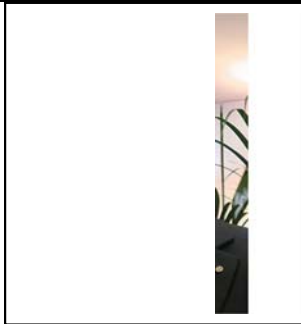




## North Korean Politics and Society

<b>Course Code</b>			
<b>Class Times</b>	Mon/Wed/Thu Type B(13:00~16:00)	<b>Classroom</b>	Bldg
<b>Equivalent Year Level</b>	1	<b>Course Credit</b>	3
<b>Instructor</b>	Ruediger FRANK	<b>Sessions</b>	1-15
<b>Office</b>		<b>Email</b>	ruediger.frank@univie.ac.at

### □ Instructor's Profile



#### **Ruediger Frank**

##### General Information

Professor of East Asian Economy and Society and Head of the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Vienna.

Born and raised in East Germany, lived in Soviet Union, studied one semester in Pyongyang 1991-1992, Vice Chair of World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Korea 2014-2016.

#### **Education**

Ph.D. in Economics, University Duisburg, 2001

M.A. in Korean Studies, Economics and International Relations, Humboldt University Berlin, 1996

#### **Expertise**

Political Economy of East Asia, focus on North Korea

#### **Most Recent Works**

See <http://univie.academia.edu/RuedigerFrank>



## □ Course Information

Course Description	North Korean Politics and Society provides insights on contemporary North Korea covering most of the available knowledge about that secretive state based on a variety of sources including documentaries, covering the historical origins as much as ideology, the political system, the economy and aspects of everyday life. The instructor will use his personal experience based on 27 years of travelling to North Korea since 1991. Students understand the origins of the current North Korean system, the reasons for its surprising stability, and discuss scenarios for the future as well as the potential for an outside contribution.
Course Evaluation	Midterm exam 50% Final exam 50% <b>Attendance</b> will be important for keeping up with class. Good attendance and <b>active participation</b> will be reflected in grade.
Course Materials	See readings list in course schedule. Please note that this list will be supplemented and updated until the beginning of the course.
Class Policy	<i>An attendance list will be kept. The following policy applies: if a student is absent for up to three classes, the final grade will remain unchanged. For each additional absence, the final grade will be reduced by one level. Being more than 15 minutes late will count as absence.</i>
Etc. (e.g. Guidelines)	Students are expected to read the required book chapters and articles provided in the readings list. Expect to read about 100 pages per week. Active application of knowledge acquired during the lectures is expected for the discussion of the documentaries.



## □ Course Schedule

Session	Date	Day	Topic	Details (selection)	Readings
1	27.06.	Wed.	Introduction Historical roots Overview: Development 1945-2016	Confucian heritage, origin of Korean nationalism, the relationship with Japan, colonial experience, liberation and division, Korean War, Communist factionalism, the rise of Kim Il-sung, the emergence of <i>chuch'e</i> , overview of events until present time.	<u>Required:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Ki-baek Yi: <i>A new history of Korea</i> (Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1984) Chapters 13 and 14 (pp. 267-345)</li> <li>● Lee, Chong-sik: <i>The Korean Worker's Party: A History</i> (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford 1978), Chapters 5 and 6 (pp. 73-102)</li> <li>● Gregory Henderson: <i>Korea. The Politics of the Vortex</i> (Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1968), chapters 1-2 (pp. 15-57)</li> </ul> <u>Recommended:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Balázs Szalontai: <i>Kim Il Sung in the Khrushchev Era. Soviet-DPRK Relations and the Roots of North Korean Despotism, 1953-1964</i> (Stanford University Press 2006)</li> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "Lessons from the Past: The First Wave of Developmental Assistance to North Korea and the German Reconstruction of Hamhŭng", <i>Pacific Focus</i>, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (April 2008), pp. 46-74</li> </ul>
2	28.06.	Thu.	The self-perception of the regime: Documentary 1	Arirang performance 2012 We will watch my recording of the performance and discuss it step by step.	<u>Required:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "The Arirang Mass Games of North Korea", <i>The Asia-Pacific Journal</i>, Vol. 11, Issue 46, No. 2 (December 2013), <a href="http://japanfocus.org/site/view/4048">http://japanfocus.org/site/view/4048</a></li> </ul>
3	02.07.	Mon.	The Ideology The Leaders	Characteristics of ideology-based systems, <i>chuch'e</i> , <i>sŏn'gun</i> , <i>pyŏngjin</i> , Kim Il-sung, Kim Jong-il, Kim Jong-un, the succession problem.	<u>Required:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Janos Kornai: <i>The Socialist System. The Political Economy of Communism</i> (Princeton University Press 1992), Chapter 15 (pp. 360-379)</li> <li>● Brian Myers: <i>The Cleanest Race. How North Koreans See Themselves and Why It Matters</i> (Melville House, New York 2011), Chapters 3-4 (pp. 93-127)</li> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "Can North Korea Prioritize Nukes and the Economy at the Same Time?", <i>Global Asia</i>, Vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 2014, pp. 38-42</li> </ul> <u>Recommended:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Brian Myers (2006): "The Watershed that Wasn't: Re-Evaluating Kim Il Sung's 'Juche Speech' of 1955", <i>Acta Koreana</i> 9.1, pp. 89-115</li> <li>● Adrian Buzo: <i>The Guerilla Dynasty. Politics and Leadership in North Korea</i> (Tauris, London</li> </ul>



