

Seliger, Bernhard

Working Paper

The iron silk road and North Korea: Is there any chance to move forward?

Ordnungspolitische Diskurse, No. 2021-6

Provided in Cooperation with:
Ordnungspolitisches Portal (OPO)

Suggested Citation: Seliger, Bernhard (2021) : The iron silk road and North Korea: Is there any chance to move forward?, Ordnungspolitische Diskurse, No. 2021-6, Ordnungspolitisches Portal (OPO), Erfurt

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/233901>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

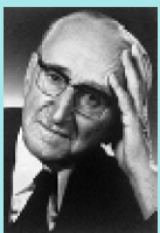
You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.



Ordnungspolitische Diskurse

Discourses in Social Market Economy



Bernhard Seliger

**The Iron Silk Road and North Korea:
is there any chance to move forward?**

Diskurs 2021 - 6

The Iron Silk Road and North Korea: is there any chance to move forward?

Bernhard Seliger

Abstract

While Korea since several decades promotes an infrastructure project called “iron silk road”, to link it with European markets, but also to integrate North Korea more into the world economy, these ideas largely ended nowhere. Instead, the Chinese proposal of the “One Belt, one Road” (short BRI) initiative, promoted since 2013 under the leadership of Xi Jinping, grew to a huge system of interrelated infrastructure projects, as well land-based as maritime. In these, the Korean Peninsula did originally did not feature. As an afterthought however, both were potentially included. South Korea’s “New Northern Policy” under the Moon Jae-In administration to some extent is compatible with the BRI. North Korea did express a certain amount of interest in the initiative in a later stage, but the Covid-19 crisis for the time being led to complete isolation of North Korea and the stop of any larger international policy project. In the past, however, the policy of Special Economic Zones did follow the logic of market integration, which also the BRI follows. To understand the current reluctance of North Korea to participate in the BRI with more enthusiasm, once has to distinguish between the economic geography of North Korea, making such a participation desirable, and the political economy as well of the BRI as of North Korea. Since North Korea currently perceives economic opening, even to China, as a risk due to the inflow of new information and ideas not controlled by the state, for the time being North Korean participation is very doubtful, even after the resolution of the Covid-19 crisis.

Keywords

Iron Silk Road, North Korea, South Korea, economic geography, political economy, BRI

Author

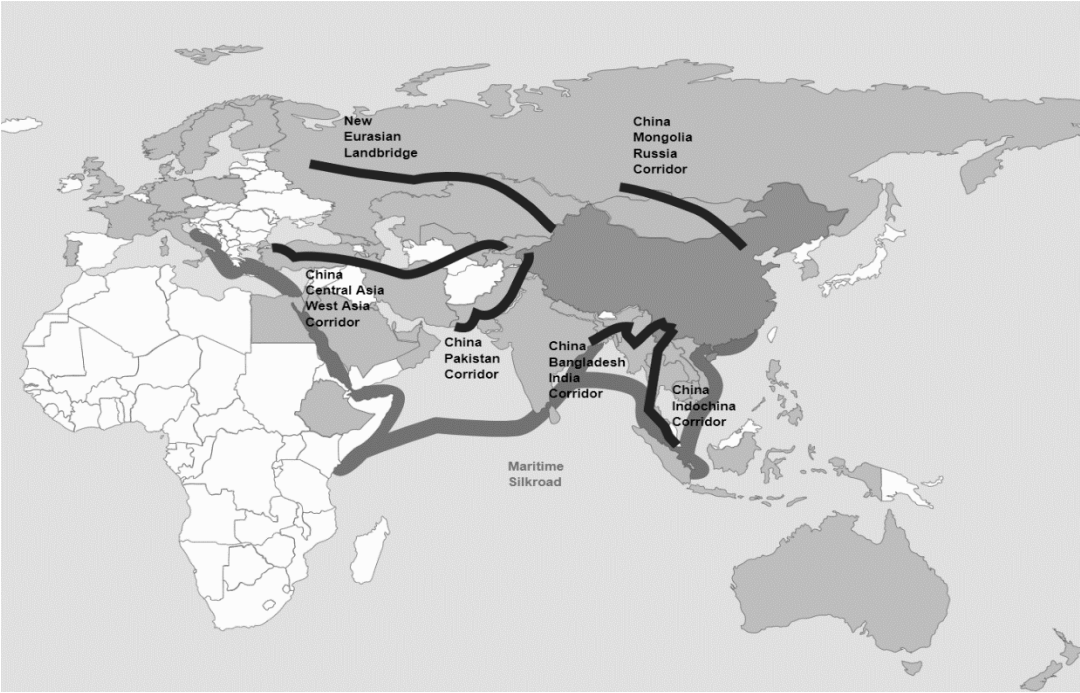
Dr. Seliger is senior lecturer (Privatdozent Dr.habil.) at the Institute for Research into Culture and Economic Systems, University of Witten/ Herdecke (Germany) and representative of the Hanns Seidel Foundation in Seoul (South Korea). Among the research interests of Dr. Seliger are institutional economics, economics of transformation and integration and the economic development of Korea in Northeast Asia.

The Iron Silk Road and North Korea: is there any chance to move forward?

1 Introduction: The BRI – Economic integration without the Korean Peninsula?

When in September 2013 Chinese leader Xi Jinping started to promote the “One Belt, one Road” Initiative (short BRI), first in trips to Indonesia and Kazakhstan, and afterwards a flurry of diplomatic activity began, in the original definition of the BRI the Korean Peninsula was not a part of the concept. For participating countries, the promises were tempting: lower logistics costs, access to new markets, joint infrastructure development and joint finance of such projects made them attractive in particular for developing countries. For an overview, see the contributions in Djankov-Miner (2016), Nobis (2017), OECD 2018, for instance. For a more critical analysis see Parameswaran (2017), or Panda (2018). Over time, new aspects of the BRI emerged, like the possibility of a Health and Digital Silk Road (Lee 2021). But most of all, they all were centered in China. Indeed, as in the past all proverbial ways (and real Roman state streets) were leading to Rome, the BRI saw Beijing like a spider in a net, and all ways leading to Beijing. However, this quickly changed, and as well South Korea and North Korea were offered parts to play into the concept. First, this was a simple extension of the net, by including ports (Nampo in North Korea, Incheon in South Korea) and potential railway connections to the capital Pyongyang and Seoul. Also, in the main financing agency of the BRI, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), South Korea is a prominent member. But South Korea is still wary of being too closely associated with the BRI concept, given the huge, largely negative impression the initiative made in the main allied country of South Korea, the USA, as a project to create and maintain Chinese dominance (Kung-Pan 2018, Rolland 2020). At the same time, since several decades already South Korea promoted similar infrastructure projects called for example “iron silk road”, to link it with European markets, but also to integrate North Korea more into the world economy. However, these ideas, all of which needed a North Korean component, largely ended nowhere due to the inability of North and South Korea to agree on them.

Map 1: Main linkages of the One Belt, One Road Initiative



(Source: CC BY SA 3.0, Wikimedia 2021a)

For North Korea, the question of connection to the BRI is not only a question of geo-economics, but also has to be considered from the point of view of the political economy of integration. Since trade with China already now plays an overwhelming role for North Korea, with more than 90 percent of goods imported from there, a closer trade connection seems definitely advantageous. Indeed, the Special Economic Zone policy of North Korea, while also targeting South Korea and originally maybe even the Japanese and world market to become more independent from China, indeed mostly is a policy to make these linkages even closer. At the same time, however, given the overarching goal of regime survival and regime stability, the political effects of closer trade integration, which invariably means less political control and more opening (for example, through faster customs procedures allowing less state intervention, more openness for business people etc.), have to be considered. These effects make North Korea wary of too much integration and an integration process where certain parts of control of the economy are given up. The situation in 2020 and 2021, when the Covid-19 pandemic led to a complete self-isolation of North Korea, is an illustration of this problem: in a closer integrated area, like the European Union, to take it to an extreme, such self-isolation would no longer be possible. This does not mean that North Korea outright rejects the BRI. In certain political circumstances, like in the political thaw with South Korea in 2018, closer integration had had its appeal. That time, for example, North Korea hoped to escape from US and

UN sanctions by negotiating with South Korea. In other times, interest in the BRI seems advantageous to reach out to the main protector nation China. But these advances never are complete, and in the North Korean playbook always have to be easily reversible, to remain independent. So, is there a way to coax North Korea into closer integration and opening?

