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Divided into Two Nations

Formation of a divided nation

After the cease-fire was put in place, South Korea and the U.S. signed a mutual defense treaty. Also in 1951, the Japanese and the Americans agreed to conclude a treaty of alliance. As a result, Korea, the U.S., and Japan constructed an alliance, while North Korea, China, and the Soviet Union created an alliance as well. Although the war was over, the Korean Peninsula was still the battleground between the former and the latter.

As multiple Cold War fronts between the North and South and between the Soviet Union and the U.S. forged upon the Korean Peninsula, despotic regimes were established in both South and North Koreas. Under the slogan of Anti-Communism, South Korea named the North as a puppet government of Communism, while the North condemned the South as a mere instrument played by the U.S. They also united the people under their ruling, with slogans like “Marching toward north (South Korea)” and “Liberation of the South (North Korea).”

Resisting their own government was difficult for the people of the two Koreas. In the South, the Yi Seung-man regime continued to extend its despotic ruling with the support of policemen and gang members. He even executed a major opposition leader by setting up a political trap claiming he was a Communist spy, who only argued the necessity of a peaceful unification. In the North, Kim Il-seong forged a strong power base of his own by first eliminating all of his political foes who challenged his absolute power. By 1956, he monopolized power in the North.

The scene of trial for the Jinbodang (a progressive party) Incident
Jo Bong-am who was the Presidential candidate of the Jinbodang, is standing in court. As the first minister of the Agricultural Department, Jo Bong-am dared to confront the ruling power of Yi Seung-man and ran for the election. He criticized the government's policies and showed different perspectives on the unification policy. He was unjustly accused of espionage, sentenced to death, and soon executed.



In 1953, when the Korean War ended, Koreans had to rebuild their countries from ashes. It was also the beginning of Korean modern history. The division of the South and North resulted in confrontations between China and Japan as well as the United States and the Soviet Union. The South and North exchanged hostility while building their own despotic regimes.

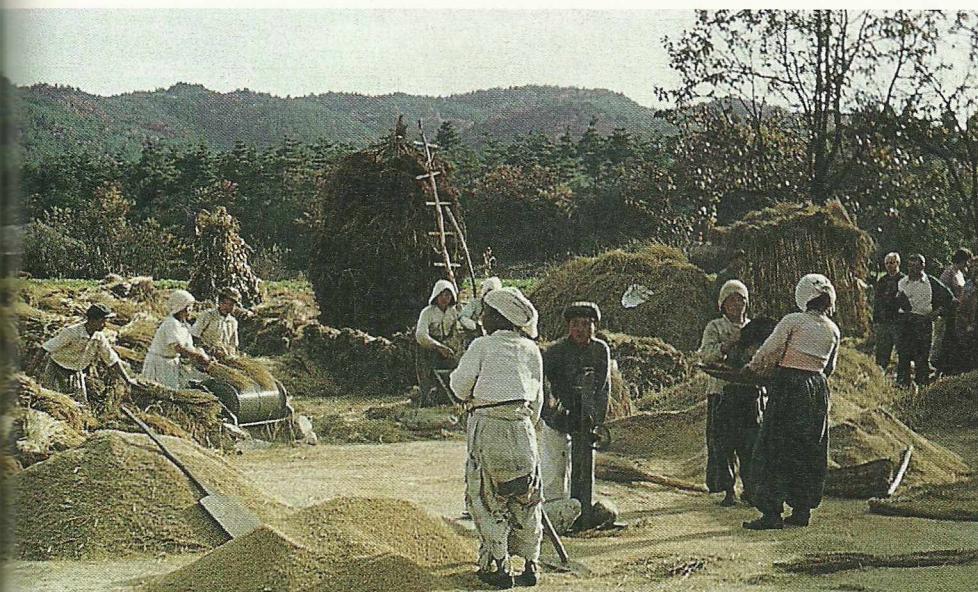
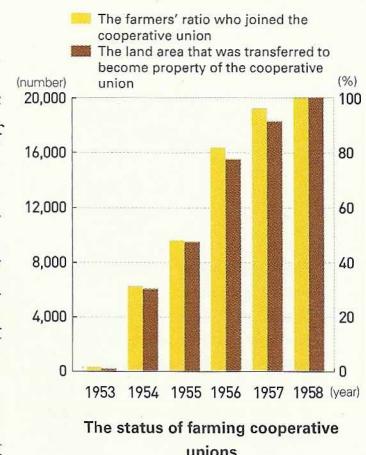
North Korea establishes a Socialist regime

