

Korean Politics (IRGN 484) **(Fall 2007)**

Tuesday, 6:45 - 9:35 pm, Robinson Building Complex #1301

Professor Jong-Sung You (유중성; 柳鍾星)

Office: RBC 1315

Phone: 858-534-9825. E-mail: jsyou@ucsd.edu

Office hours: Monday/Tuesday 10:30 am - 12:00 noon, or by appointment

Course Description:

This course is about the government and politics of South Korea. We will first take a quick look at the historical processes from the liberation and division of the Korean peninsula to the democratization and economic development of the South Korea and nuclear and economic challenges of the North Korea. We will then survey the political institutions and groups that shape politics and policy making in South Korea (Korea, hereafter). We will analyze how mechanisms of delegation, representation, and accountability work, and what authorities and constraints decision makers possess and face. We will also analyze the politics and political economy of policy reforms by focusing on several areas of policy making. Lastly, we will observe and analyze the major issues and politics of the presidential election, which will be held on December 19, 2007.

Course Requirements:

The class will meet for three hours on Tuesday, 6:30-9:20 pm, Room 3202. However, the evening will be broken up in two halves. This class is a seminar and students will be graded on the following basis:

Class participation: All students must come to class prepared to discuss any of the required readings. Students must participate actively in discussions, and may be called on at any time to answer questions. Students must submit two or three questions and/or comments on the readings, by Monday night. Class participation counts for 40% of your course grade.

Presentations and papers: Students will be responsible for introducing one week's topic by presenting a 10-minute critical response of the readings (10%). The critical response paper (4-5 pages, double spaced; 15% of the grade) that will be presented in class should be circulated by Monday night. There will be student presentations in the final class on the 2007 presidential election (15% for presentation; 20% for written report, 10-15 pages, due by December 11).

Readings:

The following two 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 “First Class” unless the links are provided in the syllabus.

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

Korea Policy Review (a monthly magazine published by the Korean Overseas Information Service): You can request subscription of free monthly copy of KPR at <http://www.korea.net/>.

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

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

English version of Korean newspapers: Hankyoreh (<http://english.hani.co.kr/>), Chosun (<http://english.chosun.com/>), JoongAng (<http://joongangdaily.joins.com>), Korea Times, Los Angeles edition (<http://www.koreatimes.com/local.asp>)

Part I: Historical Overview of South and North Korea, 1945-2007

October 2. Introduction

1. What caused the division and the war?
2. What effects did the division and the war have on the nature of politics in the two Koreas?
3. What are the most salient cleavages in South Korean politics? How have they changed over time?

Oberdorfer. Chs. 1 and 2.

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.

October 9. Democratization and Democratic Consolidation

1. What factors account for the democratic transition in 1987, while other earlier efforts had failed?
2. What role did the US play in the democratization of S. Korea?

3. Has Korea's democracy been sufficiently consolidated? Is there a chance of reversal to military rule?

Oberdorfer. Chs. 5, 7, and 8.

Kang, Jung In. 2000. "Reflections on Recent Democratization." *Korea Journal* 40 (2), Reprinted in *Korean Politics: Striving for Democracy and Unification*, edited by Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 3-28 (Elizabeth, NJ and Seoul: Hollym, 2002).

Diamond and Shin. "Introduction: Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea." In Diamond and Shin, Ch. 1

October 16. Political Economy of Development, Financial Crisis, and FTA

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?
3. What role, if any, did domestic political factors play in the onset of the financial crisis in Korea?
4. What made Korea's quick recovery from the crisis and sweeping economic reforms possible?
5. Was there a fundamental change in the role of state in economy after the financial crisis in Korea?

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.

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.

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>

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>

October 23. North Korea: Nuclear Challenge

1. What are the main elements of North Korea's foreign policy and how have they changed, if at all, in the wake of the 1994 and current nuclear crisis?
2. Has the US approach to the North Korean nuclear issue been consistent? What accounts for frequent changes in the US policy?
3. How can the US persuade/force North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons? Is the six-party talk a good venue for that purpose?

Oberdorfer. Pp. 68-74, Chs. 11 through 16, and Afterword.

Selig Harrison, "Did North Korea Cheat?" *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2005, and exchange between Mitchell Reiss and Robert Galucci and Harrison in *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2005.

Kim Dae Jung and Gordon Chang in [Experts: How We Should Deal With N. Korea](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/15261328/site/newsweek/)
<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/15261328/site/newsweek/>

Part II: Political Institutions of Korean Democracy

October 30. Presidency, Electoral System, and Party System: Ideological and Regional Politics

1. How is the system of delegation and accountability organized in Korea's presidential system? How are they functioning?
2. What are the greatest challenges with regard to democratic consolidation in Korea?

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

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.

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>

Moon, Woojin. 2005. "Decomposition of Regional Voting in South Korea: Ideological Conflicts and Regional Interests." *Party Politics* 11(5): 579-599

November 6. Executive-Legislative Relations and Legislative Politics; Introduction to the Presidential Election 2007

1. What are the sources and limitations of presidential power in Korea?
2. How well has Korea's legislature been functioning? Why?
3. Will constitutional amendment for parliamentary system or two-term presidency be helpful for Korea's democratic consolidation?

