

YANGON UNIVERSITY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES



**THE 1ST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
LANGUAGES AND HUMANITIES**

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THE 1ST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LANGUAGES AND HUMANITIES

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The 1st International Conference on Languages and Humanities 2020

One of our missions is to establish and develop a pedagogic and academic environment that fosters intercultural understanding and interaction in society and promotes linguistic, academic and cultural exchanges. To implement this mission, YUFL International Conference on Languages and Humanities 2020 will be held on 6-8 January 2020 at YUFL, Yangon, Myanmar. Although it is a 2 Day Conference, there will be a half-day city tour on 8 January 2020.

The Conference marks the milestone of our Yangon University of Foreign Languages to lay the platform for scholars and students to engage in a multi-disciplinary exchange of ideas on languages and humanities. The Conference aims to contribute knowledge in humanities based on theoretical and conceptual approaches. This wonderful conference highlights to explore effective as well as alternative ways to understand the humanities including philosophy, religion, art, literature, history, psychology and anthropology.

This Conference will create an excellent opportunity for scholars, local and foreign, to exchange information and share experiences and results in all aspects of areas of interest, invaluable for young scholars and students. This will encourage advantages to create more coherent, flexible and responses for scholars.

The Conference will bring together all scholars of languages and humanities from across the world to discuss the new idea and development of their interested fields. It will establish the network to communicate for partners and stakeholders of our YUFL.

In recent years, language has gained more attention than ever before in both language teaching and learning processes. Its role is not only limited to communication but rather extends to vast branches of knowledge and human sciences. Also it is capable of developing human knowledge, extending the benefits of mankind. Learning a language means learning ways to see other cultures from the insider's view so that a learner can cope with a new community and expand his/her personal horizons.

In this globalized era, businesses need workers who can communicate in different languages and understand others' culture so that they can act like a bridge to new clients and customers and more likely to win trust and friendship of people whose languages they know. That is why, all education systems should ensure that they are able to make use of the potential benefits of language to expand access to and enhance the quality and relevance of learning. To this effect, teaching and learning processes should be shaped towards the needs of individual fulfillments and sustainable development.

Universities, as providers of education services to students, need to build their existing education, training and research strengths to meet the needs of students, businesses and industries. In addition, they need to deliver high quality, innovative products and services to students that meet or exceed their expectations. It is also necessary to engage students with advanced knowledge, current knowledge, theoretical frameworks and concepts, and emerging ideas. The learning resources provided and recommended are needed to be appropriate to the level of the course of study, consistent with the expected learning outcomes and modes of participation. To create equivalent opportunities for academic success, regardless of students' background, academic

integrity throughout academic activities are to be maintained and set up quality in education and training. To build excellence, diversity and equity, and to achieve specified learning outcomes, including research training, and professional accreditation of a course of study, quality improvement of higher education activities are to be specified.

This conference intends to invite discussions and deliberations on unique and need-based pedagogical concept. It aims to bring together the views and beliefs widely held among educators and practitioners about the current situation and position of foreign languages teaching and learning processes. It looks into the pivotal role played by academics in the realm of social development, existence of unique and innovative methods and approaches.

This conference, in response to the growing demand for foreign language teaching, opens gates through fruitful interactions for a progressive expansion and exploration, aiming at a better didactical framework and the quality improvement in research area which ensures success in the process of teaching foreign languages. The future perspectives of teaching foreign languages seem to be splendid in view of the rapid demand for learning foreign languages and career prospects across the globe.

This International Conference on Language and Humanities 2020 has its need-based objectives of inviting various field experts to get engaged in discussions, dialogues and transformation of views and ideas via presentations, talks and Qs & As about the area.

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DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS: COMPARISON BETWEEN MYANMAR AND THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

