

*Prepared for the 4th World Congress of Korean Studies
Organized by the Academy of Korean Studies
Seoul, Korea
September 21-24, 2008*

INSTITUTIONAL AND FUNCTIONAL STUDY OF THE KOREAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY*

Turtogtoh Janar, Ph.D.
투르투토흐 자나르

*Associate Professor, National University of Mongolia
Visiting Scholar, Seoul National University
Field Research Fellow, Korea Foundation*

INTRODUCTION

Compared to thousands of years of history¹ of the statehood development of Korea, contemporary politics of Republic of Korea (ROK), its democracy and the principle of separation of power can be considered to be relatively newly forming and developing ones. Specially, the National Assembly, which has formed by the first election just after a foundation of ROK, is developing as a political institution and an implementing body of the state legislative authority. It clearly shows that the National Assembly has been becoming a vivid image of an institutionalized form of representative democracy in the new history of Korean politics.

However, it has been 60 years since Constituent Assembly was formed by the general and direct election in 1948. Changes and development of legislative institutions during this period is entirely and inevitably connected with the political development of the country. During any democratic and non-democratic political systems, the National Assembly has been a public representative in politics and has been implementing its function successfully. On the other hand, it has been a reflection of political regime and political culture in its each authority. Every change in a scope and numbers of structure and composition, patterns and methods to elect members has definitely contributed heavily to the National Assembly's formation to be developed as a representative institution.

In recent years, relationship between Republic of Korea and Mongolia has been developing intensively in the field of socio-politics, economics, culture, science, education, humanity and so on. Specifically, Korea studies have been broadening effectively in a lot of scientific fields in Mongolia for the last years. The field of Korean political studies is relatively new among political science communities in Mongolia, but it is attracting increasing attention from scholars in our country.

In this work, the writer will not examine whole issues of parliamentary institutions, but examine some aspects of Korea's legislature. At the beginning, this work covers historical and

* This paper was made possible through a field research grant from the Korea Foundation. The author is grateful to the Korea Foundation for its support for this ongoing effort.

constitutional basis of a legislative institution of ROK. Then it shows intrinsic and extrinsic patterns of the legislative institution such as an inner structure and an arrangement of the National Assembly and its legislative process. It is essential to emphasize theoretical and practical issues related to the features of functions, electoral mechanisms, operation and a status of the Korean National Assembly in the political system. Especially, in the field of parliamentary institutional research, the study of the electoral system and its realization is of the utmost importance. Therefore, the final part of this paper covers the issues on election system for a legislative institution, especially the latest 18th election for the National Assembly, its results and some other related issues to it.

FUNDAMENT OF CONTEMPORARY KOREAN LEGISLATURE

Founding of the Republic

Before examining general patterns of Korean legislative institution within the frame of constitutional system, a historical overview of Korean parliamentary institution and contemporary Korean polity is discussed briefly hereafter.

What history tells us is, according to the Potsdam declaration², Korea was set free from the 36 years of colonialism, and the nation was recovered its liberty on August 15, 1945. National liberation and its political assurances were not worry-free for Korean people at that time. The agreement among the three powers such as United States, Britain, and China, through President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang stated that “Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands ... as we³ determine”⁴. If Japan did not surrender, it would face “prompt and utter destruction”⁵. The Allies were determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union and the United States military rule were fixed up in Korean peninsula. As Pak Chan Hyun who was an assemblyman in the Constituent Assembly noted:

... the nation was occupied by the United States forces in the south and the Soviet forces in the north respectively along the thirty-eighth parallel “for the sole and only purpose” of disarming the Japanese forces in Korea. The occupation of the two powers, however, has resulted in dividing the country into two halves. (Pak, 1976: 115).

After three years of those powers’ troops rule, the Republic of Korea was founded in the southern half of the peninsula. On May 10, 1948, under the supervision of the temporary U.N. Korean Commission, a general and democratic election was held in the area south of the 38th parallel, giving birth to the constituent National Assembly. Thereafter, on May 31, the Assembly was created. The Constituent Assembly was composed of 198 Members who were elected by a universal, equal, direct and secret ballot. However, it was not simple for the Korean people to hold a general election with a national consensus on the democratic way of building a new nation. As Pak pointed out, Koreans were:

confronting the challenge of the Communists while the country was being divided into two halves. It was a hard task to establish our own government in order to take over the transitory government from the United States command and to declare the national independence. Overcoming the hardships and terrorism, the Korean people had held successfully the general election to institute the constituent assembly (Pak, 1976: 116-117).

Among the elected were many patriots who had joined directly or indirectly in the independence movement and the fight for freedom against Japanese colonial rule. During the two years of its existence, the First National Assembly held six sessions, including two regular sessions and four special sessions (Kil, 1964: 4). This first Korean National Assembly established a democratic Constitution for the first time on July 12, 1948. Then, the Constituent Assembly promulgated the

Constitution on July 17, 1948. Since then, it has been at the center of the governance, and proudly, the term constitutionalism – as it is belief in the fundamental principles of a constitutional government - has become a hub of the political life of this country. The text of the Constitution was written in word by word with the writing brush (Pak, 1976: 120). Very regretfully, the original text was lost during the Korean War.

The original Constitution provided for a presidential system. However, during the preparation of draft proposals of the constitution, parliamentary cabinet system and presidential government system were challenging each other. A Constitution Drafting Committee⁶, appointed by the Constituent Assembly, had proceeded to draw a draft constitution. Whereas most members of the Committee favoured a parliamentary system of government, Dr. Syngman Rhee, then the speaker of the Constituent Assembly, opted for a strong presidential form of government (Park, 1962: 23-34). In case of Korean people opinion, at that time, they supported overwhelmingly a model of the parliamentary cabinet system (Pak, 1976: 123). Consequently, Rhee Syngman strongly adhered to a presidential system similar to that of the United States. As Pak Chi Young analyzed on Syngman Rhee's standpoint to choose the type for the government system:

He presented his argument in favor of a presidential system as follows: first, the Republic of Korea needed a stable government with viable political leadership to achieve the task of nation-building; second, a strong government was absolutely necessary for the successful struggle against communism in Korea, and with a divided Korea it would be unthinkable to adopt a parliamentary system which would invite political chaos and instability; third, a parliamentary system which would result in encouraging factional struggle should not be adopted, since Korean history was full of examples of internecine factional strife that had eventually led to the Japanese rule in 1910 (Pak, 1968: 111).

