

# NORTH KOREA VS. THE WORLD

This brutal, isolated Communist nation continues to test nuclear weapons and threaten its enemies, including the U.S. Can North Korea be stopped before it's too late?

BY REBECCA ZISSOU

**F**ifteen-year-old Joseph Kim was living on the streets of Hoeryong, North Korea, alone and afraid. His father had died of starvation years earlier, and his mother and sister had disappeared without a trace. Instead of going to school, the teen spent his days searching for food or working odd jobs.

Fearing that he wouldn't be able to survive for much longer in North Korea, Joseph decided to try to flee the country. He knew that if he were caught attempting to leave without the government's



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permission, he could be arrested and even put to death.

"I knew the journey would be risky, but I would be risking my life either way," Joseph said later. "I could die of starvation like my father in North Korea, or at least I could try for a better life by escaping to China."

So in the middle of winter, Joseph left his hometown with little more than the clothes on his back. Careful to avoid armed border guards, he ran across the frozen Tumen River into China. Within months, he connected with an international aid group called Liberty in North Korea that helped him move to the U.S. as a refugee. Today, 10 years later, Joseph is a college student in New York (see "Escape From North Korea," p. 17).

In recent years, tens of thousands of people like Joseph have managed to escape from North Korea. The nation is one of the most brutal and isolated places on Earth. Its 25 million citizens are cut off from the outside world and have few rights or freedoms.

The country's young ruler, Kim Jong Un, has been extremely aggressive and unpredictable, threatening North Korea's enemies, including the U.S. and South Korea. Last September, he defied the world by testing a nuclear bomb. Then in a speech on January 1, Kim said his country was preparing to conduct its first test of a long-range missile, which could reach the U.S. (The following day, weeks before he was inaugurated, Donald Trump dismissed that claim, tweeting, "It won't happen!" His spokesperson later said the remark was meant as a warning.)

### Testing Nukes

National security experts say the acceleration of North Korea's nuclear program is a serious threat to the U.S. and its allies in Asia, particularly South Korea and Japan. A single nuclear bomb could wipe out an entire city and kill millions of people. Nine countries possess nuclear weapons—including the U.S. But North Korea is the only one to have tested them in the 21st century.

To prevent North Korea from perfecting a nuclear weapon, the U.S. and the United Nations (U.N.) have had a series of sanctions in place for years. Those penalties aim to restrict international trade and make it harder for the North to fund nuclear research. Sanctions have also made daily life harder for ordinary North

## Experts say North Korea's latest nuclear test should be an urgent wake-up call.

Koreans, but so far, the measures haven't been effective in persuading Kim to return to the negotiating table.

Beatrice Fihn of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons says the world

needs to act now to prevent Kim from expanding his nuclear program.

North Korea's latest test "should be an urgent wake-up call" for the world, Fihn says.

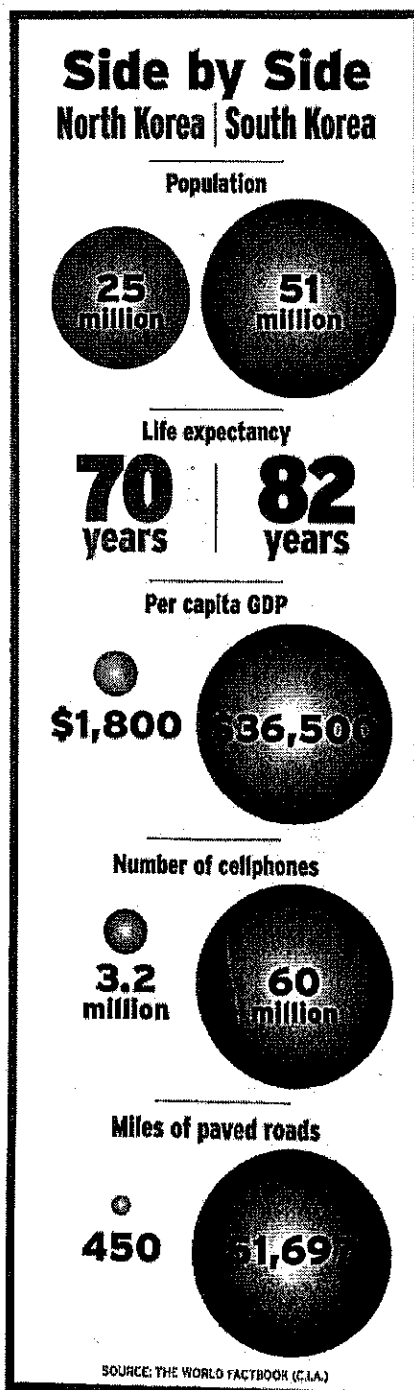
North Korea's troubled history with the U.S.—and its neighbors—goes back to the end of World War II (see *timeline*, p. 18). In 1945, the Korean Peninsula, which had been occupied by Japan since 1910, was divided into two zones.