The remainder of this paper looks more in detail into the South and North Korean views on this question. The second part looks at North Korea's integration in the BRI and similar schemes from the point of view of South Korea and China. Given the strong dominance and push of South Korea for such a move, it seems to be justified to first look at it from this angle. The third section then looks into the North Korea view, balancing economic benefits from trade and closer integration with potential political fallout from these policies. The fourth section takes a closer look at the policy of Special Economic Zones and Economic Development Zones of North Korea, one of the signature policies of the past decade, and how they fit into the BRI scheme, followed by some conclusions (5.).

2 North Korea as an object in the Iron Silk Road discussion – South Korean and Chinese views

Considering the economic geography of the Korean Peninsula, it is no wonder that South Korea has a strong interest in the position of its Northern neighbor in Eurasian economic integration. For South Korea, the Eurasian land bridge always was a dream and an important economic goal, given the importance of South Korea's export industry, which could benefit from reduced costs of reaching export markets in Central Asia, Europe and Russia for bulk goods like cars and household appliances. While the maritime connection from South Korea to Europe measures around 25.000 km, with bottlenecks and dangerous places like the Singapore straits, the Horn of Africa and the Suez Canal included, potential train and highway connections would measure less than half, around 12.000 kilometers. Simply looking at time from port to port, if no political borders were there, it would reduce traffic from around 30 days by ship to only 20 days by railway. However, for the time being this land bridge is not competitive, due to technical incompatibilities of infrastructure, delays at numerous customs points, travel through difficult and sometimes dangerous terrain, for example by weather events or political events. For example, Chinese railway freight, though existing for a long time and being modernized under the BRI, has a minuscule share in total freight, and stagnates (Kenderdine – Bucsky 2020). Specifically for South Korea, it is outright impossible to traverse North Korea. South Korea is in fact an island, and all discussion of using the Eurasian land bridge up to now means for South Korea to bring goods by ship to Russia (Vladivostok) or China and use the Trans-Siberian or Trans-Chinese railway systems, making such a move much more costly and caus-

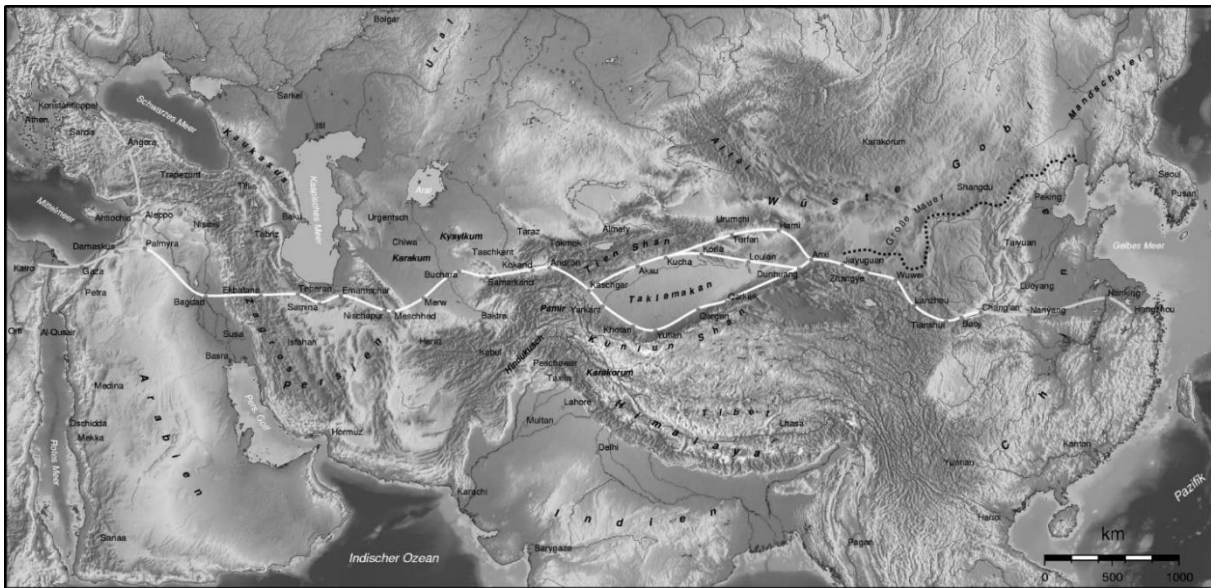
ing delays in time through transshipping. This is one reason why South Korea is highly interested in a North Korean connection with the BRI or other infrastructure projects. The Moon Jae-In Administration tried to prepare for this not only with an active North Korea policy, but also with the “New Northern Policy” aiming at engaging Russia and Mongolia, which has its own version of a New Silk Road, the “Steppe Road” (Song 2019).

The second, equally important reason is political. Since more than 75 years the Korean Peninsula is divided into the socialist North and South Korea, a democracy and market economy. But on both sides, at least the official *raison d'être* is still the unity of the nation, even if North Korea's elite and South Korea's youth have silently dropped this overarching political goal. While being confrontational in the form of systemic competition most of the time, South Korea by the 1990s realized that a propagation of North Korea's economic development, opening and increased trade would rather benefit them, since it would be - the a lesser or larger degree - be related to political opening and the chance for more peaceful relations, and maybe even unification. In this sense, the political schemes for infrastructure development South Korea promoted long before the current Chinese BRI plan all were aiming at making bilateral relations more peaceful, not only for the benefit of South Korea's industry, but also to enhance chances of political rapprochement and, maybe ultimately unification (Lee 2016; Römer 2018).

It is perfectly understandable that such schemes first gained prominence by the early to mid-1990s. In that time, systemic competition, which had been fierce and originally by no way being guaranteed to provide an easy South Korean dominance or victory, clearly was decided: After the breakdown of the Soviet Union and its socialist trading system, which had provided North Korea for decades with massive aid in the form of cheap energy, North Korea suffered from a massive economic crisis, leading to famine and the forced opening to international aid. Later, this period which cost hundred thousands and maybe millions of lives, was referred to as the "arduous march". At the same time, South Korea in the early 1990s not only achieved a largely peaceful transition to democracy, but also rose to the ranks of the world's foremost exporters, a development which culminated in the transition from a "newly industrialized country" to the second Asian OECD members. Even the severe economic crisis of 1997 and 1998 did barely affect this position.

In particular, from the time of the Kim Dae-Jung presidency, who also tried to emulate the example of *Ostpolitik* of West Germany in the late 1960s and 1970s, there have been constantly proposals for closer logistics and economic linkages proposed which resemble to some extent the current Chinese BRI approach. First of all, this includes the "Iron Silk Road" approach. The Iron Silk Road was the idea to revive the famous medieval trading route, the Silk route, connecting Asia and Europe.

Map 2: Main routes of the original silk road



(Source: CC BY SA 3.0, Wikimedia 2021b).

Though, proper speaking, Korea was at best peripheral to the original Silk road, South Korean governments since the administration of Kim Dae-Jung (1998-2002) used it to describe in particular a railway network connecting South Korea to the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Chinese network through North Korea. In particular, Kim Dae-Jung at the ASEM summit in Copenhagen on September 22, 2002, unveiled the vision of an ever closer European-Asian connection through the Iron Silk Road, made possible by this breakthrough in relations with North Korea, and transcending from a mere reduction in logistics costs to an ever closer community of spirit. Even the idea of a Korea-Japan tunnel under the sea, similar to the Euro-tunnel linking the United Kingdom to the European landmass, was part of the vision. But integration proposals did not stop there.

