

Indonesia-North Korea Diplomatic Relations: Effort to Pursue National Interest and Create Regional Peace

*Hubungan Diplomatik Indonesia – Korea Utara:
Upaya Mewujudkan Kepentingan Nasional dan Menciptakan Perdamaian Regional*

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Riwayat Artikel	Abstract
Diterima: 3 November 2019 Direvisi: 14 Agustus 2020 Disetujui: 15 September 2020 doi: 10.22212/jp.v11i2.1466	<p><i>This article aims to analyze the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy towards North Korea over its approximately fifty-nine years of bilateral relations, since 17 June 1961. The arguments posited in this regard is that the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy towards North Korea has been counterproductive. Under the leadership of President Joko Widodo, Indonesia actually has great potential to influence North Korea's conducts through the close diplomatic relations that the two countries have developed. The friendship between Indonesia and North Korea began since the two states conducted reciprocal official visits 1964 and 1965. Indonesia's foreign policy towards South Korea has often been carried out to influence the offensive decisions of North Korean leaders, especially in relation to the issue of nuclear weapon development. The key question is what should and can Indonesia do next to help create peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula by adhering to the principles of a free and active foreign policy? Why is it necessary for Indonesia to do this and how can Indonesia carry out this foreign policy towards North Korea? After becoming President since 2011, Kim Jong-un had to weaken his father's winning coalition to consolidate domestic political stability. However, North Korea's domestic market reforms have had the effect of eroding the Kim family's ideological appeal. This is relevant to the expansion of political influence from Pyongyang, which prioritizes the continuation of a fragile centralized authoritarian power while maintaining sustainable domestic economic growth.</i></p> <p><i>Keywords: Indonesia; North Korea; Foreign Policy; Denuclearization; Regional Stability.</i></p>

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan menjelaskan secara analitis bagaimana implementasi kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia terhadap Korea Utara selama 59 tahun sejak 17 Juni 1961. Argumen yang ingin disampaikan terkait implementasi kebijakan luar negeri Indonesia terhadap Korea Utara adalah kontraproduktif. Indonesia di bawah kepemimpinan Presiden Joko Widodo berpotensi besar untuk mampu memengaruhi perilaku Korea Utara melalui hubungan diplomatik. Persahabatan Indonesia dan Korea Utara dimulai sejak saling kunjung di 1964 dan 1965. Orientasi politik luar negeri Indonesia di masa lalu hingga saat ini, telah sering dilakukan untuk memengaruhi keputusan ofensif para pemimpin Korea Utara, khususnya terkait dengan isu pengembangan senjata nuklir. Pertanyaannya adalah apa yang harus dan sebaiknya dilakukan Indonesia selanjutnya untuk membantu menciptakan perdamaian dan stabilitas di Semenanjung Korea dengan tetap berpegang pada prinsip politik luar negeri bebas dan aktif? Mengapa hal tersebut perlu dilakukan oleh Indonesia dan bagaimana cara menjalankan kebijakan luar negeri terhadap Korea Utara tersebut? Kim Jong-un, setelah menjadi Presiden sejak 2011, harus melemahkan posisi koalisi pemenang ayahnya untuk konsolidasi stabilitas politik dalam negeri. Bagaimanapun, reformasi pasar domestik Korea Utara telah berdampak pada pengikisan daya tarik ideologis keluarga Kim. Hal ini relevan dengan perluasan pengaruh politik dari Pyongyang memprioritaskan pada keberlangsungan kekuatan otoriter terpusat yang rentan seiring bagaimana dapat mempertahankan pertumbuhan ekonomi dalam negeri berkelanjutan.

Kata kunci: Indonesia; Korea Utara; Kebijakan Luar Negeri; Denuklirisasi; Stabilitas Kawasan

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic situation has an impact on the world peace process and the achievement of global security¹. Particularly for countries that are currently hit by a long conflict, such as on the Korean Peninsula. The global pandemic has further added to the security vulnerabilities of the border between North and South Korea. It is possible that North Korea could be threatened with falling into a sustainable level of structural poverty.

Indonesia and North Korea has good bilateral relations². The North Korean

leaders appreciates Indonesia as the founder of the Non-Aligned Movement and a major country in the Southeast Asia region to optimize its role in pursuing peace and security at the regional and international levels.

North Korea and Indonesia diplomatic relations began on June 17, 1961³. It was marked by an exchange of notes on the opening of a diplomatic consular office. In those years, President Sukarno maintained very good relations with Eastern Bloc countries such the Soviet Union and China.

North Korea effectively closed itself to the outside world after Kim Il-sung took central government control, with Josef

1 Retno L.P Marsudi, "Melestarikan Perdamaian di Masa Pandemi," *Kompas*, 14 August 2020, 6.

2 Berlian Napitupulu, "Promosikan Hubungan Baik Indonesia-Korea Utara, Dubes RI untuk Korea Utara Menjadi Narasumber Seminar Daring," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 15 May 2020, accessed on 1 July 2020, <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/1300/berita/promosikan-hubungan-baik-indonesia-korea-utara-dubes-ri-untuk-korea-utara-menjadi-narasumber-seminar-daring>

3 Ramadhan, "Kimilsungia dan Hubungan Mesra Indonesia dengan Korea Utara," *Asumsi.co*, 29 April 2020, accessed on 2 July 2020, <https://asumsi.co/post/kimilsungia-dan-hubungan-mesra-indonesia-dengan-korea-utara>.

Stalin's blessing, after World War II⁴. The state became seen as largely a Soviet Union satellite, though this was an overstatement; while in the Cold War era Pyongyang and Moscow appeared close, a longer lasting and in many ways more influential relationship has existed between Pyongyang and Beijing. North Korea has emerged into the current century as a relic of the last. It is effectively the only unreformed Stalinist-style command economy left in existence, while most others have crumbled or begun reform programs.

The US President, Bill Clinton described the Korean peninsula as 'the Cold War's Last Divide' in 1997, while President George Bush Jr. infamously included the DPRK in his 2002 'Axis of Evil' speech. Japan's Prime Minister called North Korea a 'disgraceful' country and his Chief Cabinet Secretary described it as a 'crazy' country⁵.

