

**RUSSIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE KIM JONG-UN REGIME FROM**

**2012 TO 2023**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**



**UNIVERSITAS  
ISLAM  
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**UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA**

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Proposed to the Department of International Relations  
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences  
Universitas Islam Indonesia

As a partial fulfillment of requirement to earn

Bachelor Degree in International Relations



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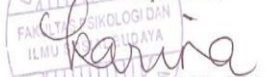
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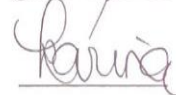
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## STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

I hereby declare that this undergraduate thesis is the result of my own independent scientific work, and that all material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) has been stated, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated.

No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

Making false statements is considered a violation of academic integrity.

*Yogyakarta, 21 December 2023*



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*La Ode Ilham Zain*

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses Russia's influence on North Korea during Kim Jong-Un's regime. Also discussed is how Russia tried several approaches in the conducting of their plans. This thesis uses the Defensive Realism theory by Kenneth Waltz in the discussion of how Russia has influenced North Korea, mainly in regards to security activities and the fulfilment of their state goals. The argument that arises from this relates to the four fundamental assumptions from the Defensive Realism theory, that is, that Russia acted as a territorial structured organization, Russia's rationality in achieving their state goals, Russia's security activities in North Korea, and how Russia tried to act in the international system. The result of this study is that Russia did indeed try to influence North Korea during Kim Jong-Un's regime with an aim to establish a firm position in East Asia region.

**Keywords:** Russia, North Korea, UN, Defensive Realism, Kim Jong-Un, Vladimir Putin



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Russia in the right now is one of the major powerhouses in international society. Since the fall of USSR in the end of 1991, Russia still rebuild in the remnant of its former glory. Vladimir Putin that had been leading Russia since 2012, had been ruling Russia with iron fist. And with the kind of ruling, he has now, not really surprised if he had many opponents in international society. In the current situation with Russia-Ukraine conflict, Russia been dealing with their many opponents, mainly come from US and its allies. With its rival ahead, Russia did many ways in ensure the state goals and stability of its country could be fulfilling. In one of the many ways was made relation with North Korea.

Kim, who assumed North Korea's dictatorship following his father's death in 1994, governed the communist nation with an authoritarian approach and received significant censure for his suppressive measures against the populace (History.com Editors 2012). In the four months after the passing of Kim Jong Il, Kim Jong-Un sequentially assumed his father's roles in the military, party, and government. Within 13 days of his father's death, Kim Jong-Un became the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, continuing his efforts as the chosen successor to first take control of the military. The era of Kim Jong-Un officially commenced in April of 2012, upon his election to the top position within the party at the Fourth Party Representatives Conference, which included all other party positions previously held by his father (R. M. Lee 2021).

At 27 years old, Kim Jong-un had a limited global presence. Although he would later become the leader of North Korea, at that time he was not widely recognized. As the successor to Kim Jong-il, Kim Jong-un has successfully elevated North Korea's status to that of a global threat, surpassing his predecessor's achievements. Kim Jong-un is described as a solemn, introverted, and overweight person who faced worldwide ridicule during North Korea's early years. He bolstered North Korea's nuclear program to achieve this. Despite no previous political or military background, Kim Jong-un was widely lauded as a "remarkable successor," succeeding his father shortly after his death. This occurrence happened despite Kim Jong-un's lack of previous experience in either field. Additionally, the North Korean government granted him the positions of leader of the North Korean party, state, and military, as well as the esteemed title of Supreme Leader of North Korea (BBC 2023).

The North Korean power transition significantly stirred the international community, albeit amidst ongoing controversies. With much speculation regarding the new leader's approach, many wondered if he would follow in the footsteps of his predecessors. Following his ascent to power in 2011 after his father's passing, Kim Jong-Un was deemed an inexperienced ruler. However, since assuming power, Kim Jong-Un has established himself as an authoritarian leader, whose actions have had adverse effects on his own people and the global community, resulting in widespread concern and fear. North Korea became a significant player on the international stage after Kim Jong-Un's rise to power, and the progress and developments have been noticeable. Simultaneously, the leader has assumed the

position of a ruler in the global perspective, causing his actions to be scrutinized independent of the controversy.

As a small state surrounded by powerful countries, North Korea seeks relationships that have significant power in order to match its "twin" country. While South Korea primarily seeks relations with the USA, North Korea has already established a relationship with Russia. Despite a rough start, Russia has become a key player for North Korea, especially under the leadership of Kim Jong-Un. This could not have happened without Russia's leader, Vladimir Putin, who strengthened Russia's relations with North Korea. During his first presidential administration in 1999, Putin was open in involving his foreign policy with Pyongyang. These enhanced ties demonstrated Putin's willingness to advance a combined strategy of pursuing economic and security goals, which in turn could increase regional influence and elevate international standing. Russia was seen as using the Korean Peninsula as a means to regain its previous prominence in the region and to begin to realize the economic potential of the Russian Far East (Clare 2012).

If we talked about North Korea relation with Russia, it's not the same with China relation. Yes, China was once of the close ally of North Korea same as Russia but it's different in the Kim Jong-Un regime. In the December 2013, Kim executed Jang Song-Thaek (Person 2013), which no. 2 Man in North Korea at that time. This make the relation with China felt betrayed by Kim's action and this make the relation between each country was deteriorating. Over the years, with many problems they had, it seems that they weren't trying to reconcile and make amend to their relation. And this is where Russia fills the hole that north Korea had. And

in return to North Korea, Pyongyang had “big brother” they could rely on. Russia actively overtime trying to make North Korea on of its ally in Easten part of Asia as Russia had minimal allies there.

From a realist perspective, we can examine the relationship between Russia and North Korea. Russia practices offensive realism and aims to extend their influence in East Asia by cultivating their longstanding relationship with North Korea. While there has been much debate regarding why Russia continues to maintain this relationship, it is clear that historically, the shared ideology between the former USSR and North Korea has been a driving force in their diplomatic ties. After the dissolution of the USSR in the early 1990s, the relationship between North Korea and Russia became strained. Despite decade-long attempts to restructure North Korea's outstanding debt to Russia, the latter has maintained its diplomatic presence in Pyongyang, even after the Soviet Union's dissolution and the removal of significant economic aid (Snyder, Where Does the Russia-North Korea Relationship Stand? 2019). With Pyongyang, it was evident that their position was surrounded by other powerful states, leaving them with very few options. Despite the limited choices, they still have decisions to make. This scenario reflects the principles of realism concerning North Korea. In line with the fundamental tenet of realism, state survival remains the top priority in national interest (Bell 2023). With North Korea establishing relations with China and Russia, it has developed significant bilateral partnerships with both nations and bolstered its stature in East Asia. Under the regime of Kim Jong-Un, North Korea has emerged as a noteworthy state of consideration.

