

**The Two Koreas: Contemporary Research and Record [760.712]
Professor J.J. Suh SAIS Fall 2007**

Class: Thursdays, 2:15-4:15 P.M., Nitze 410
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 4:30-6:30 P.M., or by appointment
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Course Objectives

The course will explore contemporary political issues in South and North Korea. The first part of the course will consist primarily of lectures and discussion about the theoretical and historical context of current events in U.S.-Korean relations. In the second part of the course, students will prepare and present drafts of individual reports on selected issues for a U.S.-Korea yearbook for 2007 to be published by SAIS in 2008. At a time to be determined, student authors will also travel as a group with their professor on a one-week research trip to Seoul to test their ideas with experts and officials, and revise their reports on their return. Students will develop an expert understanding of current events in U.S. relations with both North and South Korea, based on reading, guided research, and the development of academic and official contacts in both Washington, D.C., and Seoul.

Requirements

1. Students are expected to read the required readings before each class, prepare a one-page single-spaced memo (500 words), and participate actively in class discussions.
2. Students will select the subjects of their yearbook chapters by the third class after consultation with the professor. During the latter part of the course, students will present, to the class, drafts of their reports.
3. The final reports for publication in the yearbook will be prepared after the class visit to Seoul. The report should be approximately 5,000 words in length.

Grading

Grades will be based on class participation (40%), the first draft of the report for the yearbook (20%), and the final version of the report for publication (40%). The draft will be due on November 8, 2007, and the final report, by a date (some time early 2008) determined in class. Lateness in submitting them will be penalized: a letter grade by the day. No extension will be granted under any circumstances, except for death in immediate family.

Honor Code

SAIS has adopted the University's policy on integrity that obligates each student to conduct all activities in accordance with the rules and spirit of the school's honor code. Each student must familiarize himself/herself with the policy which can be found at http://jhuresearch.jhu.edu/Policy_on_Integrity_in_Research.pdf.

Reading

Required readings for each class are listed below. As the course progresses, the professor will make available additional, optional readings for the class as a whole and assist individual students in identifying source materials for their reports. To keep abreast of current events, students should subscribe to the NAPSNet Daily Report from the Nautilus Institute (<http://www.nautilus.org/napsnet/dr/index.html>).

Since significant portions of the following three books are required reading, students may find it convenient to purchase them (they are available from online booksellers). They will also be on reserve in the SAIS library.

Bruce Cumings, Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History (Norton, 2005). ISBN: 0-393-31681-5 (paperback).

Don Oberdorfer, The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History, revised and updated edition (Basic Books, 2001). ISBN: 0465051626 (paperback).

Jae-Jung Suh, Power, Interest, and Identity in Military Alliances (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

The Course Plan, Week by Week

Note: The topics to be addressed and their order may change depending on developments in U.S.-Korean relations, the availability of journalists or officials who will participate as guests, the backgrounds and interests of the students, and the date of the field trip to Seoul.

I. Theoretical Frameworks

II. Nuclear Challenges

**From Confrontation to Engagement and Sunshine
Counter-proliferation vs. Co-prosperity?**

III. Alliance Challenges

**Development of the "Blood Alliance"
Democratization, Transformation, and Restructuring**

IV. Economic Challenges

**Economic Development
IMF Crisis and FTA**

V. Attitudes and Perceptions

VI. Yearbook Drafts

Thursday, September 6 – Introduction

The U.S. faces a crisis over the North Korean nuclear and missile programs, and is experiencing tensions in its relations with South Korea over how to deal with those threats. We will discuss these and other major bilateral issues in the context of the history of U.S.-Korean relations.

We will also discuss class content, schedule, and procedures. The yearbook on U.S.-Korean relations that the class will produce is similar in concept to the Annual Briefing Book on U.S.-Japanese relations that SAIS has published for over twenty years. You may read about that project at http://www.sais-jhu.edu/centers/reischauer/b_book.html, and view the latest (2003) online edition of the yearbook at <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/centers/reischauer/2003BB.pdf>. The professor will also bring copies of the latest (2004) hard copy edition to the first class for students to examine.

