



TRADE MILITER RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND NORTH KOREA ACCORDING TO CONSTRUCTIVISM : RUSSIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN NUCLEAR AND PANMUNJOM DECLARATION

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Abstract: Political conditions on the Korean peninsula are always an interesting topic to discuss, the involvement of superpower countries since the Korean War is also an important topic, one of which is military cooperation between North Korea and Russia which has existed since the 1953 Korean War. Using Constructivist theory, this article analyses North Korea-Russia military-trade cooperation beyond material power, examining how shared historical identities and opposition to Western hegemony shape their alignment. It evaluates Russia's involvement in North Korea's nuclear development and assesses whether Pyongyang's missile tests violate the 2018 Panmunjom Declaration. Methodologically, this study employs a qualitative descriptive approach with an explanatory analysis technique. The findings reveal that their contemporary partnership has evolved from historical ideological affinity into a strategic alliance driven by mutual isolation under Western sanctions. Furthermore, North Korea has de facto violated the Panmunjom Declaration, as its deeply socialized Songun (military-first) identity consistently overrides its denuclearization commitments.

Keyword: North Korea, Russia, Panmunjom declaration, trade military

Abstrak: Kondisi politik di semenanjung Korea selalu menjadi topik menarik untuk dibahas, keterlibatan negara-negara adikuasa sejak Perang Korea juga merupakan topik penting, salah satunya adalah kerja sama militer antara Korea Utara dan Rusia yang telah ada sejak Perang Korea 1953. Menggunakan teori Konstruktivis, artikel ini menganalisis kerja sama militer-perdagangan antara Korea Utara dan Rusia di luar kekuatan material, dengan memeriksa bagaimana identitas sejarah yang sama dan penolakan terhadap hegemoni Barat membentuk

keselarasan mereka. Ini mengevaluasi keterlibatan Rusia dalam pengembangan nuklir Korea Utara dan menilai apakah uji coba rudal Pyongyang melanggar Deklarasi Panmunjom 2018. Secara metodologis, studi ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif dengan teknik analisis eksplanatori. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa kemitraan kontemporer mereka telah berkembang dari afinitas ideologis historis menjadi aliansi strategis yang didorong oleh isolasi timbal balik di bawah sanksi Barat. Selain itu, Korea Utara secara de facto telah melanggar Deklarasi Panmunjom, karena identitas Songun (militer-pertama) yang sangat terinternalisasi secara konsisten mengesampingkan komitmennya untuk denuklirisasi.

Kata Kunci: Korea Utara, Rusia, deklarasi Panmunjom, perdagangan militer

INTRODUCTION

North Korea is a country located on the Korean peninsula and has received a lot of influence from the Soviet Union. These two countries have had close relations since the Cold War. South Korea gained influence from the United States, while North Korea leaned more towards the Soviet Union, the ideological ties between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Korean Workers' Party thus served as the basis for lasting relations between the two neighbours (Joo Sungho and Kwak Taehwan 2001). To strengthen relations between the two in July 1961, Russia and the DPRK concluded an alliance treaty (The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance). The content of this agreement is that there is a reciprocal relationship or mutual assistance if one country suffers a military attack from another country, it is prohibited to join any alliance that is in conflict with one country and so on.

Even though relations between the two countries could be said to be harmonious and without obstacles, the leader of the Soviet Union at that time, Nikita Khrushchev, realized that Kim Il Sung was a leader who was difficult to predict, therefore, to prevent this from happening, the Soviet Union took several steps to deal with North Korea, namely by limiting arms shipments to North Korea and not sending new model weapons to North Korea before South Korea gets them to protect peace on the Korean peninsula. During the Gorbachev era, relations

between the two countries became severely strained due to the Soviet leadership shifting political thoughts, which led to the normalization of diplomatic ties with Seoul, this move that profoundly angered Pyongyang. Nevertheless, low intensity military cooperation between the two nations persisted during this transnational period.

While military cooperation endured in a limited capacity through these historical shifts, evaluating its evolution into the contemporary era remains critical to unlocking the deeper strategic motives driving the current Russia-North Korea nexus. A significant gap exists in current international relations literature, which predominantly frames security on the Korean peninsula through the lenses of United States hegemony or the structural spill over of the Russia-Ukraine war, frequently overlooking the ideational and identity-driven dynamics between Moscow and Pyongyang. Analysing this relationship is crucial to determine whether their contemporary engagement represents standard, transactional military cooperation or a highly sensitive, long-term nuclear partnership. Furthermore, it allows for a critical assessment of the diplomatic implications of these ties, specifically exploring whether North Korea's escalating missile tests can be structurally interpreted as a de facto violation of the 2018 Panmunjom Declaration.

