
NORTH KOREA'S DENUCLEARIZATION TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN 2018

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Abstract: This research discusses the denuclearization agreement between The United States and the Republic of Korea, known as the “123 Agreement,” in 2018. This study explains the process of the denuclearization agreement between the two countries and the reasons behind the denuclearization agreement using the de securitization concept, interdependency theory, denuclearization concept, and principal negotiation theory. This research method is qualitative research using library research and official document. The results of this study indicate that peace efforts through denuclearization negotiations experienced ups and downs in the process, and the achievement of the denuclearization negotiation process was based on the respective interests of the United States and North Korea. North Korea has an interests economic sector. North Korea is being hit by poverty and it can be said that the country will go bankrupt. With this agenda, North Korea denuclearizes to secure the economic sector. This research concludes that the denuclearization agreement failed at the second meeting in Hanoi, Vietnam. This failure is because the United States does not want to lift the sanctions imposed in full even though North Korea has stopped testing and closed its nuclear development site.

Keywords: Denuclearization, Peace, Treaty

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INTRODUCTION

Weapons of mass destruction are weapons specifically designed to kill, exterminate and destroy on a large scale. A country will deploy various kinds of efforts to fight the enemy on a large scale as its defense system (Goniewicz et al., 2019; Khan et al., 2021). Nuclear, Biological, Chemical, Radiological and Bomb Weapons are various types of weapons of mass destruction (Weapon of Mass Destruction, 2021). The use of weapons of mass destruction is still often found even though it has been banned in various international regulatory instruments, such as treaties, conventions, etc. In practice, it turns out that the use of weapons of mass destruction can not only be reviewed when a country launches its military action, but can also be found when applying these weapons tests.

The first weapons of mass destruction used during the war were nuclear weapons in World War 2, when the United States bombed the Japanese in the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Nuclear is one of the most dangerous types of weapons of mass destruction.

This weapon is very powerful, one nuclear fruit is able to destroy a city, country and even a continent in just an instant because of the very wide scale of its explosive power. In addition to having a very powerful explosive power, nuclear also has another impact, namely nuclear radiation. The impact of nuclear radiation and inhibiting human DNA, can also cause cancer. The impact of nuclear radiation can disrupt cells in the body and interfere with the DNA of living things.

However, apart from being a lethal weapon, nuclear has a positive side, such as a nuclear energy power plant (PLTN). Various conflicts that are often discussed related to nuclear weapons include developing and owning these weapons. Countries on this earth that have nuclear weapons are the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, India, North Korea, Pakistan, and Israel. Still, it is known that Iran is also suspected of developing nuclear weapons. The international community always pays attention to nuclear development by Non-Nuclear Weapon State (NWS) countries. Along with using the modernization of defense systems and senses, now nuclear weapons can be launched in various ways, including bombers, guided missiles, ballistic missiles, and intercontinental missiles (Neufeld, 1990).

At this time the country that has the most nuclear weapons globally is dominated by Russia and the United States, Russia has 6,375 nuclear weapons with 2,060 weapons retired, 4,351 in stock, and 1,326 in strategic development. While the United States has 5,800 nuclear weapons using 2,000 retired weapons, 3,800 in stock, and 1,373 in strategic development (Washburn, 2023). To prevent unwanted things, the world's countries have agreed to control nuclear weapons, which is claimed by the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT).

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is an agreement that limits the possession of nuclear weapons signed on July 1, 1968. The purpose of this agreement is to limit the possession of nuclear weapons where there are three primary pillars related to the commitment to nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation, and the use of nuclear materials for peaceful purposes (Disarms and Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, 2019). Although several sovereign states follow this treaty, two of the seven countries that possess nuclear weapons and one that may possess nuclear weapons have not ratified this treaty.

