

**WHAT THE ARAB SPRING SHOULD LEARN FROM THE SOUTH KOREAN
EXPERIENCE WITH ITS DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN 1987**

By

Mohammed, Sarhad Omar

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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ABSTRACT

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MOHAMMED, Sarhad Omar

For many Middle East and African countries, year 2011 was a tumultuous time. People in Arab countries like Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Bahrain rose to challenge their autocratic rules that had been chosen them for ages. Several countries overthrew their autocratic leaders and sought to establish a democratic system of government. Journalists labeled this Arab-wide protest movement the "Arab Spring". History, however, has shown time again that the road to democracy is long and arduous, which requires a continuing effort for them to create a democratic, political infrastructure and have it to take root. To be successful in their quest for democracy the leaders for the Arab Spring must understand what it requires them to make a successful transition to a democracy. In this study, I look at the recent experience of South Korea with the democratic transition and draw for the leaders of "Arab Spring". The purpose of this study is to examine the major forces leading up to the 1987 democratic transition in South Korea, and estimate the role of the forces played individually and collectively in the transition process. The forces examined in the study are (1) the role and history of electoral politics, (2) the role of democratic institutions, (3) the role of non-violent protest movements and (4) the role of civil society groups. The hypothesis of

this study is that these factors were the primary engines that helped the people of South Korea make the transition of the 25-year old military regime to a functioning democracy. The implication for Arab leaders is that the Arab Spring is just a beginning and the real tough challenge for building a functioning democracy is yet to unfold and on way to arrive. Drawing from the Korean political experience, Arab leaders make an arduous effort to build a racially pure of democracy embodied in political parties, institutions, civil society groups, and citizenship.

Dedicated to my parents, family

Saros & Anas

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I dedicate this thesis to my wife who during my absence presented the hardships of managing the household economy with patience and moral support, thank you.

MOHAMMED, Sarhad Omar

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I. INTRODUCTION

This study is about what the Arab Spring should learn from South Korea's experience with its democratic transition in 1987. It shows the forces operating in Korean society and politics that transformed the 25-year old military rule to a civilian rule. As the world witnesses today, there is a big wave of uprisings in the Arab world, journalists labeled it as the "Arab Spring". It is striking across many Middle East and African countries and seeking a new political order. The Arabs and Africans are challenging the legitimacy of their historical autocratic regimes and in which government has to be created what Abraham Lincoln phrased in one pithy phrase "by the people, of the people and for the people"(Gettysburg Address).

History teaches us that the road to democracy is not a "straight highway" but an arduous one, regimes courage, already efforts, and patience on the other part of all involved in the system building. Iraq is the best ever example to approve that building democracy is not easy way to initiate. This paper explores what the Arab Spring may learn from the South Korea experience in regard to the resiliency of the democratic movement, political

infrastructure (political parties), the development of civil society organizations, political institutions, and electoral politics. The following factors motivated me to write down about this topic:

My country, Iraq, is in the initial phase of the democratization process in building democratic institutions. The country had been under a dictatorial rule for some thirty years, during which time the people faced with many bloody suppressions and inhumane military actions. The Iraqi people could no longer endure the suppressions; they lost their patience to live under one-man dictatorship. With the cooperation from coalition forces led by the United States, the Iraqi people overturned the dictatorship in 2003. Although they put an end to the one-man tyranny, they are still struggling with many challenges of nation building such as building new political order, administrative institutions, continuous sectarian disputes between the Sunnis and the Shiites (two different religious ideologies), and rooting out the negative political intervene by neighbor countries like Iran and Turkey, which make obstacles to the political and economic progresses.

But more theoretically, my interest in this paper relates to the future of the Arab Spring because, if anything, democracy in Iraq is an experience that the other neighboring states of the Arab Spring will watch closely, and they may copy it if it becomes a successful case. The neighbors are like Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, Yemen, and Libya, which have suffered from tyrannical rules and the deprivation of freedom and liberty. Moreover, the Arab Spring has already brought down the long-decades dictatorships in some Arabic countries like Zain El Abidin Ben Ali from Tunisia, Hosni Mubarak from Egypt, and Muammar Qaddafi from Libya, and Ali Abdullah Saleh from Yemen. Rest of the countries which involved in the Arab Spring will follow the same step because their government promised to make necessary reforms but fail to carry them out. The Arab Spring began to uproot the bad and corrupted system, which continued in one form or another for more than thirty years. What the people

ask their dictators to step aside and turn the power over to people. So, they can initiate a process in which citizen can live a lived of life they wish to live.

They do try to develop an economic condition, raise per capita income, and make a better condition for education, social, culture, health sectors and all other aspects of life which are essential to the life of citizens. These are the main aspirations that the demonstrators wish to realize, but as the development shows in Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, the leaders of the protest movements are not well informed of the challenges they face with democratic transition. Nor do they have necessary political infrastructures and leadership skills to move forward with the next steps.

Behind this wave of the Arab Spring lies an assumption that if people bring down their autocratic, and corrupt regimes, a democratic system of government will be automatically ushered in. The truth is far from it. The road to democracy is arduous and time-consuming, and evolutionary. This we have already experienced in Iraq in recent years; we also witness it in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen today. It is also likely that we will see the same in other Arabic countries. The intellectuals behind the Arab Spring must understand what it takes to institute a democratic system of government in the age-old dictatorial soil that penetrated to every single aspect of life and left negative impacts to the country and people. Unless they are intellectually and practically prepared for the challenge that lies ahead, it is entirely possible that another form of a corrupt and autocratic regime will return as it happens in Egypt in some ways or civil war may happen as it happens in Tunisia, Libya, Yemen and Syria. To prevent such a tragic eventuality the intellectuals behind the Arab Spring must expand their horizon to learn the experience of other peoples in other democracies under similar situations. They must learn what it takes to build a democratic system of government.

To this end, I examine the experience of the South Korean people who brought down a 25-years old military dictatorship and successfully instituted a democratic system of government. The question that I examine is what made the South Korean democratic transition successful in 1987? My argument is that the South Korean People were able to make a successful democratic transition largely because of the following factors. (1) The role and history of electoral politics, (2) the role of democratic institutions, (3) the role of non-violent protest movements and (4) the role of civil society groups

II. Issue Background

2.1 Arab Spring

"The "Arab Spring" refers to the demonstrations and protests that were underway in 2010-2011 in many Arab countries. The Arab Spring has started in December 18, 2010, when the masses in Tunisia and Egypt revolted which soon dragged Syria and Libya into a deeply civil war. People from Oman and Bahrain took held civil uprisings, and in Republic of Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Kuwait, Mauritania, Sudan caused minor protests" (Thomas (2011)).

"The Arab Spring brought an era of making political changes in the Middle East and North African countries, these countries were historically the least free region in the world. Bringing down longtime dictatorship leaders and the citizens' demands for a stronger voice in their own governance made new chances to reform and democratic transition for their countries."