Most of the production facilities and factories in the North Korea were destroyed completely by the war. The government led reconstruction of those facilities, and bases for production were newly established. In the wake of all those efforts, the Socialist system was founded.

In 1954, the North Korean government implemented a Three-year People's Economy Development Plan. It was meant to develop agricultural production and production of necessities and shortages while investing finite resources to heavy industries as a priority. Most of the foreign aids that came from fellow Socialist countries were invested in that area as well.

The first Five-year period (Economy) Development Plan (1957~1961) was initiated in 1957 and continued with the establishment of a Socialist political system. By 1958, all agricultural areas were reorganized under the system of cooperative unions. Socialism was also adopted in business and industries. As its relationship with the USSR deteriorated and financial support from both the USSR and China reduced, a policy of self-reliance was initiated, and economic campaigns such as the "Cheollima Movement" were launched to encourage competitions among workers.

In 1961, upon the completion of two economic development plans, the fourth General Assembly of the Joseon Labor Party was held in Pyongyang. North Korea invited foreign leaders of the Communist countries and



Collective farms

North Korea declared the implementation of Socialist economic policies as it continued to rebuild the society from ashes. Regarding farming, the North Korean people adopted a Socialist system of "collective farming," and as a result, by the end of 1950, most of the land was transformed to become "collective farms."

proclaimed that it had completed construction of the foundation for Socialism.

Market economy system reinforced in South Korea

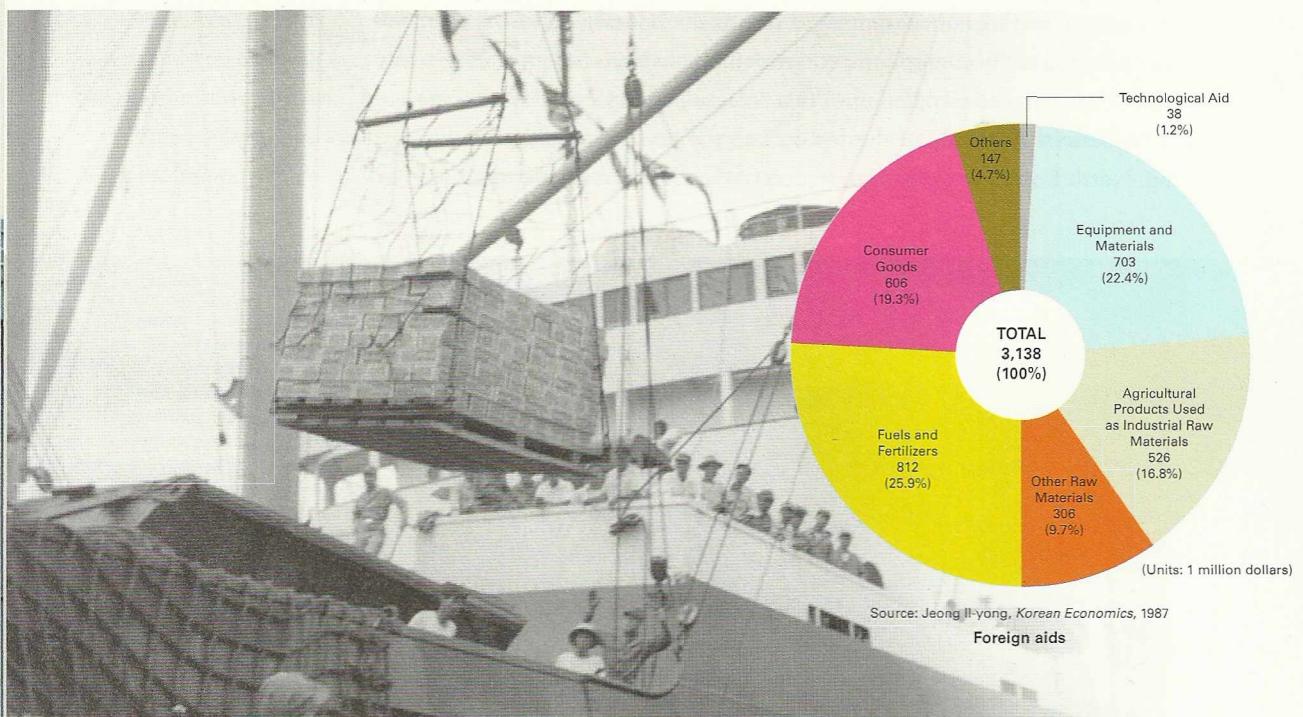
Meanwhile, South Korea developed its own Capitalist economy. In November of 1954, the Yi Seung-man government amended the constitution to drastically revise the principle of industry nationalization, and subsequently the government sold all liquidated properties from the Japanese Imperialists to civilian corporate buyers. As a result, in South Korea the concept of 'Jaebol' (a major house in control of a fleet of industries and businesses) came to emerge. They accumulated enormous wealth by purchasing all the liquidated assets at a relatively low price.

