

CHAPTER IV

DONALD TRUMP RESPON ON DPRK NUCLEAR WEAPON PROGRAM

Every time when there is a shifting of government, foreign policies also turns followed by the kind of doctrine which the next government implements during times of administration. Early times of government shifting becomes the critical moment when there was a change of foreign policy regarding international issues. During the time of Barack Obama retirement and followed by replacement by Donald Trump, significant changes of United States foreign policy felt in high tension specifically in related to military and security foreign policy. This chapter will talk about the transition of United States government from Barrack Obama to Donald Trump.

DPRK has been becoming primary attention on the United States in terms of security since the first DRK nuclear weapon program established. Options have implemented by the United States to reduce the tension started with the soft power of diplomacy until military aggression and deployed troops into ROK. United States seems threatened by the existing of DPRK nuclear weapon, as the good behavior of DPRK itself which incorporated into international regimes as well multilateral resolutions.

In contemporary ages of the United States and DPRK interaction, the United States Under Donald Trump committed to using “fury” as a logical option to counter DPRK nuclear program which already threatened the United States directly. Donald Trump asserted that it is better for DPRK to act obediently on the international community and try to avoid conflict with the United States if DPRK really commitment to avoid armaments contact.

Donald Trump who at the early campaign already stated about the crisis in North East Asia specifically in Korean Peninsula as a crisis which needs direct intervention and relying on United States military capability, Donald Trump expressed as a military-oriented crisis resolution president. “In many ways, Trump's foreign policy discourse is defined by his opposition to the grand strategy of international liberal order building and forward-leaning military posture in Europe and Asia that previous administrations have more or less consistently pursued since World War II” (Grevi, 2016).

The military approach in Donald Trump policy potentially affected by his background which has less experience in diplomatic. Trump historical record as businessman leads him to the shortcut procedure to use the military as a high potential of United States to have political bargaining with other states. Trump has little communication in political affairs and directly push military capabilities in all out.

One of the Donald Trump plans to accelerate military capabilities of the United States was to increase military spending budget which will use for military armament and deployment. When Donald Trump stated about his plan to have additional military budget, the congress of United States directly had a research and plannary action the cut economic budget of the United States into military spending armaments.

Table 4.1

Department of Defense Budget

\$ in billions	FY 2016	FY2017 Request	FY2018 Request	FY2017-FY2018
Base	521.3	521.8	574.5	+52.8
OCO	58.9	65.0	64.6	-0.4
Total	580.3	586.7	639.1	+52.4

Source: United States Department of Defense(2017).*Defense Budget Overview*. Retrieved April 2018 from United States Department of Defense Fiscal Year:http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2018/fy2018_Budget_Request_Overview_Book.pdf

From the data above, the fiscal year of The United States request between early during 2016 until 2018 increased around 52 billions US dollar. The increase of military spending budget proposal shows the commitment of Donald Trump to increase the United States military capability related to the amount of troops and resources. The U.S. has approximately 28,000 troopers positioned on the Korean promontory, as per the Pentagon. U.S. powers have bolstered South Korea since the Korean War, however Trump in the past has griped that Washington isn't appropriately adjusted for the cost of looking after them.

It was reflecting on the early days of his administration. On March 2017, briefing of administration identified a number of areas where military posture was expanded. “Trump diverted a ‘powerful armada’, including a carrier battle group and a nuclear submarine, towards North East Asia and says he fears a “major, major conflict” with North Korea.” (Rogers, 2017). These options of pose military could be one of the effective options by Donald Trump. Ambitious of Trump to neglect DPRK nuclear threat created several options which could lead to military actions.

“The U.S. military has a wide array of prepositioned equipment, both at shore locations and afloat, that could be sent to South Korea or elsewhere within the region. Deploying additional ground troops to South Korea or elsewhere in the region is also an option. Redeploying U.S. tactical nuclear weapons onto the Korean Peninsula, as has been called for by the Liberty Korea Party, is another such option” (J. McInnis, et al., 2017)

The approach of the Trump administration seems still to be one of looking for considerably harder sanctions to change the strategies of the DPRK administration. However, these will have a negligible impact without extreme endorses on DPRK capacity to import fuel.