In 1945, the Soviet Union occupied the northern zone and installed a Communist regime, led by Kim Il Sung (Kim Jong Un's grandfather). Meanwhile, South Korea—the zone that had been controlled by U.S. and Allied forces—became a democracy and an important U.S. ally.

### The 38th Parallel

In June 1950, North Korean forces invaded the South, starting the Korean War. An international coalition led by the U.S. came to the South's defense. Three years later, an armistice ended the conflict. By that time, about 3 million people had been killed, including 34,000 U.S. soldiers. The agreement established a 2.5-mile-wide demilitarized zone (or DMZ) separating North and South Korea at the 38th parallel (see *map*, p. 14). The armistice was supposed to be temporary, but a formal peace treaty has never been signed, and the two Koreas remain technically in a state of war.

After the war, North Korea and South Korea moved in opposite directions. Today, the South has the 13th-largest economy in the world. It's also a major exporter of cars and electronics and is home to some of the world's most successful brands, including Samsung and Hyundai. The North, on the other hand,



# ESCAPE FROM NORTH KOREA

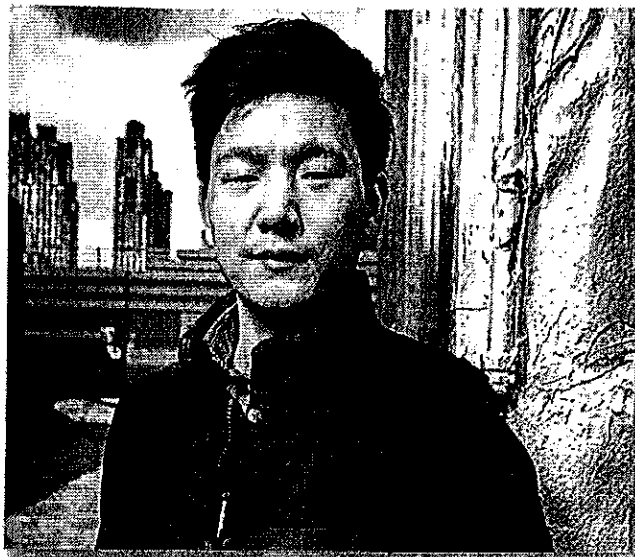
Arriving in the U.S. at age 16, Joseph Kim was able to start over

Not long after Joseph Kim fled North Korea, missionaries in China offered him a chance at a new life in America. His first instinct was to say no.

"Growing up in North Korea, I was brainwashed that America is our nation's enemy, that we have to destroy it," he says.

He reconsidered when the missionaries explained he'd have the opportunity for a good education and that he'd be able to move around freely.

Within a few months, Joseph arrived as a refugee in Richmond, Virginia. When he started high school two weeks later, he didn't speak any English, and he hadn't attended any school since



he was about 11 years old.

"It was very unsettling," he recalls.

