# **ISSUE REPORT**

Issue Report #57 (September 2, 2019)

## [Monthly Prospects]

## **Political Climate and Prospects for September 2019**

#### General Review of Government in August 2019

- Scandal of justice minister nominee, Cho Kuk, negatively impacts the presidential evaluation
- Approval rating of the Liberty Korea Party remains unchanged after a slight increase
- Gap between the centrist and conservative parties widens due to subjective political ideologies
- Worsening 'Japan-South Korea dispute' undermines the influence of the 'Cho Kuk scandal'
- Analysis of National Consciousness Regarding the Cho Kuk Scandal
  - -Negative public sentiment prevails regarding Cho Kuk
  - -Drastic difference between the public opinion and political index of Cho Kuk

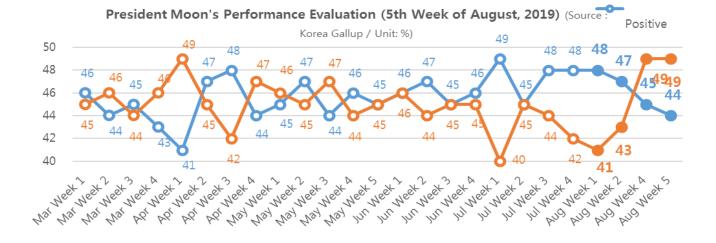
#### Main Events and Prospective Trends of September

- Main events and other notable matters in September
- Delayed appointment of Cho Kuk as justice minister amidst worsening 'Japan-South Korea dispute'
- Three Main Points of the Political Climate in September
  - Will there be a solution to the worsening 'Japan-South Korea dispute' scaused by a diplomatic war?
  - What will happen to Cho Kuk's appointment as justice minister due to his scandal?
  - Will the approval rating of the Liberty Korea Party rise in September?

# [Monthly Prospects] Political Climate and Prospects for September 2019

#### General Review of Government in August 2019

- □ Scandal of Justice Minister Nominee, Cho Kuk, Negatively Impacts the Presidential Evaluation
- After the announcement of the cabinet reshuffle on August 9th, the scandal involving justice minister nominee, Cho Kuk, concluded the month of August by influencing the negative evaluation of the current administration. (Source: Korea Gallup)
  - However, considering the negative public opinion of Cho Kuk (approval rating as justice minister: 27%, Korea Gallup), its impact on the presidential evaluation is assessed to be limited.
- O This assertion has been made due to the political landscape that has been in favor of the ruling party since the commencement of the Japan-South Korea dispute. As it is not the political landscape itself that has changed, it is expected that the dominance of the ruling party will intensify once the Cho Kuk scandal dissipates.
  - President Moon is expected to push for the appointment of Cho Kuk as justice minister, which would help reduce the impact of the issue dramatically.
  - However, possibility remains for the issue to resurface due to the negative sentiments that linger from Cho Kuk's investigation process.



<ul> <li>August Week 1, Major Incidents</li> <li>07/29 Hungary cruise ship sinking accident</li> <li>07/31 North Korea launches short-range projectiles</li> <li>08/02 The National Assembly passes an extra budget bill / North Korea launches unidentified short-range projectiles</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>August Week 4, Major Incidents</li> <li>- 08/21 The press questions Cho Kuk's daughter as the primary author of an academic research paper</li> <li>- 08/22 The Blue House announces its decision to terminate the Korea-Japan Military Information Security Agreement</li> <li>- 08/24 Liberty Korea Party stages an anti-government rally</li> <li>- 08/25 South Korea initiates military drills to defend the East Sea</li> </ul>	
<ul> <li>August Week 2, Major Incidents</li> <li>- 08/05 President Moon proposes 'peace and economy' in response to Japan's retaliation South Korea and the US start joint military</li> </ul>		
<ul> <li>exercises / US labels China as a 'currency manipulator'</li> <li>- 08/06 Japan declares a revised bill to exclude South Korea from its whitelist</li> <li>- 08/09 President Moon carries out the cabinet reshuffle (nominates Cho Kuk as justice minister)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>August Week 5, Major Incidents</li> <li>- 08/26 Hearing confirmed for justice minister nominee Cho Kuk.</li> <li>- President Moon subscribes to the 'Pilseung (certain victory) Korea Fund'</li> <li>- 08/27 Prosecutors launch search and seizure raids in relation to the 'Cho Kuk scandal'</li> </ul>	
<ul> <li>August Week 3, Major Incidents</li> <li>- 08/12 Announcement of 10 lawmakers leaving the Party of Democracy and Peace</li> <li>- 08/15 President Moon celebrates a 'country/peace economy that no one can shake'</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>- 08/29 The National Assembly's special committee on political reform approves the election law revision bill. The Supreme Court orders retrial of Park Geun-hye and Lee Jae-yong regarding their manipulation of state affairs</li> <li>- 08/30 Failure to summon witnesses for Cho Kuk's hearing leads to suspension of the hearing</li> </ul>	