See <http://www.freedomhouse.org/regions/middle-east-and-north-africa?gclid=CKnnrL--qrICFQPxzAodU3UAIA>

"Protestors in the Arab Spring have used techniques of civil resistance such as strikes, demonstrations, marches, rallies and violent confrontations. When government tried to put

down the protests by force and cut the Internet line, protestors used social media to let people know about the protests, rallies, and united their voice" (Howard (2011)).

"Protestors in these countries have been retaliated by government's authorities, pro-government militants and counter protestors through violent and inhuman means. To the oppressive means protestors chanted "The person wants to bring down the regime". This is what mainly the protestors protest for and they want to establish a democratic rule through peaceful and less bloody protests" (Abulof (2011)).

The willing of protestors in the Arab Spring was to make less bloody protests. Unfortunately, their willing became just theoretical and dream, and they could not do such a thing because of the severe and inhuman reactions by autocratic regimes to stop protests in one hand, and continuous resistance by protestors to continue protests on the other hand. This causes bloody clashes between protestors and police, causing thousands of people dead and injured.

"So much optimism came to the people but with the passage of the Arab Spring time, some of them were gone and others remain. However, still something is not quite clear, which is about the cause of turning optimism to disappointment either because of the revolutionary movements themselves or among outside observers. How did it happen and what were the causes? How do people take back or survive some of previous optimism?"

See <http://hakawi.wordpress.com/2011/08/11/what-went-wrong-with-the-arab-spring-or-did-it/>

"It must be very clear now to anyone who thinks that the politics of the Middle East is enough complicated to be understood by American politicians. They resist on using terms like "tyrant" and "terrorist" to describe countries where those distinction are nonsense. Syria

is best ever sampled of the meaningless of the previous two mentioned terms, while the government calls the rebels as terrorist and the rebels calls the government as tyrannical" (Mulshine (2012)).

To the mind of Syrian people, no matter how government calls rebels or rebels call government because the citizens pay for that. The country was dragged to a serious and civil war; thousands were killed, injured, kidnapped, and missed as a result of counterattacks between government army and rebels. The entire life was stopped in regard to working, studying, attended offices, trading, and going abroad publically. Thousands have migrated to Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, and Libya; they stay there homelessly and with a very little food daily and it is too hard to expect when it is going to be end.

"But, out of the tyranny and rebel theme, Richard Engel through NBC news analyzed that the matter we face it in the Middle East is not tyrants verse terrorists but Shia verses Sunni. Either we have to support the Shias allied with Iran or support the Sunnis allied Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. That's the fight is all about, and it will be too much difficult to know whose one is good guys to comment on it or to be supported" (Mulshine (2012)).

At the very beginning of the Arab Spring stages, the people of those countries that are involved were thinking clearly and positively about the results of the Arab Spring. They expected that after bringing down the dictators, a new democratic government would be established with the satisfaction of all the people majority and minority, Islamic and secular political parties, Muslim and Christian people that live in these countries. But, unfortunately, if we look at the recent events in most of the countries like Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and Libya that expectation died right after setting the new government because of disputes of political parties and poor political background of political parties of establishing new political order.

Behind that fact, there must be some justified reasons are playing a negative pivotal role to make obstacles of stabilizing political conditions in those countries. Those countries experienced long-decades autocracies, each autocratic regime has many followers and they strongly believe its agenda. When the regime ruled the country, the followers were just around the dictator and applauded for his bad jobs no matter what was that, but now they spread out of the country and they hardly try to do anything bad to make obstacles of setting new government and encourage other people against the progresses. Most of the political parties that are emerged during and after the Arab Spring they are both Islamic and secular parties. As it is clear that, there is a big difference between the ideologies of both, the Islamic parties want to apply the absolute principles of Islam religion but that is not be accepted to the secular parties and their followers. Another interested reason, behind each political party in those countries, there is a regional neighbor country or countries that support it against other political party that is also supported by another regional country. The regional neighbor countries are just doing it for reinforcing their role in the region and the country too to guarantee their potential future impacts, and use the political party as a tool to apply their agenda to their interests.

In Egypt case, soon after setting the government by Muslim Brotherhood, and when they have started ruling the country. The followers of the secular political parties and some artists started protests in Tahrir Square as a result of Muslim Brotherhood's restrictions to the art aspect and judging some movie makers for their old works because the movies and the context were out of the principles of Islam religion. Also, as the history of Egypt witnessed that, Egypt was under the rule and power of Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. When the new government wanted to put end the power of it, there was a big conflict has noticed between the government and Supreme Council of the Armed Forces because they wanted to

restore its power and would have same role as before but they could not do it and the military council went under the power of government.

The case of Syria is far from the above mentioned countries' cases and the Syrian regime has survived so far too. Also, the Syrian regime is far from collapse.

"To negotiate about the Damascus's case, the disguised Muslim Brotherhood is not the only side of the negotiation as Europeans thought about, but Moscow and Tehran are the main actors and they always there" (Debieuvre (2012))

"The following reasons are behind Syrian case to be away of collapse, the opposition, both inside Syria and exiled abroad could not reach an agreement over main key segments of Syrian society. The international community divided and could not unify their voice to disable the regime, among of them Russia, China and Iran support the Syrian regime; they do not care what the Syrian regime does with its people in regard to killing, doing inhuman actions. Clearly, a civil war can be noticed between the regime and the poor armed but determined opposition that makes one of the most stable countries in Middle East to a sectarian bloodbath" (Philips).

"It is too clear that Bashar Al Assad is being dictator. He surly uses every single mean no matter good or bad just to keep himself in the power, including cruelty and least respect to humanity. The results of that are so clear: A country has gone through a deeply civil war, thousands of causalities, atrocities and horror everywhere. The only thing that all Syrian know about that, they face suffering as they probably never in the past" (Debieuvre (2012)).

III. Liberal Democracy for the Arab Spring

3.1 Definition of Liberal Democracy

"We live in a democratic age. Over the last century the world has been shaped by one trend above all others, that trend being 'The rise of Democracy' (Zakaria (2003, 13)).

"In a democracy government, power resides in people and they elected their representatives. The origin of "democracy" stemmed from (dēmokratía) which is a Greek word, has meant the rule by the people" (Kendi (2003.14)).

"The meaning of democracy from the time of Herodotus was the ruling of the people. This image of democracy as a process of governments was articulated by scholar's ranging from Alexis de Tocqueville to Joseph Schumpeter to Robert Dahl and is now widely used by social scientists" (Zakaria (2003, 24)).

"The meaning of democracy is different from one place to another, to the two-thirds of Jordanians, the meaning of democracy has meant freedom, and 90% from four Arabic countries have believed that democracy has to include identify of political rights or civil liberties" (Diamond (2010, Vol. 21)). "In the West, democracy means liberal democracy. It is a political system there free and fair elections are not the only special characteristics, but also the rule of law, a separation of powers, and the protection of basic liberties of speech, assembly, religion, and property" (Zakaria (2003, 22)).