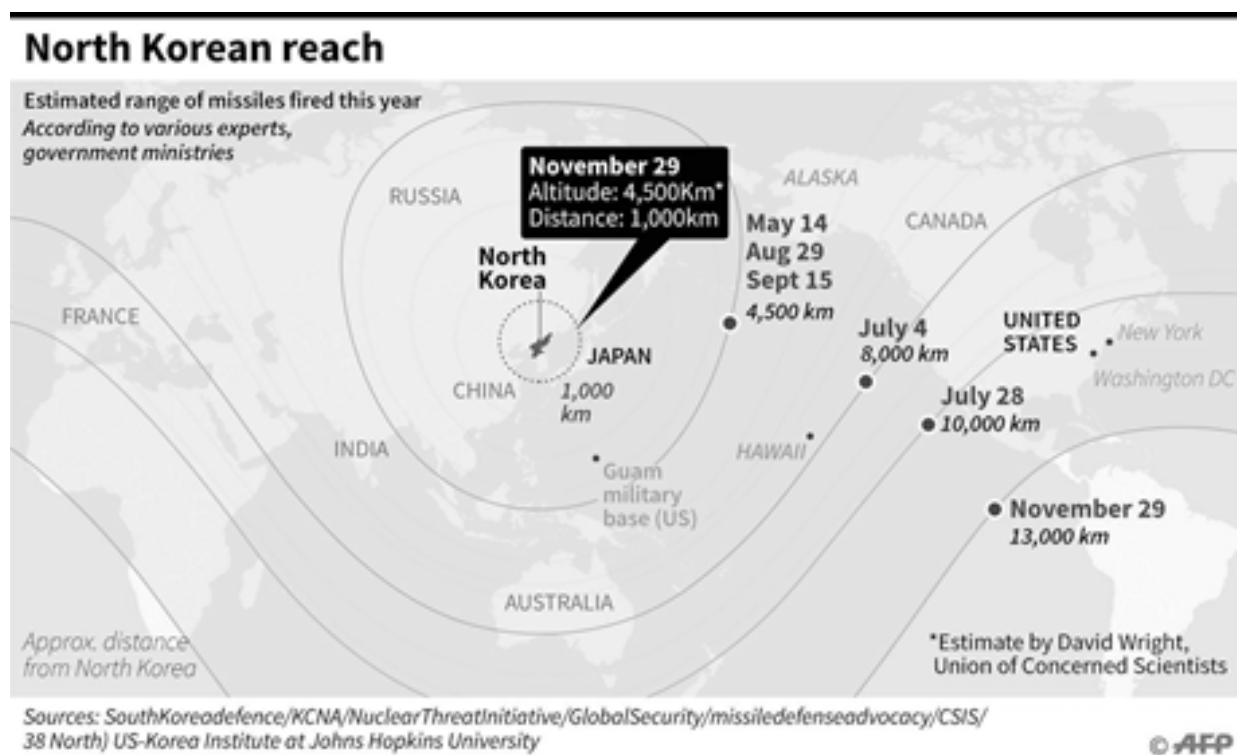
4 Paul French, *North Korea: The Paranoid Peninsula, a Modern History* (London & New York: Zed Books, 2007), 2.

5 French, *North Korea*, 1.

The other remaining socialist states have tended to downplay their military capacity in recent years; North Korea still publicly and vocally adheres to a military-first ideology of putting national army, before the working class.

In fact, the history of North Korea has been one of retreat from International Politics. The country remains still outside most international or regional forums, as well as remaining outside the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Pyongyang follows its own path in many respects, such: it has developed its own political theory that encompasses North Korean life in Juche theory; it operates its own calendar; until recently it retained few official diplomatic ties with foreign nations. Few of the North's citizens, even those in privileged positions, ever travel outside the country, and the nation restricts access by the outside media.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, meanwhile, has largely shunned the



Source: North Korea fires intercontinental ballistic missile (<https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/north-korea-fires-intercontinental-ballistic-missile-9449588>)

Picture 1. North Korea range of missile

outside world and pursued its own path, the outside world in return has, until recently, largely ignored North Korea except at intelligence agency levels and, since the mid-1990s, through foreign aid donations to deal with the famine ravaging the country. Tourism to the DPRK remains small-scale and business delegations rarely visit. The division drawn across the Korean peninsula at the 38th parallel in 1953 remains in force with the world's most heavily militarized border between the Koreas. Given the history of the Korean Peninsula and the states, however, that have grown up since 1953 a little paranoia is perhaps forgivable. Moreover, it has been the fate of the North Korea to be the least understood of the two halves.

The transition process of North Korea's political leadership from Kim Jong-il to Kim Jong-un actually began immediately after Kim Jong-il suffered a stroke in 2008⁶. Political elites in Pyongyang were psychologically prepared to challenge the change of their leaders at any time. The dynamics of central political elite leaders' competition between the Kim family's support group and the orthodox groups that are fighting for the country's priority system are increasingly sharpened. The climax took place at the Korean Workers' Party Convention, 28 September 2010, where supporters of the Kim family were the winners. Thereafter, North Koreans are asked to be ready to be a fortress or shield of life to protect their national new leader, Kim Jong-un, in overcoming the problem of domestic food shortages in the country⁷.

6 "Korea Utara Setelah Kim Jong-il," *Koran Tempo*, 18 January 2012, accessed on 2 May 2020, <https://koran.tempo.co/read/opini/261763/korea-utara-setelah-kim-jong-il?>

7 "Rakyat Korea Utara Diminta Jadi Tameng Hidup," *Koran Tempo*, 2 January 2012, accessed on 1 May 2020, <https://koran.tempo.co/read/internasional/259903/rakyat-korea-utara-diminta-jadi-tameng-hidup?>

Kim Jong-un was officially chosen as a successor candidate, and various supporting figures have been elected as members of the Politburo, such Kim Kyung-hui, Kim Jong-il's younger brother. The late Kim Jong-il's brother-in-law, Jang Song-taek, has been given the position of Deputy Chair of the National Defense Commission, a strategic position that controls the Korean National People's Army. Strategic positions at the Politburo, the Secretariat of the Workers' Party of Korea, and the Military Central Commission were filled by loyal supporters of the Kim family. North Korean Air Force Marshal Rhee Yong Ho has been appointed as a member of the Politburo and at the same time becomes Deputy Chairman of the North Korean Military Central Commission with Kim Jong-un⁸.

Kim Il-sung formulated the concept of Juche as a national ideology on which his struggle to build nationalism and the strong character of the North Korean nation. Kim Jong-il formulated the concept of '*Songun Sansang*', a national ideology that prioritizes the military as the cornerstone of the national revolution. As a consequence, national military forces receive various priorities in military activity and the allocation of the military budget from the government. Whereas the Eastern European communist countries in the Cold War era considered the Proletariat or Mao Ze Dong to choose the workers and peasantry as the pillars of their national revolution.

In December 2012, North Korea celebrated the first success in the use of a three-stage rocket to carry a satellite into space orbit. Kim Jong-un stated that North Korea shows a firm stance towards home

8 "Korea Utara Setelah Kim Jong-il," *Koran Tempo*, 18 January 2012, accessed on 2 May 2020, <https://koran.tempo.co/read/opini/261763/korea-utara-setelah-kim-jong-il?>

and abroad ... exercising the country's right to use space for peaceful purposes⁹.

Based on Kim Jong-il political perspective, the national ideology to prioritize elements of military power in centralized policy is necessary respond to uncertainty of international security conditions. That reason made North Korea the fourth most powerful military nation in the world with a personnel strength of more than 1.2 million and around 20 percent of its population aged between 17 and 54 years as national armed forces personnel. North Korea, therefore, then owns and develops nuclear weapons, intercontinental missiles, the largest special force in the world, and owns the third largest chemical weapons in the world¹⁰. Panmunjom declaration represent on how denuclearization process is consistent with No-First Use as stated in Paragraph 3 and 4:

"The North and the South confirmed the joint target on turning the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone through the complete denuclearization".

On 21 April 2018, a week before signing declaration, a resolution on nuclear weaponry was issued at the third plenary meeting of the 7th Central Committee (CC) of the Worker's Party of Korea (WPK), hosted by Kim Jong-Un. The resolution clarified the will to dismantle the northern nuclear test ground and stated that North Korea would not use its nuclear weapons "unless there are nuclear threats and

nuclear provocations against the DPRK"¹¹. This perspective is convincing concerning a no-first-use (NFU) policy. Like China, which insisted on adopting a NFU policy on October 16, 1964, when announcing its first nuclear test¹² North Korea exhibited a NFU policy in publicizing a plan for conducting their first nuclear test in October 2006.

