

US ENGAGEMENT IN THE BILATERAL GENERAL SECURITY OF INFORMATION AGREEMENT (GSOMIA) OF JAPAN-SOUTH KOREA AS AN EFFORT OF US HEGEMONY IN THE EAST ASIA REGION

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Abstract

North Korea's nuclear development is a serious problem for the East Asian region, especially Japan and South Korea, because of these nuclear developments, a cooperation in information exchange is needed or referred to as the general security of military information agreement (GSOMIA) between Japan and South Korea, but with unfavorable historical factors making this cooperation difficult to agree. The involvement of the United States in the East Asian region is considered as amity for the two countries so that the two countries sign the GSOMIA cooperation. This research uses a qualitative method with the aim of knowing how the complexity of the East Asian region, the efforts of the United States to maintain its hegemony, and better understand the contents of GSOMIA bilateral cooperation. In this study, researchers used the theory of regional security complex theory, hegemony stability theory and the concept of security cooperation. This research describes how the development of North Korea's nuclear activities ultimately made the conditions of the East Asian region more complex. In this study, the author found that the United States' involvement in GSOMIA is an effort to maintain US hegemony.

Keywords: Hegemony, Nuclear, GSOMIA

Abstrak

Perkembangan nuklir Korea Utara menjadi permasalahan yang cukup serius bagi kawasan Asia Timur khususnya Jepang dan Korea Selatan, karena adanya perkembangan nuklir tersebut dibutuhkan sebuah kerjasama pertukaran informasi atau disebut sebagai general security of military information agreement (GSOMIA) antara Jepang dan Korea Selatan namun dengan adanya faktor sejarah yang kurang baik membuat kerjasama ini sulit disepakati. Keterlibatan Amerika Serikat dalam kawasan Asia Timur dinilai sebagai amity bagi kedua negara sehingga kedua negara tersebut menandatangani kerjasama GSOMIA. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan tujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana kompleksitas kawasan Asia Timur, upaya Amerika Serikat mempertahankan hegemoninya, dan lebih memahami isi kerjasama bilateral GSOMIA. Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti menggunakan teori regional security complex theory, hegemony stability theory dan konsep kerjasama keamanan. Penelitian ini memaparkan bagaimana perkembangan aktivitas nuklir Korea Utara pada akhirnya membuat kondisi kawasan Asia Timur semakin kompleks. Dalam penelitian ini, penulis menemukan bahwa keterlibatan Amerika Serikat dalam GSOMIA merupakan upaya mempertahankan hegemoni Amerika Serikat.

Kata Kunci: Hegemoni, Nuklir, GSOMIA

INTRODUCTION

International cooperation between countries is a relationship conducted by a country with two or more countries who have one goal and are beneficial to each other because, in reality, each country will have difficulty fulfilling its needs on its own without help. (Nugroho, 2022). According to Charles Armor McClelland, international cooperation is joined efforts between countries to achieve certain goals, whether economic, political, social, cultural, or protection (McClelland, 1966).

Due to the rapid development of industry and advanced technology, the needs of a country are also increasing, which causes each country to have to continue to export and import so that their country can survive. Not only in the economic sector, the development of weapons to strengthen the country's military is also highly increasing, so that the country is not threatened by danger, every country must cooperate in the military sector, both in the defense section that carries out military training up to the sale and purchase of weapons in order to create a sense of security for its people, not only just a sense of security with international cooperation made countries that involved in this relationship had a trust among each other. (Aisyah, 2023).

China as a country who has a power in Asia region also has international cooperation with Russia, in east Asia China try to perform cooperation through an open regionalism strategy, this strategy makes China more adaptable considering that China is also facing various problems related to regional security and territorial region which can have negative impact if East Asia trapped in isolated regionalism (Wishanti, 2017).

Unfortunately, cooperation conducted by China in East Asia with an open regionalism strategy is not really effective for some countries, such as South Korea and Japan, because both of countries have more dominant cooperation with the United States. According to the United States, East Asia is valuable as a Factory of Asia, which in every sub-region functions properly to produce quality products. Hence the United States often coop-

eration with South Korea and Japan. United States involvement in every region as well as country creates perspective as a threat to North Korea resulting in them carrying out nuclear development. According to North Korea, what the United States is doing is a form of hegemony which is making East Asia region submit to the United States. Therefore North Korea carrying out nuclear development in order to survive the hegemony of the United States (Sekarwati, 2021).