South Korea's Capitalist economy grew considerably fast thanks to the financial support of the U.S., which considered South Korea as its anti-Communism base in Asia and continued to support it with financial aid. The total amount of financial aids exceeded 50% of the GNP of years between 1954 and 1961. Also it was equivalent to the amount of 40% of the total government taxes of years between 1957 and 1960.

The U.S. financial aids to South Korea solved the food shortage problem of the South and furnished supplies to the military system. Provision of wheat, cotton, sugar, and raw materials contributed to the development

Foreign aid materials being piled at the Busan port

The United States of America offered development aids to South Korea according to the Agreement on Aid between the Republic of Korea and the U.S. of 1948. Particularly, as the Agreement on Surplus Agricultural Products Cooperation was made in 1955, approximately 203 million dollars worth of surplus farm products were shipped to South Korea from 1956 to 1961.



of light industry in South Korea. But they also led South Korea into a long-term stagnation in terms of agricultural production and made South Korean economy very much dependent upon foreign countries' support.

After the war, in the north a Socialist government based on communal properties and thus a controlled economy was established, while in the south a Capitalist government was formed emphasizing free market competitions and private enterprises. The Korean people came to live under two different governments.

Competing dictatorships between South and North

South Korea and North Korea had been competing in a hostile relationship for ten years since the end of the war. Although the situation was soon reversed, in the beginning the economic development of North Korea was ahead of that of South Korea, as the North Korean government pushed forward the Socialist construction plans with mass mobilization while the South relied on foreign aids. As competitions continued, South and North became more estranged than before.

The confrontation between South and North brought about sharp military competitions and outspoken expressions of animosity; yet, the Korean Peninsula remained relatively stable. The division existed as part of an international order (the Cold War), and the authorities of South and North bound their people with the propaganda and prospect of forceful unification in the future. Unsecured peace was maintained on the Korean Peninsula, with fear of another potential war.

There were many similarities existing in both South and North Koreas. Both of them adopted Nationalism, yet as part of a very anti-National strategy. Their slogans of (antagonistic) unification, their despotic systems, process of economic developments, and the methods of mass mobilization systems were quite the same. The existence of an enemy became a necessary condition for one's survival.

South and North Koreas in the 1950s both emphasized the importance of national security. Legitimacy issues between South and North only promoted extreme levels of Nationalism. Meanwhile, autonomy, social pluralism, internationalism, and common sense were all buried in oblivion, even if both of them claimed to advocate democracy and liberty. Common people from both sides had to suffer from oppressive dictatorships. The most important task for the Korean people was to accomplish a democratic nation.