# Approval Rating of Liberty Korea Party Remains Unchanged After a Slight Increase

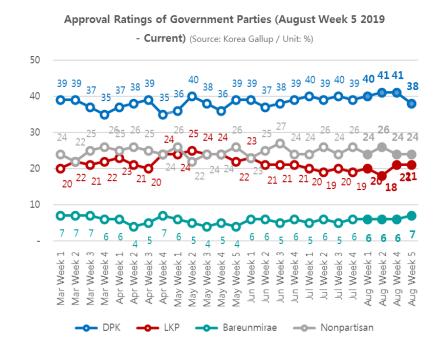
Despite the negative public opinion regarding Cho Kuk, approval rating of the Liberty Korea Party increased by 1%, having a limited effect on the political landscape.

• An opinion poll regarding the suitability of Cho Kuk as a candidate for justice minister revealed that the majority of the public holds a negative view on Cho, with 57% saying that he is unsuitable and only 27% indicating otherwise. (Source: Korea Gallup, August Week 5 Survey Results)

O Despite the 57% of respondents who thought that Cho Kuk was an unsuitable candidate for justice minister, the approval rating of the Democratic Party of Korea fell by only 2% compared to the first week of August and the approval rating of the Liberty Korea Party dropped by only 1%.

-Since a negative correlation is expected to take place, when the approval rating of the ruling party declines, that of the opposing party (Liberty Korea Party)

should increase. However, the approval rating of the opposition party has shown very minimal improvement.



Issues have been raised that run counter to 'fairness,' an important value for the liberal party, yet the change in subjective political ideologies is hardly noticeable.

• As depicted by the evaluation of Moon's administration, the scandal of Cho Kuk has remained a heated issue throughout August. However, its impact on the political landscape is analyzed to be very limited.

- This is due to the political landscape which has been in favor of the ruling party since the 'Japan-South Korea dispute.'

- ※ For a detailed analysis of the current political landscape, issue 56 of the Ipsos Report which covers the observation on the direction of state administration and prospects for the 21<sup>st</sup> National Assembly general elections (August 20, 2019), should be used as a reference.
- In addition, public opinion on the Liberty Korea Party seems to have been influenced by multiple factors.
  - The primary reason behind the negative public opinion towards Cho Kuk is 'fairness.'
  - Many believe that the Liberty Korea Party will not protect 'fairness' since they regard the party as a power that will continually be responsible for manipulating state affairs.

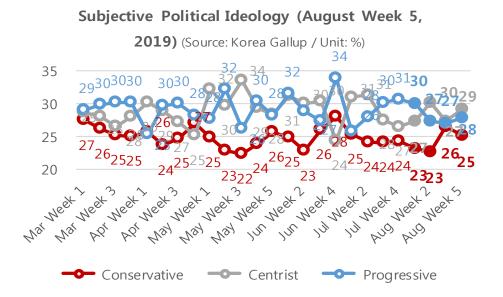
# Gap Between the Centrist and Conservative Parties Widens Due to Subjective Political Ideologies

• The 'Cho Kuk scandal' stirred up significant chaos amongst the public as issues going against 'fairness,' an important value for the liberal party, has been raised.

- The main reason for the negative public opinion regarding Cho Kuk involves his daughter, who has failed to abide by fair rules during the college admission process.
- The issue became extremely controversial, especially since Cho Kuk has consistently presented himself as an advocate of 'fairness' and 'justice.'

• However, the extent of concerns and confusion that occurred did not seem to have been greater than what was expected.