As it is clear, there are variety kinds of democracies that the countries in the world run them to their governments in accordance with the degree of democracy which exists. The most used one, that the most democratic countries use it is liberal democracy, and the other one that is totally different to the previous one is illiberal democracy and it is used in dictatorship countries. In that sense, people from Arab countries that are in the wave of Arab

Spring must think about or raise a question, which kind of democracy should they strive for? Should they allow illiberal democracy that causes reoccurring another dictatorship regime or struggle for a democracy that is as Abraham Lincoln said "by the people, of the people and for the people"(Gettysburg Address).

"The fundamental thing of Abraham Lincoln's sayings is that "government of the people" means that sovereignty rests upon its people not the rulers. The phrase "government by people" means that the people elect their representatives periodically but regularly. The phrase "government for the people" means that the elected representatives and civil servants are working for the people: for their safety; for their welfare, and for their happiness. The government "by the people, of the people and for the people" (Gettysburg Address), as achieved by the founders of democracy in America, also refers to a limited government in which the government is constitutionally prohibited from reducing or eliminating the fundamental rights of people such as freedoms of speech, press, religion, and also pursuing ones happiness without due process. This limited government, then, protects the rights of a minority" (Hammad (2011, 5)).

"Liberal democracy" means a republican form of government in which the power of government is continued or limited by the constitution, especially as it related to an individual liberty. It is also known as constitutional democracy because the constitution guarantees the protection of individual liberty (regardless weather he or she is in the majority or in the minority). This means that the government cannot take away the basic rights of individuals without the constitutionally established due process" (Wynn (2011)).

"At its most basic level, liberal democracy includes, as its name suggests, two great ideals. First, is the belief in democracy; the idea that the people should rule. However, what this means is open to interpretation. Should people rule directly on matters of public policy, or should they simply select representatives to decide what is to be done? Second, are the

important liberal components of some democracies? These include constitutionalism, protection of basic rights including the right of private property political and economic competition, and free choice both at the ballot box and in the marketplace. We must note that there is no one single vision of what liberal democracy means; rather, there are pluralistic visions providing for justice as well as order and for the general welfare as well as liberty" (Reimer et al.).

3.2 Origin of Liberal Democracy

"This ideology came from a number of sources. The sources are the ancient Greek discussion of politics by such philosophers like Aristotle, who first explored what democracy means. Later on, Christian thinkers added to our understanding of democracy by demanding all people must be free to worship God and men and women are equal under God. The Romans also contributed with their discussion of republicanism and popular sovereignty and by their insistence that citizenship could be extended to all who came within the jurisdiction of their empire" (Reimer et al.).

"For the most part, since 1945 Western governments included both democracy and constitutional liberalism. Therefore, it is hard to imagine the two parts in the form of either illiberal democracy or liberal autocracy. Actually, both of them have existed in the past and persist in the present. Till the twentieth centuries, most countries in Western Europe were liberal autocracy or, at best, semi democracies. The franchise was strongly constrained, and elect legislatures had little power " (Zakaria (2003, 26, 27)).

"A liberal democracy's model was further progressed by two modern experiences in democracy and they gave birth to the ideology of liberalism. The first one was the American Revolution, which it brought the first ideal and modern republic, although there was still slavery, depriving women of taking responsibility in public sphere, poor qualification of

election. However, beside all those shortcomings they insisted popular rule and saved basic rights. The second one was the French Revolution in 1789; it gave a new understanding of democracy to Europe" (Reimer et al.).

"For much of modern history, what characterized governments in Europe and North America, and differentiated them from those around the world was not democracy but constitutional liberalism. The "Western model" is best symbolized not by the mass plebiscite but impartial judge" (Zakaria (2003, 27)).

"Today, among 193 countries, 118 of them are democratic, encompassing a majority of people (54.8 percent to be exact), in case increasing democracy in the world, a tremendous positive change can be noticed" (Zakaria (2003, 23)).

"The recent era's conception of liberal democracy has been importantly impacted by two other significant forces. First, nationalism became joined with liberalism to overthrow absolutist governments, and this led to the independence of many subjugated peoples. Second, liberal democracies in Europe and America first developed at the same time that capitalism was forming" (Reimer et al.).

3.3 Elements of Liberal Democracy

Basically, liberal democracy has many principles and "The important tenets of liberalism are the rule of law, equality under the law, impartial courts and tribunals, separation of religion and state, the rights to life and property, the protection of civil rights and liberties, including those of minorities, checks on the power of each branch of government, and freedom of religion and speech. A constitution codifies the standards of behavior for government regimes. It is the reason why it has been said that the Western model of liberal democracy is symbolized more by the impartial judge than by mass plebiscite" (Kanchanalak(2010)).

"The essential elements of a liberal democracy originate from the Constitution of the United States (John Roche 1989, Charles Beard 1989, Richard Hofstrader 1989, James Wilson 1989):

- i. A liberal democracy means a limited government in which the powers are restrained by the bill of rights, which protects the basic rights of individuals from governmental interference.
- ii. In a liberal democracy, free and regular elections are conducted with a secret ballot. In this kind of elections, representatives can be an independent or a member of a political party's candidate, and voters can vote the candidates with secret ballot without fear and doubt.
- iii. In a liberal democracy system, the constitution provides a framework for institutional checks and balances among different branches of government, and prevents government in order to become dictatorship. The separation of powers can be noticed like that; the legislature is to make laws, and pass new ones if it is need; the executive is to implement new polices, which are elected and accepted and the judiciary is to safeguard the constitution and laws.
- iv. One of the other most influential elements of a liberal democracy is freedom of the press. This is a part of the Bill of Rights. Freedom of the press allows the media to report all events freely and without fear of punishment and retaliation. Having a free and independent media lead to highlight all kinds of events as public and private issues, corruptions, and power exploitation by corrupted officials.
- v. Liberal democracy means a rule of law. No one is above the law. It is a government by law and not by men. It is an indispensable requirement to form a basis to help the justice system. In accordance with the rule of law, everyone

is equal under the law. The rule of law principle is a positive mandatory thing to all citizens because citizens do not have right to follow and observe one rule, and neglect and do not take account the other ones.

- vi. In liberal democratic system countries, all civil society groups like political, religious, civic, and charitable must be free of government control, and government should not go to their affairs unreasonably. They must be quite free to do their jobs in accordance with laws and regulations.
- vii. All citizens are guaranteed to have the freedom of religion and ecumenical civic consensus, which raise the value of all legitimate religion forms and to make public welfare more valuable" (Cigiar et al. (1989)).

3.4 Benefits of liberal democracy

"Liberal democracy is a tool to define and limit power, which cause legitimate government base on justice and freedom.

- i. Power is defined and limited by a written constitution, check and balance of power (legislative, executive, and judicial) are separated. In addition, equitable legal system is applied to bring absolute positive political system.
- ii. Government legitimacy to rule the state is important. For that, government needs support from people, and it makes chances to people by free and regular elections to get their help and want to involve citizens as much as possible in the process of election.
- iii. When equality is applied for each citizen, Justice can be achieved, and the representative democracy works in accordance with constitutionalism and free election. There each citizen feels dignity and respect.