## 1.2 Research Question

Why has the Russia government tried to influence Kim Jong-un since he took the leadership in North Korea?

## 1.3 Research Objectives

objectives of this research are to:

1. identify the Russia involvement in the political of North Korea during Kim Jong-Un's regime.
2. investigate the economic sector of North Korea and how Russia has been able to maintain economic cooperation with North Korea; and
3. identify how North Korea has maintained its military sector with the help of Russia.

After these 3 aspects have been explained, they will be analyzed using the Defensive Realism theory in order to identify why Russia has been trying to influence the North Korean government, especially Kim Jong-Un's regime.

## 1.4 Research Scope

The scope of this research is focused mainly on the last 11 years, from 2012 to 2023, with any additional necessary updates. This research also considers previous years for the purpose of collecting extra supporting material. The scope focuses on the main states of the research questions, which are Russia and North Korea, and a few other countries where necessary. The Scope also included how deep Russia influence over North Korea to the point where it could might affecting

north Korea's state goal, or it might make North Korea reliance toward Russia even more.

## 1.5 Literature Review

For this study, the researcher used several references as the pinpoint and for the formation of the comparison for the thesis. The references mainly discuss the Korean war and Korea's relations with the US and USSR, as well as the development of impacts. The first journal is *Russia and North Korea: An Emerging, Uneasy Partnership* by Alexander Zhebin. The journal discusses the historical background of both countries' relations. It discusses many sectors, including politics and economics, and also discusses the challenges for these countries' relations (Zhebin 1995).

The second reference is a journal named *Russia and North Korea: ups and downs in relations* by Georgy Toloraya and Lyubov Yakovleva. As the name suggests, the journal mainly discusses the ups and downs of relations between Russia and North Korea, focusing on economic, political and the security aspects. The journal also discusses the important events that shaped the relations of Russia and North Korea, such as the fall of the USSR and how the new leader of Russia was more on the South Korean side, as well as when North Korea launched their rocket, Unha 3, in 2012 sour relations. This reference basically discusses the fluctuating bilateral relations in the historical context (Georgy Toloraya 2021).

The third journal is called *A General Assessment of 10 years of the Kim Jong-Un Regime: in the areas of the Military and Security*. This journal focuses on

discussing the performance of the regime in the security and military sectors. The journal also analyzed the strategies and policies during the regime related to national security and also the regime's choices in regard to the Nuclear Rocket Program and how the military approached modernization of military (C.-K. Lee 2021).

The next journal is called *Economic Cooperation between Russia and North Korea: New Goals and New Approaches* by Liudmila Zakharov. This reference discusses the cooperation of economies between Russia and North Korea and the economic relations of the two countries. The journal also analyzed the interests of both countries in pursuing economic cooperation and various aspects of economic relations, including investment, trade, and the infrastructure development and how this cooperation could benefit both countries along with the challenges the cooperation brought about (Zakharova, *Economic cooperation between Russia and North Korea: New goals and new approaches* 2016).

The last reference is titled *The Impact of the Ukraine War on Russian–North Korean Relations* by Yong-Chool Ha and Beom-Shik Shin. The article mainly discusses how the Ukraine war is affecting the relations of both countries. Several aspects are discussed in this article in relation to Russia and North Korea, including security, economic, and diplomatic ties and how the conflict has influenced these sectors (Yong-Chool Ha 2022).

## 1.6 Research Framework

Kenneth Waltz proposed in one of his lectures on structural realism that a thorough framework for comprehending international politics necessitates the adoption of a systemic perspective rather than a reductionist one. The fundamental objective of neorealism is to provide succinct and logically coherent theoretical frameworks that may effectively elucidate behavior by analyzing the characteristics or parameters of the international system. Waltz's proposition to elucidate the functioning of the international system has been commonly referred to as structural realism. Kenneth Waltz lay the foundation of this theory that became Defensive Realism in which many of other political scientist expand it.

Defensive realism as described by Kenneth Waltz is a theoretical framework within the field of international politics that adopts a systemic perspective and places the state at the center of analysis. The foundation of this concept is rooted in the anarchical framework of the international system, as well as the allocation of capacities throughout said system. Defensive realists, such as Kenneth Waltz, claim that the status of a nation does not inherently need a conscious endeavor to expand its power. Defensive realists contend that the increasing sectors of defense and security capacities holds paramount significance for the state. The international system is defined by a framework that may be described as anarchic. The primary objective of a state is not to optimize its power, but rather to preserve its standing within the international system (Waltz 1979). The theory also includes on the balancing and its easier for state to combine with the others rather than work harder to increase its own strange. Balancing is more important where coalition between



states is needed, especially when the weaker state was bowing down to the stronger state. Since the anarchy system is highlighted in this theory, survival of the states is assured when they seek same end goal and that is why in the end states only seek security to maintaining their own power and assessing their own interests (Waltz 1979, 126)

Superpower states, such as Russia, always maintain their security tightly. The main indicator for defensive realism is the argument that the whole structure of the international system always motivates nations to adopt measured and cautious conduct which can safeguard their existence and security, while offering opportunities for development in certain particular situations. It is also argued that the nations always have a tendency to participate in collaborative partnerships with other countries in order to accomplish their state goals. This is why Russia maintains its relationship with North Korea.

Which is why defensive realism were fit with the current issue Russia had regarding North Korea. Russia needs north Korea as part of their plan in securing its state goal and maintaining its national security. Russia knows exactly their situation right not in international society and this were compact with the defensive realism theory.

### **1.7 Provisional Argument**

The argument that the researcher would like to put forward is that Russia was trying to influence the North Korean government during Kim Jong-Un's reign. In accordance with the main fundamental assumptions of Defensive realism, there are 4 main indicators and how these 4 indicators could relate to the thesis:

1. Territorially structured organizations, such as city-states and modern nations, are considered the primary actors in global politics (in this case Russia acts as the territorial structured organization and right now as one of the major actors in global politics);
2. The behavior of states is commonly seen as rational, with a particular emphasis on the assumption that state preferences exhibit transitivity (Motivated by its rationality to achieve state goals, Russia is speculated as trying to maintain its geopolitics, especially in the far east. Therefore, Russia's rationality was to achieve its state goals);
3. States actively pursue security and assess their interests based on their relative power compared to other actors within the international system (Russia also puts great importance on enhancing its defense and security capabilities through the establishment of a strong relationship with Pyongyang, and has actively pursued security and assesses its interests based on its relative power. It is aware of its limited options and the challenges it has faced in establishing alliances, particularly in East Asia. This is unlike the United States, which has been more successful in this regard since the Cold War.); and
4. The international system is commonly defined as being characterized by anarchy (Russia also needed to adapt in order to survive the anarchy of the international society and secure allies in East Asia, especially North Korea. North Korea is one of Russia's plans to maintain its security especially at present times)

## **1.8 Research Method**

### *1.8.1 Type of the Research*

This research used qualitative methods, specifically data collection which was collected from 2012 to 2023. The theory used for this research was structural realism theory which is perfect for the time of the event.

