

Between Democracy and Neoliberalism

Politics of the Liberal Governments 10 Years in Korea

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The purpose of this paper is to analyze 'politics of the liberal governments 10 years(1998-2008) in Korea' with the special emphasis on political democracy and civil and political rights. As the reduction of the number of political prisoners shows, political democracy had reached the highest level in Korean history during the Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun governments. However, even in this period, political democracy had been constantly undermined by the tendency toward (neoliberal) police state inherent in neoliberal policies these governments had pursued. In other words, one nation hegemony project had been constantly undermined by neoliberal accumulation strategy. Furthermore, political democracy these governments had achieved is threatened by the Lee Myong Bak government which succeeded in taking over power thanks to economic hardships introduced by neoliberalism.

Key Words: democracy, civil and political rights, neoliberalism, Kim Dae Jung, Roh Moo Hyun, Lee Myong Bak

The Democratization of Labour Society in Korea: 1987~2007

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After the 1987 democratic transition and Great Struggle of working people, the labour right had advanced substantially in Korea. It was expressed in the formation of democratic labour movement and so called 'the 1987 labour regime.' In this period the labour movement was the strong engine of democratization of workplace and even whole Korean society. But the foreign exchange crisis in 1997 had changed the climate of Korean labour politics enormously. The harsh tide of structural adjustment has swept away every workplace and company. It has weakened the labour rights of working people decisively. Consequently Korean democratic labour movement, Minjunojoundong, have fallen into a deep structural crisis.

Key Words: the 1987 labour regime, labour regime, Minjunojo, democratization, neoliberalism

Incomplete Democracy and Crisis of Social Rights

Crisis of Politics and 'Vicious Circle of Social Rights'

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In the 'social rights' perspective, our society is in the state of crisis. Despite of development of social right in the field of welfare, there is the lack or retreat of main social rights like labour, education, housing. We find here the 'vicious circle of social rights' formed during one decade after the financial crisis of 1997. While several earlier studies have shown that the absence of social rights in a country is result of globalization, government failure, demographic changes like low fertility and ageing, and the like, we are more interested here in 'crisis of politics' that has amplified the antagonism and conflicts in the society after democratization. The essence of our argument is that the crisis of social rights in our country is a product of incompelete or defective democracy. The political parties and politicians lack the capacity to make desired reforms in the fields of social rights, focusing only on the result of elections. It is however inevitable to explore the solutions in the 'politics.'

Key Words: social rights, democracy after democratisation, welfare politics

North-South Korean Relationship in Kim Dae Jung · Roh Moo Hyun Government

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The June 15, 2000 Joint Declaration is very important for the development of two Korea's relations. First Summit after the division of Korea into north and south was the turning point for two Korea's coexistence and coprosperity. Also Second Summit had discussions on various issues related to realizing the advancement of South-North relations, peace on the Korean Peninsula, common prosperity of the Korean.

Kim Dae Jung \cdot Roh Moo Hyun Government had made effort for the peaceful co-existence, the settlement of resolving North Korea's nuclear issue and the peace regime in Korean Peninsula. In the future We have to solve the peace regime in Korean peninsula, economic community between two korea, and the future-oriented public discourse on the North Korea policy.

Key Words: South-North Summit, Peace Regime in Korean peninsula, Economic Cooperation between two Korea. North Korea's nuclear issue.

The Student Movement after the April Revolution, and Their Aspiration to Overcome the 'underdeveloped nature' of the Korean Society

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After the April Revolution in 1960, students identified the primary problem of the Korean society at the time to be its underdeveloped nature, and also reasoned that overcoming such underdeveloped nature of the country would be the ultimate way to complete the revolution. In order to do so they pursued two particular objectives, Enlightenment and Unification, while also maintaining the generally shared aspiration of overcoming the underdeveloped state of the Korean society through establishing an independent economy. Yet there was also a difference. The Enlightenment movement urged people to consume domestic products, while the Unification movement raised the issue of not depending upon foreign aids any longer, or issues of South-North Korean exchanges and achieving unification.

Yet both movements displayed a certain level of disarray and disturbance in their respective developments. Although the Enlightenment Movement did not remain as a mere campaign urging people to use domestic products and later arranged aggressive demonstrations on the street while also blaming the U.S. who was the provider of all those foreign relief, they also exhibited a certain level of passiveness in political terms, as we can see from remarks such as "Students are innocent," or "Student should remain innocent." The Unification Movement managed to stir up quite a response throughout the society with its proposal of a South-North Korean Conference of students, yet it was unable to defend itself from all those negative criticism of the Anti-Communism factions and in the end had to withdraw from its original stance. The lack of support from the students in general also led both movements to experience turbulence in their early stages.