The Differences and Similarities Between Two Koreas



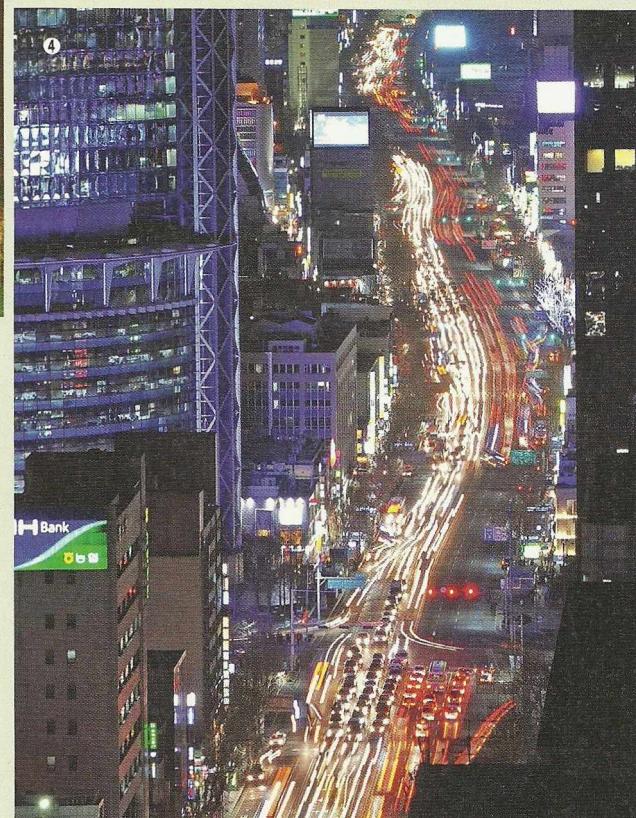
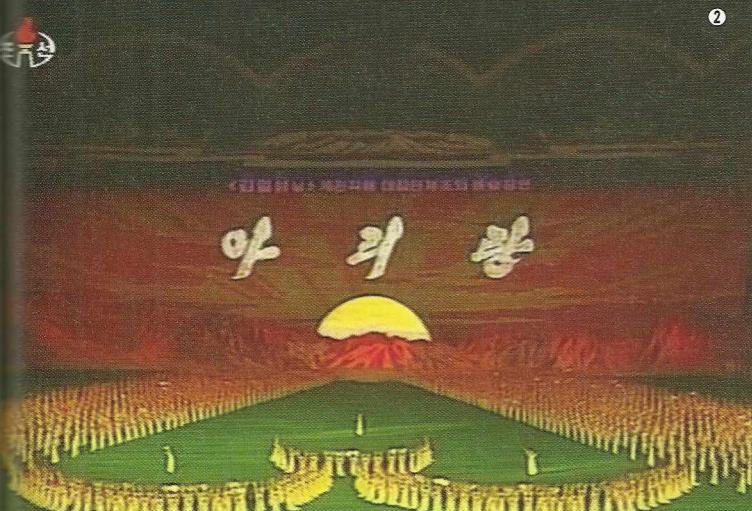
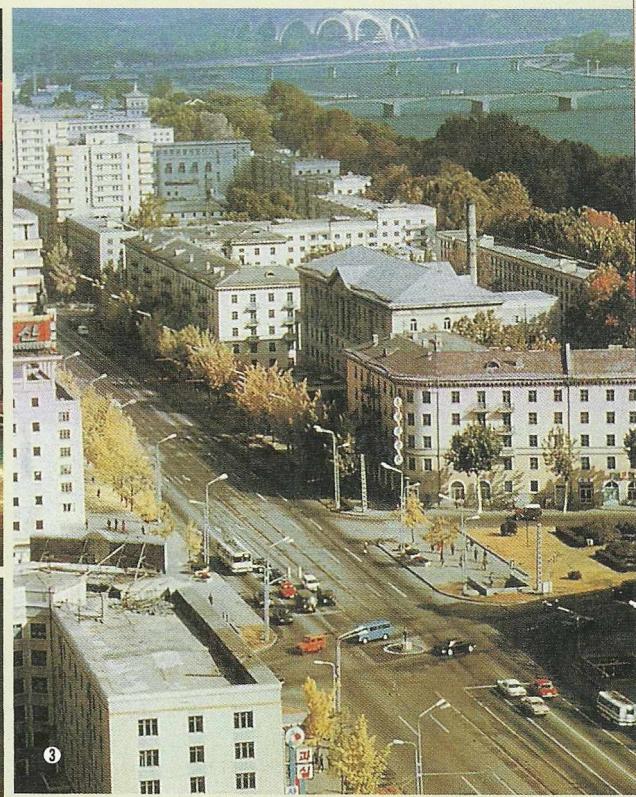
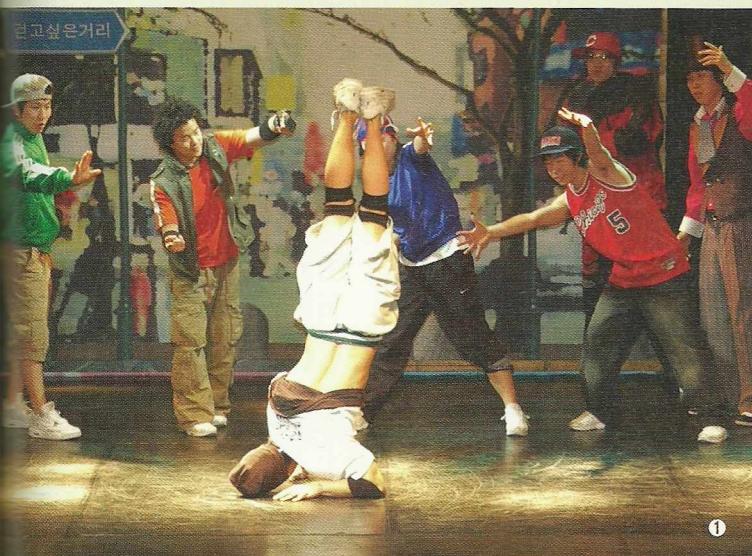
The Korean people formed a united country through Shilla's unification of the three kingdoms and the reunification by Goryeo. However, cultural differences and alienated sentiments were developed due to the war that divided Korea into South and North.

