

## Role of Russia in peaceful settlement of the conflict of North and South Korea: event analysis

Papel de Rusia en la solución pacífica del conflicto de Corea del Norte y del Sur: análisis de eventos

Papel da Rússia na solução pacífica do conflito das Coreias do Norte e do Sul: análise de eventos

Recibido: 16 de enero de 2019. Aceptado: 06 de febrero de 2019

Written by:

Vinogradova N.S (Corresponding Author)<sup>111</sup>

Denisova S.A<sup>112</sup>

Ponomarev V.G<sup>113</sup>

### Abstract

This study analyzes the conflict between North Korea and South Korea. The Russian Federation has played an important role in the peaceful settlement of this conflict, which has an impact on the formation of the appearance of Russia in the international arena. The theoretical basis of the study was the theory of images, communication and international conflicts. Using the event-analysis method, an event-based picture of the conflict was built, comparative assessments were made, conflicting parties, indirect participants and intermediaries were identified. An analysis of the current situation is given, groups of interests and the role of Russia in the peaceful settlement of this conflict are identified.

**Keywords:** Russia, North Korea, Korean People's Democratic Republic, USA, Republic of Korea, South Korea, state image.

### Resumen

Este estudio analiza el conflicto entre Corea del Norte y Corea del Sur. La Federación de Rusia ha desempeñado un papel importante en la solución pacífica de este conflicto, que tiene un impacto en la formación de la aparición de Rusia en la arena internacional. La base teórica del estudio fue la teoría de las imágenes, la comunicación y los conflictos internacionales. Utilizando el método de análisis de eventos, se construyó una imagen del conflicto basada en eventos, se realizaron evaluaciones comparativas, se identificaron las partes en conflicto, los participantes indirectos y los intermediarios. Se presenta un análisis de la situación actual, se identifican los grupos de intereses y el papel de Rusia en la solución pacífica de este conflicto.

**Palabras claves:** Rusia, Corea del Norte, República Democrática Popular de Corea, Estados Unidos, República de Corea, Corea del Sur, imagen del estado.

### Resumo

Este estudo analisa o conflito entre a Coreia do Norte e a Coreia do Sul. A Federação Russa tem desempenhado um papel importante na solução pacífica deste conflito, que tem um impacto sobre a formação da aparição da Rússia na arena internacional. A base teórica do estudo foi a teoria das imagens, comunicação e conflitos internacionais. Usando o método de análise de eventos, uma imagem baseada em eventos do conflito foi construída, avaliações comparativas foram feitas, partes conflitantes, participantes indiretos e intermediários foram identificados. Uma análise da situação atual é dada, grupos de interesses e o papel da Rússia na solução pacífica deste conflito são identificados.

<sup>111</sup> PhD in Polit. Sciences, Assoc., "Public Processes, Media and Advertising Technologies" Department, K.G. Razumovsky MSUTM (FCU)

<sup>112</sup> Junior Researcher, "Public Processes, Media and Advertising Technologies" Department, K.G. Razumovsky MSUTM (FCU)

<sup>113</sup> Senior Lecturer, "Public Processes, Media and Advertising Technologies" Department, K.G. Razumovsky MSUTM (FCU) 73 Zemlyanoy val, 109004 Moscow

**Palavras-chave:** Rússia, Coreia do Norte, República Democrática Popular da Coreia, EUA, República da Coreia, Coreia do Sul, imagem do Estado

## Introduction

This study is of current interest due to the fact that the conflict between South Korea and North Korea is entering a new stage of peaceful settlement. Throughout the history of conflict development, the confrontation between these two countries mirrored the confrontation between the United States and the USSR, and later the United States and Russia. Russia is also interested in resolving the conflict in the Korean Peninsula due to the fact that it has a common border with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). A new round of peace settlement is associated with the D. Trump and Kim Jong-un summit in June 2018, which has an impact on the political balance of power in the region and on the appearance of Russia in the international arena.