Relations between North Korea and Russia began to increase when Putin was elected leader of Russia in 2000. During Putin's government in January 2000, he chose North Korea as his first overseas destination as president, and at the same time tried to develop their foreign policy which focused on North Korea and South Korea with restoration goals influence Russia in North Korea, the Treaty on Friendship, Good Neighborly Relations and Cooperation was signed in Pyongyang in February 2000 (Saito 2017). Dissimilar with the previous one, this treaty does not include military assistance in the event of an attack from any country or coalition of countries. Russia prepared this plan by taking reference from the basic relations agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Korea which ended in November 1992. Relations between the two Korean countries have not been quite harmonious since the Cold War, the involvement of the two superpowers at that time made the two Korean countries have different ideologies. differences that make it difficult for Korea to unite.

In the midst of increasingly heated conflict on the Korean peninsula in 2018, President Moon Jae-in, who at that time served as president of South Korea, proposed a meeting with North Korea to discuss the ongoing security crisis between the two countries. President Kim Jong-un agreed to meet and discuss this with president Moon Jae-in at the 2018 inter-Korean summit. This was the first meeting of Southern and Northern leaders in 11 years since the second summit in 2007 after the first in 2000, and the North Korean leader will step onto the South Korean side of Panmunjom for the first time (Dagyum and Oliver 2018). The summit will be prepared with a focus on helping the two leaders to concentrate more on their talks. This event was held on April 27 2018 in the Panmunjom demilitarized zone area between the two countries. In this summit, it was the first time that a North Korean president crossed the borders of the demilitarized zone and visited South Korea since the Korean War ended in 1953 (Dagyum and Oliver 2018).. This meeting discussed several peace programs, some of which discussed North Korea's nuclear weapons program as well as the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula which all agreed to place in the Panmunjom declaration.

Russia subsequently invited the North Korea to join the combined military exercises alongside the Russian Armed Forces and the People's Liberation Army (Kim 2025). While Beijing and Moscow were previously key partners in enforcing international United Nations sanctions against North Korea following its unlawful nuclear and missile tests, their geopolitical positioning has shifted. Following the expiration of the UN panel of experts on North Korea, Russia and China have increasingly declined to support further international sanctions against the Kim Jong Un regime. Instead, they have cultivated closer diplomatic ties, transforming the North Korea into a highly viable military partner during security crises on the Korean Peninsula.

This realignment was solidified when Russian President Vladimir Putin and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un signed a comprehensive mutual defense treaty during a June summit in Pyongyang. This treaty emerged as Russia actively courted North Korean material support for its ongoing war in Ukraine. Under Article 4 of this mutual defense pact, signed on June 19, both nations committed to immediately providing military and other necessary assistance if either party falls into a state of

war due to an armed invasion. While the treaty stipulates compliance with Article 51 of the UN Charter regarding collective self-defense, Western allies view it with immense skepticism. Putin characterized the treaty as a "breakthrough" representing a "new level" of strategic partnership, while Kim Jong Un described it as a *'invincible ties between comrades-in-arms and a far-reaching strategic relationship'* (Dhawan 2025).

Conversely, the United State, South Korea, and Japan issued a joint statement strongly condemning this deepening military cooperation, emphasizing that Pyongyang's provision of arms to Moscow actively prolongs the conflict in Ukraine and destabilizes Northeast Asia. South Korean President Yoon Suk Yeol explicitly stated that the mutual defense treaty directly violates UN Security Council resolutions. Ultimately, while the Cold War alliance between the Soviet Union and North Korea was built primarily on rigid ideological affinity, the contemporary convergence in 2022 represents a strategic response to shared international isolation and heavy Western sanctions, re-contextualizing their bond as an "invincible tie between comrades-in-arms"(Kelsey Devenport 2024).

This article explains how military cooperation between North Korea and Russia began. As well as what forms of military cooperation between the two countries and the potential for cooperation in other matters, using constructivist international relations theory, we will be able to find out what the nature of military cooperation between Russia and North Korea, this article will also explain how other countries responded to the military cooperation between these two countries. Russia's potential involvement in nuclear development in North Korea will also be examined in this article. North Korea and Russia cooperation is a topic that is still under-researched, mostly discussing the United States' hegemony on the Korean peninsula or discussing the Russia-Ukraine war. With North Korea increasingly conducting missile tests, can North Korea be said to be violating the Panmunjom Declaration?