Required Reading

Oberdorfer, Preface, and chapters 1-3.

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.

I. Theoretical Frameworks

Thursday, September 13 – Theoretical Frameworks

Required Reading

Kang, David C. 2003. International Relations Theory and the Second Korean War. *International Studies Quarterly* 47 (3):301-324.

Cumings, Bruce. 1984. The Origins and Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy: Industrial Sectors, Product Cycles, and Political Consequences. *International Organization* 38 (1):1-40.

Milliken, Jennifer. 1999. Intervention and Identity: Reconstructing the West in Korea. In *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger*, edited by J. Weldes, M. Laffey, H. Gusterson and R. Duvall. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Suh, J.J. 2004. Bound to Last? The U.S.-Korea Alliance and Analytical Eclecticism. In *Rethinking Security in East Asia: Identity, Power, and Efficiency*, edited by J. J. Suh, P. J. Katzenstein and A. Carlson. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

II. Nuclear Challenges

Thursday, September 20 – From Confrontation to Engagement and Sunshine

We will look in detail at North Korea's nuclear and missile programs and the challenge they pose to the ROK and the U.S. We will also explore how differences in the ROK and U.S. approaches to this problem are putting their alliance under strain.

Required Reading

Cumings, chapters 4 and 5.

Oberdorfer, chapters 11-16, and Afterword.

Cha, V. D., and D. C. Kang (2004) The Debate over North Korea. *Political Science Quarterly* **119**:229-55.

“Agreed Framework between the United States of America and the Democratic People’s Republic Of Korea.” Geneva, October 21, 1994.(4 pp.)

<http://www.kedo.org/pdfs/AgreedFramework.pdf>

The Perry Report, October 12, 1999. The unclassified version of the results of the policy review that former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry conducted for President Clinton in the aftermath of North Korea’s launch of the long-range Taepo-dong I missile in 1998. (8 pp.)

<http://www.armscontrol.org/Events/perryreport.asp>

Kim Dae-Jung Presidential Library and Museum, “Lessons of the German Reunification and the Korean Peninsula,” Speech by President Kim Dae-Jung at the Free University of Berlin, March 9, 2000. (7 pp.) <http://www.kdjlibrary.org/>

in English:Archives:Document:Presidential Years(1998-2003):Document #10.

“North-South Joint Declaration” (text.) Pyongyang, June 15, 2000. (1 p.)

http://www1.korea-np.co.jp/pk/142th_issue/2000061501.htm

Kim Dae-Jung Presidential Library and Museum, “A New Age Has Dawned: On Returning Home from the Inter-Korean Summit in Pyongyang,” Speech by President Kim Dae-Jung, June 15, 2000. (10 pp.) <http://www.kdjlibrary.org/>

in English:Archives:Document:Presidential Years(1998-2003):Document #11.

“US-DPRK Joint Communiqué” (text), Washington, D.C., October 21, 2000. (4 pp.)

<http://www.kimsoft.com/2000/us-nk10.htm>

Thursday, September 27 – Counter-proliferation vs. Co-prosperity?

Required Reading

Chae-Jin Lee, chapter 6, “In Search of Hegemonic Diplomacy: Bush’s Peace,” in A Troubled Peace: U.S. Policy and the Two Koreas (paperback) (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). ISBN: 0801883318. This chapter details the North Korea policy and events of President George W. Bush’s first term.

Pritchard, Charles L. *Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the Bomb*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2007.