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Abstract

Nowadays, many countries tried to change their political system to democracy. In the way to democratization process, they faced with some of difficulties and problems. However, based on the nature of political system of respective countries, the problems and difficulties are differences in each other. The actors involved are not quite different. So also, the political process of Myanmar and the Republic of Korea are the same in many areas and some are difference. Concerning with Myanmar, in recent year Myanmar's political system has changed from military rule to civilian government. International community seen Myanmar's transformation as a peaceful way to democracy, although Myanmar facing some challenges in his transformation process. Indeed democratic idea is not new for Myanmar. After receiving its independence from the British, the first Myanmar election was held in 1960; because of it U Nu became the first Prime Minister of Myanmar. In 1962 after the coup by General Nay Win, Myanmar immediately governed under military rule. But because of the famous uprising of 8-8-88 incident General Nay Win's one party rule came to an end. Myanmar democratization process began at that time. On the other hand, on May 16, 1961 because of military coup led by Major General Park Cheong Hee, the Republic of Korea came under military rule. Although Myanmar and the republic of Korea came under military rule in early 1960s, the term of struggle for democracy is absolutely different. Republic of Korea takes only seven years and Myanmar lasted twenty three years for its democratization process. On the way to democracy they practiced different economic policies, Myanmar isolated from western sanction and the Republic of Korea adopted five years economic development plan and export oriented industrialization policy. Regarding ethnic problem Myanmar faced many ethnic problems and armed conflict after independence since 1948, but in Korea didn't have that problem. This paper examines the democratization process by comparing Myanmar and the Republic of Korea and tries to explore why Myanmar takes a long time for its transformation period than the Republic of Korea and what are the main problems for Myanmar.

Keywords: democratization, democracy, transformation, transition, ethnicity, military regime, uprising, challenges, military influence

The research aim and research questions

This research aims to explore the main difficulties of democratization process of the two countries. In this research, following research questions will be examined:

- (1) What are the major challenges of democratization process in Myanmar compare with the ROK?
- (2) How much can affect military influence for the democratization process of the two countries?
- (3) How much can affect economic development for the democratization process?

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Introduction

Concerning the spread of democracy, the scholarly debate contains widely diverging views. One school of thought expects positive consequences from the spread of democracy; another reject the importance of democracy in international politics. According to Immanuel Kant democracy will lead to peaceful relations because democratic governments are control by the citizens. Kant's vision of a peaceful world of democracy belongs to a liberal school of thought. The basic notion of liberal thinking is that conflict and violence can be overcome if the world is organized according to liberal principle and the right principle would be democracy. On the other hand, some scholar such as John Mearsheimer stated that the theory of peace loving democracy is unsound and perpetual peace as envisaged by Kant is impossible. However in the real world, conflict is inherent in human nature. Nevertheless according to Freedom House survey, almost half of the world's countries can be considered as the democratic countries, but only 28 countries among them qualify as "full democracies".

Data and Method

Newspapers and official websites were used as primary sources in doing this research. Some books and research papers were also used as secondary sources. Some data and information were downloaded from related websites. Comparative study and analytical method were used to search findings and conclusion.

Literature Review

"Promoting Democracy in Myanmar Political Party Capacity Building" written by Aung Aung (IR) is published by the Institute for Security and Development Policy and it compose of five chapters. The essential core of the book is the role of political parties, the conflict history of the country and the current situation. "Myanmar: Land of Conflicts" is the first chapter in which the author explain Myanmar democratization with four periods: The Democratic Period (1948–1962), The First Military Period/Socialist Period (1962–1988), The Second Military Period (1988–2011), and The Democratic Period (2011 to today). The second chapter deals with "The End of the Military Regime and the Start of the Democratic Process". The Current Situation, Strengths and Weaknesses of the Political Parties, How to Strengthen Political Parties: Recommendations are third, fourth and fifth chapters respectively. Primarily, the book is recommend the important of current situation and suggested how to make development of political parties in Myanmar democratization process.

"Democracy and institutional change" written by Nicholas Kyriazis is publish by European Research Studies this primarily focused on decision making procedures concerning economic issues such as the choice of public goods in the prototype democracy. The paper analyses the link between political democracy, "economic" democracy, the emergence of new institutions and the finance of public goods like defense, education and "social security". That is relevant for today Myanmar's

democratization process. It composed of six parts: introduction, the workings of economic democracy, financing of public goods, economic democracy as a system of check and balances, the emergence of new economic institutions and organizations and conclusions: Can we learn from the prototype democracy?

Democratization and the Transformation Process: Comparison between Myanmar and the Republic of Korea

Concerning the democratization process of Myanmar, democratic idea is not new. Since 1948, after receiving its independence from the United Kingdom, Burma was declared to pursue parliamentary democracy, but since at that time some ethnic groups felt discriminated them in the new government. The first constitution of Myanmar was established in 1947 under colonial rule. After independent the first election was held in 1960. In this election U Nu's party faction win decisive victory and he became the first Prime Minister of Myanmar. But in 1962 U Nu faction was removed in military coup led by Gen Ne Win. He abolishes the federal system, nationalized the economy and inaugurates "the Burmese way to Socialism". Besides he forms a single party state with the Socialist Programme Party as the sold political party. In 1974 the new constitution came into effect and because of it, transferring power from the armed forces to a People Assembly headed by U Ne Win and other former military leaders. In 1981 U Ne Win transferred the presidency to U San Yu, a retired general but continues as chairman of the ruling Party. In 1987, because of currency wipes out by the government many people's saving and triggers anti-government riots.

