

North Korea's Nuclear Threat: A Case Study of the Security Dilemma in East Asia

Dwi Ardiyanti*¹ & Nur Rahma Fitria²

¹University of Darussalam Gontor, ²Universitas Potensi Utama

*Correspondence: dwi.ardiyanti@unida.gontor.ac.id

DOI: 10.32699/resolusi.v7i2.7280

Submitted: 2024-06-10, Revised: 2024-06-25, Accepted: 2024-12-16

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyze the security dilemma of this concept when examining East Asian states' responses to North Korea's nuclear weapons. It is a concept of international relations, which advocates a state in which one country strengthens its national security while reducing the security of another country. North Korea's claim that its nuclear program is self-defense is a security dilemma, but the sole threat to its neighbor is sparking a response from East Asian nations. Under the threat of North Korean nuclear weapons, East Asian countries choose to ensure national security by enhancing military capabilities and strengthening military alliances. The method used in this study is qualitative. The results of this study suggest that the concept of security dilemma is a concept that can describe the responses of East Asian countries to North Korea's security dilemma. Responses by regional states such as China, South Korea, and Japan have led to increased military capabilities to protect their own countries in an attempt to maintain superpower alliances. The analysis of the case study can be demonstrated by implementing the factor dynamic Asian map of the security dilemma process of the case study, the response of East Asian countries to North Korea's nuclear weapons.

Keywords: East Asia; nuclear program; security dilemma

Introduction

Security dilemma is a main concept to study about international politics and foreign policy. This concept was first coined by John Herz in 1950 and then analyzed in detail by other scientists such as Robert Jervis and Charles Glaser. (Walt, 2022) Security dilemma is one of the relevant concepts of international relations to discuss the state of a country. Security dilemma describes a situation where one country increases its means of defense to achieve a higher level of security and is nevertheless interpreted by another country as an act of aggression so that it may lead to a spiral of weaponry. (Diez et al., 2011) In the international world countries inadvertently try to cause disputes between each other but sometimes the steps taken by the countries concerned can result in an escalation of the conflict and can lead to war. (Bjork, 2015) The nuclear phenomenon is a relevant event to be reviewed through the perspective of a security dilemma where it can be said that the concept of security dilemma can be used to analyze the response and reaction of countries to the state of the international world of anarchy.

North Korea is one of the countries with nuclear development aimed at defense. Kim Dong Su, a former North Korean diplomat, he said that his first possession of nuclear

weapons in North Korea was aimed at threatening the United States and South Korea. Both North Korea consider nuclear the best way to defend its dictatorship. All three of North Korea's nuclear holdings are intended to deter interference from major neighboring countries including China and Russia. (Dong Su, 2022) So far, North Korea has used its nuclear weapons and put forward it as a condition to exchange North Korea's denuclearization for the signing of a peace treaty between the United States and North Korea. Nuclear weapons are one of the terrible weapons of mass destruction. In this modern era, there are several countries that use nuclear weapons as a means of defense to achieve their country's sovereignty. North Korea is one example of a country that uses nuclear as a means of state defense. Over time North Korea managed to intensify the world by increasing its nuclear weapons.

In the international sphere, there are nine countries that own the most nuclear weapons in the world including: Russia, the United States, China, France, the United Kingdom, Pakistan, India, Israel, and North Korea. (Oktarianisa, 2022) Russia and America hold more than 90% of the power over the international world. But there is actually a mutual agreement between countries that have nuclear weapons not to use their nuclear weapons in warfare. The promise was reported in early 2022 which coincided with the heating up of relations between Russia and Ukraine. Because they know the impact of nuclear use is very terrible like the events in world history, namely the Nagasaki bomb and Hiroshima. When Japan lost to the allies in World War II, Korea split into two states with different ideologies. (Sulistyo, 2012) Where the northern part is under the control of the Soviet Union and the southern part is under the control of the United States. At that time North Korea took advantage of this situation with the Soviets through the development of its nuclear potential. Initially, North Korea sent some of its scientists to conduct research in the Soviet Union for training. Furthermore, due to the cooperation between the two the Soviet Union helped North Korea to establish a nuclear research complex in Pyongyang.

Here, the concept of security dilemma can be an effective tool to analyze the problem faced by East Asian countries for nuclear development program by North Korea. Then, the question is how the concept of security dilemma can analyze the problem of nuclear program in North Korea? And how it will impact on several countries in the East Asia by using the implementation of security dilemma?