The first president was elected by the first legislature. It was on July 20, 1948, just three days after the promulgation of the Constitution. Rhee Syngman, the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly was elected the first president. Although the Constitution was built on a basis of a presidential system, it was not such a strong presidential power as United States. The government created under the new Constitution was a republic in its basic form, with a curious mixture of both the British parliamentary system and the American presidential system. In addition, the Constitution fully guaranteed the basic individual rights and liberties which could be construed to be an explicit attempt on the part of political leaders to establish a liberal democracy (Kim and Pai, 1981: 23).

Growing Korea's legislature

History of Korean parliamentary institution is a rich of development changes and challenges. Historical development and significance of the legislature has been studied by parliamentary scholars (Kim and Pai, 1981; Yoon, 1991; Park, 1998: 66-68, 2002a: 330-32) and practitioners or politicians such as former Members of the National Assembly (Kil, 1964: 1-12; Pak, 1976: 115-34) by various attempts. For instance, Park (1998) investigated the changes of the Korean legislature's policy activity in the context of the historical dimension. As Park briefly emphasized, the Korean National Assembly has a relatively short but turbulent history (Park, 1998: 68). I, the author of this paper, concurred with this, however, not only in terms of parliamentary institutional changes but also development of contemporary Korean politics.

From the beginning of the First Republic through the current Sixth one, Korea has experienced a series of political alterations. In line with this, the place of the legislative institution in the Korean political system has ever changed (see Table 1). With the heavy influence of the Constitution, the legislature became the focal point of politics and exercised a great deal of power (See more on Kim and Pai, 1981: 23). For instance, in case of the Korean National Assembly of the Fourth Republic, Mezey classified that legislature as a marginal type, a category of legislatures with modest policy-making power and a relatively low degree of support (Mezey, 1979: 21-44).

Table 1. A Chronology of the Korean National Assembly.

Republic	Regime Type	System of Government	Assembly	Term
First	Authoritarian	Presidential	Constituent	May 1948-May 1950
			Second	May 1950-May 1954
			Third	May 1954-May 1958
			Fourth	May 1958-May 1960 (curtailed due to the student uprising)
Second	Democratic	Parliamentary	Fifth	July 1960-May 1961 (dissolved by the military coup)
Third	Authoritarian	Presidential	Sixth	December 1963-June 1967
			Seventh	July 1967-June 1971
			Eighth	July 1971-October 1972 (dissolved due to martial law)
Fourth	Authoritarian	Presidential	Ninth	March 1973-March 1979
			Tenth	March 1979-October 1980 (dissolved by the military coup)
Fifth	Authoritarian	Presidential	Eleventh	April 1981-April 1985
			Twelfth	April 1985-May 1988 (curtailed due to pro-democracy protest)
Sixth	Democratic	Presidential	Thirteenth	May 1988-May 1992
			Fourteenth	June 1992-May 1996
			Fifteenth	May 1996-May 2000
			Sixteenth	May 2000-May 2004
			Seventeenth	May 2004-May 2008
			Eighteenth	May 2008-present (Elected in 9 th April 2008)

Source: Park: 2002⁷

Likewise, in his study of the National Assembly's place in the Korean polity, Park (1998: 68-71) defined about the current Sixth Republic's case. As shown in table 1, Sixth Republic has started since May 1988 and the National Assemblies in the current Republic has still been moving forward. For instance, as Park more clearly viewed that the National Assembly in the first two years of the current Sixth Republic was a vulnerable legislature, having strong policy-making power but not being so well supported. It could be said to be a fairly weak form of vulnerable legislature. The legislature's strength of policy-making power has declined. More recently, the legislature has shown more vigor than at the peak of authoritarianism in terms of its policy-making power, but it still has modest policy-making power. The degree of support for the legislature has declined much further since the early years of the Sixth Republic. Presently⁸, the legislature is just a fairly strong form of marginal legislature (Park, 1998: 69). Although Republic of Korea is a country of presidential system of government⁹, its National Assembly is the most competitive¹⁰, open and democratic materialization of political life, and its role is a lot in Korean political system. The parliamentary institute of this country has overcome plenty of obstacles and hierarchy of political formation and development during the period of authoritarian and democratic political regime, presidential and parliamentary system of government.

Constitutional design of contemporary Korean polity

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea is the general instrument of Korean government and the supreme law of the land. For 60 years, it has guided the evolution of governmental institutions

and has provided the basis for political stability, individual freedom, economic growth and social progress. The current constitutional system, which started in 1987, was based on a constitutional bill that was passed by the National Assembly on October 12, 1987, and subsequently approved by 93 percent of the voters in a national referendum on October 28. This change of constitutionalism transferred power from the authoritarian Fifth Republic into the Sixth Republic or the country's present-day government system. The current Sixth Republic constitution went into effect on February, 1988 when Roh Tae-Woo was inaugurated as the Republic's President.

In the Constitution, the system of governing of the Republic of Korea is a presidential system based on such principles as separation of powers, and checks and balances. According to the Constitution, the President is the Head of State (*The Constitution of Korea*, Article 66:1) and executive power is vested in the Executive branch headed by the President (*The Constitution of Korea*, Article 66:4). The President appoints a Prime Minister who runs the government as directed by him. The President has power to attend and address the National Assembly, to convene its extraordinary session, and to exercise a veto on the bill passed by it. He/she appoints high-ranking public officials, including the prime minister and chief justice, with consent by the National Assembly. Constitution enables him that in time of internal turmoil, external menace, natural calamity, or a grave financial or economic crisis, the President may take in respect to them the minimum necessary financial and economic actions or issue orders having the effect of law, only when it is required to take urgent measures for the maintenance of national security or public peace and order, and there is no time to await the convocation of the National Assembly. In the executive branch, the prime minister is formally the second powerful next to the president. The legislature called National Assembly or Daehan Minguk Kuk Hoe is a unicameral and has 299 members who are elected to four-year terms. Legislative power is vested in the National Assembly. It can also exercise power to investigate specific matters when deemed necessary. Moreover, the legislature has power for fiscal control which provided by the Constitution and the National Assembly Law. However, such fiscal control power is examined by Park as a passive role for the legislature (Park, 2003: 495). The National Assembly members and the President are elected respectively by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot by the citizens of the Republic of Korea (*The Constitution of Korea*, Articles 41:1 and 67: 1). Korea's judicial system comprises a Supreme Court, appellate courts, and a Constitutional Court. Korea has a legal system which combines certain elements of continental European civil law systems, Anglo-American law, and Chinese classical thought. Particularly, the German civil code has been the basis for the legal systems of South Korea because "...the expansion of the colonial empires of the European powers in the 19th century brought the civil law system based on Roman law to many countries in Asia and Africa" (Badr, 1977: 187).