Moreover, it is a no-first-use policy which assumes potential confrontation between nuclear weapon states. If North Korea becomes a non-nuclear-armed state, it should demand negative security assurance (NSA), in which a nuclear state promises not to attack a non-nuclear state with nuclear weapons, instead of a NFU policy. North Korea policy-makers support denuclearization in the Panmunjom Declaration 2018, and what is the intent behind its dismantling of the nuclear test site.

Korean Peninsula issue is a complicated phenomenal issue due to the role-play of two large countries interaction that are equally strong, namely South Korea and North Korea. Indonesia itself is a diplomatic friend with South Korea and formerly North Korea also had a history together with Indonesia's first President, Sukarno.

On 27 April, 2018 at the significant period of historic turn being made on the Korean Peninsula, Kim Jong-un, Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Moon Jae-in, President of the Republic of Korea, reflecting the unanimous aspiration of all the Koreans for peace, prosperity

9 "Korea Utara Rayakan Kesuksesan Peluncuran Roket," *BBC News Indonesia*, 14 December 2012, accessed on 3 May 2020, https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2012/12/121214_korut_rayakan_peluncuran_roket

10 "Korea Utara Setelah Kim Jong-il," *Koran Tempo*, 18 January 2012, accessed on 2 May 2020, <https://koran.tempo.co/read/opini/261763/korea-utara-setelah-kim-jong-il?>

11 "The 3rd Plenary Meeting of Seventh C.C., WPK Held in Presence of Comrade Kim Jong-Un. He Declared Proclaiming Great Victory of the Line of Simultaneous Development of Economic Construction and Building of Nuclear Force, Exhibiting the New Strategic Direction," *Rodong Simmun*, 21 April 2018.

12 Jeffrey Lewis, *Paper Tigers: China's Nuclear Posture* (Oxford, U.K: Routledge, 2014), 20-22.

and reunification, held the Inter-Korean Summit Meeting at the “Peace House” at Panmunjom¹³.

Indonesia, thus, can play an important role and facilitate the achievement of a peace resolution on the issue of the Korean Peninsula.

Indonesia has full commitment to working with other permanent and non-permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to achieve common goal of building a stable, safe and prosperous world. In fact, while much of the world aims to keep North Korea at a diplomatic arm’s length, Indonesia can’t seem to get close enough to the isolated but emerging nuclear nation.

Rooted in a legendary friendship between the two countries’ founding fathers, Indonesia has bucked the global trend enforced by punitive the United States and the United Nations sanctions and looked to fill the diplomatic vacuum by extending a helping hand.

Since 1961, Indonesia and North Korea share a tremendous history rooted in the Non-Aligned Movement established on 18 April 1955, which formed as a group of states that formally aligned with or against any major power bloc.

Indonesia’s founding father and first President Sukarno hosted Kim Il-sung during that contest during the 1960s, with part of the visit including a tour of the Bogor Botanical Garden. After Kim expressed his admiration for one of its orchids, Sukarno famously named the newly bred flower after him¹⁴. Thereafter, the so-named ‘*Kimilsungia*’ orchid has since become a powerful and

beautiful symbol in North Korea, which to this day often features prominently in state-made flower arrangements. North Koreans have always remembered Indonesia as the country of best friends and the birthplace of the *Kimilsungia* flower that is celebrated every April in North Korea at the *Kimilsungia* Flower Festival.

Under Indonesia 2nd President Suharto dictatorship, which rose to power in a 1966 coup, Indonesia quietly moved closer to the United States and South Korea even as Jakarta remained host to the Non-Aligned Movement’s headquarters. Despite that lean, Indonesia never formally severed ties with North Korea. Indonesia’s diplomatic ties to North Korea were reaffirmed under President Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of Sukarno who visited Pyongyang in 2002 to build relations with then North Korean leader Kim Jong-il in the spirit of the friendship their fathers enjoyed. In 2005, Megawati Sukarnoputri also visited Pyongyang as political party leader of Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan¹⁵.

Megawati’s visit came at a fraught time after then the US President George W Bush confrontationally tagged North Korea in a 2002 speech as part of an ‘*axis of evil*’ that supported global terrorism and sought weapons of mass destruction. Indonesia’s foreign ministry reported that Megawati tried to encourage the isolated Kim Jong-il to engage more with its southern neighbors, though the friendly diplomatic overture was light on substance once she returned to Jakarta.

13 Panmunjom Declaration. “Panmunjom Declaration on Peace, Prosperity and Reunification of the Korean Peninsula”. 27 April 2018.

14 Erin Cook, “Why Indonesia loves North Korea,” *Asia Times*, 2 September 2018, accessed on 29 October 2019, <https://www.asiatimes.com/2018/09/article/why-indonesia-loves-north-korea>

15 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, “Submission of Letter of Credentials: Indonesia Ambassador Strengthen Indonesia-North Korea Bilateral Cooperation,” *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 5 October 2019, accessed on 27 October 2019, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id/news/2370/serahkan-surat-kepercayaan-duta-besar-ri-gencarkan-kerja-sama-indonesia-dan-korea-utara>

Yet the Sukarno family, now in de facto government control with Megawati's leadership of the ruling Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan*), has remained determined to maintain links between the two countries and boosting to play up the importance of North Korea's role in the Non-Alignment Movement amid US President Donald Trump's earlier bid to sever all regional ties to Pyongyang.

Megawati's sister and Sukarno's daughter, Rachmawati Sukarnoputri, baffled much of the world in 2015 when her Sukarno Education Foundation awarded current North Korean leader Kim Jong-un with its 'Star of Sukarno' Peace Prize for Global Statesmanship¹⁶. Meanwhile in 2015, North Korea state-leaders also faced intense international scrutiny over its perennial poor human rights record amid new reports of prison camps and state executions. Still, Rachmawati said Kim Jong-un was deserving of the prize 'for his fight against neo-colonialist imperialism'. Speaking to Agencies France Presse, she denied reports of North Korean state on human rights abuses as mere 'Western Propaganda', while adding that Western governments 'like to put ugly labels on North Korea'¹⁷. Kim Jong-un was not the first Kim to receive the Star of Sukarno, as previously Rachmawati posthumously awarded Kim Il-sung in 2001. The announcement likewise drew criticism

16 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Submission of Letter of Credentials: Indonesia Ambassador Strengthen Indonesia-North Korea Bilateral Cooperation," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 5 October 2019, accessed on 27 October 2019, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id/news/2370/serahkan-surat-kepercayaan-duta-besar-rigencarkan-kerja-sama-indonesia-dan-korea-utara>

17 Erin Cook, "Why Indonesia loves North Korea," *Asia Times*, 2 September 2018, accessed on 29 October 2019, <https://www.asiatimes.com/2018/09/article/why-indonesia-loves-north-korea>

and bafflement from international and local media, but Rachmawati Sukarnoputri has maintained Kim Jong-un is a great leader to his peoples in much the same way her independence proclamation Father, President Soekarno was to Indonesians.

The familial thread has reached its third generation in Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Cultural Affairs Puan Maharani, another of Megawati's daughters. Puan was dispatched to Pyongyang in late July 2018 to extend a personal invitation to North Korea to attend this month's Asian Games held in Indonesia¹⁸. While she did not meet with Kim Jong-un, instead meeting President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly Kim Yong Nam, it is notable and diplomatically significant that she was the steering committee member that made the personal invitation.