Based on facts and history, the United States is a country famous for its hegemony in every sector both in soft power and hard power, this can be prove with United States involvement in every international agenda such as United State summits or East Asia summits, United States hegemony is not only appear in international organizations, at the same time with technology, military and trade developments have led to various industrial sectors being dominated by the United States. United States hegemony has started since The Korean War and the aftermath of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, this can be proven by United States involvement in every problem and agenda at East Asia. But unfortunately, the outcome of North Korea's nuclear development made the hegemony of the United States eroded till The United States felt threatened that international security stability could be disrupted (CNN, 2021).

The nuclear problem in North Korea is not a new thing in international relations, because its weapons of mass destruction made many countries put eyes on North Korea which has a nuclear program. North Korea decided to develop a nuclear program based on a lack of national security defense, in the written data on Arms Control Association "North Korea is estimated to have assembled 30 nuclear warheads, as of January 2023, and has fissile material for an estimated 50-70 nuclear weapons, as well as advanced chemical and biological weapons programs." (Arms Control Association, 2023).

The impact of North Korea's nuclear development is a dangerous threat to human life in countries in the East Asia region, especially South Korea and Japan. Therefore,

International cooperation is needed, this cooperation is called the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) is a bilateral cooperation between Japan and South Korea. GSOMIA cooperation is legally binding. This cooperation contains terms and conditions for handling and protecting information from one country to another. This cooperation will continue to be renewed every year. GSOMIA conducts standard operating procedures for the flow of classified information. It is claimed that such information will not be forwarded to any third party without the consent of the other party even if such information is informed to a third party it should be communicated to another party first. Apart from that, there are restrictions on the parties who will handle this information (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2016)

DISCUSSION

General Security of Military Information Agreement Cooperation

The General Security of Military Information (GSOMIA) between South Korea and Japan was originally suggested by Japan in 1989. But, at that time, there was no agreement between the two countries regarding the necessity or benefits of GSOMIA. Changes happened following repeated provocations from North Korea in 2006 and 2009, which is involved in nuclear tests and long-range missile launches. Because of that, interest in GSOMIA resurfaced again on both sides. In 2011, the defense ministers of both countries agreed to begin talks on GSOMIA. June 2012, GSOMIA agreement between South Korea and Japan was adopted in a Cabinet meeting. However at the end of the process, prior to the signing of the cooperation, the process was cancelled due to objections regarding the GSOMIA negotiation procedures. This objection regarding South Korean society's rejection of the comfort women issue that related to their views on Japan. In that period the relationship between South Korea and Japan experienced tension. President Obama managed to ease tensions between the two countries at the 2014 International Nuclear Summit, where Obama facilitated the meeting between South Korean

President Park Geun Hye and Japanese Prime Minister Abe for the first time. In this context, United States role became a reason why South Korea became friendlier towards Japan (Panda, 2014)

The importance of the conference for the three countries is illustrated by the shared perspective about North Korea's nuclear escalation. The relationship between South Korea and Japan reached its peak in 2015, when South Korea made The 2015 agreement with Japan as steps to address concerns related to the comfort women issue. It shows that KTT three countries led by the United States in 2014 took a role to push South Korea to make a wiser decision, which solved the problem according to comfort women which has been going on for a long time effectively. In 2016, the United States brought together President Park Geun Hye and Prime Minister Shinzo Abe again to discuss improving the defense system against North Korea's nuclear weapons. North Korea also doing a series of nuclear tests, and twenty missile test launches, including submarine-launched ballistic missiles. Facing these serious security issues, The Defense Ministry is conducting a complete review of its capabilities to counter nuclear and missile threats from North Korea. One of the strategic steps taken was to conduct an evaluation to review whether the South Korean armed forces' response needed to be strengthened or not, especially in this kind of situation. Besides that, strategic collaborative efforts between South Korea and the United States were also made to address these challenges. Furthermore, the realization of how important GSOMIA is with Japan for increasing intelligence capabilities. After necessary reviews and discussions among relevant government agencies, the decision to resume GSOMIA talks with Japan was taken on 27 October 2016 at a National Security Council meeting. The negotiation between South Korea and Japan takes place between November 1 until 9. The completion of the cooperation draft and signing was carried out during the third negotiation, precisely on November 14. This cooperation process is followed by the necessary review process, including discussion by the Government's Ministry of Legislation, the Council of Deputy Minis-

ters, and Cabinet meetings. On November 23, the Minister of National Defense and the Japanese ambassador for South Korea signed the GSOMIA.

The South Korea-Japan Military Information Security Cooperation Agreement came into effect when the two countries notify each other of the completion of their respective internal ratification procedures through diplomatic channels (Ministry of National Defense Republic of Korea, 2017). The cooperation between two countries apply for a period of one year, and will be automatically extended every following year. This cooperation can be terminated if there is written notification from one of the parties before the 90 day collaboration period ends.