Another project gaining track in the 1990s was the Asian Highway Network, or Great Asian Highway. This UN-promoted project originated already in 1959 and saw a first phase throughout the 1960s, but then slowed down, until the UN-ESCAP in 1992 endorsed it as part of the Asian Land Transportation Infrastructure Development (ALTID) project. For the Korean Peninsula, Asian Highway no. 1 is important, a 20557 km road network from Tokyo in Japan to the Turkish-Bulgarian border. It's Korean Peninsula leg reaches from Busan via Gyeongju, Daegu, Daejeon and Seoul to Musan at the inner-Korean border, and from there to Kaesong, Pyongyang and Sinuiju. While South Korea did develop its part of the road network early on, the North Korean road exists, but remains in a less-well developed state, in particular from Pyongyang to Sinuiju. In 2003, the Intergovernmental Agreement on the Asian Highway Network

(IGA) was adopted by the Intergovernmental Meeting; the IGA includes Annex I, which identifies 55 AH routes among 32 member countries totaling approximately 140,000 km and Annex II "Classification and Design Standards". During the 60th session of the ESCAP Commission at Shanghai, China, in April 2004, the IGA treaty was signed by 23 countries. By 2013, 29 countries had ratified the agreement, including North Korea on October 12, 2012 (UN n.d.). However, signing a treaty on the Asian highway did not automatically lead to improved cross-border access, as not only the Korean case shows, where the treaty had no impact at all on the situation of the border, but also other cases like Myanmar or Pakistan. Political sensitivities in all these cases trumped potential economic benefits, and so for Korea the Asian highway remains an elusive dream - though South Korea already erected road signs for the Asian Highway 1 along its route.

Map 3: Asian Highways



(Source: Public domain)

Finally, infrastructure development also regarded better linkages in the field of energy. For South Korea, a country practically without any energy sources, but ironically at the same time until recently a main petrochemical industry power and highly dependent on reliable and cheap energy for its industrial base, securing energy had always been an economic priority. One of the ways to become more diversified in energy sources was the project of a gas pipeline from Russian gas fields (in Sakhalin or further West on the mainland) to South Korea via North Korea (Ahn 2010). This project did not only appeal to the Kim Dae-Jung administration during the sunshine policy era of improved relations to North Korea, but also to the subsequent conservative government of Lee Myung-Bak, who took raw material security serious and later again the Moon Jae-In administration in the 2018 thaw of relations to the North. This includes the discussion of the possibility of a Korean Peninsula energy community, similar to the European Coal and Steel Community, Russia is also highly interested in the project to enlarge its customer base. (for a general discussion Blanck 2018)

In practice, however, all three projects, the Asian railway links through North Korea, the Asian highway and the gas pipeline did not come to fruition. Regarding the railway, the biggest advances were made in the time of “Sunshine policy”: the newly erected Kaesong Industrial Complex on the North Korean side of the border was connected to South Korea, which invested in the complex – with 130 companies at peak – by road and railroad, and this railroad was used to transport produced bulk goods to the South. Under the 2000 summit agreement between South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung and North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il North Korea connected roughly 15 km of the so-called Kyeungeui railway line from Kaesong station to the DMZ in the north, and the South connected a roughly 2 km long section in the DMZ, together with a two-lane road. All material for the connection came from the South. At the same time, a slightly-less-than-30 km section of the Donghae (East Sea) railroad was restored, from Onjong-Ri in North Korea. To reconnect, hundreds of mines had to be removed, which had been in the area since the Korean war. The Kyeungeui railway line connects Seoul to Kaesong to Pyongyang and Sinuiju, and from there to Dandong connects to the Chinese railway network and the Trans-Chinese railway. The Donghae line connects Kangneung in the South to Wonsan in the North, from there via Hamheung and Chongjin to Rason, and from Tumen village further to the Russian railroad network and Vladivostok, the end point of the Trans-Siberian railroad. However, not much more than an opening ceremony for both railroads – in the case of the Donghae railroad there was even no real connection to the further Northern or Southern stations – and some goods transportation to and from Kaesong Industrial Complex happened. A regular rail service never took place. With the thaw of relations in 2018 a renewed inter-Korean railroad project was started, and at one point South Korea pledged to invest up to 40 bn. KRW (around 35 mill. USD) on the North Korean railroad. Some commentators saw this

as a way of integrating North Korea into the BRI scheme (Devonshire-Ellis 2018, 2019). However, the South barely could justify an exemption for UN sanctions for a preliminary 10-day joint survey of the North Korean railroad. Afterwards, the project became stalled again.

As for the highway project, though the road physically exists, the impossibility to cross the DMZ renders it useless as an Asian highway project. And finally, the gas pipeline project did come up regularly as a discussion topic among Russia and South Korea in bilateral negotiations, but never made it to a trilateral stage. What could make such infrastructure projects possible? Let us look into the political economy of large-scale infrastructure projects, but without looking at the ramifications for North Korea's political system for a moment (this will be more extensively done in the third section). There are five important issues to consider: First of all, transparency conditions are very important. This concerns costs of building infrastructure, access to infrastructure, costs of maintenance and fee structure. For example, one problem regarding the construction of a gas pipeline is the necessity to lead to through remote regions of North Korea, and North Korea might want to restrict this access. This is in particular also true for monitoring, e.g. of the status of infrastructure, necessary repairs etc. in the case, it cannot be done entirely (for political reasons, or for technical reasons) by the North Korean side alone. Second, there is the question of large-scale upfront investment or sunk costs. The more investment there is, and investment on roads and railroads as well as pipelines is usually very heavy, since most of the investment is not tangible and cannot be recovered in case a deal is broken or getting void for whatever reason, the more there is a strategic incentive for a partner to alter the deal after this initial investment is done. For example, North Korea could at will change the fee structure for the transmission of gas in a gas pipeline or take prohibitively high fees for the use of roads or railroads. Though not completely comparable, in this way, in the past East Germany regulated the number of West German visitors by raising the amount of mandatory exchange of hard West German currency (deutschmark) at an unfavorable rate to the East German mark. Third, there is the question of the nature of payments to North Korea resulting from a project. The best structure to ensure a lasting economic interest in such a project is a constant and long-term stream of payments, rather than a one-off original payment. All projects, roads, railroads and gas pipelines could work in a way to fulfil this condition for successful investment. Fourth, there is the question of how the payment stream is reached, as a politically-bargained lump sum, or as a market-driven amount (maybe, with a politically-guaranteed minimum level to make it more palatable for North Korea). For example, fees for the tourism project by Hyundai Asan in the Kumgangsan mountain were not directly related to the number of tourists, but were negotiated politically. Road and railroad fees, if set market-driven and related to demand, are an incentive for North Korea to provide a sufficient service, and even to provide better services, if they are related to more revenue. Finally, fifth there is the question of the possibility of North Korea to hurt others by non-compliance with its obligations under a treaty. This is

closely related to the question of sunk costs. In all, the road, railroad and gas pipeline project, North Korea's role is pivotal. This gives it great bargaining power, once the investment has been done. Therefore, any infrastructure project should consider potential alternatives, even if they are more expensive than the initially offered price by North Korea. For example, rail transport and road transport theoretically could be combined with shipping around North Korea, e.g. from Busan to Vladivostok. With this, time and money would be lost, but the pivotal role of North Korea would be reduced.

Given these considerations, the projects seem to be quite risky. However, the track record of a similar project with the Soviet Union, the gas pipeline projects from the Soviet Union to Austria and Germany, the so-called transgas pipeline, build after 1970 with pipes delivered by West German companies and gas being brought back in return, worked until the end of the Soviet Union twenty years later without problems, and only during the phase of the disintegration of the Soviet Union Ukrainian-Russian gas disputes impaired the performance of the pipeline. (Lee 2013) It is very difficult to directly compare this with the case of a potential pipeline or road project on the Korean Peninsula, but at least this shows that even in the times of strong systemic competition, like in the European missile crisis of the early 1980s, such deals could work.

Given South Korean political economy considerations, such a deal even could be economically disadvantageous or costly, if it reduces tensions on the Korean Peninsula and in particular, in the direct border area, and maybe contributes to long-term opening up of North Korea. At the same time, in the current actual situation sanctions are a grave obstacle to this kind of policy and obviously the policy of the Moon Jae-In government to offer large-scale cooperation with North Korea, without caring for the appropriate political conditions, simply by hoping that the nuclear crisis would find a miraculous end, did backfire in the end.

Finally, let us take a short look at China's interest in making North Korea part of the BRI. This interest is again in part economic, in part political in nature. Economically, North Korea as a potential investment location or as an origin of export goods to be transported via the Chinese rail or road network can be neglected. It is at the most of very local interest in the border area. However, North Korea does offer the prospect of being an important source of raw material, among them coal, iron, seafood, and, to a lesser extent even gold and rare earth. As such, China has a great interest to come to closer economic integration with the North. Also, China could be interested in smooth logistics with South Korea if ever the common road or railroad would lead to increased traffic. Finally, China has also an interest politically in the Northern part of the Peninsula, as a buffer to South Korea with its large stationed US troops. As such, China is interested in stability in the North, and this again might be related to closer economic integration.