North Korean Deputy Prime Minister Ri Ryong Nam, Deputy Foreign Minister Chie Hui Choi, Deputy Director-General of the Asia Department Park Hyun Chol and Asia Department Chief Ri Ho Juun also attended the meeting. Ministers from the two Koreas agreed in April 2018, thus, to push for a unified delegation from both countries to parade together in the opening ceremony at the Asian Games, to be staged in August and September 2018, amid signs of easing tensions over Pyongyang's nuclear ambitions¹⁹.

Indonesia and North Korea have a long established historical relationship, its reemergence, however, since 2014

18 Erin Cook, "Why Indonesia loves North Korea," *Asia Times*, 2 September 2018, accessed on 29 October 2019, <https://www.asiatimes.com/2018/09/article/why-indonesia-loves-north-korea>

19 "Indonesia invites North Korea's Kim Jong Un to Asian Games," *The Straits Times*, 31 July 2018, accessed on 25 July 2020, <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/indonesia-invites-north-koreas-kim-jong-un-to-asian-games>

is indicative of dynamics changes in Indonesian foreign policy priorities and broader diplomatic shifts within the region.

Meanwhile the US and China tussle for influence in Southeast Asia, Indonesia is increasingly attempting to assert itself as a middle power playing a mediator role in regional and world affairs. This is strikingly clear in the case of North Korea. An Indonesia delegation of former diplomats, academics and government officials, led by former Indonesian Ambassador to the US, Dino Patti Djalal, traveled to Pyongyang in April 2018 in a clear sign of Jakarta's desire to stay close to the isolated state at a time the US and North Korea were volleying nuclear war threats.

Indonesia is fully committed to advancing the historical relations between the two countries that were built closely by President Soekarno and President Kim Il Sung.

However, regarding the situation on the Korean Peninsula, Indonesia supports denuclearization and peace in the Korean Peninsula²⁰. Indonesia has always followed dynamics developments in the Korean Peninsula, especially after the inter-Korean Summit on 27 April and 26 May 2018, and the North Korea and the US Summit on 12 June 2018.

Indonesia President, Joko Widodo moves has shown the eagerness of Indonesia to play a leading role in forging cordial relations with North Korea, while Singapore has been reluctantly forced into a similar role but has done well so far in fulfilling expectations. On June 12, 2018, North Korean leader Kim

20 "HUT ke-73 RI di Korea Utara, Harapkan akan Kesuksesan Asian Games 2018 dan Perdamaian di Semenanjung Korea," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 29 August 2018, accessed on 6 August 2020, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id/news/381/hut-ke-73-ri-di-korea-utara-harapkan-akan-kesuksesan-asian-games-2018-dan-perdamaian-di-semenanjung-korea>

Jong-Un is seen in Singapore after a meeting with US President Donald Trump²¹.

The high-profile assassination of Kim Jong-Nam, Kim Jong-Un's estranged half-brother, in a brazen attack in Kuala Lumpur airport in 2016, however, demonstrated Indonesia's unwillingness to strain those bilateral relations.

It's not just Indonesia that is looking towards North Korea. Even though ASEAN member-states have failed to strike a balance between the US and China when it comes to issues like the South China Sea and the Belt and Road Initiative investments. It refers to China's increasingly controversial US\$1 trillion infrastructure-building initiative in the Southeast Asia region massively.

North Korea is ASEAN only global issue concerning with having their own way, given the long standing bilateral relations that all member states shared interests with North Korea current and strategic national interest.

Indonesia - North Korea Relations

Indonesia and North Korea built diplomatic relations since June 17, 1961, through bilateral exchange states' official note on consulate office opening²². Indonesia's odd relationship with North Korea is back in the news as Jakarta seeks to take advantage of the changing economic conditions in the Hermit Kingdom²³.

21 Tomoyuki Tachikawa, "With Future Economic Payout in Mind, ASEAN Appears Unwilling to Get Tough on North Korea," *Japan Times*, 17 June 2019, accessed on 29 May 2020, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/06/17/asia-pacific/politics-diplomacy-asia-pacific/future-economic-payout-mind-asean-appears-unwilling-get-tough-north-korea/#.XbwqF-hLjIU>

22 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Korea Utara," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, December 2019, accessed on 1 June 2020, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id/read/korea-utara/2254/etc-menu>

23 Zachary Keck, "Why is Indonesia Courting North Korea?" *The Diplomat*, 2 November 2013, accessed on 5 June 2020, <https://thediplomat.com/2013/11/why-is-indonesia-courting-north-korea/>

Indonesia government wants to increase economic ties with Pyongyang.

During Kim Jong-un leadership, since 2011, many developments have been carried out, including coal mining, multi-store buildings, retail shops and supermarkets, especially in the capital city of Pyongyang. In his 2018 New Year speech, Leader Kim Jong Un claimed that his entire build-up of military might had reached the pinnacle. Since then, North Korea has begun to focus its top priority on economic development. Previously, development was focused on strengthening the military and the economy simultaneously (병진 정책, *byungjin policy*). Since 2018, North Korea has started working to improve relations with South Korea and the US.

Further, international media noted that Leader Kim Jong Un's public appearances increased to 98 times in 2018 compared to 94 times in 2017. Leader Kim's appearances were 94 times, which increased from 27.7% in 2017. Appearances in military news have drastically increased to 8.2% compared to 44.7% in 2017²⁴.

In 2020, North Korea will focus more on economic development based on the independent Juche ideology. However, due to the tight international economic sanctions / embargo on economic development, North Korea has not shown a significant increase. North Korea's export figure has decreased drastically in the past two years, amounting to US\$ 235.2 million in 2016 to only US\$ 14.5 million in 2018 or a decrease of 94.3% from the previous 2 years.

Furthermore, the US together with a number of coalition countries, i.e.: Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Japan, South Korea and New Zealand sent surveillance

24 "Korea Utara," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, December 2019, accessed on 1 June 2020, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id/read/korea-utara/2254/etc-menu>

aircraft and warships around the waters of the Korean Peninsula. It is reported that from October 2017 to December 2018, there have been 30 cases of North Korean maritime trade that were thwarted by this counter-espionage operation. This is a factor affecting the decline in North Korea's trade and economic income.

Thereafter, since 2011, North Korean leader Kim Jong-un is using his nuclear weapons as a bargaining chip to get economic sweeteners from the international community and wants to present the hermit kingdom as a "normal state"²⁵. Korean peninsula phenomenal situation had entered a totally different phase now that Pyongyang has nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles, giving Kim leverage in his negotiations with the United States and Western countries.

Kim Jong-un would not be satisfied with giving up the nuclear weapons in exchange for a normalization of ties with the United States, saying that he would also push for economic incentives. Nuclear weapons used as appropriate diplomatic instrument to have never ending negotiation, as Kim Jong-un personal ambition would want to bargain with the international community.

Suppose in the future, for North Korea policy-makers, the establishment of diplomatic relations with Washington D.C is as a matter of course, as it will also go further and demand economic sweeteners such foreign aid and economic supports.

However, the Indonesian Consulate General in Pyongyang was established in February 1964 with Consul General Sufri Yusuf, after the central government approval

25 Lee Jeong-ho and Minnie Chan, "Kim Jong-un will use nuclear weapons to push for more from West, ex-South Korean negotiator says," *South China Morning Post*, 26 April 2018, accessed on 26 May 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2143585/kim-jong-un-will-use-nuclear-weapons-push-more-west-ex>

of the memorandum of opening consular relations in 1961²⁶. At the end of 1964, the Indonesian representative in Pyongyang was upgraded to the Indonesian Embassy with the first Indonesian Ambassador in Pyongyang held by Indonesian Ambassador Ahem Erningpradja (1965-1968). Ambassador Bambang Hiendrastio is the former Indonesian Ambassador to North Korea, and replaced by Berlian Napitupulu, 2019 - present²⁷.