GSOMIA is a cooperation between Japan and South Korea that uses a method of sharing and exchanging military information between the two countries and protecting and managing the information that has been shared and exchanged. Main focus on this cooperation involved on information protection measures. In this agreement, even if confidential information is provided to another party, the information must not be given to a third party without consent from the party providing the information. Apart from that, access and handling of information by the receiving party is also limited based on the conditions that have been set. The scope of this cooperation includes the channels used to share and exchange military information, the rank and capacity of the offices handling the information shared and exchanged, permitted uses, protection duties, management methods, and procedures for disposal of the information. The information shared under GSOMIA is not limited or unrestricted. Based on reciprocity principle, two countries exchange information at an equivalent level of classification after carefully reviewing the type and nature of the information on a case-by-case (Ministry of National Defense Republic of Korea, 2017). The cooperation consists of 21 articles that establish procedures to ensure the security of military intelligence shared between South Korea and Japan. Based on this cooperation every countries are required to mark classified military information received from

other countries with the appropriate classification level. Military confidential information must not be leaked or disclosed to, or accessed by third parties without verbal authorization from the country sharing the confidential information. The confidential information must be protected by security procedures equivalent to those used by the country providing the information, and must not be used for any purpose other than its intended purpose. This cooperation establishes specific rules and procedures relating to the exchange and protection of military confidential information including requirements for the use of government-to-government channels for communicating military secrets, security requirements that must be met during delivery, and disposition measurement to be taken in the event of loss or damage. Based on the information above, the main focus of the GSOMIA cooperation program is on the “protection” of information. This cooperation emphasizes that even if confidential information is provided to another party, the information may not be further provided to a third party without the consent of the party providing the information, and the party handling the information will be subjected to restrictions.

According to the confidentiality rules of GSOMIA cooperation, each country is expected to keep military information confidential from third parties, and such information cannot be used for reasons other than written in the cooperation. The information provided is reliable because it is provided by competent parties in their fields under the government. Apart from that, security clearance staff are tasked with monitoring and maintaining the validity of military information, so that the information provided is truly valid as is to guarantee the reliability of the information provided by each country. The GSOMIA cooperation further states that the regulations must obey the national laws applicable in each country. The media or materials submitted must also obey national laws governing intellectual rights such as copyright and patent rights applicable in each country. Therefore, it is important for the country to obey the national law first. The GSOMIA partnership lasts one year and is automatically renewed unless one

of the parties cancels the cooperation at least 90 days before the end of the period.

All North Korean movements are classified information that can only be obtained from related institutions of the South Korean and Japanese governments. Japan has two radar X-Band type TYP-2 placed in the Aomori region, northern Japan, and the AN/TYP-2 type X-Band radar placed in the Kyotango region, East Sea of Japan, which has been placed in the East Sea of Japan since 2013. That's why South Korean radar cannot reach activity nuclear North Korea towards the East Sea because it has entered Japanese territory, but this radar can be monitored by Japan through GSOMIA cooperation (Eshel, 2013). These radars can detect any kind of ballistic missile and identify small things from afar. Japan's radar is also used as a center system sensor, therefore, this radar is very important in countering North Korean nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, missile launches that cross the South Korean region can be monitored by South Korea using the Swedish-Arthur radar, which can identify long-range artillery and provide data to the command system within seconds. Based on skema above, The GSOMIA cooperation program aims to share military information about North Korean activities. The activities in question include North Korea's nuclear and missile tests in January 2016, their 4th nuclear test. Every North Korea movement is identified as confidential information that can only be obtained from related institutions of the South Korean and Japanese governments.

Because Japan has two radar X-Band type TYP-2 placed in the Aomori region, northern Japan, and the AN/TYP-2 type X-Band radar placed in the Kyotango region, East Sea of Japan, which has been placed in the East Sea of Japan since 2013, then South Korean radar which cannot reach activity nuclear North Korea towards the East Sea area because it has entered Japanese territory still can be monitored by Japan through GSOMIA cooperation (Eshel, 2013). These radars can detect any kind of ballistic missile and identify small things from afar. Japan's radar is also used as a center system sensor, therefore, this radar is very important in countering North Korean nuclear weapons.. Meanwhile, missile launches that

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United States – Japan – South Korea in Regional Complexity

