

"America's leading historian and political analyst of contemporary Korea."

CHALMERS JOHNSON, AUTHOROFIEDHEICK

## NORTH KOREA



BRUCE CUMINGS







## Unconditional support from their allies after 1953



**Economic recovery** 

## Miracle on the Han River, 70 Years Later Gross National Income (GNI) Per Capita \$40,000 ¬ Global financial crisis North Korea \$35,000 \$30,000 South Korea Asian financial crisis \$25,000 Democratic reforms: \$20,000 -Roh Tae-woo elected president \$15,000 -Hyundai Motor Co. Founded \$10,000 -LG Electronics

1972

1976

1980

1984

1988

1992

1968

1964

founded

1960

1956

\$5,000 -

\$0.3

1952

Source: Maddison Historical Statistics Project, U.S. Global Investors

2000

1996

2004

2008

2012

2016









Until 1962: the U.S. financed nearly 70% of South Korea's imports (consumer goods & food)





Military coup (May 1961) – General Park Chung-hee in power

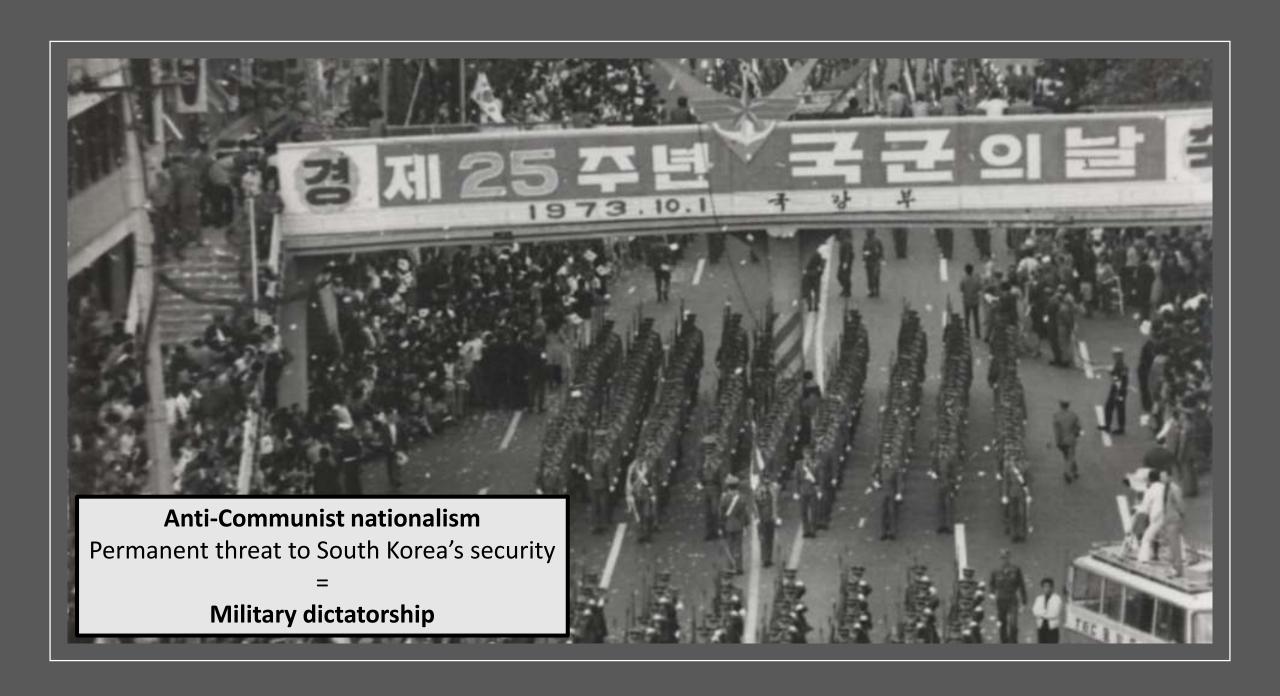
## A Supreme Council for National Reconstruction