- When observing the subjective political ideologies of August, there was a minimal increase in the conservative and centrist parties, and a slight decline in the liberal party. (Source : Korea Gallup)
- Comparing the subjective political ideologies of the 5th week of August to the 1<sup>st</sup>, the 5<sup>th</sup> showed variations of just 2% for all parties. (Conservative Party: 23% → 25%, Centrist Party 27% → 29%, Liberal Party 30% → 28%)



# □ Worsening 'Japan-South Korea Dispute' Undermines the Influence of the 'Cho Kuk Scandal'

- O The important agenda/issues of August have been categorized by the level of influence on state administration and actual results as follows.
  - The content below the first dotted line details the agenda/issues that have changed compared to what was initially expected.
  - The content below the second dotted line and the asterisk(\*) includes the agenda/issues that were added to their respective category.

Positive Agenda/Issue	Neutral Agenda/Issue	Negative Agenda/Issue
Removal of South Korea from Japan's Whitelist President Moon's Liberation Day Speech The spread of South Koreans' boycott against Japanese products	Approval of an extra budget bill South Korea and the US start joint military exercises Cabinet reshuffle and hearing	Attack by opposing party regarding diplomatic security Weakened prospects of economic growth due to trade regulations Household trends for the 2 <sup>nd</sup> quarter Concerns over overheating real estate economy due to lowered interest rates
Lawmaker's survey regarding fast track confrontation →	<ul> <li>☑ Japan and South Korea's General Security of Military Information Agreement controversy</li> <li>Cho Kuk scandal →</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Defective special parliamentary committees on judiciary and political reform</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>*Immediate response to the Hungary cruise ship sinking accident</li> <li>*Military drills to defend the East Sea</li> <li>*Supreme Court orders re-trial of the case involving manipulation of state affairs</li> </ul>	*Failure of Cho Kuk's hearing	*North Korea's continuous launching of short-range projectiles *Prosecutors launch search and seizure raids in relation to Cho Kuk scandal

Strong influence of the agenda/issues related to the Japan-South Korea dispute caused by South Korea's

removal from Japan's whitelist, minimized

the influence of the

Cho Kuk scandal.

O Various agenda/issues have risen during the month of August, but the removal of South Korea from Japan's whitelist and the Cho Kuk scandal were two of the biggest ones that have gained the greatest influence in politics.

 The opposition party's attack on diplomatic security was regarded as a negative issue since it stirred up negative prospects regarding economic growth, 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter household trends, an overheated real estate, and North Korea's launch of short-range projectiles, while having little to no effect on state administration.

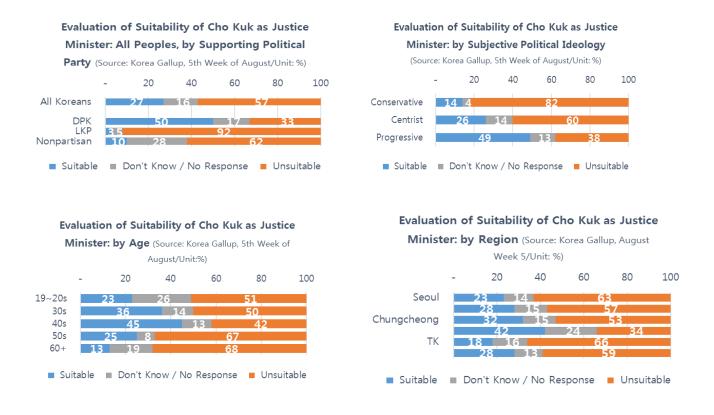
- In addition, the strong influence of the worsened Japan-South Korea dispute due to the removal of South Korea from Japan's whitelist minimized the influence of Cho Kuk's scandal.
  - The influence of issues such as President Moon's Liberation Day Speech, the strengthened boycott against Japanese goods amongst South Korean consumers, the termination of extending the General Security of Military Information Agreement, and the commencement of military drills to defend the East Sea have been strengthened.
- O Despite the situation, the Liberty Korea Party remained devoted to the hardline message of Moon's administration rather than Abe's from July throughout August, failing to follow the main political trend.

- The Liberty Korea Party criticized President Moon's decision to terminate the General Security of Military Information (GSOMIA) between South Korea and Japan, inducing the party to further defend Cho Kuk's nomination as justice minister by going against public opinion.
- If the Cho Kuk scandal recedes in the future, it is expected for the issues related to the Japan-South Korea dispute to draw the spotlight. If the Liberty Korea Party fails to recognize such a possibility and continues to only support the issue related to Cho Kuk, difficulty in increasing their approval rating can be anticipated.