					1999)
4	04.07.	Wed.	The Political System	State socialist systems and their political characteristics, the constitution, the Supreme People's Assembly, the Party, the executive branch, human rights	<p><u>Required:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Gregory Henderson: <i>Korea. The Politics of the Vortex</i> (Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1968), Intro + chapter 13 (pp. 15-71)</li> <li>● Robert Collins: <i>Marked for Life. Songbun, North Korea's Social Classification System</i> (Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, Washington 2012)</li> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "The 7th Party Congress in North Korea: An Analysis of Kim Jong Un's Report", <i>The Asia Pacific Journal</i>, Vol. 14, Issue 14, No. 8, July 2016, <a href="http://apjif.org/-R--diger-Frank/4927/article.pdf">http://apjif.org/-R--diger-Frank/4927/article.pdf</a></li> </ul> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 2016 Socialist Constitution, <a href="http://www.naenara.com.kp/en/politics/?rule">http://www.naenara.com.kp/en/politics/?rule</a></li> </ul>
5	05.07.	Thu.	Documentary 2	"Crossing the Line" We will watch the documentary and discuss the Cold War time on the Korean peninsula as well as insights into North Korea derived from the film.	<p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Charles Robert Jenkins: <i>Reluctant Communist: My Desertion, Court-Martial, and Forty-Year Imprisonment in North Korea</i> (University of California Press, Berkeley et al. 2009)</p>
6	09.07.	Mon.	The Economy: Basics	Economic geography, the problem of statistics, agriculture, industry, economic growth, foreign trade, sanctions, the role of China	<p><u>Required:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "Can Economic Theory Demystify North Korea?", <i>Korea Review of International Studies</i>, 9/1, Seoul: Global Research Institute, Korea University, 2006, pp. 3-26</li> <li>● Rudiger Frank (2013): "Fundamental Characteristics of the North Korean Economy: Foundations and Reform Trajectories", Han S. Park (2013): <i>North Korea Demystified</i>, (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press), pp. 37-80</li> <li>● Rudiger Frank (2006): "Classical Socialism in North Korea and its Transformation: The Role and the Future of Agriculture", <i>Harvard Asia Quarterly</i>, Vol. X/2, 2006, pp. 15-33</li> <li>● Randall Ireson (2006): "Food Security in North Korea: Designing Realistic Possibilities", <i>Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center Working Paper</i>, Feb. 2006, <a href="http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/21046/Ireson_FoodSecurity_2006.pdf">http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/21046/Ireson_FoodSecurity_2006.pdf</a></li> </ul> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "The 2016 North Korean Budget Report: 12 Observations", <i>38 North</i>, 04/2016, U.S.-Korea Institute at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns</li> </ul>



