The Characteristics of Revolutionary Era in the Transition Period of the
Democratization of ROK and Kyrgyzstan: The Era of Revolution and the Fates of
Dictators

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Abstract
This paper will be analyze the era of the revolutions of South Korea and Kyrgyzstan in transition period into democratization, such as circumstances with respect to perform of the revolutions, the revolutionary force and various power struggle. Also in this paper we will analyze the changes about the political systems after the revolutions and about the fates of dictators.

Keywords: May 16 military coup, October Yulin, 12.12 Military Insurrection, Coup of May Seventeenth, 18 May Gwangju Democratization Movement, Second Tulip Revolution, Constitutional amendment, Fates of dictators, Park Chung-hee, Chun Doo-hwan, Kurmanbek Saliyevich Bakiyev.
Introduction

In Republic of Korea (ROK) due to fraud and corruption of society and the second government's inability, “the May 16 military coup” takes place by Park Chung-hee, Major-General in May 1961. He had an appointment such as if social and political world is stable, he will be hand over military regime to politicians of consciences. And he revised the Constitution in December 1962. But he broke his promise cased by not return to the army. And he was elected President by running for president in October 1963. For the sake of a permanent ruling Park Chung-hee started once again the self-coup, October “Yusin”, in October 1972. Under the pretext of the reunification of the Korean peninsula, he amended once again the Constitution in December 1972. Finally in October 1979 he was killed by a subordinate.

After the assassination Park on 12 December 1979 “12.12 Military Insurrection” took placed by Major General, Chun Doo-hwan. He arrested illegally General Jeong Seung-hwa, chief of staff of the State of emergency, on a charge of the assassination of President Park. By this insurrection Chun ruled army. Also he once again started “the Coup of May Seventeenth”. And he was elected president in September 1980. Especially Chun practiced his single term president. But life of post-presidency, he was living in exile and in prison caused by the many casualties occurred due to put down the Gwangju demonstration against himself in May 1980. Eventually Park Chung-hee passed the military dictatorship down to Chun Doo-hwan.

In Kyrgyzstan, Kurmanbek Bakiyev of the opposition party seized power through the first Tulip Revolution in March 2005. But in April 2010 the second Tulip Revolution broke out. The background of the revolution was corruption and cronyism of Bakiyev administration. It led to a great deal of bloodshed. He was expelled from the country.

This paper will be analyzed a political problems in the process of democratization by comparing the revolution period of the two countries.

Analysis of the process of revolution and of constitutional amendment:

O'Donnell has put forward the theory of “the democracy plenipotentiary”, in which “in the presidential election the victory would give the winner over the governing law of the country within the scope of relationships of the existing Constitution and the firm limited the power.”[1] And revolutionary leader want to meet with the other community based on the new principles, caused by the present existing order will be disappeared on the based myth theory by P. Takep.[2] These theories indicate that revolutionary leaders hope a satisfactory constitution revision for themselves. So if you look at the revised Constitution, you can be forecast the dictator's reign forms.

In ROK “the May 16 military coup” broke out by Park Chung-hee as Major General in 1961. [3] The background of the coup was both of the corruption of social, the inefficiency of the Second Republic and the bottleneck in promotions of junior officers caused by the consolidation of the positions of the senior commanders in the army after the end of rapid expansion of officers in the Korean War. The objectives of the coup, including 1) anti-communism, 2) strengthening of ties with the United States, 3) all the sweep of corruptions of the society, 4) the reconstruction of an autonomous national economy, 5) Preparation for Korean reunification, 6) and come back to army after transfer of the military regime to the conscientious politicians if the tasks of the revolution is fulfilled.[4] Ideology of Park was a national democracy. On 26 December 1962 the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR) amended the Constitution № 5 through the referendum (78.9% approval rating on 17
This new constitution № 6 primally was confirmed by a referendum in ROK history. The main structure of the constitution №6 sweeping revisions is as follows: Amendment of constitution is possible only by referendum (Article 121, Item 1). The President is elected by referendum, that is, the parliamentary system switch to the presidential system (Article 64). System of the Prime Minister on the appointment of President shall introduce to get rid of vice Presidential system (Article 84). New constitution was showed the military regime, to prove that rightness exists in the legal system for democratization. About the article six of duties of the revolution he announced a four-year extension of military rule by referendum on 16 March 1963. But it was not realized because of the pressure of the United States.