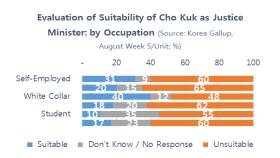
#### Analysis of National Consciousness Regarding the Cho Kuk Scandal

#### Negative Public Sentiment Prevails Regarding Cho Kuk

- Regarding the suitability of Cho Kuk as a candidate for justice minister, 57% of the population responded that he is an 'unsuitable candidate.' (Korea Gallup, August Week 5 Survey Results)
   Only 27% responded that Cho Kuk is a 'suitable candidate.'
- O The response that Cho Kuk is an 'unsuitable candidate' was prevalent within each demographic stratum as well.
  - Those who responded that he is a 'suitable candidate' included those who support the Democratic Party of Korea, those in the progressive party, those in their 40s, and those residing in the Honam region.







## □ Drastic Difference Between the Public Opinion and Political Index of Cho Kuk

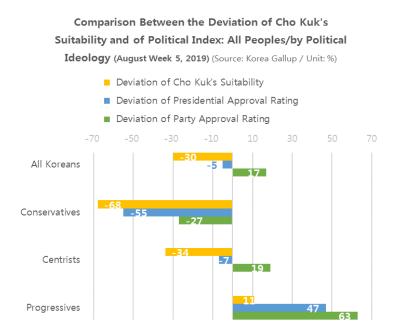
- O The reason for the strong controversy and heavy interest in the 'Cho Kuk scandal' is because he was viewed as a symbolic figure of President Moon's administration.
- O The public's negative perception towards such a symbolic figure usually imposes a negative perception towards the ruling party and President Moon who appointed Cho Kuk, while in reality, the public opinion on Cho did not have a significant impact.
  - The variation in public opinion regarding Cho Kuk's suitability as a candidate for justice minister (those for vs. those against), presidential approval ratings (positive vs. negative) and party support (Democratic Party of Korea vs. Liberty Korea Party) were compared.
- O The deviation in public opinion regarding the suitability of Cho Kuk's candidacy for justice minister was -30%, whereas that regarding the presidential approval ratings was -5% and that regarding party approval ratings was +17%. (Source: Korea Gallup, August Week 5 Survey Results)
  - Public opinion regarding Cho Kuk was negative whereas the population's perception towards President Moon was generally amicable, with an outstanding number supporting the ruling party as shown by political party strength.
  - The reason for such a large variation in opinion regarding party support is attributed to the low approval rating for the Liberty Korea Party which resulted from the high degree of skepticism by the public.
- O According to subjective political ideologies, the conservatives and progressives were clearly divided in opinion whereas the centrists had more similar views with the public.
  - As a result, the views of the centrists dominate public opinion.

O When observing each region, the Honam and TK regions show opposing political interests, in which supporters of the ruling party are prevalent in the Honam region and supporters of the Liberty Korea Party are prevalent in the TK region.

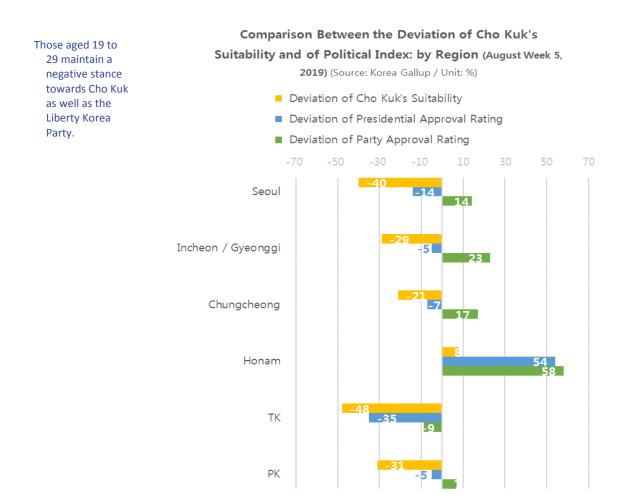
- Seoul, Incheon/Gyeonggi, and Chungcheong provinces have a negative opinion towards Cho Kuk while having a small influence on state affairs, and have the majority supporting the Democratic Party of Korea.
  - The reason why the approval rating for the Liberty Korea Party is low in these regions is because it is only seeking to represent its current support base (ideologically the conservatives and regionally the TK region).

