

## DONALD TRUMP'S POLICY AGAINST NORTH KOREA'S BALLISTIC NUCLEAR WEAPON TEST

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**ABSTRACT.** This study aims to identify the typology of the United States foreign policy towards North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons test during the Donald Trump administration. The typology of foreign policy will be explained by using James N. Rosenau's adaptive foreign policy model which refers to two factors that influence it, namely external and internal changes in the United States environment which are influenced by three classifications, namely personal change, political change, and social-economic change against each factor, both externally and internally. This research is a descriptive qualitative research. The data collection method used in this research is literature study. The data were obtained from various books, journals, electronic media and digital documents/reports, while the data analysis used sorting from the various data that had been collected and analyzing the data that was close to the focus in this study. Interpretation of the data obtained can then be poured through a description in form of writing and graphics. Based on the research that has been done, it was found that the typology of US foreign policy adaptation is promotive adaptation.

**Keywords:** President Donald Trump's policies; Maximum Pressure; Strategic Accountability; Promotive Adaptation

### KEBIJAKAN DONALD TRUMP TERHADAP UJI COBA SENJATA NUKLIR BALISTIK KOREA UTARA

**ABSTRAK.** Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi tipologi dari kebijakan luar negeri Amerika Serikat terhadap uji coba senjata nuklir balistik Korea Utara pada masa pemerintahan Donald Trump. Tipologi dari kebijakan luar negeri tersebut akan dijelaskan menggunakan model kebijakan luar negeri adaptif James N. Rosenau yang mengacu kepada dua faktor yang mempengaruhinya yakni faktor perubahan eksternal dan internal di lingkungan Amerika Serikat yang dipengaruhi oleh tiga klasifikasi yaitu perubahan personal, perubahan politik, dan perubahan sosial-ekonomi terhadap masing-masing faktor, baik eksternal maupun internal. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif deskriptif. Adapun metode pengumpulan data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah studi literatur. Data diperoleh dari berbagai buku, jurnal, media elektronik dan dokumen/laporan digital, sedangkan analisis data menggunakan pemilahan dari berbagai data yang telah dikumpulkan dan menganalisis data-data yang mendekati fokus dalam penelitian ini. Interpretasi data yang didapat kemudian bisa dituangkan lewat sebuah deskripsi dalam tulisan dan grafik. Berdasarkan penelitian yang telah dilakukan ditemukan bahwa tipologi adaptasi kebijakan luar negeri Amerika Serikat adalah adaptasi promotive.

**Kata kunci:** Kebijakan Presiden Donald Trump; *Maximum Pressure*; *Strategic Accountability*; *Promotive Adaptation*

### INTRODUCTION

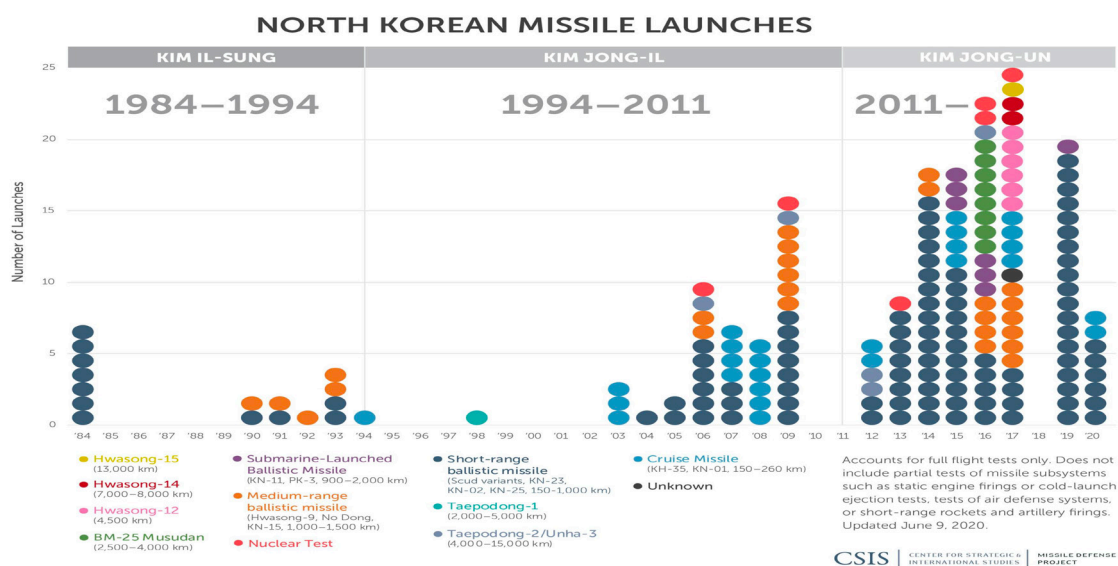
North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons tests began when North Korea decided to withdraw from the 1993 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. In 2006, North Korea successfully carried out its first ballistic nuclear weapons test, which it claimed was its inaugural test. In 2009, North Korea claimed to have successfully tested a ballistic nuclear weapon with a magnitude of 6-7 kilotons in what it claimed was its second test (Bedard, 2022).