					<p>Hopkins University, <a href="http://38north.org/2016/04/rfrank040816">http://38north.org/2016/04/rfrank040816</a></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "A Question of Interpretation: Economic Statistics From and About North Korea", <i>38 North</i>, 07/2012, U.S.-Korea Institute at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, <a href="http://38north.org/2012/07/rfrank071612">http://38north.org/2012/07/rfrank071612</a></li> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "North Korea's Foreign Trade", <i>38 North</i>, 10/2015, U.S.-Korea Institute at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, <a href="http://38north.org/2015/10/rfrank102215">http://38north.org/2015/10/rfrank102215</a></li> </ul>
7	11.07.	Wed.	Midterm Exam Human rights	Exam will take 45 minutes. After that we will have an introduction to the human rights and refugee problem. Watch documentary "Seoul Train", on the destiny of North Koreans who try to escape via China.	<p><b>Recommended:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● "North Korea", <i>Human Rights Watch World Report 2017</i>, <a href="https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/north-korea">https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/north-korea</a></li> <li>● Robert Collins: <i>Pyongyang Republic. The capital of human rights denial</i>, Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, <a href="https://www.hrnk.org/uploads/pdfs/Collins_PyongyangRepublic_FINAL_WEB.pdf">https://www.hrnk.org/uploads/pdfs/Collins_PyongyangRepublic_FINAL_WEB.pdf</a></li> </ul>
8	12.07.	Thu.	Human rights: Documentary 3	"Escape from Camp 14" We will watch the documentary and discuss the human rights violation in North Korea, but also the difficulties in dealing with this situation. We will also talk about the situation of North Korean refugees now living in South Korea.	<p><b>Recommended:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Blaine Harden: <i>Escape from Camp 14: One Man's Remarkable Odyssey from North Korea to Freedom in the West</i>, Penguin Books</li> <li>● "Shin Dong-hyuk changes his story - the fifth estate", <i>Youtube</i>, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ccx7X7_Hgu4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ccx7X7_Hgu4</a></li> <li>● "Shin Dong Hyuk - "Escape from Camp 14": North Korean answer [Part 1]", <i>Youtube</i>, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= ynF2WZXlps">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= ynF2WZXlps</a></li> <li>● Vikram Gandhi: "Seoul Asylum: The Brutal Existence of North Korean Defectors", <i>Vice</i>, 30.04.2014, <a href="https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/seoul-asylum-the-brutal-existence-of-north-korean-defectors">https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/seoul-asylum-the-brutal-existence-of-north-korean-defectors</a></li> </ul>
9	16.07.	Mon.	The Economy: Reforms	What makes a reform a reform, perfection measures in North Korea, market experiments, the measures of July 2002, dangerous changes, return to neo-orthodox	<p><b>Required:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "Economic Reform During the First Four Years of Kim Jong Un's Rule: An Analysis Based on the CRE Model", <i>International Journal of Korean Unification Studies</i>, 25/1, 2016, pp. 1-32</li> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "Economic Reforms in North Korea (1998-2004): Systemic Restrictions, Quantitative Analysis, Ideological Background", <i>Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy</i> (Routledge), Vol. 10 (2005), No. 3, pp. 278-311</li> </ul>



