



KOREAN POLITICS & SECURITY INTL 1802B -- Spring 2013

Instructor: Terry Roehrig, Ph.D.
Class: Thursday 4:00-6:20
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Course Description:

Despite the end of the Cold War, the Korean Peninsula has remained a legacy of that conflict and continues to be a concern for peace and stability in the region. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is one of the last surviving communist states with a faltering economy that struggles to feed its people. North Korea maintains a large conventional military force, hundreds of ballistic missiles, and in 2006 and 2009, tested nuclear weapons adding to an already serious security threat. Since Kim Jong-il's passing, North Korea analysts have been watching intently as the DPRK regime passes power once again from father to son, Kim Jong-un. Across the demilitarized zone, South Korea has developed into a thriving global economy ranking 15th in the world. The Republic of Korea (ROK) is the 7th largest U.S. trade partner and a world leader in the production of semiconductors, automobiles, electronics, shipping vessels, and nuclear energy technology among others. Since 1953, the United States and South Korea have maintained a formal security alliance, and the peninsula remains home to 28,500 U.S. troops. Developments in Korea have an important impact on the region and the world making knowledge of the Koreas and their challenges vital for understanding the dynamics of the region. This course will explore the history, politics, economics, and security of North and South Korea and their role in the larger security context of East Asia.

Course Objectives

1. examine and assess the institutions, power, and politics of the North and South Korean government.
2. understand and assess the security concerns of North and South Korea.
3. examine and evaluate the foreign and defense policies of North and South Korea.
4. understand and assess the role of the United States, China, Japan, and Russia in the region.
5. craft clear and persuasive written arguments with proper style and grammar.

Texts:

Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, *South Korea since 1980* (Cambridge, 2010)
Barbara Demnick, *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea* (Spiegel & Grau, 2010)
Andrei Lankov, *North of the DMZ: Essays on Daily Life in North Korea* (McFarland, 2007).
Jonathan Pollack, *No Exit: North Korea, Nuclear Weapons & International Security* (IISS, 2011)
Scott Snyder (ed.) *U.S. Policy Toward the Korean Peninsula*, Council on Foreign Relations, Independent Task Force Report No. 64.

Course Grading

20% - Class Participation
10% - Analysis Paper: Future of the North Korea Regime [4-5 pages]
5% - Research Paper Proposal
5% - Annotated Outline
60% - Research Paper (20-25 pages)
Due May 9

Course Requirements***Class Participation***

The ability to discuss and ask good questions are important skills to possess. The quality as well as quantity of your answers and questions will determine your grade in this area. It is expected that all readings are done prior to class and that each student comes prepared to discuss the readings. Regular attendance is expected and repeated absences or tardiness will reflect negatively on your participation grade. Class participation will be scored daily and averaged for a final grade.

“Difference is an opportunity to learn something new and see what I do not see.”

Analysis Paper

Students will write a 4-5 page analysis paper on the political and economic future of North Korea. The paper is intended to be an analytical piece that uses material from our course reading list and class discussions. Outside material may be used but is not required. The papers have no precise format but the questions listed in the assignment need to be answered at some point in the paper. The analysis paper is due February 14.

Research Paper

The chief assignment for the course is a research paper (20-25 pages). In consultation with your instructor, students will choose a topic within the scope of the course. Upon receiving approval of the topic, students will write a 1-2 page research proposal that includes the central research question, a tentative thesis, an argument for the importance of the topic, and a preliminary list of sources. The research proposal is due February 28. As the research progresses, students will submit a 1-2 page annotated outline that is due April 4. The final paper is due on May 9.

Analysis and Research Papers

Both papers should be double-spaced, 1-inch margins with 12 point Times New Roman font. Where appropriate, use section headers to facilitate transitions. Papers should use footnotes rather than endnotes and follow the Chicago style. The research paper will have a bibliography that is separate from the page count. The research paper should begin with a title page that contains the title of the paper, author's name, course title, and date.

DUE DATES:

<i>Analysis Paper</i>	February 14
<i>Paper Proposal</i>	February 28
<i>Annotated Outline</i>	April 4
<i>Final Paper</i>	May 9

IF YOU EVER HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR NEED HELP, PLEASE DO NOT HESITATE TO ASK!

Course Sessions:

Week 1) Introduction and History of Korea [Jan 24]

Reading

Heo and Roehrig, *South Korea since 1980*, Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-50.

Week 2) North Korea: Politics and Government [Jan 31]

Reading

Hyung-Gu Lynn, "Assessing Political Stability in Post-Kim Jong-il North Korea," Academic Paper Series, Korea Economic Institute, December 4, 2012.

[<http://www.keia.org/publication/assessing-political-stability-post-kim-jong-il-north-korea>]

Nat Kretchun and Jane Kim, "A Quiet Opening: North Koreans in a Changing Media Environment," *InterMedia*, pp. 1-37.