Although the general population holds a negative perception on Cho Kuk, it remains amicable towards President Moon, with an outstanding number supporting the ruling party as can clearly be observed according to political party strength.

White collar workers generally have a negative perception towards Cho Kuk, however, their opinion has limited effect on President Moon and the Democratic Party of Korea.



- O The PK region maintains a negative stance towards Cho Kuk, but has minimal influence on state affairs, and shows a slightly higher approval rating for the Democratic Party of Korea.
- Therefore, it is viewed to be difficult for there to be an opposing opinion towards President Moon based on the negative perception towards Cho Kuk.
  - Based on how all regions excluding the TK region show a dominant approval rating for the Democratic Party of Korea, it can be criticized that the Liberty Korea Party should regard the current situation with a keen eye.



- When observing each age group, those in their 40s are most favorable towards Cho Kuk, President Moon, and the Democratic Party of Korea.
  - This age cohort was the only group to have shown a mere +3% deviation regarding its opinion towards Cho Kuk.
- O Those in their 30s hold a generally negative stance towards Cho Kuk, but such opinion has little to no influence on President Moon and the Democratic Party of Korea.
- O Those from ages 19 to 29 mostly hold a negative view towards Cho Kuk, yet it has a limited impact on the presidential and party approval ratings.
  - Party approval ratings within this age cohort showed a deviation of 26%, while also revealing negative perception towards both Cho Kuk and the Liberty Korea Party.
- O Those in their 50s express negative views towards Cho Kuk, which has a large influence on state affairs.
  - Party approval ratings within this age cohort recorded a deviation of +9%, due to the low ratio of those who support the Liberty Korea Party.
- O Those in their 60s have a generally negative view towards the ruling party, including Cho Kuk, state affairs, and party approval ratings.

 Therefore, those in their 60s comprise of the only age cohort that can easily influence a critical stance on President Moon through their critical stance on Cho Kuk.

Comparison Between the Deviation of Cho Kuk's Stability

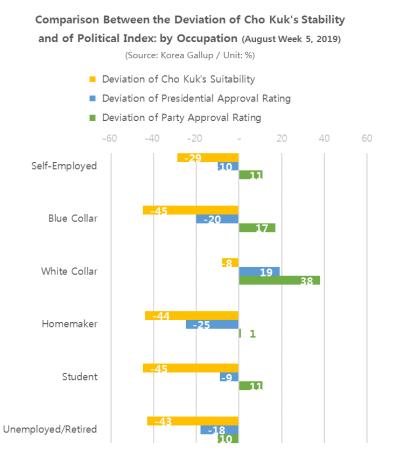
#### and of Political Index: by Age

(August Week 5, 2019) (Source: Korea Gallup / Unit:%)

- Deviation of Cho Kuk's Suitability
   Deviation of Presidential Approval Rating
   Deviation of Party Approval Rating
   -60 -40 -20 20 40 60
   19~20s
   -14
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- O Based on occupation, those in the white collar group have a somewhat negative view towards Cho Kuk, but such opinion has little to no influence on President Moon and the Democratic Party of Korea.
  - The deviation of both presidential and party approval ratings within this demographic group have shown to be significantly large, placing the ruling party in a dominant position.
- O Self-employed workers, blue collar workers, and students are shown to have a negative perception towards Cho Kuk, in which such opinion is influential on state affairs.
  - Since those within this demographic group maintain a dominantly critical view against the Liberty Korea Party, the Democratic Party of Korea dominant position.
- O Homemakers who have a negative view towards Cho Kuk have a direct influence on state affairs and party approval ratings.
  - However, the reason why this group recorded a deviation of +1% regarding party approval ratings is due to the low approval rating for the Liberty Korea Party.
  - While traditionally the approval rating for the Liberty Korea Party was high, it has currently weakened.

O The unemployed and retired generally have a negative view towards Cho Kuk and is the

only demographic group that has a direct impact on state affairs and presidential approval ratings.