### *1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research*

The subject of this research is Russia. The object of the research is Russia's influence toward North Korea especially the involvement of Russia with North Korea that were gathered by the researcher.

### *1.8.3 Method of Data Collection*

Data was collected from books, journals, and articles that discussed about the Russia relation and influence toward North Korea. Data was also collected from document analysis of documents containing anything that might be related to the thesis.

### *1.8.4 Process of the Research*

The collected data was analyzed to answer the research question of the thesis and finalized at the end of the thesis.

## **1.9 Thesis Outline**

In the thesis would be divided into 4 chapters and each chapter there would be sub-chapters.

## Chapter 1

In this chapter would be explain background, question research, research aim, significance, scope, literature review, theoretical framework, and research methods.

## Chapter 2

In the chapter 2, the researcher would know Russia and North Korea relation Under the regime and how Putin and Kim Jong-Un maintained the relation

## Chapter 3

The chapter would explain about the Russia affecting the Kim Jong-un Regime from he got elected to became North Korean Leader until now. by using theory that have been chosen, the researcher would find the answer to the question research.

## Chapter 4

The last chapter would explain the conclusion of the thesis and the answer of the thesis which is Why does the Russia government try to influence Kim Jong-un regime?

**CHAPTER 2**  
**RUSSIA AND NORTH KOREA RELATIONS UNDER KIM JONG-UN**  
**REGIME**

**2.1. Kim Jong-un Regime**

The transition of power at that time greatly awakened the entire international community. Of course, this cannot be separated from the many controversies from the country. Kim Jong-un, who was still 'green' and inexperienced after taking over the throne of North Korea's government from his father in 2011, has developed into a despot who is not only bad for his people but is also causing the whole world to shudder. Now that Kim Jong-il's son is in charge, North Korea is starting to become one of the nations to watch out for in the international political sphere, slowly but gradually. He is a ruler whose actions must be watched, regardless of any disputes (Hasan 2017).

It has been more than 10 years since Kim Jong Il's death which indicates that the seat of power has shifted to the next leader. On December 19, 2011, sounds of wailing filled the streets of North Korea's capital, Pyongyang. The students knelt down, looking dejected. The woman is depicted clutching her chest in despair. North Korea's state media has announced that their "beloved leader", Kim Jong-il, died at the age of 69 that day. Others doubted Kim Jong-un's ability to govern. Rumors circulated that he was just a spoiled youngster unfit for authority within Pyongyang's elite. Kim Jong-Un, who is only 27 years old, is expected to succeed a major power. Few, though, anticipated his success. How could North Korea have

such a novice commander? Many anticipate a military takeover or an elite takeover in North Korea. But it turned out that everyone had underestimated the young ruler. Along with solidifying his position as president, Kim Jong-Un also ushered in a new period known as "Kim Jong-unism" for the nation. Hundreds of killings were ordered, and he purged everyone he perceived to be a danger. He then focused on international matters after that. His four nuclear tests, the launch of 100 ballistic missiles, and conversations with the US president have garnered attention on a global scale (Bicker 2019).

one such example of his consolidation power was when Kim executed Jang Song-Thaek in 2013. Jang became Kim Jong Il's inner circle, and after his father's death, he acted almost like a regent for the younger Kim. Jang has long advocated for deeper relations with China, therefore his execution also demonstrates a split with Beijing. Although Jang is the most high-profile official Kim has removed, defectors and South Korean intelligence services say the regime routinely kills anyone who offends him (Murray 2023)

## **2.2. Bilateral Relations**

Russia and North Korea have always had fluctuating and complex relations with one another. Similar to the previous leader of North Korea, Kim Jong-Un has maintained a relationship with Russia, while at the same time trying to fulfill national interests. However, sometimes even his own choices can jeopardize relations between the two countries. With Putin in charge of Russia, the relation could be mended in the early years of the regime.

In the early years of the regime, Moscow seemed to still want to make Pyongyang its ally in the future and this was evident in 2012 when Russia signed

an agreement with North Korea to settle a debt of \$11 billion. 90% of the debt was forgiven and the remainder was used for aid (Sudakov 2012) With this, one of the hurdle for the North Korea was swiped away and Russia also had significant interest with the project in North Korea. Russia is actively pursuing the establishment of gas export pathways to regions beyond Europe, with the aim of diversifying its export destinations. In order to execute the proposed strategy, it is necessary for the gas pipeline to traverse North Korea under the safeguard of Russian assistance, which would involve the settlement of North Korea's outstanding debt and the allocation of funds towards the building of the gas pipeline project (KBS WORLD Indonesian 2014).

In these early years of the regime, there were also down of the relation. North Korea nuclear program were one of the issues. The program was already existed in the final year of the Kim- Il-sung reign, became one of the issues within international society. With the several test that undergone on the Kim Jong-Un regime, make the relation between Russia and North Korea were more decreasing at that time. The nuclear test conducted by North Korea on February 12, 2013 gave rise to a fresh crisis in the realm of bilateral ties. According to official media, North Korea confirmed it had effectively detonated a mini-nuclear bomb at a test facility in the northeastern region. This action could be seen as a violation of the United Nations Security Council directive, which demands a halt to nuclear activities under the threat of increasing international sanctions and isolation (CBS 2017). According to a statement issued by the Russian Foreign Ministry in 2013, it was asserted that the aforementioned initiative warrants censure from the global community. Russia possesses little leverage, mostly relying on its ability to appeal to all parties

concerned in order to achieve a resolution through peaceful and diplomatic means. In reference to the nuclear and missile tests conducted by North Korea, Sergey Lavrov, the Foreign Minister of Russia, underscored the imperative for UN member states to adhere to the resolutions established by the organization. Additionally, he cautioned against employing strong rhetoric, as it may contribute to an exacerbation of the situation (Toloraya, Russia and North Korea: Ups and downs in relations 2021).

In the period years of 2014-2015, marked by gradually yet growing relation between Russia and North Korea. this could be seen there were several visits of high-ranking officials visited Russia and minister Alexander Galushka visited Pyongyang several times. In October 2015 they decided to establish Russia-North Korea Trading House to enable electronic payments and opened correspondent accounts in the banks of the two countries. This became a new model of cooperation agreed by the two countries—Russian investments and supplies in exchange for its access to North Korean natural resources. Russia and North Korea also agreed on cooperation in free economic zones and advanced development territories and construction of a road bridge (Toloraya, Russia and North Korea: Ups and downs in relations 2021).