Research Method

This research uses qualitative methods, this qualitative research method aims to understand, analyze, and describe a problem that occurs. John W. Creswell qualitative research is research with an approach to explore and understand a meaning based on a social problem. (Bakry, 2016) This research will explain the analysis of the concept of security dilemma implemented in the reaction of East Asian countries to North Korea's nukes. This research was conducted to answer the formulation of the problem above. The object of this study is the implementation of the concept of security dilemma in the reaction of East Asian countries to North Korea's nuclear.

The data used in this study are secondary data obtained from primary and secondary sources in the form of official Korean E-Government websites, books, articles, and related journals. This research uses the literature study method to collect skunder data from primary and secondary sources obtained from the official website of the Korean E-Government, books, articles, and related journals.

Data analysis techniques are the most important part of qualitative research where this section is used to analyze the data that has been obtained. In qualitative research, data analysis is carried out when the researcher has obtained all the data to be used. Data analysis means turning data into new findings, thoughts, opinions, or theories. (Raco, 2018) The data analysis techniques used in this process are analysis and synthesis, which includes sources or literature. In this study, researchers tested the validity of the theory through case studies that have been taken. Related to this, the steps that will be taken by researchers are to reduce data, present data, and make conclusions. Based on some literature used by the author as a reference, it can be concluded that some of the things discussed in the previous study were about implementing concepts in case studies, but in this study researchers will analyze concepts and implement case studies.

Theoretical Framework: Security Dilemma

Security dilemma is one of the basic concepts in international relations. In this concept, some experts mention that anarchy is the main source of the cause of the security dilemma. The anarchist nature of the international system can encourage the state in seeking help to survive. Countries that have alliances may not experience fear of uncertainty and threats from other countries. The uncertainty and fear felt by a country can create a security dilemma.

The causal relationship regarding the dynamics of the security dilemma. Basically, Shipping Tang (2010), anarchy is the main cause of the emergence of security dilemmas. From anarchy the state or actors need independence to maintain their security, after that arises a sense of uncertainty and fear, then the state performs self-help through power competition. Here are the causes of the security dilemma.

Anarchy in international relations is the absence of a world government, no sovereign body over a state with the authority or power to uphold justice. (Glaser, 2019) Anarchy explains how a country behaves. In an anarchist system there is no authority or body that has the authority to uphold justice, resolve disputes, or regulate the international political system. In an anarchist international system, the state has no choice but to pursue its security. But it can elicit other responses from other countries. This response arises because the state misrepresents the intentions of other countries in terms of improving their country's security, and according to realism this behavior is a threat that must be wary of.

Arthur M. Eckstein pfada article he wrote examples of anarchy namely the outbreak of World War I, World War II and the Cold War. (Eckstein, n.d.) World War II can be said to be a tangible form of anarchy of the international system that caused the security dilemma.

In these events there was no body authorized to resolve the great and uncontrollable dispute, in the end from the events of World War II gave birth to two opposing alliances.

In conditions of anarchy two states of defensive realism increases its security, but is not threatening. The two countries cannot confirm each other's intentions. (Tang, 2010) As a result of this, each tends to fear the power he has, because the state believes that power is a means to security. Therefore the two countries gathered more strength to survive and also maintain the security of their countries. Bandwagoning is one of the efforts made by these countries to take refuge. Bandwagoning is the act of the state to join a state that has greater power. In other words, it can be interpreted as seeking alliances with countries that have greater power.

Uncertainty is a fear caused by anarchy. (Rathbun, 2007). The gathering of greater power in a country only reinforces each other's uncertainty and fear. Usually countries that feel fear and uncertainty tend to feel that the country is threatened by the behavior of other countries and does not have alliances with which to take refuge. With the presence of fear and uncertainty in a country pushes to increase the strength of its country. The fear felt by countries in the East Asian region is the cause of the security dilemma. The fear that is experienced triggers the country to seek alliances against stronger countries to gain protection from emerging threats.

The security and uncertainty of a country can encourage countries to increase the strength of their countries. (Tang, 2010) Increasing state security is one of the efforts made to maintain the national security of a country. In other words, if a country increases security in its country, it makes itself feel much safer from the existence of existing threats. However, the increase in the security of each country causes power competition with each other. This triggers the emergence of security dilemmas with each other.

Andres Wivel, in the article he wrote, security dilemma in political science is a situation where a country takes action to improve the security of its country and causes a reaction from other countries that causes a decrease instead of an increase in security in the country. (Wivel, 2019) A country's security dilemma arises from a sense of fear and uncertainty due to increased security from other countries. Increased security by countries can reduce the security of other countries. The state seeks to maximize its power as a means of defense of the state against the increased security and strength of other states. The existence of a security dilemma can trigger the reaction of other countries, because the state feels threatened and intimidated by the increased security of other countries.