**Economic development** prioritized over political freedom

Focus on exports

A cheap and disciplined workforce





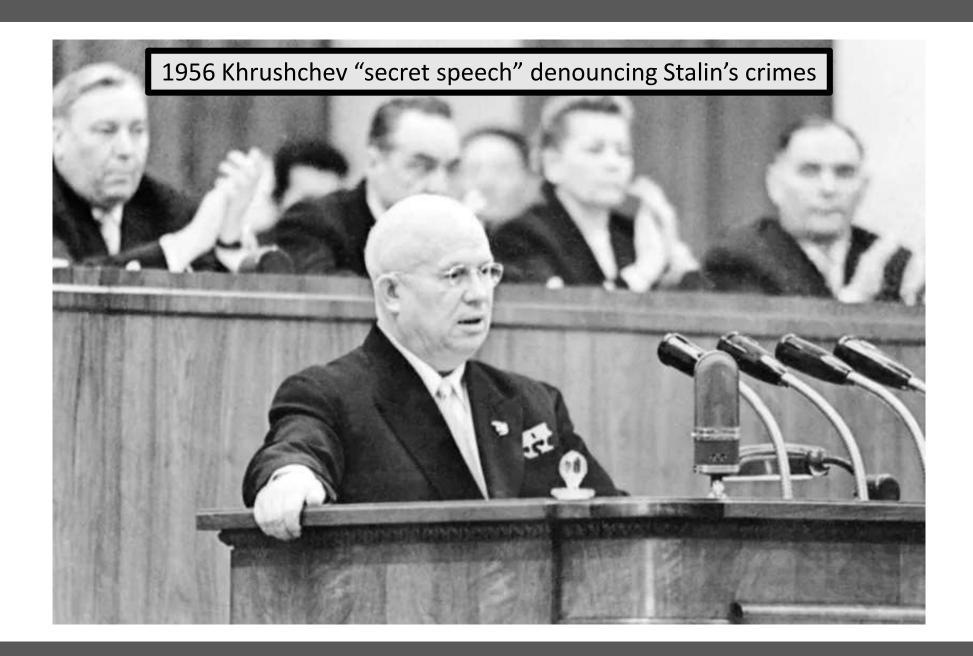
**Blue House raid** (North Korean commandos' attempt to assassinate Park Chung-hee)
Proof North Korea determined to destabilize South Korea by force





Park Chung-hee in Washington (November 1961)







A more radical revolutionary movement (same as in China)

The introduction of the concept of "national autonomy" (juche)





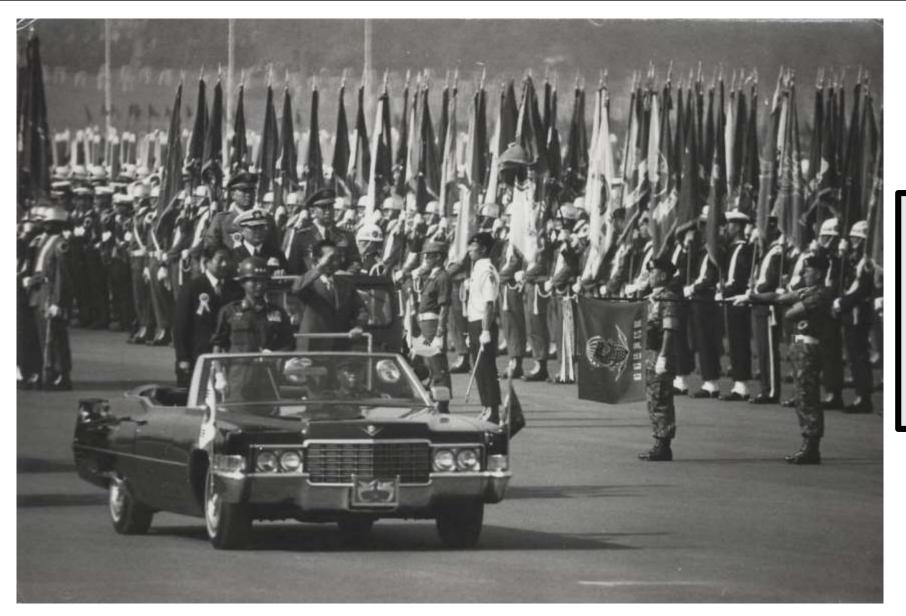
**Sino-Soviet split** (doctrinal divergences over the implementation of Communism) – Kim II-sung: **neutrality** (greater autonomy)



Kim II-sung refused to join the **Comecon** (organization aimed facilitating and coordinating the economic development of the eastern European countries)