The riots escalating and eventually it led to famous 8-8-88 incident and because of it U Ne Win's one party rule came to an end. Myanmar democratization process began at that time. This uprising was mainly led by the students but they were suppressed at the same time. Many pro-democracy protests emerged throughout the country. This uprising was lasted two months and in September 18 another military coup led by General Saw Maung. The military government dissolved parliament and concentrated the three branches of government: executive, legislative and judicial powers in military hands.

By this way, another military government came to power in the name of State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). But two years later, SLORC held the first national level elections in 1990. In this election, National League for Democracy (NLD), led by opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi contested and won 392 out of the 489 seats available more than 80 per cent of the votes. The SLORC needed to convene the parliament within 60 days but they ignored.

In 1993, the military junta established a government funded organization called Union Solidarity and Development Organization (USDA). In August 2003, SPDC announced the "Seven-Point Roadmap to Disciplined Democracy" proposed by Prime Minister General Khin Nyunt and it is a famous landmark of Myanmar's progression towards democracy. The first step of the roadmap was the reconvening of the national convention to draw the new constitution.

The military government convened national convention and invited political parties, which started work in 1993. In this convention, the two main opposition parties, the NLD and the Shan National League for Democracy (SNLD), boycotted although some ethnic parties participated. Although the convention was halt in 1996 and eventually the drafting of the new constitution was finalized in February 2008. In May 2008 it was formally approved in a nationwide referendum.

The 2008 constitution was successfully approved by this referendum with the official results of 94.4 per cent in favour with a voter turn-out of 98 percent. Although the new constitution enshrines military control, finally multiparty election was held on 7 November 2010. But, the opposition groups then led by NLD, boycotted participation. In this election, Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) got majority of vote and accordingly a new government was formed. On 30 March 2011, Myanmar's ruling junta, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), handed power to a new government led by President U Thein Sein, former military leader. His views on reforms are quite well known. Under his administration he began to contact the opposition leaders for reconciliation, and release of political prisoners, freedom of the press and peace talks with ethnics' leaders. He thought that the cooperation of the civilian leaders, especially Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is important. He succeeded in arranging a meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on 21 Aug 2011, which paved the path for reconciliation and cooperation with opposition parties. Thus the opposition groups led by NLD began to cooperate. As a result when the government held by-election for 45 seats of parliament in April 2012, NLD agreed to participate. NLD fielded candidates won for 44 seats out of 45 parliamentary seats. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had contested from Kawhmu Township and she got a massive support.

Like President Chun- Doo Hwan, Myanmar's president U Thein Sein seems to be open to reform, possibly to avoid becoming isolated from international community and to overcome financial difficulties of the country. He realized a series of political and economic reform plans are needed the government concentrates on building fair institutions and developing democratic procedure based on rule of law.

President U Thein Sein has a vision and agenda to transform Myanmar from authoritarian to democratic system. So he has taken steps for reconciliation with the opposition groups and reconstruction and nation building. Unlike former military leader General Than Shwe, he is trying to gain the trust between government and citizen. He takes many changes not only in the Domestic Policy but also in the Foreign Policy. Concerning with the changes in domestic policy of Myanmar; he has been starting adopted initiated notable economic reforms as soon as he became the President. In November 2012, President Thein Sein signed a new Foreign Investment Law. Special economic zones (SEZs) are being established at Dawei and Thilawar.

Under the new government, economic sanctions are lifting; many states are seeking to invest in Myanmar. The country seems to experience a fast economic boom in the near future, with increased international and state investment, as well as ODA

contributions from outside powers. On the other hand the Myanmar government eliminated provisions prohibiting basic freedoms, freed many prisoners of conscience, and sent invitations to high-profile activists and political exiles to return home. Myanmar at that time is the beginning of a new era, as was South Korea about two decades ago. As for Myanmar, South Korea's success story could serve as a model of political and economic development.