“October Yushin” (October Restoration) took placed by the President Park Chung-hee on 17 October 1972. It was self-coup of President Park to stay in power forever. The background to coup was faced the President’s last term and an uphill struggle in the last presidential election with Kim Dae-jung on 27 April 1971. Park Chung-hee won the election by the narrow margin of 946,928 votes. And the international situation flows detente mood of relationship of North-South Korea by Shanghai Communiqué on 27 February 1972. In that regard, on 4 July 1972 was issued “the 4 July joint statement” for the reunification of North and South Korea. These situations were required a change in the political system of the two Koreas. Therefore in order to amend the Constitution №7, Park President introduced the referendum, which was held on November 21, 1972 year, in favor of 92.3% of participating voters. In North Korea on 27 December 1972 year “Socialist Constitution (Juche Constitution)” also was adopted, including the Juche ideology as ‘there are people in centre of world ”. The new Constitution №8 calling “the Yushin Constitution” give the president dictatorial powers, and permit him to run for an unlimited number of six-year terms.

The main content of the Yushin Constitution is as in the following: “The national council for unification” newly was founded, calling “Tonil juchejukminhoe” (means the National Council for Unification of the Korean Peninsula) (Article 35). For the sake of the peaceful reunification of the motherland the council is the people’s organization, which is consisted of 2,000 - 5,000 people. They are a six-year term, and elected by a general election. The Missions of the organization are the unification-related work, and elect President (Article 39) and members of 1/3 of the parliamentary seats of the National Assembly, calling "Yushin Jeonguhoe"(means “Yushin political organization”), which newly is founded (Article 40). “Tonil juchejukminhoe” finally decide through a vote for the amendment bill of constitution transferred from National Assembly (Article 124). Members of “Yushin Jeonguhoe” are elected by the President's recommendation to their three-year terms. President is chairman on the National Council for Unification (Article 36, Item 3). President can disperse National Assembly (Article 59). The President also can propose a constitutional amendment, which will be only confirmed by referendum (Article 124). The President can declare a national emergency situation as martial law (Article 54). The right of the parliamentary investigation was lost. Yushin Constitution was amended cope with the Constitution of North Korea. So it is concluded in containing a lot of authoritarian elements, which President's term isn't set, and President takes control of parliament. Park President was in pursuit of a permanent coming into power by the “October Yushin”. Also Park’s ideology was changed to a Korean style democracy from a national democracy. About ideology Veber M. regarded a charismatic leader of the ideological form to carry out the work. However, historically, the ideology of leader couldn’t meet in the honest form. It’s means that ideology of leader only needs to...
revise constitution.

About the meaning of a word of "Yushin" Prime Minister Choi Kyu-ha asked President Park Jong-hee in 1972 year. Park replied that it is not means stand for the Japan's 1868 Meiji restoration. Choi himself looked the meaning of the word "Yushin" in Korean dictionary. The word “Yushin" have originated in the collection of poems "Mencius" (372-289 BC). It meant that, although the country is old, its fate becomes the new. This meant choosing a new system and the old is garbage.\[14\] Technical term of Yushin is similar to renovation or to be young in English. But the exact meaning of "Yushin" nobody knows yet.