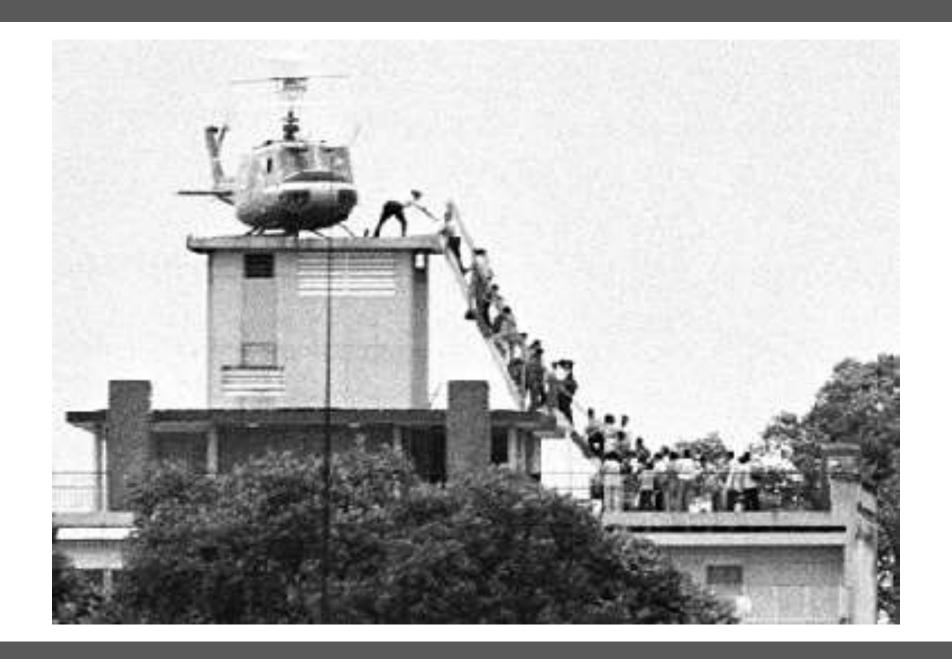




South Korea: selfsufficiency (charip) based on developing export economy

Strengthening military capabilities











1971 **presidential election** (South Korea): the near victory of political opponent **Kim Dae-jung** 

Park Chung-hee's response: a **second military coup** (1972)

A new Constitution: Park president for life (yusin)



South Korean worker (and workers rights activist) **Jeon Taeil**'s suicide (burned himself to death) to protest inhuman working conditions (sweatshops)

**Growing opposition** to social exploitation and political repression (1970s)



1979: the assassination of Park Chung-hee by head of South Korea's secret police



: the slow return to civil liberties interrupted by another **military coup** (Chun Doo-hwan)











South Korea's *Nordpolitik*: efforts to reach out to North Korea's traditional allies (Russia & China)

1992: the end of the democratic transition







13th World Festival of Youth and Students (1989) in Pyongyang





A 103 floor hotel in Ryugyong (empty until 2008)





South Korean student activist Lim Sukyung meeting Kim Il-sung in 1989

The first South Korean citizen to cross the 38th parallel since the Korean War

Arrested and imprisoned upon her return (National security law violated)

North Korea's economy in disarray – No reforms contemplated



No peaceful coexistence with South Korea – China criticized for its economic reforms







"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

VOL.CXLI... No. 48,809

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1991

50 CENTS

## DECLARING DEATH OF SOVIET UNION, RUSSIA AND 2 REPUBLICS FORM NEW COMMONWEALTH

## Frantic Moves Came to Light In Days Before Maxwell Died

As the Empire Was Crumbling A special report.



West Europeans

Gather to Seek

By ALAN RIDING

#### By STEVEN PROKESCH

LONDON, Dec. 8 - At the time of his mysterious death on Nov. 5. Robert Maxwell almost certainly knew he was about to be caught

He had drained hundreds of millions dollars from his two flagship public companies and from employee pension unds in a frantic attempt to keep his heavily indebted publishing empire

The auditors of the Maxwell empire Coopers & Lybrand Defoitte, were to conduct their next regular audit of the ension funds in a couple of months. And Coopers would have quickly discovered the transactions, said a person very familiar with the details of a special financial examination of the moire conducted for the banks after Mr. Maxwell's death. He agreed to discuss the report only if his identity was not disclosed.