LITERATURE REVIEW

In article entitled "Russian North Korea Policy : Current Status and Future Outlook" by Motohide Saito (Saito 2017), explained that relations between North Korea and

Russia weakened when President Gorbachev changed his political policy thinking by leaning more towards South Korea for economic gain. Things improved during the era of Putin's government in early 2000. Vladimir Putin signed military cooperation with North Korea. This was the first step in reconciling relations between North Korea and the Soviet Union after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In article entitled “Military relations between Russia and North Korea “ by Seung-ho joo, Tae-hwan kwak (Joo Sungho and Kwak Taehwan 2001), explains that in the late 1980s Gorbachev's new political thinking began to be unrevealed. Moscow changed by normalizing relations with Seoul and relations with Pyongyang quickly deteriorated, but the two countries still cooperate. During the implosion (collapse) of the Soviet Union in December 1991, Russia under Yeltsin's leadership continued to expand relations with Seoul and maintain distance from Pyongyang, North Korea-Russia military cooperation was also suspended in 1992-1999. Arms sales to North Korea from Russia are also very low which makes Pyongyang confused because they are very dependent on Russia for weapons. After years of estrangement, Russia and the DPRK normalized their relations in 2000. Two historic events took place in 2000: the signing of the new friendship treaty and the first summit meeting between the two countries.

In article entitled “Pengaruh Persepsi Konstruksi Sosial Kawasan Asia Timur Terhadap Kebijakan Nuklir Korea Utara: Analisis Terhadap Perubahan Sikap Korea Utara Menuju Deklarasi Panmunjom” by Satria, Arda Vicky; Puspita, Rizky Herdiyanti; Kristiono, Michael J (Satria and Kristiono 2018). It was explained that the reason North Korea first developed nuclear weapons in its country was because of the threat of the United States during the Korean War in 1953. North Korea began developing nuclear weapons in 1956 under an agreement with the Soviet Union on cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

In article entitled “Deklarasi Panmunjom Korea Utara – Korea Selatan Menggunakan Analisis Game Theory” by Arya Mahendra Yudistya Putra (PUTRA 2022), explaining the beginning of the Panmunjom declaration, through the 2018 Winter Olympics held in South Korea, President Moon Jae In approached Kim Yo Jong, who is the representative of North Korea and the younger brother of Kim Jong Un. This approach could be said to have been successful with the presence of inter

-Korea summit on April 27 2018 which resulted in the Panmunjom declaration, the contents of the declaration aim to achieve peace on the Korean peninsula, and one of the things that needs to be underlined is the existence of a denuclearization agreement in the Korean region to maintain security stability in the region.

METHODS

In explaining the military trade relations between North Korea and Russia and their prospects for the future, the author using secondary data as the main source of information to carry out in-depth analysis. The data for this article was obtained from various sources, including academic literature, government reports, international organization websites, official statement, government websites, and other related publications. The qualitative descriptive method is a technique used in qualitative research to observe and gain understanding of phenomena. It requires researchers to have keen instincts and focuses on obtaining answers to real-world problems. The method involves analysing existing data and using various sources such as interviews, field observations, and written documentation. In this particular research, secondary data from written media including articles, books, magazines, and news is used for data collection. According to Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (Matthew Miles, Huberman Miles, and Saldana Johnny 2014) Qualitative methods provide descriptive data in the form of words, written or spoken language, and observable actions of individuals.

The data collection techniques used will be obtained from primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from official statesmen's statements, speech transcripts, interviews or the official websites of related institutions. Meanwhile secondary data was obtained through literature study. The sources taken are literature originating from books, articles, journals, news whose validity can be confirmed. The data analysis technique used by the author in analyzing research data is a qualitative explanatory analysis technique, namely using a theory with its unit of analysis.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Constructivism

To analyse the military trade relationship between North Korea and Russia, this article using constructivism theory as its analytical framework. Constructivism argues that international relations are fundamentally shaped by socially constructed identities, historical norms, and shared perceptions resulting from ongoing interactions (Wendt 2006). Rather than treating weapons trade as a purely transactional material phenomenon. Constructivism allows this study to evaluate how threat perceptions, the "Juche" ideology of self-reliance, and changing definitions of friendship and rivalry dictate the strategic boundaries of Russia's involvement in North Korea's nuclear trajectory and the subsequent erosion of the Panmunjom Declaration.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