In 2013, the North Korean Ministry of Defense announced it would conduct another nuclear weapons test, and on February 12, 2013 North Korea carried out its ballistic nuclear weapons test and claimed it was the third nuclear test (Bedard, 2022). In 2016, North Korea successfully re-launched its ballistic nuclear weapons 2 (two) times which were claimed to be the fourth and fifth tests (Bedard, 2022). Furthermore, in 2017 North Korea conducted its first intercontinental ballistic

nuclear weapons test which is claimed to be its sixth test.

Thus, in 2006, 2009, 2013, 2 (two) times in 2016, and 1 (one) time in 2017 North Korea announced that it had successfully launched short and medium-range and long-range ballistic missiles and successfully developed a hydrogen bomb. This signifies a fairly resounding success in the history of the development of ballistic nuclear weapons (Bedard, 2022). We could see from the figure 1.

The proliferation and testing of North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons was declared a world threat starting from the attitude of the United States during President Bush, the fall of the WTO tower or known as the 9/11 incident was a deep wound, as well as a hard blow to the United States. Seeing the events that happened to his country, President Bush felt the need to be tough on countries that tried to become a threat to the state, which then echoed the idea in a global media with the term "Axis Of Evil" or the axis of world crime (Pelofsky, 2008).



(Source: CSIS, 2022)

**Figure 1. North Korea's Ballistic Nuclear Test**

The failure of Bush's diplomacy to denuclearize North Korea brought him to the time when the leadership of the United States was replaced by Obama. The policy of "Strategic Patience Approach" was chosen by Obama as an approach in responding to North Korea in every ballistic nuclear weapons test. In this case, Obama's Strategic Patience Approach policy classifies it into two strategic approaches (Avery, Emma C, Rinehart, Ian E, Nikitin, Beth, 2015), as follows:

1. Waits or patience, namely diplomatic efforts against North Korea to negotiate at the negotiating table.
2. Putting pressure on the North Korean regime. The main elements of the policy are based on putting pressure on Pyongyang to commit to taking steps towards denuclearization, close coordination in negotiations and agreements with Japan and South Korea, approach on China to take tough action against Korea.

President Obama has not produced maximum results in his Strategic Patience approach, even though he has sent a US delegation to North Korea. The agreement did not reach a meeting point so that it failed to carry out negotiations at the negotiating table.

In 2017, the US leadership began to shift to the eccentric and entertainment background of the President, Donald Trump. Even, he doesn't have a strong enough political background previously but his figure is sufficient to represent his capabilities as the next US president.

During the campaign, Donald Trump always carries out the slogans "Make America Great Again" and "America First" (BBC, 2017). Of course, the slogan is a reflection of his later leadership. In several

campaigns, Trump has also touched on the issue of the North Korean nuclear issue. According to Trump, he will be tougher on the North Korean regime, saying his attitude will be much different from that of the previous President, Obama. Trump assessed that the US "Strategic Patience Approach" policy during Obama's time tended to be subtle and seemed passive towards North Korea. This brings less pressure to the North Korean regime to behave. Trump exercised a "Maximum Pressure" stance on North Korea and promised to bring it to the negotiating table for negotiations (Ballot Pedia, 2016).

As Trump has campaigned, that he will exert "Maximum Pressure" on the North Korean regime, meaning isolating North Korea from the outside world so that North Korea can sit down to the negotiating table (Lieg, 2018). President Donald Trump issued a policy known as "Strategic Accountability" against the North Korean regime. The Strategic Accountability policy can be defined as a strategy to hold and hold North Korea accountable for its actions in its ballistic nuclear weapons test. In this policy, it calls on the international community to increase determination and commitment in holding North Korea accountable and holds countries accountable for their commitment to isolation and enforce sanctions that have been strictly established through the United Nations Security Council against North Korea (Joscelyn, 2020).