To the history of the issue. Historically, the territories of Korea were the areas of interest of Japan, Russia and China. As a result of the Russian-Japanese War (1904-1905), Japan established the primacy over the territories of Korea. After World War II, the situation changed: the allied forces of the USSR entered from the north, and the USA from the south. At the end of the liberation of the Peninsula from the Japanese invaders, the Allies began to form a transitional government. In 1947, the issue of resolving the conflict on the peninsula was submitted for consideration by the UN General Assembly, where the American model of resolving the conflict was adopted - democratically - holding elections on the peninsula. The USSR opposed. As a result, the territories of Korea were divided into two parts along the line of passing the 38th parallel, so the North - Korean People's Democratic Republic (DPRK) and South Korea - Republic of Korea (RK) appeared. Democratic elections were held on the territory of South Korea, and a communist government emerged on the territory of North Korea.

Military conflict broke out in 1950. Both sides sought to designate themselves as the only legitimate authority in the peninsula. North Korea seized the capital of South Korea - Seoul - on the fifth day. As a result, the United States intervened in the conflict and provided military assistance to South Korea, and the USSR

provided military support to North Korea. After the transition of hostilities from South Korea to North Korea, the People's Republic of China intervened in the conflict. In the course of the battles that lasted three years, neither side was able to achieve a decisive advantage.

The modern round of relations between North and South Korea. In the 21st century, North Korea seeks to gain a power advantage in the form of nuclear weapons. In 2006 and 2017 nuclear weapons tests were conducted in North Korea. These actions provoked notes of protest and speeches of the entire international community, the UN Assembly issued resolutions on the denuclearization of the peninsula. Russia supported the direction of limiting the spread of nuclear weapons in the world.

In 2017 North Korea successfully conducted a series of intercontinental ballistic missile tests and created a hydrogen bomb. On August 5, 2017, the UN unanimously imposed additional sanctions on the DPRK in connection with its nuclear program, which Russia supported. Also, in response to the actions of North Korea, US missile defense systems THAAD were deployed in South Korea. Thus, the conflict between North Korea and South Korea went beyond the Korean Peninsula and developed into an open confrontation between North Korea and the United States. In April 2018 there was a meeting of the leaders of North and South Korea, at which both leaders expressed a desire for peace. In connection with the current situation, the meeting of D. Trump and Kim Jong-un is a promising opportunity to find points for a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Following the meeting, D. Trump demanded the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in exchange for ensuring the security of North Korea and South Korea.

Considering the current situation, the role of Russia in the peaceful settlement of this crisis is interesting. Historically, the USSR was the main partner of North Korea, the successor of the USSR - Russia seeks to equally move away from all the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, that is, it does not form coalitions with some countries, against others, which makes it possible to have

trade and economic ties and freely build political dialogues with different countries.

As a result, at the moment, Russia's relations with the DPRK are based on the principles of good-neighborhood. Given the history of relations between the USSR and North Korea, Russia has the greatest potential for a trusting dialogue with the North Korean side in order to alleviate tensions on the peninsula and to develop economic interaction, including in a trilateral format: Russia - North Korea, Russia - South Korea. For Russia, it is important to be part of the diplomatic efforts to resolve the North Korean crisis — this is essential both in terms of Russia's global image as a great power, and in terms of using the North Korean dossier as one of the proofs that cooperation with Moscow is necessary for the only global superpower — the United States. Currently, North Korea's main strategic partner is the People's Republic of China.

Currently, relations between the Republic of Korea and the Russian Federation are one of the priorities in the foreign policy of the two countries. Both countries speak of the importance they attach to bilateral relations. The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation of November 30, 2016 emphasizes that Russia, which is interested in maintaining traditionally friendly relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea, also seeks to reduce the level of confrontation, reduce tensions and achieve reconciliation and the development of inter-Korean cooperation through the development of political dialogue; in turn, the political leaders of South Korea have declared the importance of maintaining friendly relations with Russia. The President of South Korea is pursuing a new "Northern Policy", which is aimed, among other things, at Russia.