The country that proposed this agreement was Ireland and the country that first signed this agreement was Finland (UMY Digital Repository, 2015). Since 1970, this treaty has become effective and has been ratified by Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, and 40 other countries. In 1995, in New York, United States, more than 170 countries agreed that this treaty would continue indefinitely and indefinitely. 4 countries refuse to sign this agreement, namely India, Israel, Pakistan and North Korea. This agreement has put pressure on global countries to share nuclear weapons (Nailufar and Nada, 2020). Of the 4 countries that refused to sign the NPT agreement, North Korea is considered the most dangerous country because it is closed to the outside world and led by a cruel tyrannical dictator.

The country that is known to possess and develop nuclear weapons is North Korea. North Korea has three reasons to build nuclear weapons: strategy, politics and prestige. The

first is for strategic reasons: filling the void of conventional weapons and preventing aggression from foreign threats. Then the political causes and prestige, namely wanting to increase the bargaining position in international politics and the balance of regional power in East Asia (balance of region), as well as efforts to change the map of existing strengths in the region. North Korea's nuclear and missile programs have developed over the years. The Arms Control Association released data estimating that North Korea has 20 nuclear warheads and has the relative materials to make 30-60 such nuclear weapons (Arms Control and Proliferation Profile: North Korea, 2018). Having nuclear weapons is commonplace for North Korea because these weapons are capable of being a tool in fulfilling its national interests, as follows:

1. The safety of the regime as well as the state.
2. Nuclear is national pride.
3. Legitimacy of domestic government.
4. Prestige in international politics.
5. Dealing with large power differences using conventional military force (Why Does North Korea Want Nukes?, 2018).

North Korea tested long-range nuclear-powered ballistic missiles twice in 2017. The impact of this test was an earthquake with a magnitude of 6.3 (North Korea's Hydrogen Bomb Test Caused a 6.3SR Earthquake, 2021). This test shows that North Korea's ability to create nuclear weapons cannot be underestimated. This makes the United States, which is a superpower, and the world's police worried about world security because North Korea is a closed country and is led by a notorious dictator. In addition, when viewed from a historical perspective, the correlation between the two countries was not good when the United States became an ally of South Korea in the Korean civil war. There are many opinions about the possibility of war between the two countries because the United States is intolerant of North Korea's nuclear activities.

The United States is the most intolerant country towards nuclear development and production outside the NPT treaty, even though the United States was the first country to possess and use nuclear power during World War II in 1945. The United States' foreign policy generally follows its national interests by establishing itself as a world peacekeeper. The specific interests of the United States are as follows:

1. They are preventing the threat of weapons of mass destruction.
2. We are ensuring the national security of allies.
3. Preventing the emergence of major powers that have the potential to become enemies.
4. Prevent the exit of poor countries near the territory of the United States.
5. Ensure the viability and stability of the world system of trade, financial markets, energy supply and the environment (P. Allison, 2010).

During the Donald Trump administration, relations between the United States and North Korea became increasingly heated since President Donald Trump punished North Korea for violations due to frequent nuclear tests and still sharing nuclear weapons of mass destruction. Not only that, Kim Jong-Un as the supreme leader of North Korea did not

consider the sanctions given by America to be punishment and ignored them, but instead responded by carrying out nuclear tests again.

In 2018 in Singapore an unanticipated event occurred, namely the President of the United States Donald Trump and the Supreme Leader of North Korea Kim Jong-Un meet in person to normalize bilateral relations and discuss the denuclearization of North Korea (Strigunov et al., 2019). The United States and North Korea do not have diplomatic relations. Instead, consular services are limited to the people of the United States, through Stephen Biegun or the Swedish Embassy in North Korea as the United States special representative for North Korea.

North Korea also has no diplomatic representation in Washington DC. Instead, North Korea has representation in the United States through its representation at the United Nations in New York, United States (U.S Relations With The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 2021). The two leaders of this country are known to have a stubborn nature and do not want to lose, they even had time to attack each other's comments through social media. However, the meeting of the two heads of state, known to be stubborn and don't want to lose has become history and international discussion because this is the first time the two countries have met each other. Based on the background explanation, the paper's research question is "Why did North Korea and The United States of America make a denuclearization treaty?"