Based on the identification issues above, the research here will be focus on identifying a type/typology of the United States foreign policy through external and internal change factors related to North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons test. The identification issues refers to James N. Rosenau's adaptive foreign policy model which classifies

three parameters, such as personal change, political change, and socio-economic change. From the three classifications, it will be seen the process of adaptation US foreign policy based on external and internal changes in the US environment. In classifying the type/ typology of US foreign policy will be assisted through a method called the *genus proximus* (which is close to the closest). So that the type/typology of US foreign policy will be a promotive adaptation as stated in the Strategic Accountability policy. In promotive adaptation itself, it has the main characteristic, namely emphasizing the freedom of choice of policy makers, because they do not face up to demands from the outside or from the inside. In this case, policy makers are free to determine the foreign policy that is considered the most appropriate to achieve the conditions desired by their country. In that case, President Donald Trump also plays a role as a decision maker who demonstrates the freedom to choose a position that supports the national interests of the United States, namely America First. In that main principle, the United States wants a global leadership by controlling North Korea's aggressive behavior in the East Asia region. For this reason, Donald Trump chose the Strategic Accountability policy as part of supporting the United States' national interest.

## METHOD

The research method used is a qualitative research method by Robert E. Stake (2010). What is interesting about Robert E. Stake's model is that events are viewed in a unique and interesting model, named "antecedent, process, and output". President Donald Trump's policy towards North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons test is studied externally and internally to understand it. Robert E. Stake (2010) in *Qualitative Research: Studying How Things Work* also suggests that the research instrument is the researcher himself. The data collection method used in this research is literature study. The data were obtained from various books, journals, electronic media and digital documents/ reports related to the United States foreign policy during the Donald Trump administration towards North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons test, while the data analysis technique used sorting from various data sources that had been collected and analyzed. data that are close to the focus in this study. Interpretation of the data obtained can then be poured through a description in form of writing and graphics. So that it can provide an overview of the typology of United States foreign policy, especially regarding North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons tests during the Donald Trump administration.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For understanding of foreign policy, it is important to look at some of the factors behind a policy towards other countries, of course in that case James N. Rosenau classifies external and internal changes based on three classifications, such as personal changes, political changes and socio-economic changes. As described below.

### United States External Change

The external changes of the United States that focus on North Korea began with Kim Jong-un's leadership in the development of ballistic nuclear weapons, then the existence of the North Korea-China alliance in the East Asia Region, and North Korea's "Byungjin" Policy.

### Personal Changes: Kim Jong-un as Supreme Leader of North Korea Exercises the Supremacy of Nuclear Weapon Development

In the history of North Korean leadership, it is known as the "Kim Dynasty" which signifies the 3 (three) successor generations of North Korean ideology, namely Juche (Campbell, 2017). The Kim dynasty consists of North Korea's first leader, Kim Il-sung, his son Kim Jong-il and his grandson Kim Jong-un (Campbell, 2017). In the historical context of leadership, North Korea has always had the ambition to develop nuclear weapons. This was done during the first leadership period by Kim Il-sung, who implemented the principle of juche ideology on the country's political agenda, namely nuclear development as the country's main weapon (Sawe, 2018).

Kim Jong-il's development of the Juche principle was further divided into 3 (three) main principle clusters in his ideological doctrine (Lim, Cheon, 2012), namely First, Chaju means that the state must be capable of political independence. Second, Charip means that the state must be able to be economically independent (economic self-sufficiency). Third, Chawi means that the state must be military self-reliance.

Furthermore, Kim Jong-il's development of the Juche principle is based on the incorporation of Marxism-Leninism historical materialist ideas, but strongly emphasizes the individual, nation-state, and national sovereignty (Government of North Korea, 2013). When Kim Jong-il emerged as a potential successor to Kim Il-sung in the 1970s, loyalty to the leader was increasingly emphasized as an important part of Juche's ideology. As stated in the 10 (ten) principles of forming a monolithic ideological system (Lim, Cheon, 2012). This principle was added and renewed after the death of Kim Jong-un's father, Kim Jong-il in 2011 (Lim, Cheon, 2012), and was ratified

in 2013 by Kim Jong-un. This principle is known as the “Ten Principles for the Establishment of the Party’s Single Leadership System”.

Based on the history of the North Korean leadership who wanted the possession of nuclear weapons as a means of personal protection, North Korea under Kim Jong-un certainly has strong ambitions for the legacy of North Korean leadership. This strong ambition was obtained by Kim Jong-un because of doubts among his military officials. Where military officials see the figure of Kim Jong-un who is still very young and does not have sufficient experience as the supreme leader of North Korea (Branigan, 2011).

For this reason, before becoming the supreme leader, Kim Jong-un preferred to actively lead the North Korean armed forces by showing his military program as a “military first” which was proclaimed by his late father Kim Jong-il (Suh, Sook, 2002). After successfully becoming the supreme leader of North Korea, Kim Jong-un also carried out several purges among his military officials. It aims to gain absolute legitimacy in the North Korean military. Kim Jong-un believes that his military foundation is needed by people who side with him for the success of his future leadership plans (Fritz, 2013).

