

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 dialogue, sanctions, and the possibility of unification.

Learning Objectives

1. Analyze political institutions, recent history, and policy processes in both Koreas
2. Learn to apply key theoretical concepts from comparative politics and international relations to 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. 14
3. Policy analysis paper (30%)—due in class on Nov. 7
4. Book presentation (15%)—in class on Nov. 28 and 30
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. 7th 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 dialogue. You should focus on a specific issue (e.g., Constitutional reform, youth unemployment, low birth rates, sexual harassment, sanctions enforcement or relief, separated family reunions, holding ex-President Park Geun-hye accountable, etc.) 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. 24th. 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? How have the politics of this policy changed over time? 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. 28 and 30

In late 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 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, adding your ideas to our discussions, completing mini-writing exercises in class.

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 must miss part or all of class.

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.

Average amount of out-of-class learning expected: 5 hours minimum per week.

Academic Integrity Code

Do your own work. 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 details and complete code, see: studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity.

University Policy on Observance of Religious Holidays

In accordance with University policy, students should notify faculty during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance. For details and policy, see: students.gwu.edu/accommodations-religious-holidays.

Support for Students outside the Classroom:

Disability Support Services (DSS): 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 the Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. Please do so by the end of the third week of classes. All discussions will be kept confidential. For additional information see: disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/.

Mental Health Services 202-994-5300: The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: counselingcenter.gwu.edu/.

Safety and Security: In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

Course Topics and Reading Assignments

Week 1: August 29—Introduction and Recent Developments

PART I: THE EMERGENCE OF TWO KOREAS

Week 2: September 5 & 7—Japanese Colonial Occupation and National Division

Michael J. Seth, *A Concise History of Korea*, 2nd edition, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016): 283-324.

Michael E. Robinson, *Korea's Twentieth Century Odyssey* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007): 100-120.

September 12—Book Talk on *North Korean Human Rights: Activists and Networks* Andrew Yeo and Danielle Chubb, eds. (Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Go straight to Linder Commons (1957 E Street, 6th Floor)—be there by 11am

Week 3: September 14—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.

Wonjun Song and Joseph Wright, "The North Korean Autocracy in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 18, no. 2 (July 2018): 157-180.

Week 4: September 19 & 21—Economic Growth and the State's Role

In-class debate on Kohli vs. HKM on Sept. 21

Michael J. Seth, *A Concise History of Modern Korea*, Vol. 2, 2nd edition, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016): 129-165.

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.

Week 5: September 26 & 28—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, and 195-216.

Joan E. Cho and Paul Y. Chang, “Socioeconomic Foundations of South Korea’s Democracy Movement” in Youna Kim (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Korean Culture and Society: A Global Approach* (London: Routledge, 2016): 63-75.

1987: When the Day Comes (2017 film)

PART II: POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

Week 6: October 3 & 5—The South Korean Political System and Policymaking

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

Jiso Yoon, *Advocacy and Policymaking in South Korea* (SUNY Press, 2016): 1-10, 35-56 (chapters 1 & 3).

Week 7: October 10 & 12—Civil Society and Contentious Politics in South Korea

Sunhyuk Kim and Jong-Ho Jeong, “Historical Development of Civil Society in Korea Since 1987,” *Journal of International and Area Studies* 24, no. 2 (2017): 1-14.

Yoonkyung Lee, “Redefining Democracy through the 2016 Protest Movement in Korea,” *Analyses and Alternatives* 1, no 1 (March 2017): 17-30.

Nan Kim, “Candlelight and the Yellow Ribbon: Catalyzing Re-Democratization in South Korea,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 15, no. 14-5 (July 2017): 1-17.

Week 8: October 17 & 19—Understanding DPRK Policymaking

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.

(OPTIONAL) Jung H. Pak, “The Education of Kim Jong-un,” *Brookings Essay* (February 2018), <https://www.brookings.edu/essay/the-education-of-kim-jong-un/>.