3 North Korea as the subject in the Iron Silk Road discussion

As seen above, North Korea has been matter of intense discussions of its neighbors regarding the participation in regional integration projects. Some it reject outright, others it sometimes pursued, only to give it up again, like the inter-Korean railway projects. With regards to the One Belt, One Road (BRI) initiative, for a long time North Korea did practically ignore its existence. There are only a handful of mentions of it in the largest available data base, KCNA watch (KCNA n.d.), most of which are the same two news of the North Korean government delegation traveling to the BRI conference in Beijing in 2017, with only one longer article dealing with the BRI itself. The Naenara website, a quasi-governmental website, has no mentioning of the BRI. So, there is a great likelihood that an overwhelming part of North Koreans never has heard about it. This might be the reason why the North Korean government delegation which attended the BRI Forum in Beijing in May 2017, headed by Kim Yong Jae, Minister of External Economic Relations, was greeted with considerable interest. However, beside participating, there was no concrete commitment of North Korea to the BRI. And the article of June 2019, which again talks about the same forum, but describes it as something that recently has happened (not usual in North Korea media, which are not exactly too punctual in reporting about events), does not at all view it as something North Korea should be involved in, but merely praises China for bringing together a large number of international organizations and states in the project and closing a lot of deals.

Certainly, purely seen by economic benefits, North Korea stands to gain a lot by integration in the BRI. Disregarding sanctions for a moment, North Korea could expect infrastructure investment from China (for example, the railroad leg from Pyongyang to Sinuiju), South Korea and Russia. Russia since several years has a representative office of the state railroad in Pyongyang. This is mainly dealing with questions of the existing railroad to Rason Special Zone (see more on this in section 4), but also plans for a wholesale renovation of North Korean railway lines by Russia was discussed in the past. Closer economic integration with the neighbors also would fit in with the economic strategy of trade expansion followed by North Korea from the early 2000s, and reinforced so from the start of the reign of Kim Jong-Un in late 2011, until the UN sanctions blocked this path in 2016.

North Korea had been a country run largely on orthodox Soviet central planning lines from 1945 to 1990. In this time, by exploiting the Sino-Soviet rift, they attracted considerable amounts of aid from both sides. In particular, North Korea built up an industry and mechanized agriculture crucially dependent on cheap Soviet oil. When this stopped to arrive, since the new Russian government required hard currency payment for any exports, the North Korean economy collapsed, and by the mid-1990s a famine gripped the country, which claimed hundred thousands, maybe millions of victims. From 1995, being at the brink of complete state collapse,

the country opened for international aid goods and for a considerable time, up to one third of the Korean population could only survive thanks to foreign food aid and other aid. By the early 2000s, the situation had somewhat stabilized and North Korea began to develop again an export industry, focusing on sea food first, later some labor-intensive industries like textile, but in particular raw materials like coal, iron and rare earth.

After the collapse of the centrally planned economy, also a new hybrid economic system developed, consisting of three pillars: special enterprises related to the party or army, the so-called people's economy, where central planning was still dominant, and a genuinely new private sector, in particular in the service industries (Seliger 2020). However, these distinctions never were clear, but rather fuzzy: the hybrid economy also brought about hybrid companies: the entire construction sector was run by soldiers, but now you could hire groups of them to work on private projects; military units owning trucks could have logistics companies as a side business of entrepreneurial officers, and a new class of "*donju*", men with money, emerged, not necessary apart from the cadres of the past, but with an interest in private gains. At the same time, the Chinese influence on the economy more and more grew. This was partly a reason of proximity and the huge success of Chinese market reforms. Additionally, the share of non-Chinese exports and imports shrank strongly with the onset of the second nuclear crisis starting from 2002. While North Korea's trade grew, more and more non-Chinese companies grew wary to trade with North Korea, since they feared political entanglement, making North Korea more and more dependent on the Chinese market. While this was first true in the market for goods, North Korea still expanded its export of labor to many countries and regions, including Russia, the Middle East and Africa, and even some European countries.

The increased trade (trade roughly quadrupled between 2002 and 2016) had political side effects: more and more foreign goods entering the country were related to more and more foreign information, brought in by traders, in particular introduced on CDs, DVDs and USB sticks on markets, often in the form of South Korean music, films and other forbidden information. The Sunshine era (2000-2007) had been for many North Koreans the first time when they were confronted with new and more accurate information on South Korea, apart from the domestic propaganda, which painted a negative picture of South Koreans living in poverty and suppression. Now, a new generation of North Koreans grew up knowing about the technological and economic superiority of South Korea. North Korea's propaganda changed, to picture South Korea as rich, but decadent, but this did not help to reduce the attraction of South Korea among young people. New campaigns tried to weed out "anti-socialist" behavior, hairstyles, clothing etc.

At the same time, at least partly the new economy and trade were embraced. North Korea graduated from the extreme poverty of the 1900s and early 2000s, rates of undernourishment

sank and in Pyongyang, signs of a new, more affluent middle class became visible. By now, the state had carefully to balance the wishes for more material well-being of a class, on which Kim Jong-Un's regime was dependent, and the fear of more foreign influence. Since after the end of the Sunshine era almost the entire flow of goods and information came from China, also proposals for more and easier trade with China were seen with mistrust. This can best be seen in the fate of the New Yalu River Bridge crossing from Dandong in China to Sinuiju in North Korea, the main entry point for goods and people between both states. From 1937 to 1943, under Japanese occupation, a bridge later called the "Sino-Korean friendship bridge" had been built by the Japanese Empire, which by the 2010s was old and could barely handle increased trade. Since 2011, China built the New Yalu River bridge, which was finished in 2014. Since then, North Korea did not make use of this modern bridge for the next five years, refusing to connect it to the own road network. This shows that in practice, North Korea has a limited interest in better connection to the Belt and Road network of China, though it is economically entirely dependent on it (Silberstein 2019). Also, as Ward (2018) points out, North Korea might be wary of becoming dependent on Chinese debt for infrastructure, by observing how China deals with defaulting countries in Africa and South Asia.

With increased international sanctions from 2016, North Korea became less and less integrated with the world economy, making it maybe the most isolated country in terms of trade openness. While afterwards, for three years still the level of imports from China could be held constant, though exports dwindled and the labor force abroad, with the exception of workers in China, fell almost to zero, making North Korea losing important earnings of foreign currency, since most of the wages of North Korean workers abroad were claimed by the state, the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic brought in late January 2020 the complete isolation of North Korea and subsequently, also trade with China fell to very low figures. This could not, however, eradicate the perceived threat from foreign influence, as renewed ideological campaigns to abstain from anti-socialist behavior in 2020 and 2021 show. Indeed, it might well be that the generation which grew up in relatively more secure economic conditions than the previous ones, and was used to trade and some outside information, in the times of pandemic and renewed economic hardship more obstinately pins its hopes on opening of the economy. This shows the clear limits, the North Korean government has in accepting the Chinese offer of increased economic integration under the BRI, if regime survival is the overarching political goal.