East Asia is valuable as a Factory of Asia by the United States. This is due to many countries in East Asia that already develop good infrastructure to support the manufacturing industry. The development of infrastructure included major investments in transportation, logistics, and energy that have increased production efficiency. One of example is Japan which became a leader in international trade and foreign investment directly. Companies originally from Japan such as Toyota, Honda, and Sony have established many factories and businesses throughout the world. At the same time, Japan also focused on technological innovation, including research in artificial intelligence, renewable energy, and robotics. According to data written on the Japanese government website, jetro.go.jp it claimed that Japan is the number 1 country that cooperation in the investment sector with the United States (Jetro, 2019). This also applies to South Korea. In the early 21st century, South Korea accelerated its economy globally. Technology companies such as Samsung, LG, and Hyundai are becoming leaders in the electronics, telecommunications, and automotive industries. Technological innovation is a major focus for them, and South Korea has been successful in producing innovative products that have been know for its success in the global market. In fact, cooperation

between the United States and South Korea has been going on since the 1950s, which was a period of recovery for South Korea after the war. The United States' role in the South Korea war increased the trust of South Korea so they dared to cooperate with the United States in the economic sector. The financial aid provided by the United States during the government by Sygman Rhee made the South Korean economy start to improve and in 1960, the United States became South Korea's first permanent investor under the leadership of Roh Moo Hyun (Febriyanti, 2022).

The ongoing cooperation by the United States, both Japan – the United States and the United States – South Korea, has created a sense of trust for the two countries in the East Asia region. In the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT), this is referred to as “Amity”. The word amity itself refers to the concept of cooperation or friendship built by figures in a regional security complex. RSCT was developed by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, and they identified four aspects of basic relationships in a regional security complex, one of the aspects is Amity. In the RSCT context, Amity is described as positive relations between countries or figures in a region. Amity relations create an atmosphere of mutual trust and collaborative efforts among the countries involved. Amity also helps to reduce the potential future conflict and increase stability within the regional security complex. RSCT theory attempts to explain how regional security is influenced by the dynamics of relations between figures in the region. Amity in RSCT shows the importance of factors such as diplomacy, economic cooperation, and other positive interactions among regional figures. The shared awareness of security, stability, and common interests can form the basis of Amity relations within a regional security complex.

The United States' presence in East Asia mainland also causes negative effects in the form of North Korea's nuclear development, in this case, North Korea has claimed itself that developing nuclear weapons is a response to potential threats in the future from the United States. The tension between both of country, especially during the Korean War (1950-

1953) and after, also The United States policy toward the country, could create a perception for North Korea that nuclear weapons are a means of protecting itself from potential military threats (Aszuhri et al., 2010).

In 2013, North Korea conducted the third nuclear test at Mantapsan. That action followed by serial provocation, included sending three-shot using the Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS), an automatic launcher that has high mobility and is also capable of firing rockets towards the Sea of Japan (Japan Times, 2014).

In 2016, North Korea conducted another nuclear test using a hydrogen bomb. After completing the nuclear test, North Korea back again took provocative actions by launching medium-range ballistic missiles toward Japan, which is a violation of UN resolutions (BBC, 2016). Eight months after doing the fourth nuclear test, North Korea conducted the fifth nuclear test using 10 kilotons of Trinitrotoluene (TNT). A year after twice nuclear test, North Korea back again doing nuclear tests using hydrogen bombs with explosive power ranges from 140 to 250 kilotons.

The development of North Korea nuclear can be pictured as provocative actions that cause a security dilemma for both Japan and South Korea. In fact, relations between South and North Korea becoming more deteriorated after the sinking of the Cheonan ships and North Korea's provocations in Yeonpyeong in 2010. As a result, South Korea cut off diplomatic relations, cutting off almost all trade with North Korea, and mobilizing international support for sanctions against what Pyongyang did (Sang-Hun, 2010). Other effects of North Korea provocations were also felt in 2011 when the president of South Korea Lee Myung-bak suggested an invitation for Pyongyang to the 2012 Nuclear Security Summit to discuss negotiations about the provocations but still stated that North Korea must admit its mistakes regarding Cheonan and Yeonpyeong and allow nuclear inspectors back and also stop its uranium enrichment program (The Chosunilbo, 2011).

