

The Two Koreas: Contemporary Research and Record [765.712]
Professor J.J. Suh SAIS Fall 2011

Class: Tuesdays, 2:15-4:15 P.M. | BOB 714
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 4:30-6:30 P.M., or by appointment
Office: BOB 622
Phone: 202-663-5609
E-mail: jsuh8@jhu.edu

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 2011 to be published by the U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS in 2012. During the Thanksgiving break, student authors will also travel as a group with a 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 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. 6 memos are required.
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, and peer review others' draft. The draft should be as close to the final report as possible in length and quality, and is due by midnight Sunday October 30, 2011.
3. The final report for publication in the yearbook should be approximately 5,000 words in length. It is due by Tuesday December 13, 2011. Those students whose papers are selected for publication in the yearbook are responsible for working with a copyeditor in the spring term until the publication process is completed.

Grading

Grades will be based on class participation (30%), the first draft of the report for the yearbook (30%), the peer review (10%), and the final version of the report for publication (30%).

Lateness in submitting the draft and final report 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 Nautilus Peace and Security Network <http://www.nautilus.org/GC/mailling-lists/napsnet>.

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

I. Theoretical Frameworks

II. Nuclear Challenges

From Confrontation to Engagement to Confrontation

To Engage or to Contain?

III. Alliance Challenges

Development of the "Blood Alliance"

Democratization and Transformation

IV. Economic Challenges

Economic Development

The "IMF Crisis" and FTA

V. Korean Politics

Domestic Politics and Inter-Korean Relations

VI. Yearbook Drafts

The U.S. faces a crisis over the North Korean nuclear and missile programs, and is carefully managing its relations with South Korea over how to deal with those challenges. Can Washington manage its relations with the two Koreas without creating problems with one? The ROK-US Alliance remains one of the oldest security ties, but how is it adjusting to changes in military technology, American strategy, and Korea's domestic politics? KORUS-FTA has been negotiated and signed by the two governments in the US and Korea, but will it be ratified by the legislative bodies? If so, what would be its impacts? 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 online edition of the yearbook at <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/centers/reischauer/2003BB.pdf>. The U.S.-Korea Institute has published five issues (2006 - 2010) of the Korea Yearbook, which are available at <http://uskoreainstitute.org/2011/05/07/2010yearbook/>. The professor will also bring hard copies to the first class for students to examine.

Required Readings:

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.

Victor Cha and Katrin Katz, "South Korea in 2010," *Asian Survey* 51, no. 1 (2011), 54-63.

Recommended Readings:

Paik, Nak-chung. 2007. *Democracy and Peace in Korea Twenty Years After June 1987: Where Are We Now, and Where Do We Go from Here?* *Japan Focus*.

Pritchard, Charles L. "Jack", and John H. Tilelli Jr. *U.S. Policy toward the Korean Peninsula, Independent Task Force Report no. 64*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2010.

I. Theoretical Frameworks

Required Readings:

- 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.
- Solingen, Etel. "The Political Economy of Nuclear Restraint." *International Security* 19, no. 2 (1994): 126-69.

II. Nuclear Challenges

3. From Confrontation to Engagement to Confrontation Tuesday, September 13

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 put their alliance under strain.

Required Readings:

Cumings, chapters 4 and 5.

Oberdorfer, chapters 11-16, and Afterword.

Mazarr, Michael. 2007. The Long Road to Pyongyang. *Foreign Affairs* 86 (5):75-94.

Moon, Chung-in. 2008. Diplomacy of Defiance and Facilitation: The Six Party Talks and the Roh Moo Hyun Government. *Asian Perspective* 32(4): 71-105.

Recommended Readings:

"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. (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>

4. To Engage or To Contain?

Tuesday, September 20

Required Readings:

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

Cha, Victor. "What Do They Really Want? Obama's North Korea Conundrum." *Washington Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (2009): 119-38.

Pollack, Jonathan D. "Kim Jong-Il's Clenched Fist." *Washington Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (2009): 153-73.

Shen, Dingli. "Cooperative Denuclearization toward North Korea." *Washington Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (2009): 175-88.

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

Recommended Readings:

Chinoy, Mike. 2008. *Meltdown : The Inside Story of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis*. 1st ed. New York: St. Martin's Press.

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).

Pollack, Jonathan D. 2003. The United States, North Korea, and the end of the Agreed Framework. *Naval War College Review* 56 (3):11-49.

Harrison, Selig S. 2005. Did North Korea Cheat? *Foreign Affairs* 84 (1).

Snyder, Scott. 2007. Responses to North Korea's Nuclear Test: Capitulation or Collective Action? *Washington Quarterly* 30 (4):33-43.

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

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

5. Development of the "Blood Alliance"

Tuesday, September 27

Required Readings:

Suh, Power, Interest, and Identity in Military Alliances, chapters 2, 3, and 4.

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

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.

Nam, Chang-hee. 2007. Realigning the U.S. Forces and South Korea's Defense Reform 2020. *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* XIX (1):165-189.

Recommended Readings:

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.