Literature Review

Desecuritization Concept

Desecuritization is a process in which actors move certain issues away from security and re-enter the normal political sphere. Once an issue is desecuritized, it will not be handled with security logic and will not be declared a threat but returned to the ordinary public sphere. Desecuritization can be done by not discussing an issue as a threat, managing the issue so it is not securitized, and moving the issue back to normal politics. Wæver (2003) argues that it is important to work more on desecuritization, because of 'optimal long-term political goals'. In this regard, Kim and Lee (2011) note that the process of desecuritization can be seen as a transformation of problems from "*high politics*" to "*low politics*". As a result, the main aim of desecuritization is 'efforts to move problems away from the security agenda (Wæver, 1995).

The authors used this theory to analyze that North Korea stop nuclearization into denuclearization in order to desecuritize any issues for long term objectives.

Principal Negotiation Theory

Principle negotiation theory explains that conflict occurs because the parties' positions are not aligned and there are differences between the parties. Supporters of this theory argue that to resolve a conflict, conflict actors must be able to separate their interests from problems and negotiate based on interests and not in a fixed position (Elsig, 2011;

Miller, 2005). This theory explains how the United States is trying to moderate an agreement to denuclearize North Korea through soft power.

Denuclearization Concept

Denuclearization is the act of eliminating the use and operation of nuclear weapons by one or more countries to achieve peace between countries. denuclearization can be defined as a political stance towards nuclear disarmament, with a total ban on nuclear weapons as the goal. The ultimate goal of denuclearization is to achieve a world free of nuclear weapons (Derek Da Cunha, 2000). The term denuclearization is commonly used in making a treaty to prohibit, abolish, disarm and regulate the possession of nuclear weapons by countries in the world.

This denuclearization concept serves as the basis for explaining and linking specifically the components of the 2018 North Korea-United States Denuclearization Agreement.

METHOD

In this research, the approach method used is qualitative. A qualitative approach is an approach that is used to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by research subjects holistically by describing it in the form of words and language in a certain natural context and utilizing various scientific methods (Lexy J. Moeleong, 2007). The research method in this study is a descriptive-analytical approach. Descriptive-analysis is a research method that describes or provides an overview of the object under study through data or samples that have been collected as they are without analyzing and making conclusions that apply to the public (Sugiono:2009,p.29). In other words, this qualitative descriptive-analytical research is a research method that seeks to explain North Korea's Denuclearization Treaty with The United States of America in 2018.

RESULT

North Korea's Nuclear Objective

Possession of nuclear weapons can make the situation very prone to conflict and cause new problems in all corners of the world, such as North Korea's nuclear program in East Asia. The initial goal of North Korea's nuclear development was research. However, as time goes by, North Korea used its nuclear technology to become a weapon or a means of defense. In addition, North Korea has successfully produced medium and long-range nuclear missiles, these types of missiles are Taepodong-1, Taepodong-2, Hwasong-5, Hwasong-6, Hwasong-7, Hwasong-12 and Hwasong-13. Among these missiles, the one with the greatest explosive power is Taepodong-2 with Taepodong-2 explosive power which has a cruising range of 4,400-6,700 km and an explosive power of 15 kilo tons of TNT (Daniel A. Pinkston, 2008).

North Korea has recorded several ballistic and nuclear missile tests. Six recorded ballistic missile tests have been carried out, namely in 1993, 1998, 2004, 2012 and 2017. Specifically for the 2017 test, this test was considered a provocation because the first missile was launched in Japanese waters and the second passed through the island of Hokkaido, Japan. North. Nuclear weapons tests have been carried out six times, namely on October 9, 2006, May 25, 2009, February 12, 2013, January 6, 2016, September 9, 2016 and the last time on September 3, 2017 (Baker Spring, 1999).

