

# Korean Politics (POLI 133J)

Spring 2011

T/TH 9:30-10:50am, HSS 1330

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## Course Description:

This course is about the government and politics of South Korea (Korea, hereafter), but we will also cover some issues on North Korea. We will first look at the historical processes from the division of the Korean peninsula to the democratic transition and consolidation. We will briefly look at politics and political economy of North Korea as well as foreign and unification policies of South Korea. We will then survey the political institutions that shape Korean politics and policy making. We will analyze how mechanisms of delegation, representation, and accountability work, and what authorities and constraints decision makers possess and face. We will also review what role the government and political factors played in Korea's rapid economic development, the financial crisis, economic reforms and social policy.

## Course Requirements and Grade:

1) Class attendance and quizzes (25%): All students must come to class, prepared to discuss any of the required readings. If you cannot attend a particular class, you should notify the professor in advance. There will be quizzes often times at the beginning of class.

2) Midterm exam (25%): In-class exam on May 3.

3) Final exam (50%): TBA.

## Readings:

The following books will be used in this course and are available in the bookstore.

Diamond, Larry and Doh Chull Shin, eds. 2000. *Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.

Don Oberdorfer. 2002. *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (New

York: Basic Books, Revised and Updated Edition).

All other course readings will be available through the links in the syllabus or will be provided by the professor.

Korean Online Full-Text database “KSI KISS” (or simply “KISS”), which contains more than 1 million full text articles (most articles are in Korean, but some are in English and many have English abstracts) from 1200 academic journals in Korea, is available for UCSD faculty and students at <http://kiss.kstudy.com/>. KISS is cataloged in Roger and list in the UCSD proxy server, so that, it can be accessed from your home computers.

E-Korean Studies (<http://www.e-koreanstudies.com>) and Nurimedia (<http://nanc.nurimedia.co.kr>) are also available in Roger.

To follow the up-to-date information on Korea, the following newspapers and magazines will be useful.

Korea Herald (a daily newspaper in English): <http://www.koreaherald.co.kr/>

English version of Korean daily newspapers: progressive Hankyoreh (<http://english.hani.co.kr>); conservative Chosun (<http://english.chosun.com/>) and JoongAng (<http://joongangdaily.joins.com>).

*Korea Focus* (a monthly webzine and a quarterly journal published by the Korea Foundation): Available at <http://www.koreafocus.or.kr/>

Comparative Connections (a quarterly update of US-Korea relations and inter-Korean relations, electronically published by the Pacific Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies): Available at <http://csis.org/program/comparative-connections>

## **1. Historical Overview of Korean Politics and Political Economy**

**March 29. An introduction to the course**

**March 31. The division and the Korean war; Overview of South Korea’s political and economic development, 1945-2010**

1. What are the causes of the division and the war? Which party is most responsible for the division and the war, the US, USSR, the Korean left, or the Korean right?
2. What effects did the division and the war have on the nature of politics in the two Koreas?
3. What distinguishes South Korea’s economic and political development from the experiences of North Korea and other developing countries in East Asia?

Oberdorfer. Ch. 1. "Where the Wild Birds Sing."

You, Jong-sung. 2011 (Forthcoming), "Transition from a Limited Access Order to an Open Access Order: The Case of South Korea." In *In the Shadow of Violence: The Problem of Development for Limited Access Order Societies*, edited by Douglas North, John Wallis, Steve Webb, and Barry Weingast. Cambridge University Press

#### **April 5. The initial failure of democracy and the cold war politics**

1. What explains the swift collapse of both the Rhee government and the Second Republic? What explains the authoritarian intervention of *Yushin*?
2. How was Park's regime able to last so long? What are the positive and negative legacies of Park?

Oberdorfer. Chs. 2 through 4.

#### **April 7. Democratic transition**

1. What factors account for the democratic transition in 1997, when other efforts had failed?
2. What role did the U.S. play in Korea's democratic transition?
3. Why did it result in the election of Roh Tae-Woo rather than an opposition candidate?

Oberdorfer. Chs. 5 and 7.

James Fowler, "The United States and South Korean Democratization," *Political Science Quarterly* 114, 2 (Summer 1999).

You, Jong-Sung. 2008. "Reflections on May 18." *Korea Policy Review* Volume 3, 113-118.

#### **April 12. The political economy of South Korea's development**

1. What were the sources of the economic "take-off" of the 1960s and 1970s?
2. Why was government intervention in Korea effective unlike in many Latin American countries?