An action is an action carried out by a community or group of people on behalf of the state. (Travis et al., 1955) Actions are usually carried out by a country to meet its national interests. A reaction is an attempt by a country to respond to the actions of another country. (Snyder et al., 1961) The state's reaction is an action taken in response to the actions of other countries that he says threaten the security of their country. Action and reaction are efforts made by the state to deal with the fear of increasing the military strength or capabilities of other countries.

Robert Jervis in the journal written by Shiping Tang security dilemma can cause material and psychological factors. (Tang, 2010) Material and psychological factors can be said to be the benchmark of a security dilemma that occurs in the state. Because it can be a firm policy made by the state or cooperation between countries that feel the same security dilemma.

North Korea's Nuclear Dynamics

In 1956 North Korea and the Soviet Union signed a treaty on peaceful cooperation in the use of nukes. The agreement approved the sending of North Korean technicians and scientists to the Soviet Union for nuclear program training in Moscow. (Heo & Woo, 2008) At that time the knowledge and technology possessed by North Korea was not sufficient to produce its nuclear independently. Balázs Szalontai said at the time that China's nuclear program posed a major threat to the East Asian region. The nuclear program developed by China inspires North Korea's ambitions to develop its nuclear weapons. (Szalontai & Radchenko, 2006) North Korea cooperated with Moscow at a time of deteriorating relations between Moscow and China, which North Korea said was an opportunity for it. Nuclear cooperation between the Soviet Union and North Korea was one that China could not match.

In 1960 when North Korea had ties to the Soviet Union, the leaders of the Soviet Union transferred nuclear technology and devices to allow Pyongyang to develop its nuclear. In the following year North Korea acquired scud missiles from Egypt and reengineered to make two versions of the missile, the hwasong 5 missile and the hwasong 6 missile. (Warrick & Vitkovskaya, 2018). In 1965 a Military Academy was established for which the North Korean military received missile development. The Soviet Union extended its assistance to North Korea in the construction of a research center in Yongbyon and helped North Korea to run its small nuclear reactor. (Bermudez, 1999) The nuclear facility built at Yongbyon yielded great results and began to master nuclear weapons which was the impetus for Kim Il Sung to upgrade the research center.

Nuclear development in North Korea is the biggest security threat to South Korea since the Korean war. (Young Jae & Sung-hoon, 2007) Actually, North Korea's nuclear development not only affects the South Korean state, but this nuclear development is also a great threat to the security of the East Asian region. Nuclear development carried out by North Korea to meet its interests both in terms of military and economic.

Since 1959 North Korea has signed a nuclear cooperation treaty with the Soviet Union. The purpose of this cooperation was none other than to develop nuclear technology and continued the establishment of the nuclear complex at Yongbyon in the 1960s. North Korea began operating nuclear in 1963. (Ahn, 2011) The cause of North Korea's nuclear program is based on defending its Pyongyang regime. That way North Korea continues to develop these nuclear weapons.

Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is a treaty passed on July 1, 1968. The purpose of the treaty is to prevent nuclear spread, encourage peaceful use of nuclear, and advance the goal of disarmament. (*Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)*, n.d.) The 3 main foundations are related to the commitment to nuclear disarmament, the use of nuclear weapons for the benefit of peace, and non-proliferation. (Kementerian Luar Negari Republik Indonesia, 2019) North Korea has been a member of the NPT since 1985.

In the 1980s North Korea experienced a drastic economic decline and in 1987 the Soviet Union ended its assistance to North Korea. The economic crisis in North Korea triggered a campaign and halted all construction. (Ahn, 2011) The decision taken by Pyongyang to increase its military has had an impact on North Korea's economic recession. As a result of this crisis North Korea almost collapsed. North Korea joined the NPT for declaring that it has a nuclear reactor at Yongbyon to the IAEA. In 1991 the declaration of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula was announced by the president of the United States and the president of South Korea. After the declaration, the IAEA can only conduct inspections in North Korea. The United States found a discrepancy, namely that the number of nuclears issued by North Korea was greater than reported. But in 1993, North Korea announced that it was withdrawing from the NPT. (Gumay, 2016) North Korea joined the NPT over Moscow's demands to Pyongyang, as Moscow threatened to halt its aid if North Korea reluctantly joined the NPT.

In 2003 North Korea officially withdrew from the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). The actions taken by North Korea caused a heated response for the international community, let alone the United States. (Kusuma, 2019) The United States is one of the countries involved in the establishment of the NPT, because one of the national interests of the United States is to stop nuclear weapons owned by North Korea. the United States nuclear North Korea is a very big threat. Therefore, North Korea's exit from the NPT poses a dilemma for the United States. For him, a country that can have nuclear weapons is a country that has received permission from the NPT.