After flailing in the beginning, Joseph remembered how his father

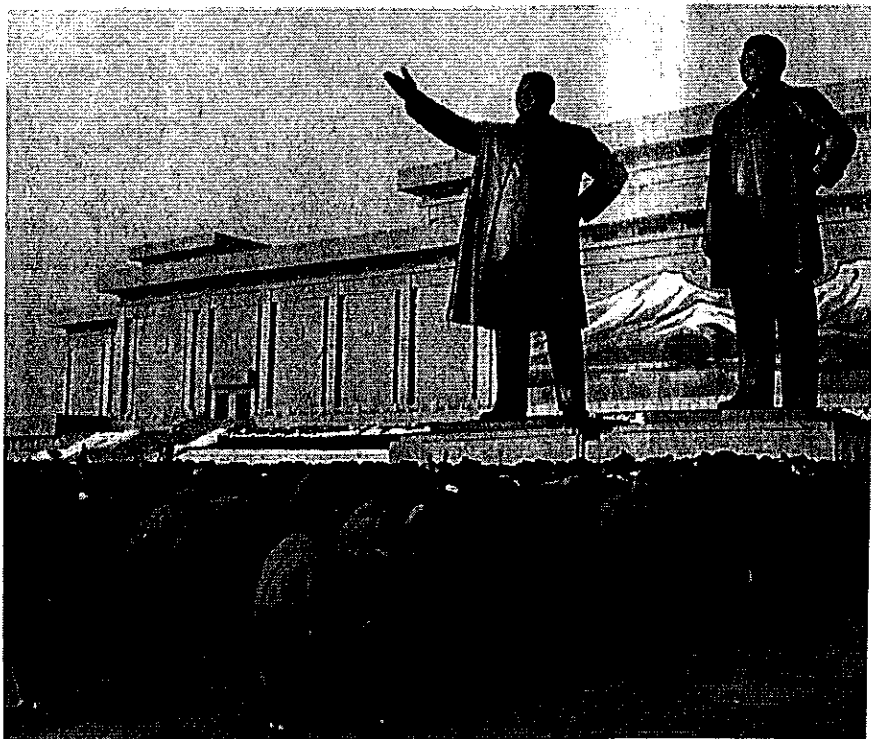
had urged him to study hard in elementary school. He decided to throw himself into his schoolwork to honor his father's memory. Despite how far behind he

was, he graduated from high school in four years with academic honors.

After two years at a community college in New York City, Kim transferred to Bard College, a prestigious school in upstate New York, where he's now a junior studying international business. He hopes someday to work in foreign policy or with human rights groups. But mostly, he wants to help people in North Korea.

"I really believe that it will change," he says of his homeland. "I don't know how, whether it'll be reunification or the collapse of the system. But I place my hope in ordinary North Korean people."

—Patricia Smith



**Worshipped like gods:** North Koreans bow to statues of Kim Jong Un's grandfather, Kim Il Sung (left), and father, Kim Jong Il, who ruled before him.

became one of the most isolated and repressive regimes on Earth.

The Kim family has ruled North Korea for three generations, maintaining tight control over the nation's government and its people. At times, the country's state-run economy has struggled to provide enough food to feed its citizens. In the 1990s, a series of droughts and floods contributed to a widespread famine that killed tens of thousands of people. Some North Koreans, including Joseph and his family, resorted to eating weeds and bugs.

## Young & Ruthless

In 2011, Kim Jong Un inherited the dictatorship after the death of his father, Kim Jong Il. At the time, there was hope that the young leader would modernize the country and improve relations with the world.

But he's proved to be just as ruthless as his father and grandfather. In 2013,

# Timeline NORTH KOREA

## 1945 A Country Divided

At the end of World War II, Korea is divided, with Soviet troops occupying the north and U.S. troops in the south. The division is initially intended to be temporary.

## 1950-53 Korean War

The Korean War, in which 34,000 Americans and more than 2 million Koreans die, ends in a stalemate. An armistice stops the fighting, but North Korea and South Korea don't agree to a formal peace treaty.



