
영문 초록

A Theoretical Observation for Analysis of 'Individual Party Crisis'

The problem of the leadership and 'the politics of incentive'
in focused

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This article looks about problem of individual party crisis. At this time, this article principally suggests that the like next fourth argument. The first, Individual party crisis means that phenomena are weakening of creation and preservation of collective identity, weakening of support of the electorate, decrease of vote-getting, election defeat(especially crucial the election), challenge of alternative organization, failure of control of intra conflict. The second, more than anything else, individual party crisis attributes to shortage of adaptability of change of external environments. The third, the leadership is the most important to adaptation to change of external environments. The fourth, the politics of incentive is significant in the leadership. That is, Party leaders have to solve the problem of provide of incentives to the members of party.

■ Key Words: party crisis, leadership, incentives, party leaders, activist

The Election System Reforms for the Development of the Party Politics

The Enlargement of Proportional Representation System and the Sekihairitsu Rule

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This article focused on the election system for the development of the party politics, especially the sekihairitsu rule of Japanese election system. Like Japanese system, the Korean present election system is a combination of the single-seat constituency system and proportional representation. Voters cast two ballots: first, one for an individual candidate in the single-seat constituency, and second, one for a political party in the proportional representation election. Under the system, out of 299 Members, 245 are elected from single-seat constituencies, and remaining 54 by proportional representation. The focus of election system reforms in Korea is the enlargement of PR system and the introduction of sekihairitsu rule. This article argues the positive aspects of the sekihairitsu rule. The sekihairitsu rule will promote the competition of the intro-party candidates who are not elected from single-seat constituencies. Therefore this rule results in the reinforcement of party activities at the regional level.

■ Key Words: the Sekihairitsu Rule, Proportional Representation, Election System Reforms, Korea, Japan

A Study on the Process of the Split of the Democratic Labor Party(DLP) in South Korea

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This paper aims to analyze the key reasons and process of the split of the Democratic Labor Party in South Korea. In the 2004 general election, the DLP succeeded in entering the National Assembly with 10 seats. 3 years later, its defeat in the 2007 presidential election and the failure of the party reform led to the split of the party.

Firstly, this paper explores the structure and characteristics of conflicts between factions within the DLP under three different leaderships (Kwon Young-ghil, Kim Hye-kyung and Moon Sung-hyun) last 7 years. Secondly, this paper tries to explain why the DLP failed to manage its catastrophic situation which led to the split of the party itself by mobilizing its leadership and apparatuses. In conclusion, this paper argues that the split of the DLP was the result of the failure of its self-examination and reform on the 'faction-supremacy structure within the party', in particular, the 'pro-North Korea biased group' hegemony in the dominant faction of the party.

- **Key Words:** progressive party, split of DLP, factions, faction conflict, faction-supremacy structure, pro-North Korea biased group, hegemony, institution, leadership, democratic accountability, responsibility

Party System and Welfare Politics

Focused on the welfare politics of Uri Party and KDLP under
'dominant conservative-liberal party system'

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The purpose of this article is to find the relationship of Korean party system and welfare politics after the 17th general election(2004). Studies on the retard or underdevelopment of Korean welfare state had been concentrated on mainly government policy, so called 'residual welfare policy'. After the Democratization(1987), however, especially through the economic crisis in 1997 the welfare agenda was raising as a very important policy from civil society, consequently the restricted welfare system which protected only the extreme poor was translated to the basic universal system.

And as not only Roh Moo-hyun(Candidate nominated by the Democrats) was elected to the 17th presidential election in 2002 and the 'democratization movement forces' won general election in 2004, but also the leftist party(Korean Democratic Labor party) won 10 seats, Korean people were anticipated the welfare-expansion and reducing the inequality.

But during the period of ruling 'democratic government, ironically, Korean people have experienced continuous and serious socioeconomic polarization. I would ascribe these results as the limit of welfare politics of Uri party and KDLP under dominant conservative-liberal party system, although they called themselves as 'pro-welfare party'.