- iv. When people feel free for making any decision, they can feel that there is freedom of choice. Moreover, everybody in society must enjoy freedom of choice in equity rather than making some people ordinary and others as extra-ordinary base on sex, color, religion, majority and minority."

See <http://australianpolitics.com/key-terms/liberal-democracy>

Above all the good features of liberal democracy, in one hand, Zakaria argued that "Western liberal democracy might prove to be not the final destination on the democratic road, but just one of many possible exits" (Zakaria (2003, 24)).

On the other hand and opposite to zakaria's argument, "In his 1992 book *The End of History and the Last Man*, Francis Fukuyama argued the opposite. He contended that the advent of Western liberal democracy is the final form of human government, the "end point of mankind's ideological evolution". That is, all roads of government, despite their setbacks and detours, will eventually lead to liberal democracy" (Kanchanalak (2010)).

IV. South Korea's Experience with its Democratic Transition in 1987

"In the history of South Korean political life June 29, 1987 was a critical event. There was massive demonstrations with outnumbered demonstrators in the streets and the specter of the 1988 Olympics a year away that, had riots continued, might have to be removed from Seoul to the great disgrace of the entire country. In its most effective statements in favor of democracy since independence, the United States efficiently prevented the Korean state from using its military option to control the people. The government then decided to follow the wishes of the people for political reform. The direct election of the president, the freeing of Kim Dae Jung, the opening of the Korean press, the re-inauguration of local government autonomy and elections, and the writing of a new constitution that catalogued the rights of the

citizenry were all announced. The government claimed this was a generous gesture on its part, although the people knew that they had forced a nonviolent people power revolution on the state" (Steinberg et al. (2005, 11))

To understand the process of South Korea's democratic transition, it is important to know how and when it began and also how and when it ended. "For nearly all its existence, since The Korea was liberated under Japanese rule and it was divided into two Koreas, South Korea was dominated by strong rulers exercising virtually unchecked powers. As in the Kim regime in the North validated and justified by the national security requirements of the life or death struggle on the divided peninsula, this was in part a legacy of the leadership style of the Japanese colonial rulers. The South Korea experienced dramatic economic gains during General Park Jung Hee's lengthy reign and the successor rule of General Chun Doo Hwan but the political arrangement seemed frozen in time. That caused public discontent by antigovernment and social forces even the most dictatorship rulers could not stop them. Meanwhile, Chun's regime closed to end, the sense of imminent danger from North Korea diminished and South Korean started to put end the military rule enforced by the heavy-handed activities of secret police agencies and other repressive organs" (Oberdorfer (2001, 161)).

Beside the role of heavy-handed activities and other repressive organs, there were many supportive factors at work behind the peace, and paved the way to ride democracy to South Korea. Each factor supported the other, and all those factors side to side together made the transition successful and, wishes of the people reached fruition. The factors of the democratic transition, which I have discussed in this paper, are (1) the role and history of electoral politics, (2) the role of democratic institutions, (3) the role of non-violent protest movements and (4) the role of civil society groups

4.1 The Role and History of Electoral Politics

"It is generally agreed that the origin of political parties is closely bound up with the general process of modernization and that the degree of development of a party system can serve as a useful institutional index of a level of political development" (Han (1969-1970, 446)).

"Korea was saved under the Japanese colonial rule of 1945. The experience of the colonial to Korea was not only negative; it also brought positive results too. It was severe and bitter, and figured postwar Korea deeply. It brought development and underdevelopment, agrarian growth and deepened tenancy, industrialization and extraordinary dislocation, political mobilization and deactivation. It gave new role to central government; new sets of Korean political leaders, communism and nationalism, armed resistance and treacherous collaboration were emerged. In addition, it left deep fissures and conflicts that have gnawed at the Korean Seoul ever since" Cumings (2005, 148)).

"The National Election Commission (NEC) is in charge of the organization, supervision of electoral campaigns, elections, and vote counting. It is an independent constitutional body. It is equal in status to the National Assembly, the government, Law Court and the Constitutional Court. The structure of NEC is nine commissioners: the president determines three of them; three are by the National assembly, and the other three are by the chief justice of the Supreme Court. Base on the election law, the NEC and the commissioners have fully power to supervise, manage all national and local elections, referenda, funds, and other matters relate to political parties. The electoral commission consists of four levels: national, metropolitan cities and provinces (si-do), wards, cities, counties (gu-si-gun) and towns (eup-myong-dong).

Since the First Republic, the election climate has gone through problems like government interference and negative publicity. The ideological confrontation, money disputes, and government intervene were the main matters of 1948 election. Inefficiencies of election had many shapes like, Suppression on opposition party campaigns, rejection of registration candidates, request for volunteer resignation, and using legislation as a tool for threatening voters. The 1960 April Student Revolution success over the ruling party was supposed as a political awareness sign of people. In addition, the coming fifth and six parliamentary and presidential elections were fair, but still money and government intervene had played an active role in favor of ruling party.

Except some phenomena like, bribing, threatening or assaulting opposition party leaders, which were not noticed considerably, but other ways like, taking care of regional projects for making discussion with ruling party candidates about problems on one hand, and attacking opposition party candidates and their campaigns on the other hand were noticed well. The tenth parliamentary election has witnessed a very noticeable competition between the ruling party and the opposition party, but still the environment of election was corrupt because the ruling party gave money in cash to voters instead of giving gifts as they did before.

In the eleventh election from (1 September 1980- 2 March 1981) and twelfth election from (3 March 1981- 24 February 1988) (Fanh et al. (2003, 235)), the ruling party won in the rural areas, and the opposition party won in the urban areas. The democratic constitution and election system came back to South Korea in 1987 by pro-democratic Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung; both of them fought against corrupt elections and its inefficient procedures.

In Western democracy, political parties had appeared as a something necessary to state and people, at the same time when civil society was widened, it creates chances and

opportunities to political parties in order to play a useful role and become a central organizational connection between government and people. In case of South Korea, political parties were emerged before civil society, and political parties more and less were in favor of politician needs rather than state and citizens.

Rhee Syng Man was the first Korean President; he was against political parties before being president. Once he faced the opposition party in the National Assembly, he formed his party, which was Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and he recognized that the institutional help from the legislature is a good backup to pass his policies. The Democratic Party (DP) was the main opposition party in National Assembly, appeared in 1955 in Rhee's era, DP was formed because of protest against Rhee's effort to pass constitutional amendment in 1954 to make direct election of the president by popular vote.

South Korean political parties, either the ruling or the opposition, continuously changed with the changing of regimes respectively. The instability of regimes made the political parties unstable too. The nature of political party in South Korea was influenced by personalities rather than by ideological or party agenda. In the authoritarian era, the ruling party nominated the party system and the matter was authoritarianism against democracy, not ruling and opposition parties. During thirty years, election organizations and propaganda were under control of dictatorship regimes, and the opposing parties were just protest organizations" (Kim (2009)).