Report from Seychelles News Agency,

in 2016 South Korea's Defense Ministry expressed concern over North Korea's nuclear developments. "They are ready to conduct additional nuclear tests and missile launches at any time," the South Korean ministry said in a statement. Then, on September 9 2016 South Korean military responded to increasing security concerns, especially after the fifth nuclear test and the strongest that Pyongyang conducted saying it would deal with the reclusive state and its possible nuclear attack using South Korea's three defense systems. In this case, Korea's Defense Ministry Han Min-koo stated his voice to the National Assembly of South Korea. "The South Korean military is developing a three-pillar system that will provide measurement to restrain the threat of North Korea's weapons of mass destruction." South Korea announced a new modernization program for conducting nuclear tests, developing conventional preventive responses alongside with the United States' nuclear prevention. One of the main aspects of the conventional responses of South Korea is a three-pillar system that is expected to be fully operational in the 2020s. The first pillar, Kill Chain, is a satellite and missile system to detect and perform preemptive strikes against North Korean missiles. The Korean Air and Missile Defense is the second pillar and is an anti-ballistic missile system that complements the United States Terminal High Altitude Area Defense to stop North Korean ballistic missiles. The third pillar is a penalty, The Korea Massive Punishment and Retaliation is defined as a plan to counterattack and punish North Korea with missiles in the event of a North Korean attack. The United States and Japan always tried to involve South Korea in their missile defense systems against China and North Korea; apart from installing Terminal High Altitude Area Defense and advanced shared military information systems between the US and South Korea and the United States and Japan both of country push the government of Park Geun-hye (who is on the verge of overthrow) to sign the GSOMIA cooperation between South Korea and Japan.

Indeed, there was almost a cancellation of this cooperation. But seeing all the provocations from North Korea, in the end,

South Korea decided to sign the GSOMIA cooperation as a response to North Korea's deadly nuclear weapons threat (Aini & Kurniawan, 2019).

On February 12, 2017, North Korea conducted a missile test Pukguksong-2 within medium and long-range, directly led by Kim Jong-un. That missile fired at a high elevation angle to maintain security in the area around North Korea. Pukguksong-2 reached 550 kilometers and crossed a distance of 500 kilometers to Japan, before finally landing on the East Coast of North Korea.

On May 14, 2017, North Korea conducted another missile launch test Hwasong-12. The purpose of this test is to test specification technology and tactical ballistic rockets, as well as the latest intermediate-range ballistic missile capabilities that are being developed by North Korea. Missile launch test Hwasong-12 caught the attention of other countries such as Japan and the United States, which after that agreed to hold an emergency meeting with the United Nations Security Council.

As a response to the Missile launch of Hwasong-12, North Korea, exactly a week later, launched another missile, Pukguksong-2. Missile Pukguksong-2 launched by North Korea was a medium-range ballistic missile that fell into the Sea of Japan. The launch of the missile took place in Pukchang, an area in South Pyongyang Province, and has a range of up to 500 kilometers.

Serials missile tests conducted by North Korea violated UNSC resolutions, increasing the tension and showing a real threat, not only to South Korea but also towards the safety of international world security. By observing respond-respond South Korea toward the development of North Korea nuclear, can be concluded that South Korea feels threatened by many provocative actions conducted by North Korea. Apart from that, the role of alliance with another country it is needed to support intensive monitoring of North Korea's nuclear weapons development. It can be said that South Korea is taking defense diplomacy steps through GSOMIA cooperation with Japan as a response to their concerns over threats that arise from their rival countries.

The relationship between South Korea and North Korea that keeps getting worse also becomes one of the reasons adding to South Korea's concerns. After the fifth nuclear test of North Korea in 2016, South Korea responded back to address further threats with the three-pillar system that was built by South Korea. Researchers argue that this is solely based on a sense of anxiety experienced by South Korea. Respond and South Korea's move is considered a strategic move to deal with provocations by North Korea.

While from Japan's point of view, nuclear threats from North Korea matter and need a joint response from the United States, Japan, and South Korea. "The threat from North Korea already improved to a level that is unprecedented, critical, and immediate. That's why we should take a calibrated and different response to deal with that level of threat," said Japanese Defense Minister Itsunori Onodera to the US and South Korea. After the crisis of North Korea in 1993-1994, Japan decided to declare again the role and its mission in the alliance between the three countries by announcing the Japan-US Joint Declaration on Security in 1996 and making the new Japan-US defense guidelines in 1998. When North Korea launched Taepo Dong missile across Japan in the same year, Japan decided to start a joint research in missile defense with the United States. In tune, Japanese officials are also considering making and deploying offensive weapons systems to destroy North Korean missile launch sites. (Hajime & Katsuhisa, 2022). Then nuclear test and also ballistic missile launches were carried out by North Korea. These measures are direct threats and serious to the safety of Japan and cannot be accepted because these measures severely damage the peace and security of the Northeast Asian region and the international community. Following this development, reported by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs page, the Japanese Government put into consideration concrete measures to take an effective approach to the comprehensive solution about issues of interest, such as kidnapping, nuclear, and missiles as priorities. First, the Japanese Government applies limitations for North Korea, which are: entry