After carrying out purges and filling strategic positions in its military body by their chosen people, North Korea’s nuclear program can be considered a success (Fritz, 2013). That’s because, during Kim Jong-un’s leadership he made a policy known as “Byungjin” which in this policy focused the nuclear weapons and ballistic missile sectors as a top priority in an effort to synergize development between the economic sector and the military sector (Snyder, 2013). So that in realizing its implementation, nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs get a large budget allocation priority compared to the conventional military sector (Snyder, 2013). The development of North Korea’s nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles ultimately reaped a very resounding success under the leadership of Kim Jong-un which was marked by massive ballistic nuclear weapons testing activities (CSIS, 2022).

### **Political Changes: North Korea-China Alliance in East Asia**

North Korea-China relations have existed for a long time, long before it became an independent country. The closeness of North Korea-China began in the days of the Chinese and Korean empires. In the present, North Korea-China relations continue even though the relationship between the two is the most constant relationship in the international political arena. China’s consistency towards North Korea and vice versa. This relationship has made North Korea-China one of the main alliances for the two.

Not only is North Korea historically close, but North Korea sees China as the only true ally that can help it when it experiences hundreds or even thousands of economic sanctions caused by its ballistic nuclear weapons test activities in the Asia Pacific region.

Context economy, China is considered by North Korea as the cornerstone of the country’s economy. This can be seen from the large level of the North Korean market in China, both exports and imports (Maizland, 2019). North Korea’s level of trade in China was recorded to be close to 90% during the two alliances (Maizland, 2019). Likewise in terms of Chinese imports to North Korea, thus making North Korea very dependent on products from China.

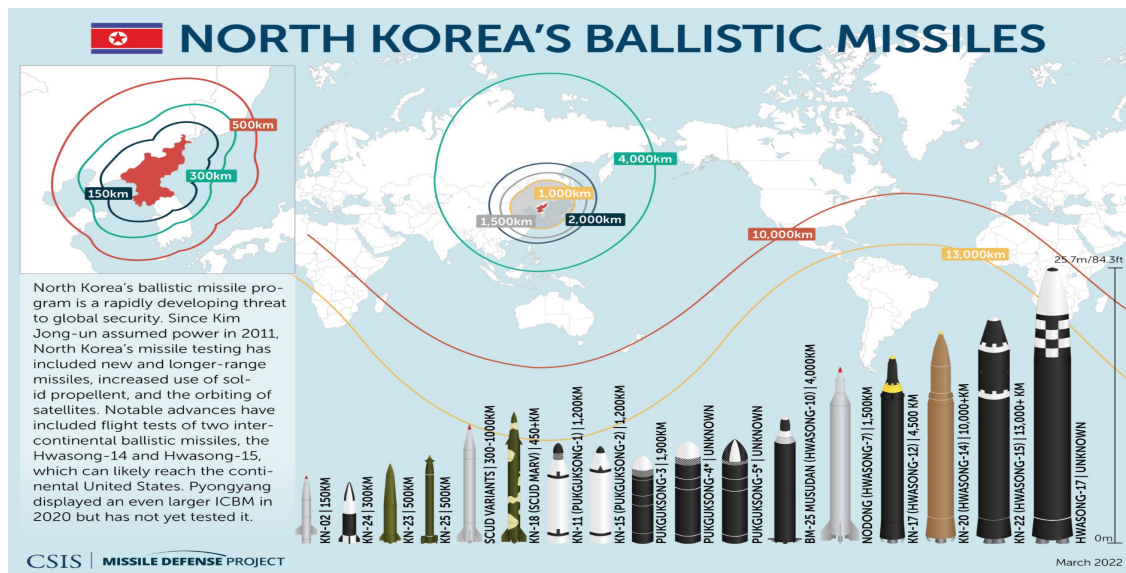
This historically strong ties, ultimately led to China as a true alliance for North Korea and vice versa. North Korea, which has missile and nuclear weapons capabilities, certainly has a position that is worthy of reckoning for China. Especially stemming the enemy in the Asia Pacific region (Maizland, 2019). Thus, the foundation of a strong alliance between North Korea and China has been built comprehensively both historically, ideologically, and economically. So that makes North Korea has a real political value in the international arena, especially geopolitically in the Asia Pacific region in order to stem the US, Japan and South Korea.