As mentioned above, the Constitution provides for a three-branch governing system whereby law-making functions are in the preserve of the National Assembly, administrative functions are in the preserve of the executive branch, headed by the President, and judicial functions belong to the courts. Structurally, these three branches are highly independent of each other. The members of the National Assembly are elected by the people, and the National Assembly's leaders and officers are chosen by the members themselves. As for the President, he/she is not required to obtain the approval of the National Assembly in appointing top executive officials, except in the case of the Prime Minister and the Director of the Board of Inspection and Audit. The head of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice, although appointed by the President with the consent of the National Assembly, possesses the power to recommend to the President the appointment of Supreme Court Justices, and has the power to appoint all other judges.

Another noticeable one is which the economic developments of the country have been strongly influenced by the constitutional principle which supports a free-market economy. The Constitution declares that the nation's economic order is based on recognizing individual and corporate freedom and creativity (See *The Constitution of Korea*, Article 119:1).

INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LEGISLATURE*

The National Assembly as a representative institution

In democratic countries, sovereignty rests in the people. This basic principle was stated in Article III of the *Declaration of the Right of Man* proclaimed at the time of the French Revolution in 1789. The principle is referred to the Constitution of Korea, stating in Chapter I, Article 1, Section 2, that the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea resides in the people, and all state authority emanates from the people. The people exercise it through direct participation in state affairs and through representative bodies of state power elected by them.

Since democratic politics means self-government, an ideal democracy would be based upon direct participation by the people. However, it is impractical to utilize direct democratic methods in modern countries. In other words, a direct democracy is almost impossible to realize, unless on a very small scale. Therefore, democracy is nowadays practiced through indirect methods, namely the representative system. Thus, when it is stated that sovereignty is vested in the people it means that they have the right to participate indirectly in government through their elected representatives. Representation, therefore, is one of the key concepts of democracy (Dahl, 1956; Riker, 1982; Lijphart, 1984). A legislature is usually characterized as a representative institution. In debating the representative characters of legislatures, for example, Loewenberg and Patterson note:

Recruiting processes ... translate into party divisions in the electorate into party divisions in the legislature; occupational patterns in the country into occupational patterns among legislators; ethnic, racial, religious, sex and age distributions among the constituents into similar distributions among the elected legislators (Loewenberg and Patterson, 1979: 111).

A strong and effective legislature is crucial to the operation of a democratic polity. Such a legislature helps expand participatory opportunity, permitting broader segments of society to have their voices heard in governmental decisions. It can also help legitimate the government's policies and authorities, contributing to the system's stability (Kim and Pai, 1981: 37). According to Almond and Powell, recruitment affects public policy performance (Almond and Powell, 1978: 110). Therefore, one inevitable representative feature of legislatures is that the parliament has more power in political systems to determine the state policy and control its implementation.

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea embodies the principle of separation of powers; National Assembly enjoys an autonomous governmental role, operating independently on the basis of its own constitutional powers. Korean National Assembly is the legislative branch of the government, prescribed by the Constitution to represent the will of the people. Besides, the National Assembly "played a modest role in the expansion of citizen participation" (Kim and Pai, 1981: 37). Political representation¹¹ and policy making are kinds of assemblymen's main roles. In case of Korean legislative members, they saw their role as one of representing their constituents' opinions as faithfully as possible. On the other hand, they exhibited no clear notion of "whom" they should be representing (Kim and Pai, 1981: 35). As representatives of the citizens, assemblymen have the right to engage in the legislation, adoption of the budget, inspection or investigation of specific matters of state affairs, etc.

The number of legislative members in a country is closely related to the political representation concept. A direct democratic system in which all citizens can express their political views and participate in the political decision-making process would be an ideal political structure. Table 2 shows changes in the number of National Assembly members in Korea's parliamentary history. The number of seats in Korea's National Assembly increased from 200 in the first Assembly to

* Note: An earlier version of this chapter was appeared in the Final Report for the post-doctoral research funded by the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies in 2005. The author is grateful to the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies for its support for the research project.

233 in the Fourth and Fifth. In the Third Republic, it decreased to 175 and then increased back to 276 in the Fifth Republic, 299 after election in 1988, and then reduced to 273 in the 16th National Assembly.

Table 2. Number of Representatives in National Assembly of Korea

National Assembly	Term	Number of seats
Constituent	May 1948-May 1950	200
Second	May 1950-May 1954	210
Third	May 1954-May 1958	203
Fourth	May 1958-May 1960 (curtailed due to the student uprising)	233
Fifth	July 1960-May 1961 (dissolved by the military coup)	233
Sixth	December 1963-June 1967	175
Seventh	July 1967-June 1971	175
Eighth	July 1971-October 1972 (dissolved due to martial law)	204
Ninth	March 1973-March 1979	219
Tenth	March 1979-October 1980 (dissolved by the military coup)	231
Eleventh	April 1981-April 1985	276
Twelfth	April 1985-May 1988 (curtailed due to pro-democracy protest)	276
Thirteenth	May 1988-May 1992	299
Fourteenth	June 1992-May 1996	299
Fifteenth	May 1996-May 2000	299
Sixteenth	May 2000-May 2004	273
Seventeenth	30 May 2004-May 2008	299
Eighteenth	May 2008-present	299

Note: source of the number of seats is Kang (2002: 83), but table is made by the author.

With regards to Kang (2002: 83), this shows that changes in the number of representatives have been based on political expediency during periods of political instability rather than an objective determination of a proper number of representatives. The number of assemblymen has been stable in recent two legislatures.