American soldiers take a break from fighting during the Korean War, 1953.

Kim even ordered the execution of his uncle—his second-in-command and mentor—for allegedly plotting to overthrow him. Kim has also continued to test missiles and threaten the U.S. and South Korea with nuclear strikes.

Today, millions of North Koreans live in poverty. Many homes lack indoor plumbing and rely on fireplaces for heat. Few paved roads exist outside of major cities, and shortages of water and electricity are common.

Daily life is also strictly controlled. Ordinary citizens have little to no access to the internet, and TVs and radios receive only government channels. Homes are equipped with loudspeakers that blare state-sponsored propaganda all day long—and can't be turned off. At school, North Korean children are taught to be loyal to the Kims and to worship them like gods.

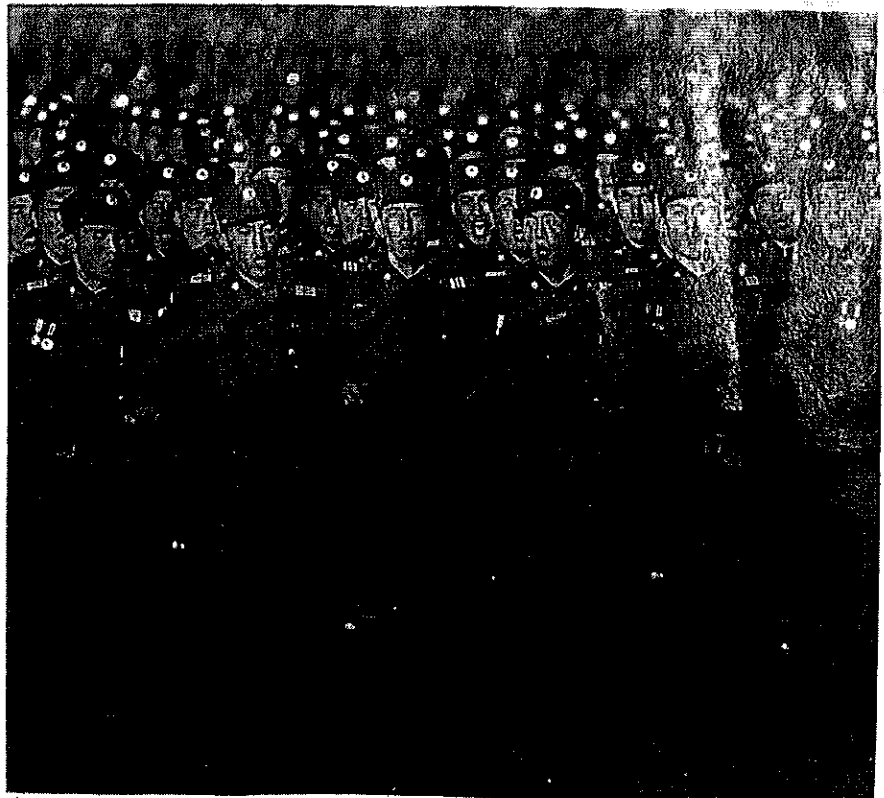
### Labor Camps

In fact, anyone who challenges the country's leaders can be arrested and forced to work in labor camps. A 2014 U.N. report estimated that up to 120,000 political prisoners are kept in four crowded camps. Experts say starvation and other forms of torture are routinely used to punish prisoners.

At the same time, the government spends billions of dollars maintaining a massive army of 1 million people—among the largest in the world. Elaborate military parades often take place in the capital, Pyongyang, as a show of strength. The North also pours huge sums of

money into developing nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, which it sees as the only way to ensure its survival.

Some experts now say that North Korea's nuclear capabilities may be more advanced than we think. The U.S.-Korea Institute in Maryland recently



North Korea spends what little money it has on maintaining an army of one million people.