"Military Insurrection of December Twelfth” took place by Major General Chun Doo-hwan on 12 December 1979.\[15\] After the assassination of President Park Chung-hee, on 27 October 1979 Chun Doo-hwan, commander of the Security Command hold the appointment of Investigation Headquarters commander. The process of the mutiny was, which General Jeong Seung-hwa, ROK Army Chief of Staff illegally has been arrested in allegations related to the assassination of President Park without authorization from President Choi Kyu-ha by Chun Doo-hwan. And then in the capital the military conflicts broke out between Jeong's allies and the rebel troops of Chun’s allies. By the next morning, the Ministry of Defense and Army HQ were all occupied by the powerful unofficial private group of military officials called “Hanahoe” (means "Group of One")\[16\] headed by Chun Doo-hwan and Chun’s fellow 11th class of Korea Military Academy (KMA) graduates. Finally Chun Doo-hwan ruled Army by consolidation of power which was received support from the group of “Military Insurrection of December Twelfth”. And New President Choi Kyu-ha and his Cabinet has little control over the country. Contrastively, Chun Doo-hwan took control of the government through the Coup of December Twelfth 1979.

“Coup of 17 May” was carried out by general Chun Doo-hwan and “Hanahoe” that followed the Military Insurrection of December Twelfth in 1980.\[17\] This event meant the beginning of another military dictatorship.

Plan of the Coup of May Seventeenth: With an aim of seizure of power from the current regime, from February 1980 K (means to make the King) plan (plan of maneuver to appease the press) was conducted in order to switch justify the political participation of military group though the public opinion of democratization by the media, controlled by Security headquarters. On 12 May 1980 they also made a plan in secret the program to usurp the place of the current President Choi Kyu-ha as a tactic of a plan to save the current situation, which firstly the expansion of martial law launch on a national scale, secondarily Assembly dissolution and for the third time establishment of the National Defense Emergency Policy Committee (NDEPC).

The process into action of the Coup of May Seventeenth: First step: At 10:00am on 20 May 1980 the provisional parliament was scheduled to discuss the lifting of martial law and the shorter political calendar. The revolutionary group needs to bring forward the plan of the expansion of martial law. At am on 17 May the main commanders held a meeting in full force to induce the expansion of martial law based on the false information by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) (10 May 1980) such as troops of North Korea should invade into South Korea. At 5 pm the same day Chun Doo-hwan and Ju Young-bok, Minister of National Defense visited President to report the consensus of opinion full force, and then they forced the President and Prime Minister to accept expansion of martial law, Assembly dissolution, establishment of NDEPC. But their proposal was rejected by President Choi. This decision had serious consequences for a cabinet meeting. At 9 pm 17 May 1980 The cabinet held an
emergency meeting to discuss the possible North Korean invasion by force for the expansion of martial law under duress by armed soldiers. And it immediately was passed. On 12 pm on 17 May 1980 the emergency martial law was extended to the whole country. And simultaneously the decree №10 of martial law was declared. And government also put a ban on political activities, national assembly and demonstration, and be issued the closing of university and further curtailed the press freedom. On 17 May the coup’s group dispatched beforehand armed troops to various parts of the nation prior to the expansion of martial law. Simultaneously the Security Headquarter also raided a national conference of student union leaders from 55 universities. And about 2,700 people including twenty-six politicians, including Jeolla-do Province native Kim Dae-jung, were also already arrested on charges of instigating demonstrations prior to the expansion of martial law. It indicates that they have prepared coup. Second step: At 2:00 am on 18 May 1980 the coup’s group illegally sealed off the Assembly by deploying troops at the parliament building. The third step toward a path to the Presidency: After the Gwangju pro-democracy movement,[18] on 31 May 1980 the coup’s group established the NDEPC, as the President advisory organization in form.[19] Chairman of the committee was President Choi Kyu-ha. Chairman of Standing Committee was Chun Doo-hwan. This organ controlled the Choi administration, the judicial branch and the legislative branch. In June 1980 President was forced to resign from president to give the way to the new military leader, Chun Doo-hwan.[20] President Choi Kyu-ha stepped down from the presidency on 16 August 1980. The operation of political coordination was completed by NDEPC. On 29 August 1980 Chun Doo-hwan was elected President by the national council for unification. Chon’s coup took over eight months 17 days, was longest period in the world.