With North Korea's success in developing nuclear weapons and carrying out frequent tests, the international community condemns North Korea's actions, especially the United States, South Korea and Japan because they are considered to threaten peace, regional and international security stability, violate the will of the United Nations Security Council, as well as thwart the efforts of the treaty prohibiting the use of nuclear. With this, the UN finally imposed sanctions as an economic embargo and isolated it from international events. North Korea who does not care about the sanctions again tested nuclear or other missiles, shows that criticism and sanctions from around the world including the United Nations are to stop North Korea from continuing its nuclear program.

This nuclear program is not only for security but also for its foreign policy strategy, namely as a tool for coercive diplomacy with opposition countries to achieve their country's national interests (Paul Kerr, 2003). Using this coercive diplomacy, North Korea threatens the United States and its allies back. This nuclear program is believed to be an effective diplomatic instrument to lead the United States to use negotiations. When viewed from the interests of North Korea by having nuclear, it aims to:

1. They are protecting the security of the North Korean state, because North Korea considers the United States the main threat in the East Asia region.
2. By possessing nuclear weapons, North Korea is advantageous in negotiations in international politics, especially with the United States. Through improved relations with the United States, North Korea achieved perfect security for its regime.

With nuclear, making North Korea can meet the country's resource needs. When North Korea is asked to shut down and stop its nuclear development, North Korea will get a reward, namely the lifting of the economic sanctions imposed and a large supply of diesel fuel.

The United States Viewpoint of North Korea's Nuclear

The United States' view regarding the development of North Korea's nuclear program, the United States is a country that strongly condemns the development of the nuclear program. The United States is a super power country, the country's first nuclear owner and a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. As the country's first nuclear owner, the United States feels responsible for world peace and tranquility by making various efforts to deal with the problem of North Korea's nuclear program, consisting of:

1. Termination of permits for nuclear materials and equipment.
2. Find out plans for the development of nuclear weapons.

3. Promote nuclear non-proliferation together with allies.
4. The United States' defense against nuclear weapons is strengthened (National Strategy for Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism, 2018).

The United States has always tried to denuclearize North Korea with its various policies, then the United States also invited the United Nations and international countries to impose sanctions to make North Korea willing to negotiate to stop its nuclear program. The United States is very ambitious to denuclearize North Korea because in the United States' view nuclear can pose various threats to international peace and order and interfere with United States interests in the East Asia region.

In addition, only five countries are allowed to have nuclear weapons or reactors by the nuclear non-proliferation agreement (NPT), the five countries are the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China. With this, the United States considers North Korea a dangerous country, especially since it has already left the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), so if this is allowed to continue, it will be very dangerous.

The United States has a policy towards North Korea's nuclear in order to achieve security and peace in East Asia and the world. The United States has always made policies related to North Korea's nuclear power since the administration of President George H. Walker Bush to President Donald Trump. But only when Donald Trump managed to get the two heads of state to meet in person.

Ideas and Efforts to Make a Denuclearization Treaty

Seeing North Korea's behavior which greatly disturbs peace and tranquility, not only in the regional area but also in the international area, the problem of North Korea's denuclearization must be resolved quickly so that it does not become a prolonged problem. Denuclearization is dismantling military facilities and components used to produce nuclear weapons (Z.N. Gastelum). The international community must work together to solve these problems, especially countries with the potential to have relations with North Korea, such as South Korea, Japan, the United States, and China. These countries must think carefully about the actions that must be taken in dealing with North Korea so as not to trigger North Korea to do reckless things that threaten world peace.

The resolution of the denuclearization issue is carried out using soft diplomacy, namely negotiations so that the two countries reach a good agreement. However, diplomatically, North Korea and the United States do not have bilateral relations. June 12, 2018 was a historic moment for both countries and the international community as the two leaders of the United States and North Korea met for the first time in Singapore. President Donald Trump and Leader Kim Jong-Un signed a statement of mutual agreement for the normalization of bilateral relations between the two countries, including the denuclearization and establishment of a new relationship between the United States and North Korea that had never existed before in history.