The decision taken by North Korea to withdraw itself from the NPT was not surprising. Just because North Korea is reluctant to sign a treaty with the IAEA to protect its nuclear facilities. (Preez & Potter, 2003) , then its nuclear activities cannot run freely. But North Korea wrote a letter to NPT member states that despite withdrawing from the treaty, it had no intention of making nuclear and that the nuclear it made was limited to electricity interests and other peaceful purposes.

Robert Jervis in his journal *Cooperation Under Security Dilemma* states that there are two crucial variables in the security dilemma, namely offensive and defensive. North Korea's nuclear is one of the properties used by the country to protect and as a means of defense for the country to gain sovereignty for its country. North Korea also uses its nukes as a tool for diplomacy and competitiveness with other countries. None other than the above objectives, North Korea's nukes were used as an instrument to get help from other countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union. North Korea's nuclear dynamics can be viewed through the concept of security dilemma is a defensive form of state to maintain security

and obtain sovereignty from other countries. The purpose of North Korea's nuclear possession is not for offensive action, but for defense purposes. Neighboring countries, however, were unable to interpret North Korea's intentions, concluding that North Korea's nuclear escalation posed a threat to surrounding countries.

Security Dilemma in North Korea's Nuclear Case in East Asia Region

Anarchy

The international world is inseparable from the international system of anarchy, this gave birth to a major event in the form of World War (WW II). (Suhito, n.d.) The division of Korea dates back to the victory of the allied powers in World War II and was the end of Japan's occupation of Korea. The United States and the Soviet Union attempted to occupy Korea as a guardianship with surveillance along 38 northern latitudes. The purpose of the trust is to liberate the Korean state. The United States is in charge of South Korea and the Soviet Union is in charge of North Korea. This can be proven through a security dilemma dynamics chart. In the security dilemma dynamics chart, anarchy has the highest place where in the chart it is explained that anarchy is the main cause of the security dilemma. In this study, it can be seen that WW II is a tangible form of anarchy of the international system. WW II made many countries feel threatened by their security in terms of proxy war. With the proxy war, each country must find an alliance with a country that has superpowers, namely the United States and the USSR.

Need for self-help toward survival or security

As explained in the previous section, this section is an attempt by which a state bandwagons with another country in order to obtain protection for its country. Bandwagoning is done by one country against another country that has more power. In this section, the author explains that countries located in the East Asian region are looking for alliances with the increase in North Korean nukes which is claimed to be a threat.

a) China

China was one of the member states of the allied bloc in WW II and was also one of the alliance countries of North Korea. The North Korea and China Treaty was an alliance agreement between the two countries that included provisions on military intervention on July 11, 1961. (Research and Development Division, n.d.) During the Korean war, China sent troops to help the North Korean regime in danger of collapsing. After the Korean war, it provided economic assistance to North Korea. China provides daily necessities to meet the needs of the post-Korean war and prioritizes heavy industry. China is also sending troops as rescuers for North Korea, which is in crisis, to destruction. In this case China is one of the countries in alliance with North Korea, therefore China gave a positive response to the efforts made by North Korea in increasing its nuclear.

b) South Korean

The issue of security on the Korean Peninsula is still in a state that is not conducive. The security situation on the Korean Peninsula is heating up again over North Korea's nuclear provocations. South Korea and the United States are building alliances through strategic alliances. (Rizki Amalia, 2020) Strategic Alliance is a form of cooperation between two countries with the same goal to obtain mutual benefits. As it is known that South Korea was a brother of North Korea before the onset of World War II. After the division of fiefdoms by the allies, South Korea grew under the auspices of the United States. In this case, it is seen that South Korea is building an alliance with the United States to strengthen its country's defense to face North Korea's nuclear threat.

c) Japan

When Japan was defeated by the United States in the Pacific War, a security alliance between Japan and the United States was established. In San Francisco in 1951, Japan and the United States signed a treaty on security and peace. (Listiana, 2015) As a result of Japan's defeat by the United States, the Japanese-American alliance became very important to maintain Japan's security. Japan was able to seek safety in the possibility of a formidable United States military thanks to its security partnership with the country.

Uncertainty and fear

North Korea's rising nuclear developments are causing fear and uncertainty for the security of the East Asian region. (M Najeri Al Syahrin, 2018) The fear and uncertainty experienced by the state is the result of increased security in other countries. The fear and uncertainty experienced by these countries prompted the country to increase its power. Thus the country in the East Asian region strengthened its alliances in order to increase military power and armaments. Such as South Korea and Japan conducting joint training with the United States to strengthen military capabilities over the nuclear threat of North Korea (Botto, 2020) and China supporting the denuclearization of North Korea (Dong, 2013). China is not anxious over North Korea's nuclear rise, due to China's position as an ally of North Korea. With this, China actually provides assistance to North Korea both in the economic and military fields.