The disparities between South and North are most evident in terms of politics and the economy. The difference between the Socialistic centralization of authority in the North and the Democratic establishment of South has bred differences in social life itself. Furthermore, the socialistically planned economy of North Korea and the Capitalistic establishment of South Korea brought about contrasts in economic life as well.

In North Korea where its people are constantly watched and controlled, a rather monotonous and concise social order can be seen compared to South Korea, due to Socialistic structuring of the region. A culture of large assemblies and crowd-gathering events forced by the government were developed. In the meantime, the 'Juche ("self-determining, self-relying, self-sustaining")' Ideology of North Korea allowed for the preservation and recreation of Korean traditions such as Hangeul or many other seasonal customs.

The culture of South Korea was heavily influenced by the U.S. and the Western world. The war forced the Korean society to be flooded with Western culture, and in the process of urbanization and industrialization the traditional culture of Korea continued to vanish. Koreans have been sensing a possibility of losing their own traditions and continued to make efforts in combining Korean traditions with Western culture, to create an entirely new culture.

The external differences between Southern and Northern cultures are as great as their differences in political ideologies. However, despite the disparities, they maintained a sense for a 'uniform culture' that had taken shape over thousands of years prior to the country's division. In spite of all those years of separation, Koreans still speak a single language and enjoy the same traditions side by side. Koreans consider New Year's Day and Chuseok (Thanksgiving) to be the most important holidays and share the same moral beliefs founded upon the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism. Most importantly, Koreans share a notion of homogeneity, as they believe that they are all part of the same race and the same national culture.