# Main Events and Prospective Trends of September

### □ Main Events and Important Notes of September

	2(Mon)	3(Tues)	4(Wed)	5(Thurs)	6(Fri)	7(Sat)/8(Sun)
Main Events	<ul> <li>The National Assembly opens its regular sessions</li> <li>Nominee hearing for the head of the Fair-Trade Commission and of the Ministry of Science and ICT</li> <li>Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi visits North Korea(~4)</li> </ul>	request the retransferring of the confirmation	<ul> <li>Seoul Defense Dialogue(~6)</li> <li>Eastern Economic Forum (~6/Vladivostok )</li> </ul>		<ul> <li>President Moon's arrival to South Korea (departure on September 1st)</li> </ul>	(07) Liberty Korea Party's anti-government rally (08) Preliminary candidate registrations for the 21 <sup>st</sup> National Assembly elections D-100
Important Notes	•'National Assembly he sessions of the National	aring' for Cho Kuk vs I al Assembly / •Impositio			-	disruption of regula
	9(Mon)	10(Tues)	11(Wed)	12(Thurs)	13(Fri)	14(Sat)/15(Sun)
Main Events	<ul> <li>Foundation Day (North Korea)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Cabinet meeting chaired by President Moon</li> </ul>		<ul> <li>Chuseok (~15)</li> <li>Eurozone ECB</li> <li>US Democratic Presidential Primary Debate(~13)</li> </ul>		
Important Notes	•Attention to President	Moon's appointment o	f Cho Kuk as justice	minister and its ramif	ications	
	16(Mon)	17(Tues)	18(Wed)	19(Thurs)	20(Fri)	21(Sat)/22(Sun)
Main Events		•Cabinet meeting •US FOMC (~18) •General Assembly of the UN(~30)		<ul> <li>One-year anniversary of 9.19 Pyongyang Joint Declaration regarding the Agreement on the Implementation of the Historic Panmunjom Declaration in the Military Domain</li> <li>UK BOE</li> </ul>		
Important Notes	•Attention to the norma Korea Special Measures			e National Assembly ,	<ul> <li>Launch of new neg</li> </ul>	otiations for US-South
	23(Mon)	24(Tues)	25(Wed)	26(Thurs)	27(Fri)	28(Sat)/29(Sun)
Main Events		•Cabinet meeting chaired by President Moon				(28) 21 <sup>st</sup> National Assembly elections D-200 days
mportant Notes	•Attention to the 'Japan	-South Korea dispute' i	n the General Asse	mbly of the UN		1

※ Overseas schedule is recorded in local time

- X Prospects for September: Japan's exclusion from South Korea's whitelist and worsening Japan-South Korea dispute
- X Prospects for September: Greater attention to US-Japan-South Korea relations regarding the Japan-South Korea General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA)
- X Prospects for September: Possibility of prosecution launching investigation for Cho Kuk

※ National Assembly's Investigation on government affairs: September 30 ~ October 18 (opinion of the National Assembly Secretariat, high possibility of postponement)

### Delayed Appointment of Cho Kuk as Justice Minister Amidst Worsening 'Japan-South Korea Dispute'

- O It is expected for the 'Japan-South Korea dispute' to worsen and greater attention paid to the US-Japan-South Korea tensions and resolutions in September.
  - The removal of Japan from South Korea's whitelist will take effect in September and

The political climate in September is viewed to be an extension of August's. The positive agenda/issues related to the 'Japan-South Korea dispute' and the negative agenda/issues related to the 'Cho Kuk scandal' are predicted to head into two different directions.

with a full-scale diplomatic war between the two states taking place at the UN General Assembly, the 'Japan-South Korea dispute' is expected to worsen.

-South Korea and Japan are in desperate need of the US to act as a mediator as they are both in a situation in which neither can back down. However, as of now, it is unclear whether a solution can be found to satisfy both parties.

• The US' disappointment regarding the South Korean government's decision to terminate the Japan-South Korea General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) raises numerous questions as to how South Korea will be able to convince the US to act as a mediator.

-Meanwhile, South Korea is expected to utilize appropriate diplomatic strategies depending on the initiation of negotiations with the US regarding the Special Measures Agreement.

- O It is expected for the 'Cho Kuk scandal' and the disputes between the ruling and opposing parties to continue.
  - The cancellation of the hearing that was planned for September 2<sup>nd~</sup>3<sup>rd</sup> will determine the conflict that may arise between the Liberty Korea Party's request for a 'National Assembly hearing' and the launch of the Democratic Party of Korea's 'public hearing' that may also disrupt the regular sessions of the National Assembly.
  - The normalization of the regular sessions of the National Assembly is to be hindered due to the expectation that President Moon will push ahead with the appointment of Cho Kuk as justice minister, which the Liberty Korea Party will strongly protest through anti-government rallies.