Self-help through power competition

The existence of a sense of fear and uncertainty encourages a country to maximize the strength of its country. (Tang, 2010) The increase in state security gives rise to power competition between the countries involved. In the East Asian region, each country is making efforts to enhance its country's security to balance the power possessed by North Korea. This is shown that Japan and South Korea often conduct joint military training with the United States.

Increased security between countries creates a sense of security dilemma for other countries, the efforts made by their neighbors are a form of threat to their countries. The sense of security dilemma that plagues some countries can trigger action and reaction to

countries that experience these security dilemmas. In this study, the increase in North Korea's nuclear security triggered the East Asian region to increase its security.

Action and Reaction Countries of the East Asian Region

In February 2005, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) stated that its nuclear weapons were solely for self-defense and on October 9, 2006, North Korea conducted its first underground nuclear test in Hamgyongbukto province. The first test received criticism from the international community where they set an embargo on the supply of several types of weapons to the DPRK, materials and equipment related to weapons of mass destruction. (TACC, 2022) The nuclear escalation by North Korea provoked a reaction against the international community, not only the countries that occupy the East Asian region. With North Korea doing such actions, other countries, especially countries in East Asia, feel their security is threatened.

North Korea fired its intermediate-range ballistic missile (IRBM) over Japan on October 4, 2022 for the first time since the incident in 2017. Exactly a day earlier, North Korea fired about 23 short-range missiles, one of which fell less than 60 kilometers off the coast of South Korea near the Northern Limit Line (NLL) which is the de facto maritime border between the two. (Mesmer, 2022) North Korea fired its ballistic missile over Japanese territory. The missile launch came after Pyongyang demanded the United States and South Korea stop joint military exercises. The existence of joint training between the United States and South Korea causes anxiety for North Korea. The joint training conducted by the United States and South Korea is one of the largest exercises ever using hundreds of South Korean and United States fighter jets.

With the increase in North Korea's nuclear power after deciding to leave the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) stole the attention of the international community, especially for the people of the East Asian region as its neighbors. The increase in North Korea's nuclear power makes the people of East Asia feel threatened because for its neighboring country North Korea maximizes its nuclear program so that it can endanger the countries of the East Asian region, especially with the military capabilities possessed by its neighboring countries.

a) South Korean

The United States installed the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) in South Korea in 2016 in response to North Korea's nuclear weapons tests and ballistic missile launches. (Gady, n.d.) THAAD is a United States anti-ballistic missile system designed to destroy launched missiles. The installation of THAAD belonging to the United States in the territory of South Korea is a reaction to the nuclear threat of North Korea, which was done by South Korea as an effort to protect itself from North Korea's nuclear weapons.

After that, South Korea and the United States conducted the largest joint military training called Vigilant Storm which is a joint air training and this training involves F-35B fighter aircraft. (Shin, n.d.) Joint training between the United States and South Korea is a

reaction from North Korea's behavior after launching its ballistic missile. North Korea insists to the United States that its military activities are a means of self-defense and North Korea considers that the joint exercises carried out by the United States and South Korea are aggressive. But for South Korea and the United States have agreed to increase their military capabilities as a deterrent against North Korea's nuclear and missile threats.

b) Japan

Apart from South Korea, Japan is an East Asian country that feels anxious about North Korea's nuclear weapons. Japan overcomes nuclear North Korea by strengthening the alliance with the United States. (Sonoda, n.d.) Japan held discussions with the United States about the type of defense equipment used in joint military exercises. But on the other hand, Japan sees its relationship with the United States as having a negative factor, which is Japan's anxiety when the United States cuts ties with it and the fear of being caught in the event of a nuclear war. It can be seen that Japan is experiencing a dilemma regarding its alliance with the United States under the threat of North Korea.

c) China

The Chinese government says that China is neutral and does not want to help North Korea if it carries out a military attack. (M Najeri Al Syahrin, 2018) The fact is that China is afraid of the collapse of the Kim regime in North Korea, which will potentially send millions of North Korean refugees to China. Because for China, the presence of millions of North Korean refugees can threaten the security stability of China. With this it can be seen that China is experiencing a security dilemma due to North Korea's attitude.

The concept of security dilemma, the above data is a reaction done by East Asian countries in order to overcome the fear of North Korea's nuclear threat. Countries in the East Asian region choose to find alliances to protect their countries. South Korea and Japan are allied with the United States to save their country from the nuclear threat of North Korea. For the United States, North Korea is a real threat, and on the other hand, for North Korea, the United States is also considered a threat to its country. It can be seen through the data and analysis presented by researchers, that every action of a country can cause the reaction of other countries. The actions of a country can be misinterpreted by other countries, for example in terms of increasing military capabilities or possessing weapons. A country will feel threatened if its neighbor has something that it does not have, causing a sense of security dilemma and then the country will react to guard and protect itself from the threat of the neighboring country.