In these current situations, Russia-Ukraine war still active up until now and Russia often made counter measure in order to tackle Sanction from US and other EU member states. There were several reasons on why the invasion happened in the early 2022. This war also made the relation between Russia and North Korea were significantly closer rather than before. Since the invasion in the early 2022, North Korea became one of the few countries that support Russia and opposing UN



and Pyongyang blamed US for its involvement that caused the Ukraine crisis. North Korea backing Russia cause by the intention of the regime to have political support, receiving economic aid, and also receiving military technologies from the Russia (SANGSOO LEE 2022).

### *2.2.1 Putin Decision Stay with Kim Jong-Un*

Right now, Russia is one of the few countries that can match the power of the US. America no longer stands alone on right now but is not the only country that stands alone on the stage of power, due to the rise of Russia and China in recent decades., The world has become multipolar which has not only shaken the foundation that the US built , but ready to build, it could also remove the US America from its current position of power. The policies of by Russia under Putin have a particular direction toward nationalism, therefore pushing him to take certain policy measures. The measures implemented by the individual in question have effectively reaffirmed Russia's status as a prominent global power and have contributed to the progression of a multipolar international system (Hussain 2017).

Putin's decision to maintain a relationship with Kim Jong-Un is an expected decision if we look at this from the geographical side. Russian policy in the peninsula is sometimes contradictory where, on the one hand, Russia wants to defend North Korea for the sake of Russia's interests in East Asia, and on the other, it condemns North Korea's choice to develop a nuclear program. Russia's priorities can be described using a priority framework consisting of three distinct steps. The stability of North Korea and the entire Korean peninsula is very important, because it will greatly serve the interests of the Kremlin. The divided Korea issue is hardly

officially recognized. Moreover, a non-nuclear Korea is deemed less important, a view that has been reiterated by the country's leaders in Moscow on several occasions. The Kremlin's desired goal is to maintain the peninsula's current organizational structure, while also seeking to increase stability (Westermann 2018)

### *2.2.2 Russia Influence In The Politic Of Kim Jong-Un Regime*

Russia is a nation that engages in diplomatic activities in order to facilitate more collaboration with other countries. Given the continuous escalation of tensions between Russia and Ukraine, Russia demonstrates a preference for enhancing cooperative initiatives as opposed to engaging in conflict. This choice comes as a direct result of the ongoing escalation of tensions between Russia and Ukraine. Russia also remains one of the powers in the in the Korea Peninsula. The influence toward North Korea became one of the major factors on the North Korea survival up until now. The political influence that Russian Hold In the last decade were grew larger and this were utilized by Kim Jong-Un in order to gain sympathize and power in the international society.

Amid dynamic historical circumstances characterized by unpredictable international relations and a high likelihood of conflict, it is important to recognize that relations between Russia and North Korea are more than simple bilateral interactions. Rather, it occupies an important position in the broader regional and global context. The importance of Moscow-Pyongyang relations in influencing security dynamics in the Pacific Rim region cannot be ignored. Russia has great influence on the Pacific Rim route, which requires complex and controversial decision-making procedures. The Korean Peninsula has a very important history

and is recognized as a very conflict-sensitive region, especially because of its direct link to Russia's national interests (Ponomareva 2016). As a result, North Korea's reliance on Russia is growing. Relations came to a head early in the regime over the nuclear program that launched in late 2012, causing international tension. Russia tried to balance its relationship with the UN, further worsening the relationship with North Korea because Russia failed to understand the situation that North Korea had at that time. Russia has played a significant role in assisting North Korea with its nuclear program. Following a series of sanctions imposed by the United Nations and the United States, Russia has expressed its willingness to provide assistance to North Korea. This aligns with Putin's foreign policy objectives, particularly in relation to East Asia, where Russia seeks to preserve the peninsula as a secure region devoid of weapons of mass destruction.

Due to the diplomatic relationship, Russia up until now still became one of the countries that actively engage with the North Korea. if we looked with the recent event, their relation is more increasing with the Russia-Ukraine crisis. According to expert analysis, it is posited that Russia has the potential to make substantial contributions in terms of petroleum and food supplies to North Korea, therefore aiding the nation in addressing its domestic issue. At the subordinate level, this aid can manifest as industrial machinery, replacement parts, weaponry, and similar items. In spite of encountering challenging economic circumstances, Pyongyang possesses a range of offerings. North Korea has extended diplomatic assistance to Russia inside the United Nations framework, whilst maintaining a substantial presence of several operatives operating on Russian territory. This has the potential to augment the labor force and expand the quantity of rare earth ore mines. In 2017,

the United Nations Security Council implemented sanctions that prohibited the utilization of North Korean laborers. This measure was enacted in response to the adverse conditions experienced by these employees, including instances of violence, excessive working hours, and the significant portion of their pay being claimed by the state. Several groups have approximated that around 20,000 individuals from North Korea are employed in distant regions inside Russia. This action contravenes the sanctions imposed by the Russian government five years ago (BBC News Indonesia 2022),

### *2.2.3 Russia Military Relation to The North Korea*

There is minimum knowledge of the military relationship between Russia and North Korea. There have only been a few meetings between the two officially regarding military. One of the recent meetings held was the 2023 summit between Kim Jong-Un and Putin. In addition to expressing intentions to provide comprehensive support to Russia for the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, this meeting also suggested that Putin may prioritize the acquisition of additional North Korean artillery and munitions in order to replenish depleting reserves. This suggestion is based on statements from US officials. This strategic move is aimed at both deescalating Ukraine's counteroffensive and showcasing his ability to bring an end to the prolonged conflict. The potential escalation of the conflict in Ukraine may increase the pressure on the United States and its allies to engage in negotiations, as concerns about a prolonged conflict persist despite the substantial provision of advanced weaponry to Ukraine over the past 17 months. It is plausible that North Korea possesses a substantial quantity of artillery shells and rockets, potentially numbering in the tens of millions, which are derived from Soviet designs. These

armaments could potentially serve as a significant augmentation to the military capabilities of the Russian army. According to analysts, Kim may potentially pursue essential energy and food assistance, alongside advancements in weapons technology, such as intercontinental ballistic missiles, nuclear-capable ballistic missile submarines, and military reconnaissance satellites (Tong-Hyung 2023)

The relationship also seems complex with Russia and this is becoming a dilemma for Russia due to the fact that it still maintains diplomatic relations with the country and on the other hand still most of the states around the world turn their backs on this country because of the controversies that it has made. Many of the states that were already backed by the US, ignored the Kim dynasty but that changed when the North Korea nuclear program was established. Following that, it became evident to the international community that North Korea has a formidable presence that should not be underestimated. One perspective to consider is that Russia plays a significant role in facilitating the development of a program that encompasses one of North Korea's most advanced weaponry systems.