4 North Korea's Special Economic Zone policy, the Iron Silk Road, Belt and Road, and the growing dependence on China

If opening of the whole economy is deemed politically not feasible, there still might be the possibility to promote trade and cooperation in geographically limited, politically controlled special economic zones. This was the recipe for Chinese success in the 1980s and 1990s, when from very limited beginnings zones like Shenzhen became a spectacular success and motor of the Chinese opening and magnet for foreign investment, transforming the zones into industrial giants and high-tech areas. This development did not escape the attention of North Koreans, and indeed several times China promoted this successful model through high-level tours for North Korean cadres. And, for North Korea, this included the dream of a more integrated economy with its two Northern neighbors, China and Russia. Ever since the bold claim by Kim Il-Sung in 1991 that the Rajin-Sonbong area in the utmost Northeast of North Korea would become the "Singapore of the East", there has been a dream of a "Golden Triangle" of co-prosperity between China, Russia and North Korea. The history of Special Economic Zones in North Korea dates back to that year, when the two remote counties of Rajin and Sonbong were merged into the Rason Special Economic Zone. Located at the border to China and Russia and equipped with an ice-free harbor, the zone seemed ideally located as a potential logistics hub of the future: far from the politically dangerous Southern border, close to the neighbors and with one attractive feature, the ice-free harbor, neither of the neighbors had. Though the original idea to create a "Singapore of the North" quickly evaporated and for ten years progress on the zone was very slow, until today Rason SEZ is the only zone, where real progress in terms of foreign involvement, overwhelmingly through Chinese investment and trade, can be seen. Ironically, the geographic location of the zone originally was partly chosen to diversify economic relations and allow North Korea more integration with Russia, and maybe even through the Pacific to foster relations with Japan and other market economies beyond, including the USA. But in the end, Rason became a place overwhelmingly interesting for Chinese investors. While in the first years of its existence, Rason was mainly famous for a casino-hotel, the Emperor (now Imperial) hotel built by a Hong Kong tycoon, with the Chinese development of the former "rust belt", the three Northeastern provinces Heilonggang, Liaoning and Jilin, from the late 2000s also the interest in Rason rekindled, since these provinces lacked a harbor connection to the Pacific. China built a motorway and high-speed train to Hunchun, built a new bridge over the Tumen river to substitute the old bridge from Japanese colonial times and also substituted the 48 km dirt track between the border post Wonjong and Rajin in the Rason SEZ with a modern road. Russia, which under Putin's presidency did not want to stand by, negotiated the long-term lease of pier 3 of Rason harbor and equipped it with an autonomous oil power plant and modern cranes as well as modernized the railway tracks from the border to Rajin harbor to accommodate Russian railway carts.

In November 2015, North Korea claimed that there were 150 foreign invested firms in the zone, including 4 equity joint ventures, 30 contractual joint ventures, 103 foreign companies and 13 representative offices of foreign companies. Tourism by Chinese operators and small-scale border trade were blooming and business people from Yanbian autonomous Korean Prefecture in China could even enter the zone in their own cars. At the same time, the zone exported workers to the nearby Chinese cities of Hunchun, Yanji and Tumen, where they were sought after as reliable, cheap labor in textile, seafood processing and other companies. The development of the nuclear program and sanctions however, for the time being stopped that development: joint ventures became outlawed, though many seem to have only formally changed ownership, the Russian pier since at least two years ceased to work, though it is theoretically extraterritorial and explicitly not covered by sanctions (by Russian or other international firms using it might fear anyway “secondary” sanction by the USA), and since early 2017 even tourism came to a halt. With the thawing of relations between North and South from 2018 tourism and small-scale border trade rebounded, but this was short-lived due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Moreover, all kind of larger-scale investment is still illegal. Where there were once several Chinese banks, including subsidiaries of Chinese giants like the China Construction Bank, only one local bank, Golden Triangle bank, survived. The ban on labor exports also severely hampered ideas to built a large-scale industrial complex in Hunchun, where 3.000 North Korean workers were supposed to work for South Korean and Chinese companies.

Is there still a chance for making bilateral and trilateral cooperation viable? Rason did not remain the only special economic zone in North Korea. Besides two zones of a more political nature at the South Korean border, the Kumgangsán tourism zone and the Kaesong Industrial Complex, another zone in Yalu river (Hwanggumpyong) was planned for Chinese investment, and at least 24 new economic development zones inside the country cover various sectors from agriculture to tourism to high-tech. All these zones, however, are not only not operating due to the Covid-19 crisis and sanctions virtually forbidding any investment in them but are also besides difficult to imagine as magnets for foreign investment. What makes these zones different from the rest of the country? While the first SEZ obviously tried to create controlled, closed islands of economic trial areas strongly disconnected from the rest of the country (in border areas fenced off from the rest of the country and only to be accessed with difficulty from inside the country or on islands in the river), the new economic development zones under Kim Jong-Un seem to be quite equally spread around the country. Ironically, until today they had almost zero success, mostly due to the sanctions, the lack of appropriate infrastructure and tangible economic benefits from investing in these zones (Seliger 2019). Tragically, beside that flexibility North Korea direly lacks a track record of successful foreign investment in SEZ or

elsewhere. Instead, all larger investment projects - like Pyongwha Motors built by the "Unification church" or Orascom, the Egyptian-owned cell-phone business - ran into economic difficulties, after initial investment was done.

The fact is that North Korea economic development zones do not really offer an attractive deal compared to similar zones in other countries: access is possible (but not free, and not easy), telecommunication and internet connections exist (but are expensive, unreliable and cannot connect directly to local staff, but only to selected officials), there is no financial system available, and political risks (as well from inside the country, like expropriation, as from the UN system and the US) is high. Who should invest then in these zones? Rason is basically the same, but at least Rason has one tangible, and in the future maybe highly profitable, advantage, namely its access to the Pacific. This already now makes it profitable for China to direct bulk shipments like coal from Northern China to Southern China via Rason, and could in the future become a tangible competitive advantage. At the same time, also political risks, though existing for North Korea, are lower than everywhere else in the country. For sure, the fact that at a time dozens of Chinese business people from Yanji region drive through the zone, basically not closely monitored like the rest of foreigners in the country, seems risky. And, certainly, this leads to the inflow of Chinese, and often also South Korea information, music, films etc., the more so, since Yanbian region is ethnically largely Korean. But this is incomparable in effect to the same degree of openness, would it be practiced inside the country. The North Korean solution was to build a fence around Rason Special Zone, making the trip to and from the rest of North Korea to Rason almost equally difficult for North Koreans and foreigners alike as the trip across the country borders. By this, the negative effects of capitalism encroaching on North Korea can be relatively well isolated in Rason.

For China, the attractiveness of Rason has various facets: for the Manchurian region with 88 million consumers and important industrial cities as a whole, Rason offers a unique logistical advantage (access to the Pacific), a limited touristic value (the same, access to seaside resorts), including some culinary highlights, a source of maritime products, in particular fish and seafood, a limited base of processing trade, though that has never been very important, and other services, e.g. in the construction industry etc. It will not be likely to become a larger-scale industrial base, like the Chinese economic zones had been in the 1980s and 1990s. For this, experimentation with the market economy as a whole was necessary, i.e. liberalization of most prices, liberalization of the labor market, easy entry and exit etc. All of this is not given and was never intended (Seliger 2003; Seliger 2006). And for Russia? Here the advantages seem to be even more elusive. Certainly, there is a minimum amount of railway traffic in- and outcoming to DPRK via Rason, but for that any substantial investment in Rason is not really necessary. Indeed, many observers were puzzled by the fact that Russia went through with its determination to rent a pier in Rajin harbor, but China not. Speculations are that it is more a

geo-political move or that the harbor might in busy times be a cheap anchor place for Russian ships (though it has never really been used as such until now). Business-wise, the investment in Rajin harbor seems to be rather loss-making. And, Vladivostok as an economic center, which took an enormous upswing with the APEC summit in 2012, does not diffuse so far into the neighborhood to affect Rason. There is a certain need for North Korean labor, maybe, in Far Eastern Russia for construction sites, forest labor etc., but there is no viable plan for a joint growth area (Seliger 2017).

As an isolated area with no connection to the hinterland, the success of Rason might be possible, but limited, once sanctions are eased, but it will not have a transforming quality for the North Korean economy as a whole. While fitting into the Chinese BRI, it can really only be the starting point for a truly integrated North Korean economy. And, liberalization, e.g. price liberalization, in the zone has to be seen not as an isolated policy, but as a trial to be extended if it is successful, to make an impact on the North Korean economy as a whole. This can not be foreseen by now. Rather, special favors are granted to a limited number of companies in a limited geographical area. This falls short of the intentions of the BRI. So, while there is some potential in North Korea's special economic zone policy and in particular in Rason Special Zone, this has yet to come to fruition.

What does that mean for South Korea's hope for closer integration and inter-Korean cooperation? Rason should not be left out of view, but it certainly has a limited value as a potential place for inter-Korean cooperation. Given the political restrictions to special zones in general, and cooperation with South Korea in particular, models like Kaesong Industrial Complex or Kumgangsan Special tourism zone were much more likely to fulfil necessary political standards (of isolation of South Koreans) from the North Korean point of view (Wrobel 2014). Kalma beach resort in Wonsan might be another potential example for that. In the Golden Triangle, for the time being the South Korean influence could just be indirect, as in the planned logistics center and production hub in Hunchun. The influence of South Korean capital is already clearly visible in the Yanbian region, and more so the influence of South Korean lifestyle, through the migration of "*chosonsok*" (ethnic Koreans) to and from South Korea. A more direct influence, namely direct investment in Rason Special Zone, seems not to be likely in the future. South Korea can, however, have a different positive influence, by strengthening viable institutions for exchange, like the NEAR (North East Asian Association of Regions), the GTI (Greater Tumen Initiative) and other regional initiatives. South Korea could also try to ease the way of North Korea, and in particular Rason, into these initiatives. Given the weak existing institutions governing Rason (beside North Korean administration, in particular the joint North Korean-Chinese Investment council), every additional institutional structure aiming at opening Rason could be very helpful.