'Basically Grahbing Cash'

The Coopers team also found evidence that some of the diverted money vent to The Daily News in New York to over its losses. That raises more loubts about the future of the newspaper, which Mr. Maxwell acquired in

The maneuvering by Mr. Maxwell to prop up the private companies that controlled his empire "was doomed to

"It wasn't a sophisticated fraud like C.C.1.," he said, referring to the scandal surrounding the Bank of Credit and Commerce International. "The guy was basically grabbing cash, and Coo-A Tighter Union pers found if out within days of going in." The Coopers team was led by Richard Stone, the partner in charge of the accounting firm's corporate finance division

That discovery led the main holding





Share of total output,

AGRICULTURE

"We, the republic of Byelorussia, the Russian Federation and Ukraine . . . state that the U.S.S.R., as a subject of international law and geopolitical reality, is ceasing its existence." — Brest declaration, Dec. 8, 1991

## The Union Is Buried: What's Being Born?

By CELESTINE BOHLEN Special to The New York Tomas.

MAASTRICHT, the Netherlands, commanies of the Maxwell empire to August coup d'état, the Soviet Union

Gorbachev's Vain Pleas Make His Eclipse Clear

irm with their daily lives, as they go to levers of power would support him.

### TAKE OVER A-ARMS

### Newborn Bureaucracy Is Inheriting Functions of Old Authority

#### By SERGE SCHMEMANN

MOSCOW, Dec. 8 - The leaders of Russia Ukraine and Ryelorussia de clared today that the Soviet Union had reased to exist and proclaimed a new "Commonwealth of Independent States" open to all members of the former unson

In a series of statements issued after a two-day meeting at a Byelorussian overnment retreat, the leaders of the three Slavic republics declared void all efforts to create a new union on the ruins of the old one. But they called for the creation of new "coordinating bod ies" for defense, foreign affairs and the economy that would have their seat in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, and decided to maintain the ruble as the common currency

They declared that the "norms" and activities of the former union ceased as of the moment of signing, and that the new commonwealth assumed all international obligations of the Soviet Union, as well as control over its nucle

"The U.S.S.R., as a subject of inter national law and geopolitical reality, is ceasing its existence," the leaders de

The action essentially stripped Pres ideni Mikhail S. Gorbachev of his office and authority, and the immediate ques he keeps warning about has already clous Sovies leader would resist - and nappened. This is a fact they can con- if he did, whether the military or other

factories that have run out of maters. The three cofounders of the new

The collapse of the Soviet Union (1991): the end of Russian aid

1995: a series of climate disasters (floods and drought) = devastating famine

(1.5 - 3 million deaths from)starvation – Pop: 22 million)

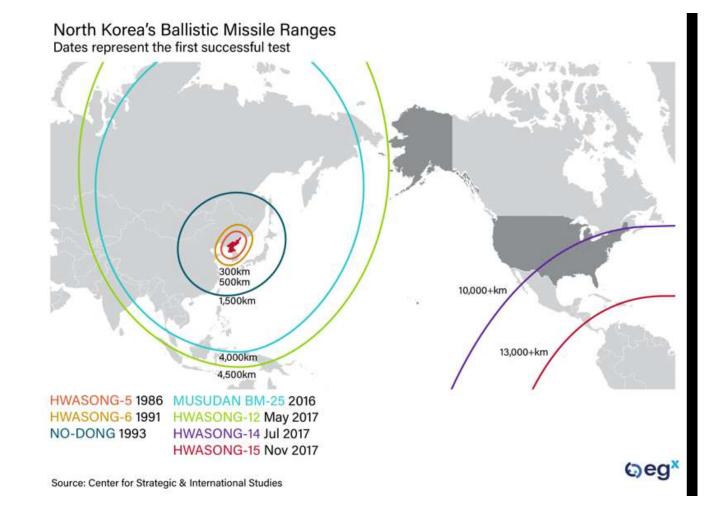




# North Korea's nuclear ambitions

U.S. military intervention averted at the last minute by Jimmy Carter

The Geneva Agreement
(1994): North Korea to stop its
nuclear facilities under
International Atomic Energy
Agency supervision











Kim Jong-il inherited a country on the brink

Aged infrastructure (lack of investments)

An export sector reduced to practically nothing



The introduction of **farmers' markets** (*Jangmadang*) – A majority of North Koreans dependent on informal economy for survival







President Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003)

The *Sunshine Policy*: a lasting cooperation (economic, cultural & humanitarian) with North Korea