"The June Resistance" was the political crisis in South Korea of middle 1987, and it was sometimes known as the turning point of South Korea from authoritarianism to democratic system from a strong-arm politics to civil society and rule of law. Although many challenges and controversies still are on way, but by the end of 1987 South Korea took a new

road from which there was no turning point to authoritarianism" (Oberdorfer (2001, 161-162)).

4.2 The Role of Democratic Institutions

"Since establishing the first independent Republic of South Korea in 1948, the idea of constitutionalism is understood in Western democracies. Then, it politically became the main conflict. In the authoritarian eras, the constitution was seen as a tool to hold power aggressively and prolong their terms repeatedly" (Savada et al. (1990)).

Separation of powers (legislature, judicial, executive) were under the military regimes' power for a long time which kept these institutions only on paper, not by action and in favor of public. To the mind of dictator regimes check and balance power was something changeable, reason why whenever they wanted; they issued a decree without going back to the legislatures and executives. However, the constitutional restoration was always possible as it happened in 1987.

"The democratic transition in 1987 brought the Sixth Republic and new constitution ratification, which was different from the one of authoritarian regimes. With the ratification of the new constitution, the power of making decision returned to people, people were given right to elect in free elections, and decide about other affairs, which related the life of people. When the Sixth Republic was formed, South Korea's people had gone through some democratic reformation in term of political reform and its practices. Before democratic transition, successive authoritarian regimes manipulated political institutions and its practices, check and balance power, mass media, civil and political rights, and social rights as well. However, the new constitution took back main keys of democratic institutions and its practices.

The new constitution provided a popular direct election for president with five-year non-renewable term. In the authoritarian regime, the president is the head of the state, and controlled the executive branch fully. Nowadays, the power of the president was reduced in the executive branch especially in the term of issuing decrees. At the same time, in accordance with the new constitution, the power of legislative and judicial are expanded considerably. The power of the executive to dissolve the National assembly is declared unconstitutional, which means that the president cannot dissolve the National Assembly at his convenience. That gave much power to the legislative branch, and legislators were no longer under the power of the executive. In addition, the judicial power got its independency to practice its rule and power; moreover, the new constitutional court was formed to make the judicial review much stronger. In the new constitution, the restrictions of political and civil rights were widened, and the basic elements of social rights went to be protected. The constitution also saves the political parties of random decisions, and they were asked to make internal democracy stronger inside the party. Above all those things, the neutrality of military was saved. The military is no more ownership to any specific political party, but it is ownership of nation and public.

The existence of check and balance power came from a political process and formal structure of government, which included in the constitution. The sixth's Republic constitution brought a very broader formal balance to three different branches of government, which was not done before by other constitutions" (Park et al. (2008)).

These institutions had not been working ideally and efficiently, they have been part of Korea's recent political history. Under the military rule, these democratic institutions became inert for a while. When the strong military rule was over and the constitutional system was returned, these institutions returned to a new life.

It is important to know that appearing democratic institutions in South Korea once again after collapsing autocratic regimes was not something new to the people and the country too. It had been working before existing autocratic regimes and it was a part of South Korean people's culture. That tells us they have very rich background to take democratic institutions after bringing down authoritarian regimes. Not only that, but also how to implement it to the new life after democratization. For that, People from South Korea were well informed about democratic institutions, and the fundamental things behind that. Because the idea of being well informed about democratic institutions makes senses and very meaningful, if a country has prior experiences and practiced it in contrast to another country that did not have such experience and did not practice it.

4.3 The Role of Non-violent Protest Movements

"One of the most influential and supportive factor, which made the democratic transition successful in South Korea was the nonviolent protest movements. Nonviolent protest movements came from a series and continuous protests by students, workers, farmers, and religious groups, journalists, and other interest groups. The history of protest movements dated back to the colonial era when people protested against the Japanese rule. It then came to 1960s in South Korea, when people started to protest against Rhee's regime. Later, the process of protest movement was continued subsequently against each single dictatorship regimes until the democratic transition of 1987 through June Democratic Uprising" (Jung et al).

"In the growing of democratic opposition, students and Christian community showed a pivotal role and supposed as the two most important groups. They were grown speedily in the end of twentieth century, and they were traditional foes of tyranny in Korea.

The extraordinary of students' participation in Korean society and most especially in political activism is the product of a tradition stretching back to Japanese colonial era. In the Japanese colonial time, students were the head of nationalistic movements. They saw themselves and always seen by others as guardians of virtue and purity of the nation.

The students' political activism were clearly seen in the beginning of 1960, they initiated intensive protests against Rhee Syng-Man's autocratic regime, but they were halted very brutally by police as 130 students were killed and many others were wounded" (Oberdorfer (2001, 49)).

The April 19th Revolution in 1960

"The April 19 Revolution stands for the collapse of the First Republic of South Korea under Rhee Syng-man and transit to the Second Republic. On March 15, 1960 Rhee Syng-man the leader of Liberal Party gained the presidency election again, his success stemmed from fraudulent votes in the election. One month after the election, on April 19 students led a widespread protest, which forced Rhee Syng-man to resign and flee into exile."

See <http://www.bookrags.com/research/april-19-revolutionkorea-ema-01/>

Before the Revolution

"Elections of 1960 confronted Rhee Syng-man when Lee Gi-bung was elected as the Vice President. He had run the election against Chang Myong who was ambassador to the US during the Korean War. Lee Gi-bung won the elections on March 15, 1960 with a majority of votes. He won the elections illegally because the votes were fraudulent and that caused unrest and protests among students.

Rhee Syng-Man officially formed the administration and took almost everything under his control in his office, most of the officials were afraid of him and they could not do

anything without his approval from a smallest thing as daily items like issuing passport to major decisions, which he or his inner-circle reviewed. He personally employed most of the officials; he had run a highly centralized and nepotistic spoils system. However, that does not mean everyone was under his order. The façade of top-down control system made a fractured regime, which frequently splintered into competing clusters of power, and it showed that he could not control everything although it was his dream" (Cumings (2005, 356)).

"Protest against the corrupt elections was held in Masan on March 15, 1960. It came after the disclosure of corruptions in elections by Democratic Party members; it led to gather thousands of residents in front of DP headquarters in Masan at 7:30 PM. The protest saw riots between citizens and police, the police shot the people and the people threw rocks at the police.

The dead body of Kim Ju-yul was found on the Masan beach on April 11, 1960. He was student in Masan Commercial High School, and was disappeared when the Masan rioting was held. Authorities announced that drowning caused his death but people did not believe it. Some protestors went to the hospital by force to reveal the truth. They revealed that a grenade of a tear gas spited his skull, which was penetrated from his eyes to the back of his head. That brought a wave of protests against the corrupt election on April 19, 1960.

Later, a committee from the National Assembly showed that shooting the protestors by the police was not to disperse them, but to kill them. At that time Rhee syng-man claimed that the Communist Party was behind the Masan protests, it was just to shift the focus and to accuse the Communist Party. Then, Choi In-Kyu, Minister of Interior and Chief of Security resigned from their posts and they took responsibility for the events of Masan.