**Amendment of the constitution №8:**[12] The new constitution №9[21] approved by 93 percent in a national referendum under President Chun Doo-hwan on 27 October 1980. The main structure: President is elected by indirect vote in the presidential Electoral College (Article 39). President's term is seven-year and President can’t be reappointed for a second term (Article 45), The President proposed a constitutional amendment becomes null and void with respect to presidential term extension or a change of reappointment (Article 129, Item 2), Abolition the guilt- by- association system (Article 12 item 3) The revival of the right to investigate of Parliament (Article 97). The abolition of the law for the National Council for Unification in Supplementary provision article 4. The new Constitution №9 was back to the level the Constitution №6 of the third Republic, except for the direct election of the President. The new constitution is characterized by the foundation stones of democracy based on the single-term system for the presidency. It is referred to as the constitution of the Fifth Republic. The new constitutional bill fully was rewritten by the Legislative Council of the NDEPC. And on 28 October 1980 the functions of NDEPC was changed into the National Defense Legislative Council (NDLC), which does only legislative function for the purpose to help Legislative problem of the Fifth Republic.[22]

**The second Tulip Revolution** broke out in Kyrgyzstan on 7 April 2010.[23] On 6 April 2010 in the city of Talas approximately 3,000 protesters stormed the government headquarters. The massive protest in Talas was escalated into Bishkek. On 7 April in Bishkek protesters occupied the office of Kyrgyzstan's president. Bakiyev President was banished from the country. The background of the revolution was corruption and cronism in the Bakiyev administration. But the direct cause of the revolution was caused by the rising price of heating up to rise 400% and the electricity by 170% and the inflation rate of rising in utility rates in 2010. On 1 April Russia suddenly imposed duties on energy exports to Kyrgyzstan. It
influenced fuel and transport prices immediately, and led to a massive protest in Talas on 6 April. Russia's action seems to be due to construction related Russia military base near the Manas airport. Because, since 2003 Russia have been requested to build military base at Manas airport. In February 2009, in Moscow, Bakiyev promised President Dmitry Medvedev the eviction of the US Air Base from Kyrgyzstan. But he failed to keep the appointment. Russia should stop supporting Kyrgyzstan as the end of March 2010. The second Tulip Revolution is analyzed as a result of military confrontation between the US and Russia.

President Bakiyev amended the Constitution by the referendum, for which 76.1% of voters voted in Kyrgyzstan on 21 October 2007 year. It was strengthen of presidential powers. In the general elections of December 2007, proportional representation system was introduced. In order to receive the allocation of proportional member of the National Assembly have to grab more than 5% of the total votes in a race in the country. Also political parties participate in the district's six regions, which is a wide area and two major cities should be the support 0.5% or more from each of the regions. It gave rise to serious problem caused by the irrational election of National Assembly Members Act. The pro-Bakiyev “Ak Jol” party won the general election by a plurality as 61.7% of the votes. She was occupied by 71 seats among the 90-seat National Assembly. As an aftermath to the election, new Constitution eventually went back to the Constitution of 2003. This was a signal of the authoritarian rule.

