

POLITICS IN THE TWO KOREAS

Fall 2016

The George Washington University

Class meets: Wed. & Fri., 11:10-12:25 p.m.
Monroe 251

PSC 2368

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Office hours: Wed. 3-5 p.m.
and by appointment

Course Description

In this course, we will examine political institutions, political processes, and policy issues in South Korea (the Republic of Korea, ROK) and North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, DPRK). We will trace the evolution of political institutions and examine the legacies of Japanese colonial rule and national division. Topics include authoritarianism and democratization (or lack thereof), economic development, civil society, political participation, and policy making. In the final part of the semester, our focus will turn to inter-Korean relations and regional security. We will examine issues related to North Korea's nuclear and missile programs, illicit activities, and the human rights situation, as well as security, sanctions, and the possibility of unification.

Learning Objectives

1. Understand political institutions, recent history, and policy processes in both Koreas
2. Learn to analyze political and social developments in and between both Koreas
3. Improve your ability to write and speak about political institutions and processes
4. Develop an abiding interest in the future of the Korean peninsula

Requirements

1. Class participation (15%)
2. Map quiz (10%)—in class on Sept. 14th
3. Policy analysis paper (30%)—due in class on Nov. 2nd
4. Book presentation (15%)—in class on Nov. 16th and 18th
5. Final exam (30%)—TBA

Required Readings & Blackboard

All readings are on Blackboard. Complete all assigned readings before the first class of each week.

Policy Analysis Paper (30% of your final grade)—Due Nov. 2nd in class

For this assignment you will write a 6-page essay (max 1,800 words) analyzing the politics of a particular policy area, such as disaster management, North Korea's nuclear program, or inter-Korean cooperation. You should focus on a specific issue (e.g., management of local opposition to THAAD deployment, progressive political parties' realignments in the ROK, implementation of last year's comfort women agreement, or executions in North Korea) that is being discussed in Korea during the semester. Base your analysis mainly on course readings, government websites, and relevant news stories that you gather from quality newspapers and magazines (refer to the links on Blackboard). Please clear your topic with me by Oct. 12th. Rather than advocating for a particular policy, use insights from course readings and lectures to deconstruct the political dynamics of the issue. For example, what government agencies, political parties, interest groups, and civil society actors are involved in policymaking? What interests do they bring to the debate and how do they interact? How do historical factors affect policymaking in this area? Incorporate at least five course readings and fifteen media and/or government sources to support your analysis. Start reading Korea-related news coverage as soon as possible to choose a topic and begin gathering relevant news articles. I will provide further instructions in the first few weeks of class.

Book Presentation (15% of your final grade)—In class on Nov. 16th and 18th

In November, small groups of students will present different books related to North Korea to the class. The books (listed below) include refugees' memoirs, journalistic accounts, and a former U.S. soldier's story. They contain different perspectives on life in the DPRK and the human rights situation in the North. The presentations are worth 15% of your final grade. All members of the group will receive the same grade. I will hand out more detailed instructions for the presentations later in the semester.

Course Policies

Participation: I expect you to come to every class prepared to participate actively. Class will involve a mixture of lectures, discussions, debates, and other in-class activities. Participation counts for 15% of your final grade. High-quality participation entails completing all readings and assignments on time, bringing thoughtful questions and insights about the readings to class, listening respectfully to your classmates, and adding your ideas to our discussions.

Absences: You'll receive a zero for participation if you have more than 2 unexcused absences (i.e., anything other than a documented medical reason, interview, or religious holiday). I'll take attendance randomly. Email me in advance if you need to miss class, arrive late, or leave early.

Classroom Etiquette: Please do not use your laptops to check email or do anything else online during class. Refrain from using your mobile devices. Do not arrive late or depart early from class. These behaviors are distracting to your fellow classmates and impede your learning.

Late Assignments: Papers be docked by 1/3 of a grade (i.e., from a B+ to a B) for each day late.

Grade Disputes: All grade disputes must be submitted to me in writing.