Causes

There are many reasons behind the April 19th Revolution. The most well known one that caused the Revolution was the corruption in government during the era of president Rhee Syng-man regime. In addition, the discovery of Kim Ju-yul's body pushed the movement into a quick motion, although his death was a turning point but still there were some other reasons why the April Revolution resulted from the movement. The reasons were illegitimacy of elections, barriers of economic sector, dominating power by Rhee Syng-man for a long time, attacking Korean University Students by police, and Rhee supported the vice president who was not in favor among the people"(Kim et al. (1964)).

"In more detail, Rhee Syng-man was a dictator and corrupt president because he continuously amended the constitution to get his political power and presidency term longer" (KBS (1995)).

"During the election of 1960 there was two major parties ran against the Rhee's party, a small progressive party by Chong Pong-am, and the Democratic Party by Cho Pyong-ok. Chong Pong-am was imprisoned before the election of 1960 and soon was executed and Cho Pyong-ok went to States for getting medical operation but died there of a heart attack. The death of those two leaders caused much of a coincident to the people and they supposed that their death came from the corruption of the Rhee's regime. The vice president's election that held separately was also supposed as unfair. In accordance to the Korean Report, democratic rallies over the entire nation were not allowed, and hundreds of pre-marked ballots were prepared into ballots on the Election Day" (Kim et al. (1964)).

"While the protest got bigger, the military forces stayed neutral, but the police officers and thugs of the anti-communist league caused violations and led to many deaths. Those

events were the main factors to interrupt the continuous coordination between Korean Students and citizens" (KBS (1995)).

In Seoul

"Students started to march From the University students to the Blue House, which located around three miles away. As they continuously marched, protestors were massive in number. Finally, they arrived the President's Palace and number of students were bigger than number of soldier who protected the Palace. Soldiers fired demonstrators who called to resign Rhee, it led to kill 125 students. April 19 Movement caused to step down the South Korean President Rhee Syng-man.

Outcomes

Following the violent rallies and demonstrations until the end of April, the rallies initiated to grew and the violent was disappeared. On April 25, 1960 demonstrators were outnumbered by joining more citizens and professors and the police withdrew, refused to attack demonstrators" (Kim et al. (1964)).

"Lee Ki-poong who Rhee's handpicked for his vice president had running made was blamed for the most corruption in the government. In that case, Rhee Syng-man was not blamed as Lee Ki-pong was. People's criticism about Rhee was about his age as he was 85 years old, and he was unable to touch politics. Lee Ki-poong and his family committed suicide after the Revolution" (Tennant (1996)).

The South Korean protest movement more and less was a coalitional movement, and headed by variety of groups. The values and passion for democratization was the fundamental base of that coalitional protest movement. Moreover, the coalition of protest movement had a good connection with opposition parties in every protest movements.

"The interesting point of South Korea democracy was that the movements were based on participated different groups from different sectors of society. That made the movements much diversified and variable. In general, they had similar socio vocational identities and they made their claim to participate the movements based on those identities.

For example, Christians' identities to the movements were to focus on the souls and their well-being through making the political and humanitarian climates much better, moreover the religious sphere too. The beliefs of journalists to participate the movements were providing freedom of speech and media freedom; they believe those two elements as good factors to communicate the domestic and international news. Another group of the movements was the labors; the claim of labors was the right of labors, which must be provided by government. As we saw that coalition base of those groups was made the movements much tied and meaningful. The unified sound between those groups made the movements much influential. Especially, when the groups worked on the ideal socio-vocational identities were a good factor to make the transition successful.

During the eras of dictatorship regimes, South Korea had witnessed many protest movements, and the interested thing in South Korea protests was the successful result in every single protest and every time the protest brought the goal of the protestors successful in a significant amount. Among the protest movements that were held by Koreans, there are some protests, which played a good role of democratization process like the April 19th revolution in 1960, the Gwangju Popular Uprising in 1980, and the June Democratic Uprising in 1987" (Chang (2008)).

4.4 The Role of Civil Society Groups

"Civil society groups are self-organized unions and movements that are free from the state, basic units of production, and political society, and they are doing political activities to

deliver their ideas and progress their favors in accordance with the pluralism and self-government regulations. Moreover, civil society groups consists of many different sectors of society like trade unions, business association, religious groups, environmental organizations, women's movements groups, human rights movements group, and so on" (Kim (2000, 15)).

"Two of the most important groups in the growing democratic opposition were students and the Christians community, both of which were traditional foes of tyranny in Korea, and both of which had grown rapidly in the late twentieth century" (Oberdorfer (2001, 49)).

"Students did first demonstration against the authoritarian regime, they were politically very active, and they did many demonstrations against authoritarian regimes. The most important activity by students was the April Uprising in 1960. After a period of time other groups like religious groups, farmers, labors were came to students hand in hand, they could leave a good name in term of repressing and weakening authoritarian regimes. In response to civil society's roles of democratic transition, authoritarian regimes used variety of bloody and cruelty ways to keep them down and do not repress the government. However, the government's un-humanitarian procedures against civil society actors could not stop them of paving the way to democratic transition" (Bunbomgkarn (2001)).

"South Korean autocratic collapse and democratic establishment had gone through three democratic junctures. In each of those junctures multi civil society groups like student groups, labor unions, religious organizations played a pivotal role to democratization. In the first democratic juncture (1956-1961), students and urban intellectuals initiated to stand against the bad and corrupt system of Rhee Syng Man's regime. Moreover, student groups were always cooperating with opposition parties to democratization. In the second democratic juncture (1973-1980), unlimited numbers of national associations from different sectors of

society like dissident intellectuals, religious leaders, and journalists conducted a significant role in launching movement against Park Chung Hee's authoritarian regime when he issued Yushin. Those national associations had a good relation with the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP), and they formed pro-democracy coalition. In the third democratic juncture (1984-1987), the civil society pro-democracy alliance cooperated with other sectors of society like students, workers, churches, and middle class too. The unification of civil society groups and led them by national associations were important factors to cooperate with other sectors and regional organizations, in addition with political parties in many joint organizations. The collective efforts of civil society groups and opposition parties played a good role to push authoritarian regime to accept democratization" (Kim (2003)).

"Religious groups were one of the main and influential actors in civil society groups especially after issuing Yushin by Park Chung Hee, and they made a fundamental and institutional framework of opposition movements. The focuses by religious groups were human right, social justice, and democratization. Moral superiority was the fundamental reason of the church to participate democratization movement. Beside many repressions and suppressions by the military on church, but church did not give up its participation of democratization. Other interested groups' participation goal of democratization was either to reward or to kickback by state, but in case of church was just self-motive. Christian's roles socially and politically were increased after their religious body was formally and socially recognized. In South Korea, Christians are so curious about conducting their real mission, which is concerning society in accordance with the Christian convictions.