				socialism	<p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "The Political Economy of Sanctions against North Korea", <i>Asian Perspective</i>, Vol. 30/3, 2006, pp. 5-36</li> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "Money in Socialist Economies: The Case of North Korea", <i>The Asia-Pacific Journal</i>, 8-2-10, February 22, 2010, <a href="http://japanfocus.org/-Ruediger-Frank/3307">http://japanfocus.org/-Ruediger-Frank/3307</a></li> </ul>
10	18.07.	Wed.	The Economy: Special Economic Zones	Special Economic Zones, Northeast: Rasŏn, Southeast: Kŭmgangsan, Southwest: Kaesŏng, Northwest: Sinŭiju, new additions, SEZs as pioneering areas for change	<p><u>Required:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "Rason Special Economic Zone: North Korea as It Could Be", <i>38 North</i>, 12/2014, U.S.-Korea Institute at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, <a href="http://38north.org/2014/12/rfrank121614">http://38north.org/2014/12/rfrank121614</a></li> <li>● Rudiger Frank and Théo Clément, "Closing the Kaesŏng Industrial Zone: An Assessment", <i>The Asia-Pacific Journal</i>, Vol. 14, Issue 6, No. 7, March 2016, <a href="http://apjif.org/2016/06/Frank.html">http://apjif.org/2016/06/Frank.html</a></li> </ul> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Andray Abrahamian and Curtis Melvin: "North Korea's Special Economic Zones: Plans vs. Progress", <i>38North</i>, U.S.-Korea Institute at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, <a href="http://38north.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/38-North-SEZ-Plans-v-Progress-112315.pdf">http://38north.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/38-North-SEZ-Plans-v-Progress-112315.pdf</a></li> <li>● Andray Abrahamian: "The ABC of North Korea's SEZs", US-Korea Institute at SAIS, <a href="http://uskoreainstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Abrahamian-SEZs-14-1118-HQ-Print.pdf">http://uskoreainstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Abrahamian-SEZs-14-1118-HQ-Print.pdf</a></li> </ul>
11	19.07.	Thu.	The Western view of North Korea: Documentary 4	"Secret State of North Korea" and "Inside North Korea"	Collect short pieces about the image of North Korea abroad and identify stereotypes.
12	23.07.	Mon.	The leadership of Kim Jong Un	Dual system of state and market: options, Kim Jong-un's choices, Kim Jong-un: visionary leader or risk-averse administrator, change in North Korea, the new middle class, bread and circus, new trends in ideology, Party Congress	<p><u>Required:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "North Korea after Kim Jong Il: The Kim Jong Un era and its challenges", <i>The Asia-Pacific Journal</i> Vol. 10/2, January 9, 2012, <a href="http://japanfocus.org/-Ruediger-Frank/3674">http://japanfocus.org/-Ruediger-Frank/3674</a></li> <li>● Kim Jong Un: <i>New Year Address 2017</i>, <a href="http://www.ncnk.org/resources/news-items/kim-jong-uns-speeches-and-public-statements-1/kim-jong-uns-2017-new-years-address">http://www.ncnk.org/resources/news-items/kim-jong-uns-speeches-and-public-statements-1/kim-jong-uns-2017-new-years-address</a></li> <li>● Rudiger Frank: "A Guide to Kim Jong Un's 2014 New Year Speech", <a href="http://38north.org/2014/01/rfrank010214/">http://38north.org/2014/01/rfrank010214/</a></li> </ul> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Jerrold M. Post : "Kim Jong-un of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: In the Shadow</li> </ul>



				of 2016, New Year Address of 2017	of his Grandfather and Father”, <a href="https://asianstudies.georgetown.edu/sites/asianstudies/files/files/upload/gjaa_2.2_post.pdf">https://asianstudies.georgetown.edu/sites/asianstudies/files/files/upload/gjaa_2.2_post.pdf</a>
13	25.07.	Wed.	Unification	Comparability of German and Korean case, issues for Korean unification, costs of Korean unification, blueprints for unification, chances for unification	<p><u>Required:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Rudiger Frank: “The Political Economy of Unification: North Korea and Implications of the German Experience”, Choe Sang-Hun, Gi-Wook Shin and David Straub (eds., 2013): <i>Troubled Transition. North Korea’s Politics, Economy, and External Relations</i>, (Stanford: Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center), pp. 229-254</li> <li>● Rudiger Frank: “Unification and Capacity Building: The German Experience and its Declining Relevance for Korea”, Chung-in Moon and John Swenson-Wright (eds., 2014): <i>Crisis of Peace and New Leadership in Korea</i>, (Seoul: Yonsei University Press), pp. 129-161</li> <li>● Rudiger Frank: “The Costs of Korean Unification: Realistic Lessons from the German Case”, <i>Korea’s Economy</i>, Vol. 30, 2016, pp. 93-100, <a href="http://keia.org/sites/default/files/publications/kei_koreaseconomy_frank.pdf">http://keia.org/sites/default/files/publications/kei_koreaseconomy_frank.pdf</a></li> </ul> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● (North Korean proposal for unification): <a href="http://korea-dpr.com/reunification.html">http://korea-dpr.com/reunification.html</a></li> </ul>
14	26.07.	Thu.	Documentary 5	“The Propaganda Game”	With this documentary we will conclude the course. It critically shows the self-perception as well as the outside image of North Korea. Time to wrap up and discuss open questions.
15	27.07.	Fri.	Final Exam		