① South Korean teenagers enjoying B-boy dance

B-boy dance, which refers to part of the hip-hop culture formed in New York, attracted tremendous popularity among the Korean youngsters. A Korean B-boy team won the World's Best B-boy battle in 2006, and was the only team invited to perform on the Eve of the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008.

② North Korean art performance 'Arirang'

In North Korea, mass gymnastic games or audience card section performances are often held in a stadium. The picture shows an 'Arirang Performance,' in which more than 100,000 people participated.

③ Pyeongyang street in North Korea

④ Jongno District in South Korea

1960 ~ 2010

1960

Yi Seung-man Dictatorship was overthrown in the April Revolution, and the 2nd Republic was established.

1961

A group of military officials led by General Park Chung-hee staged a coup d'état and seized power.

1962

An industrialization process led by the government began with the 1st Economic Development Plan.

1971

Hostility between the United States and China was mitigated a bit. China joined the UN.

1972

In both South and North Koreas, new Constitutions were introduced, in order to secure unconditional power for the rulers.

1980

The May 18th Democratic Movement erupted in Gwangju against the military regime. In the following year, the 5th Republic was founded with former Military leaders at the helm.

1987

The June Democracy Movement demanded a direct presidential election and democratic reforms, and ultimately resulted in the collapse of the military authoritarianism. Vigorous labor movements gave birth to many democratic labor unions.

1988

The 24th Olympic Games were held in Seoul. 13,304 athletes and sports officials from 160 countries participated.

1989

Reunification of Germany was followed by the collapse of Eastern European Socialist countries. The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

1997

South Korea experienced economic turmoil due to foreign currency shortage. This year also marked a peaceful governmental transfer from the ruling party to the opposition for the first time.

2000

A summit meeting between leaders of South and North Koreas was held in Pyongyang for the first time since the division of the Korean Peninsula. The second summit meeting was held in 2007.



XIII

Changing Korean Peninsula, Dynamic Korea



The 24th Olympic Games were held in major cities of Korea, including Seoul, from September 17th to October 2nd of 1988. South Korea became the second country to host the Olympic Games in Asia, and the 16th in the world. South Korea became well known to the world, mostly because of its dynamically changing image which stemmed from its dramatic economic developments and democratic accomplishments. 13,304 athletes and officials from 160 countries participated in the Seoul Olympic Games.

Seoul, Myeong-dong in May 2010 We can see the energetic nature of the Republic of Korea, from each of the faces of all the lively people on the street.

People's Power in the 1980s and the June Democracy Movement

In the late 1980s, the people power erupted in many places in the world. Mass societies of citizens formed in the wake of industrialization and urbanization, fiercely resisted anti-humanist and anti-social despotism.

People's power in Asia succeeded in having their voice heard and also achieving democracy. They exploded in the Philippines and South Korea in particular, where democratization movements had long continued to bring down despotism.

In February of 1986, the Philippine people overthrew the Marcos government that had been ruling the nation for 21 years. In June of the following year the Korean people toppled the despotic government as well. In Thailand the May Bangkok Protesters confronted the military coup d'état in order to defend democracy.

People's power was also acknowledged in Eastern Europe. The people of East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Rumania founded democratic governments.

The June Democracy Movement of South Korea in 1987 was a great turning point for the Korean people. Although Koreans' wishes to build their own independent nation were discouraged by the Korean War and the ensuing division, they continued to solve problems of poverty through economic development. And they did not give up their dream of establishing a democratic republic in which people would be the owner of their own country. Triumphs of this anti-despotism struggle based upon economic developments and the thirst for democracy are now contributing to the overall task of overcoming the peninsula's division and thus creating a commonwealth nation.



88 (Eighty eight) Movement (1988)

A large scale protest joined by citizens, students, and priests broke out in Myanmar on August 8 of 1988, when the entire Asian region was striving for democracy. However, this protest did not succeed in creating a democratic government that would replace the existing regime supported by the military. Although the number of votes supporting the democratic factions outnumbered that of votes supporting the military government, in an election that was held in the second year since the military coup, the military government nullified its result by suppressing the protesters with bloody violence. Since this protest, oppressive ruling has been continuing, with total denial of any kind of a democratic procedure.