### Materials and methods

The object of the research is the conflict between North and South Korea, which influenced the formation of the appearance of Russia in the modern world arena. The purpose of event analysis is the formation of a modern picture of the world in the context of the conflict between DPRK and RK, which influenced the appearance of Russia, in a time sequence.

To achieve the goal of the study, you must perform the following tasks:

1. To form a bank of events for the period of 1945-2018.
2. Categorize the information array by category and divide it into separate observation units.
3. Compile the dynamics of events for the period 1945-2018.
4. To analyze the composed series of events.
5. To reflect the current picture in the international arena at the present time.

The following hypotheses of the study were compiled:

1. Many researchers pay special attention to relations between China and the DPRK in resolving the crisis in the Korean Peninsula, believing that Russia does not have enough influence on the world stage to participate in resolving the conflict. Given that the countries participating in the conflict give Russia a special role in reaching the conclusion of a peace treaty between the North and the South, because the Russian side cooperates with both RK and DPRK.
2. USSR practically did not participate in military conflicts on the Korean Peninsula and supported the power of the DPRK, developed its nuclear potential, not recognizing South Korea as an independent state. In this regard, the USSR policy negatively influenced the appearance of Russia, while Russia is a state with a different political system and a different political orientation, which is expressed in productive relationships with both the DPRK and the Republic of Korea.
3. Russia's participation in resolving the Korean issue will contribute to strengthening its political status on the world arena, since the Korean conflict has lasted for several decades and military clashes arise between conflicting parties with a certain frequency, which other states cannot influence. Therefore, if Russia succeeds in influencing one of the conflicting parties, this will significantly improve its political status in the international arena.

The meaning of the image and the appearance of the country as effective and necessary instrument for the realization of state interests is very big and continues to grow steadily. The appearance of a country increasingly determines its weight in the international arena, the degree of influence on a wide variety of issues, including the possibility of defending its own interests. Therefore, the formation of a positive image of Russia abroad is one of the important tasks on a national scale, and the policy in this area is becoming one of the priority directions of state activity.

The image is understood precisely as a purposefully created (based on the research of needs and "ideals" of target audiences) image (Zelikson & Golubev 2014). The image is instrumental, intended to be broadcast in order to improve the perceptions of audiences in the interests of the subject. The article considers the image as a "working" instrument in the formation of the required image (Lebedeva & Mikhaylenko 2011). In this study, the appearance of the country is understood as a reflection of the activities of the country in the mass and individual consciousness of the audience (Shestopal, 2002). The image refers to a specially designed and replicated reflection of the state. Currently, a relevant research trend is that the appearance is real, and the image is constructed.

For the analysis of conflicts, in the framework of the theory of international conflicts, this study uses the approach of E. G. Baranovsky and N. N. Vladislavlev (Baranovsky, 2010), which is based on identifying the structural components of the conflict:

The first structural component is the conflict participants.

Depending on what role the participant plays in the conflict and what degree of involvement in the conflict the participants are divided into

- direct participants
- indirect participants;
- intermediaries.

In this study, direct participants in the conflict are North Korea and South Korea, indirect participants on the part of North Korea - the USSR and the PRC, later only the PRC, and on the part of South Korea - the USA. The mediators in resolving the conflict are the UN, and Russia and Japan are also involved.

As the next structural component, it is proposed to consider the interests of the participants.

Interests of participants may vary by area:

1. economic interests;
2. political interests;
3. raw material interests;
4. territorial interests;
5. geostrategic interests.

In this study, the main interest for North and South Korea is political interest, since at the initial stage of the conflict, countries tried to designate the only legitimate government that leads to the unification of Korea (territorial interest), access to the continent (development of economic relations for South Korea).

Indirect participants pursue their own interests, so the USSR and PRC are striving to keep their own borders safe, to promote the development of the socialist world, and after the collapse of the USSR, Russia seeks to get a reliable partner DPRK and RK. USA develops hegemony in the territory of the Asia-Pacific countries.