5 Conclusion – North Korea’s No Belt, No Road policy and the future

To understand the North Korean reluctance to accept greater economic integration even in the case of China, its staunchest ally, and even if all the expenses are paid by someone else, namely the Chinese, it is important to see the interplay of economy and politics in North Korea’s economic decision making. All analysis only looking at economic benefits fails to grasp the reality of North Korea. This has been the weakness of South Korea’s Moon Jae-In administration, and also previous administrations, when they spoke of “co-benefits” or “mutually-beneficial” policy initiatives. While economically, this was true, the political costs for North Korea obviously outweighed the economic benefits. Clearly, there is not an exact mathematical formula for the benefits and costs, but it is dependent on the beliefs and perception of the North Korean leaders. Earlier potential ideological reasons for non-cooperation, which were already rather weak under Kim Jong-Il, became practically obsolete with Kim Jong-Un. There is no belief in economic superiority of socialist trade or centrally-planned economic development, but simply a belief that this is much easier to control politically. But then, still economic benefits have a huge attraction and may in actual policy-making outweigh the concerns on the political impact of such measures.

For example, in the thaw of 2018 between North and South Korea, North Korea held the belief for some time that the pronouncements of President Moon Jae-In of South Korea, that he could broker a disappearance of sanctions, and an era of co-prosperity, was genuine. And only the disappointment, that differently from its own political calculations, furthered by such South Korean promises, the USA would not accept a nuclear North Korea to normalize its economic relations, explains the later furious rejection of any dealings with South Korea. After the failure of direct negotiations with the USA, the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021 made any new political strategy futile, but with the end of the pandemic North Korea will have the same strategic dilemma: should it integrate closer with China, improving its economy, but accepting an erosion of political control, should it even go further and embrace more reforms and maybe closer relations with South Korea? As said before, ideological reasons are no obstacle to this: inside the country, at least since 2009, when a botched currency reform had to be reversed, more market practices were accepted. They can partly explain the relatively successful economic development of North Korea in the 2010s, since in particular private service industries grew and made the whole economy more efficient. But such internal growth, if not coupled with external opening, including competitive pressure, but also the possibility of gains from trade, is limited. And during the Covid-19 pandemic, in times of distress, they were even partly revoked, to allow again more direct political control.

For the time being, “no belt, no road” seems to be the North Korean mantra. An increased ideological campaign for self-reliance actually began already in 2019, before Covid-19 induced

self-isolation did actual started. In this situation, it might be necessary also to question the role sanctions play in North Korea's strategic thinking. While it is wrong to blame sanctions for the economic distress of North Korea – it is mainly a problem of inefficient institutional arrangements, i.e. the political intervention into markets – nevertheless it is not easy to defend sanctions which were unable to fulfil what they set out to do, namely preventing North Korea from developing nuclear weapons, and at the same time are directly opposed to the goal, the USA and South Korea, and to a lesser degree Japan and the European Union, as the main sponsors of sanctions, pronounced for the North Korea policy: namely, that North Korea should open up its economy and political system. There were points in time, like when North Korea accepted the South-North joint railway inspection, and when North Korea joined the BRI conference in Beijing, when they were obviously willing to go further in cooperation. Maybe, with isolation policies failing, it is time to give opening policies a try, helping North Korea to become again more integrated regionally, and worldwide?

References

- Ahn, Se Hyun (2010):** "Framing Energy Security Between Russia and South Korea?: Progress, Problems, and Prospects." *Asian Survey*, vol. 50, no. 3, 2010, pp. 591–614. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2010.50.3.591. Accessed 5 Apr. 2021.
- Blank, Stephen (2018):** "Russia and the Korean Peace Process," *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 23-66.
- Bermudez, Joseph, et al. (2021):** "Powering the Korean Peninsula: Economic and Strategic Considerations," *Beyond Parallel*, Center for Strategic and International Studies. Internet Link: <https://beyondparallel.csis.org/powering-the-korean-peninsula-economic-and-strategic-considerations/> (Internet file retrieved 5 April 2021).
- Devonshire-Ellis, Chris (2018):** "North Korea Re-Connectivity Gradually Opening Up to the Belt and Road," *Silk Road Briefing*, Dezan Shira & Associates. Internet Link: <https://www.silkroadbriefing.com/news/2018/09/20/north-korea-re-connectivity-gradually-opening-belt-road/> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021).
- Devonshire-Ellis, Chris (2019):** "North Korea's Future is with Belt and Road Reconstruction, Not with Washington Requesting Nobel Peace Prizes for President Trumps Ego," *Silk road Briefing*, Dezan Shira & Associates. Internet Link: <https://www.silkroadbriefing.com/news/2019/02/27/north-koreas-future-belt-road-reconstruction-not-washington-requesting-nobel-peace-prizes-preside%E2%80%A6> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021).
- Djankov, Simeon – Sean Miner (2016):** "China's Belt and Road Initiative: Motives, Scope, and Challenges," *PIIE Briefing 16-2*, Peterson Institute for International Economics.
- Kenderdine, Tristan - Péter Bucsky (2020):** "Rail Freight Use on China's Iron Silk Road Underdelivers," *The Diplomat*, Diplomat Media Incorporation. Internet Link: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/11/rail-freight-use-on-chinas-iron-silk-road-underdelivers/> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021)
- KCNA (n.d.):** Research Results, online: <https://kcnawatch.net/?s=belt+and+road>
- Kung, Chan and Yu Pan. (2018):** "How China's Belt and Road Initiative Went Astray" *The Diplomat*, Diplomat Media Incorporation. Internet Link: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/05/how-chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-went-astray/> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021).
- Le, Tom, et al. (2020):** "Making the North Korean Economic Project Work," *Global NK*, The East Asia Institute.
- Lee, Dong Gyu (2021):** "The Belt and Road Initiative after COVID: The Rise of Health and Digital Silk Roads," *Foreign Relations/China*, The Asan Institute for Policy Studies. Internet Link: <http://en.asaninst.org/contents/the-belt-and-road-initiative-after-covid-the-rise-of-health-and-digital-silk-roads/> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021)
- Lee, Tai Hwan (2016):** "One Belt, One Road strategy and Korean-Chinese cooperation," *Northeast Asia*, IIAS The Newsletter, no. 74, p. 16.
- Lee, Yusin (2013):** "Potential Risks of the Russia-North Korea-South Korea Gas Pipeline: Is There Any Lesson Seoul Can Learn from the Russia-Ukraine Gas Dispute?," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 53, no. 3, pp. 584-606.

Nobis, Adam (2017): "The New Silk Road, Old Concepts of Globalization, and New Questions," *Open Cultural Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 203-213. Internet file: <https://doi.org/10.1515/culture-2017-0019> (Internet file retrieved 5 April 2021).

OECD (2018): "The Belt and Road Initiative in the global trade, investment and finance landscape", in *OECD Business and Finance Outlook 2018*, OECD Publishing, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/bus_fin_out-2018-6-en.

Panda, Ankit (2018): "Five Years Later: reviewing China's Belt and Road Initiative," the Diplomat, Diplomat Media Incorporation. Internet Link: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/09/five-years-later-reviewing-chinas-belt-and-road-initiative/> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021).

Parameswaran, Prashanth (2017): "The Real Trouble With China's Belt and Road," The Diplomat, Diplomat Media Incorporation. Internet Link: <https://thediplomat.com/2017/05/the-real-trouble-with-chinas-belt-and-road/> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021)

Rolland, Nadège, et al. (2020): "An Emerging China-Centric Order: China's Vision for a New World Order in Practice," August 2020, NBR Special Report no. 87, The National Bureau of Asian Research.

Römer, Maximilian (2018): "One Belt, One Road, One Korea?" The Diplomat, Diplomat Media Incorporation. Internet Link: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/one-belt-one-road-one-korea/> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021).