### **Social-Economics Changes: North Korea’s “Byungjin” Policy**

In the history of the North Korean regime, the leadership of Kim Jong-un can be said to be superior to the previous regimes, namely Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il in terms of the nuclear program. His success in developing nuclear technology and ballistic missiles is internationally recognized. This is evidenced by the massive activity of testing nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles in recent years, since serving as the supreme leader of North Korea. North Korea under Kim Jong-un has succeeded in making various kinds of ballistic missiles that have varying degrees of accuracy and range. The highest achievement is in the intercontinental missile or Inter Continental Ballistic Missile, named the Hwasong-17 missile (CSIS, 2022). We could see from the figure 2.

Since taking office, Kim Jong-un has issued an economic policy known as the “Byungjin Policy”. In this policy, Kim made several modifications to domestic economic policies that focused on the nuclear weapons and ballistic missile sectors as a top priority in an effort to synergize development between the economic sector and the military sector (Snyder, 2013). Thus, the nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs get a major budget allocation priority over the conventional military sector (Snyder, 2013).





Source: CSIS, 2022

Figure 2. North Korea's Ballistic Missiles

With the “Byungjin” policy, North Korea under Kim Jong-un is aggressively carrying out ballistic nuclear weapons testing activities in the East Asia Region, which is indicated by massive missile and nuclear tests every year.

### United States Internal Change

Internal changes in the United States are seen in the change in the president's leadership, then the Republican Party's dominance in the United States government structure, and conservative support for Trump.

### Personal Changes: Donald Trump's Leadership In Response to North Korea's Ballistic Nuclear Weapon Test

Before becoming the 45th President of the United States, Donald Trump was a phenomenal figure for American society. Donald Trump became known when he entered the world of his family's property business. Donald Trump is quite successful in managing the property business in several cities.

The Trump family's business became increasingly successful as a well-known businessman in America. Behind his success, it turns out that Trump has grown into a child who has received less attention from parents. The lack of presence of Trump's parents in educating and giving attention makes Trump suffer from mental health problems. This psychological disorder was later known as Reactive Attachment Disorder or symptoms caused by the empty role of parents in educating and paying attention to their children (Morin, 2021).

Reactive Attachment Disorder (RAD) has an impact such as being unable to distinguish between good and bad, right or wrong, and friend and foe. So that the behavior of children with these disorders

becomes like demeaning and bullying others. People with RAD are serious to know, because they can position themselves as someone who is anti-dependent or unable to acknowledge their need for the presence of others in solving problems that they themselves do not know about. So that his attitude will show the ambivalent of what he really feels.

During his tenure as President of the United States, Trump carried out a number of behaviors that were quite controversial, such as against the North Korean regime. The attitude of the controversy is suspected to be a narcissistic factor (Morin, 2021). Trump's behavior clearly shows a narcissistic attitude that can be seen from his confrontation on the official Twitter account such as swearing, mocking the leader of North Korea, Kim Jong Un.

Since North Korea's massive ballistic missile test in 2017 aimed at northern Japan by confirming to the world that it had succeeded in making a hydrogen atomic bomb, Donald Trump suddenly issued a tweet on his personal Twitter social media periodically regarding North Korea's ballistic missile test activity (Berty, 2018).

On July 4, 2017 Trump threw a frontal jab at North Korea by tweeting “North Korea launches missile again. Doesn't he have better things to do?” Trump tweeted in response to North Korea through North Korean Foreign Minister Ri Yong Ho on July 26, 2017 with a threatening statement “If the US dares to intend to overthrow our leader, no matter how small, we will explode the US heart. mercilessly with the nukes we grind all the time” (Berty, 2018).

13 days later, on August 8, 2017, North Korea through a spokesperson for the KPA issued an official statement again that “North Korea is considering a plan to shoot Guam Island with Hwasong-12 and attack US military bases there” after almost 2

(two) North Koreans. made a threatening sentence that infuriated Trump and replied to North Korea's statement through his personal Twitter account on August 22, 2017 by saying that "Kim Jong Un from North Korea, is clearly a crazy man who doesn't care about his people starving and killing his people" (Berty, 2018).

Furthermore, Trump re-launched his tweet through his personal twitter account on August 30, 2017 saying "US has had dialogue with North Korea, blackmailed them for 25 years. Dialogue is not an answer" after Trump's last tweet on twitter Trump hurled insults at North Korea just as he was making his annual speech at the United Nations on September 19, 2017 saying "The rocket man is on a suicide mission to develop nuclear weapons" (Berty, 2018).

