

South Korea

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Following over forty years of colonial and foreign rule over the Korean peninsula, South Korea became independent in 1949. Like its Northern counterpart, South Korea was coded as a newly independent country and therefore no SOLS change was coded upon independence (U.S. Department of State 2010). Before becoming democratic in the 80s South Korea has known two long spells of authoritarian rule with a very brief democratic interlude.

The first spell was the personalist authoritarian regime of Rhee from 1949 until April 27 1960, when Rhee was forced to resign because of a student –induced uprising. Rhee is followed by a short interim government under the leadership Ho Chong, a friend of Rhee’s and his recently appointed foreign minister (US Library of Congress). In 1960, we code South Korea as democratic and Cheibub et al. codes a parliamentary system. Chang Myun of the Democratic Party (DP) won the election, became PM, and formed a government. (US Library of Congress). This is a SOLS change. Chang Myun was not part of the New Democratic Party, a splinter party of the DP formed after the election by president Yun Po-son (See Seth 2010, 153; and An 2003, 81). Chang Myun did not rule for long, however; in May 1961 South Korea fell victim to a military coup led by general Park Chung Hee (Pak Chung Hi). Chang Myun’s chief of staff, Chang Do-yong, joined the military regime of Park Chung Hee immediately after the coup and, according to Archigos, exercised leadership for less than two months until Park Hee takes over. Geddes codes a military regime starting in 1962. We code a SOLS change with Chang Do-Yong. Although he was part of Chang Myun’s government, he switched side and the military was really in charge. Park’s military regime would rule for over 25 years (Kim 1964; Cotton 1989; U.S. Department of State 2010). Park also created the DRP as a government party. There are a number of leadership changes under the military system but none are SOLS changes.

Following increasing popular pressures, the then DJP Chairman Roh Tae-woo, who was part of the military regime, pushed to allow electoral reforms. Geddes codes the military regime ending in 1987 and in 1988 South Korea is coded as a presidential democracy. In the subsequent elections, in 1988, Roh Tae-woo won a plurality of the votes and became the first democratically elected president. Ro Tae-woo was affiliated with the government party under the military regime and in fact was “the government party's choice as Chun's successor” (Library of Congress). This is a tricky coding decision. On the one hand, Ro Tae-woo is affiliated with the same party that governed during the military regime, meaning this should not be coded as a SOLS change. On the other hand, this was coded as a military regime by Geddes and not as a single-party regime. The military is not anymore in charge and thus this is a SOLS change. We code a SOLS change here- otherwise these would be no SOLS changes coded until 1998.

Roh Tae-woo’s successor was Kim Young Sam a former opposition party leader who successfully sought power by merging with Roh Tea-woo’s DJP. As Kim came to power as a MDD candidate (the name of the party that formed as a merger of Roh’s party and two others), we code no SOLS change. However, qualitatively, Kim’s role as an opposition party

leader up to 3 years before his election, the fact that he was the first civilian president suggest that we may be miscoding his presidency.

Kim Young Sam was succeeded by Kim Dae Jung of the National Congress for New Politics (SJKH), a major opposition party, on 25 February 1998, which was therefore coded as a SOLS change (Haggard et al. 1999, U.S. Department of State 2010). In 2000 the SJKH changed its name into the new millennium party (SMD). In 2002, after winning the ruling party (same party as president Kim Dae Jung, but by now by the name of SMD) primaries, Rho Mun-Hyun won the presidential election. Therefore no SOLS change is coded. (Lee 2002, U.S. Department of State 2010). Roh was an outsider that won the primary elections of his party, but was mistrusted by a major part of the party establishment (“Operation Saving” 2002). Moreover, pressure on Roh within the MDP rose after the MDP had lost in local and parliamentary by-elections in June and August. In August independent backers of Roh first moved to create a new party following talks within the MDP to form a new party and choose a new presidential candidate for the December presidential elections (“New South Korean” 2002). By September the MDP leadership and Roh agreed that Roh would run his campaign separately from the party. Also the MDP had decided not to create a new party to put forward a candidate in opposition to Roh (“Roh Fails” 2002). Still, by November a group of 11 Lawmakers had defected the MDP in opposition to Roh. Despite these struggles, Roh won the December elections (“MDP” 2002, “Chronology” 2002). Within two months of Roh’s inauguration, Roh-supporters began working towards a new party, that led to the creation of a new party in October 2003 (“Pro-Roh Group” 2003). The party split, with Roh and his supporters in the Uri Party (UD). (Democratic Party 2011) Note that Rho Mun-Hyun was impeached for a month from March 12 2004 until his re-election on April 15 2004 (Shin 2005). Following Archigos, the interim government was not coded.

In 2008, Lee Myung-bak of the conservative Grand National Party (GNP- also HD) became president. (Kim 2008, Moon 2009). This is a SOLS change.

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