On 8 November 2015, general elections were held in Myanmar. In the election, the National League for Democracy (NLD) winning a majority of seats in national parliament. The victory of NLD in the 2015 elections was a resounding mandate for democratic change after decades of military-dominated government. The NLD formed a new government in 2016 with U Htin Kyaw as the first non-military president since 1962, and with Aung San Suu Kyi in the newly-created position of State Counselor. However, many challenges remain in key aspects of social and political life. These include transition from military-backed government to pure civilian government, political reform and the agreement of a nationwide ceasefire that includes all groups and regions of the country. Myanmar has many different types of EAOs, highly diverse in ethnic identity, military strength and engagement strategies towards the Myanmar army and the government. The key questions among EAOs, in the past and today, are how to build ethnic alliances and engage with the state in order to achieve self-determination and equality within a federal state. The agreement of an inclusive nationwide ceasefire could provide the best opportunity for ethnic peace and it is essential to get the successful transition to a new era of democratic governance.

Indeed political transition is not new for Myanmar. Myanmar has experience with three major transitions: from colonial rule to independence in 1948, from parliamentary democracy to military dictatorship in 1962 and attempts to changing from military dictatorship to democracy in 1988 but that process is still in struggle. Among these three major transitions, the present transition is the most complex and the most challenging than the previous two.

Since came to power NLD adopted Sustainable Development Plan which can be seen as NLD's roadmap for democratic transition. Which include five goals; goal one is peace, national reconciliation, security and good governance. Goal two is economic stability and strengthens macroeconomic management. Goal three is job creation and private sector led growth. Goal four is human resource and social development and goal five is natural resources and the environment for prosperity of the nation. Accordingly, goal one and two are interdependent and it is impossible without sustainable peace and stability.

To get sustainable peace and stability NLD government tried to convene the twenty first century Panlong Peace Conference. In the first Union Peace Conference, a seven step roadmap for peace and national reconciliation was achieved. In the second conference, 37 principles were adopted. Although serious challenges remain and arm conflicts continue between the National Army and EAO (Ethnic Armed Organizations).

The NLD government tried to resolve these conflicts through dialogue and negotiation it is intended to build mutual trust and understanding.

Concerning with the economic sector, the National League for Democracy will continue to priorities economic liberalization, but there are many constraint areas. At the time of NLD came to power the global economic growth rate is slow from 3.0 percent in 2018 to 2.6 percent in 2019 respectively. Limited infrastructure remains a major challenge to economic growth. Agriculture is the biggest contributor to GDP (more than 35% in 2014) and employs more than 65% of the population, but the petroleum sector is likely to play a leading role in generating economic growth. Investments in Myanmar involve considerable risk. In 2016–2017, investors became increasingly cautious and worried about the slow pace of economic reform. Moreover there is a high risk of economic mismanagement, transparency and accountability in the governance of public affairs are weak, corruption is widespread, some parts of the country are affected by unresolved intrastate conflicts and Myanmar's informal economy is one of the largest in the world.

Myanmar's democracy still struggles especially to specify and implement the rule of law. Corruption remains endemic, especially in extractive industries and other areas that are poorly regulated or that were captured by cronies and the military junta. To consolidate democracy, Myanmar requires further institutional development to handle military junta. The Tatmadaw also still control the ministries of defense, home affairs, and border affairs, and a quarter of the seats in Myanmar's parliament. As a result, progress on political reforms will be limited by the military's strong influence.

Amendment to the 2008 constitutions is one of the main goals for NLD government and this is another challenges. The NLD view Myanmar's current Constitution is not really designed for the people; rather, it serves the interests of the military leadership. Although Myanmar's constitution theoretically separates legislative, executive, and judiciary powers, reciprocal checks are weak in practice. According to 2008 constitutions the national assembly (Pyidaungsu Hluttaw), which comprises of 440-seat lower house (Pyithu Hluttaw) and 224-seat upper house (Amyotha Hluttaw), has the power to make laws. However, one-fourth of the seats in each house is reserved for unelected representatives of the Tatmadaw. This number can effectively grants the military veto power over any constitutional amendment (which requires agreement from more than 75% of the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw) . Although elections are increasingly regular, power is not equitably shared. Civil rights are tenuous and restricted. Government bodies have limited ability to check one another, and unelected officials can potentially wield vast political powers over the population. So, some scholar regards Myanmar democracy as "defective democracy".