Suh, J.J., "Producing Security Dilemma out of Uncertainty: North Korean Nuclear Crisis," <http://www.einaudi.cornell.edu/files/workingpaper/08-2006.pdf>

Jay Lefkowitz, Special [U.S.] Envoy for Human Rights in North Korea, "Remarks to the Asia Society," May 24, 2006. <http://www.state.gov/p/eap/rls/rm/67057.htm>

U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, Subcommittee on Federal Financial Management, Government Information, and International Security. "Hearing on North Korea: Illicit Activity Funding the Regime," April 25, 2006. Read the prepared statements of Peter Prahar, Michael Merritt, and Marcus Noland. <http://hsgac.senate.gov/index.cfm?Fuseaction=Hearings.Detail&HearingID=347>

III. Alliance Challenges

Thursday, October 4 – Development of the “Blood Alliance”

Required Reading

Suh, Power, Interest, and Identity in Military Alliances

Cha, V. (1997) Realism, Liberalism, and the Durability of the US-South Korean Alliance. *Asian Survey* 37:609-22.

Taylor, W. J., Y.-K. Cha, J. Q. Blodgett, and M. Mazarr, eds. (1989) *The Future of South Korean-U.S. Security Relations*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Thursday, October 11 – Democratization, Transformation, and Restructuring

President Roh’s pursuit of a more self-reliant South Korean security policy, and changes in U.S. military doctrine and obligations elsewhere, are resulting in major changes to the alliance. This class will examine the origins of changed policies and discuss the implications for the future of the alliance.

Required Reading

Cumings, chapter 7.

Oberdorfer, ch. 4.

Suh, Jae-Jung. "The Imbalance of Power, the Balance of Asymmetric Terror: Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) in Korea." In *The Future of US-Korean Relations: The Imbalance of Power*, edited by John Feffer, 64-80. London; New York: Routledge, 2006.

Katherine H.S. Moon, "South Korean Civil Society and Alliance Politics," in Derek J. Mitchell (ed.), Strategy and Sentiment: South Korean Views of the United States and the U.S.-ROK Alliance (CSIS Working Group Report, June 2004). <http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/0406mitchell.pdf>

Choi, Kang. "A View on America's Role in Asia and Future of the ROK-U.S. Alliance" (<http://www.keia.org/2-Publications/2-3-Monograph/Monograph2005/ChoiK.pdf>) in The Newly Emerging Asian Order and the Korean Peninsula, KEI, 2005 (<http://www.keia.org/2-Publications/2-3-Monograph/Monograph2005/Monograph-Contents05.html>).

Hamm, Taik-young. "The Self-Reliant National Defense of South Korea and the Future of the U.S.-ROK Alliance," in Nautilus Institute Policy Forum Online 06-49A: June 20th, 2006. <http://www.nautilus.org/fora/security/0649Hamm.html>

Ted Galen Carpenter, and Doug Bandow, chapter 5 in The Korean Conundrum: America's Troubled Relations with North and South Korea (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). ISBN: 1-4039-6545-5 (hardback).

Perry, Charles M. et al. "Chapter Two: U.S.-ROK Relations in an Era of Transition and Transformation," pp. 18-35, in Alliance Diversification & the Future of the U.S.-Korean Security Relationship (Brassey's, 2004). ISBN: 1-57488-895-1.

IV. Economic Challenges

Thursday, October 18 – Economic Development

What factors contributed to South Korea's economic development? What role, if any, did government intervention and international politics play in the economic "take-off"?

Required readings:

Kohli, Atul. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 27-61.

Cumings, ch. 6.

Evans, P. B. (1995) *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

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

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

Chang, Ha-Joon. 1993. "The Political Economy of Industrial Policy in Korea." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 17(2): 131-157.

Bark Tae-ho, "Korea-U.S. Economic Relations," pp. 103-137; Marcus Noland, "The Strategic Importance of U.S.-Korea Economic Relations," pp. 79-102, in *The United States and South Korea: Reinvigorating the Partnership* (Washington, D.C.: KEI, 2004). (Total: 59 pp.)
<http://www.keia.org/2-Publications/2-3-Monograph/Monograph2004/Bark.pdf>

Thursday, October 25 – IMF and FTA

While U.S.-South Korean economic relations are less contentious today than a decade ago, the South Korean public remains concerned about perceived inequalities in the economic relationship, and the U.S. has challenged Korean trade policies in a number of sectors. A joint effort by the two governments to negotiate a free trade agreement is generating controversy in the ROK. This class will examine the history, status, and prospects of U.S.-Korean economic, trading, and financial relations, and how they fit into the overall picture of U.S.-Korean bilateral ties.