prohibition on North Korean citizens; re-entry prohibition for North Korean authority officials who live in Japan with an intention to go back to North Korea; re-entry prohibition for anyone who is in a position to help North Korean authority officials that live in Japan with an intention to go back North Korea (expanded target from before); requesting all citizens not to visit North Korea; Suspension of visits by Japanese government officials to North Korea; Prohibition on landing for crews from North Korean-flagged ship; Prohibition on the landing for foreign ship crews that violating trade and financial policies toward North Korea; re-entry prohibition foreign citizen who lives in Japan who are punished of violating the above acts, with an intention to go to North Korea; re-entry prohibition for foreign experts in the field of nuclear and missile technology who lives in Japan with an intention to go to North Korea.

Second, government prohibition payments to North Korea except in cases where the amount is less than 100,000 yen and for humanity purposes. Third, the Japanese Government prohibited entry to foreign ships that previously stopped at a port in North Korea. Fourth, the Japanese Government added entities and individuals intended to perform asset-freezing actions (Ministry Of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2016).

Responded to the new nuclear test by North Korea on September 9, on October 14, 2016, Maritime Self-Defense Force Admiral Katsutoshi Kawano, Head of Japan defenses, joint discussion with senior US and South Korean military leaders at the Pentagon.

The three military leaders stated that testing is clearly a violation of UN Security Council resolutions, and agreed to respond to such actions by coordinating with each other. They exclaim for North Korea to "hold back from irresponsible provocations that are increasing regional tensions, and started to focus on fulfilling its international obligations and commitments." Dunford stated again "the strong commitment" of the United States to support South Korea and Japan. The United States will use all military power – conventional defensive nuclear and missile – to block North

Korea. The senior military leaders agreed to maintain cooperation to advance common security issues and enhance peace and stability in the region. The deeper discussion of the three countries shows successfully with the emergence of cooperation between South Korea and Japan through this GSOMIA cooperation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan also stated in one of its statements that through military cooperation will allow the two governments to “share information more smoothly and quickly” (Seychelles News Agency, 2016).

It can be said that Japan gave bold responses to the provocations from the development of nuclear weapons from North Korea. Concrete evidence that they give includes the administration of sanctions on North Korea’s nuclear weapons activities. Besides giving sanctions, Japan also builds cooperation with South Korea through cooperation in exchanging information on the development of North Korea’s nuclear activities with GSOMIA cooperation for monitoring efforts.

Because there are security threats to South Korea and Japan, the United States can get involved in handling the problem of North Korea’s nuclear development. This is because the United States itself has already signed a security treaty with Japan and South Korea as cooperation. Security treaty between the United States – Japan is a cooperation between the United States and Japan with the purpose of increasing and improving shared security and including cooperation in defense, and for South Korea, the United States already signed a Status of Forces Agreement that handles the United States’s army in South Korea and shared defenses. In this context, the United States committed to assisting South Korea’s defense against external armed threats or aggression.

The involvement of the United States in the East Asia region itself encourages the creation of polarization of power. Referring to RSCT theory, the polarization of power can be found when the main powers in an area or region are divided into two sides that competing or rivalry. It can happen when the main figures in this area or region create an alliance or have

significant tension with each other.

The United States, Japan, and South Korea agreed in one voice that North Korea’s nuclear development is a security threat to the East Asia region, so it needed a vessel to contain and collect information about North Korea’s nuclear development, which is GSOMIA. GSOMIA’s purpose is to secure the confidentiality of information exchanged between South Korea and Japan regarding military information on North Korea’s nuclear developments. The main focus is the “protection” of the information. The United States itself takes a role as amity in this GSOMIA cooperation where the United States becomes a vessel for information from both Japan and South Korea because both of the countries signed the cooperation to exchange military information with the United States and register the confidential information in the United States system. However, even though South Korea and Japan input the information into the United States system, such information cannot be easily forwarded from Japan to South Korea, or from South Korea to Japan. Therefore, with the signing of GSOMIA between Japan and South Korea, there is no risk that confidential information falls into the third party’s hands, and the information will be freely shared between Japan, the United States, and South Korea.

The involvement of the United States in GSOMIA creates regional anarchy which is interpreted in reality that there is no central entity that can control or regulate security at a regional level. So, every figure in this region taking action based on its own interests and security.