#### *2.2.4 Russia Economic Aid To The North Korea*

Russia and North Korea have been engaged in proactive efforts to explore new opportunities and create favorable conditions to enhance their economic partnership. These activities are being conducted in both nations. The objectives of both governments are mutually reinforcing: c. The viability of the newly proposed

cooperation model, characterized as "Russian investment in exchange for North Korean mineral resources," remains contingent upon the establishment of its practicality.

One of the main examples of the seriousness of the Russia in building relationship with North Korea especially in Economic was the debt settlement of Russia to North Korea. in 2012, the nations of Russia and North Korea entered into negotiations with the aim of resolving the issue of North Korea's outstanding debt. These negotiations culminated in the signing of an agreement, wherein 90 percent of Pyongyang's debt, amounting to \$11 billion (8.4 billion euro), was pardoned. Based on previous remarks by Sergei Storchnak, the Deputy Minister of Finance for Russia, it is probable that North Korea will undertake a debt restructuring process that favors the interests of Russian enterprises. Storchnak said that Russia is contemplating potential investments in diverse sectors of the North Korean economy, including but not limited to the education system, healthcare system, and energy sector. According to available reports, there are indications that Moscow is contemplating the possibility of initiating a project to establish a gas pipeline connecting Russia to South Korea. This proposed pipeline would pass through the territory of North Korea as a means to reach its intended destination in South Korea (DW 2012). This is smart moves by the Russia due to the balancing the relation between North Korea and South Korea. without offend the Russai counterpart, Russia managed to build relationship to South Korea.

The Russian government advocating for the augmentation of economic ties with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is presently the Ministry

for the Development of the Far East, which was established in 2012. The individual holding the position of Minister for the Development of the Russian Far East, Alexander Galushka, assumes the role of chairman within the Intergovernmental Commission on Trade, Economics, Scientific Affairs of the Russian side, as well as Technical Cooperation between Russia and North Korea. It is worth noting that the Korean counterpart of this Commission is led by Minister of External Economic Relations, Ri Ryong Nam. Certain experts contend that the aforementioned youthful Russian minister has established a personal objective of enhancing economic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and is diligently striving to accomplish this aim (TOLORAYA 2014). In March 2014, A. Galushka undertook a visit to North Korea with the purpose of engaging in discussions pertaining to collaborative initiatives and strategies aimed at enhancing bilateral commerce and fostering economic cooperation with his colleagues from North Korea. During the aforementioned discussions, the participants announced their objective of elevating economic ties between the two nations to a higher echelon and augmenting the yearly direct turnover to \$1 billion by the year 2020. During the 21st century, the level of direct commerce between Russia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) remained relatively low, with an annual volume not surpassing \$250 million. In the year 2013, this figure slightly above \$100 million. It is evident that a significant augmentation of economic collaboration will be necessary in order to achieve a tenfold rise in bilateral commerce within a timeframe of less than ten years (Zakharova, Economic cooperation between Russia and North Korea: New goals and new approaches 2016).

Russia has expressed its willingness in establishing a stable and predictable political dialogue with Pyongyang. Furthermore, it has actively pursued avenues to strengthen bilateral economic interactions with North Korea, as well as exploring possibilities for trilateral cooperation including Russia, South Korea, and North Korea. Moscow's preference is for North Korea not to serve as a buffer state that opposes South Korea, the United States, and Japan, since such a scenario would result in persistent instability and hostility in the Korean Peninsula. Hence, the primary objective of Russia is to steer clear of diplomatic competition or hostility and instead foster extensive regional collaboration. Broadly speaking, Moscow exhibits a keen interest in pursuing the normalization of the situation on the Korean Peninsula, as well as bolstering inter-Korean cooperation and integration with the backing of the international community. Russia seeks to establish a framework that guarantees the management and predictability of outcomes. The Russian government is actively observing the developments occurring on the Korean Peninsula in order to enhance its approach towards the process of Korean unification, taking into account the evolving political, economic, and security circumstances in the region. The common interests encompass the reduction of tensions on the Korean Peninsula and the facilitation of a seamless transition towards the unification of Korea.

### **2.3. North Korea-Russia relations in multilateral forum**

The relationship between the two countries does not stop only at the bilateral level. The two countries have been actively supporting each other in the last decade. In the early days of Kim Jong-Un's Reign with the North Korea nuclear program, relations were filled with tension. When Kim Jong-Un became the new leader of



DPRK, Russia was trying to calculate what the new North Korean leader would become. When the nuclear program was continued by him, Russia condemned the 2013 Nuclear test. North Korea carried out its third nuclear test, violating UN resolutions, and drawing widespread condemnation globally. The Pyongyang government maintains that the tests were carried out as a means of self-defense in response to perceived hostility from the United States. Additionally, they issued warnings of potential escalation if deemed necessary (David Chance 2013). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Sergei Lavrov, has expressed its condemnation of the nuclear explosion test. Additionally, the Russian Federation has urged other nations to refrain from responding with displays of military power. The foreign ministry expressed in a written statement that the activities undertaken by North Korea are perceived as a violation against the international community. Russia issued a statement urging North Korea to refrain from engaging in the development of a nuclear missile program, comply with the norms set down by the United Nations Security Council, and resume participation in the six-party negotiations (Payne 2013). In UNSC 2087, Russia were vote in Nuclear proliferation regarding North Korea missile launch. This resolution also listed the individuals that associated with the North Korea regime (UNSC Resolution 2013)

Russia also commented on the 2016 Nuclear weapon test run by DPRK. According to a statement issued by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the possible confirmation of the test would represent a significant development for Pyongyang, representing a clear violation of international legal norms. This action had the potential to increase tensions on the Korean Peninsula (Chappell 2016). With the many countries trying to push North Korea into submission by

condemning the nuclear or ballistic missile, Russia, on the other hand, tried to balance the relations between the UN and DPRK. One of the speculations why Russia was trying to maintain its relationship with North Korea was that Moscow could use the DPRK as a tool to challenge the US and their allies in East Asia. Aside from the regional advantage, Russia could potentially use implicit support from the Pyongyang government as a strategic maneuver to position itself as an alternative ally for countries facing challenges from the United States.

In 2017, North Korea conducted another nuclear test and missile program. The test was occurred in July for the Hwasong-14 Ballistic missile and September for the sixth nuclear test. North Korea also successfully conducted a test flight for the Hwasong-15 ballistic missile in November (NTI 2018). Regarding the North Korea ICBM and the Nuclear test, undoubtedly it continues to get significant attention, as it did previously. The press release sent by the United Nations Security Council expressed condemnation towards the actions undertaken by North Korea (UN Security Council 2017). According to Russian President Vladimir Putin, efforts to impose greater sanctions on North Korea are considered futile. Despite expressing his disapproval of North Korea's tests which were considered "provocative", he emphasized that implementing sanctions in any form at this time would be futile and ineffective (BBC 2017). The Russian government may express dissatisfaction with ongoing efforts to impose further economic sanctions on North Korea, given that recent Congressional legislation has also tightened American sanctions against Russia. There is a general sentiment among Russians that they harbor displeasure and resistance to the idea of being forced to engage in

collaborative efforts with North Korea in light of the implementation of sanctions (Snyder, Russia and the North Korean Nuclear Challenge 2017).