Haggard, Stephan. 1990. "Korea: From Import Substitution to Export-Led Growth." In Haggard, *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries* (Cornell University Press). Ch. 3

Rodrik, Dani. 1995. "Getting Interventions Right: How South Korea and Taiwan Grew Rich." *Economic Policy* 20.

#### **April 14. The First Nuclear Crisis**

1. Why did North Korea launch a nuclear weapons program?
2. What were the core features of the Agreed Framework?
3. What made the US and North Korea to reach an agreement?

Oberdorfer. Chs. 11 through 13. Pp. 351-359.

#### **April 19. The political economy of North Korean famine and refugee**

1. The famine in North Korea raises a simple but painful question: how can so many people be allowed to die? What, if anything, can foreign governments and NGOs do about it?
2. A frequently-asked question is whether the North Korean regime can reform. What is required in the current setting and how much progress, if any, has been made?

Haggard, Stephan and Marcus Noland. 2007. *Famine in North Korea: Markets, Aid and Reform*. Ch. 7.

Haggard, Stephan and Marcus Noland. 2011. *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea*, Washington, DC : Peterson Institute For International Economics, Chs 1. Introduction, 2. Perils of Refugee Life, 6. Conclusion

Available at

<http://bookstore.piie.com/book-store//4389.html>

## **2. Political Institutions of Korean Democracy**

#### **April 21. Democratic consolidation**

1. Has Korea's democracy been sufficiently consolidated?
2. What are the main political cleavages in Korea? How have they evolved over time?

Diamond and Shin. Ch. 1.

Choi, Jang-Jip. "Political Cleavages in South Korea." In *State and Society in Contemporary Korea*, edited by Hagen Koo, 13-50. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

#### **April 26. Presidency and Legislature**

1. What are the sources and limitations of presidential power in Korea?
2. How well has Korea's legislature been functioning? Why?
3. What are the greatest challenges with regard to governability in Korea?

Mo, Jongryn. 2002. "Reforming Korea's Presidential System," in Korea Economic Institute, *Cooperation and Reform on the Korean Peninsula*, 65-78. Available at <http://www.keia.org/2-Publications/2-4-Adhoc/AdHoc2002.pdf>

Park, Chan Wook. "Legislative-Executive Relations and Legislative Reform." In Diamond and Shin, Ch. 3.

#### **April 28. Electoral System and Party System**

1. Why is Korea's party system unstable?
2. How does the electoral system affect the voting behavior and the party system?

Jaung, Hoon. "Electoral Politics and Political Parties." In Diamond and Shin, Ch. 2.

Yoon, Dae-Kyu. 2010. "Electoral Reform." In *Law and Democracy in South Korea: Democratic Development since 1987*. Seoul: Kyungnam University Press.

Kim, Byung-Kook. 2000. "Party Politics in South Korea's Democracy: The Crisis of Success." In Larry Diamond and Byung-Kook Kim eds, *Consolidating Democracy in South Korea*, 53-85.

#### **May 03. Midterm exam**

#### **May 05. Regional politics & ideological politics**

1. Why has the party system not been sufficiently institutionalized?
2. What are the causes of regionalism? Are there remedies?
3. How are regionalist politics and ideologist politics related?

Kang, David. 2003. "Regional Politics and Democratic Consolidation." In Samuel Kim ed., *Korea's Democratization* (Cambridge University Press).

Kim, HeeMin, Jun Young Choi, and Jinman Cho. 2008. "Changing cleavage structure in new democracies: An empirical analysis of political cleavages in Korea." *Electoral Studies* 27: 136-150.

Kang, Won Taek. 2005. "Ideological Clash of Progressives and Conservatives in Korea." *Korea Focus*, Vol. 13. No. 5: 63-80. Reprinted from *Korean Party Studies Review*, vol. 4, no.2, 2005. Available at:  
[http://www.koreafocus.or.kr/design1/essays/view.asp?volume\\_id=42&content\\_id=235&category=G](http://www.koreafocus.or.kr/design1/essays/view.asp?volume_id=42&content_id=235&category=G)

### **May 10. Bureaucracy**

1. What are the characteristics of Korea's bureaucracy?
2. How have the relationships among president-bureaucracy-business changed over time?
3. Was Korea's bureaucracy core of developmental state or crony capitalism?

Evans, Peter. 1995. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Ch. 3. pp.43-60.

Kang 2002, *Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*, Ch. 3.

Ha, Yong-Chool and Myung-koo Kang. 2011. "Creating a Capable Bureaucracy with Loyalists: The Internal Dynamics of the South Korean Developmental State, 1948-1979."