Hearing the curse in a speech at the United Nations, North Korea also responded only 3 (three) days after that, which this time was directly uttered by North Korea's supreme leader Kim Jong-Un on September 22, 2017 by saying "He (Trump) must be a criminals and gangsters who like to play with fire, rather than a politician" shortly after that Kim said again "I will definitely tame that senile old man who suffers from mental disorders with a shot" after the harsh curse of Trump by the North Korean supreme leader, then Trump retaliated the swearing through his personal twitter on November 11, 2017 by saying "Why does Kim Jong Un insult me as 'old', even though I never called him short and fat? I'm trying to be his friend, maybe one day it will" (Berty, 2018)

In the beginning of 2018 on January 2, 2018, Trump tweeted again with the slightly bluffing words "Kim Jong Un said the nuclear button was ready at any time. I also have a nuclear button, it's bigger and stronger than hers and mine is better" (Berty, 2018).

It can be seen that the flow of Trump's tweets on Twitter throughout 2017 which was carried out on July 4, August 22, August 30, September 19, November 11, and January 2, 2018 is a pure influence of a Donald Trump, this attitude arose due to narcissistic factors caused by past symptoms of having RAD (Morin, 2021). This attitude was clearly seen in his tweets from July 4, August 22, August 30, September 19 threatening and mocking the North Korean leader for his nuclear test activities and then the tweet began to turn soft on November 11. It is clear that the attitude that influences him is the impact of his childhood past which in people with RAD a person can behave ambivalently (Morin, 2021), meaning that one side of Trump is trying to defend himself from the North Korean confrontation by mocking/threatening/hostile behavior, but on the other hand Trump trying to show a humane and lenient behavior towards North Korea.

His narcissistic attitude is thirsty for the public stage, if seen again that Trump uses the social media platform (Twitter) as a means to form public opinion to the world community that North Korea will not be able to match the US in nuclear weapons matters. This was also conveyed by Rosenau (1981) who said that public opinion can also be a parameter to be able to see changes in public sentiment towards the outside world. In this regard, Donald Trump as the highest decision maker feels that he does not experience demands from outside (threats) or from within (demands). In that situation, Trump is free to determine his foreign policy that is deemed most appropriate to achieve the conditions his country wants Rosenau (1981).

In addition to his narcissistic attitude, Trump's business experience has also influenced his policy towards North Korea. One of them is the attitude of "Maximum Pressure" which is to exert maximum pressure through the support of international forums. In this attitude, Trump is taking steps that he can take (Liegl, 2018), namely, encouraging Beijing to be tougher on its alliance (North Korea) by using its influence more effectively, carrying out economic sanctions and tightening financially and affirming the US bargaining position against North Korea to comply with US demands, as a condition for the start of negotiations on denuclearization efforts. Furthermore, presenting a direct threat by exercising military force, including the articulation of an explicit threat to North Korea. This attitude is typical of a business man, the need for high achievement, high self-confidence, and orientation to action and results, dares to take risks (Schermerhorn, 1999). Because of these pressures from Trump, Kim Jong Un finally accepted Trump's offer to conduct head-to-head negotiations, the first time in the history of US-North Korea diplomacy that occurred under the leadership of Donald Trump.

### **Political Changes :Republican Domination in the US Government Structure**

Donald Trump's victory in the 2017 US election brought the Republican Party to the highest political stage in the United States. Not only that, the Republican Party's domination has also succeeded in controlling the legislative lines, both the Senate and the House of Representatives. This is the first time that the power of the US Government is fully exercised by both the executive and the legislature in the history of politics in the United States by a conservative party.

Republicans control the number of votes in some states. In the 2017 US election, Donald Trump won a majority of 306 votes from his opponent Clinton with 232 votes. It does not stop at counting

votes in the executive line, the legislative line is also controlled by the Republican majority with 241 votes in the House of Representatives and 52 votes in the Senate.

After successfully winning the US political contestation in the general election and parliamentary congress, the Republican Party under the leadership of President Donald Trump inaugurated the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court with Republican candidates, namely Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh, and Amy Coney Barrett (Liptak, 2016). The inauguration of the Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court was carried out by Trump as a step to gain Republican power in the corridors of US jurisdiction in order to bring a conservative vision in legal affairs in the United States (Miller, C, 2017).

During the leadership of Donald Trump, he made a policy that could adjust North Korea's aggressive behavior known as the "strategic accountability" policy. The policy contains a more role for North Korea with much stricter measures or known as "Maximum Pressure" (Liegl, 2018). "Maximum Pressure Campaign", namely conducting a series of maximum pressure campaigns to seek support through international forums. In the maximum campaign, Trump mentioned the steps he took (Liegl, 2018), namely, First to encourage Beijing to be tougher on its alliance (North Korea) by using its influence more effectively. Second, carry out economic sanctions and financial tightening. Third, affirming the US bargaining position towards North Korea to comply with US requests, as a condition for starting negotiations on denuclearization efforts. Fourth, present a direct threat by using military force, including the articulation of an explicit threat to North Korea.