United States Involvement in the East Asian Region as a Form of United States Hegemony

The United States used to be seen as a global hegemon by observers on some periods in modern history, especially after World War II. Based on Ikenberry, hegemony is not eternal. Hegemony can face challenges from inside or outside, and the power structure in the international system is always changing over time. In East Asia itself, the United States

hegemony faces changes like what Ikenberry stated that hegemony can change over time. It can be proven by four indicators that shown by Ikenberry which are regime creation, maintenance, enforcement, and durability.

The hegemony of the United States changed because of the North Korean nuclear threat, the program nuclear of North Korea was considered a serious threat to regional security stability. This matter pushed countries in East Asia, especially South Korea and Japan, to strengthen defense relations with the United States. The threat from North Korea as a common concern bringing together the Presidents of South Korea and Japan during the Obama government to create security cooperation between Japan and South Korea to respond to the North Korean threat, GSOMIA can be called as an important component in the cooperation. Not only that, At the 2016 Nuclear Security Summit in Washington D.C., the United States pushed Japan and South Korea to conclude GSOMIA negotiations.

Although at that time the relationship of South Korea and Japan not harmonious but on November 2016, After the Nuclear Security Summit, Japan and South Korea finally signed the GSOMIA (Delury & Moon, 2017).

The United States' push in GSOMIA falls under the first indicator, namely regime creation where according to Ikenberry "hegemony can create international regimes that reflect or promote values, norms, rules, and structures favorable to the hegemon's interests. Such regime creation allows the hegemon to strengthen its position in the international system."

Although the United States is not an official signatory to GSOMIA and there is a third-party prohibition in the memorandum of understanding, however, the United States is an active member of GSOMIA due to the security cooperation signed separately between the United States - Japan and the United States - South Korea.

Because there is security cooperation between two party The United States is designated as the competent authority in GSOMIA (Botto, 2020).

The United States also contribution to GSOMIA cooperation, with a right as the competent authority, the United States is more easily to send military trope to both of country. The role of the United States in GSOMIA is the power to maintenance both of country. According to Ikenberry, maintenance is an effort to maintain or preserve stability, peace, or the status quo in interstate relations or in the structure of the international system. Efforts here can take the form of using power and influence to maintain rules, norms, and structures that are favorable to the interests of the hegemon. The existence of the United States in GSOMIA made Japan and South Korea survive in GSOMIA even though the two countries have quite complex and unique relations. The existence of the United States is an advantage for both countries because, for both South Korea and Japan, the United States is a trustworthy ally (Delury & Moon, 2017).

In 2019, South Korea's withdrawal from the GSOMIA cooperation caused by Japan's Trade War made the United States speak up, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United States, Mike Pompeo said "We are disappointed to see the decision South Korea has made regarding the information sharing agreement. We urge both countries to continue working together.". Seeing the opinion of the United States and remembering the threat of the United States in November 2018, regarding the suspension of joint military exercises with South Korea if GSOMIA did not continue, South Korea was left with no choice but to re-sign GSOMIA (Rahman, 2019). What the United States does the South Korea is enforcement which Ikenberry stated is The ability to enforce policies, rules, and norms that have been established in the international system.

Hegemon have power and also resources which allows them to force or direct other countries to abide by the rules they have established.

The last is durability, Ikenberry stated that 'durability' refers to the ability of the international system to survive or remain stable when facing changes, maintain relative advantage, and sustain its influence over a long period of time, "A strong hegemony must

be endurance to both internal and external challenges.”. The United States as hegemon in East Asia region made the hegemony of the United States more legitimized so that in an external perspective it looks like the United States is a country that has power in the internal case in that region as evidenced by the activities of the United States that restrain North Korea’s military aggressiveness.

As when North Korea continued its streak of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile tests in 2016 in an effort to develop nuclear capabilities and military threats. The United States, along with allies such as South Korea and Japan, responded by increasing military alert and taking steps to protect themselves from potential threats. Still, on the same year, 2016, the United States raised the missile defense system Terminal High Altitude Area Defense in South Korea, which triggered tensions with China. In order to ease these tensions, the United States is working with regional partners, including China, to find a diplomatic solution to the North Korean nuclear crisis.

At the end of the year 2016, the UN implemented further penalties against North Korea in response to its nuclear weapons and ballistic missile tests. The United States is also taking measures such as strengthening missile defense systems in the Asia-Pacific region to increase protection against ballistic missile threats from North Korea. This also includes increased cooperation with regional allies and an increased military presence in the region. The United States continues to push for a diplomatic solution to the North Korean nuclear issue. Apart from coordinating with its allies, the United States is involved in a dialog with China, which is considered a significant influence on North Korea.