On February 27, 2019, President Trump and Kim Jong-Un met again as the second meeting that took place in Hanoi, Vietnam. This meeting did not result in an agreement

that the two countries could sign, as North Korea's request for sanctions to be lifted in full in exchange for partial denuclearization by the United States was rejected. These negotiations stagnated without any meaningful agreement results (Masterson, 2020).

The meeting between the United States and North Korea will not run smoothly without the important roles of other countries, namely South Korea and China. In this case, South Korea and China act as mediators and facilitators so that the two countries agree to meet, they work behind the scenes on the occurrence of the meeting. As is well known, the two leaders of both countries, Donald Trump and Kim Jong Un, are very stubborn, so there needs to be the involvement of South Korea, which is the liaison between the United States and North Korea, and China, which helps persuade North Korea to want to make a deal to denuclearize its nuclear weapons. with the United States. Following are the roles of South Korea and China in the denuclearization process.

South Korea's Role in Denuclearization Treaty Idea

As a middle power country, South Korea has an important role in the denuclearization agreement between the United States and North Korea, namely as a mediator. The following is a description of South Korea as a mediator:

1. South Korea's initiative to mediate the crisis in US-North Korea relations (M. E. Manyin, E. Chanlett Avery and B. R. Williams, 2019). This is so that both countries agree to hold a meeting and prioritize negotiations over military action.
2. South Korea took steps to make a deal with China, the main ally of North Korea. This agreement is about securing the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula (K. McGuire, 2018). This was done by South Korea so that China also supports the denuclearization of North Korea.

Chinese Role in Denuclearization Idea

As a superpower in East Asia and the only major ally of North Korea, China has also played a role in the issue of North Korea's denuclearization. China's role in the denuclearization agreement is like that of South Korea as a mediator and helping persuade North Korea to want to enter into a denuclearization agreement. This is done for the sake of maintaining national security and interests. According to China, the imposition of sanctions from the United States on North Korea could cause a refugee influx crisis and instability in the Chinese border region. The crisis will lead to the end of North Korea's existence as a country and an opportunity for the creation of Korean unification under the South Korean regime supported by the United States.

The Contents of The Denuclearization Treaty

The contents of the agreement from the first meeting between United States President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un are as follows:

1. The United States and North Korea will commit to building a new relationship for peace and prosperity by the wishes of both countries.
2. The United States and North Korea will work together to build a peaceful, stable, and lasting government on the Korean Peninsula region.
3. North Korea is committed to the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.
4. The United States will recover and return the remaining soldiers who died during the Korean war in 1950-1953 (K. Schallhorn, 2019).

Based on the contents of the first meeting agreement between North Korea and the United States, it can be seen that the agreement between the two countries is running smoothly. The agreement outlines improving bilateral relations between the two countries, maintaining security stability and denuclearization.

DISCUSSION

Based on these results, it can be seen that there is an important meaning in the denuclearization agreement, namely to achieve the national interests of the United States and North Korea, its impact on East Asian peace and the results that make peace on the Korean peninsula. The United States has national interests to be achieved against North Korea, namely political, economic and security. From a political point of view, the interest of the United States is to rebuild its image. As is well known, the United States in North Korea's view is a dangerous country since the civil war on the Korean peninsula. The United States has built a good image for North Korea by normalizing bilateral relations between the two countries and is willing to negotiate directly to gain North Korea's trust.

From an economic perspective, the United States intends to provide humanitarian assistance by lifting economic sanctions imposed on North Korea if they want to denuclearize fully. The purpose of the United States in providing humanitarian assistance is to improve relations between the two countries. In addition, to help North Korea improve its economy. Regarding security, the United States wants to ease tensions in the East Asian region due to North Korea's nuclear threats. In addition to nuclear, the United States also has to deal with China regarding issues in Taiwan so that the national interests in terms of East Asian security can be achieved (National Security Strategy, 2017).