O The various agenda/issues of September that are categorized based on their degree of influence on state affairs are as below:

Positive Agenda/Issues	Neutral Agenda/Issues	Negative Agenda/Issues
Positive Agenda/Issues Korea removes Japan from its whitelist UN General Assembly for 'Japan-South Korea dispute' Continued boycotting against Japanese goods	Neutral Agenda/Issues Controversy over Japan-South Korea General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) Liberty Korea Party's anti-government rally Public opinion on Chuseok as well as Cho Kuk One-year anniversary of 9.19	Negative Agenda/Issues Cho Kuk scandal intensifies Hinderance of regular sessions of the National Assembly due to Cho Kuk's appointment as justice minister Investigations launched by prosecution after appointment of
Investigation of lawmakers over fast-track confrontation	Pyongyang Joint Declaration Commencement of negotiations regarding US-South Korea defense cost-sharing	Cho Kuk Worsened economic conditions due to intensified US-China trade war

O The political situation in September is viewed to be an extension of that in August.

- The positive agenda/issues related to the 'Japan-South Korea dispute' and the negative agenda/issues related to the 'Cho Kuk scandal' are seen to head into two different directions.
- The 'public hearing' and appointment of Cho Kuk as justice minister raise questions of how such events will affect public opinion.

#### • Three Main Points of the Political Situation in September

# (1) Will there be a Solution to the Worsening Japan-South Korea Dispute Caused by a Diplomatic War?

- O As neither Japan nor South Korea can back down in their dispute, the situation for both countries is escalating.
  - Both South Korea and Japan are caught up in an endless chicken game due to the possible domestic outrage that can arise if one country concedes to another.
- O Japan will remove South Korea from its whitelist in September and both countries will stage a diplomatic battle at the UN General Assembly to gain public opinion from the international community.
  - It is expected that Japan will also go all out during the diplomatic battle at the UN General Assembly.
- O It is expected that talks related to the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) will take place in September, which can be viewed as South Korea's leverage to resolve US-Japan-South Korea conflicts.
  - Due to the difficulty of resolving the 'Japan-South Korea dispute' by the two nations primarily involved, the international community, especially the US' role as a mediator, is needed.
  - The reason for South Korea's decision to terminate GSOMIA is to convince the US to take on the role as a mediator.

- While the US has continuously expressed its dissatisfaction regarding the termination of GSOMIA, South Korea's decision to terminate the agreement can be regarded as a meaningful act to convince the US to mediate the current political situation.
- However, it is difficult to predict whether the US will become the mediator that South Korea desires.

O With aims to reach a solution, it is expected that diplomatic talks and tensions amongst the US, Japan, and South Korea will continue until the official termination date of GSOMIA is reached.

- Important events to take place until the official termination of GSOMIA.

Month	Day	Event	Important Notes
Septem ber	17th~30th	UN General Assembly	Diplomatic battle between South Korea and Japan staged in front of the international community / Possible encounters of foreign ministers from the US, Japan, and South Korea
October	17th~20th	Yasukuni Shrine Grand Festival	Japanese politicians partaking in the Yasukuni Shrine Grand Festival will worsen Japan-South Korea relations
	22nd	Coronation of the Japanese Emperor	Foreign leaders including President Trump will attend the event / Attention will be given to the participation of President Moon
	31st	ASEAN+3 Summit	Possibility of Japan-South Korea summit
November	16th~17th	APEC Summit	Possibility of Japan-South Korea summit
	23rd	Termination of GSOMIA	Conflict resolution or continuation expected to take place before the termination of GSOMIA

- If a resolution is not provided before the termination of GSOMIA on November 23<sup>rd</sup>, it can be expected that there would be a high chance for the 'Japan-South Korea dispute' to be prolonged in the mid- to long-term.
- O Starting September, South Korea will commence negotiations with the US related to defense cost-sharing, with aims to use effective strategies to place itself at an advantageous position against the US since the US may act as a mediator regarding the 'Japan-South Korea dispute.'

# 2 What Will Happen to Cho Kuk's Appointment as Justice Minister Due to his Scandal?

It is certain that Cho Kuk will be appointed justice minister, but whether he will be able to maintain this position depends on public opinion and the results of investigations launched by prosecution. O It can be predicted that the heated 'Cho Kuk scandal' that occurred in August will continuously remain an issue in September.