Seliger, Bernhard (2020): North Korea's political economy: Hybrid economic institutions and the contributions of German order policy (Ordnungspolitik, Discourses in Social Market Economy, no. 2-2020, Ordnungspolitisches Portal, Internet file: <http://ordnungspolitisches-portal.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/2020-2-SELIGER-Nordkorea.pdf> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021).

Seliger, Bernhard (2019): Special Economic Zones in North Korea, in: KORUM (Korea Unternehmen Märkte), Journal of the German-Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2nd Quarter 2019, pp. 30-33.

Seliger, Bernhard (2017): *Keukdonrossijaeui kyongjae* (The Economy of the Russian Far East), in: Segeshimin (The Global Citizen), no. 9, summer 2017, pp. 114-119 (in Korean).

Seliger, Bernhard (2006): Towards a North Korea Boom? Special Economic Zones in North Korea and their Effects on the North and South Korean Economies, in: Seliger, Bernhard (mit Oh Yean-Cheon, Lee Dalgon, Park Sung-Jo), *The Unification Research and Strategy in Korea and Germany: Affinity and Specificity*, Seoul: Graduate School of Public Administration, Seoul National University, S. 93-122.

Seliger, Bernhard (2003): Die nordkoreanischen Sonderwirtschaftszonen – eine Wiederholung des chinesischen Erfolgsmodells? (North Korean special economic zones – a repetition of the Chinese success model?), in: Patrick Köllner (ed.), *Korea 2003 – Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft*, Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, pp. 262-285 (in German).

Silberstein, Benjamin (2019): "The North Korean Economy, August 2019: Why China Will Continue to Dominate," 38 North, The Henry L. Stimson Center. Internet Link: <https://www.38north.org/2019/09/bkatzeffsilberstein091019/> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021)

Song, Min-Geun (2019): "The Characteristics of South Korea's New Northern Policy and Cooperation with Eurasia Countries' Initiatives Focused on China, Mongolia and Russia," *Journal of Digital Convergence*, vol. 17, no. 7, pp. 1-13.

UN [United Nations] (n.d.): *UN, United Nations, UN Treaties, Treaties*. United Nations. https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XI-B-34&chapter=11&clang=_en.

Ward Peter (2018): "How North Korea fits into China's Belt and Road Initiative," NK PRO, Korea Risk Group. Internet Link: <https://www.nknews.org/pro/how-north-korea-fits-into-chinas-belt-and-road-initiative/> (Internet File retrieved 5 April 2021).

Wikimedia (2021a): Main linkages of the One Belt, One Road Initiative, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:One-belt-oneroad.svg>.

Wikimedia (2021b): Main routes of the original silk road, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Seidenstrasse_GMT.jpg.

Wrobel, Ralph (2014): "Ten years of Kaesong Industrial Complex: a brief history of the last economic cooperation project of the Korean peninsula," *Economic and Environmental Studies*, Uniwersytet Opolski, Opole: CEFOL, Vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 125-147.

Ordnungspolitische Diskurse

Discourses in Social Market Economy

- 2007 – 1 Seliger, Bernhard; Wrobel, Ralph – Die Krise der Ordnungspolitik als Kommunikationskrise
- 2007 – 2 Sepp, Jüri - Estland – eine ordnungspolitische Erfolgsgeschichte?
- 2007 – 3 Eerma, Diana; Sepp, Jüri - Competition Policy's Role in Network Industries - Regulation and Deregulation in Estonia
- 2007 – 4 Clapham, Ronald - Welche Bedeutung haben nationale Wirtschaftsordnungen für die Zukunft der EU? Der Beitrag der sozialen Marktwirtschaft
- 2007 – 5 Strunz, Herbert – Staat, Wirtschaften und Governance
- 2007 – 6 Jang Tae-Seok - South Korea's Aid to North Korea's Transformation Process - Social Market Perspective
- 2007 – 7 Libman, Alexander - Big Business and Quality of Institutions in the Post-Soviet Space: Spatial Aspects
- 2007 – 8 Mulaj, Isa - Forgotten Status of Many: Kosovo's Economy under the UN and the EU Administration
- 2007 – 9 Dathe, Uwe - Wettbewerb ohne Wettbewerb? Über die Bedeutung von Reformen im Bildungswesen für die Akzeptanz der Wettbewerbsidee
- 2007 – 10 Noltze, Karl - Die ordnungspolitische Strategie des Landes Sachsen
-
- 2008 – 1 Seliger, Bernhard - Die zweite Welle – ordnungspolitische Herausforderungen der ost-asiatischen Wirtschaftsentwicklung
- 2008 – 2 Gemper, Bodo Rheinische Wegbereiter der Sozialen Marktwirtschaft: Charakter zeigen im Aufbruch
- 2008 – 3 Decouard, Emmanuel - Das „Modèle rhénan“ aus französischer Sicht
- 2008 – 4 Backhaus, Jürgen - Gilt das Coase Theorem auch in den neuen Ländern?
- 2008 – 5 Ahrens, Joachim - Transition towards a Social Market Economy? Limits and Opportunities
- 2008 – 6 Wrobel, Ralph - Sonderwirtschaftszonen im internationalen Wettbewerb der Wirtschaftssysteme: ordnungspolitisches Konstrukt oder Motor institutionellen Wandels?
-
- 2009 – 1 Wrobel, Ralph - The Double Challenge of Transformation and Integration: German Experiences and Consequences for Korea
- 2009 – 2 Eerma Diana; Sepp, Jüri - Estonia in Transition under the Restrictions of European Institutional Competition
- 2009 – 3 Backhaus, Jürgen - Realwirtschaft und Liquidität
- 2009 – 4 Connolly, Richard - Economic Structure and Social Order Type in Post-Communist Europe
- 2009 – 5 Dathe, Uwe – Wie wird man ein Liberaler? Die Genese der Idee des Leistungswettbewerbs bei Walter Eucken und Alexander Rüstow
- 2009 – 6 Fichert, Frank - Verkehrspolitik in der Sozialen Marktwirtschaft

- 2009 – 7 Kettner, Anja; Rebien, Martina – Job Safety first? Zur Veränderung der Konzessionsbereitschaft von arbeitslosen Bewerbern und Beschäftigten aus betrieblicher Perspektive
- 2009 – 8 Mulaj, Isa – Self-management Socialism Compared to Social Market Economy in Transition: Are there Convergent Paths?
- 2009 – 9 Kochskämper, Susanna - Herausforderungen für die nationale Gesundheitspolitik im Europäischen Integrationsprozess
- 2009 – 10 Schäfer, Wolf – Dienstleistungsökonomie in Europa: eine ordnungspolitische Analyse
- 2009 – 11 Sepp, Jüri – Europäische Wirtschaftssysteme durch das Prisma der Branchenstruktur und die Position der Transformationsländer
- 2009 – 12 Ahrens, Joachim – The politico-institutional foundation of economic transition in Central Asia: Lessons from China
- 2009 – 13 Pitsoulis, Athanassios; Siebel, Jens Peter – Zur politischen Ökonomie von Defiziten und Kapitalsteuerwettbewerb
-
- 2010 – 01 Seliger, Bernhard – Theories of economic miracles
- 2010 – 02 Kim, Gi-eun - Technology Innovation & Green Policy in Korea
- 2010 – 03 Reiljan, Janno - Vergrößerung der regionalen Disparitäten der Wirtschaftsentwicklung Estlands
- 2010 – 04 Tsahkna, Anna-Greta, Eerma, Diana - Challenges of electricity market liberalization in the Baltic countries
- 2010 – 05 Jeong Ho Kim - Spatial Planning and Economic Development in Border Region: The Experiences of Gangwon Province, Korea
- 2010 – 06 Sepp, Jüri – Ordnungspolitische Faktoren der menschlichen Entwicklung
- 2010 – 07 Tamm, Dorel - System failures in public sector innovation support measures: The case of Estonian innovation system and dairy industry
- 2010 – 08 Clapham, Ronald - Wirtschaftswissenschaft in Zeiten der Globalisierung
- 2010 – 09 Wrobel, Ralph - Geldpolitik und Finanzmarktkrise: Das Konzept der „unabhängigen Zentralbank“ auf dem ordnungspolitischen Prüfstand
- 2010 – 10 Rutsch, Andreas; Schumann, Christian-Andreas; Wolle, Jörg W. - Postponement and the Wealth of Nations
- 2010 – 11 Ahrens, Joachim; Jünemann, Patrick - Transitional Institutions, Institutional Complementarities and Economic Performance in China: A 'Varieties of Capitalism' Approach
- 2010 – 12 Kolev, Stefan; Der bulgarische Weg seit 1989, Wachstum ohne Ordnung?
-
- 2011 – 1 Wrobel, Ralph – Energiewende ohne Markt? Ordnungspolitische Perspektiven für den deutschen Stromsektor
- 2011 – 2 Rõigas, Kärt – Linkage between productivity and innovation in different service sectors
- 2011 – 3 Sepp, Jüri – Institutionelle Innovationen im Infrastrukturbereich: Beispiel Post in Estland
- 2011 – 4 Effelsberg, Martin – Measuring absorptive capacity of national innovation systems
- 2011 – 5 Jänsch, Janina – Die Anrechnung natürlicher und anthropogener Effekte auf terrestrische Ökosysteme im Rahmen des Kyoto-Protokolls
- 2011 – 6 Platje, Joost – Institutional Change for Creating Capacity and Capability for Sustainable Development – a club good perspective
- 2011 – 7 Tamm, Dorel; Ukrainski, Kadri – Functional Approach to National Systems of Innovation: The Case of a Small Catching-up Country
- 2011 – 8 Nusser, Michael – Optionen zur Stärkung der Leistungsfähigkeit von Innovationssystemen