North Korea conduct another ICBM launch in March 24, 2022 This led to the release of a draft document for the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which was promoted by the United States. The aim of this proposal is to increase punitive measures imposed against North Korea. The decision was taken in response to North Korea's series of ballistic missile tests this year, totaling more than a dozen tests. These tests violate previous resolutions adopted by the UN. As a result, American officials argued that further international reaction was needed. According to spoke person from the Russia, It is argued by some that the expansion of sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is both ineffective and inhumane, and thus should be circumvented. Numerous stringent measures have been enacted towards Pyongyang since 2006. Nevertheless, it has been proved throughout history that sanctions have not effectively ensured regional security or effectively addressed issues related to missile and nuclear non-proliferation. The United States-drafted resolution was officially published by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). In order to impose sanctions on North Korea, the present paper was prepared. A significant number of ballistic missiles launches conducted by North Korea in the current year have violated resolutions set forth by the United Nations, so eliciting a request from authorities in the United States for an additional international response (UNSC Press Release 2022). Russia vetoed the draft released by the US with considerations that sanctions on North Korea would only endanger the humanitarian aspects in the country. Table 2.1 outlines the list of Russia's UNSC Resolutions regarding North Korea.

**Table 2.1****Russia's UNSC Resolutions Regarding North Korea**

<b>NO</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Agenda</b>	<b>Vote</b>
1*	Security Council Resolution 2050	12 June 2012	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts as specified in resolution 1874 (2009) concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote
2**	Security Council Resolution 2087	22 January 2013	Condemnation of the missile launch of 12 Dec. 2012 by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote
3**	Security Council Resolution 2094	7 March 2013	This resolution imposed additional sanctions against the DPRK in response to a 12 February 2013 nuclear test.	Vote
4*	Security Council Resolution 2141	5 March 2014	Extension until 5 April 2015 the mandate of the Panel of Experts assisting the 1718 DPRK Sanctions Committee.	Vote
5*	Security Council Resolution 2207	4 March 2015	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts Established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1874 (2009) concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote
6**	Security Council Resolution 2270	2 March 2016	condemning the nuclear test of 6 Jan. 2016 and strengthening sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote
7*	Security Council Resolution 2276	24 March 2016	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts Established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1874 (2009) concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote
8**	Security Council	30 November 2016	strengthening sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote

	Resolution 2321		and condemnation of the nuclear test of 9 Sept. 2016	
9*	Security Council Resolution 2345	23 March 2017	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts Established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1874 (2009) concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote
10*	Security Council Resolution 2356	2 June 2017	strengthening sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and condemnation of the nuclear weapons and ballistic missile development activities conducted since 9 Sept. 2016	Vote
11**	Security Council Resolution 2371	5 Agustus 2017	Condemnation the 3 and 28 July ballistic missile launches	Vote
12**	Security Council Resolution 2375	11 September 2017	strengthening sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and condemning the nuclear test of 2 Sept. 2017	Vote
13*	Security Council Resolution 2397	23 December 2017	Resolution, adopted unanimously, that tightened the sanctions on the DPRK	Vote
14*	Security Council Resolution 2407	21 March 2018	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts Established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1874 (2009) concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote
15*	Security Council Resolution 2464	10 April 2019	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts Established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1874 (2009) concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote

16*	Security Council Resolution 2515	30 March 2020	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts Established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1874 (2009) concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Vote
17*	Security Council Resolution 2569	26 March 2021	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts Established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1874 (2009) concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Adopted unanimously
18*	Security Council Resolution 2627	25 March 2022	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts assisting the 1718 DPRK Sanctions Committee	Vote
19*	Security Council Resolution 2680	23 March 2023	Extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts assisting the 1718 DPRK Sanctions Committee	Vote

source: Security Council report (UNSC n.d.) and Digital Library (United Nations Digital Library n.d.)

Note: (\*) marks the extended mandate of the panel of expert from the previous sanctions. (\*\*) marks the proliferation of North Korea nuclear program.

Russia's position in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is primarily motivated by their desire to maintain their relationship with the UN and protect their interests. While they consistently vote in alignment with the council, they often comment on the human rights aspect of resolutions, asserting their belief that certain measures only result in further suffering for North Korean citizens due to prolonged sanctions.

#### **2.4. Russia Position in International System**

In the UN Security Council, Russia has aimed to balance its relationship with North Korea and the UN. Unlike the US, which enjoys a multitude of powerful allies and the support of the UN, Russia lacks that luxury and prefers to avoid risking separation from either North Korea or the UN. The US's growing presence in East Asia and the UN's tendency to impose sanctions on North Korea poses a threat to Russia's security concerns. In the international system with its anarchical nature, the US established a network of alliances that Russia was unable to manage. Russia remains skeptical about the US presence globally, as evidenced by the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has led Russia to perceive the US and the UN as threats, as they have imposed sanctions against Russia in the United Nations Security Council. Despite being a permanent member of the UN, there are limited actions the organization can take. At the beginning of the conflict, the Russian offensive was characterized by numerous explosions in several urban centers throughout Ukraine, such as Kyiv, Odessa, Kharkiv, and Mariupol. Speculation of a potential attack had been circulating since November 2021. Satellite imagery showed also a recent buildup of Russian military forces near the Ukrainian border (CNBC Indonesia 2022). The reasoning behind the conflict makes sense when we consider the geopolitical context. Russia expected Ukraine to be pro-Russian and civil, but things went south. Ukraine wants to join NATO, which is unacceptable to Russia as it could pose a threat. For unclear reasons, North Korea emerged as a supporter of this military intervention. This is further supported by the increasingly strong diplomatic ties between Russia and North Korea.

The threats that Russia faces often come from the US and its allies. Sometimes, Russia responds to these issues with extreme measures. This is evident in the oil sanctions imposed by the European Union (EU) as a direct response to the aggressive conflict that began on February 24, 2022 against Ukraine with the illegal annexation of the Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia, and Kherson provinces. The EU has undertaken extensive and unprecedented sanctions against Russia. Additional penalties were imposed on Russia in 2014 following the annexation of Crimea and the failure to fulfill the Minsk accords. The measures taken included targeted restrictions (also known as individual sanctions), economic sanctions, and visa sanctions. The goal of imposing economic sanctions is to exact repercussions on Russia in response to its actions, with the aim of substantially curtailing Russia's ability to sustain its aggressive behavior (European Council 2023). The EU's sanctions on Russia had unintended consequences, impacting Germany, among other nations, due to President Putin's response. The sanctions caused a decline in the strength of Germany's industrial sector, leaving one of the EU's most influential countries vulnerable to rising energy costs and increased inflation. The effectiveness of the punitive measures imposed on Russia has been insufficient, leading to negative consequences on the economy of the United States (Sorongan 2023).