The important event in this diplomatic approach involved six-party talks which are the United States, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, China, and Russia. Although there is no significant progress has been made in 2016, this discussion shows the continuation of diplomatic efforts to reach a peaceful settlement about North Korea’s nuclear program. It can be said that 2016 marked a

period when continuing tension increased in East Asia and needed an immediate but careful response just like coordination between the United States, its allies, and regional partners (Arms Control Association, 2022).

In the year 2017, North Korea kept conducting serial nuclear weapons and ballistic missile tests and raising the tension in the region. In September 2017, North Korea did another test which is a hydrogen bomb test that more stronger than North Korea’s previous tests. Intercontinental ballistic missile tests conducted by North Korea also increase the threat to the United States and its allies. The United States facing this provocation action with a clear statement and real action, including increased economic penalties and the announcement that “military options remain on the table.”. At the same time, diplomacy continues, with the purpose of bringing North Korea to the negotiating table and finding a peaceful solution regarding its nuclear program. The United States was involved in intense diplomacy to find a settlement to the North Korean nuclear crisis.

Trump’s government relies on a mixed approach which is mixing potential military pressure with an emphasis on economic sanctions that are more strict and also a diplomacy approach.

Even though there are strange and unclear relationship between President Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un, this approach creating new dynamic in bilateral relations and sets the stage for high-level meetings in the future. In 2017 became a preparation period for the meeting between United States President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un which then happened in 2018.

Intensive diplomacy and high-level contact between both sides created a base for the meeting. This diplomacy approach involves the active role of various parties, such as China and South Korea. In the end, the meeting became a turning point event that created an opportunity to discuss a peaceful resolution to North Korea’s nuclear program (Arms Control Association, 2022).

In June 2018, United States President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un shook hands at a summit in Singapore. This is a historical moment and also the first meeting between leaders of the United States and North Korea creating a starting point for diplomatic discussion. The summit is considered a positive step in easing the tensions and creating a platform for further talks although it did not result in a final agreement on denuclearization.

After the summit in Singapore, both of country continued the discussion through low-level negotiations. As for the main focus of this discussion covers issues such as of concrete steps for denuclearization, a deadline for achievement, and the security measures the United States will take in response steps toward denuclearization.

Although there was a certain progress, the negotiations at some point will face difficulties and setbacks. However, efforts continue to maintain to create diplomatic momentum and encourage North Korea to take concrete. In denuclearization efforts for North Korea, the United States performed economic sanctions against North Korea that show its seriousness in pushing the country towards denuclearization. The sanction's purpose is to limitation of funding North Korea's nuclear and missile programs, and it has still become the major element in the United States strategy toward North Korea.

A year later, in June 2019, Donald Trump and Kim Jong-un met at the demilitarized zone that separates North Korea and South Korea. This meeting happened suddenly after the G20 meeting in Osaka, Japan, and became their third meeting after the summit in Singapore in 2018 and in Hanoi in early year 2019 which still ended without an agreement. That's why, the meeting at the demilitarized zone is seen as a good step to continuing the discussion between both of country. Even though there are still no concrete agreements that are being sealed, this meeting creates another starting point because after the meeting at the demilitarized zone the negotiations between the United States and North Korea continue.

The discussion continues, but the real

movement of denuclearization remains a challenge. Economic sanctions on North Korea still applies as pressure to encourage concrete steps. (Arms Control Association, 2022).

From this point on, the durability of the United States in the East Asian region is legitimized, with the data that has been included by researchers and proven by existing events, it is certain that the involvement of the United States in the East Asian region is a hegemony, also how the United States tried to maintenance the hegemony proven by the connection with the indicators given by Ikenberry in the theory of hegemonic stability makes the role of the United States in GSOMIA is a form of defense of the United State hegemony.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results by researchers about the hegemony theory of stability Ikenberry what the United States does in the East Asian region is indeed a form of defense of its hegemony. It is proven because there is relatedness with the indicators provided by Ikenberry where it starting with the United States' initiation bringing together Japan and South Korea at the Nuclear Summit to create GSOMIA cooperation.

Not only initiated GSOMIA cooperation, the United States also joined as competent authorities appointed directly due to separate cooperation both of country with the United States. The presence of the United States is beneficial for both of countries because in the eyes of South Korea and Japan, the United States is a trustworthy ally. Although in 2019 South Korea almost withdraw from GSOMIA but the presence of the United States and the opinion statement by United States Prime Minister Mike Pompeo made South Korea change its mind.

Through efforts the United States does every year to North Korea researchers concluded that this is a form of durability of United States hegemony in the East Asia region, North Korea decrease in military aggression made the hegemony of the United States becomes legitimized, also with the presence of the United

States, security stability in the East Asia region is also more controlled.

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