Material and psychological regulators

In this section, the author will explain the material and psychological factors caused by the security dilemma over the reaction of East Asian countries to North Korea's nuclear weapons, which are claimed to be a threat to neighboring countries.

a) China

China is the only country in East Asia that has an alliance with North Korea after the collapse of the Soviet Union. (Maulana, 2018) China has provided a lot of assistance to North Korea since the Cold War. North Korea's nuclear development is not a threat to its country because China is North Korea's closest ally historically. The reaction given by China is a positive reaction where China helps finance North Korea's nuclear development. China's purpose in helping North Korea is based on the similarity of ideology and China's position as an ally of North Korea, but on the other hand, China maintains the security stability of its country by providing assistance to North Korea. if North Korea experiences a crisis again, then China's national security will be threatened, if North Korea collapses, its people will seek refuge at the Chinese border and this will affect the stability of China's national security.

The fear experienced by the United States of North Korea's nuclear development has been expressed since the development of the nuclear program began with the help of the Soviet Union. The effort made by the United States to stop North Korea's nuclear program is through diplomacy by establishing the Six Party Talks. (Muhammad Nabil, 2014) Six Party Talks is a six-party talk that was established in 2003 and the United States asked North Korea, China, Russia, Japan, and South Korea as participation. The purpose of the Six Party Talks is to identify actions for the security and stability of the Korean peninsula. (Center for Nonproliferations Studies, 2011) The main topic in this forum discusses the DPRK's nuclear weapons program, which was in a position shortly after North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT agreement. The formation of the Six Party Talks is not only the effort of the United States, but China also has a very important role in the formation of the Six Party Talks.

b) Japan and South Korean

Japan and South Korea feel threatened by the nuclear tests carried out by North Korea, which makes Japan and South Korea cooperate bilaterally in the military field, which is stated in the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA). (Laufer, n.d.) GSOMIA is an agreement made by Japan and South Korea to exchange intelligence information to deal with the nuclear threat of North Korea. If the GSOMIA agreement is successful, then the two countries will get security guarantees from the nuclear development in North Korea, in addition, the two countries will be able to improve their bilateral relations due to the problems of the two countries in the past. This agreement is an important agreement for the two countries, if this agreement is terminated Japan will be increasingly unable to obtain information about its military situation and conditions while South Korea will increasingly find it difficult to obtain information on nuclear analysis data launched by North Korea, because Japan is superior in the field of analysis than South Korea.

The view of security dilemma concept in the security dilemma dynamics chart based on the data used by the researcher that the agreements made by East Asian countries are evidence of material and psychological regulators born from a sense of security dilemma that encourages them to make agreements in order to protect themselves.

Conclusion

Security dilemma is one of the concepts in the science of international relations. The concept is a concept that is relevant to be identified in the reaction of East Asian countries to North Korea's nuclear weapons. Security dilemma is also one of the concepts of international relations that can describe the causes of war. This research answers the hypothesis written by the author. In this research, researchers can see the process of the security dilemma in East Asia caused by North Korea's nuclear weapons.

The results of this research show that the concept of security dilemma is a concept that can see the reaction of countries in the East Asian region that are experiencing a security dilemma over North Korea's nuclear weapons. The reaction done by East Asian countries is the result of a sense of security dilemma to protect their country's security from the fear experienced over the possession of nuclear weapons owned by North Korea. The analysis of this case study can be proven by the implementation of the dynamic diagram of factors that cause the security dilemma process in the case study that was raised, which is the reaction of East Asian countries to North Korea's nuclear weapons.

China is an ally of North Korea, so with the rise of North Korea's nuclear weapons, the dilemma China is experiencing is not as big as other countries, but China is trying to denuclearize North Korea. South Korea and Japan are countries experiencing a security dilemma due to North Korea's nuclear proliferation. The effort made by South Korea and Japan is to bandwagon against the United States as having a superpower. By bandwagoning against a country that has a superpower in order to protect itself against the nuclear threat of North Korea. The effort made by South Korea and Japan is to increase the military under the alliance of the United States by conducting joint military training.