History of military cooperation between North Korea and Russia

When the Korean War broke out in 1953, close relations between the Soviet Union and North Korea began to develop closely, one of the superpowers helped North Korea against South Korea which was supported by the United States. The Soviet Union also spread communist ideology and helped North Korea build their own country. One of the reasons the Soviet Union helped the Soviet Union was to stem the influence of the United States on the Korean peninsula, as we know the two superpowers clashed during the cold war, and it was important for the two countries to prevent the hegemony of opposing countries in various regions of the world, especially on the peninsula. Korea was considered strategic at that time (Saragih 2016).

Russia, which shares a border with North Korea aims to preserve peace and stability in the Korean Peninsula, avoid getting involved in military conflicts and limit the impact of United States on the region (Saito 2017). This goal remained unchanged even after the Korean War ceasefire in 1953. In the era of President Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Union and North Korea agreed to an agreement 'Treaty of Friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance' which was signed in Moscow on July 6 1961, the agreement contained several things, including military

alliances, each contracting party was not allowed to enter or join other alliances. This agreement further strengthens military relations between the two countries and Russia appears to be increasingly leaning towards North Korea in terms of its foreign policy. However, during the Gorbachev administration, the Soviet Union began planning to collaborate with South Korea with the aim of gaining economic assistance. This cooperative relationship caused relations between North Korea and the Soviet Union to begin to strain, because the Soviet Union was considered to have violated its treaty of Friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance article 2 which explains that each party cannot join another alliance. The Soviet Union's action to establish official diplomatic relations with South Korea in January 1991, the friendship agreement between North Korea and the Soviet Union failed and was not extended during the Gorbachev era because the Soviet Union violated the agreement. North Korea has vehemently protested diplomatic relations between the two countries and began making genuine efforts to develop nuclear weapons (Saito 2017).

Relations between the two countries which have a communist ideology began to improve during the leadership of Vladimir Putin in January 2000. Putin chose North Korea as the destination country for his first official visit as president, he tried to build a balanced foreign policy for North Korea and South Korea so that they could restoring Russian influence on the Korean peninsula. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was again agreed to by Russia and North Korea, different from the 1962 agreement which contained military assistance if one country experienced an attack from any country or coalition because Russia was worried and did not want to be drawn into a possible conflict or war occurred amid escalating conflict between South Korea and North Korea.

Since the Korean War, Russia has been the main source of North Korean military hardware. Military cooperation between the two countries began to intensify in the mid-1980s, especially after Kim Il Sung's five-day visit to Moscow and after that Moscow agreed to send military weapons to Pyongyang for the first time since 1973. In return, North Korea permitted Soviet warplanes warplanes to fly through its airspace and allowed the placement of Soviet intelligence and communications equipment within its territory. Following Kim Il-Sung's five-day

visit to Moscow in October 1986, the Soviets provided North Korea with MiG-29 and SU-25 fighter jets, SA-5 surface-to-air missile systems, and the Tin Shield radar system, which was developed for early warning, target detection, and ground command and control functions. The greater military collaboration during that period came about through a pragmatic alliance that was essential for improving their worsening strategic situation in Northeast Asia (Saito 2017).

North Korea's nuclear developments and Russia's involvement

North Korea became interested in developing nuclear in its country after the end of the Korean War in 1953 (Columbia Law School 2023). At that time, there was a lot of news about the threat of the United States using nuclear in the Korean War, this threat was the basis for North Korea starting to become interested in developing nuclear, in order to counter American influence. The union is considered a threat to the stability of the North Korean region.

North Korea started nuclear security in 1956, they entered into an agreement on cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy with the Soviet Union which only included cooperation in developing nuclear energy and did not cooperate in terms of nuclear development because as we know, the nature of the North Korean leader is difficult to predict. The leader of the Soviet Union at that time was worried that North Korea would act rashly and that Russia might get involved in the war. In this agreement, North Korea began sending scientists and technicians to the Soviet Union for the Moscow training program which aimed to train scientists from other communist countries. However, it is important to note that following the collapse of the Soviet Union, some Russian scientists who faced difficult living conditions might have collaborated with North Korea on nuclear development projects, without the awareness or approval of the Russian government (Saito 2017).