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

Kang, Won-Taek and Hoon Jaung. 1999. "The 1997 Presidential Election in South Korea." *Electoral Studies* 18: 599-608.

Walker, Scott and Kyung-Tae Kang. 2004. "The Presidential Election in South Korea, December 2002." *Electoral Studies* 23: 840-845.

Cho, Wonbin. 2005. "The General Election in South Korea, April 2004." *Electoral Studies* 24: 525-530.

November 13. Bureaucracy; Judicial Politics

1. What are the characteristics of Korea's bureaucracy?
2. How have the relationships among president-bureaucracy-business changed over time?
3. What explains the "high equilibrium" judicial review in Korea?
4. Has judicial review contributed to consolidating democracy in Korea?

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.

Yang, Sung Chul. 1994. "South Korea's Top Bureaucratic Elites 1948-1993: Their Recruitment Patterns and Modal Characteristics." *Korea Journal* 34(3), Reprinted in *Korean Politics: Striving for Democracy and Unification*, edited by Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 137-155 (Elizabeth, NJ and Seoul: Hollym, 2002).

Woo-Cumings, Meredith. 1995. "The Korean Bureaucratic State: Historical Legacies and Comparative Perspectives." in *Politics and Policy in the New Korean State: From Roh Tae-Woo to Kim Young-Sam*, edited by James Cotton. New York: St. Martin's Press

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)

Park, Myung-lim. 2005. "Korea's Constitutional Democracy and President Roh's Impeachment Case." *Korea Focus* July-August 2005 (originally published in *Korean Political Science Review*, vol. 39, no. 1, spring 2005)
http://www.koreafocus.or.kr/essays/view.asp?volume_id=41&content_id=203&category=G

November 20. Civil Society and Interest Group Politics; Politics of Reform

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. How has Korean corporate governance changed if at all?
4. What explains the failure of *chaebol* reform before 1997 and the relative success after 1997?

Seong, Kyoung-ryung. 2000. "Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation in South Korea: Great Achievements and Remaining Problems." In Larry Diamond and Byung-Kook Kim eds., *Consolidating Democracy in South Korea* (Lynne Rienner Publishers), 87-110.

Kim, Sunhyuk. 2003, "Civil Society in Democratizing Korea" in Samuel Kim ed., *Korea's Democratization* (Cambridge University Press), pp.81-106.

Kim, Byung-Kook and Hyun-Chin Lim. 2000. "Labor Against Itself: Structural Dilemmas of State Monism." In Larry Diamond and Byung-Kook Kim eds., *Consolidating Democracy in South Korea* (Lynne Rienner Publishers), 111-138.

Jang, Ha-Sung. 2001. "Corporate Governance and Economic Development: The Korean Experience." In Farrukh Iqbal and Jong-Il You eds., *Democracy, Market Economics and Development*, World Bank.

Kim, Byung-Kook. 2003. "The Politics of *Chaebol* Reform, 1980-1997." In Stephan Haggard, Wonhyuk Lim, Euysung Kim eds., *Economic Crisis and Corporate Restructuring in Korea: Reforming the Chaebol* (New York : Cambridge University Press)

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

November 27. Income Distribution and Social Policy; Foreign and Unification Policies

1. How has Korea been able to maintain a relatively low level of income inequality?
2. What effects did the democratization and the financial crisis have on social policy in

Korea?

3. How have South Korea's foreign and unification policies changed over time? Why have these changes been made?
4. How likely is the success of South Korea's engagement policy toward North Korea? Will peaceful reunification of the peninsula be possible?

Haggard, Stephan. Forthcoming. "The political economy of the Asian welfare state." In Richard Boyd and Tak-Wing Ngo eds., *Asian States: Beyond the developmental perspective*, Ch. 8

Kwon, Huck-ju. 2002. "Welfare Reform and Future Challenges in the Republic of Korea: Beyond the Developmental Welfare State?" *International Social Security Review*, Vol. 55, 4: 23-38.

Chung, Moo-Kwon. 2007. "Globalization, Democratization, and the Transformation of the Korean Welfare Capitalism: Which Route is Korea Taking?"

Koh, Byung Chul. 2001. "The Foreign and Unification Policies of the Republic of Korea." In Soong Hoom Kil and Chung-In Moon eds., *Understanding Korean Politics: An Introduction* (SUNY Series in Korean Studies), Ch. 9.

Moon, Chung-in. 2002. "Sustaining Inter-Korean Reconciliation: North-South Korea Cooperation." In Korea Economic Institute, *The Challenge of Reconciliation and Reform in Korea*.

December 04. Presidential Election 2007

Student presentations and discussion on the following topics:

Economic and social policies of major candidates
North Korea and foreign policies of major candidates
Other major election issues

Ideological vs. regional politics
The controversy over the role of the incumbent president in the presidential election

Nomination of the conservative opposition (GNP) candidate
Nomination (and unification) of the pro-government candidates
Fluctuation of approval ratings for major candidates

The expected impact of change or continuity of government: domestic, North Korea, and the US.

Other topics