At the beginning, church dealt with and involved only in humanitarian affairs. Later, many church-base organizations were formed, and they involved politically in the process. The Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC) was at the head of the movement. The mission of church was not only prayer service to the people but also they formed many

regional associations to deal with human right matters and counter measures against death torture. Moreover that, church shared with the suffrage and misery of the repressed and neglected majority of the society by dictatorship regime.

Catholic Cathedral and laymen played a good and active role in the democratization process. One of the symbolic places of Korean catholic and political dissidents was Myongdong Cathedral.

One of the most influential and very active organization was established in 1974 was “The Catholic Priests Association for the Realization of Justice”. Its activities like social movements for human right and democratization was back to 1970s. In 1987, the organization revealed the case of Park Chung-Chol, he was dead result of death torture by a high official police officer.

In addition, many other religious groups were formed like, Korean Catholic Committee for Justice and Peace, Catholic Social Movement Council, the Catholic Labor Missionary Institute, the Catholic Cultural Movement Council, and the Council on the Urban Missionary.

Those religious groups had played an important and active role for democratization in South Korea against dictatorship regimes, alliances with other dissident movements like students, and labors" (Kim (1992)).

V. Summary: Learning from South Korea’s Democratic Transition

South Korea democratic transition of 1987 was not all of sudden process. It was not happened randomly, or without prior preparations. It was a result of over 40 years bloody struggle and rooted in the people's protest culture dating back to their colonial era. Moreover, it was a well-organized and fully programmed historical event by the power of people, and

coalitional base agreement between all involved actors in the process. The coalitional base between actors was formed on the base of public interest, happiness to majority and rides the country from autocratic to a democratic country.

The cause of democratization in South Korea was accumulative of sufferings, misery, and bad ruling system by autocratic government over three decades. There were many factors behind democratization like corruption, manipulation of election, civil right, freedom of press, individual rights, also oppressing opposition parties, and other actors who did not support the authoritarian regimes. All those factors were reasonable to the mind of people to stand against the government and bring democracy through non-violent movements and protests over periods.

The understanding and strong belief of the South Korean people about the idea and meaning of the non-violent protest movements are totally positive, understandable and productive. If we look at the history of the people and the most active groups about the movements under autocratic regimes during last decades, we can see that they have a good cultural background to manage movements and protests. If we exemplify that, we can look at one of the most active groups for non-violent protest movements; we can see how strongly they believed and how they handled as Oberdorfer said "the unusual stature of students in Korean society and especially in political activism is the product of a tradition stretching back over many centuries. Undergirded by the Confusion emphasis on scholarship students had spearheaded nationalistic movements against japan colonial rule. They saw themselves, and were often seen by others, as guardians of state virtue and purity, and they were expected to demonstrate their opposition to compromise with those ideals" (Oberdorfer (2001, 49)).

Therefore just taking people and ushering them into street are not enough to do movements, if we look at the whole process of democratization, we can see that small

number of people were victimized comparing to the protests' duration and size. That belong to the way they handled the movement in well-organized way. Vice versa if we do not know how to manage movements, we can see hundreds are victimized and lost behind the process because it is not systemized well.

"Among many countries which rid democratization of third the world started in the mid of 1970's, South Korea's case is the most successful case. South Korea is the eleventh largest great economy power in the world, with its economic boost, and in East Asia became the second powerful democracy country after Japan.

After a long period, South Korea eliminated the authoritarian rule and established a civilian one. Moreover, key factors of procedural democracy were informed to democratization, the new established democratic government started to have transparent election, cooperation between political parties, civil rights, and freedom of media. Liberal democracy is widened well; and the country became the six countries in Asia that are recognized as "free" by Freedom House" (Diamand et al. (1999)).

To summarize, the following factors played a good role to make the transition successful. Each factor to the other was supportive, and all these factors are together paved the way to democratization and form a sample democratic government.

- i. Good and rich cultural background of the people regarding democratization movements
- ii. Coalitional and inter agreement between movement groups (opposition parties ,students, labors, journalist, religious leaders, dissidents, interest groups like family of victims and prisoners)
- iii. Role of civil society

- iv. Role of democratic institutions (check and balance power legislatures, judicial, and executives)
- v. Role of military, which they did not mobilize to stand against movements.
- vi. Protestors and movements' agenda and purpose were clear and reasonable base on facts and logic.

"If the student Revolution of April 19, 1960 was the first mass revolution, June 29, 1987 was known as the second. It had six thoughtful effects on the political process, some of which only reached fruition some years later. First was the change in the presidential election system from an indirect election, a controlled travesty of 'democracy' to the direct election of the president. This was a serious factor in the development of political parties for it made the 'vortex' element of political recruitment (to use Henderson's terminology) more forceful, for now one had the likelihood of becoming president, and not simply a member of the National Assembly. Second, it allowed the progress of civil society, those organizations autonomous of the state, which had been controlled, dominated, or screened by the government. Third was the rebirth of local autonomy (which was eliminated in 1961 and although mandated in the new constitution of 1987 did not take place for more than half a decade thereafter) allowed the ultimate development of local political constituencies that could affect the future of party development. Fourth, the freeing of labor to strike and organize with less limiting controls (although as we have seen its ability to engage in the political process more directly was still circumscribed) sparked mobilization efforts that resulted in a massive increase in such strikes. Fifth, the media was also freed from some constraints, although all governments have and continue to attempt to influence political and other reporting, Finally, the freeing of Kim Dae Jung to participate in politics once again set in motion political organizations that eventually resulted in his election to the presidency in 1996, June 1987 was therefore a cardinal event in the political development of Korea" (Steinberg et al. (2005, 12)).

VI. Recommendations for the Arab Spring

People from countries like Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Syria, and Yemen were suffering under one-man dictatorship and one corrupt system for more than 30-years. They were absolutely abandoned from a peaceful and democratic life. After that time, they could no longer endure, and finally they brought the Arab Spring to make better alternatives than autocratic regime.

The Arab Spring brought many changes either to the people or to the involved countries. The geopolitics of Mediterranean region has been reshaped because of the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring is not bringing solutions to all troubles in these countries at once; and the people cannot bring democracy to their countries just by doing protests and movements through the Arab Spring, because those countries lived in dictatorship life for long time, dictatorship principles and ideas went to every single aspect of life. That is why they must be aware of a possibility of emerging another dictatorial regime or emerging civil war as we see in some countries nowadays between the pros and cons of dictators like Syria, Libya, and Tunisia.

"So what happens to the future of the Arab Spring? Does the Arab Spring fail or success? The situation in all countries that have gone through Arab Spring is not hopeful yet, and even none of them is stabilized, this is the real nature of revolution that faces difficulties to stabilize and be in a safe ground easily. It is something like aftermath of the great earthquake before it re-stabilizes. The current focus is not on how revolutions must be handled but it is on the future of the revolutions if they follow it with a better strategy."