## 1995 Famine

While South Korea's economy is booming, North Korea suffers from a terrible famine when its state-run economy can't produce enough food; hundreds of thousands die and many more, like these children, suffer severe malnutrition.

## 2006 Nuclear Tests

North Korea tests its first atomic weapon despite efforts by the U.S. and the U.N. to prevent it from becoming a nuclear power.



## TODAY Growing Aggression

When Kim Jong Un (left) inherited control from his father in 2011, there were hopes he would mend relations with the world. But he continues to threaten other nations, including South Korea and the U.S., and has accelerated a push to develop nuclear weapons. President Trump has promised to get tougher with North Korea, but also says he's willing to talk with Kim.



concluded that the North will be able to build a missile capable of striking the United States by 2020.

After the latest nuclear test, the United States and the U.N. passed new, tougher sanctions. The U.N. and the U.S. hope that further weaken-

## North Korea could have a missile capable of striking the United States by 2020.

ing North Korea's economy will prevent it from being able to finance its nuclear program. The U.S. also plans to install a missile defense system in South Korea that could shoot down the North's missiles.

### 'A Lost Cause?'

President Trump has said that he'll apply economic pressure on China, North Korea's closest ally and trading partner, to force it to rein in its neighbor. He's also suggested that South Korea and Japan do more to defend themselves against North Korea and not rely so much on the U.S. Additionally, Trump has said that he's open to meeting with Kim to try to convince him to end his country's nuclear program.

Some experts, however, are skeptical that Kim will ever abandon nuclear weapons. Last fall, then-U.S. intelligence director James Clapper said it was "probably a lost cause."

But other experts are more hopeful. Jenny Town of the U.S.-Korea Institute says resuming long-stalled talks with North Korea would be a step in the right direction. Negotiating an end to North Korea's nuclear program is sure to be "a long-term process," she says. "But it is possible." ♦



Food shortages force North Koreans to scavenge: Young children gather corn on a roadside in Kaesong.



Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## MAO Tse-Tung (Zedong)

His ruthless vision united a fractured people and inspired revolutions far beyond China's borders

By JONATHAN D. SPENCE

» Intro: Our Century ... and the Next One

» 21st Century: The Shape of the Future

Monday, April 13, 1998

Mao Zedong loved to swim. In his youth, he advocated swimming as a way of strengthening the bodies of Chinese citizens, and one of his earliest poems celebrated the joys of beating a wake through the waves. As a young man, he and his close friends would often swim in local streams before they debated together the myriad challenges that faced their nation. But especially after 1955, when he was in his early 60s and at the height of his political power as leader of the Chinese People's Republic, swimming became a central part of his life. He swam so often in the large pool constructed for the top party leaders in their closely guarded compound that the others eventually left him as the pool's sole user. He swam in the often stormy ocean off the north China coast, when the Communist Party leadership gathered there for its annual conferences. And, despite the pleadings of his security guards and his physician, he swam in the heavily polluted rivers of south China, drifting miles downstream with the current, head back, stomach in the air, hands and legs barely moving, unfazed by the globs of human waste gliding gently past. "Maybe you're afraid of sinking," he would chide his companions if they began to panic in the water. "Don't think about it. If you don't think about it, you won't sink. If you do, you will."

Mao was a genius at not sinking. His enemies were legion: militarists, who resented his journalistic barbs at their incompetence; party rivals, who found him too zealous a supporter of the united front with the Kuomintang nationalists; landlords, who hated his pro-peasant rhetoric and activism; Chiang Kai-shek, who attacked his rural strongholds with relentless tenacity; the Japanese, who tried to smash his northern base; the U.S., after the Chinese entered the Korean War; the Soviet Union, when he attacked Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist policies. Mao was equally unsinkable in the turmoil — much of which he personally instigated — that marked the last 20 years of his rule in China.