### **May 12. Judicial politics**

1. What explains the "high equilibrium" judicial review in Korea?
2. How has Korea's Constitutional Court been able to maintain a high level of compliance as well as popular support?
3. Has judicial review contributed to consolidating democracy in Korea?

Ginsburg, Tom. 2003. "Rule by Law or rule of Law? The Constitutional Court of Korea." In Ginsburg, *Judicial Review in New Democracies* (Cambridge University Press), ch. 7 (206-246)

Hahm, Chaihark and Sung Ho Kim. 2005. "Constitutionalism on Trial in South Korea." *Journal of Democracy* 16(2): 28-42.

### **May 17. Political culture.**

1. Are Asian cultures, and more specifically, Korean culture, favorable or unfavorable for democracy?
2. Are Korean people committed to democratic values?

3. How much do you think the problems of Korean democracy (such as non-functioning legislature, lack of compromise, regionalism, etc.) are due to cultural factors, as opposed to institutional factors?

Lee, Sook-Jong. "Mass Perceptions of Democracy." In Diamond and Shin, Ch. 10.

Fukuyama, Francis. "Asian Values, Korean Values, and Democratic Consolidation." In Diamond and Shin, Ch. 12.

Kim, Dae Jung. 1994. "Is Culture Destiny? The Myth of Asia's Anti-Democratic Values." *Foreign Affairs*, 73 (6): 189-194.

### **May 19. Politics of chaebol reform**

1. What are the problems of chaebol?
2. What reforms did take place? Why?
3. What further reforms are being debated?

Kim, Eun Mee. "Reforming the Chaebols." In Diamond and Shin, Ch. 7.

Lee, SJ. 2008. "The Politics of *Chaebol* Reform in Korea: Social Cleavage and New Financial Rules." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 38(3): 439-452.

Ha, Yong-Chool and Wang Hwi Lee. 2007. "The Politics of Economic Reform in South Korea: Crony Capitalism after Ten Years." *Asian Survey* 47(6): 894-914.

### **May 24. Politics of social policy**

1. What effects did the democratization and the financial crisis have on social policy in Korea?
2. How has the politics of social policy been changing in Korea?

Kim, Yeong-Soon. 2010. "Institutions of Interest Representation and the Welfare State in Post-Democratization Korea." *Asian Perspective* 34:1, 159-189.

Yang, Jaejin. 2004. "Democratic Governance and Bureaucratic Politics: A Case of Pension Reform in Korea." *Policy and Politics* 32(2): 193-206.

### **May 26. North Korea policy and the second nuclear crisis**

1. How have South Korea's North Korea and unification policies changed over time? Why have these changes been made?

2. Will “Sunshine policy” help North Korea to reform?
3. Will peaceful reunification of the peninsula be possible?

Oberdorfer. Pp. 186-192, 260-265, Ch. 16.

Park, Myoung-Kyu and Philo Kim. 2010. “Inter-Korean Relations in Nuclear Politics.” *Asian Perspective* 34:1, 111-135.

You, Jong-Sung. 2010. “The Cheonan Dilemma, Inter-Korean Relations, and the Six Party Talks: A Korean Perspective.” Presented at the conference “Toward a Regional Security Architecture for Northeast Asia,” Jeju Peace Institute, Jeju, Korea. August 6, 2010.

### **May 31. Civil society**

1. What were the key changes in the civil society after the democratic transition in Korea?
2. *How* and *why* civil society groups still figure prominently in Korean politics?
3. Is Korea’s vibrant civil society good for democratic consolidation?

Kim, Sunhyuk. “Civic Mobilization for Democratic Reform” in Diamond and Shin, Ch. 11.

Cho, Hee-yeon and Park Won-soon. 2002. “Democratic Reform and Civic Movements in South Korea.” In Korea Economic Institute, *The Challenges of Reconciliation and Reform in Korea*.

### **June 02. Politics of Korea-US FTA**

CRS Report for Congress: “The Proposed U.S.-South Korea Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA): Provisions and Implications”, January 22, 2008.

Park, Mi. 2009. “Framing Free Trade Agreements: The Politics of Nationalism in the Anti-Neoliberal Globalization Movement in South Korea.” *Globalizations*, 6: 4, 451 — 466.

Lee, Hyun-Chool. 2010. “Ratification of a Free Trade Agreement: The Korean Legislature's Response to Globalisation.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 40: 2, 291 — 308.