In parliamentarianism, the representative has a direct relationship with electoral constituents; he/she is elected by people with whom he comes into frequent contact. It has noted by Eulau and Wahlke that representation essentially pertains to the relationship between the representative and the represented (Eulau and Wahlke, 1959: 742-43). Representative character is, therefore, conceptualized as capability to hold responsibility for the wishes and expectations of the citizens. The feature of the particular representative character might be seen through various ways. One of these is an ability to hold the citizens' trust in legislature or legislature's status of being re-elected for the parliament. As Yoon stated it as simply, the length of legislators' tenure, which indicates the accumulation of experience, will have some implications on their legislative performances (Yoon, 1991: 109).

Table 3. Legislative Tenure

Term	Number of Assemblymen	One term	Two terms	Three terms	Four or more
6 th	189	114	31	25	19
7 th	182	86	61	18	17
8 th	207	112	37	29	29
9 th	251	115	66	30	40

11 th	276	216	36	11	13
------------------	-----	-----	----	----	----

Source: Yoon (1991: 110).

Somehow, table 3 shows retrospectively an example of the state of re-elected assemblymen in case of the Korean 6th to 11th National Assembly. As Mezey pointed out, legislatures with significant policy influence are characterized by a low rate of membership turnover, measured by the percentage of freshmen members (Mezey, 1979: 249-51). Considering the changes of legislative tenure, the ability of the National Assembly to influence on the policy as a legislative institution has been changed in its development process. The number of members of the National Assembly worked only as one term increased stable regardless the 7th National Assembly. The dynamic feature of the representative institution is seen through this change in the components of the National Assembly. Nevertheless, the number shown in the table 3 only covers the numbers of the 6th through 11th National Assembly.

Organizational components of the National Assembly

During its history, the Korean National Assembly has experienced the both of unicameral and bicameral structures of legislature. For example, first National Assembly was a unicameral, however then, by the first amendment to the original Constitution, made in 1952, provided for a bicameral legislature. Furthermore, the fifth amendment to the Constitution (which corresponds to the first rewriting of the Constitution) was made in 1962 put the presidential system and the single-house legislature back in place.

Currently, Korea has a unicameral National Assembly. The organizational components of the National Assembly are the individual members, the presiding officers, the plenary, the committees, the negotiation groups, and the administrative organs for legislative assistance. The presiding officers, the Speaker and two vice speakers are elected to two-year terms through voting in the plenary with the approval of the registered members. The formal leadership of the legislature is controlled by the majority. In a central position in the operation of the National Assembly, the Speaker represents the National Assembly, presides over the parliamentary proceedings, maintains order in the house, and oversees its administration. In the Speaker's absence, a Vice speaker performs the duties. If the above presiding officers are all absent, the National Assembly elects a Speaker pro tempore, who exercises the legislative formal leadership.

The Plenary is the highest decision-making body of the National Assembly, composing of the entire assemblymen. The plenary deliberation of a bill usually begins with a report from the relevant committee, followed by question and answer, debate, and voting. At its plenary session, the National Assembly elects by a secret ballot the chairman of each standing committee from among the respective committee members. The chairman of a committee represents the committee, controls the proceedings, and maintains order. The committees occupy a central position in the legislative process because bills and petitions are referred to the standing committees for examination. It decides whether to refer or not to refer the bills to the Assembly. Moreover, the committees constitute the chief forum for reconciling differences between ruling and opposition parties.

Two types of legislative sessions are provided, regular and extraordinary. A regular session is convened once every year, on September, in accordance with the provisions of the law. Extraordinary sessions may be convened upon the request of the President or a quarter or more of the members of the Assembly. The period of a regular session is limited to 100 days, that of an extraordinary session, to 30 days. If the President requests the convening of an extraordinary session, he must clearly specify the period of the session and the reasons for the request. During an extraordinary session convened at the call of the President, only bills submitted by the President will be deliberated within the stipulated period. Except as otherwise provided in the Constitution or law, the attendance of more than one half of the Assembly members duly elected and seated, and the concurrent vote of more than one half of the Assembly members present, are

necessary to make decisions of the National Assembly binding. In case of a tie vote, the matter is considered to be rejected by the National Assembly.

Under the present National Assembly Act, each political group having 20 or more assemblymen may form a negotiating group which acts as a unit in inter party negotiations within the Assembly. Assemblymen without party affiliation can form separate negotiations groups if their number is 20 or more. Each negotiating group names floor leader and whip, which are responsible for negotiating with other groups. The floor leaders meet to discuss matters relating to the operation of the Assembly, meeting schedules, and debating orders of the items on agendas for plenary sessions and committee meetings.

As a supreme legislative body, parliament is supported and encouraged by specific professional staffs who are specialized in political and economic analysis and legislative research. In case of Korean National Assembly, staff resources available to it and its members include support agencies, such as the Office of Legislative Research and Analysis and the Office of Legislation and Budget; specialised policy staff in committees (about six persons per committee); personal legislative staff (two assistants per member); and policy specialists for legislative party groups (a dozen per group)¹². They are the fundament which helps the National Assembly for its legislative function.

The National Assembly as a law-making body

Lawmaking process is one of main policy-making activities of the legislatures. Therefore, of the functional activities, that of legitimation is most closely identified in a democracy with a specific institution - the legislature (Jones, 1970: 73). As Kim and Pai (1981: 26) have stated that the legislative process may be viewed as the result of the interplay between formal legislative structure and the political culture. Although the Korean National Assembly embodies many of the rituals and legal forms of the U.S. Congress pattern¹³, important changes have occurred. The activities of the National Assembly not only have consequences for law-making and legitimating similar to most other legislatures, but also have special consequences related to particular elements in Korean contemporary political system. As Park said, The United States had a greater influence than any other foreign country in helping Korea learn the theories and practices of the modern legislature from abroad. It was during the period of the United States military government that Koreans began to be exposed to democratic ideas, such as the rule of law, constitutionalism, popular sovereignty and suchlike (Park, 1998: 73). Law-making function of legislatures is almost universally less important than constitutional doctrine or popular opinion would suggest (Loewenberg, 1971: 177-200; Packenham, 1970: 521-82). The functions performed by legislatures in the political system other than these tasks are frequently more important.