The Strategic Accountability policy is not much different from the previous Strategic Patience policy, because the accountability policy also highlights China's role as the main key to denuclearization. However, Trump made it more stringent and ensured that China's real sanctions against North Korea related to its nuclear weapons testing activities were complied with through the UN umbrella initiated by US resolutions. In addition, in this policy Trump also considers direct military steps against North Korea (Liegl, 2018).

In line with his promise of the "Maximum Pressure Campaign", Trump took a multilateral approach by implementing sanctions through the UN Security Council in the form of proposals for draft resolutions related to North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons test activities. The proposals for the draft resolution are US efforts to control North Korea's aggressive behavior that threatens global peace and security stability with the aim of achieving

collective security for its actions against North Korea. In the process, the US under the Donald Trump Administration repeatedly submitted its draft resolutions to the UN Security Council throughout 2017-2018 and in the end the US draft resolutions were adopted by a majority vote of the UN Security Council members periodically.

On March 23, 2017, the UN Security Council issued resolution number 2345 which contains the panel's mandate for the next 13 months to assist the 1718 sanctions committee against North Korea (US Initiations, 2017a). This was done as a US response to North Korea's ballistic missile launch on March 21, 2017.

Furthermore, on April 15, 2017, the United Nations Security Council under the United States considered additional sanctions against North Korea which continued to test its ballistic missiles. The consideration was finally carried out by US Secretary Rex Tillerson on April 28, 2017 in the UNSC Ministerial-level forum that discussed North Korea's denuclearization efforts and was stated in the report (S/PV.7932) (*Government of the United States of America*, 2017). During the meeting, the US through its representatives gave a concept note to all members of the UN Security Council which contained ways to maximize the impact of the actions or sanctions that have been given in response to North Korean provocations with significant steps.

Finally, on June 2 2017, the UN Security Council unanimously approved resolution number 2356 which was previously initiated by the US on April 28 regarding the expansion of sanctions applied to North Korea including freezing state assets in the form of funds and economic resources aimed at 14 people and 4 entities. into the list of targeted sanctions under the 1718 sanctions committee (US Initiations, 2017e). Then, in August 2017 the UN Security Council again adopted US resolution number 2371 unanimously. Condemning North Korea's missile tests on July 3 and 28, 2017 (US Initiations, 2017b), the Resolution contains a total ban on North Korea's exports of coal, iron, iron ore, lead and seafood.

On September 11, 2017, the US resubmitted a draft resolution containing sanctions against North Korea at the 8042nd session. Draft resolution 2375 in response to North Korea's missile test activity on September 2, 2017 (US Initiations, 2017c). The document contains a series of additional extensions to the economic sector. On December 22, 2017, the UN Security Council held its 8151st session with the agenda of presenting a draft US resolution against North Korea number 2397 which was added from resolution number 2375. With stricter sanctions on the energy sector, export-import and task authority for maritime authorities of each country to tackle



illegal smuggling activities carried out by North Korea (US Initiations, 2017d).

On December 15, 2017, the US held the 8137th UNSC session again by delegating US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson. During the meeting, the US asked China not to supply crude oil to North Korea and questioned China's commitment to North Korea's denuclearization efforts.

In March 2018, the United Nations Security Council forum was again held by the US who submitted a draft resolution at the 8210th session. The draft resolution contained additional sanctions by extending the mandate of the 1718 sanctions committee against North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons test activities. The draft received a unanimous vote in the forum with the aim of asking the sanctions committee to carry out further oversight of the draft resolutions number 2270, 2321, 2356, 2371, 2375, and 2397. Resolutions throughout 2016-2018 were requested by the US, to be followed up with its oversight in order to create an effect, which could bind North Korea to control its nuclear weapons testing behavior in the region.

In addition to carrying out a series of sanctions against North Korea's ballistic missile test activities, Trump has made efforts to suppress China. This is because China is one of North Korea's main allies. Either way, North Korea is very dependent on the Chinese market for 90% for both import and export trade (Maizland, 2019).

In addition to carrying out a series of US sanctions through the UN Security Council and emphasizing China's real commitment to North Korea's ballistic missile test activities, the US has also implemented domestic sanctions against North Korea's 2017-2018 ballistic nuclear weapons test activities conducted by the Department of State. State) by issuing a number of domestic economic sanctions regulations, namely as follows: First, Title III: Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanction Act (US Government, 2017a). Second, Executive Order No. 1381 (Imposing Additional Sanction With Respect to North Korea) (US Government, 2017b). Third, North Korea Sanction Advisory (Sanction Risk Related to North Korea's Shipping Practices) (US Government, 2018b). Fourth, North Korea Sanction and Actions Advisory (Risk with Supply Chain Links to North Korea) (US Government, 2018a).

