(j)

## THE TWO KOREAS

A CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

22

126

149

Don Oberdorfer



ADDISON-WESLEY READING, MASSACHUSETTS

1997

## CONTENTS

Preface xi A Note on Korean Names xvii	
1. Where the Wild Birds Sing The Emergence of Two Koreas 3 War and Its Aftermath 8 The Origins of Negotiation 11 Kim Il Sung 16 Conversations with the South 23	1
2. The End of the Beginning Park Chung Hee 31 Washington Blinks at Park's Coup 37 The Impact of <i>Yushin</i> 41	27
3. The Trouble Deepens The Struggle with Japan 51 The Underground War 56 Challenge from the North 59 Echoes of Saigon 64 The South Korean Nuclear Weapons Program 68 Murder in the Demilitarized Zone 74	47
4. The Carter Chill Carter's Withdrawal: Origins and Implementation 85 The View from Pyongyang 94 End of the Capter Withdrawal 101	84

## viii • THE TWO KOREAS

5. Assassination and Aftermath	109
THE COMING OF CHUN DOO HWAN 116	
The Kwangju Uprising 124	
The Fight to Save Kim Dae Jung 133	
6. Terror and Talk	139
The Negotiating Track 144	
FLOODS AND FACE-TO-FACE TALKS 147	
Kim Il Sung and the Soviet Connection 153	
7. The Battle for Democracy in Seoul	161
Chun's Succession Struggle 162	
The Election of 1987 172	
8. The Great Olympic Coming-Out Party	179
THE COMING OF THE OLYMPICS 180	
THE BOMBING OF KAL FLIGHT 858 183	
The Rise of <i>Nordpolitik</i> 186	
Washington Launches a Modest Initiative 192	
9. Moscow Switches Sides	197
The Roots of Change 200	
Gorbachev Meets Roh 204	
The Shevardnadze Mission 213	
"How Long Will the Red Flag Fly?" 218	•
Soviet–South Korean Economic Negotiations 225	
10. China Shifts Its Ground	229
A Visit to North Korea 232	
China Changes Course 239	
11. Joining the Nuclear Issue	249
THE ORIGINS OF THE NUCLEAR PROGRAM 251	
NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY: THE AMERICAN WEAPONS 255	
THE DECEMBER ACCORDS 260	
Meeting in New York 265	
THE COMING OF THE INSPECTORS 267	
From Accommodation to Crisis 271	

12. Withdrawal and Engagement	281
THE LIGHT-WATER REACTOR PLAN 287	
Kim Young Sam Blows the Whistle 291	
The Season of Crisis Begins? 297	
13. Showdown over Nuclear Weapons	305
The Defueling Crisis 306	
THE MILITARY TRACK 311	
The Deepening Conflict 316	
Carter in Pyongyang 326	
14. Death and Accord	337
The Succession of Kim Jong IL 345	
The Framework Negotiations 351	
THE KIM JONG IL REGIME 359	
The Struggle over the Reactors 365	
15. North Korea in Crisis	369
Political Earthquake in Seoul 376	
SUMMIT DIPLOMACY AND THE FOUR-PARTY PROPOSAL 382	
The Submarine Incursion 387	
North Korea's Steep Decline 393	
The Passage of Hwang Jang Yop 399	
South Korea Faces the Future 407	
Afterword 409	
PRINCIPAL KOREAN FIGURES IN THE TEXT 412	
Acknowledgments 415	
Notes and Sources 423	
INDEX 459	