In October 2006, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov announced, before any other country, that North Korea had conducted an underground nuclear test, then the next day, RIA Novosti reported that North Korea had triggered a detonator, and had in fact become a country with 9th nuclear power (Columbia Law School 2023). But after that, Russia stated that North Korea did not have nuclear weapons and only had detonators and that it did not endanger security stability on

the Korean peninsula. Second, because Russia believed it was better for North Korea to remain as one of the anti-United States powers, Therefore, Russia continues to support North Korea's nuclear development even though it continues to protest.

In fact, the issue of the North Korean nuclear crisis has been circulating since the 1990s. However, at that time the international world still did not believe in this issue. North Korea further shocked the world by withdrawing from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) on January 10 2003. On October 9 2006, North Korea was declared to have successfully carried out its first nuclear test which caused an earthquake measuring 4.2 Mb (body wave), magnitude) which immediately received many protests from its closest neighboring countries, namely South Korea and Japan. This test is considered a threat to regional stability, goes against the decisions of the UN Security Council, and undermines global efforts to prevent the spread of weapons (Andi Purnomo and Ahmad Saifuddin Zuhri 2010).

In 2008, North Korea followed through with what the international community had anticipated. On April 5, 2009, North Korea successfully launched a rocket from Musudan-ri, which is a military site located on the eastern coast of the country. The United States and Japan viewed North Korea's assertion that the rocket launch was aimed at deploying a communications satellite as a false statement. Both think that the official reason given is not the real motive, and that North Korea is actually using this opportunity to test the effectiveness of its missile range, which is believed to reach as far as Alaska, as part of its nuclear weapons program (Columbia Law School 2023).

In May 2009, North Korea launched another missile over Japan which it claimed was a weather-checking missile (Andi Purnomo and Ahmad Saifuddin Zuhri 2010). This has become clear evidence that there is a serious threat to the peace and tranquility of other countries. Finally, the embargo that occurred on North Korea resulted in it being increasingly isolated from the struggles of other nations. Even though it has received many sanctions and criticism from various countries and various organizations and is considered to have violated the anti-nuclear agreement, North Korea's main reason for maintaining its nuclear weapons is to

protect the country's security, especially from United States military aggression which is seen as a threat.

South Korea and the United States' response to military cooperation between North Korea and Russia

Even though military cooperation between Russia and North Korea is considered quite beneficial for both countries, every country around them feels threatened by the military cooperation between the two countries. North Korea and Russia have long had a bad track record, so other countries are worried about military cooperation between the two countries which will have an impact on world security stability. The United States and South Korea are two countries that have long disliked relations between Russia and North Korea, especially in terms of military cooperation. They are worried that the two countries that adhere to communist ideology cause unrest that will disrupt world security stability.

Regarding the conflict between Russia and Ukraine which of course requires a lot of military weapons to fight the enemy, South Korea suspects that the weapons used by Russia to attack Kiev were illegally sent from Pyongyang to Moscow, the evidence included is a portrait from a Ukrainian photographer in 2023 which shows that Korean letters, including the word "-122" found written on the rocket shell (Setyanavidita livicansera 2024). Experts said it was likely a 122-millimeter multiple rocket launcher. The South Korean defense minister also alleged that North Korea had supplied around 6,700 containers which were estimated to be enough to hold around 3 million 152 mm artillery shells or 500 thousand 122 mm artillery shells to Russia. These deliveries are said to have become more intense since a summit between the two countries' leaders in September.

Can North Korea be said to have violated Panmunjom because it carried out a missile test?

The 2018 Winter Olympics was the beginning of softening relations between North Korea and South Korea amidst the escalating conflict on the Korean peninsula. Through Kim Jong-un's younger brother who was sent to represent North Korea in the sporting event, Kim Yo Jong. The South Korean president at that time approached and succeeded in persuading Kim Jong-Un to hold an Inter-Korean Summit on April 27 2018. The meeting resulted in the Panmunjom declaration, the name was taken from the place where the meeting was held, namely in the Panmunjom demilitarized zone on the Korean border north and south Korea. The contents of the Panmunjom declaration itself contain several things, including:

1. improving bilateral relations between North Korea and South Korea by reuniting family members who were separated as a result of the 1953 Korean War.
2. Agreement to eliminate the demilitarized zone area into a peaceful zone and eliminate all actions that threaten each other.
3. Establishing a peaceful regime on the Korean peninsula, several ways to do this are changing the ceasefire status into a peace agreement, reaffirming the non-aggression agreement to prevent violence against each other, and denuclearizing both countries to maintain stability on the Korean peninsula.