The series of US policy above, there is a survey that shows the Republican Party's support for Donald Trump in overcoming the issue of North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons test as evidenced by the survey results as many as 61% support Trump's harsh/aggressive approach, response to pressure and threats, directly against North Korea (Telhami, 2018). Thus, the application of US domestic sanctions

against North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons test activities is considered as a form of smooth running of the legislative process in the Donald Trump Administration which is fully supported within the structure of his government.

### **Social Changes: Conservatives Support Trump for North Korea's Ballistic Nuclear Weapon Test**

During the nomination to the leadership of Donald Trump as the 45th US President the term Trumpism or "Trumpism" emerged as a representation of Donald Trump's loyal supporters who have conservative leanings from the Republican Party (Katzeinstein, 2019). The development of "Trumpism" is known as the nationalist-conservative and nationalist-populist movements. The label "Trumpism" is also attached to several global leaders and figures such as Narendra Modi (Croucher, 2019), Marine Le Pen (Thompson, 2018), Najib Razak (Umapagan, 2018). If you look at the "Trumpism" movement, it has tension into every aspect of Donald Trump's self such as political ideology, emotions, leadership styles, and political movements and most importantly the control that is under the direct command of Donald Trump and the political decisions he makes (Dean, John; Altemeyer, 2020).

In the 2017 election campaign, Trump made a number of political promises to his loyal supporters by bringing up health issues, deporting illegal Mexican immigrants, reducing tax rates, and gun ownership, and his plan to ban Muslim immigrants from entering the United States (Tabachnick, E, 2016). In presenting these issues, Trump always narrates a slogan that is very uplifting to the US people, namely "Make America Great Again" which represents that America needs to be victorious again in its country. Suddenly support for Trump from his sympathizers made Trump supporters agree and believe that Trump's promise will be fulfilled if he becomes President.

For the United States, especially Trump supporters, regardless of the importance of domestic issues, the North Korean nuclear issue has become an important issue for national security and views that nuclear weapons testing threatens the peace and security of the US and global people. The US survey agency said that 75% of the majority of the US population acknowledged that North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons test was a very serious threat, when compared to the US leadership 2 (two) years ago, which only 55% considered that North Korea's nuclear threat was serious (Malone, 2017). This is because North Korea's possession of missiles which are increasingly sophisticated every year, such as the Hwasong-12 missile which has been tested several times in 2016 is capable of covering a



distance of 4,500km (CSIS, 2022). This distance has certainly made it past the alliance territory of the US, Japan, and South Korea and even reached the island of Guam.

The majority of Trump supporters were seen when Trump initiated the Maximum Pressure policy against North Korea during his political campaign in 2016 which was then incorporated into the Strategic Accountability policy. Which in this policy has the meaning of maximizing stricter and more effective and tangible economic sanctions with the aim of isolating North Korea for behavior that endangers global security stability through UN Security Council resolutions and domestic sanctions. In addition, Trump supporters also support Donald Trump's direct threat to the North Korean regime as evidenced on his social media account on Twitter by giving curses, ridicule and direct threats against any North Korean ballistic nuclear weapons test activity. This support continued until Trump held the inaugural meeting of the US-North Korean supreme leader at the Singapore Summit and Hanoi Summit.

## CONCLUSION

That President Donald Trump has implemented an adaptive foreign policy, known as Strategic Accountability, towards the development and testing of North Korea's ballistic nuclear weapons. The United States took a strong reaction to Kim Jong-un's policy of economic and military synergy, known as Byungjin, which pushed the development of ballistic nuclear weapons as a top priority. President Donald Trump made policy changes that were tougher than previous Presidents who were considered soft on North Korea. The United States recognizes that North Korea's development and testing of ballistic nuclear weapons cannot be tolerated, because it will threaten world security. President Donald Trump continues to exert pressure or Maximum Pressure on North Korea to sit down and negotiate.

In carrying out his policies, President Donald Trump has the full support of the ruling republican party in the United States government structure. This support makes Donald Trump have political legitimacy for policies made with North Korea's aggressive attitude, also multilaterally through the UN Security Council and domestic sanctions. President Donald Trump's policies also have the full support of conservative groups and gain social legitimacy in exerting pressure on North Korea.

President Donald Trump's foreign policy if viewed from James N. Rosenau's idea of typology of foreign policy adaptation has the genus proximus (which is close to the closest) to the promotive adaptation type.

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