Indonesia and North Korea have had good bilateral relations for more than 50 years. North Korea often refers back to the history fragments of 1964-1965 in bilateral relations which recorded President Soekarno's mutual visits to North Korea in 1964 and President Kim II Sung to Indonesia in 1965, two leaders from two new developing countries who at that time had interests together in the arena of global politics after the era of colonialism.

Indonesia has a positive image in North Korea. The North Korean government recognizes Indonesia's initiative and role in various international forums, especially in international agencies / organizations where both countries are members / parties and in it raises issues related to North Korea. On the other hand, the North Korean Government expects the Government of Indonesia's support for some of its policies and interests.

Political relations between the two countries are implemented in close

cooperation in international forums, where North Korea generally supports the nomination of Indonesia in various positions / positions in international organizations where both countries are members / parties, particularly in the UN, Non-UN and Non-Aligned Movement forums.

The frequency of exchange of visits of officials / high officials of both countries is relatively increasing. In this case, both parties continue to strive for the exchange of visits of officials / high officials of the two countries. One of them was the holding of a bilateral meeting between President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Presidium President Kim Yong Nam on May 15, 2012 in Jakarta²⁸.

This is the best opportunity for the two countries to strengthen friendship, enhance bilateral relations and economic cooperation, bilateral trade, and investment as well as opportunities for cooperation in the fields of culture, sports and traditional medicine. As a follow-up to the meeting, on 21 to 23 October 2013 Indonesian Foreign Minister, R.M. Marty M. Natalegawa paid a working visit to Pyongyang. On this occasion, the Indonesian Foreign Minister and the delegation held bilateral talks with a North Korean delegation led by Foreign Minister Pak Ui Chun. In addition, the Indonesian Foreign Minister was also received an honorary visit to the Presidium President Kim Yong Nam.

Subsequently, on November 1-4, 2013, the Chair of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly (MPR-RI), Sidarto Danusubroto and the Indonesian MPR delegation paid a working visit to North Korea. On that occasion, the MPR RI delegation held a meeting with the Chairman of the

26 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Bilateral Relations Indonesia-North Korea: Country Profile and Cooperation," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 14 June 2019, accessed on 2 July 2020, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id/read/korea-utara/2254/etc-menu>

27 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Serahkan Surat Kepercayaan, Duta Besar RI Gencarkan Kerja Sama Indonesia dan Korea Utara," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 7 October 2019, accessed on 3 July 2020, <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/655/berita/serahkan-surat-kepercayaan-duta-besar-ri-gencarkan-kerja-sama-indonesia-dan-korea-utara>

28 Esthi Maharani and Satya Festiani, "SBY Welcomes North Korean President Kim Yong-nam," *Republika*, 15 May 2012, accessed on 5 June 2020, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/en/national-politics/12/05/15/m42bzf-sby-welcomes-nkorean-president-kim-yongnam>

Supreme People's Assembly, Choe Tae Bok and bilateral talks between the Parliaments of the two Countries. Besides that, the MPR RI delegation also paid an honorary visit to the Head of State Kim Yong Nam.

The visit of the Indonesian MPR delegation signals consisting of all elements of leadership and cross-faction is a reflection of the desire to strengthen friendly relations, especially the relationship between the Parliaments of the two countries.

Indonesia's support, on this occasion, was conveyed so that the Korean Peninsula problem could be resolved as well as possible peacefully by fellow Korean nation brothers, without interference from other parties. The two Parliaments agreed on the importance of the two countries to improve bilateral relations, not only in the political sector, but also in the economic and socio-cultural fields.

Efforts to improve economic cooperation between the two countries continue to be made. Internal and external conditions surrounding North Korea make it difficult to make efforts to improve economic and trade relations directly with North Korea. Nationally, the work environment that is influenced by political factors that emerge gives a certain level of difficulty to do performance and deliver results. These factors include²⁹:

First, North Korean government applies a strict centralized system at the institutional and individual level, and limits its communication / interaction with other countries including foreigners who are domiciled / working in North Korea. Such a political environment results in limited official and non-official lines of

communication for official affairs that can be carried out in North Korea;

Second, Telecommunications system between foreigners and local residents is separate and cannot contact each other;

Third, Bureaucratic process from higher to lower level of government must go through a long line and therefore takes a long time, including the licensing process to carry out activities and / or visits / meetings with various parties at the center and local districts/regions;

Fourth, North Korea is subject to international sanctions based on the United Nations Security Council Resolutions and economic and financial sanctions by Western countries, especially the United States. Automatically, the level of economic and monetary integration of North Korea with the outside world is limited;

Fifth, Letters of Credit (L / C) issued by North Korean banks are not accepted by banks in many countries;

Sixth, North Korea and Indonesia, meanwhile, conduct bilateral trade relations on the basis of cash and carry with relatively small frequency and volume.

Socio-cultural relations and cooperation are going well. The fragment of history visited by the Heads of State of North Korea and Indonesia in the period 1964-1965 provided a solid foundation and became the glue for socio-political relations between the two countries.

Indonesian annual participation in the Kimilsungia Flower Festival and biennial at the April Spring Friendship Art Festival (ASFAP) and International Film Festival (PIFF) in Pyongyang and joint activities between the Indonesian Embassy in Pyongyang and the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (CCRFC), the Association for Friendship and Foreign Affairs North Korea also enriches bilateral

29 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Bilateral Relations Indonesia-North Korea: Country Profile and Cooperation," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 14 June 2019, accessed on 2 July 2020, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id/read/korea-utara/2254/etc-menu>

relations between the two countries³⁰. Additionally, North Korea also sent 2 (two) diplomats to attend the 11th International Training Course for Mid-Career Diplomats organized by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Training Center in Jakarta on 20 October to 3 November 2013.

The North Korean economy is governed by the central government and is not integrated in the international economic and financial system within the framework of the International Monetary Funds, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and World Trade Organization³¹. The North Korean financial and banking system is constrained as a result of the imposition of international sanctions based on the United Nations Security Council Resolutions and unilateral economic and financial embargoes up to scientific and technical cooperation from Western countries, i.e.³²:

First, paragraph 19 of resolution 1874 (2009);

Second, paragraph 33 of resolution 2270 (2016);

Third, paragraph 31 of resolution 2321 (2016);

Fourth, paragraph 32 of resolution 2321 (2016);

Fifth, paragraph 33 of resolution 2321 (2016);

Sixth, paragraph 18 of resolution 2375 (2017);

Seventh, paragraph 11 of resolution 2321 (2016).

In 2012, through the World Food Program, Indonesian government provided assistance worth US\$ 2 million which was realized in the

30 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Bilateral Relations Indonesia-North Korea: Country Profile and Cooperation," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 14 June 2019, accessed on 2 July 2020, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id/read/korea-utara/2254/etc-menu>

31 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Bilateral Relations Indonesia-North Korea: Country Profile and Cooperation," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 14 June 2019, accessed on 3 July 2020, <https://www.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/id/read/korea-utara/2254/etc-menu>

32 United Nations Security Council, "Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006)," *The United Nations*, accessed on 3 July 2020, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/1718>

form of 1,465 tons of palm oil³³. It is used as a supply of foodstuffs enriched with vitamins and minerals for later distributed directly to the Korean people, especially the most vulnerable, such as breastfeeding mothers and children in North Korea.