## **CHAPTER 3**

### **ANALYZING THE RUSSIAN INFLUENCE ON KIM JONG-UN REGIME**

Defensive realism, as proposed by Kenneth Waltz, emphasizes four fundamental assumptions. The goal of these assumptions is to provide a concise and logically consistent theoretical framework that can explain behavior by evaluating features or parameters of the international system. Waltz's concept, commonly known as structural realism, aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the operational dynamics of the international system. The current situation in Russia exhibits several points that align with structural realism. The relationship between Russia and North Korea serves as an example of how Russia is attempting to navigate global politics and utilize the anarchic system to ensure their security.

The analysis that will be explain below would know the situation regarding Russia-North Korea relation and how defensive realism could be significant with the issue. As we know Russia is one of the major powers in the international society and why Russia still wants to make relation with North Korea even though Russia knows the controversies with North Korea had.

#### **3.1. Russia as an actor in global politics**

Throughout history, Russia has maintained a steadfast alliance with North Korea. While the relationship has experienced fluctuations over the course of seven

decades, North Korea is currently seeking to establish strategic ties with Moscow. This move is motivated by its potential confrontation with South Korea and its belief that Moscow could be a reliable friend or "big brother" who could intervene in the event of a confrontation with the United States and its allies. In contrast, Russia has consistently demonstrated a passive-aggressive stance towards the issue. Throughout the past decade, it has certainly had the intention and motivation to maintain its relations with North Korea. Russia has been meticulous in selecting its allies, evident from the limited number of countries that have formed alliances with it. One of Russia's most long-standing alliances is with North Korea. The Putin-Kim Jong-Un relationship has similarities to the strong ties and maintenance of bilateral relations seen between Stalin and Kim Il-Sung. Furthermore, the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian conflict has further solidified relations between the two nations. Russia is often depicted as a country that employs the principles of defensive realism. Rather than emphasizing the pursuit of power, Russia's main objective is to maintain its position in the global system. As part of this strategy, Russia actively seeks to exert influence over North Korea, consistent with its state goals.

This could be seen from the settlement North Korea debt in 2012 when Russia was erased North Korea debt in exchange of Gas pipe project. This of course can be seen the role of Russia as a state to play crucial role in international system and make significant decision making to ensure its own state goal. One of the examples also when Russia in most of their UNSC resolution from 2012 until 2013 that still vote on proliferation of North Korea nuclear program, Russia did this on act of balancing its relation with UN since North Korea is one of the closest ally of Russia. the way Russia balancing this by commenting on the resolution because

Russia considers the sanction issued by UN were inhuman for the people of North Korea.

According to Kenneth Waltz's theory of defensive realism, the state serves as the focal point of analysis. In the theory explain the how state is important actor in the international society and its organized structure that makes state could be survive in the long time. State also crucial because of what state represent, which makes different type of states in international system. And in this issue is with Russia as one of the actors in international society.

This perspective acknowledges the anarchic nature of the international system, which necessitates that states adopt rational strategies to achieve their state goals. Russia's current position was shaped by the collapse of the Soviet Union and has made it cognizant of the potential threat to its status if it repeats the mistakes of the USSR. Additionally, Russia is striving to maintain relations with the former Soviet states and monitor their actions. Most of the states from the former Eastern bloc are now seeking to join NATO due to their fear of being subjugated by Russia. The ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine serves as a clear example of this fear.

### **3.2. Russia's Rational Actions towards North Korea**

During the Kim Jong-Un regime, Russia has been attempting to improve the relationship that was deteriorating during the Kim Jong-Il regime. Russia's efforts to improve the relationship have been successful, albeit with minor

complications. By cancelling North Korea's debt, Russia solidified its position in the Korean peninsula. Moreover, this move aligned with Russia's aim of developing active initiatives towards establishing gas export routes to regions beyond Europe, serving as a strategy to diversify its export destinations. In order to execute the recommended strategy, it will be necessary to construct a gas pipeline that passes through North Korean territory, with Russia providing support and protection.

Russia also exerted political influence over North Korea, despite maintaining a complex relationship with the country. North Korea was undoubtedly compelled to follow the lead of its "big brother," leading to an increased reliance on Russia. This can be observed in the growing bilateral relations between Russia and North Korea during the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Russia has depleted its ammunition and artillery, and North Korea, which previously held a reserve of these arms, now needs to acquire more to withstand the ongoing conflict. Due to international pressure from countries such as the United States, Russia is often viewed as a public enemy in the global community.

One of the crucial points from the Russia maintaining relation with North Korea can be seen as rational since it always concerned Russia. first, we could see from geographical side where Russia far east was very open with the US and its ally. With North Korea, Russia could use North Korea as a counter the presence of US and its ally. And by maintaining relation with North Korea, Russia had strong foot hole in East Asia especially in Korean Peninsula. And of course, the important maintaining relation with North Korea is stability in Korea peninsula. since Russia and North Korea already had close relationship in the past, it would not be hard for

Russia to develop the relation again even more. And surely the benefit is Russia could also actively maintain stability in East Asia region to prevent any conflict between US and its ally.

Russia of course took benefit from the relation with North Korea. and this is not only to maintain national security, but also the increasing of relation with North Korea. in the current situation, not many of states had close relationship with Russia because often Russia depicts as the “Bad side” due to the controversies that been done in the last 10 years. What Russia did in the end can be seen as rational since what they do only for the state goal and national security in order to survive in international society. Russia know that they had minimum option regarding states that they see as “friend”, And Russia need to be careful with that.

### **3.3. Pursuing Security with North Korea**

From the perspective of defensive realism, Russia's actions in exerting influence on North Korea are solely driven by their state goals. In contrast to the United States, Russia's influence in the East Asian region is very limited. Russia understands the geopolitical implications regarding North Korea. A secure relationship with North Korea could help Russia protect its far eastern region from potential threats, with North Korea's cooperation.

In recent years, North Korea has stockpiled large reserves of ammunition and military equipment from the Cold War era, which could be useful for Russia to endure the conflict with Ukraine. Purchasing ammunitions from North Korea could

increase Russia's military capabilities and prolong the conflict, allowing Russia to maintain control over Ukraine.