Nowadays, the most essential power of the National Assembly is to enact, amend, and abolish laws. In accordance with article 40 of the Constitution of Korea, the legislative power is vested in the National Assembly. The National Assembly deliberates bills, including legislative bills, the government's budget bill, and proposals for ratification of international treaties. It also carries out inspection and audit of the administration, as well as engages in inter parliamentary activities. In short, National Assembly has a large and independent capacity to make the laws of the country, and it performs a constituent function which enhances its political endurance. To be sure, the President and the executive agencies influence congressional decisions in many ways. In this meaning it may called as sensitive institution in Korean polity.

The legislative process involves many different actors such as legislative members, parties and factions, the executive, interest groups, and constituents in the district. The interactions among these actors produce the dynamics of legislative process (Kim and Pai, 1981: 26). The initiation of legislation sets in motion the whole process of law-making. Currently, the Korean Constitution provides that the Executive and individual legislators may initiate legislative proposals. As

formally prescribed by the law, a bill may be introduced by an assemblyman with the concurrence of 20 or more Assembly members¹⁴, or by the administration. Blondel argued that private member bills are a measure of the power of initiation of the legislature (Blondel et al., 1970: 79). In case of Korea, the average number of bills introduced per year was 122 in the Eleventh Assembly and 126 in the Twelfth Assembly. But it almost doubled in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Assemblies (235 and 225 bills, respectively) and roughly quadrupled in the Fifteenth Assembly (488 bills). This surely indicates a sharp increase in legislative needs and workload (for further reference, see Park, 2002a: 337-341). For instance, between 1948-1967, private members' bills in the National Assembly accounted for almost 48 percent of all legislative proposals. Thus, less than one-half of all legislation originated in the legislature itself (for further reference, see Kim and Pai, 1981: 173). On the legislative members' side as well, role behaviour was measured by whether an assemblyman had taken direct actions to represent the interests of any group (Kim and Woo, 1975: 268-69). Legislative proposal by the administration or executive branch is called a government bill. The Ministry of Government Legislation ("MOLEG") of the Republic of Korea is responsible for the legislative affairs of the executive branch of the government. MOLEG's main mission is to examine and review all legislative bills introduced by the executive branch. In case of bills submitted by members of the National Assembly, they are enacted through the process of the Standing Committee's deliberation, the National Assembly's decision, transfer to the MOLEG and promulgation by the President.

During the course of enactment a bill goes through many steps. Some of those may be required by specific provisions of the Constitution. Others are provided for by legislative rule. Generally, in the Korean National Assembly the procedure of passing bills may be outlined as follows: introduction of the bill; report on bill; committee stage; first and second readings; presidential action; promulgation; publishing. When a bill is proposed or submitted into the legislature, the Speaker refers it to the pertinent committee for consideration. For extensive examination, a committee may establish subcommittees under its authority. With the approval of the Speaker, a committee may hold public hearings to examine budget bills, and other important bills or matters requiring professional knowledge, and solicit opinions from interested persons or experts. Once a bill is acted upon, the committee's actions are reported to the Assembly floor. A bill voted down may not be referred to a plenary meeting unless the speaker requests that it be dealt with at a plenary session. On the floor, the bill voted upon may be amended, rejected, approved, or sent back to the committee.

To pass a bill, a majority of the National Assembly members must be present, and a majority of those present must vote for the bill. Each bill passed by the National Assembly is sent to the Executive branch and the President must ratify it within 15 days; he may also veto it and provide an explanatory statement to the legislature for reconsideration. In case of objection to the bill, the President may, within the period of 15 days, return it to the National Assembly with a written explanation of his objection for reconsideration of the bill. The President may not request the National Assembly to reconsider the bill in part, or with proposed amendments.

The Assembly can, however, override a Presidential veto with the attendance of more than one half of the membership and with a two-thirds majority vote of the members present. If the National Assembly passes the bill again in the original form after reconsideration, the bill in question then it becomes law or an Act. The President shall promulgate the Act as finalized without delay for the bill that was sent for reconsideration. If the President does not promulgate an Act within five days after it has become an Act, or after it has been returned to the Executive, the Speaker of the National Assembly shall promulgate it. An Act is promulgated by listing it in the official gazette, and an Act shall take effect twenty days after the date of promulgation.¹⁵ However, laws are enacted by the National Assembly, and the Korean Legislation Research Institute, a government-subsidized special public entity in the Ministry of Legislation, is responsible for compiling, publishing and disseminating laws and regulations.

LEGISLATIVE RECRUITMENT

Electoral system for the National Assembly

An election is a process in which a vote is held to elect candidates to an office. It is the mechanism by which a democracy fills elective offices in the legislature, and sometimes the executive and judiciary, and in which electorates choose local government officials. For democracy to work there must be candidates for office, and for voters to have a choice, there must be competing candidates for most offices. Elections are part of the internal workings of a country, and citizens are participants in, and assessors of, national elections. Generally, democratic elections are viewed as possibilities through which voters influence political leaders. But even in free democracies they can also be seemed from the top down, as institutions which expand the authority of the rulers over the ruled. For some authors such as Ginsberg (1982), this is the major function of elections - competitive elections as well as elections without choice. King (1981) provides a very clear review of the rather technical literature on the consequences of competitive elections.

Precisely six decades have passed since the first election was held in ROK under the supervision of the temporary U.N. Korean Commission in May, 1948. In the past years Korea elected its National Assembly 18 times. In twelve of these nation-wide elections, political leaders stood for office under election regulations that had been modified. As in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*¹⁶ claims that “The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.” (*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948: Article 21-3). This proclamation has a very large scope on political life and a deep meaning especially for the level of political development in given country. Elections and its historical lessons have faced many obstacles and hardships in Korea.