- 2012 – 1 Kolev, Stefan – Wider die „Après nous le déluge“-Logik. Ordnungspolitik, Innovation und Nachhaltigkeit.
- 2012 – 2 Varblane, Urmis - National Innovation Systems: Can they be copied?
- 2012 – 3 Reiljan, Janno / Paltser, Ingra - Struktur und Zusammenhänge des staatlichen Innovationssystems und der Innovationspolitik
- 2012 – 4 Lenz, Justus - Innovationssystem Internet: Eine institutionenökonomische Analyse der digitalen Revolution
- 2012 – 5 Chang Jai Chun - Erfolgsfaktoren für "Internationale Projekte"
- 2012 – 6 Gerl, Jörg – Global denken, lokal handeln: Gebäudesanierung als Beitrag zum Klimaschutz am konkreten Beispiel
- 2012 – 07 Seliger, Bernhard – Grünes Wachstum in Südkorea – Etikettenschwindel, Neo-Keynesianismus oder ein neues Paradigma der Ordnungspolitik?
- 2013 – 1 Wrobel, Ralph – Economic Models for New Industrializing Countries in Comparative Perspective
- 2013 – 2 Park, Sung-Jo– Developmental State in Korea (60-70ties) Revisited: Institution-Building for the Making of 'Coordinated Market'
- 2013 – 3 Reiljan, Janno & Paltser, Ingra – The Implementation of Research and Development Policy in European and Asian Countries
- 2013 – 4 Hoen, W. Herman – Emerging Market Economies and the Financial Crisis: Is there Institutional Convergence between Europe and Asia?
- 2013 – 5 Kroos, Karmo – Developmental Welfare Capitalism in East Asia with a Special Emphasis on South Korea
- 2014 – 1 Ahrens, Joachim & Stark, Manuel – Independent Organizations in Authoritarian Regimes: Contradiction in Terms or an Effective Instrument of Developmental States
- 2014 – 2 Turk, Erik – Practicing Catching-up: a Comparison of Development Models of East Asian and Central-Eastern European Countries
- 2014 – 3 Sepp, Jüri; Varblane, Uku – The Decomposition of Productivity Gap between Estonia and Korea
- 2014 – 4 Sepp, Jüri; Kaldaru, Helje and Joamets, Jürgen – The Characteristics and Position of the Economic Structures of Estonia and Korea among the OECD Countries
- 2015 – 1 Bartniczak, Bartosz; Ptak, Michał – Green Jobs in the Renewable Energy Sector
- 2015 – 2 Freudenberg, Sandro; Stephan, Sandra – Fachkräftebedarfsdeckung heute und in der Zukunft: Handlungsempfehlung für eine erfolgreiche Personalbedarfsdeckung in Unternehmen
- 2015 – 3 Kauf, Sabina – Die Unternehmensanforderungen an die Logistikspezialisten und akademische Ausbildung der Logistiker
- 2015 – 4 Komulainen, Ruey – Employer Branding for SMEs: Attracting Graduating Students in IT Industry
- 2016 – 1 Wrobel, Ralph – Der deutsche Arbeitsmarkt zwischen Fachkräftemangel und Immigration: Ordnungspolitische Perspektiven in der Flüchtlingskrise
- 2016 – 2 Walter, Angela– Unternehmen suchen Fachkräfte - Fachkräfte suchen Unternehmen: Employer Branding als Personalstrategie für Recruiting und Bindung von Fachkräften der Generation Y in kleinen und mittelständischen Unternehmen am Beispiel von Sachsen

- 2016 – 3 Monika Paradowska; Joost Platje– Key challenges facing the European transport labour market
- 2016 – 4 Behr, Michael – Arbeitsmarkt- und Wirtschaftsentwicklung in Ostdeutschland: Herausforderungen, Probleme und Strategien für Sachsen
- 2017 – 1 Sepp, Jüri; Kaldaru, Helje; Varblane, Uki - The Development and Typology of the Employment Structure in OECD Countries
- 2017 – 2 Schneider, Clemens - Die Offene Gesellschaft und ihre Zuwanderer: Kritische Gedanken zu einer planwirtschaftlichen Integrationspolitik
- 2017 – 3 Seo Byung-Chul, Bernhard Seliger - Der Arbeitsmarkt in Nordkorea am Beispiel des Industriekomplexes in Kaesong
- 2017 – 4 Stefan Kolev - Individualism and Demographic Change
- 2018 – 1 Ralph Wrobel - Die Unabhängigkeit der Deutschen Bundesbank: eine Erfolgsgeschichte
- 2019 – 1 Kadri Ukrainski; Hanna Kanep; Margit Kirs; Erkki Karo - International R&D Networks of Firms: A Country-level Analysis of the EU Framework Programmes
- 2019 – 2 Rossitsa Yalamova - Blockchain Angels or Demons of a Free International Order
- 2019 – 3 Viire Täks / Maaja Vadi - Who and how do participate in strategic planning?
- 2019 – 4 Mark Kretschmer - Karl Polanyi and Economics: Polanyi's Pendulum in Economic Science
- 2019 – 5 Tim Schneegans - Escaping the comfort zone: a three-level perspective on filtering effects and counter-measures
- 2019 – 6 Katsuhiko Hirasawa - Globalization and Small Businesses
- 2020 – 1 Ralph Wrobel - The "China Effect": Changes in International Trade Patterns as Reasons for Rising "Anti-Globalism"
- 2020 – 2 Bernhard Seliger - North Korea's political economy: Hybrid economic institutions and the contributions of German order policy (Ordnungspolitik)
- 2020 – 3 Alexander Heß - Happiness and the Welfare State in Times of Globalization: A Review of Empirical Findings
- 2020 – 4 Ralph Wrobel - Das Modell „Soziale Marktwirtschaft“: Chancen im internationalen Systemwettbewerb zwischen Freier Marktwirtschaft und chinesischem Staatskapitalismus
- 2021 – 1 Werner Pascha - Duisburg and its port, end point of China's new silk road – opportunities and risks
- 2021 – 2 Anastasia Barannikova - South Korea, China and the Road and Belt initiative: economic and political factors
- 2021 – 3 Artyom Lukin - Road and Belt, Iron Silk Road and Russian-Chinese geopolitical cooperation and competition
- 2021 – 4 Hans-Ulrich Seidt - Korea and Germany as Endpoints of the New Silk Road: Opportunities for Cooperation
- 2021 – 5 Ralph Wrobel - Kim Jong-un's Byungjin Policy: Support or Obstacle for Economic Convergence on the Korean Peninsula?
- 2021 – 6 Bernhard Seliger – The Iron Silk Road and North Korea – is there any chance to move forward?

Herausgeber:

Prof. Dr. Stefan Kolev - Erfurt

PD Dr. habil. Bernhard Seliger – Seoul

Prof. Dr. Ralph M. Wrobel – Zwickau

www.Ordnungspolitisches-Portal.de