Myanmar democratization is ongoing process large part to its unfinished. Central questions were regarding membership in the legislative body. The relationship between the Union government in Nay Pyi Taw and local governments remain unresolved and it's helping to fuel Myanmar's numerous ongoing ethnic conflicts. "Full autonomy in internal administration for the Frontier Areas" is another problem.

Another complex area is interaction with national autonomy and international community. Concerning with destabilizing issues in Rakhine State, within two months of taking on the responsibilities of government, NLD established the Central Committee for Rule of Law and Development in Rakhine and soon after, they approached Dr. Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, to head an Advisory Commission that would help us to find lasting solutions to the problems. Although his approach was intended to be constructive and caring, the Rakhine issue is still an ongoing issue. NLD faces severe criticism from the international community.

Under the military government, Myanmar-China bilateral relations depended on strategic mutual interest. Myanmar was isolated from much of the global economy under military junta rule, the situation making military government especially dependent on China. Under western sanctions the military junta and its patronage class became increasingly reliant on China for trade, investment, weapons, and diplomatic support. In response, China placed a strong emphasis on its investment projects, taking advantage of Myanmar's resources without giving much in return. The democratic government under President Thein Sein agreed to five major dam projects with China. But according to public opinion the government decided to cancel a proposed \$20 billion China-Myanmar railway line and face harsh criticism of the fifty-year development project in the Kyaukphyu Special Economic Zone. Besides the \$3.8 billion worth of Myitthone hydropower project, which was suspended in 2011, this is an ongoing issue for NLD government. After the NLD took on the responsibilities of government, the leader perceived countries' overreliance on China. But as international criticism ramps up, especially the situation of Rakhine state, Myanmar is once again turning to China as the partner of last resort.

Like Myanmar, the Republic of Korea (ROK) experienced colonial rule. Japan occupied Korea in 1910 and ended Korean monarch rule. Under Japanese occupation, Japan helped build up Korea's infrastructure, especially the street and railroad systems. With the end of WW II, the Japanese surrendered on August 15, 1945, and it ended Japanese colonial rule. In 1946, Korea established an interim legislature and interim government because of Syngman Rhee becoming the first President of South Korea. On June 25, 1950, the North Korean Army invaded the South, starting the Korean War. UN forces helped the South while Communist Chinese volunteers sided with the North. The war lasted three years and in which millions of people died on both sides.

ROK is regarded from 1945 to 1960 as the First Republic. During that time, although the Democratic Party stood as the opposition but it easily gained power when the Second Republic was established in 1960. At the time of the Second Republic, the ROK formed a parliamentary cabinet system where the electoral system started. Under this system, the assembly elected Yun Bo Seon as President and Chang Myeong as the prime minister and head of government in August, 1960, with general election.

On May 16, 1961, because of a military coup led by Major General Park Chung Hee, an effective end to the parliamentary cabinet system was put. He then established martial law and later had himself elected president. Park's administration started the Third Republic

by announcing the Five Year Economic Development Plan, an export-oriented industrialization policy. Although his leadership was oppressive, President Park instigated many economic and social changes which helped elevate Korea into an industrialized nation. Under his regime, he made major infrastructure enhancements, including the Seoul-Busan expressway and the Seoul subway system was began. On November 21, 1972 the Fourth Republic began with the adoption of the Yusin Constitution. This new constitution gave Park effective control over the parliament and the possibility of permanent presidency.

But on 26 October 1979, President Park was assassinated by the Korean CIA director Kim Jae Kyu and the 18-years rule of military regime to an end. After President Park's assassination, the prime minister took the president's role. But it only lasted for 6 days, when General Cheon Du Hwan staged a military coup and took power in May 1980. But in May 18 to 27, 1980 there are uprising in the city of Gwangju occurred and is referred to as the Gwangju Democratization Movement and sometimes called 5.18 movement it referred to the date of the uprising began.

Like Myanmar, Korea democratization process began with Gwangju Democratization movement. At that time, among Korean people there arose government against sentiment. General Cheon Du Hwan re-establishing martial law, closed universities, placed further restrictions on the press and banned political activities. During this period, the riots escalating and citizens took up arms by raiding police stations and finally took control of the city. As a response, the government re-establishment of Marshall Law and uprising ultimately crushed by the South Korean army.

The government denounced the uprising as a rebellion and investigated politician Kim Dae Jung and his followers. After investigation Kim was convicted and sentenced to death. However, with the intervention of the United States government and international supporters, the sentence was reduced to 20 years in prison and later Kim was given exile to the U.S. He temporarily settled in Boston and taught at Harvard University as a visiting professor to the Center for International Affairs, until he chose to return to his homeland in 1985.