At the beginning of independence in Korea, people had never experienced the election (Pak, 1976: 119). Very fortunate for the nation in newly democratizing era is free and fair elections have settled in this country. Park expressed importantly that “the only game in town” is this free, fair, and regular elections¹⁷. In accordance with Article 41 of the Constitution of Korea, the members of the National Assembly are elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot by the citizens. The constituencies of members of the National Assembly, proportional representation, and other matters pertaining to National Assembly elections are determined by law. Of the legislative members, constituency representatives do not lose their seats when they change their party affiliation.¹⁸

Electoral systems are a set of rules for conducting an election and a matter for choice. These rules specify which public officials are subject to election, which is eligible to vote, how these eligible can claim their right to vote, how the candidates must be selected, and how the votes are to be counted so as to produce an overall result. Under the revised electoral system, the National Assembly was composed of 299 seats. To be eligible for election, a candidate must be at least 25 years of age. Anyone aged 20 or older has the right to vote in an election of the National Assembly. Out of the 299 members, 245 members are elected by popular vote in single-seat constituencies, while the remaining 54 seats allocated to each political party that has obtained 3/100 or more of the total valid votes or five or more seats in the local constituency election. The proportional representation system is aimed at appointing Assembly members who will represent national interests rather than local interests. For the seats of assemblymen at large, each party listed its candidates at large in their ranking orders. The rules for allocating at-large seats remain largely unchanged from the previous legislature’s election. One candidate from each electoral district is selected by a plurality of votes. Each voter casts two votes, one for an individual, and one for a closed party list in the proportional representation tier. Seats in both tiers are allocated

separately; each party is allocated its parallel share of the proportional or at-large seats plus the district seats won by its candidates. As Park notes:

In this ostensibly mixed system, the plurality component is dominant. A voter casts a single ballot in choosing his or her district representative. This vote is counted again as the vote for the candidate's party list for proportional representation. The at-large seats are divided in proportion to each party's nationwide vote share among the parties with at least five district seats, or with five per cent or more of the total valid votes. Of the legislative members, district representatives do not lose their seats when they change their party affiliation. Only at-large representatives are deprived of their legislative seats when they leave their own original party (Park, 1998: 75).

However, as shown here, majoritarian and proportional, which are the most general two electoral systems, are being used for the election of the National Assembly as they are simplest and plainest variation for the election. Voters mostly tend to express dual opinion depending on the peculiarity of the electoral system. It is a requirement to elect a specific one party on the basis of party's election program and a candidate according to his/her order of list order in the party. Due to this "tiny" problem of the mixed system the voters' participation is seen to drop. The reason is that if a voter decides to vote in the election, he/she needs to make a dual vote for the election.

This peculiarity of the electoral system, which can be "problem" for the voters, tends them to vote for the main parties which have long years of experience and are well-known among the public. Although a proportional system helps a lot of parties to be represented in the legislative institution, it is difficult for the small parties to obtain seats to compose legislative majority. Moreover, setting an electoral threshold limits the minimum amount of necessary votes to obtain seats in the parliament. It is, as well, becomes an obstacle for the small parties.

Post-democratic transition or during 20 years of 1988-2008, the following table shows briefly the general ratio of the parties' seats obtained in the Assemblies.

Table 4. Political party representations in the 13th through 18th National Assembly (1988-2008)

Assembly	Year	Party	District seats	At-Large seats	Total
13 th	1988	DJP	87	38	125
		PPD	54	16	70
		RDP	46	13	59
		NDRP	27	8	35
		9 minor parties	1	0	1
		Independents	9	0	9
		Total	224	75	299
14 th	1992	DLP	116	33	149
		DP	75	22	97
		UNP	24	7	31
		NPP	1	0	1
		2 minor parties	0	0	0
		Independents	21	0	21
		Total	237	62	299
15 th	1996	NKP	121	18	139
		NCNP	66	13	79
		ULD	41	9	50
		DP	9	6	15
		Independents	16	0	16
		Total	253	46	299
16 th	2000	GNP	111	21	133
		MDP	96	19	115

		ULD	12	5	17
		DPP	1	1	2
		4 minor parties	1	0	1
		Independents	5	0	5
		Total	227	46	273
17 th	2004	UP	129	23	152
		GNP	100	21	121
		DLP	2	8	10
		MDP	5	4	9
		ULD	4	0	4
		Other / Independents	3	0	3
		Total	243	56	299
18 th	2008	GNP	131	22	153
		UDP	66	15	81
		LFP	14	4	18
		PP	6	8	14
		DLP	2	3	5
		RKP	1	2	3
		SPP Independents	12	0	12
		Independents except Pro-Park	13	0	13
		Total	245	54	299

Source: the data source of the table is from Park (2002b: 171-75) for the 13th to 16th National Assembly and some columns showing the percentage and advantage ratio is not used in this table. However, last two main rows for the 17th and 18th ones have been added by the author, respectively.

Note:

1. as for the 13th National Assembly: DJP = Democratic Justice Party; PPD = Party for Peace and Democracy; RDP = Reunification Democratic Party; NDRP = New Democratic Republican Party
2. as for the 14th National Assembly: DLP = Democratic Liberal Party; DP = Democratic Party; UNP = Unification National Party; NPP = New Politics Party
3. as for the 15th National Assembly: NKP = New Korean Party; ULD = United Liberal Democrats; NCNP = National Congress for New Politics
4. as for the 16th National Assembly: GNP = Grand National Party; MDP = Millennium Democratic Party; ULD = United Liberal Democrats; DPP = Democratic People's Party
5. as for the 17th National Assembly: UP = Uri Party; GNP = Grand National Party; DLP = Democratic Labour Party; MDP = Millennium Democratic Party; ULD = United Liberal Democrats
6. as for the 18th National Assembly: GNP = Grand National Party; UDP = United Democratic Party; LFP = Liberty Forward Party; PP = Park's Party; DLP = Democratic Labour Party; RKP = Renewal of Korea Party; SPP Independents = Solidarity for Pro-Park Independents

As we can see here, ratio of the political parties on the level of the legislature is going toward the formation of the two dominant or big parties. The table 4 shows that either party has obtained the seats of majority and main opposition power seats not depending on that a party managed to become a majority in the legislative institution; however, there has been not a few process of unification and separation among the political parties of Korea from one National Assembly to another one. The next chapter utters about the fact that the voters' latest participation state and electoral system are pushing strongly to form political main two parties.

The 18th National Assembly election results

The author would like to share some thoughts and specific observation only on process of the National Assembly election and the development of legislative institution's activity due to the fact that as a foreign expert it is probably too early to make an entire analysis on the post-election changes of political relations and newly elected Assembly's policy-making activity.