Donald Trump procedure on approaching DPRK focused on preventing worst possibility by preparing armaments, and give economic sanctions in order to stop the main economy sources of DPRK by expecting DPRK would get fewer sources to develop more dangerous weapon and in this case Donald Trump sighted China collaboration to join his procedure since China hold as one state who has serious impact on DPRK economy and political affairs. "Since China is the dominant supplier, cooperation between Washington and Beijing has to be forthcoming but there are both generic and specific reasons why Beijing is not too sympathetic to putting further pressure on North Korea." (Rogers, 2017).

Trump ambition to counter DPRK nuclear threat already become the main priority on United States security policy and enter the top United States priority. The procedure of "Strategic patience" which implemented by the previous president seems not suitable anymore because of the behavior of DPRK which already in the status of emergency. Trump now looking for further step by deploying military approach and seek for tougher sanction to freeze DPRK capabilities on military and prevent any economic source from another state. An intense approach from the United States to China as one of the example by Trump to overtake and control DPRK threat of nuclear. Trump also often says that the military of DPRK was not a huge threat to the United States but it has to be underlined as opponents of United States. "It won't happen" Trump addressed in his statement to response DPRK threat.

Specialists on DPRK have cautioned that forceful talk could reverse discharge on Trump, persuading Kim Jong-un that his administration is in up and coming risk and activating what he sees as a pre-emptive assault. Trump decided to make a force on DPRK nuclear weapon considered as an aggressive action from the United States as a result of the uncooperating decision of DPRK. Trump firmly took on his activities during his early administration by literally increased United States armaments as his first precaution policy and approach states which have an intense relationship with DPRK such as China and Russia Federation to cooperate with the United States and cease the atomic weapon of DPRK as well.

A. Military Motion of United States

After approximately eight rounds of multilateral and United Nations sanctions to DPRK related to its atomic program, United States firmly starts an armaments approach on DPRK if it continues the threat of nuclear into United States and allies. Trump claimed that indeed the DPRK nuclear weapon not only could endanger the United States, Japan, and Korea but also might be an entire state. Trump told writers at his club in Bedminster, New Jersey that DPRK best not make any more dangers to the United States whether they will be met with flame and the wrath like the world has never observed (McCurry, 2017). The temper of Trump regarding DPRK almost reach the limit and the statement of Trump showed that the fire and fury will reverse into military aggression.

His commitment to ending Korean crisis possibility with military intervention also several times stated to the media, as he said to Fox News about his commitment. "In this way, here we're making a beeline for the utilization of a military choice. I am persuaded that the Chinese and North Koreans are starting to now wake up – this isn't President Bush, this isn't President Obama, this is President Trump and he's dead genuine about the potential utilization of a military alternative." (Barnes, 2017)

Serious preparation of United States in military motion really visible inside the military training area and the border of ROK. Massive deployment of United States troops inside of this area combine with capabilities of ROK armaments has launched.

“Korean powers are partitioned into three principle battle armed forces, with roughly 5,000 tanks and heavily clad battling vehicles, 6,000 gunnery pieces, and 450 flying machines, including F-15s, F-16s, and F-5s. Complexity, the present quality of United States Forces Korea (USFK), which summons all US troops in South Korea, is 37,500, included fundamentally of the Eighth Army, with its second Combat Aviation Brigade, Second Armored Brigade Combat Team, and the 210th Field Artillery Brigade; the Seventh Air Force, with around 100 F-16s and A-10s; and littler Navy, Marines, and Special Operations Forces segments.” (Auslin, et al., 2017)

Massive troops deployment of United States inside ROK territory yet as an action defending Korean Peninsula from the security crisis which directed for DPRK. The United States intelligence also already observed for potential targeting locations if the attack really happened. Potential focuses in North Korea, for example, charge and control offices, rocket dispatch bases and atomic weapons' locales have generally spread the nation over. Numerous offices and warehouses are covered profound underground and various areas are even obscure because of the absence of intelligence overview.

Even though United States claimed that this deployment not necessary for threat DPRK, but for DPRK perspective, this action as a form of trigger to have Korean Peninsula security crisis. As a result, the counteraction also prepared by DPRK surround Korean Peninsula border between ROK and DPRK. Also, the North is presumed to have up to 100,000 exceptional activities powers, who might be released

to wreak devastation inside South Korea; countering them with united unique tasks powers and ground troops would likely involve huge military assets, in this manner lessening the number of associated powers ready to counter customary North Korean powers (Auslin, et al., 2017).