[http://audiencescapes.org/sites/default/files/A_Quiet_Opening_FINAL_InterMedia.pdf]

Lankov, *North of the DMZ*, Parts 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 18.

Victor Cha and Nicholas Anderson, "A North Korea Spring?", *Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2012), pp 7-24. [<http://csis.org/files/publication/twq12winterchaanderson.pdf>]

New Year's Address, Kim Jong-un, January 1, 2012. [**File provided**]

Week 3) North Korea: Economics and Society [Feb 7]

Reading

Barbara Demnick, *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea*.

Lankov, *North of the DMZ*, Parts 6, 7, 12, 13, and 15.

Nicholas Eberstadt, "What is Wrong with the North Korean Economy," *American Enterprise Institute*, July 1, 2011, [<http://www.aei.org/article/103818>].

Week 4) South Korea: Politics and Government [Feb 14]

Reading

Heo and Roehrig, *South Korea since 1980*, Chapters 3, pp. 51-77.

Jennifer Oh, "Strong State and Strong Civil Society in Contemporary South Korea: Challenges to Democratic Governance" *Asian Survey* 52, no. 3 (May/June 2012): 528-549.

YoonKyung Lee, "Democracy without Parties? Political Parties and Social Movements for Democratic Representation in Korea," *Korea Observer*, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 27-52.

Jeong-Lim Nam, "Gender Politics in the Korean Transition to Democracy," *Korean Studies* vol 24 (2000): 94-112.

Haesook Chae and Steven Kim, "Conservatives and Progressives in South Korea," *Washington Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (September 2008): 77-95.

[<http://csis.org/files/publication/twq08autumnchaekim.pdf>]

Analysis Paper Due - Future of the North Korean Regime

Since the end of the Cold War, analysts have been predicting the collapse of the North Korean regime. These forecasts have been based on several factors including the loss of subsidized trade with the Soviet Union/Russia and China, failed economic policies, the problems of a communist economic system, a crumbling economic infrastructure, energy shortages, and bad weather.

Despite these many problems, the DPRK continues to plod along and defy the predictions of a North Korean implosion. Yet, one must also ask how long the country can continue on this path.

In addition to these economic challenges, North Korea also faces another leadership transition as Kim Jong-il's son, Kim Jong-un takes the reins. Will the transition continue as smoothly as it appears to be so far? Much uncertainty clouds the future of these events.

What is your prediction for North Korea's future over the next 5-10 years? Will North Korea be able to survive economically and politically? What is your assessment of how the power transition has played out? Will there be any major policy shifts, particularly economic reform? What planning should the United States, South Korea, and others in the region be doing to prepare for whatever the future may hold in the North?

Week 5) South Korea: Economics and Society [Feb 21]

Reading

Jeffrey Schott, "Why the Korea-United States Free Trade Agreement is a Big Deal," *SERI Quarterly* (July 2011): 23-29

[<http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/schott20110720.pdf>]

Heo and Roehrig, *South Korea since 1980*, Chapters 4 and 5, pp. 77-128.

Katrin Katz and Victor Cha, "South Korea in 2012: TBA," *Asian Survey* (January/February 2013).

Sangjoon Kim, "Interpreting South Korean Competitiveness: From Domestic Rivalry to Global Competitiveness," *Korea Observer* 42, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 621-643.

Anthony B. Kim, "Advancing Economic Freedom: Key to Ensuring South Korea's Greater Economic Future," *Korea Economic Institute*, Academic Paper Series, December 31, 2012.

[http://www.keia.org/sites/default/files/publications/aps_anthony_kim_final.pdf]

Elizabeth Hervey Stephen, "Bracing for Low Fertility and a Large Elderly Population in South Korea," Korea Economic Institute, Academic Paper Series, April 18, 2012.
http://keia.org/sites/default/files/publications/aps_doc_elizabeth_stephens.pdf

Week 6) South Korea: Foreign & Defense Policy [Feb 28]

Reading

Heo and Roehrig, "South Korea and the Regional Powers," *South Korea since 1980*, Chapter 8, pp. 183-208.

Han Yong-sup, "Analyzing South Korea's Defense Reform 2020," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, XVIII, no. 1 (2006): 111-133. **[E-RESERVE]**

Bruce Bennett, "The Korean Defense Reform 307 Plan," Issue Brief No. 8, April 19, 2011, Asan Institute of Policy Studies, available at <http://asaninst.org/eng>.

Abraham Denmark, "Proactive Deterrence: The Challenge of Escalation Control on the Korean Peninsula," Academic Paper Series, Korea Economic Institute, December 2011.

[<http://www.keia.org/publication/proactive-deterrence-challenge-escalation-control-korean-peninsula>]

Park Geun-hye, "Trustpolitik and the Making of a New Korea," November 15, 2012.

[File provided]

Paper Proposal Due

Week 7) US-ROK Alliance [March 7]

Reading

Heo and Roehrig, *South Korea since 1980*, Chapter 7, pp. 157-182.