The fates of the Presidents as the dictators by the pro-democracy movements: President Park Chung-hee ruled South Korea for 18 years 5 months (16 May 1961 - 26 October 1979). He left a legacy as the dictator and spearheaded the nation's phenomenal economic development. But on 26 October 1979 he was assassinated by Kim Jae-gyu, the director of KCIA based on Bu-Ma Democratic Protests caused by suppressing the opposition party. Life after the Presidency, Chun Doo-hwan lived in exile for two years (November 1988 - 30 December 1990) in “Baekdamsa”, a Buddhist temple in the Gangwon-do province, in order to pay penance for his actions of revolution. On 16 November 1995, the citizen movement went to intensified about punishment on “the 12 December military coup” and the bloodshed “May 18 Gwangju Democratization Movement” incidents. In the “May 18 Gwangju Democratization Movement” as the result of the bloody repression of the airborne troops, 165 people died, 166 are missing, the death toll after an injury are 101, the wounded are 3,139 people by the aggregate results 2009 year of Gwangju City Hall. The incident was on aspect of a civil war. On 3 December 1995 Chun and 16 others were arrested on charges of the insurrection, the rebellion, the conspiracies of these related to the 12.12 Military Insurrection and the May 18 Gwangju incident. As the result of the protest of 16 November on 21 December 1995 the Special Act on May 18 Gwangju Democratization Movement (stop the right of legal prescription charges about rebellion, civil war in the criminal law article № 5029) was enacted. On 16 December 1996, the Seoul High Court issued a sentence of life imprisonment. On 17 April 1997 the judgment was finalized in the Supreme Court. Chun was officially convicted of the Conspiracy to Commit Insurrection, Leading an Insurrection. On 22 December 1997, Chun's life imprisonment sentence was commuted by President Kim Young-sam. Chun had a two year prison life from arrest. Era of the revolution of ROK, a series of military regimes, was 27 years 6 months (19 April 1960 – 29 October 1987).

G. O'Donnell hypothesized as "democracy plenipotentiary" was characterized by the Organization of the democratization during the period of transition. Here, important elements are the need to establishing democratic organization of society and cooperation with leaders to use. The social system will allow solving economic and social problems. In the short term, the
Organization of democracy, Governments cannot flourish in the field of social and economic. In the short term, the democracy Organization of the Government cannot achieve success in the field of social and economic. In this case, the leader can be a return to authoritarianism.[1]

At this point, you can lessen the cooperation between social system and the Organization democratic of reform. In contrast to other countries in Central Asia, President Kurmanbek Bakiyev was adopted democracy in Kyrgyzstan. But he had to choose the reign of dictatorship to be more comfortable, and made it the result as fall from his power. It is believed to be the cause that was caused by weakening social organization in accordance with the poor economic. That is, 30-40% of the population was living below the poverty line. And on 17 March 2010 year in Bishkek the major opposition parties and civil society groups gathered together as a kurultai (a Popular Assembly means meeting to settle a matter, originated Genghis Khan in 1206 year), in order to achieve their common objectives, to change the Constitution for democracy etc. Roza otunbaeva was elected leader. But in March 2010, President Bakiyev decided that the democratization of Kyrgyzstan cannot be against the kurultai. It was a signal of autocracy. This system was to spark a new revolution (the second revolution). Finally on 15 April 2010 Bakiyev was fallen from his power by the second Tulip revolution. In this case we can be suggested a hypothesis that by strengthening cooperation between the society and the social organization, the system also can put the skids under a leader for democratization. By the second Tulip revolution, which the victims were 88 people killed and 458 people injured by firing of police according to Government figures.

Bakiyev went into exile for Belarus.[31] He served as the second President from 25 March 2005 to 15 April 2010. The period of the democratic movement was only five years eight months (24 March 2005 - 1 December 2011). It is a very short period in the democratization process. Dictators met with resistance of the pro-democracy movement with bloodshed, finally led to their own downfall in the two countries.

**Conclusions:**

Autocratic reign brings a fall of the regime. And the corrupted politicians also were sent into exile.
Dictator suppresses the opposition party and media. This is connected with the citizen revolution. And he does not communicate with civil society.
Regional characteristics of politics are the cause of the irregularities and corruption. And it is the setbacks of democracy.
The Korean revolutions were a military revolutions and student’s revolution. And Kyrgyzstan's revolutions are a civil revolution in nature of revolution.
Students played the role as being a major catalyst for the pro-democracy movements in ROK. And a youth played the roles of the revolutions in Kyrgyzstan.
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