Academic Integrity

Do your own work. You must properly cite all the sources upon which you draw. Plagiarizing others' work is dishonest and will be handled as a serious offense. I will adhere to the GW Code of Academic Integrity, which states: "Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information." For the rest of the Code, see <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>. For an explanation of plagiarism and tips on how to avoid it, see <http://libguides.gwu.edu/content.php?pid=56080&sid=410568>. We will discuss issues related to plagiarism in class. Please consult me if you have any questions.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: <http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/>. Please also speak with me before the end of the second week of classes. All discussions will be kept confidential.

Course Topics and Reading Assignments

August 31—Introduction and Recent Developments

American Political Science Association Meetings (no class on Sept. 2)

PART I: THE EMERGENCE OF TWO KOREAS

September 7 & 9—Japanese Colonial Occupation and National Division

Carter Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New: A History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990): 254-326.

Charles K. Armstrong, *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950-1992* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013): 10-51.

September 14 & 16—Authoritarianisms

Map quiz in class on September 14

Gregg Brazinsky, *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007): 1-40.

Charles K. Armstrong, “The Nature, Origins, and Development of the North Korean State,” in Samuel S. Kim, ed., *The North Korean System in the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001): 39-63.

September 21 & 23—Explaining Economic Growth

Charles K. Armstrong, “‘Fraternal Socialism’: The International Reconstruction of North Korea, 1953-1962,” *Cold War History*, 5, no. 2 (May 2005): 161-187.

Atul Kohli, “Where Do High-Growth Political Economies Come From? The Japanese Lineage of Korea’s ‘Developmental State’,” *World Development* 22, no. 9 (1994): 1269-1293.

Stephan Haggard, David Kang, and Chung-in Moon, “Japanese Colonialism and Korean Development: A Critique,” *World Development* 25, no. 6 (1997): 867-881.

Atul Kohli, “Japanese Colonialism and Korean Development: A Reply,” *World Development* 25, no. 6 (1997): 883-888.

September 28 & 30—Democratic Transition in the ROK

Paul Y. Chang, *Protest Dialectics: State Repression and South Korea's Democracy Movement, 1970-1979* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015): 145-174.

James Fowler, "The United States and South Korean Democratization," *Political Science Quarterly* 114, no. 2 (1999): 265-288.

Eun Mee Kim, "Contradictions and Limits of a Developmental State: With Illustrations from the South Korean Case," *Social Problems* 40, no. 2 (May 1993): 228-249.

PART II: POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

October 5 & 7—The South Korean Political System and Policymaking

Uk Heo and Hans Stockton, "The Impact of Democratic Transition on Elections and Parties in South Korea," *Party Politics* 11, no. 6 (2005): 674-688.

Olli Hellmann, "Party System without Parties: Evidence from Korea," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 14, no. 1 (Jan.-Apr. 2014): 53-84.

Yusaku Horiuchi and Seungjoo Lee, "The Presidency, Regionalism, and Distributive Politics in South Korea," *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 6 (June 2008): 861-882.

October 12 & 14—Civil Society and Political Participation in South Korea

Sunhyuk Kim, "Civil Society and Contentious Democracy in South Korea," paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Washington, DC (September 2-5, 2010).

Joon Seok Hong, "From the Streets to the Courts: PSPD's Legal Strategy and the Institutionalization of Social Movements," in Gi-Wook Shin and Paul Y. Chang, eds., *South Korean Social Movements: From Democracy to Civil Society* (London: Routledge, 2011): 96-116.

Yong Cheol Kim and June Woo Kim, "South Korean Democracy in the Digital Age: The Candlelight Protests and the Internet," *Korea Observer* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 53-83.

October 19 & 21—Famine, Marketization, and Political Participation in North Korea

Hazel Smith, *North Korea: Markets and Military Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 186-234.

Andrei Nikolaevich Lankov, In-ok Kwak, and Choong-Bun Cho, “The Organizational Life: Daily Surveillance and Daily Resistance in North Korea,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 12, no. 2 (May-Aug. 2012): 193-214.

Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea* (Washington DC: The Peterson Institute for International Economy Press, 2011): 101-117.

PART III: INTER-KOREAN RELATIONS AND THE FUTURE OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA

Oct. 26 & 28—Understanding DPRK Policymaking and the North Korean Threat

Hazel Smith, “Bad, Mad, Sad, or Rational Actor?: Why the ‘Securitization’ Paradigm Makes for Poor Policy Analysis of north Korea,” *International Affairs* 76, no. 3 (2000): 593-617.