One of the crucial factors at the moment is Kim Jong-Un's unpredictable nature, which encourages Putin to maintain relations with North Korea. North Korea is a small country with significant military capabilities, particularly in its nuclear program, making them dangerous. Kim Jong-Un's governing style makes him an attractive ally, and Putin recognizes this. With North Korea having nuclear missiles, it has the potential to challenge the power of countries in the East Asian region which are supported by the United States. Putin took advantage of this situation to increase Russia's security in the Far East region. As a result, Russia's had strong foot hole in the East Asia region. with their bilateral relations reaching their peak since the Stalin-Kim Il Sung era. Their relationship has become stronger due to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Moreover, with North Korea's help, Russia has been able to withstand the pressure of the international community and continue the war.

And of course, the important aspect from the state is the state goal and Russia makes north Korea as one of its state goals. Geographically, Russia do not have its own ally in the East Asia region and the one state that could fill that hole is North Korea. Russia using north Korea as their ally in order to maintaining its national security. Many states know what North Korea capability in the military. Since they had nuclear and missile that “worked”, no one dare to cross it and this what Russia took benefit from. Russia also knows north Korea capability and what

they can do. The mutual benefit that Russia and North Korea get is both beneficial in fulfil their state goal, maintaining national security and in order to survive.

Russia's involvement with Kim Jong Un regime of course be related to its goal of counterbalancing the influence of the United States and its allies in the region. Russia seeks to maintain North Korea as a significant geopolitical ally and prevent US and its ally on its borders, thus providing assistance to the regime. Apart from security considerations, financial interests also have a significant influence on shaping government behavior.

By establish relation with North Korea, Russia also could manage the issue regarding North Korea nuclear program. Because the issue had been of the major problem in East Asia where many of the states such as South Korea, China, and Japan see the North Korea nuclear program as act of aggression toward them. since war is bad for everyone, Russia could step up and minimize the reaction of the issue toward states in East Asia region. Russia's perspective on North Korea's nuclear program generally takes a different approach to this issue, although North Korea's nuclear program has caused great concern for the international community and even resulted in UN sanctions. The Russian also voted on the sanctions, but Russia assessed that the sanctions issued would not have a military impact on Korea. However, it has an impact on the humanitarian aspect there. This also became security agenda to Russia since the North Korea nuclear program were bad for everyone. Since the issue could led to war, Russia relation with north Korea might stop the escalation issue regarding the program.



### **3.4. How does Russia move in the international system?**

Russia is striving to maintain and balance its relationship with North Korea while also considering its position within the United Nations. Since Kim Jong-Un took power in North Korea, Pyongyang has faced numerous sanctions from United Nations Security Council resolutions. The sanctions focus on the issue of nuclear proliferation and the expansion of the mandate for the panel of experts assigned to supervise these sanctions against North Korea. On all of the resolutions, Russia has consistently voted in favor. It can be demonstrated that Russia has not always supported North Korea and aims to balance its support for North Korea with its position at the UN. The voting process is not without criticism. Russia commonly remarks that the past resolutions and sanctions against North Korea have been ineffective, as North Korea has largely disregarded the UN's authority. Additionally, Russia frequently highlights the humanitarian impact on North Korea, which they believe to be the most affected.

As an actor in international system, Russia of course had significant position to the North Korea. Russia became one of the allied in the East Asia region and not many states what to do that. It is Russia represent toward North Korea because in the end of the day, Russia had to assist its “little brother” in order beneficial for both states. Russia also plays crucial role in balancing the its relation with UN and North Korea. Russia of course do not want to dismiss the UN on the other hand, Russia also trying not to turn its back to North Korea. this is why the balancing act that Russia play is important in maintaining their own National security and state goal.

Superpower state such as Russia always maintaining their security very tight. The main indicator for the defensive realism were argue that the whole structure of international system always motivated nations to adopting the measured and cautious conduct which can safeguard their existence and security, while offering opportunities for development in certain particular situations. It is also argued that the nations always have tendencies to participate in collaborative partnership with other countries in order to accomplishes their state goal. This why Russia always keeps maintaining the relationship with North Korea.

Russia employs various strategies to uphold its relationship with North Korea. The primary objective is to augment its influence in Asia and endorse regional initiatives that advance and enhance the Russian Far East. Russia understands that it has a restricted number of allies under its influence, unlike the United States. Hence, Russia must strategically exploit any alliances at its disposal. Given the anarchic nature of the world with no singular power holding global order, Russia recognized that its position is not favorable. Instead of spreading their influence like the US did in the world, sometimes by force, Russia has attempted to maintain strong relationships with states that have good ties with them. This approach has enabled Russia to maintain bilateral relationships with most Middle Eastern states.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **4.1 Conclusion**

Based on the analysis presented in the preceding chapter, it is evident that Russia has made attempts to exert influence over North Korea. Several indicators of this are based on how Putin attempted to align with the regime of Kim Jong-Un. Russia maintains a bilateral relationship with North Korea, unlike many states that do not fear US action. This explains Russia's actions towards North Korea, including its political influence, military relations, and planned economic aid to rally support. This suggests Russia's desperation to survive in the international community. One example is Russia's attempt to balance its relationship with the UN and with North Korea while also supporting North Korea within the international system. The analysis results indicate that Russia still has plans to influence Kim Jong-Un's regime, which is evident from ongoing interactions with the regime.

Firstly, as a territorial entity, Russia has established itself as a major player in international politics. Due to this status, many countries seek to engage with Russia, although not as many with America. Based on this, Russia attempts to leverage its position in the international arena. Second, Russia's actions towards North Korea appear to be rational. This can be seen from their decision to cancel North Korea's debt, with the aim of seeking to establish a strong position in East Asia and gain North Korea's trust. Additionally, Russia has maintained a firm political influence over North Korea. The third aspect to consider is why Russia

seeks such political influence, which is likely a pursuit of their own interests. By using this influence, Russia has benefited through the creation of an alliance with North Korea in East Asia. The final aspect concerns Russia's actions and behavior in the international system. By maintaining balanced relationships with both the UN and North Korea, Russia has retained its power in the East Asia region.

It is concluded, based on the analysis, that Russia has attempted to influence North Korea to gain their support and establish a strong presence in East Asia. This can be seen from several previously explained factors, particularly those in response to the US's influence in the East Asia region, which is largely pro-US and its allies. Therefore, for security purposes, Russia requires North Korea as a counterpart in the East Asia region.

#### **4.2 Recommendation**

This research has already drawn conclusions on why Russia is actively influencing the North Korean regime. But this finding still cannot explain in depth the current strategies employed by Russia to maintain close relations with North Korea, not only formal relations, but also informal. Furthermore, the finding is also not able to analyze the long-term strategy of Russia in maintaining its relations with North Korea, especially regarding its interest in the East Asia region. Therefore, it is recommended that this research be continued by analyzing Russia's strategy towards North Korea, not only in terms of bilateral relations, but also in the regional and global scope.

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