Alliance Documents

-Barack Obama and Lee Myung-bak, "Joint Vision of the Alliance for the United States and the Republic of Korea," June 16, 2009.

-U.S. House of Representatives, "Statement of General James D. Thurman, Commander, UNC, CFC, and USFK before the House Armed Services Committee," March 28, 2012.

-Joint Statement of the 2012 US-ROK Foreign and Defense Ministers' Mtg, June 14, 2012.

-Joint Communiqué – 44th U.S.-ROK Security Consultative Meeting, October 24, 2012

Scott Snyder, "Expanding the US-South Korea Alliance," in Scott Snyder (ed.), *The US-South Korea Alliance: Meeting New Security Challenges* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2012), pp. 1-16.

Haesook Chae, "South Korean Attitudes toward the ROK-U.S. Alliance: Group Analysis," *PS* (July 2010): 493-500. **[E-RESERVE]**

Terence Roehrig, "South Korea: An Alliance in Transition." **[File provided]**

Chicago Council on Global Affairs, et al, "Working Paper on the U.S.-ROK Alliance," December 2012.

[http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/UserFiles/File/Task%20Force%20Reports/2012_CC_S_US-ROKConferenceReport.pdf]

Week 8) North Korea: Foreign and Defense Policy [March 14]

Reading:

David Kang, "North Korea's Relations with the United States and the Rest of the World," in Kyung-Ae Park and Scott Snyder (eds.), *North Korea in Transition: Politics, Economy, and Society* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2012).

Yong-Pyo Hong, "North Korea's Strategic Culture and Threat Perception: Implications for Regional Security Cooperation," *Korea Observer* (Spring 2011): 95-115.

Han S. Park, "Military-First (Songun) Politics: Implications for External Policies," in Kyung-Ae Park, *New Challenges of North Korean Foreign Policy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 89-109.

Dick Nanto & Mark Manyin, "China-North Korea Relations," in Kim et. al. *The Survival of North Korea* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011): 116-136.

Lankov, *North of the DMZ*, Part 14.

Week 9) North Korea's Nuclear Weapons and Ballistic Missiles [March 21]

Reading

Jonathan Pollack, *No Exit: North Korea, Nuclear Weapons & International Security*.

Terence Roehrig, "North Korea's Nuclear Strategy and Doctrine," forthcoming in Toshi Yoshihara and James Holmes, *Nuclear Strategy in the Second Nuclear Age* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011).

Sigfried S. Hecker, "Lessons Learned from the North Korean Nuclear Crisis," *Daedalus* (Winter 2010): 44-56.

--- SPRING BREAK ---

Week 10) U.S. Policy and Korean Security [Apr 4]

Reading

U.S. Policy Toward the Korean Peninsula, Council on Foreign Relations, Independent Task Force Report No. 64, Charles L. Pritchard and John H. Tilelli (Chairs).

Bruce W. Bennett and Jennifer Lind, "The Collapse of North Korea: Military Missions and Requirement," *International Security* (Fall 2011): pp. 84-119. [**E-RESERVE**]

Annotated Outline Due

Week 11) Six Party Talks Simulation [Apr 11]

The simulation will be conducted by the Korea Economic Institute, Washington DC.

Reading

TBA

Week 12) North-South Relations [Apr 18]

Reading

“Inter-Korean Relations and the North Korean Nuclear Crisis,” *South Korea since 1980*, Chapter 6, pp. 129-156.

ROK Ministry of National Defense, “Investigation Result of the Sinking of the ROKS Cheonan,” May 20, 2010, pp. 1-5.

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/nol/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/20_05_10jigreport.pdf]

Scott Snyder and See-won Byun, “Cheonan and Yeonpyeong: the Northeast Asian Response to North Korea’s Provocations,” *RUSI Journal*, vol 156, no. 2 (April/May 2011): 74-81.

[<http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/201104SnyderandByun.pdf>]

Dick K. Nanto and Mark E. Manyin, “The Kaesong North-South Korean Industrial Complex,” *CRS Report*, April 18, 2011, pp. 1-21.

[<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34093.pdf>]

Lankov, *North of the DMZ*, Part 17.

Terence Roehrig “The Dispute over the Northern Limit Line: Toward a Negotiated Settlement,” *Korea Observer* 39, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 507-537.

Week 13) Korean Peninsula: Future and Conclusions [Apr 25]

Reading

Lankov, “In Lieu of Conclusion: With a Bang, or with a Whimper?” pp. 327-330.

Robert D. Kaplan and Abraham M. Denmark, “The Long Goodbye: The Future North Korea,” *World Affairs* (May/June 2011): 7-21.

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/long-goodbye-future-north-korea>

Christoph Bluth, “North Korea: How Will It End?” *Current History* (September 2010): 237-243.

[E-RESERVE]

Leon V. Sigal, “Can Washington and Seoul Try Dealing With Pyongyang for a Change?” *Arms Control Association*, November 2010.

http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2010_11/Sigal

May 9:

Final Paper Due