North Korea and Indonesia have long established trade relations. In 2015, North Korea's imports to Indonesia amounted to US\$ 1.41 million. The most widely imported is vegetable residue which is 42 percent with a total import of US\$ 597 thousand³⁴. Additionally, North Korea also imported soap from Indonesia worth US\$ 600 thousand.

Indonesia and North Korea total trade reaches US\$ 342,9 thousand, while trade relations since 2014 to 2019 has made Indonesia imbalance of trade significantly in non-oil and gas export import³⁵. Obviously, Indonesia still deficit with US\$ 2.676,3 million. In 2019, compare to Indonesia and South Korea total trade has reaches US\$ 10.535.04 million, even though Indonesia also still got deficit in non-oil and gas with US\$ 597.218,2 thousand³⁶.

33 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Nampho Port: Arrival of Indonesia's Donation for Democratic People's Republic of Korea", *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 11 October 2012, accessed on 30 December 2019, <https://ex.kemlu.go.id/pyongyang/en/arsip/siaran-pers/Pages/NAMPHO-PORT-ARRIVAL-OF-INDONESIA-S-DONATION-FOR-DPR-OF-KOREA.aspx>

34 "Countries Trade with North Korea, Indonesia?" *Liputan6.com*, 19 September 2017, accessed on 20 May 2020, <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/3100542/negara-negara-yang-berdagang-dengan-korea-utara-indonesia>

35 Indonesia-North Korea Bilateral Trade, "Indonesia-North Korea Balance of Trade (BOT), 2014-2019," *Indonesia Ministry of Trade*, 2019, accessed on 5 July 2020, <https://www.kemendag.go.id/id/economic-profile/indonesia-export-import/balance-of-trade-with-trade-partner-country?negara=113>

36 Indonesia-South Korea Bilateral Trade, "Indonesia-South Korea Balance of Trade (BOT), 2014-2019," *Indonesia Ministry of Trade*, 2019, accessed on 20 June 2020, <https://www.kemendag.go.id/id/economic-profile/indonesia-export-import/balance-of-trade-with-trade-partner-country?negara=114>

At least there are several agreements related to Indonesia and North Korea bilateral relations and activities of the two countries since 1961 to 2019 that have been bind by 10 (ten) agreements.

Indonesia Commitment: Asia Pacific Regional Security

In international system, society can be understood as the highest-order social system possible which is constituted by and encompasses all communications. However, in contrast to a strong tradition in the social

Table 1. Balance of Trade Indonesia - North Korea
Period 2014-2019 (Value: in thousand US\$)

Description	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Trend (%) 2014- 2018	Jan-August		Change (%) 2019/ 2018
							2018	2019	
TOTAL TRADE	2.976,2	3.643,0	6.939,8	2.257,9	964,6	-23,90	649,1	2.874,8	342,90
OIL & GAS (MIGAS)	0,0	0,0	1,1	0,0	136,3		136,3	0,0	-100,00
NON OIL & GAS (NON MIGAS)	2.976,2	3.643,0	6.938,7	2.257,9	828,4	-26,19	512,8	2.874,8	460,59
EXPORT	1.414,0	1.039,8	5.548,3	260,7	33,5	-58,80	0,0	99,2	
OIL & GAS (MIGAS)	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0		0,0	0,0	
NON OIL & GAS (NON MIGAS)	1.414,0	1.039,8	5.548,3	260,7	33,5	-58,80	0,0	99,2	
IMPORT	1.562,2	2.603,2	1.391,6	1.997,2	931,1	-12,19	649,1	2.775,5	327,61
OIL & GAS (MIGAS)	0,0	0,0	1,1	0,0	136,3		136,3	0,0	-100,00
NON OIL & GAS (NON MIGAS)	1.562,2	2.603,2	1.390,4	1.997,2	794,9	-14,92	512,8	2.775,5	441,24
BALANCE OF TRADE (BOT)	-148,2	-1.563,4	4.156,7	-1.736,4	-897,6		-649,1	-2.676,3	-312,32
OIL & GAS (MIGAS)	0,0	0,0	-1,1	0,0	-136,3		-136,3	0,0	100,00
NON OIL & GAS (NON MIGAS)	-148,2	-1.563,4	4.157,9	-1.736,4	-761,4		-512,8	-2.676,3	-421,89

Source: Indonesia Central Bureau of Statistics, processed by Ministry of Trade Central Data & Information System (2019), analyzed by researcher

Table 2. Balance of Trade Indonesia - South Korea
Period 2014-2019 (Value: in thousand US\$)

Description	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Trend (%) 2014-2018	Jan-August		Change (%) 2019/2018
							2018	2019	
TOTAL TRADE	22.448.495,6	16.091.652,1	13.683.517,5	16.322.662,9	18.628.928,8	-3,52	12.239.659,5	10.535.040,0	-13,93
OIL & GAS (MIGAS)	8.975.202,2	4.373.351,7	2.509.708,3	2.768.665,2	3.405.521,5	-21,30	2.309.206,9	1.567.790,1	-32,11
NON OIL & GAS (NON MIGAS)	13.473.293,4	11.718.300,5	11.173.809,2	13.553.997,7	15.223.407,3	3,97	9.930.452,6	8.967.250,0	-9,70
EXPORT	10.601.096,8	7.664.446,2	7.008.940,2	8.200.326,7	9.540.052,8	-1,42	6.229.506,1	4.968.910,9	-20,24
OIL & GAS (MIGAS)	4.884.186,3	2.224.761,6	1.744.299,8	1.866.119,8	2.032.276,2	-17,55	1.405.326,7	790.163,5	-43,77
NON OIL & GAS (NON MIGAS)	5.716.910,5	5.439.684,6	5.264.640,4	6.334.206,9	7.507.776,6	7,22	4.824.179,4	4.178.747,4	-13,38
IMPORT	11.847.398,7	8.427.205,9	6.674.577,3	8.122.336,1	9.088.875,9	-5,51	6.010.153,5	5.566.129,1	-7,39
OIL & GAS (MIGAS)	4.091.015,9	2.148.590,0	765.408,5	902.545,4	1.373.245,2	-26,29	903.880,3	777.626,6	-13,97
NON OIL & GAS (NON MIGAS)	7.756.382,9	6.278.615,9	5.909.168,8	7.219.790,8	7.715.630,7	1,30	5.106.273,2	4.788.502,5	-6,22
BALANCE OF TRADE (BOT)	-1.246.301,9	-762.759,7	334.362,8	77.990,6	451.176,9		219.352,6	-597.218,2	-372,26
OIL & GAS (MIGAS)	793.170,4	76.171,6	978.891,2	963.574,4	659.031,0	24,20	501.446,4	12.536,9	-97,50
NON OIL & GAS (NON MIGAS)	-2.039.472,3	-838.931,3	-644.528,4	-885.583,8	-207.854,1	-36,32	-282.093,8	-609.755,1	-116,15

Source: Indonesia Central Bureau of Statistics, processed by Ministry of Trade Central Data & Information System (2019), analyzed by researcher

sciences, modern systems theory holds that communication cannot be conceptualized adequately in terms of classical, actor-centered sender-receiver models³⁷.