The third structural component represents the resources of the parties to the conflict - the means that the participant of the conflict has at its disposal and can use to protect his interests. The means may be of different nature: political; economic; monetary and financial; diplomatic; ideological; military; informational. Based on the existing interest, depending on the available resources, the participant in the conflict forms his goals, which he seeks to achieve as a result of the conflict (Borishpolets, 2005).

For DPRK, the main lever of influence on the conflict: the Republic of Korea and the USA, and later, the world, became the presence of missiles and nuclear weapons, for the Republic of Korea - regular exercises with USA forces, including troops, carriers of missiles of different ranges and nuclear weapons and sanctions against DPRK, declared by the UN, to contain a nuclear catastrophe.

For the study of military conflicts and manifestations of political discourse, an event analysis method was chosen, a method which "allows the comparison of various events that are aggregated, counted and described in terms of the number, number of participants, duration and scale of political interaction" (Borishpolets, 2010).

Event analysis involves collection, analysis and systematization of information on the basis of basic features, which include:

1. The date of the event (when did the event occur?)
2. Actor (who initiated the event?)
3. The object of impact
4. Territory (where did the event occur?)
5. Characteristic (plot) of the event (what happened?)

The subjects of political relations (Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) and their actions (actions) are taken as observation units. Depending on the objectives of the study, one can focus on the verbal or physical category of actions that make up the structure of event dynamics.

Events are also classified by activity: verbal or physical, which represent the spectrum from hostile to neutral, and then to peaceful actions (Torkunov, 2015).

## Results

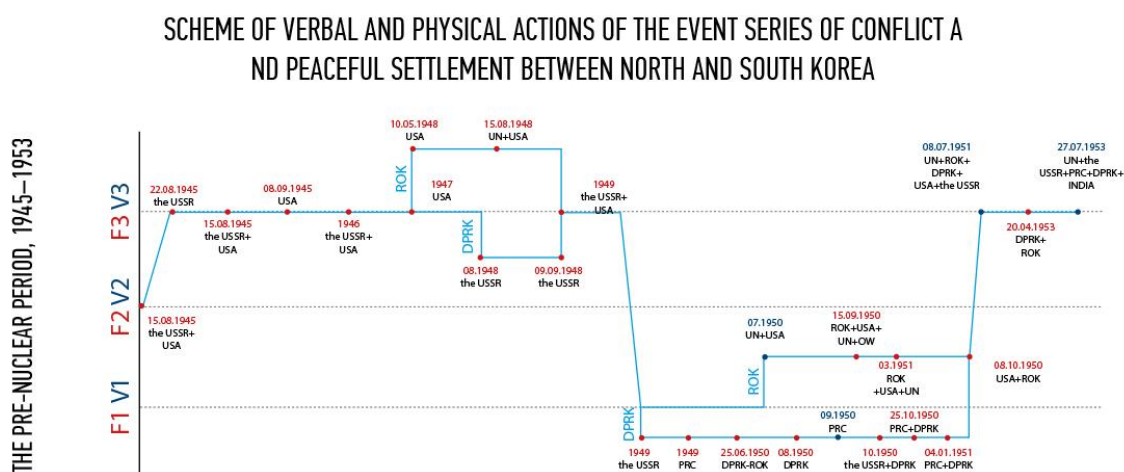
The event analysis is based on the documents of the Foreign Ministries of the three countries and the media materials and their electronic versions for the period 1945 to 2018. As part of the event analysis, an information array of political events on the Korean Peninsula was created. Subjects of

political relations (South Korea and North Korea) and their acts (actions) were chosen as observation units.

The resulting information was contingently divided into two parts: the pre-nuclear and the nuclear period. This division is not accidental; it was the presence of nuclear weapons that determined the rhetoric of political communication both on the Korean Peninsula and with the countries - indirect participants in the conflict and the mediating countries. On the scheme of verbal and physical actions of the event series of the conflict and peaceful settlement between North and South Korea are reflected in the historical sequence of events, where physical and verbal actions are defined and divided into peaceful, neutral, hostile ones. The designation of points indicates the countries participants and indirect participants and intermediaries.