While the core welfare policy of Uri party(government party) was to complement that of the precursor, the basic lines on welfare policy of KDLP was to make increase the size and expenditures of state welfare. Because the aim of welfare on Uri party was in persist and complement the present welfare institutions, they cooperated with the Grand National Party(the conservative)

rather than KDLP relatively to pass their legislative bills.

KDLP had many obstacles to difficult to realize their policies. First of all, they were minority. So there was necessary to try 'social solidarity' to overcome these difficulties. But Debate on this agenda of KDLP had been made not deepen but retrench the strategy for realizing social solidarity. For this reasons, welfare politics of KDLP have not influenced real politics strongly. Moreover, dominant conservative-liberal party system had weaken such as their conditions.

- Key Words: party system, welfare politics, Uriparty, KDLP, market rationality, social solidarity

Recovery of the Status of Teacher for Irregular Professors and Normalization of University Education in Korea

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135,000 irregular professors containing 70,000 part-time lecturers who undertake half of all university lectures but they are absent of the status of teacher. The part-time lecturers who critical to the dictatorship had been deprived the status of teacher in 1977 under the Dictator Park Junghee by revision of the Law of Education and have no status of teacher and no rights to participate in university administration until now. The non-tenure track also have no status of teacher.

The character of labor for irregular professors on the Labor Standard Act had been recognized by the Supreme Court ruling in 2007, so almost of the part-time lectures have not contracted with university, not been admitted the 4 insurance and not offered the study room and the research expense. The average irregular professors lecture 4.2 hours in a week and the annual total lecture fee is 4,875,000 won. The latter are 1/5-1/10 of the regular professor's.

This bad condition lowered the standard of research, teaching and education, and has violated the student's rights of learning and parent's rights of education. So the independent teaching is impossible. The dialogue, question & answer, criticism disappeared in school room, and only existed the lopsided teaching and the cramming system of education. This system make Korean society who shift to a post-industrialization era worry about their future.

The irregular professors had organized the union in 1988 and had made efforts to get back the status of teacher but not achieved. They constructed a small tent in front of the Korea National Assembly and sitting strike over 600 days until now. And the college students are picketing over 1 year in front of the Ministry of Education, Technology & Engineering and the office of a member of

National Assembly.

Members of the National Assembly of 3 ruling and opposite parties proposed 3 bills to revise the Law of Higher Education to get back the status of teacher for irregular professors in 17th session. But that were wasted by the counteraction of universities and unwelcoming of the Ministry of Education. Member Lee Sangmin proposed bill again in 18th session but have a not good prospect.

The power and will of the irregular professor to solve this problem are weak and most of regular professors are against this. So the irregular professors have to liberate the self censorship and cooperate to revise the Law of Higher Education with the student who want to recover the rights of learn, parents who want to keep the rights of education, and society who prepare the post-industrialization era.

■ **Key Words:** part-time lecturer, irregular Professor, status of teacher, Law of Higher Education, state violence, college education, rights of learn, rights of education, academic freedom, Kyungsun Han

The Study on the Characteristics of the April Revolution

Reflection on the Democratization from the perspective of the
'Subaltern'

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This paper attempts to re-examine a political change or democratization from the perspective of the 'subaltern' who are regarded as 'the other' or 'the unrecognized' dealing with the case of the April Revolution in 1960 in South Korea. This paper aims to place the 'subaltern' on a key object of the political analysis by making a political interpretation on them, who presented in the process of the April Revolution, then to give a new analytic meaning to the characteristics of the politics changes in South Korea in terms of democratization.

In this sense, this paper begins by questioning how the study of the subaltern can be applicable into the fields of political change and democracy. This paper, then, provides an new analytic account to the understanding of democracy and democratization. As a tentative result, this paper argues that in the contemporary world a certain while democratic order which is unfixed and temporal is reconstructed through a certain political change, it is required to involve a double operation of inclusion and exclusion of the subaltern as the democratic leftover.

In particular, whereas focusing the period of the April Revolution, this paper underlines the importance of the study of 'participants' in courses of political change and democratization in South Korea. In addition, it contributes to develop political and social perception on the subaltern, then to put issues related to them into social and political agendas.