North Korea has interests to achieve political, economic and security. In terms of politics, North Korea wants to be recognized that its country is on par with the United States, which means that even though the country is in trouble, it can still compete with the United States in military and weaponry. In terms of economy, North Korea is being hit by poverty and it can be said that the country will go bankrupt.

To prevent this, North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un seeks to reduce the country's financial deficit by entering into denuclearization and normalization agreements (Ahn, 2011). North Korea asked for security guarantees from the United States if they carried out full

denuclearization to avoid threats from outside and from the United States itself. North Korea's gross national income per capita was 1.408 million won (\$1,184.79) in 2019, about 3.8% of South Korea's income. This issue forced North Korea to cooperate with other nations in economic development.

The impact of this denuclearization agreement is the stability of the East Asia region, international support and reconciliation of relations between North Korea and the United States. In the stability of the East Asia region, denuclearization of North Korea will make the East Asia region more secure and stable, so that the allied countries of the United States such as South Korea, Japan and Taiwan will also feel safe from nuclear threats and conflicts. Apart from nuclear, economic stability will also have an impact, where the trade process is no longer restricted.

The international community supports the United States to denuclearize North Korea so that there is no longer a nuclear threat that can endanger world security. This denuclearization agreement also aims to reconcile relations between the United States and North Korea, which since the Korean peninsula war the two countries have never had formal diplomatic relations.

The results of the denuclearization agreement were an agreement to stop the development of nuclear weapons, a declaration of peace on the Korean peninsula and the agreement's failure. In the nuclear weapons development deal, North Korea agreed as long as the United States would lift all sanctions. In the Korean peninsula peace declaration, North and South Korea agreed to make peace and end the civil war. The agreement failed because the second meeting in Vietnam between the United States and North Korea did not reach a meaningful agreement where the United States had not yet lifted full sanctions against North Korea and North Korea was still carrying out nuclear weapons tests.

CONCLUSION

International countries, especially the United States and its allies in the East Asian region, namely Japan and South Korea feel threatened by North Korea's nuclear program. As a result of nuclear possession which is very dangerous, North Korea is subject to sanctions in the form of an economic embargo, isolation from the international community and severance of diplomatic relations with countries that have relations with it.

A country cannot survive without cooperation with other countries, including North Korea. Even though North Korea has a nuke, North Korea still needs the cooperation of other countries to support its regime. The sanctions imposed on North Korea make it even more difficult for the country. Therefore, North Korea is willing to make a denuclearization agreement with the United States so that the sanctions are lifted and North Korea can restore the country's economy.

The United States has improved relations with North Korea through a denuclearization agreement. The United States has a national interest: establishing good relations with countries worldwide and denuclearizing non-NWS countries. The United States has not

established diplomatic relations with North Korea since the Korean civil war. North Korea, which develops and produces nuclear weapons, worries the United States about the stability of world security and the East Asian region.

Denuclearizing North Korea become priorities of America since the administration of George H. W. Bush to Donald Trump. However, only during the administration of President Donald Trump did this denuclearization. US leaders Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un met face-to-face for the first time to conclude a denuclearization agreement and improve diplomatic ties at the Singapore summit in 2018.

The summit between the United States and North Korea received assistance from other countries, namely China and South Korea. China helped by persuading North Korea to want to improve relations with the United States. This agreement will prevent North Korean bankruptcy and later cause trouble for China, a major ally of North Korea. Then, South Korea helps by being a liaison or facilitator between the United States and North Korea. This is so that nuclear weapons no longer threaten the security of the South Korean state, and for the sake of achieving peace on the Korean peninsula.

But, the denuclearization agreement failed at the second meeting in Hanoi, Vietnam. This failure is because the United States does not want to stop the sanctions imposed in full even though North Korea has stopped testing and closed its nuclear development. North Korea and the United States' trust in the Singapore Summit ended and North Korea re-developed its nuclear power. In addition to the denuclearization agreement to stop nuclear, there are also other things, that the United States which wants to improve relations with North Korea and North Korea still needs other countries to survive its country.

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