1986

February Revolution in the Philippines; Taiwan organized an anti-government opposition party.

1987

June Democratic Protest in South Korea; Taiwan Martial Law was cancelled.

1988

Myanmar 88 Movement; Foundation of a People's government in Pakistan

1989

A large scale Liberation movement in China: Tiananmen Square Protests

1990

Democratization of Mongolia in high gear

1992

Military government of Thailand withdrew due to the May Struggle.



Tiananmen Square Protests (1989)

Protests led by university students in Beijing who demanded the ending of corruptions and democratic reforms continued for about two months. Nearly one million students and intellectuals participated in the protests, but the Chinese government suppressed it through military power in June 1989.

CHINA



May Struggle (1992)

Since March 1992, anti-military government protests occurred in many large cities such as Bangkok. In May, the military government fired at the protesters and the bloodshed led to angry citizens' eruption, which forced the government to be more susceptible to the citizens' demands. In a general election that was held in September the same year, the law which had earlier legitimized the military intervention in politics was completely abolished.

MYANMAR

THAILAND

SOUTH KOREA

TAIWAN

PHILIPPINES



June Democracy Movement (1987)



Democratization Movement in Taiwan (1986)

The democratization movements of South Korea and the Philippines made a great impact on Taiwan, where despotic ruling of the Kuomintang party had long been continuing. Influences from the February Revolution of the Philippines and the June Democratic Protest of South Korea contributed to the Taiwan people's forming of an opposition party, which succeeded in nullifying the martial law that had lasted for forty years. After that, organizing parties was legalized, and the system of direct voting in presidential elections was also adopted.



February Revolution (1986)

Marcos who had become president in 1965 declared martial law to enlist the military in sustaining his own power. Since then, he remained in power for more than twenty years. In 1986, when he attempted to extend his term through a fraudulent election, the Democratic factions organized a nationwide alliance under the slogan of 'Overthrowing Despotism.' As a result, they succeeded in founding a democratic government.

Asian Democratization of the 1980s

During the Cold War period, despotic governments in the Asian region prevailed under the name of anti-Communism and economic developments. Yet, as all confrontations generated by the Cold War started to subside, such governments were no longer able to secure their own legitimacy. Students and laborers who had been at the center of all those democratic efforts united with the urban middle class and led democratization struggles into a new direction. Asia in the 1980s was a hotbed for democratization efforts.

1

Industrialization Picks Up Pace in South Korea

The Democratic Revolution of April 19th, and the Military Coup on May 16th

In April 1960, a fever of revolution spread throughout South Korea. Infuriated and frustrated by twelve years of Yi Seung-man's despotic regime, civil protests continued to take place as Yi attempted to extend his term once again by amending the Constitution.

Though Koreans at times submitted to the violent oppression of power, they protested against dictatorship through the act of voting. The Presidential election in 1956 particularly threatened the Yi Seung-man administration. So he tried to remain in power through a rigged election in 1960. In April 1960, students and civilians gathered to demonstrate demanding the nullification of the rigged election and resignation of Yi Seung-man. The demonstration shook the entire nation, and the Yi Seung-man administration eventually fell (April 19th Revolution).

Soon a democratic election was held and the Second Republic was born. With the birth of a new republic, Koreans expected the realization of democracy and economic justice while pursuing diplomatic negotiations with North Korea toward a peaceful unification.

However, the newly established republic collapsed before it could make any significant accomplish-



▲ May 16th Military Coup

On May 16th, 1961, a group of young military officers under command of a major general named Park Chung-hee staged a coup d'état. They took over the government and brought down the Second Republic which was established after the April 19th Revolution.

◀ April 19th Revolution

On April 19th 1960, Korean people rose up in protest, demanding an investigation of the rigged election of March 15th, and the resignation of President Yi Seung-man.

ment. A military regime seized power through a coup d'etat (May 16th Military Coup), only one year after the April Revolution. The new regime proclaimed a military administration, advocating anti-Communism and swift economic developments.