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.

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 Readings:

Cumings, chapter 7.

Oberdorfer, chapter 4.

Chae, Haesook. "South Korean Attitudes toward the ROK–U.S. Alliance: Group Analysis." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 43, no. 3 (2010): 493-501.

Bae, Jong-Yun. "South Korean Strategic Thinking toward North Korea: The Evolution of the Engagement Policy and Its Impact upon U.S.-ROK Relations," *Asian Survey* 50, no. 2 (2010): 335-355.

Woo-Cumings, Meredith. 2004. Unilateralism and Its Discontents: The Passing of the Cold War Alliance and Changing Public Opinion in the Republic of Korea. In *Korean Attitudes toward the United States*, edited by David I. Steinberg: M.E. Sharpe.

Recommended Readings:

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.

Kim, Sunhyuk, Chonghee Han, and Jiho Jang. 2008. State-Society Relations in South Korea after Democratization: Is the Strong State Defunct? *Pacific Focus* 23(2): 252-70.

Chae, Haesook, and Steven Kim. 2008. Conservatives and Progressives in South Korea. *Washington Quarterly* 31(4): 77-95.

Schoff, J. L. and H.-j. Choi (2008). Reform Locally, Act Globally? Crisis Management Trends in Korea. *On Korea* Washington, DC, Korea Economic Institute. 2: 99-115.

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>

- 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>
- Kwon, Eundak, and Jae-Cheon Lim. 2006. "Crossing the River that Divides the Korean Peninsula: An Evaluation of the Sunshine Policy." *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 6 (2):126-56.
- Park, Yong-Ok. 2007. Post-CFC Korean Security: Key Issues and Suggestions. *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* XIX (2):5-20.
- Han, Yong-sup. 2006. Analyzing South Korea's Defense Reform 2020. *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* XVIII (1):111-133.
- Manyin, Mark E. 2003. South Korean Politics and Rising "Anti-Americanism": Implications for U.S. Policy Toward North Korea. In *Report for Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.
- Niksch, Larry. 2006. Korea: U.S.-Korean Relations--Issues for Congress. In *CRS Issue Brief for Congress*. Washington: Congressional Research Service.
- 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>

IV. Economic Challenges

7. Economic Development

Tuesday, October 11

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.

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

Recommended Readings:

- Evans, P. B. (1995) *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- 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>
- Park, Keunho, and Hiroko Kawasaki Clayton. 2003. The Vietnam War and the 'Miracle of East Asia'. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4 (3):372 - 398.

8. The "IMF Crisis" and FTA

Tuesday, October 18

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

- Chang, Ha-Joon. (1998) Korea: The Misunderstood Crisis. *World Development* 26:1555-61.
- 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.
- Lim, Hyun-Chin, and Jinho Jang. "Neo-Liberalism in Post-Crisis South Korea: Social Conditions and Outcomes." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 36, no. 4 (2006): 442-63.

Lim, Wonhyuk. (2006) KORUS FTA: A Mysterious Beginning, an Uncertain Future. *Asian Perspective* 30:175-87.

Cooper, William H., Mark E. Manyin, Vivian C. Jones, Stephen Cooney, and Remy Jurenas. (2008) The Proposed South Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (KORUS FTA): Provisions and Implications. In *CRS Report for Congress*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.

Recommended Readings:

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.iiie.com/publications/pb/pb06-4.pdf>

Haggard, Stephan, and Jongryn Mo. (2000) The Political Economy of the Korean Financial Crisis. *Review of International Political Economy* 7:197-218.

Korean and US Ngos Position Paper on Public Health and Ipr in the Korea-US Fta Negotiation. (2006).

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. Korean Politics

9. Domestic Politics and Inter-Korean Relations

Tuesday, October 25

Park, Sunwon, J.J. Suh, and Hahn Kim, "Dilemmas of Cooptation: Democratic Consolidation and Its Limits in Korea." (manuscript)

Kal, Hong. *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics and History*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011. Chapter 6 Flowing back to the Future: The Chonggye stream restoration," 103-123.

Son, Key-young. *South Korean Engagement Policies and North Korea: Identities, Norms and the Sunshine Policy*. London; New York: Routledge, 2006, Chapters 4 & 5, pp. 81-181.

Kim, Nan. "Korea on the Brink: Reading the Yŏnp'yŏng Shelling and Its Aftermath." *Journal of Asian Studies* 70, no. 2 (2011): 337-56.

Recommended Readings:

Moon, Chung-in. 2010. South Korea in 2009: From Setbacks to Reversal. *Asian Survey* 50(1): 56-64.

Kaesung IC case study

VI. Yearbook Drafts

10. Tuesday, November 1: Presentation and peer review of drafts.

11. Tuesday, November 8: Presentation and peer review of drafts.

12. Tuesday, November 15: Presentation and peer review of drafts / Briefing on the Field Trip.

13. Saturday November 19 – Sunday November 27: Field Trip to Seoul.

14. Tuesday, November 29: Students make trip reports.

Tuesday December 13: Final reports due.