Key Words: the April Revolution, enlightenment movement, unification movement, underdeveloped nature, independent economy

Institutionalization of the April Revolution's Memory and Its Social Effects

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For fifty years the April Revolution as an object of memory has been taken the shape of various commemoration projects. This article aims to explore the modus operandi of the April Revolution's memory and its social effects in terms of the political process of social memory, composed of the political dynamic between state power and social movements. Historical institutionalization of the April Revolution's memory has been considered important as hegemonic project of state power and as mobilization strategy in social movements. Since the civilian government was established in Korea, the April Revolution's memory has started to expand institutionally taking the form of commemoration projects. While institutional expansion of the April Revolution, in terms of chance, prepared ground for institutional condition for stabilizing commemoration projects, in terms of risk, it came into a structural factor decentralizing intensity and effect of mobilization strategy in social movements. In conclusion, in this article I point out 'paradox of institutionalization' as follows: 'marginalization of movement subjects' and 'political monopoly of social memory,' 'formalism of commemorations' and 'risk of discourses.' In this context, I argue that 'democratization of memory,' rather than 'institutionalization of memory,' is necessary to complete 'the April Revolution as an unfinished revolution.'

Key Words: the April Revolution, social memory, institutionalization, commemoration project, opportunity structure

A Study on the Post-adolescent Generation's Understanding of Democracy Issue

Focused on the longitudinal analysis upon undergraduates in Seoul and Gyeonggi areas

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Korean undergraduates in their twenties sometimes keep silent about social issues related to democracy and also become aroused at times. Thereupon, this study aims to find 'the common denominator' that can analyze such inconsistent identity of theirs. For this, it defines undergraduates in their twenties as post-adolescent generation. This title actually proves that they are the most serious victims related with this economic crisis. This concept exposes plainly the reality that 84% of high school graduates enter universities but 55% of them end up not being hired when they graduate. This research applies to this situation where those in their twenties are theoretical resources such as sociology of generation and sociology of emotion. Post-adolescent generation is not free from 'the employment issue' which is mingled with the problems of securing their status or reward. This social condition allows the generation to be analyzed with a variable of social emotion, 'shame'. Undergraduates can find the reason related to the employment issue either from 'themselves' or from 'society'. The agents that are crystallized separately by these attributions are the very members 'within' the post-adolescent generation. This study has been conducted by the following three steps: the first is participant observation; the second is in-depth interview; and the third is focus group interview. This process has verified that although undergraduates in their twenties take a flexible stand on democracy, it has a 'consistent' reason. In fact, they have been responding to the social issue 'in various ways' based on their own frames of interpretation for the employment issue they all

share inevitably with each other.

Key Words: Post-adolescent generation, sociology of generation, sociology of emotion, Karl Mannheim, Jack Barbalet, democracy

A Study on the Correlation between the Patterns of Labour Politics and the Progress of Democracy:

centered on the comparative examination of the cases Britain and Sweden and the implications for South Korea

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The purpose of this paper is to study the differences of the labour politics of Britain and Sweden, and to show the implications of the study for Korea. The Swedish Social Democratic Party(SAP) had a great influence and a consolidation effects on the organisation of the Swedish labour movement. The foundation and development of 'the Swedish Model' symbolized for the corporatist labour-employer consultation system were possible because of the centralisation of labour organisation, growth of the strong labour movement supported by SAP. And early and long period of seizure of power of SAP constituted the main conditions that overcame the employers' attacks on the labourers' demands, and that induced the employers to accept the compromise agreements between labour and capital. And moreover in Sweden, the 'socialdemocratic reformism' which combined the prospects of future society with concrete policy considerations, was early formed and developed, and this integrated socialdemocratic ideology guided and led the Swedish labour movement. But whereas in the case of Britain, labour union movement was decentralized, and was not closely integrated into British Labour Party(LP). And the decentralised labour union movement and occasional tensions and conflicts of LP and Trade Union Congress(TUC) were the main factors that made the British labour movement forces unable to constitute the strong opposing power against employers and the existing state. And liberal and pragmatic ideology of LP was unable to sufficiently represent the needs of the British labour movement and to unifiedly lead it.

What is the implications of the above-mentioned results for Korea? Firstly, for the labour politics to grow, state suppression of the labour movement should be abolished. Secondly, the poisonous clauses of labour laws, which have been used for repressing labour movement and aggravating labourers' conditions and violating labourers' rights, should be eradicated or reformed. Thirdly, we find that the unification and centralisation of labour unions is essential for the growth of labour movement. For this, the expansion and increase of labour union organisation, the change of company-based unions into industry-based unions are essential. Fourthly and lastly, labour movement ideology like social democracy, which integratedly shows goals and means, future prospects and present policies, is needed.

Key Words: labour movement, labour politics, 'deepening of democracy,' welfare state, ideologies of labour movement, 'Swedish Model,' corporatism, social democracy, relations of labour-capital-state