## Discussion

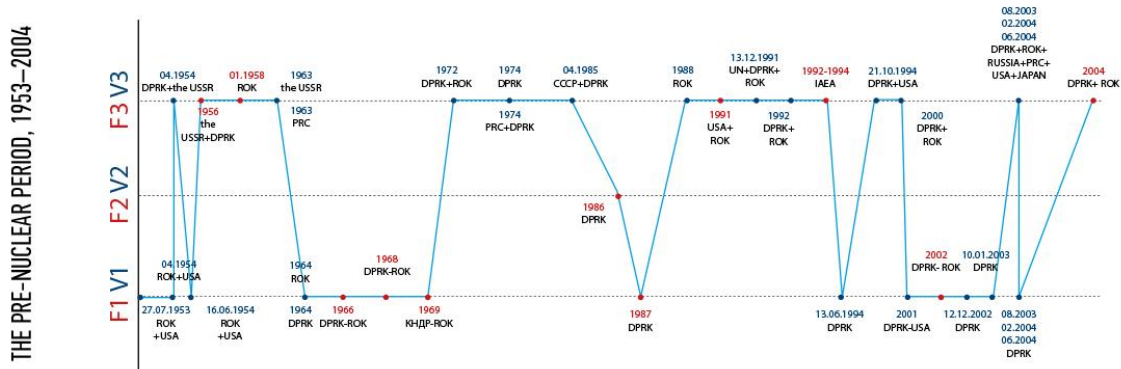
The below schemes have the following designations: F1 - physical actions of a military nature, F2 - physical actions of a neutral nature, F3 - physical actions of a peaceful nature. V1 - verbal acts of a military nature, V2 - verbal acts of a neutral nature, V3 - verbal acts of a peaceful nature.



Scheme of verbal and physical actions of the event series of conflict and peaceful settlement between North and South Korea (the pre-nuclear period, 1945–2004) Rhetoric was spiral, that is, hostile situations were initiated by one

party and there was a swift response from another party. The scheme clearly shows the pattern of recoil peace to enmity and back. All these years are characterized by a constant swing of relationships that began in 1953.

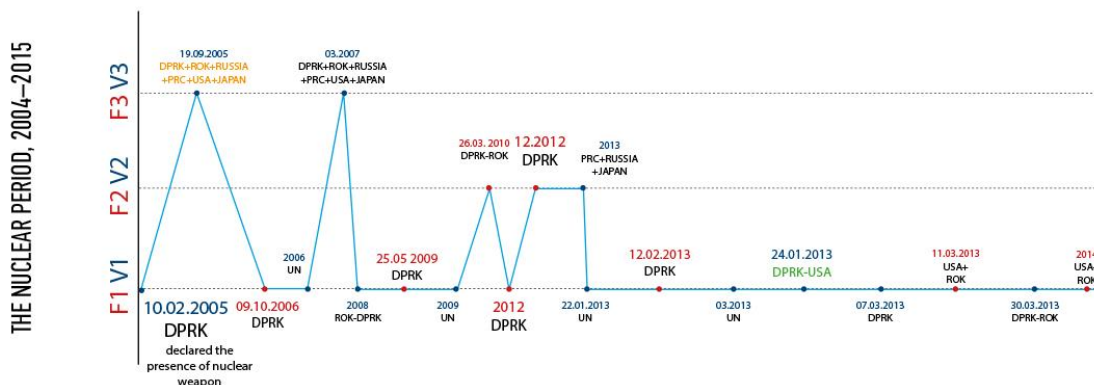
SCHEME OF VERBAL AND PHYSICAL ACTIONS OF THE EVENT SERIES OF CONFLICT AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA



In the 1990s, relations between Moscow and Pyongyang weakened, while Russian policy changed. The current leaders felt that North Korea could not be an ally of Russia. The Russian Foreign Ministry officially announced the "inevitable distance from the DPRK". The political, economic, and humanitarian ties between the two countries were terminated, the 1961 union agreement was recognized as outdated — the verbal action by the Russian Federation, which the DPRK subsequently left with one ally – the PRC. Against the background of the discord between the Russian Federation and the DPRK, there is a noticeable thaw in relations between Moscow and Seoul. In 1992, an agreement was signed on the fundamentals of relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Korea. At that time, Russian policy showed a tendency to weaken ties with North Korea and, on the contrary, to expand ties with South Korea. After 2000, the imbalance in

relations with the two Korean states was corrected. This change was facilitated by the new president of the Russian Federation - V.V. Putin, who signed the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborhood and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the DPRK. This treaty replaced the invalid Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the DPRK of 1961 [26]. The new treaty did not contain military-political obligations. Russian policy towards the Korean Peninsula has changed and was based on the development of economic relations, both with the south and with the north. The Russian leaders have repeatedly stated the importance of maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, the need for a direct dialogue between North and South Korea. In relations with both Korean states, the Russian Federation seeks to interest partners in mutually beneficial economic projects.

SCHEME OF VERBAL AND PHYSICAL ACTIONS OF THE EVENT SERIES OF CONFLICT AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA



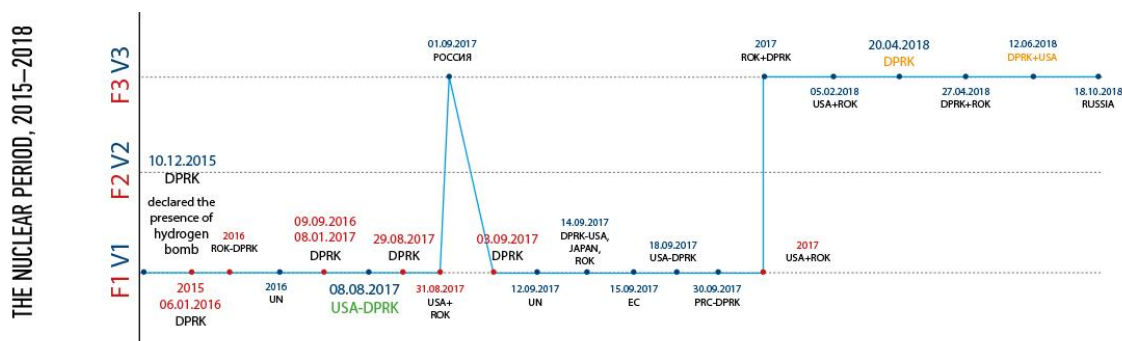
The scheme of verbal and physical actions of the event series of the conflict and peaceful settlement between North and South Korea

(nuclear period 2005–2015) shows that the system of relations between the countries participating in the conflict and indirect

participants changed from a "political swing" to a hard dialogue and sanctions in response to the

nuclear tests of the DPRK.

### SCHEME OF VERBAL AND PHYSICAL ACTIONS OF THE EVENT SERIES OF CONFLICT AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA



In 2005, the DPRK officially announced the creation of nuclear weapons. In the course of working with the atom, the DPRK conducted six nuclear explosions, these actions were strongly judged by the entire world. These actions were followed by UN sanctions, the purpose of which was to create restrictions on the sale of possible necessary components of the DPRK nuclear weapons, and further - the deterioration of the country's economic condition.

#### Conclusion

In the conflict between North and South Korea, the opposing sides are clearly distinguished. The war that began in 1950 resulted in a clear alignment of forces. North Korea, the country - representatives of the socialist camp supported the USSR and PRC. The support was of an economic, political, and intellectual nature, which made it possible to begin development of the acquisition of a peaceful atom, space programs, and further nuclear weapons on the territory of the DPRK. With the collapse of the USSR, DPRK lost its main ally. China began to play this role for DPRK. The interaction of DPRK and PRC is economic. Historically, with the division of Korea by 38th parallel, the western part, South Korea, supported by the USA, was also highlighted. America has used the full force of the democratic world in the face of the United Nations to address the issue of DPRK. The political confrontation between the socialist and capitalist camps is clearly visible in the conflict between the DPRK and the RK.