In all these scenarios of troops deployment, it is reasonable for the United States to enhance its military and send it to Korean Peninsula. Basically, the amount of DPRK missile warheads has been growing times to times and created sentiment from international communities, when this happens, it is difficult to implement a “wise” policy regarding the potential of war already in front of the time. The armament deploy would be reasonable instead walk away and step back from Korean Peninsula. Thus, it will be not easy to counter the aggressive and offensive regime of DPRK to change its behavior. Nevertheless, the worst case scenario has to prepare which could be a large-scale attack on the United States, ROK, and Japan.

B. Approaches of United States to UNSC Members for Solving DPRK Nuclear Weapon

As a secondary procedure of United States to counter DPRK Nuclear weapon is by conducting approaches to states which close relationship with DPRK in terms of cooperation, especially states who have a position in United Nations Security Council (UNSC). As a necessary understanding, Trump realized that military form of joint training troops will not be enough to control DPRK nuclear weapon. Indeed that even though the sanctions form past 11 years were failed to control it, the role of multilateral sanctions also has a large impact on the development of DPRK nuclear weapon development. United States to open wide chances for states in order to solve DPRK crisis, by targeting Russia and China, United States seem to count on these two countries since the position of China and Russia is prominent enough to have a diplomatic approach with DPRK.

1. The United States Approaches to Russia

Trump used his lobby to the president of Russia Vladimir Putin in the discussion of urging DPRK nuclear weapon program. On the discussion between Trump and Putin via phone call in December 2017, mostly discuss the urging situation of DPRK which could threaten international security. As his response, Putin said the discussion with Trump could lead one step ahead to open diplomatic resolution with DPRK. On the discussion, Putin addressed his appreciation that the United States already aware of the reality which happens in current situation which could be a good sign for one party. In other words, Putin stated that if both of countries still forcing military aggression, it will lead to the catastrophic situation.

The situation that DPRK is a closed country that has low ability to maintain a relationship, in which a small missile launch to DPRK could detonate a disaster for Korean Peninsula. According to Putin, DPRK feels threatened by Washington with United States armaments, and for self-defense action, there is no other way besides developing the mass destruction weapon. Russia seems to direct United States to keep maintain bilateral approach with DPRK and assume that there is no necessary to pull out the trigger of conflict when there are still chances to use the soft procedure.

However, Trump did not feel satisfied with what Putin actually did on the reality. Dissatisfaction of Donald Trump to Putin was addressed inside the oval office of Washington, Trump said that Russia is not actually helping even just a little bit. "I don't know that discussions will prompt anything significant. They've talked for a long time and they've exploited our leaders, of our past presidents," he said. (Reuters, Trump accuses Russia of violating sanctions to aid North Korea, 2018)

This dissatisfaction also led Trump to accuse Russia of helping DPRK to avoid UN Sanctions regarding nuclear weapons. According to UN sanctions, DPRK got an embargo on oil imports from the international community for its resources to use. The sanctions included strongly lessened breaking points on North Korea's refined oil imports, the arrival home of every North Korean working abroad inside two years, and a crackdown on ships carrying prohibited things including coal and oil to and from the nation (Guardian, 2017). Trump accused Putin that Russia transferred three tankers of oil to be delivered to DPRK as the resources to support nuclear reactors capacity. As a response, Russia denied there was a violation of sanctions by Russia regarding UN resolutions. Russia claimed that its country supports and observes the UN resolution fully towards DPRK.

Trump's sentimentality on DPRK nuclear program brought the United States into a sensitive situation when it will oppose any kind of actions which could bring benefits for DPRK, the Trump accusation on Putin for helping DPRK to support its resources as the form of Trump's sentimental behavior which is rooted by DPRK Nuclear Program.

2. The United States Approaches to China

For the United States, one of the key resolutions to open diplomatic bargaining with DPRK is through China. On Donald Trump's visit to Beijing and meeting with Xi Jinping, Donald Trump addressed his intention and perspective to face and resolve DPRK nuclear crisis. Unfortunately, the result of the meeting between the United States and China did not achieve a big contribution to resolving the issue. The reason is there is a different perception on facing DPRK from both countries. Similar to Russia, Donald Trump's goal from the United States' approach to China was to affirm the isolation of DPRK to maximize the sanctions for DPRK and reduce the resources for developing a nuclear weapon. However, China as the biggest trading partner of DPRK has a different perspective on how to face DPRK.