In September of 1980, Chun Doo-Hwan was elected as president by indirect election and inaugurated in March 1981. Under his administration, a new Constitution was established with notable changes. The constitution maintained the presidential system but limiting for president to a single 7 years term, and strengthening the authority of the National Assembly.

In 1987, there was arisen another student uprising when a protesting Seoul National University student died under police interrogation. Public fury was immense and the demonstration spread to the nationwide. Unlike the student-led demonstrations in Gwangju seven years earlier, the June uprising of 1987 saw demonstrations in major urban areas across Korea. These demonstrations in Seoul involved more than two million citizens not only students but also white collar employees and small shop owners. It is difficult and dangerous choice for Chun and its military regime because at that time the

Seoul Olympics was held. They considered that if they suppress the nationwide demonstrations by force. It is potentially led to an international boycott of the games.

President Chun Doo-Hwan and his government faced with two options. The first was to deploy the military to suppress the protests, as he had done in the city of Gwangju in May 1980 and the second is political transition by negotiations. President Chun Doo-Hwan and his government expected the only second choice can avoid the collapse of the ruling bloc and their nation. In spite of some internal disputes, President Chun opted for political transition by negotiation. It was able to avoid the worst-case scenario of a complete collapse of the regime. Moreover, to facilitate the democratic transition, the government formed the 'Eight Person Committee' for the negotiation process between opposition and the government. This committee comprised four delegates from the authoritarian ruling party and another four from the largest opposition party.

On the other hand, the government adopted the economic reform policy. These reform policies planned to transform the manufacturing sector, the IT sector and the financial sector. Each is considered notable for having drastically changed the landscape of the economy and it's transferred Korea as a developmental state. Although market-orientated reform is not the only way to resolve economic problems, Korea made three economic reforms which led to the drastic transformation of the Korean economy. The first case is the promotion of the heavy-chemical industry (HCI), the second is the promotion of the IT industry and the third is financial sector reform. Fortunately, when ROK started its economic reform the steel industry in Japan began to lose its competitiveness and this led Japanese industrialists to decide that shifting these declining industries to Korea. Moreover the government also established the National Investment Fund (NIF) to finance long-term investment in HCI plants and equipment. Besides, Economic Planning Board (EPB) was composed of foreign-trained Korean technocrats.

So, June 1987 movement was regarded as the success of the people's struggle for democracy. This nationwide demonstration threatened and the total collapse of the military regime. Because of this, Korea began to display quite different political dynamics from the era of authoritarian rule to multiparty system. One of these new dynamics was that institutional party politics began to replace in the political process of ROK.

South Korea is a democracy today, but face with many challenges it had strived to eliminate relics of a dictatorship and some process is still ongoing. The first step was to deal with the legacy of the military junta, a very complex and controversial issue. In 1995, the government enacted "Special Act for 5-18 Pro-democracy Movement" to administer punishments and compensation. The prosecutors arrested two former presidents, Chun Doo-hwan and Roh Tae-woo, for the charge of rebellion and issuing arbitrary death sentences and imprisonment orders by excluding the statute of limitations. The government also promised compensation and help with reinstating reputations for people who had participated in the pro-democracy movement.

South Korea also had developed strong government institutions based on rule of law and democratic principles. Former president Kim Young-sam (93-98) and Kim Dae-

jung (98-03) enacted numerous special acts for political and financial reforms to build democratic procedure and to prevent corruption. In South Korea, regionalism had been one of major causes of conflict, sparking political violence among parties and people; it prevented political development for a long time. The government is still trying to break through it by implementing a balanced regional development plan and encouraging fair competition.

Another big challenge was to develop a democratic discourse among different ideologies. The Korean peninsula conflict has caused numerous ideological conflicts in South Korea's domestic politics, and political parties are deeply divided by ideological disputes. But a democratic system was built to allow for a political space that accommodates different perspectives. Participants in domestic politics acknowledge diversified opinions to develop productive discussions according to democratic procedure.