North Korea's nuclear diplomacy over a long time period from the early 1960s, setting its dangerous brinkmanship in the wider context of North Korea's military and diplomatic campaigns to achieve its

37 Stephan Stetter, *Territorial Conflicts in World Society: Modern Systems Theory International Relations, and Conflict Studies* (London, U.K & New York, U.S: Routledge, 2007), 17.

political goals. In East Asia region, the last four decades of military adventurism demonstrates Pyongyang's consistent, calculated use of military tools to advance strategic objectives *vis a vis* its adversaries. It shows how recent behavior of the North Korean government is entirely consistent with its behavior over this longer period: the North Korean government's conduct, rather than being haphazard or reactive is rational and logic in the Clausewitzian sense of being ready to use force as an

Table 3. Indonesia – North Korea Bilateral Agreements

No	Agreement	Year
1	Exchanges of Notes between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Concerning the Opening of a Consular Office in Each Other Country at the Consulate-General Level.	1961
2	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Concerning Technical Scientific and Cultural Cooperation.	1963
3	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Scientific and Technological Cooperation.	2002
4	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income.	2002
5	Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on The Establishment of Bilateral Consultations.	2003
6	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Visa Exemption for Diplomatic and Service Passport Holder.	2003
7	Memorandum of Understanding Between the Pyongyang City People's Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Government of the Capital City of Jakarta of the Republic of Indonesia Concerning Sister City Cooperation.	2007
8	Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Field of Information.	2009
9	Arrangement Between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Concerning Cultural Exchange Program. Extension of the MoU Number 3 and has expired since 2013 (currently still on-going to be renew).	2010
10	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Concerning Joint Information Committee-Implementation of MoU on Information Field Number 7. It has not come into effect yet.	2011
11	Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Youth and Sports of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Physical Culture and Sports of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Sports Cooperation 2016 – 2026.	2016 - 2026

Source: Indonesia-North Korea Agreements, Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2019)

extension of diplomacy by other means. It demonstrates that North Korea's calculated adventurism has come full circle: what we are seeing now is a modified repetition of earlier events such as the Pueblo incident of 1968 and the nuclear and missile diplomacy of the 1990s³⁸. In fact, North Korea's logic in using force is not fundamentally different from other countries. North Korea has used force to achieve its policy objectives, however idiosyncratic they might be, within the structural conditions it faces. There has been a learning process on the part of the North Korean leaders with regard to the manner in which they have used military force.

The highlight of the mourning over the death of Kim Jong-il on December 28, 2011 has left a big question for the sustainability of the national leadership of North Korea in Pyongyang³⁹. The condition is different when Kim Il-sung's body was buried in the Kumkusan Palace, Pyongyang (1994), which was attended by foreign countries guests came to pay their last respects to the North Korea Leader.

Indonesia government under President Joko Widodo and Minister of Foreign Minister, Retno L.P Marsudi is being encouraged to play a bigger role in finding peaceful solutions for the Korean Peninsula crisis, as DPRK inches ever closer to becoming a nuclear weapon state⁴⁰. According to Retno Marsudi on East Asia Summit in Singapore on 4 August 2018

38 Narushige Michishita, *North Korea's Military-Diplomatic Campaigns, 1966–2008* (London, U.K & New York, U.S: Routledge, 2010), 20.

39 Makarim Wibisono, "Korea Utara Setelah Kim Jong-il", *Koran Tempo*, 18 January 2012, accessed on 30 December 2019, <https://koran.tempo.co/read/opini/261763/korea-utara-setelah-kim-jong-il>

40 Hendra Manurung, "Indonesia-Democratic People's Republic of Korea Relations: Finding Political Economic Cooperation in The Indo-Pacific," *Proceedings ICIS 2018* (December 2018):1604.

emphasizes on Indonesia significant role on the dynamics of Indo-Pacific political economy context along together with ASEAN centrality.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) 10 member-states have been trying to improve ties with North Korea as the risk of Pyongyang engaging in a military conflict with Washington declines, giving a boost to regional stability.

ASEAN member states believe it is important to remain neutral in their respective foreign policies. ASEAN comprises Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. All 10 have diplomatic ties with Pyongyang and Seoul. A few companies in ASEAN, however, are paying closer attention to North Korea's economic potential and are exporting goods there to deepen ties, even though that would constitute a violation of United Nations Security Council sanctions resolutions.

North Korea's relations with Indonesia and Vietnam sharply worsened in the wake of the murder of Kim Jong Nam, the leader's estranged half-brother, at Kuala Lumpur International Airport on 13 February 2017⁴¹. Two women from Indonesia and Vietnam were charged with killing Kim Jong Nam by smearing the deadly nerve agent VX on his face.

As neighbor country in East Asia, Japan is very seriously worried about the North's nuclear and missile blackmail. Tokyo policy-makers intentionally have pursued the full implementation of international economic

41 Tomoyuki Tachikawa, "With Future Economic Payout in Mind, ASEAN Appears Unwilling to Get Tough on North Korea," *Japan Times*, 17 June 2019, accessed on 29 May 2020, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/06/17/asia-pacific/politics-diplomacy-asia-pacific/future-economic-payout-mind-asean-appears-unwilling-get-tough-north-korea/#.XbwqF-hLjIU>

sanctions to force Pyongyang to discard its weapons of mass destruction. However, Japan should take proactive peaceful policy and cooperating continuously with ASEAN countries state-leaders to address North Korea nuclear weapons and Korean Peninsula regional stability.

In the 1994 Agreed Framework, this placed important caps on North Korea's nuclear weapons potential⁴². The Bush administration would be much better prepared than it is now to argue to South Korea, Japan, and China that more of a hard line policy was needed. Fortunately, up to the present, these countries have not expressed a willingness to get notably tougher with North Korea should circumstances require unpalatable coercive options. The U.S and South Korea alliance has suffered serious strains as a result. But there is very good reason, based on the history of negotiations with North Korea, to think an ambitious plan could succeed.

North Korea would have to continue to cut conventional forces and reform its economy to keep receiving aid each year; the assistance would not be provided in a single lump sum and would be conditional based on compliance with a series of benchmarks⁴³. This policy would reduce the core threat that has existed in Korea for half a century; it would also offer at least some hope that economic reform in the DPRK might begin to succeed. It also appears, however, to have encouraged the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to develop a worsening habit of extortionist behavior, whether out of malice or out of simple desperation, given North Korea's continued economic plight and inability to find legitimate sources of income. For that reason, it holds no appeal for President George Bush.

42 Michael O'Hanlon and Mike M. Mochizuki, *Crisis on the Korean Peninsula: How to Deal with a Nuclear North Korea* (New York, U.S: McGraw-Hill, the Brookings Institution, 2003), 15.

43 O'Hanlon, *Crisis on the Korean Peninsula*, 19.

Indonesia government through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemns North Korea for its sixth nuclear test, in which an advanced hydrogen bomb was reportedly used on 4 September 2017⁴⁴. Indonesia reaffirms the importance of preserving stability in the Korean Peninsula, and calls on all parties involved to contribute to peace, also by efforts to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula⁴⁵.

North Korea would collapse as a result of the US policy of strangulation; the odds of success seem remote. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea survived more than a decade in a state of ongoing decline, surprising many. Pushing North Korea to the brink may also increase the odds that it will sell plutonium to the highest bidder to rescue its economy. That would be the worst of all possible policy outcomes for the US. Given the fact that a bomb's worth of plutonium is about the size of a grapefruit, it is also an outcome that could not be reliably prevented even by a naval blockade.