There are several reasons why South Korea agreed to the Panmunjom declaration, North Korea received humanitarian assistance, transportation development, exchanges in various fields and family reunion programs. By agreeing to this Panmunjom declaration, North Korea can be free from sanctions and embargoes imposed by other organizations and countries because it is considered that North Korea can be invited to cooperate. North Korea can also avoid possible conflicts and facilitate the flow of funds and aid.

Only a year after the Panmunjom declaration was approved, North Korea launched another nuclear test in 2019. It is not without reason that North Korea continues to carry out nuclear development even though denuclearization on the Korean peninsula was included in the Panmunjom declaration agreed in 2018. Several reasons made North Korea carry out the test the military's attempt is that

North Korea implements Military First as its foreign policy, so that it will be difficult to truly denuclearize. North Korea has a "Juche" ideology, meaning independence, which was first introduced by Kim Il Sung. However, this independence has a different meaning as explained by Kim Il Sung, namely: in short, being the master of revolution and reconstruction in one's own country by adhering to independence, rejecting dependence on other people, using one's own brain, believing in one's own strength, revolutionary spirit and solve problems on your own responsibility under any circumstances.

The threat factor in the form of embargo sanctions from America is also one of North Korea's motives which is considered to be denying the Panmunjom Declaration which is an agreement for denuclearization. The economic sanctions imposed by America have caused North Korea's economy to suffer because China is North Korea's trading partner which greatly influences the communist country's economy. But on the other hand, North Korea does not want to reduce its nuclear weapons because it is for defense if it later has to fight other countries. Apart from that, the blowing up of the liaison office which was established in 2018 as a facility to facilitate communication channels between Koreas as a result of the spread of propaganda from defector groups to the border was also considered to have violated the Panmunjom declaration. North Korea's disappointment in not being able to prevent defectors is one of the motives for North Korea's behavior to retaliate against South Korea.

If we look at the two actions taken by North Korea, it can be said *de facto* that it has violated the Panmunjom Declaration by carrying out nuclear tests and developing weapons that increased tensions on the Korean Peninsula as well as blowing up the liaison office. These two things show that North Korea is not serious about its commitment to denuclearization and ending the war.

Trade Military between North Korea and Russia from the perspective of Constructivism theory

Constructivism is an international relations theory that was born to respond to the third debate in international relations science which sharply criticized the rationalist approach. This theory developed outside European academic circles, Alexander Wendt is one of the famous constructivist figures, he stated that there was a transformation of the international system, which initially had a pattern of conflict/war then shifted to rivalry/competition and switched again to a system of friendship/cooperation. From this it can be seen that contemporary international relations are always changing from one pattern to another (Wendt 2006).

Constructivism theory highlights that military cooperation between Russia and North Korea is not only influenced by material factors such as strategic and economic interests - in this case North Korea is increasing its military capabilities to defend its national interests, in the form of security and stability, and Russia is strengthening its hegemony. In the East Asian region-but also because of the formation of shared identities and norms in the complex geopolitical context of the Korean Peninsula. The identities built through the history of bilateral relations, as well as the international norms adhered to by both countries or the results of their interactions with other actors in the international system, can be important determinants in understanding the direction and depth of their military cooperation.

CONCLUSIONS

Military cooperation between Russia and North Korea has become a subject of interest in the context of international relations on the Korean peninsula. Constructivism as a theory of international relations considers that this cooperation can be understood as the result of the formation of a common identity and norms between the two countries which developed over time. Russia was involved in this cooperation to strengthen influence and prevent United States hegemony in the Korean peninsula and Korea. The North has an interest in getting military assistance as a fellow country that has a communist ideology. Several countries such as South

Korea and the United States, which have influence in the Asian region, consider that cooperation between these two countries could threaten the stability of the Korean peninsula, especially since North Korea has recently been intensively conducting nuclear and missile tests.

Russia was allegedly involved in North Korea's nuclear development, but in fact the Soviet Union carried out nuclear energy cooperation but did not include nuclear development. Although Russia has several times condemned North Korea's nuclear tests, military cooperation continues because of Russia's own interests in containing its influence in North Korea. Lastly, North Korea's actions in carrying out missile and nuclear tests show that they have de facto violated the Panmunjom Declaration which called for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. This declaration is also considered not strong enough to restrain North Korea from carrying out nuclear development, because this country has the Military First principle as its foreign policy, so it will be difficult to actually carry out denuclearization.

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