See <http://hakawi.wordpress.com/2011/08/11/what-went-wrong-with-the-arab-spring-or-did-it/>

A better strategy for the Arab Spring is looking forward for other nations, which had gone through this experience before and they well understood of the nature of transition process and its consequences. In this paper, I look at the experience of South Korea, which was the most successful case in third wave of democratization. Base on the factors that led the South Korea's democratic transition successful, here are some recommendations to the Arab Spring in order to find its right way and to be successful and practical on the ground of Arab countries that are in the wing of Arab Spring.

To make a much productive and peaceful environment to the political life in those countries, the presidential system has to be changed from indirect to direct system, the direct system lead the people to elect the president in a free and fair election, not choosing a congressman by the political party which got the majority in the congress. Civil societies have to be autonomous of the government but they have to be controlled and monitored by the government. The system of the government has to decentralized, and do not centralize all powers in a place.

Under the long-decades dictatorship rulers that are swept by the Arab Spring, Political parties that appeared during the uprising were restricted and not allowed to do any political activity; they were not in the field to participate the elections and ruling government beside the ruling party. That tells us the emerged political parties have poor infrastructure, infrastructure in term of having a modern agenda, participating the elections, coordinating with other political parties and civil society groups, and setting up a technical and professional government. Therefore, the political parties that emerged before and after Arab Spring in those countries that are in the wing of Arab Spring have to reinforce their

infrastructure to stand against any unwanted and unexpected situation and keep pace with the political progresses in the area. They also should set up a government to serve the people, not one party or a group of people.

In the authoritarian regimes, democratic institutions (legislatures, judicial, executives) have not been working ideally and efficiently. Under the military rule, these democratic institutions became inert. These institutions have used in favor of the regime to extend their presidency, and power. Reason why, the democratic institution's independency must be kept and each of the legislatures, judicial, and executives should work ideally to make a standard environment to the political life and the people too.

All the people, political parties (Islamic and secular), religious and civil society groups must think about a safe and peaceful way to do non-violent protest movements, because less violent protests bring less bloody result. In addition, experienced and qualified leaders must lead the revolutions and movements in order to keep away people from fighting back against military and save people's life. Also all the civil society groups regardless the agenda and ideology have to integrate and unify their aims to move forward a strong and unified goals to built a friendly based team working for sake of making the Arab Spring more successful and drive it to a safe ground.

During the authoritarian regimes in those countries, many militia groups emerged. They fought against the government for their rights, and government abandoned them of having anything. During and after the Arab Spring those groups are still there; they are not well informed about setting of government, and if they are not shared them of setting government; they do not stop fighting of new government too. Therefore, the other political parties that win the election have to talk with those groups and reconcile them by joining them to the new army or make a practical policy that is to be fit for such a trouble.

One of the principles of democratic country is media independency. Media has to be free to cover any kind of news and the government should help media agencies to access all information, which are deserved to publicize in media.

Army has to be neutral in term of being a national army and serve the nation, not the president's interests and wish. When army is being under the power of president, he can have a chance to use it for his interests which leads him to be dictator and use it whenever he wants against the people and to prolong his power illegally.

International opinion must be unified to make an influential impact on Syria, Libya, Bahrain, and Yemen. Any divisions from international community reinforce the power of dictators because they show as a proof of goodness for themselves and badness for the West.

For countries like Egypt and Tunisia, coalitions must leave their struggles and follow one leader to make a unified and collective sound from all other parties, movements, and coalitions. Everyone should support that leader and hold him into power strongly. This brings the country from chaotic situation to a stabilized one and they can attract all other voices from other parts of the country that motivates them focusing only one goal, which is good for the country in order to be successful.

VII. CONCLUSION

To the Arab world, year 2011 has become the year of auspicious and stirring Arab people under the rule of autocratic regimes and the collapse to the autocratic regimes were started by doing protests and revolutions. But the Arab countries are not well informed to do protests and revolutions and they do not have such prior experiences in order to do that in a way that causes a wished result.

If Arab Spring wants to deliver its message in a right way, and wants to accomplish its responsibility, it must look at the other nations' experience, which they already had gone through this kind of experience.

Among all the countries, which ride the third wave of democratization, South Korea's case was the most successful case in term of conducting the process successfully and getting useful and good outcomes, which were breaking down the 25-year autocratic regime and building a democratic and civil system.

After all, democracy has quickly developed in South Korea, and the forces of democratization movement have a great participation to progress democracy by their countless efforts. Democratization in South Korea came with some strong backup factors that made the democratization successful; the factors are (1) the role and history of electoral politics, (2) the role of democratic institutions, (3) the role of non-violent protest movements and (4) the role of civil society groups

Base on the experience of South Korea and its democratic transition, Arab Spring can learn some experiences from South Korea's case, in term of backup factors, which made the

transition successful. Because the experience of Arab Spring countries is same experience of South Korea in regard to authoritarian regime and lack of democratic system over 30-year.

What the Arab Spring should learn from South Korea democratic transition is to look at the factors and consequences of the process. By looking at the experience of South Korea, Arab Spring can find out its right way to have successful outcomes to match the aims of the revolutionary waves.

One thing is left to mention about is, many Arab countries do not have experience with political parties and civil society groups. Instead, Arab countries have a strong religious culture. The question is, can religious groups function as part of civil society as Korea's religious groups have done in the past?

To bring the role of religious groups into light as civil society groups in the Arab Spring, it is important to uncover the pivotal role of religion plays in the uprisings. For that, it is very significant to make a difference between two completely different sides. First; while the uprisings are going on, there are some very special moments, where the unity succeeded. Second; the transition periods that is longer and more complicated, there the old lines of political demarcation recurred, religion is one of them.

People from Arab countries have a strong religious culture, reason why religious groups can play as civil society groups well to involve people as much as possible and coordinate with opposition parties and other groups to make the Arab Spring more successful through the language of religion and most influential Islamic leaders.

One fact about the religious groups and parties in the countries like (Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya) is that all the religious groups and parties were illegal in previous regimes. They were banned to have any activities; they were not allowed to participate any elections because

previous regimes knew that if they would allow them to do all those things, they could overcome the dictators easily by getting most of the votes as we see in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt nowadays. That means people strongly believe of religion and religious groups. Therefore, they can have an active and effective role in the Arab Spring.

In all the countries that were involved to the Arab Spring, religious groups have a good role to call citizens to protests, organize demonstrations, coordinate with opposition parties and other groups rather than religious groups, establish interim committee to govern the country after bringing down the regime, and make any kind of facilitation to hold elections.

The best example of religious group has played a good role in the Arab Spring is Al-Nahdha (the renaissance) party in Tunisia, that was not allowed to have any activity and was illegal in the previous regime time. It has been very active in the protests. In addition, in Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood also participates with much activity and as a strong force in the protests. Muslim Brotherhood played a visible and active role. They did many activities in the Tahrir Square like sermons, prayers, and retransmission on media. Through those kinds of activities, they attracted the global focus to the Arab Spring more and more because they used a religious language which is much attractive than other languages. In addition, there was other very impressive point by the effort of religious groups, which were the agreement and unity statements between Christians, Copts and Muslims while the protests are being underway.

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