Kim Dae-jung: the first South Korean president to visit Pyongyang (2000)







two major **inter-Korean economic projects Tourist facilities** of Mount Kumgang

## NORTH KOREA

Pyongyang

Mount Kumgang

O Seoul

## SOUTH KOREA

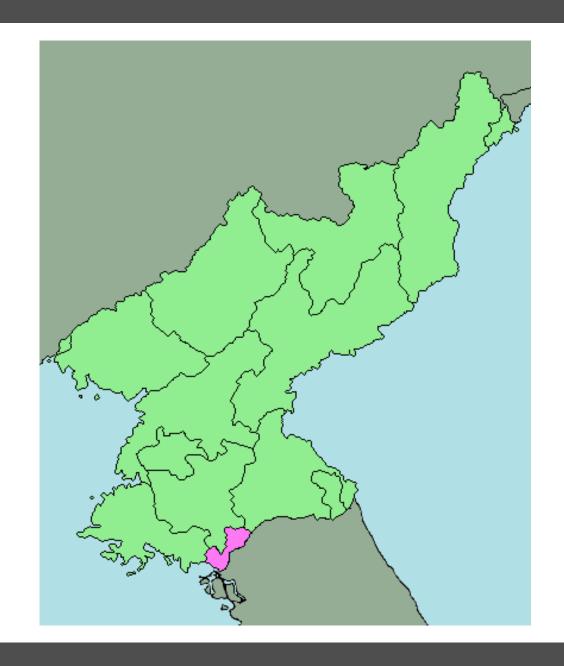
Tourism not under international sanctions imposed over North Korea's nuclear programmes

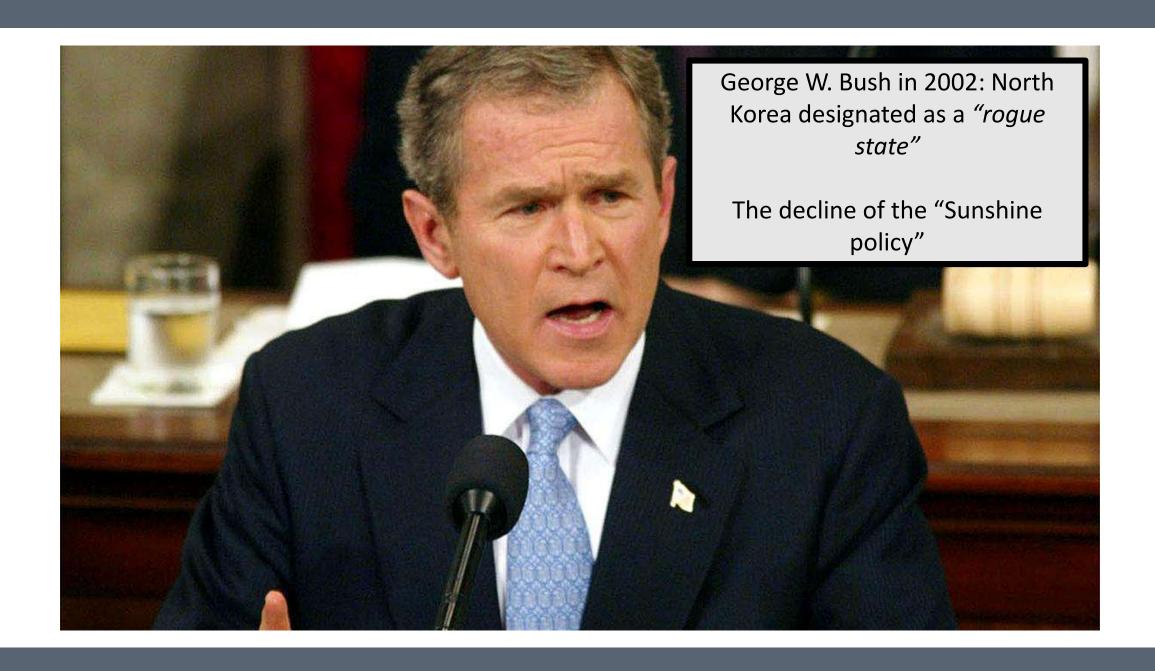
Key to North Korea's policy of "self-reliant" economic growth



# Kaesong industrial complex (closed in 2016)











President Lee Myungbak (2008-2013): future development of inter-Korean relations conditioned to denuclearization of peninsula



# A new supreme leader in 2011: Kim Jong-il











President **Moon Jae-in** (since 2018): the return of the "Sunshine policy"?

Decades of hope (reunification) – South
Korean public opinion less interested ("North
Korea fatigue")

South Koreans no longer fearful of "moody" North Korea – Pride in South Korea's economic & political achievements

Question: is Korea's reunification really necessary?