Mao was born in 1893, into a China that appeared to be falling apart. The fading Qin dynasty could not contain the spiraling social and economic unrest, and had mortgaged China's revenues and many of its natural resources to the apparently insatiable foreign powers. It was, Mao later told his biographer Edgar Snow, a time when "the dismemberment of China" seemed imminent, and only heroic actions by China's youth could save the day.

Mao's earliest surviving essay, written when he was 19, was on one of China's most celebrated early exponents of cynicism and realpolitik, the fearsome 4th century B.C. administrator Shang Yang. Mao took Shang Yang's experiences as emblematic of China's crisis. Shang Yang had instituted a set of ruthlessly enforced laws,

designed "to punish the wicked and rebellious, in order to preserve the rights of the people." That the people continued to fear Shang Yang was proof to Mao they were "stupid." Mao attributed this fear and distrust not to Shang Yang's policies but to the perception of those policies: "At the beginning of anything out of the ordinary, the mass of the people always dislike it."

After the communist victory over Chiang Kai-shek in 1949, and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Mao's position was immeasurably strengthened. Despite all that the Chinese people had endured, it seems not to have been too hard for Mao to persuade them of the visionary force and practical need for the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s. In Mao's mind, the intensive marshaling of China's energies would draw manual and mental labor together into a final harmonious synthesis and throw a bridge across the chasm of China's poverty to the promised socialist paradise on the other side.

In February 1957, Mao drew his thoughts on China together in the form of a rambling speech on "The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." Mao's notes for the speech reveal the curious mixture of jocularly and cruelty, of utopian visions and blinkered perceptions, that lay at the heart of his character. Mao admitted that 15% or more of the Chinese people were hungry and that some critics felt a "disgust" with Marxism. He spoke too of the hundreds of thousands who had died in the revolution so far, but firmly rebutted figures — quoted in Hong Kong newspapers — that 20 million had perished. "How could we possibly kill 20 million people?" he asked. It is now established that at least that number died in China during the famine that followed the Great Leap between 1959 and 1961. In the Cultural Revolution that followed only five years later, Mao used the army and the student population against his opponents. Once again millions suffered or perished as Mao combined the ruthlessness of Shang Yang with the absolute confidence of the long-distance swimmer.

Rejecting his former party allies, and anyone who could be accused of espousing the values of an older and more gracious Chinese civilization, Mao drew his sustenance from the chanting crowds of Red Guards. The irony here was that from his youthful readings, Mao knew the story of how Shang Yang late in life tried to woo a moral administrator to his service. But the official turned down Shang Yang's blandishments, with the words that "1,000 persons going 'Yes, yes!' are not worth one man with a bold 'No!'"

Mao died in 1976, and with the years those adulatory cries of "Yes, yes!" have gradually faded. Leaders Mao trained, like Deng Xiaoping, were able to reverse Mao's policies even as they claimed to revere them. They gave back to the Chinese people the opportunities to express their entrepreneurial skills, leading to astonishing rates of growth and a complete transformation of the face of Chinese cities.

Are these changes, these moves toward a new flexibility, somehow Mao's legacy? Despite the agony he caused, Mao was both a visionary and a realist. He learned as a youth not only how Shang Yang brought harsh laws to the Chinese people, even when they saw no need for them, but also how Shang Yang's rigors helped lay the foundation in 221 B.C. of the fearsome centralizing state of Qin. Mao knew too that the Qin rulers had been both hated and feared and that their dynasty was soon toppled, despite its monopoly of force and efficient use of terror. But in his final years, Mao seems to have welcomed the association of his own name with these distant Qin precursors. The Qin, after all, had established a united state from a universe in chaos. They represented, like Mao, not the best that China had to offer, but something ruthless yet canny, with the power briefly to impose a single will on the scattered emotions of the errant multitude. It is on that grimly structured foundation that Mao's successors have been able to build, even as they struggle, with obvious nervousness, to contain the social pressures that their own more open policies are generating. Surely Mao's simple words reverberate in their ears: As long as you are not afraid, you won't sink.

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