Patrick McEachern, “Interest Groups in North Korean Politics,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 8, no. 2 (May-Aug. 2008): 235-258.

Daniel Byman and Jennifer Lind, “Pyongyang’s Survival Strategy: Tools of Authoritarian Control in North Korea,” *International Security* 35, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 44-74.

November 2 & 4—The DPRK and Regional Security (Guests: Emma Chanlett-Avery and Mark Manyin on Nov. 2)

Policy analysis papers due—Nov. 2

“North Korea’s Threat to Regional Security,” in *Asia-Pacific Regional Security Assessment 2016* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2016): chapter 7.

Sheena Chestnut Greitens, “Illicit: North Korea’s Evolving Operations to Earn Hard Currency,” *Committee for Human Rights in North Korea* (2014)
<http://www.hrnk.org/uploads/pdfs/SCG-FINAL-FINAL.pdf>.

November 9 & 11—North Korea through Defectors' Eyes (Guest: Jeong Yeong on Nov. 9)

Sandra Fahy, *Marching through Suffering: Loss and Survival in North Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015): 148-168.

“Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea,” UN General Assembly, A/HRC/25/63 (Feb. 7, 2014), <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/CoIDPRK/Pages/ReportoftheCommissionofInquiryDPRK.aspx>.

November 16 & 18—North Korean Human Rights (book presentations in class)

Read one of the following:

Kang Chol-Hwan and Pierre Rigoulot, trans. Yair Reiner, *The Aquariums of Pyongyang: Ten Years in the North Korean Gulag* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

Charles Robert Jenkins, with Jim Frederick, *The Reluctant Communist: My Desertion, Court-Martial, and Forty-Year Imprisonment in North Korea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

Kim Yong with Kim Suk-Young, *Long Road Home: Testimony of a North Korean Camp Survivor* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

Barbara Demick, *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2010).

Blaine Harden, *Escape from Camp 14* (New York: Penguin, 2012).

Jang Jin-sung, trans. Shirley Lee, *Dear Leader: Poet, Spy, Escapee—A Look Inside North Korea* (New York: Atria, 2014).

Yeonmi Park with Maryanne Vollers, *In Order to Live: A North Korean Girl’s Journey to Freedom* (New York: Penguin Press, 2015).

Thanksgiving Break (no class November 23-25)

Nov. 30 & Dec. 2—Unification? (Guest: Koo Byoungsam on Dec. 2)

Asan Institute for Policy Studies, *South Korean Attitudes toward North Korea and Reunification*, Asan Report: Public Opinion Studies Program (Feb. 2015).

“Initiative for Korean Unification,” Ministry of Unification, Republic of Korea, (2015), read the PDF and view the accompanying video at <http://www.korea.net/Government/Current-Affairs/National-Affairs/view?affairId=461&subId=476&articleId=16399>.

Sue Mi Terry, “A Korea Whole and Free,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/ August 2014), <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/138584>.

John Delury and Chung-in Moon; Sue Mi Terry, “A Reunified Theory: Response,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/ December 2014), <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/139409>.

Victor Cha and David Kang, “Challenges for Korean Unification Planning: Justice, Markets, Health, Refugees, and Civil-Military Transitions,” Interim Report of the USC-CSIS Joint Study, *The Korea Project: Planning for the Long Term*, (Dec. 2011) http://csis.org/files/publication/111221_Cha_ChallengesKorea_WEB.pdf.

December 7 & 9—Debating Policy toward North Korea and a Review Session

Park Geun-hye’s February 2016 speech to the National Assembly and comments by Stephan Haggard, “Trustpolitik: RIP,” *PIIE Witness to Transformation Blog* <https://piie.com/blogs/north-korea-witness-transformation/trustpolitik-rip>.

Nat Kretchun and Jane Kim, “A Quiet Opening: North Koreans in a Changing Media Environment,” *InterMedia*, (May 2012) <http://www.intermedia.org/a-quiet-opening-in-north-korea/>.

Bruce W. Bennett and Jennifer Lind, “The Collapse of North Korea: Military Missions and Requirements,” *International Security* 36, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 84-119.