South Korea achieved astonishing economic developments by aggressively implementing a government-led development plan in the 70s and 80s. It is controversial because at the time ROK was under the military regime, it is true that consecutive "5-year economic development" plans started from 1962, and pan-national local development plan called 'Saemaul Movement' started in the 1970s and these plan became the cornerstone of the Korean economic boom. South Korea did not have abundant natural resources and manufacturing infrastructure, the plan facilitated rapid industrialization by attracting foreign investment and developing Social Overhead Capital (SOC) for public infrastructure such as railroad and electricity. However, these policies also increased inequality and corruption, and facilitated the emergence of the so-called Chae-bol, often controlled by one family with major political influence. Nevertheless, present South Korea is the world's 13th largest economy, a member of OECD, and a "semi-peripheral" country with modern infrastructure, advanced production facilities and burgeoning high-tech sector. The ROK's economic growth over the past 30 years has been spectacular.

Findings

There are more challenges Myanmar facing in their democratization process compare with the ROK. Myanmar is a multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi religious society, ethnic problem is the main issues for Myanmar. ROK haven't faced this issue. In the economic sector, although Myanmar have rich natural resources, high risk of economic mismanagement, corruption and internal stability are affected to development of Myanmar's economy. In the case of Korea, although under the Military regime the government adopted the economic reform policy. These reform policies planned to transform the manufacturing sector, the IT sector and the financial sector. Each is considered notable for having drastically changed the landscape of the economy and it's transferred Korea as a developmental state.

Military influence for the government can affect the democratization process. As for Myanmar according to 2008 constitutions one-fourth of the seats in each house of parliament are reserved for unelected representatives of the military. Although elections

are increasingly regular, power is not equitably shared. Amendment to the 2008 constitutions is one of the main goals for NLD government but it still struggle. In the case of Korea under military rule, Chun Doo-Hwan was established a new Constitution with notable changes. The constitution maintained the presidential system but limiting for president to a single 7 years term, and strengthening the authority of the National Assembly.

Economic development of the country is the most important agenda for every government. To peaceful change for the political system economic development is essential. In ROK although Park's leadership was oppressive, President Park creates the Five Year Economic Development Plan, an export-oriented industrialization policy and instigated many economic and social changes which helped elevate Korea into an industrialized nation. As for Myanmar, Myanmar economy is still depending on agriculture sector. The NLD government continues to priorities economic liberalization, but there are many constraint areas. Limited infrastructure remains a major challenge to economic growth. Concerning with FDI flow the petroleum sector is likely to play the leading role investors became increasingly cautious and worried about the slow pace of economic reform and unresolved intrastate conflicts

Conclusions

To compare democratization and transformation process between Myanmar and Korea, it is needed to compare Korean and Myanmar uprisings in order to better understand why some uprisings succeed and others fail. In comparing the two uprisings of Gwangju and Yangon, both uprisings grew out of remarkably similar conditions. Military dictators, who were themselves former military heads and they established military rule create themselves head of state via coups d'état, suppressed democracy, appointed their own successors, and applied martial law on their own territory.

In both countries, student demonstrations which against the government started form the student and it spread to the nationwide uprisings. The two governments used of force to student uprising because of it public angered arose and it fostered the famous revolution is the same. People of the two country felt their voices were not being heard, and anger grew when dictators in the killing of unarmed people.

Despite these similarities, there are also tremendous differences between South Korea and Myanmar. Korean democratization process started in 1980 and they can hold free and fair election in 1987. They take only seven years. Myanmar democratization process started in 1988 democratic uprising and Myanmar held its free and fair election in 2011 Myanmar takes 23 years.

In the case of Korea, although under the Military regime as Chun Doo Hwan, they respect will of the people and international community. He is military person with reform minded. In 1987 President Chun Doo Hwan faced with the two options to choose: one is to suppress the protest and the other is political transition by negotiation with opposition groups. Chun Doo Hwan chooses the second option to prevent the collapse of the nation.

Besides to facilitate the democratic transition, the government formed “Eight Person Committee” for the negotiation process. He made three economic reform programmes which led Korea as a developmental state.

The Lack of strong opposition leader is one of the most important factors for Myanmar democratization process. The political capacity of opposition parties are too weak to face with the ruling party, USDP.

Moreover, conflict between different societies is one of the important issues in Myanmar. To solve the problem, it is need to build stable institution based on rule of law. Another issue is overcoming poverty. Balancing economic development with equal and sustainable growth among ethnic minorities is another challenge for Myanmar democratization Process. Inequalities and corruption can provoke further conflict. The government of Myanmar should lead balanced local development plans as well as well-organized long-term initiatives to transform its industry structure and to support its people getting out of absolute poverty, just as South Korea did in its initial development stage.

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