China believes that the only way to change DPRK perception on a nuclear weapon is the changing of the regime and make sure the current regime off from the table of administration. Likewise how China sees the nuclear weapon program of DPRK. China believes that the existence of nuclear weapon inside of DPRK is not necessary a big problem to be discussed, the primary options are to build long-term disarmament strategy as Tong Zhao, a fellow from Nuclear Policy Program at Carniage Tsinghua Center said. "For the Chinese, we believe we can endure an atomic furnished North Korea within a reasonable time-frame while we work out the long haul demilitarization technique," (Calamur, 2017)

Furthermore, China believes that the critical situation does not relate to kind of sanctions which DPRK receive. Even though an embargo could threaten the capability of survival of DPRK and make the country lack resources, the real issue will come out on how DPRK face the emergency and desperate situation. Since the beginning of the conflict, on the desperate situation, DPRK tend to choose a provocative action and an action which can escalate the risk of war.

Two different perceptions of China and United States only lead to another deadlock situation for United States to isolate DPRK from North Asia region. Nevertheless, China commitment to support the sanctions on DPRK still addressed by Xi Jin Ping and make sure China will support the control of DPRK nuclear program by international regimes in terms of security. One of the resolutions from China was "freeze-to-freeze" policy. According to China, DPRK enhances its development on the nuclear weapon because of the threatening atmosphere which the United States established in Korean Peninsula, and there is no other way to counter powerful states like the United States besides creating a weapon of mass destruction. One of the options to reduce the tension is by freeze United States military inside Korean Peninsula in exchange for a freeze of DPRK nuclear weapon.

“ Its intended to determine the emergency is the supposed "Freeze-to freeze" proposition, in which North Korea would end its rocket and atomic projects in return for the United States and South Korea suspending their joint military activities—a nonstarter for Washington, which wants to expand weight on North Korea while holding open the offer of exchange.” (Calamur, 2017)

The outcomes of United States approach to China and Russia was seeks for resolution on facing DPRK nuclear program. From both countries perspective, it is reasonable when DPRK determined nuclear weapon as a defensive mechanism of its country since the motives of DPRK enhancing its nuclear weapon because of threatened from the United States. Both Countries agreed that the way to solve this issue is by bilateral bargaining between the United States and DPRK. However, it is necessary that United States has to realize the reality of United States created existence of threat from DPRK

Donald Trump, on the other hand, believes that the resolution is to isolate DPRK from a particular region. Donald Trump bargains with China and Russia not release from their role on UNSC and also close relation states with DPRK. However, as the matter fact that United States has rigid perceptions on DPRK, Donald Trump think that the coercion procedure and oppress DPRK with embargo is an effective way to push DPRK nuclear program.

State Department Spokeswoman for United States Heather Nauert, represent Donald Trump Dissatisfaction with Beijing decision to keep bargaining with DPRK in “calm” procedure. "We expect, we trust that China will accomplish more since we know they can accomplish more as far as sticking to U.N. Security Council resolutions," (Reuters, U.S., China reaffirm commitment to pressure North Korea: State Department, 2018).

The United State's reaction towards the DPRK defense policy was shown by James Mattis, the United States defense secretary on his press outside the white house. as a representative of the white house, he warned DPRK that any kind of threat which DPRK execute, it would be trigger “massive military response” from the United States and its allies. “We made clear that we have the ability to defend ourselves and our allies, Republic Of Korea and Japan, from any attack. And our commitment among the allies is ironclad: any threat to the United States or its territories, including Guam, or our allies will be met with a massive military response, a response both effective and overwhelming” (Borger, Walters, & Mccurry, 2017). With the high tension of united states on how its response towards the movement of DPRK clearly exposes the “offensive” reaction by the United States

The offensive motion of United States to DPRK nuclear weapon has lead Donald Trump to dissatisfaction with diplomatic approaches with particular states and ambitions of Donald Trump to create a situation of DPRK in isolation as a form of commitment on how United States act to DPRK