interest of the United States in the process of north Korea's denuclearization. This regards to the United States' national interest to maximize security and maintain its position.

CHAPTER 3

This chapter will describe how the United States' foreign policy changed to north Korea's denuclearization under the Joe Biden administration, namely through policies of economic sanctions, military pressure, and trilateral diplomacy.

CHAPTER 4

This chapter provides a conclusion that concludes the discussion from the previous chapters.