The conflict between North Korea and South

Korea is a spiral, constantly repeating the turns of mutual confrontation DPRK and RK. So, in 1953, at the initiative of the UN and India, the DPRK and RK were asked to sign a peace treaty, the DPRK signed the treaty, and the RK did not. In 1954, a package of agreements from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was proposed to the Republic of Korea, but no political solution was found. In the 60s, military clashes began to occur. In 1972, however, a joint statement of the North and the South was signed, which set forth the basic principles of unification - independently, without reliance on external forces; in peaceful way; based on the "great national consolidation." The unification of the country in Pyongyang is seen by creating a confederation (Confederative Democratic Republic of Korea) according to the formula "one nation, one state - two systems, two governments". Unfortunately, this statement did not resolve the issue peacefully and in the 1980s confrontation began to gain new momentum. The next round of peaceful resolution of the issue, initiated by the UN, was expressed in the signing of the Agreement on reconciliation, non-aggression, cooperation and exchanges. In it, both Korean states actually recognized each other's sovereignty and independence. RK and DPRK pledged not to interfere in each other's domestic affairs, not to take hostile actions against each other, to respect each other's socio-economic systems.

The picture of the alignment of forces radically changed in connection with the development of the DPRK of the first peaceful atom, after nuclear weapons. At the same time, this country has the

necessary carriers, missiles of different ranges, in order to launch a nuclear missile strike not only at its closest neighbors, but also at the USA. In this regard, the USA began a rhetoric about the danger to the whole world, expressed in the presence of nuclear weapons from the DPRK. Since 1992, in parallel with the resolution of the conflict, the issue of the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula has been raised.

The conflict has gone beyond the conflict of the DPRK and RK, to the plane of the conflict of the DPRK and the USA. In 1994, the Framework Agreement was signed with the USA. Unfortunately, the USA did not keep their commitments, the reactors have not yet been built. In 2013 the conflict reached its apogee and resulted in Kim Jong-un's statement that the USA is an enemy of the Korean people, in response to the USA held joint exercises with South Korea. This conflict only grows in the future. The political interests of the USA affect the APR countries. At the initiative of the USA in 2008, the Trans-Pacific Partnership was signed. This partnership is a preferential trade agreement between 12 countries of the Asia-Pacific region, the goal of which is to reduce tariff barriers, as well as to regulate domestic rules in the participating countries in areas such as labor law, the environment, intellectual property and several others. In 2017, the USA leaves the association.

Considering the historical events in perspective, after the collapse of the USSR, there is clear a tendency to unite the countries that were divided after the Second World War into socialist and capitalist camps. Such vivid examples of association are Vietnam and Germany. In this regard, it is possible to predict the unification of the Korean Peninsula. Historically, during the unification of countries in the 20th century, socialist countries disappeared. Perhaps with the unification of the Korean Peninsula, the DPRK will also disappear. This trend is understood by the leaders of North Korea, therefore, they are not in a hurry with the union. All peace measures initiated by the DPRK authorities are enforced. At the same time, the DPRK authorities are interested in political, economic cooperation with RK, for example, in building a common road that will connect the peninsula with its closest neighbors: Russia and China. Also, South Korea, being cut off from the world by North Korea, is keenly interested in joint projects.

The current political alignment of forces on the Korean Peninsula, taking into account the political interests of indirect participants in the conflict:

There was a change in the balance of power, where the confrontation between USSR and the USA, against the confrontation of the USSR, PRC and USA, due to the loss of political weight of Russia, was replaced by a political balance of power on the PRC and USA. The USA has, a reliable ally, South Korea,

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