■ Key Words: April Revolution, Subaltern, Democracy, Democratization,
Political Change, Democratic Leftover, The Unrecognized

Examination of Healing the Wounds of the Past and Its Effects

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More than a little time has passed since the implementation of systems for healing the wounds of the past. However, there has been little discussion about the suitability and effects of the methods used in such systems. The purpose of this paper is to closely examine the effects of work aimed at clearing the past, which the government is pursuing as part of social healing of wounds from the past. What this paper intends to focus on are the composition of the method of forming models for the clarification of the past and of healing, the effectiveness and limitations of institutional healing, and the social response toward healing, among other matters.

Systems directed at healing the wounds of the past can be categorized into several types: the 'May 18 model' the 'democratization model' and the 'civilian sacrifice model' They are all closely related. For several reasons, the characteristics of the later models and the level of work committed to clearing the past have been steadily diminishing. The detailed measures adopted to bring about healing have been largely disregarded. It was not until rulings were made on these measures by the judiciary that they began to demonstrate some effects. Compensation for damages, which is regarded as an important way of healing the wounds of the past, is practically at a standstill. The response by civic society toward healing the wounds of the past is also weak. Due to the abovementioned phenomena, there is a significant need to create a new entity in civic society to lead efforts to heal the wounds of the past and to find alternative ways of doing so.

■ **Key Words:** The Past, The Clarification of the Past, Healing the wounds, Restoration of Honor, Compensation

A Study on the Reservation or Destruction to the Constitutional Order by Political Authority

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This article places the analytic focus on the abuse of state power under successive undemocratic rulers since the 1945 liberation. The popular sovereignty and the liberal-democratic basic order have been stood as a symbol for the democratic constitutional order. But, from the First Republic to the Sixth Republic, the democratic constitutional order had been threatened and destroyed by the authoritarian government. This study tries to understand democratization in Korea, as a movement for safeguarding democratic constitutionalism. But, at the same time, we can observe that democratic constitutionalism had been as a tools for the authoritarian dominance. Historically, no other ideology has affected such a fatal damage to the democratic constitutional order as the anticommunism and the ideology of rapid growth. The National Security Law, which defines North Korea as anti-state, was frequently abused by military dictatorships(or authoritarian government) to repress democratic activists in the half a century.

■ Key Words: democratic constitutional order, liberal democracy, liberal democratic basic order, democratic movements

Preliminary Remarks on the Judicialization of Politics in Korea

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One of the most significant effects of recent social trend has been the transformation of courts into major political decision-making bodies and a corresponding judicialization of politics(JOP). JOP is the displacement of the political by the juridical. This phenomenon has not been restricted to Korea but also has become common throughout the advanced democracies, especially since World War II. I describe the development of constitutional adjudication, which is, in various ways, transforming the role of parliament in Korea. Since the transition to democratic political system in 1987, both local and national courts have begun to play a much more active and important role in deciding important and controversial social questions, questions traditionally decided by governments and parliaments. This is a particularly striking development on a society so opposed to judicial review of legislation for most of the past two decades. Although there are important differences among the states, we can witness the creation of a structure of fundamental rights and liberties that are protected by courts, often with the collaboration of political institutions as well.

■ **Key Words:** judicialization of politics, rights-enhancing judicialization, judicial decision making, judicial lawmaking, policy gridlock, politics by other means

Publicness as Politics and Innovating the Democracy in Korea

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Just like in the many country over the world, Korea has also experienced the destruction of civil right and the dissolution of civil society from the spread of the free market ideology and policies for the last several decades. And it has resulted in the crisis of Korean democracy. So there has been many discussions about 'publicness' as one of the alternatives to the free market ideology. So far, it has been only understood as an agreement of decision making process or a social economic model. But this paper argues that the essence of publicness is politics. Because the absence of social consensus system about common value made it almost impossible to come up with measures to deal with the deepening polarization of the economy and the instability of people's life. Therefore it emphasizes the importance of 'political reform' agenda, focusing on the harmony of the civil participation and the representative system.

■ Key Words: publicness, politics, civil society, democracy, political reform