

Spring 2012

INTA 4803/8803

Mon, Wed, Fri: 1:05-1:55

Instr Center 107

Office Hours: Mon, Wed, Fri, 2:20-3:30PM

Office: Ivan Allen College 212D

Instructor: Jaewoo Choo

North Korean Politics and Foreign Policy

North Korea still survives as a state in a very unorthodox way in this world of globalization and interdependence. It relies on every possible opposing means to globalization and interdependence. It is so isolated and its door is sealed so tight that it remains more hermit than when Korea was tagged as a “hermit kingdom” during the peak of its isolation policy adopted in the late 19th century. Yet, Pyongyang still finds ways to survive. Regardless of how it meets the needs to run the country, whether by depending on brinkmanship strategy or free aid, the regime in Pyongyang is determined to remain a hereditary dynasty.

How does North Korea survive? This is the question that this class is designed to tackle. The class will attempt to seek answers through the studies of political foundations, actors, institutions, power structure, governance structure and strategies, and the way it conducts its foreign relations. The course will heavily focus on the political aspect of the measures that the North employs for survival. At the domestic level, the main focus is on the strategies that the regimes in Pyongyang have adopted for the survival and consolidation of their power. At the external level, the course will extensively deal with how the North has tried to secure security assurance and economic needs from both the US and China. The course will conclude with some suggestive remarks on how the world should get ready for potential future challenges arising from ever contracting economic conditions and uncertainties inherent in weak political foundation of a young leader, Kim Jung Un.

Grades

Attendance and weekly essay (half-to one-page long, due on every Friday): 25%

Outline of term-paper (due on mid-term week): 25%

A 15-20 page-long term paper: 50%

Textbooks

Patrick McEachern, *Inside the Red Box: North Korea's Post-Totalitarian Politics* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2010).

Suk Hi Kim, Bernhard Seliger, and Terence Roehrig, eds. *The Survival of North Korea: Essays on Strategy, Economics and International Relations*, (McFarland, 2011)

Kyung-Ae Park, *New Challenges of North Korean Foreign Policy*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Yongho Kim, *North Korean Foreign Policy: Security Dilemma and Succession*, (Lexington Books, 2010)

Other references are available on Online.

Course Schedules

Week 1 Introduction: Getting a sense of North Korea I: Economic Conditions

Barbara Demick, "Nothing Left; Letter from Yanji," *The New Yorker*, July 12, 2010, Vol. 86, Iss. 20, pp. 44

Andrei Lankov and Kim Seok-hyang, "North Korean Market Vendors: The Rise of Grassroots Capitalists in a Post-Stalinist Society," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 1, Spring 2008, pp. 53-72.

Ajmal M. Qureshi, "A Decade of Food Insecurity in North Korea," *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, 11, pp. 41-45.

Debra Liang-Fenton, "Failing to Protect: Food Shortage and Prison Camps in North Korea," *Asian Perspective*, Vol 31, No. 2, 2007, pp. 47-74.

Week 2 Getting a sense of North Korea II: Politics and Military

John Delury, "North Korea: 20 Years of Solitude," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 4, Winter 2008/09, pp. 75-82.

James Przystup, "North Korea: Challenges, Interests, and Policy," *Strategic Forum*, No. 25, November 2009 (<http://www.ndu.edu/inss>)

Glyn Ford, "North Korea in transition," *Soundings*, No. 43, December 2009, pp. 125-134.

Jae-Jung Suh, "Assessing the Military Balance in Korea," *Asian Perspectives*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2004, pp. 63-88.

Week 3 Political Foundations in North Korea

Patrick McEachern, *Inside the Red Box: North Korea's Post-Totalitarian Politics* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2010). Chapter 3, 2, 4, and 8.

Week 4 Economic Institutions and Fragile Economy

John S. Park, "North Korea, Inc., Gaining Insights into North Korean Regime Stability from Recent Commercial Activities," *United States Institute of Peace Working Paper*, May 2009

Suk Hi Kim, Bernhard Seliger, and Terence Roehrig, eds. *The Survival of North Korea: Essays on Strategy, Economics and International Relations*, (McFarland, 2011) Chapter 3, 6, 9

Week 5 Ideology, Politics, and Government

Koh, Byung Chul, "North Korean Communism: Past and Present," *New Asia*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 2003, pp. 48-78.

Patrick McEachern, "North Korea's Policy Process: Assessing Institutional Policy Preferences," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 49, Issue 3, pp. 528=552.

McEachern, Chapter 4.

Week 6 Political Actors

Dongmin Lee, "The Role of the North Korean Military in the Power-Transition Period," *Background Paper Series*, (Seoul: Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University, July 2011)

Patrick McEachern, "Interest Groups in North Korean Politics," *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol. 8, 2008, pp. 235-258.

Week 7 Pyongyang's Regime Survival Strategies

Daniel Byman and Jennifer Lind, "Pyongyang's Survival Strategy Tools of Authoritarian Control in North Korea," *International Security*, Vol. 35, No. 1 Summer 2010, pp. 44-74.

Soyoung Kwon, "State Building in North Korea: From A 'Self-Reliant' to a 'Military-First' State," *Asian Affairs*, Vol. XXXIV, No. III, November 2003, pp. 286-296.

Dae-Sook Suh, "Military First Politics of Kim Jong Il," *Asian Perspective*, Vol 26, No. 3, 2002, pp. 145-167.

Kap-sik Kim, "Suryong's Direct Rule and the Political Regime in North Korea Under Kim Jong Il," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 2008, pp. 87-109.

Week 8 Ultimate Survival Strategy-Nukes

Jacques E. C. Hymans, "Assessing North Korean Nuclear Intentions and Capacities: A New Approach," *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol. 8, 2008, pp. 259-292.