Required Reading

Haggard and Mo, "The Political Economy of the Korean Financial Crisis," *Review of International Political Economy* 7, 2 (Summer):197-218.

Chang, Ha-Joon. 1998. "Korea: The Misunderstood Crisis." *World Development* 26(8)

You, Jong-Il and Hawon Jang. 2001. "Changing Role of the State in Korea: From Leading to Supporting the Market." *International Journal of Economic Planning Literature* Vol. 16, No. 3 & 4.

William Watts, "The Korea-US Free Trade Agreement: Korus FTA Views of Experts and Concerned Parties: Opinion Survey Report #3, January 11, 2007. Prepared for the Korea Economic Institute, Washington, D.C. (12 pp.)
<http://www.keia.org/4-Current/FTASurvey3.pdf>

Cho, Hee-yeon, "Korea-US FTA and Rush-To Neoliberalism." September 4, 2006. Published by Korean Alliance Against KorUS FTA. (9 pp.)
<http://nofta.or.kr/en/entry/Korea-US-FTA-and-Rush-To-Neoliberalism>

Larry A. Niksch, "South Korea-U.S. Economic Relations: Cooperation, Friction, and Prospects for a Free Trade Agreement (FTA)," CRS Report for Congress, Washington, D.C.: February 9, 2006. (33 pp.)
<http://www.amchamkorea.org/downloads/Resources/CRS%20ROK-US%20economic%20relations%202006.pdf>

Jeffrey J. Schott, Scott C. Bradford, and Thomas Moll, “Negotiating the Korea–United States Free Trade Agreement,” Institute for International Economics, Policy Briefs in International Economics. Number Pb06-4, June 2006.

<http://www.iie.com/publications/pb/pb06-4.pdf>

Office of the United States Trade Representative. Chapter on Korea, in 2006 National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers.

http://www.ustr.gov/assets/Document_Library/Reports_Publications/2005/2005_NTE_Report/asset_upload_file182_7481.pdf

V. Attitudes and Perceptions

Thursday, November 1 – Attitudes and Perceptions

How do Americans and Koreans regard each other and why? How much do they know about each other? What roles do the media of the countries play? Is the Internet/telecommunications revolution reducing language and cultural differences or exacerbating them? We will consider the historical, cultural, and political bases of U.S.-Korean perceptual and communications styles.

Required Reading

Oberdorfer, chapters 5 and 7.

Cumings, chapter 9.

Steinberg, David I. *Korean Attitudes toward the United States: Changing Dynamics*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.

Scott Snyder, “The Role of the Media and the U.S.-ROK Relationship,” in Derek J. Mitchell (ed.), Strategy and Sentiment: South Korean Views of the United States and the U.S.-ROK Alliance (CSIS Working Group Report, June 2004).

<http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/0406mitchell.pdf>

Balbina Y. Hwang, “Including South Korea in the U.S. Visa Waiver Program,” Backgrounder, The Heritage Foundation, No. 1872, July 25, 2005.

<http://www.heritage.org/Research/AsiaandthePacific/loader.cfm?url=/commonspot/security/getfile.cfm&PageID=81413>

V. Yearbook Drafts

Thursday, November 8 – Students present initial drafts of yearbook reports.

Thursday, November 15 – Students present initial drafts of yearbook reports.

Thursday, November 22 – Trip to Seoul.

Thursday, November 29 – Students present initial drafts of yearbook reports.

Thursday, December 6 – Students present initial drafts of yearbook reports.

2008, date TBD – Final report due.