Week 9: Oct. 24 & 26—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.

(OPTIONAL) 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.

(OPTIONAL) Nat Kretchun et al., “Compromising Connectivity,” *InterMedia*, (Feb. 2017) http://www.intermedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Compromising-Connectivity-Final-Report_Soft-Copy.pdf.

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

Week 10: October 31 & November 2—The North Korean Issue and Regional Security

(Guests: from Congressional Research Service on Nov. 2)

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.

Eleanor Albert, “North Korea’s Military Capabilities,” *Council on Foreign Relations Background* (last updated June 2018), <https://www.cfr.org/background/north-koreas-military-capabilities>.

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>.

“(Summary) 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),
<https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/108/66/PDF/G1410866.pdf?OpenElement>.

Week 11: November 7 & 9—Pressure and Dialogue as Policies toward the DPRK

Policy analysis papers due—Nov. 7

Van Jackson, “Deterring a Nuclear-Armed Adversary in a Contested Regional Order: The ‘Trilemma’ of U.S.-North Korea Relations,” *Asia Policy: National Bureau of Asian Research* 23 (January 2017): 97-103.

Jung H. Pak and Ryan L. Haas, “Beyond Maximum Pressure,” *Brookings Policy Brief* (December 2017), https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/north_korean_denuclearization.pdf.

Joshua Stanton, Sung-Yoon Lee, and Bruce Klingler, “Getting Tough on North Korea,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2017): 65-75.

Justin V. Hastings, “The Complex Relationship between Sanctions and North Korea’s Illicit Trade,” *Asia Policy: National Bureau of Asian Research* 13, no. 3 (July 2018): 28-34.

Week 12: November 14 & 16—North-South Relations, Nationalism, and Unification

(Guest: a North Korean defector on Nov. 16)

Yangmo Ku, Inyeop Lee, and Jongseok Woo, *Politics in North and South Korea: Political Development, Economy, and Foreign Relations* (London: Routledge, 2018): 192-214.

Chung-in Moon, “Managing North Korean Nuclear Threats: In Defense of Dialogue and Negotiations,” *Asia Policy: National Bureau of Asian Research* 23 (January 2017): 74-82.

Emma Campbell, “The End of Ethnic Nationalism? Changing Conceptions of National Identity and Belonging among Young South Koreans,” *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 3 (2015): 483-502.

Blue House, “The Journey Toward Peace: Results of the 2018 Inter-Korean Summits,” (June 2018).

Thanksgiving Break (no class November 21-23)

Week 13: November 28 & 30—North Korea through Defectors’ Eyes

Read one of the following: ***(book presentations in class)***

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).

Masaji Ishikawa, *A River in Darkness: One Man’s Escape from North Korea* (Seattle: AmazonCrossing, 2018).

Week 14: December 5 & 7—Debating Policy toward North Korea and a Review Session

Asan Institute for Policy Studies, *U.S.-North Korea Summit and South Koreans’ Perceptions of Neighboring Countries*, Asan Report: Public Opinion Studies

Program (July 2018) <http://en.asaninst.org/contents/u-s-north-korea-summit-and-south-koreans-perceptions-of-neighboring-countries/>.

Victor Cha and Katrin Fraser Katz, “The Right Way to Coerce North Korea,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2018): 87-100.

Robert Jervis, “Unpacking a US Decision to Use Force Against North Korea: Issues, Options, and Consequences,” *38 North Special Report* (Jan. 2018), <https://www.38north.org/reports/2018/01/rjervis013118/>.

Carla Freeman and Mel Gurtov, “Unpacking a US Decision to Engage North Korea: What it Entails and What it Could Achieve,” *38 North Special Report* (April 2018), <https://www.38north.org/reports/2018/04/cfreemanmgurtov041618/>.

Oriana Skylar Mastro, “Why China Won’t Rescue North Korea: What to Expect If Things Fall Apart,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2018): 58-66.