References

- Ahn, M. S. (2011). What is the root cause of the North Korean nuclear program? *Asian Affairs*, 38(4), 175–187. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00927678.2011.604287>
- Bakry, U. S. (2016). *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*.
- Bermudez, J. S. (1999). A History of Ballistic Missile Development in the DPRK. *Occasional Paper*, 2, 38.
- Bjork, C. (2015). *Is the Security Dilemma an Inescapable Reality or Self-Fulfilling Prophecy?* E-International Relations. <http://www.e-ir.info/2015/03/04/is-the-security-dilemma-an-inescapable-reality-or-self-fulfilling-prophecy/>
- Botto, K. (2020). *Overcoming Obstacles to Trilateral US-ROK-Japan Interoperability*. Carnegie Endowment For International Peace. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/03/18/overcoming-obstacles-to-trilateral-u.s.-rok-japan-interoperability-pub-81236>
- Center for Nonproliferations Studies. (2011). *Six-Party Talks*. Inventory of International Nonproliferation Organizations and Regims. <https://media.nti.org/pdfs/6ptalks.pdf>
- Diez, T., Bode, I., & Da Costa, A. (2011). Key Concepts in International Relations. In *Key*

- Concepts in International Relations* (First Edition). Sage Publications.
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446288344>
- Dong Su, K. (2022). *The History of North Korean Nuclear Development and Purpose of Possession of Nuclear Weapons*. Center for Asian Peace and Cooperation Studies Ritsumeikan University. <https://en.ritsumeikai.ac.jp/research/ceapc/watch/detail/?id=102>
- Dong, X. (2013). China's dilemma on the Korean Peninsula. *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 25(2), 243–255.
- Eckstein, A. M. (n.d.). *Anarchy Political Science*. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved January 7, 2023, from <https://www.cato-unbound.org/2019/09/18/john-glaser/anarchy-international-relations/>
- Gady, F.-S. (n.d.). *US Starts Deploying THAAD Anti-Missile Defense System in South Korea*. The Diplomat. Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://thediplomat.com/2017/03/us-starts-deploying-thaad-anti-missile-defense-system-in-south-korea/>
- Glaser, J. (2019). *The Anarchy of International Relations*. Accountability for America War Crimes. <https://www.cato-unbound.org/2019/09/18/john-glaser/anarchy-international-relations/>
- Gumay, R. N. S. (2016). Kebijakan keamanan Jepang terhadap proliferasi nuklir Korea Utara pasca keluarnya Korea Utara dari rezim non-proliferasi nuklir (periode 2003-2011). *Journal of International Relations*, 2, 116–126. <https://nonproliferation.org/north-koreas-withdrawal-from-the-npt-a-reality-check/>
- Heo, U., & Woo, J.-Y. (2008). The North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Motives, Progress, and Prospects. *The Institute of Korean Studies*, 39 No.4, 487–506. <https://www.kci.go.kr/kciportal/ci/sereArticleSearch/ciSereArticleView.kci?sereArticleSearchBean.artiId=ART001296935>
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. (2019). *Pelucutan Senjata dan Non-Proliferasi Senjata Pemusnah Massal*. Web Kemlu. [https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/90/halaman_list_lainnya/perlucutan-senjata-dan-non-proliferasi-senjata-pemusnah-massal#:~:text=Traktat Nonproliferasi Nuklir \(NPT\) adalah,bahan nuklir untuk tujuan damai.](https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/90/halaman_list_lainnya/perlucutan-senjata-dan-non-proliferasi-senjata-pemusnah-massal#:~:text=Traktat Nonproliferasi Nuklir (NPT) adalah,bahan nuklir untuk tujuan damai.)
- Kusuma, M. J. (2019). *Upaya pelucutan senjata nuklir Korea Utara oleh Proliferasi Nuklir / Non Proliferasi Treaty* (Issue September 2016). Universitas Komputer Indonesia.
- Laufer, J. (n.d.). *Hitting Reset on Japan-South Korea Relation*. The Diplomat. Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://thediplomat.com/2022/08/hitting-reset-on-japan-south-korea-relations/>
- Listiana, E. (2015). *Elli L. dan Erna K. Perpanjangan Aliansi Keamanan Jepang-Amerika Serikat pada Tahun 2013*. 19(1).
- M Najeri Al Syahrin. (2018). *Keamanan Asia Timur: Realitas, Kompleksitas Dan Rivalitas* (1st ed.). Komojoyo Press.
- Maulana, A. W. (2018). Kebijakan Luar Negeri Tiongkok terhadap Korea Utara dalam Proses Denuklirisasi Korea Utara Pasca Six Party Talks (Periode 2009-2013) [UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta]. In *UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta*. https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/bitstream/123456789/42868/1/arya_wirawan_maulana-fisip.pdf
- Mesmer, P. (2022). *New North Korean missile launches cause false alarm in Japan*. Le Monde. https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2022/11/03/new-north-korean-missile-launches-cause-false-alarm-in-japan_6002792_4.html
- Muhammad Nabil. (2014). Diplomasi Multilateral Six Party Talks Dalam Proses Denuklirisasi Korea Utara Periode 2003-2009. In *UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta*. UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