Korea's legislative elections were held on April 9, 2008. The Grand National Party won a majority of seats. In this, the 18th election for the National Assembly, voters elected 299 members of the legislature (see Table 5). Under Korea's parliamentary election system, each voter casts two ballots – one for their candidate of choice (as it is First Past the Post system) and another for their favorite party (as Proportional Representation system). Election results could be good facts for some of President Lee Myung-bak's policy which was congruous to the Grand National Party's agenda used as election program such as English education reform and the cross-country canal plan. As a result of the election, conservative Grand National Party gained 153 seats from the total 299 in the National Assembly, making a slim majority. The United Democratic Party, liberal, took 81 seats, Liberty Forward Party won 18 seats, Park's Party won 14 seats, Democratic Labor Party won five and Renewal of Korea Party won three seats, while independents also won 25 seats.

Table 5. National Assembly Election Results: 9 April 2008

Votes cast: 46.0 % voted.

Parties	District	Proportional	Total Seats
Grand National Party (Hannaradang)	131	22	153 (51%)
United Democratic Party (Tonghap Minjudang)	66	15	81 (27%)
Liberty Forward Party (Jayu Seonjin dang)	14	4	18 (6%)
Park's Party (Chinpark Yeondae)	6	8	14 (5%)
Democratic Labor Party (Minju Nod ongdang)	2	3	5 (2%)
Renewal of Korea Party (Changjo Hangukdang)	1	2	3 (1%)
Solidarity for Pro-Park Independents	12		12
Independents except Pro-Park	13		13
Total	245	54	299

Source: National Election Commission¹⁹

Above-listed political parties that secured over 3 percent of the vote in elections were thereby allocated extra seats in the National Assembly. The results altered the balance of power in the National Assembly, where pro-President party held a minority. The Grand National Party captured three seats more than a simple majority. Now this party's agenda can be revealed and will be known to the public. No other third party crossed the 20-seat threshold required for formulating an official party group within the National Assembly. This election presented, as same as again in the 16th and 17th National Assembly, an incomplete two dominant party system in which one of those main parties singly commanded replacing in a legislative majority.

For the first time in Korea's election history since the formation of the Constituent Assembly, voter turnout of this year's election fell just short of 46 percent²⁰. This shows correctly that more than half of those eligible voters to vote did not go to the polls on Election Day for the 18th National Assembly of the ROK. Comparing to the previous election of the 17th National Assembly, this was 14.6 point drop from the turnout of 60.6 percent. During the election, the National Election Commission first introduced an incentive system to lure voters, offering discounts on museum tickets or parking fees to those showing documentation that they voted.²¹ But this could not help to increase the voters' participation in this election. This phenomenon is well known in any small sector of business but not for political participation, however then, *the Chosun Ilbo*²² noted that it is a fundamental plan at the government level to effect in boosting voter turnout.

According to a law on parliamentary operation stipulates that a newly-inaugurated Assembly must convene a plenary session 7 days from the beginning of its tenure to elect legislature leaders,

including the National Assembly speaker. However, National Assembly proceedings have been boycotted by parliamentary opposition parties since its inauguration on May 30 2008. Ending more than a month of legislative paralysis, governing GNP and other opposition parties agreed in July to finally open the sessions of the National Assembly, which means that the boycotted proceeding was over in July.

It is undeniable that current election system of Korean National Assembly has overcome numerous obstacles till its total formation and present system has been stabilized through challenges of political and national interests. Therefore, it is crucially noteworthy to study political development of ROK, especially formation of parliamentary institution and, achievements and development of election system for Mongolia, the country which is just learning political democracy, parliamentarianism and democratic political culture. Thus, an exploration of some valuables for the reform of parliamentary election system of Mongolia should be supplemented in the future.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As seen in the research surveys (for instance, see Shin, 2005: 58-60; Park, 2007: 105-109) undertaken under various timelines, methods and samples by international and domestic scholars and research institutes, the reputation of the National Assembly, its members or legislatures and the level of public political trust in them is seen to be decreased in comparison to other political and civil society institutions. It depends on structural factors such as political system and peculiarity of governance, and some political cultural factors such as elected politicians or assemblymen's political behaviour and reputation. Somehow, the National Assembly has been and will be a reflection of political relation on society, a voters' expression of political vote and a vital channel between voter and elected politician and communication between the states.

Currently, South Korea employs a multi-party system, at the parliamentary level. The National Assembly of Korea consists of 299 members out of which 245 are elected in single-seat constituencies and 54 are elected in list proportional representation. Therefore, parliamentary election system of Korea is can be considered mixed type of system including both of majority and proportional election system. However, mixed electoral system, on one hand, is a lever to enter representatives from those many parties. On the other hand it tends to effect on the drop of electoral participation as ordinary voters face challenges to vote in the election.

The role of the Constitution is tremendous in politics of South Korea. One fundament for constitutionalism is a principle to regard the rule of law as a superior. Safeguarding and implementing the principle to regard the rule of law as a superior becomes a basis for the development of politics and the country. Recently, President of ROK Lee Myung-bak noted that he will not condone any attempt to negate the rule of law for any reason²³. This policy is essential to guarantee the development of the constitutionalism of the country. For the legislative body which is same age as the Constitution, perspective and prosperous development of the Korean National Assembly is inextricably related to it.

REFERENCES

- Almond, Gabriel A., and Powell, G. Bingham Jr. 1978. *Comparative Politics*. 2nd edition. Boston: Little, Brown and Company Inc.
- Badr, Gamal Moursi. 1978. "Islamic Law: Its Relation to Other Legal Systems," *The American Journal of Comparative Law*. 26 (2), 187-198.