 It is expected that President Moon will push ahead with appointing Cho Kuk as justice minister despite the controversy and hearings that are to take place.

 ${\rm O}$  Events and prospects that are to take place in the short-term regarding Cho Kuk.

Date	Event	Description and Prospects	
3rd(Tues)	Request to retransfer the confirmation hearing report	Request made by President Moon and Cho Kuk to resend the confirmation hearing report	
	~	Liberty Korea Party's 'National Assembly hearing' vs Democratic Party of Korea's 'public hearing'	
6 <sup>th</sup> (Fri)	Arrival of President Moon	<ul> <li>High chance for a public hearing to be held following the cancellation of the National Assembly hearing Regular sessions of the National Assembly are expected to be disrupted due to oppositions from the Liberty Korea Party</li> </ul>	
7th(Sat)	Liberty Korea Party anti-government rally	Prospects for the cancellation of the Liberty Korea Party hearing and the facing of strong criticism against the public hearing	
~		<ul> <li>Prospects for President Moon to appoint Cho Kuk as justice minister</li> <li>If the appointment is pushed ahead, regular sessions of the National Assembly will continue to be disrupted due to oppositions from the Liberty Korea Party</li> </ul>	
10th(Tues) Cabinet meeting chaired by President Moon		Possibility of Cho Kuk attending the cabinet meeting	
12th(Thurs) Start of Chuseok(~15th)		Attempts will be made by both the ruling and opposition parties to influence public opinion regarding Cho Kuk	
16th(Mon) First day following the Chuseok holiday		Prospects for results of public opinion polls to be released in various media reports	

O It is certain that Cho Kuk will be appointed justice minister, but whether he will be able to maintain this position depends on the two following factors:

- ${\rm O}$  The first is related to the public opinion regarding the appointment of Cho Kuk as justice minister
  - Currently, the Cho Kuk scandal has a limited effect on the approval ratings of President Moon and individual parties
  - Cho Kuk may be able to maintain his position as justice minister if the degree of influence regarding his scandal remains limited or dissipates further even after he becomes appointed, but if this has a direct negative impact on President Moon's approval rating, Cho would have no choice but to resign.

O The second refers to how Cho Kuk is expected to resign if investigations launched by prosecution confirm that he was involved in illegal activities.

- Even if Cho Kuk himself has not been involved in illegal activities, the confirmation of his spouse or family members being involved can hinder his continued position as justice minister.
- Regarding the second issue, if investigation results are prolonged throughout September, the rise of political uncertainties will place President Moon in a more burdensome position.

# ③ Will the Approval Rating of the Liberty Korea Party Rise in September?

An increase in the approval rating of the Liberty Korea Party can only be made possible if the party itself changes or if there is a shift in public opinion towards the party.

O Despite the public opinion of Cho Kuk which remains negative and the approval rating of President Moon which has plummeted, the approval rating of the Liberty Korea Party has slightly increased.

-Slight increase from 18% (2<sup>nd</sup> week of August) to 21% (5<sup>th</sup> week of August) (Source: Korea Gallup)

O Suspicions and criticisms regarding Cho Kuk from the Liberty Korea Party is expected to continue throughout September, and keen attention

will be paid on how much it will be able to increase its approval rating.

 If President Moon pushes ahead with the appointment of Cho Kuk as justice minister, the Liberty Korea Party will be expected to proceed with its anti-government rallies despite causing disruptions to the regular sessions of the National Assembly. Thus, special attention will be given to the political implications that such actions will give rise to.

O An assessment is made that an increase in the Liberty Korea Party's approval rating can only be made possible if the party itself changes, if public opinion regarding the party changes, or if there is a positive correlation between both factors.

- The movement and message of the Liberty Korea Party reflects the far-right (more specifically, the TK region and those in their 60s), rather than representing the whole population. If such a situation persists, criticism of the administration and ruling party as well as the increase in approval rating for the Liberty Korea Party will become irrelevant (an example is the Cho Kuk scandal).
- If the Liberty Korea Party itself does not change, there needs to be a shift in public opinion regarding the party, which can be made possible due to the general opposition against the current administration and ruling party despite the Liberty Korea Party's support of the far-right.
- Based on the movement and message of the Liberty Korea Party, there is a greater chance for a change to occur in public opinion regarding the party rather than the party itself.
  - Attention will be given to the change in public opinion towards the Liberty Korea
     Party as this is the party's goal for September.