Benjamin Habib, "North Korea's nuclear weapons program and the maintenance of the Songun system," *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 43-64.

Larry A. Niksch, "North Korea's Nuclear Development and Diplomacy," *Congressional Report Service(CRS) Report for Congress*, September 9, 2009.

Yong Chool Ha and Chaesung Chun, "North Korea's Brinkmanship and the Task to Solve the 'Nuclear Dilemma'," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 2010, pp. 87-109.

Week 9 North Korea's Foreign Policy

Kyung-Ae Park, *New Challenges of North Korean Foreign Policy*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Yongho Kim, *North Korean Foreign Policy: Security Dilemma and Succession*, (Lexington Books, 2010)

Week 10 North Korea and the US

Karin Lee and Adam Miles, "North Korea on Capitol Hill," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2004, pp. 185-207.

Sung Chul Yang, "Memoirs of a Korean Ambassador: From Engagement to Engagement Under Clinton and Bush," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2010, pp. 191-214.

Sharon Squassoni and Fred McGoldrick, "Nonproliferation Policy towards North Korea," Nautilus Institute, November 24, 2009

Larry Nicksch, "North Korea: Terrorism List Removal?" *CRS Report for Congress*, November 6, 2008.

Week 11 North Korea and the US

Charles K. Armstrong, "US-North Korean Relations," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2004, pp. 13-37.

Jongwoo Han, "North Korea's Diplomacy to Engage the United States," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 1, pp. 105-120.

Gregory J. Moore, "America's Failed North Korea Nuclear Policy: A New Approach," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 2008, pp. 9-27.

Andrei Lankov, "Why the United States Will Have to Accept a Nuclear North Korea," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 2009, pp. 251-264.

Week 12 North Korea and China: Inception of Alliance

Hao Yufan and Zhai Zhihai, "China's Decision to Enter the Korean War: History Revisited," *The China Quarterly*, No. 121, March 1990, pp. 94-115.

Charles Armstrong, "'Fraternal Socialism': The International Reconstruction of North Korea, 1953-62," *Cold War History*, Vol. 5, No. 2, May 2005, pp. 161-187.

Shen Zhihua, "Alliance of 'Tooth and Lips' or Marriage of Convenience? The Origins and Development of the Sino-North Korean Alliance, 1946-1958," *Working Paper Series 08-09*, (Washington DC: US-Korea Institute at SAIS, December 2008).

Chen Xiaohe, "The Evolution of Sino-North Korean Relations in the 1960s," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 2010, pp. 173-199.

Week 13 North Korea and China: Current Relations

Kyung-Ae Park, *New Challenges of North Korean Foreign Policy*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Yongho Kim, *North Korean Foreign Policy: Security Dilemma and Succession*, (Lexington Books, 2010)

Dick K. Nanto, Mark E. Manyin, and Kerry Dumbaugh, "China-North Korea Relations," *CRS Report for Congress*, January 22, 2010.

Gordon G. Chang, "Fatal Attraction: China's Strengthening Partnership with North Korea," *World Affairs*, May/June 2011, pp. 43-50.

Carla Freeman and Drew Thompson, "The Real Bridge to Nowhere: China's Foiled North Korea Strategy," *USIP Working Paper*, April 22, 2009.

Week 14 Nuke and China

Shi Yinhong, "China and the North Korean nuclear issue: competing interests and persistent policy dilemmas," *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, Vol. 21, No. 1, March 2009, pp. 33-47.

Jian Cai, "The Korea Nuclear Crisis and the Changing Sino-DPRK Relationship," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 2010, pp. 137-158.

Gregory J. Moore, "How North Korea threatens China's interests: understanding Chinese 'duplicity' on the North Korean nuclear issue," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 8, 2008, pp. 1-29.

Week 15 North Korea, Japan, and Russia

Kyung-Ae Park, *New Challenges of North Korean Foreign Policy*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Yongho Kim, *North Korean Foreign Policy: Security Dilemma and Succession*, (Lexington Books, 2010)

Takayuki Onozuka, "Security of Japan and Korean Unification," USAWC Strategy Research Project, (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 2006).

James Clay Moltz, "Russia and the Two Koreas: The Dilemmas of 'Dual Engagement'," *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1998, pp. 380-395.

Week 16 North Korea and the Six-party talks

Chu Shulong and Lin Xinzhu, "The Six Party Talks: A Chinese Perspective," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 2008, pp. 29-43.

Georgy Toloraya, "The Six Party Talks: A Russian Perspective," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 2008, pp. 45-69.

Virginie Grzelczyk, "Six-Party Talks and Negotiation Strategy: When Do We Get There?" *International Negotiation*, Vol. 2009, pp. 95-119.

Week 17 Potential Challenges: Reforms and Contingencies

Seong-Ho Sheen, "US Contingency Plan for North Korea's Regime Collapse," *Working Paper Series No. 10*, (Seoul: Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University, October 2011)

Yong-Soo Park, "The Political Economy of Economic Reform in North Korea," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 63, No. 4, December 2009, pp. 529-549.

Keun Lee, Byung-Yeon Kim, and Insook Lee, "The Possibility of Economic Reform in North Korea," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 39, No. 2, May 2009, pp. 279-294.

Week 18 Ending the War

Elizabeth A. Stanley, "Ending the Korean War: The Role of Domestic Coalition Shifts in Overcoming Obstacles to Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 1, Summer 2009, pp. 42-82.

Leon V. Sigal, "Hand In Hand For Korea: A Peace Process and Denuclearization," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2008, pp. 5-19.

Kun Young Park, "Preparing For a Peace Process in the Korean Peninsula," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2009, pp. 183-207.

Good luck with your final paper.