At the U.S-North Korea Summit meeting in Singapore on 12 June 2018, the U.S. President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un agreed that Washington would provide security guarantees to Pyongyang in return for complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. But the two leaders fell short of a deal at their second summit in Hanoi, Vietnam from 27

44 Sheany, "Indonesia Condemns North Korea's Sixth Nuclear Test," *Jakarta Globe*, 4 September 2017, accessed on 30 December 2019, <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesia-condemns-north-koreas-sixth-nuclear-test>

45 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Press Release: The Importance of Preserving Stability in the Korean Peninsula," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 4 September 2017, accessed on 3 January 2020, <https://ex.kemlu.go.id/en/berita/siaran-pers/Pages/Indonesia-Welcomes-the-Meeting-between-Republic-of-Korea%E2%80%99s-Special-Envoy-with-the-Leader-of-DPRK.aspx>

to 28 February 2019. The wide conflicting interest between Washington's insistence on denuclearization and Pyongyang's demand for sanctions relief proved insurmountable. With the denuclearization talks at a standstill for now, North Korea has resumed provocative actions against the U.S, such as by firing what appeared to be short-range ballistic missiles in early May 2019⁴⁶.

Nevertheless, the U.S President Donald Trump is eager to tout diplomatic results during his 2020 re-election campaign, continues to take a conciliatory approach toward North Korea, voicing hope to continue negotiations with Kim. Even though Pyongyang also seems reluctant to break off talks with Washington D.C policy makers to achieve its ultimate goals of obtaining security guarantees from the U.S and revitalizing its stagnant economy.

Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on 4 September 2017 condemns North Korea for its sixth nuclear test, in which an advanced hydrogen bomb was reportedly used⁴⁷. Indonesia continuously reaffirms the importance of preserving stability in the Korean Peninsula, and calls on all parties involved to contribute to peace, also by efforts to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula.

Indonesia policy-makers perceives that the nuclear test endanger the environment

46 Tomoyuki Tachikawa, "With Future Economic Payout in Mind, ASEAN Appears Unwilling to Get Tough on North Korea," *Japan Times*, 17 June 2019, accessed on 29 May 2020, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/06/17/asia-pacific/politics-diplomacy-asia-pacific/future-economic-payout-mind-asean-appears-unwilling-get-tough-north-korea/#.XbwqF-hLjIU>

47 Indonesia Embassy in Pyongyang, "Press Release: The Importance of Preserving Stability in the Korean Peninsula," *Indonesia Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 4 September 2017, accessed on 3 January 2020, <https://ex.kemlu.go.id/en/berita/siaran-pers/Pages/Indonesia-Welcomes-the-Meeting-between-Republic-of-Korea%E2%80%99s-Special-Envoy-with-the-Leader-of-DPRK.aspx>

and health of the world's population due to the release of radioactive particles, and break the existing Security Council resolutions concerning on nuclear weapons.

North Korea's state television said the hydrogen bomb test was a success and the bomb is going to be mounted on its newly developed intercontinental ballistic missile, ICBM⁴⁸. Moreover, the nuclear test was condemned around the world and increased already profound tensions in Korean Peninsula. According to reports from Chinese state news agency Xinhua, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Russian President Vladimir Putin agreed to appropriately deal with North Korea's latest nuclear test, during a meeting on the sidelines of the annual Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) Summit in Xiamen, China⁴⁹.

The US President Donald Trump upon taking office in 2016 identified North Korea as the US's greatest national security threat⁵⁰. That judgment remains the same today. The nuclear test also drew a strong response from the US as Jim Mattis, the US Defense Secretary threatening a massive military response if the US or its surrounding allies are targeted by North Korea missile⁵¹. The United Nations Security Council is scheduled to meet soon to discuss the

48 Sheany, "Indonesia Condemns North Korea's Sixth Nuclear Test," *Jakarta Globe*, 4 September 2017, accessed on 30 December 2019, <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesia-condemns-north-koreas-sixth-nuclear-test>

49 Sheany, "Indonesia Condemns North Korea's Sixth Nuclear Test," *Jakarta Globe*, 4 September 2017, accessed on 30 December 2019, <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesia-condemns-north-koreas-sixth-nuclear-test>

50 The United States Secretary of State, "Press Releases: Remarks at the UN Security Council Ministerial Meeting on D.P.R.K.," *US Mission to International Organizations in Vienna*, 15 December 2017, accessed on 29 December 2019, <https://vienna.usmission.gov/latest-north-korean-developments-u-s-statements/>

51 Sheany, *Jakarta Globe*, 4 September 2017.

situation. The UN SC has previously imposed sanctions on North Korea, which include banning imports of its coal, iron and ore. The sanctions are expected to slash a third of the country's US\$3 billion annual export revenue, but has not proved an effective deterrent, as North Korean leader Kim Jong-un has not halted his increasingly sophisticated nuclear programs.

Conclusion

East Asia and Southeast Asia dynamics challenge new security architecture form that influenced by current surrounding situation and global condition of the United States and China trade war, major power contestation in South China Sea, and the midst of global economic crisis.

Indonesia's peculiar relationship with North Korea and so-called rogue states highlights more generally in the entire incident. On the one hand, Indonesia is one of the world's largest democracies and is generally viewed positively in Western nations for encouraging democracy in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). At the same time, Indonesia must continue to maintain often overlooked ties with some of the biggest pariah states in the world, including North Korea, Iran, and Syria.

The diplomatic relationship with North Korea dates back to the 1960s. The two countries established diplomatic ties in 1961 and North Korean founder Kim Il-sung visited Jakarta in 1965.

Most countries have shunned North Korea in the post-Cold War era, while Jakarta has continued its relationship with Pyongyang, albeit it somewhat cooled off from earlier decades. Still, the two countries continue to maintain closer diplomatic relations and have embassies in each other's capitals. Indonesia also lobbied strongly

for Pyongyang's inclusion in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

However, high-level state-official visits between the two countries are not infrequent. Shortly after George W. Bush Jr. branded North Korea as a member of the Axis of Evil in 2001, Indonesian President Megawati Sukarnoputri visited Pyongyang, North Korea which signaled how important to maintain good diplomatic relations, beside as part of a larger diplomatic tour of Northeast Asia in 2002 and 2005.

Indonesia and North Korea have a very strong historical relationship foundation since President Soekarno's visit to Pyongyang in 1964 and President Kim Il Sung's visit to Indonesia in 1965. The friendly relations between the two countries continued with President Megawati's meeting with Chairman Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang in in 2002 and 2006 and the exchange of visits of the leaders of the two countries.

The momentum of this historic relationship needs to be maintained sustainably and encourage future cooperation between the two countries. The Government of Indonesia and the Indonesian Embassy in Pyongyang will continue to proactively promote cooperation in various fields, including regularly exchanging sports teams, cultural missions, students / academics / experts / researchers, teaching Indonesian language, film screenings, and promoting culinary / Indonesian cuisine demos, as well as animal exchanges between orangutans and Korean tigers which are expected to be a new symbol for friendship between the two countries besides the Kimilsungia flower.

Indonesia and North Korea government should renew bilateral trade and foreign investment policy in order to improve and strengthen political and economic relations.

The significant positive relationship between Jakarta and Pyongyang also

extends to Indonesian and Korean people. It establishes and empowering frequent closer people-to-people interaction through intensive socio-cultural exchanges that able to create and synergize public mutual understanding and trust continuously.

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