- Oktarianisa, S. (2022). *9 Negara Pemilik Nuklir Terbanyak di Dunia Total 13.000 Bom*. CNBC Indonesia. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20220301074605-4-319064/9-negara-pemilik-nuklir-terbanyak-di-dunia-total-13000-bom>.
- Preez, J. du, & Potter, W. (2003). *North Korea 's Withdrawal From the NPT : A Reality Check*. James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS). <https://nonproliferation.org/north-koreas-withdrawal-from-the-npt-a-reality-check/>
- Raco, J. (2018). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Jenis, Karakteristik dan Keunggulannya* (A. L (ed.)). PT. Grasindo. <https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/mfzuj>
- Rathbun, B. C. (2007). Uncertain about uncertainty: Understanding the multiple meanings of a crucial concept in international relations theory. *International Studies Quarterly*, 51(3), 533–557. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00463.x>
- Research and Development Division, N. I. for U. E. (n.d.). North Korea-China Treaty. *MINISTRY OF UNIFICATION*, 22–24. https://nkinfo.unikorea.go.kr/nkp/term/viewNkKnwldgDicary.do?pageIndex=1&dicaryId=100&menuId=NK_KNWLDG_DICARY
- Rizki Amalia, F. (2020). Aliansi Militer Korea Selatan dengan Amerika Serikat dalam melakukan Strategic Alliance untuk menjaga stabilitas keamanan Semenanjung Korea Tahun 2015-2016. *Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta*. [repository.umy.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/32160/BAB III .pdf?sequence=7&isAllowed=y](https://repository.umy.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/32160/BAB%20III.pdf?sequence=7&isAllowed=y)
- Shin, M. (n.d.). *North Korea Warns of “Consequences” for South Korea-US Joint Military Exercise*. The Diplomat. Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://thediplomat.com/2022/11/north-korea-warns-of-consequences-for-south-korea-us-joint-military-exercises/>
- Snyder, R., Bruck, H. W., & Sapin, B. (1961). The Decision Making Approach to the Study of International Politics. In *International Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory*.
- Sonoda, K. (n.d.). *Japan’s Security Alliance Dilemma*. The Diplomat. Retrieved February 14, 2023, from <https://thediplomat.com/2018/03/japans-security-alliance-dilemma/>
- Suhito, Y. P. (n.d.). Sistem Internasional Anarki dan Relevansinya terhadap Polaritas Aktor Internasional. *Universitas Airlangga*, 11(3), 296–300.
- Sulistyo, A. F. (2012). *Uji Coba Nuklir 2006 Sebagai Upaya survival Korea Utara*. Universitas Jember.
- Szalontai, B., & Radchenko, S. (2006). North Korea’s Efforts to Acquire Nuclear Technology and Nuclear Weapons : Evidence from Russian and Hungarian Archives. *Cold War International History Project Working Paper Series*, 53(August), 2–24.
- TACC. (2022). *History of the DPRK nuclear program*. TACC. <https://tass.ru/info/15705573>
- Tang, S. (2010). The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis. *Routledge, January 2010*, 1–248. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230106048>
- Travis, M. B., Snyder, R. C., Bruck, H. W., & Sapin, B. (1955). Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics. In *The Western Political Quarterly* (Vol. 8, Issue 1, p. 110). <https://doi.org/10.2307/442655>
- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)*. (n.d.). IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency. Retrieved December 12, 2022, from <https://www.iaea.org/publications/documents/treaties/npt>
- Walt, S. M. (2022). *Does anyone still understand the “security dilemma”?* Foreign Policy. [https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/07/26/misperception-security-dilemma-ir-theory-russia-ukraine/?tpcc=recirc_trending062921&utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=FP This Week&utm_term=45344&tpcc=FP This Week](https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/07/26/misperception-security-dilemma-ir-theory-russia-ukraine/?tpcc=recirc_trending062921&utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=FP%20This%20Week&utm_term=45344&tpcc=FP%20This%20Week)

- Warrick, J., & Vitkovskaya, J. (2018). *North Korea's nuclear weapons: What you need to know*. The Washington Post Democracy Dies in Darkness.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2018/03/06/5-things-to-know-about-north-koreas-nuclear-weapons/>
- Wivel, A. (2019). *Security Dilemma*. Encyclopedia Britannica.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/security-dilemma>
- Young Jae, K., & Sung-hoon, J. (2007). *A Study on the Nuclear Foreign Policy*. KAERI.