- Blondel, Jean et al., 1970. "Legislative Behaviour: Some Steps Towards a Cross-National Measurement," *Government and Opposition*. 5 (1), 67-85.
- Dahl, R. A. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Eulau, Heinz, John C. Wahlke et al. 1959. "The Role of the Representative: Some Empirical Observations on the Theory of Edmund Burke," *American Political Science Review*, 53 (3), 742-756.
- Ginsberg, B. 1982. *The Consequences of Consent*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley.
- Jones, Charles O. 1970. *An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Co.
- Kang, Won-Taek. 2002. "Reform of Korea's National Assembly Electoral System," *Korea Focus*. 10 (6), 81-98.
- Kil, Ki-sang, ed. 1964. *The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea*. Seoul: Kwang Myong Printing Co.
- Kim, Chong Lim, and Byung-Kyu Woo. 1975. "Political Representation in the Korean National Assembly," In Boynton, G.R., and Chong Lim Kim, eds., *Legislative Systems in Developing Countries*. Durham: Duke University Press, 261-286.
- _____, and Seong-Tong Pai. 1981. *Legislative Process in Korea*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.
- King, A. 1981. "What Do Elections Decide?," In Butler, D., Penniman, H. and Ranney, A., eds., *Democracy at the Polls*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 293-324.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1984. *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Loewenberg, Gerhard. 1971. "The Influence of Parliamentary Behavior on Regime Stability," *Comparative Politics*. 3 (2), 177-200.
- _____, and Samuel C. Patterson. 1979. *Comparing Legislatures*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Mezey, Michael L. 1979. *Comparative Legislatures*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- National Assembly of the Republic of Korea. 1948. *The Constitution of Korea*.
- Packenhams, R. 1970. "Legislatures and Political Development," In A. Kornberg and Musolf, L. eds., *Legislatures in Developmental Perspective*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 521-582.
- Pak, Chan Hyun. 1976. *A Comparative Study of the Congress of the United States and the Korean National Assembly*. Seoul: Kwang Myung Printing.
- Pak, Chi Young. 1968. "The Third Republic Constitution of Korea: An Analysis," *The Western Political Quarterly*. 21 (1), 110-122.
- Park, Chan Wook. 1998. "The National Assembly of the Republic of Korea," *The Journal of Legislative Studies*. 4 (4), 66-82.

_____. 2002a. "Change Is Short but Continuity Is Long: Policy Influence of the National Assembly in Newly Democratized Korea," In Gerhard Loewenberg et al. eds., *Legislatures: Comparative Perspectives on Representative Assemblies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 329-351.

_____. 2002b. "The Rules of the Electoral Game for the National Assembly in Democratic Korea: A Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Korean Politics*. 11 (1), 167-196.

_____. 2003. "Budget Review in the National Assembly of Democratic Korea," *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 3 (3), 493-521.

_____. 2007. "The National Assembly in the Quagmire of Public Distrust: A Stumbling Block or a Facilitating Agent on Korea's Path toward Democratic Consolidation?," *Political Science in Asia*. 2 (2), 103-114.

Park, Il Kyung. 1962. "Review of the 14-Year History of Korean Constitutional Government," *Koreana Quarterly*. 4 (2), 23-34.

Riker, W. H. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism: A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company.

Ser, Myo-ja. 2008. "Grand Nationals make big gains," *Joong Ang Daily*, April 10.

Shin, Myungsoon. 2005. "South Korea: Citizen's Confidence in Public Institutions," In Takashi Inoguchi, et al., eds., *Values and Life Styles in Urban Asia: A Cross-Cultural Analysis and Sourcebook Based on the AsiaBarometer Survey of 2003*. Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.

Song, Sang-ho. 2008. "Lee renews calls for rule of law," *The Korea Herald*, August 26.

United Nations General Assembly. 1948. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

Yoon, Young O. 1991. *Korean Legislative Behavior: a Longitudinal Analysis in Comparative Perspective*. Seoul: Kookmin University Press.

NOTES

¹ Historians consider that Gojoseon is the first kingdom which was founded in 2333 BC on the ground of Korean peninsula.

² *The Potsdam Declaration or the Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender* was a statement issued on July 26, 1945 which outlined the terms of surrender for Japan as agreed upon at the Potsdam Conference.

³ The Potsdam Declaration was issued by Harry S. Truman, Winston Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek.

⁴ *Potsdam Declaration: Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender*, 1945: Article 8.

⁵ *Ibid*, Article 13.

⁶ At that time, this Special Committee on Draft Constitution consisted of 30 assemblymen, along with 10 other experts or advisory specialists as Pak said in his book (Pak, 1976: 123).

⁷ Original form of this table is created on Park's article (Park, 2002: 331). However, last two lines of given table is added by the writer of this paper in 2005 and 2008, respectively.

⁸ This article by Park is published in 1998.

⁹ The Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Korea adopted a constitution containing a basically this type of government in 1948 (Park, 1998: 65).

¹⁰ As Kim and Pai (1981: 37) noted in advanced manner, this legislature is the most important linkage institution. In this regard, one of ideas of this field research is found.

¹¹ This activity or function of legislatures is also described as “linkage”, as some scholars have defined (See on Loewenberg and Patterson, 1979: 44; Kim and Pai, 1981: 1).

¹² Source of this information is Park (1998: 78).

¹³ For instance, see Pak (1976: 186-90).

¹⁴ See on Chapter III, Article 52 of the Constitution of Korea or The National Assembly Act, Section 2, Article 79.

¹⁵ For legislative procedures, see section IV. The Legislative Procedures for Acts and Subordinate Statutes, in the *Statutes of the Republic of Korea*, Vol. 1 xv-xviii (1997).

¹⁶ *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is a declaration adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 10 December 1948.

¹⁷ The author strongly recommends to those who interested much in Korea’s parliamentary institutional study, professor Park Chan Wook’s tremendous and significant articles for the scholars. For instance, in this case, Park (2007: 103) noted it in his article.

¹⁸ For further reference on Korean National Assembly, see Park (1998).

¹⁹ See on URL <http://www.intergraphy.com/nec_english/political/political_meaning01.asp>

²⁰ National Election Commission announced the voter turnout was the lowest for any national election in the history of Korea (Ser, 2008).

²¹ The author has known about such a very rare phenomenon during the post-election researching from the newspaper. See more on “Low Voter Turnout is Deeply Worrying,” *The Chosun Ilbo*, April 10, 2008).

²² “Low Voter Turnout is Deeply Worrying,” *The Chosun Ilbo*, April 10, 2008.

²³ President Lee Myung-bak renewed his call to solidify the rule of law, one of the key principles undergirding his management of state affairs. See more on Song (2008).