Promotion of the Economic Development Plan

Park Chung-hee proclaimed a military administration, promising an end to disorder and a beginning of an economic development. The first Five-year Economic Development Plan (1962~1966) began in 1962, and the second five-year Economic Development Plan ensued in 1967. Evolved in the process was the Korean-style development model, in which the government proactively involved itself in the operations of the market.

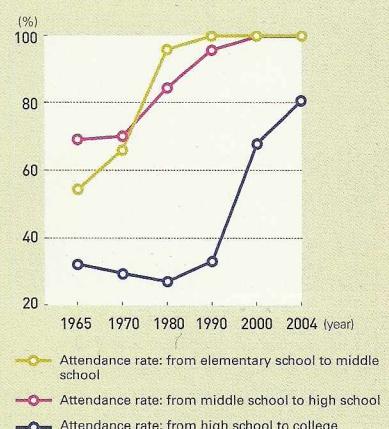
The government made efforts to obtain more foreign capital and aggressively enforced financial policies by founding a government-owned bank. The capital generated from these sources was distributed to strategic industries according to the priorities set by the government. Companies which borrowed money with low interest rates responded with aggressive investments and expansion of their pools of oversea buyers.

These companies mainly manufactured and exported light industrial products such as textiles, shoes, and plywood, made from raw materials purchased abroad. In the mid-1960s, steel and petrochemical industries took off and became an integral part of the industrialization process. Accumulation of investments and the support from cheap and abundant labor force led to a rapid growth in industries. The Koreans of this generation were armed with high self-esteem, diligent work ethics, and a penchant for



Steel Industrial Complex in Pohang

Pohang Steel Company, which was founded to develop heavy industries in 1968, hugely contributed to Korea's economic development by manufacturing steel products with imported raw materials.



Percentage of school attendance

The school attendance rate in Korea was higher than that of other countries of similar economic size. The number of students who attended middle and high schools rapidly increased in the 1970s and 1980s, and since the 1990s the number of college students dramatically increased.



The amount of export reaches \$10 billion

The Korean government promoted a strategy for economic development that was focused upon building an export-oriented industry. The industry accomplished \$10 billion worth of export in 1977. The amount of export in 1995 was more than \$100 billion.

learning, and came to witness the transformation of their own country during their lifetime.

Korea, an industrialized nation

Industrialization that began in the 1960s continued in the 1970s. The third and fourth Economic Development Plans that took place from 1972 to 1981 were similar to those of the 1960s, as they all continued to promote an export industry led by the government.

Furthermore, there were striking developments in heavy chemical industries. The government newly designated total of six major fields, steel, machinery, shipbuilding, electronics, petrochemical, and nonferrous metal as ‘strategic industries,’ and aggressively developed them. The Pohang Iron Complex, the Ulsan Petrochemical Complex, the Changwon Combined Machinery Complex, the Yeocheon Combined Chemical Complex, the Gumi Electronics Complex were all developed around this time period.

As heavy industries grew, general exports reflected that as well. The number of manufacturing industries increased dramatically, and the portion that heavy industries occupied among them grew much bigger.

City population had multiplied while the number of workers involved in agricultural and fishery industries noticeably decreased. The populace was drawn to larger cities like Seoul, as new industrial cities were constructed around there. In 1979, OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) classified Korea as a “newly industrialized country.”



Petrochemistry Complex in Ulsan

The construction of Ulsan’s Petrochemistry Industrial Complex began in 1967 and was completed in 1972. It houses oil refineries as well as petrochemical liaison factories. Thus, it formed a huge industrial complex, with the automobile industries nearby.



The Gyeongbu Expressway

The construction of the Gyeongbu Expressway started in 1968 and was completed in 1970. It became the first expressway that connected Seoul with Busan. This expressway, with a total length of 417 kilometers, serves as the main industrial artery that links the metropolitan area of Seoul with the Yeongnam region industrial complexes. Thanks to this expressway, it became possible for the South Koreans to visit anywhere in the country and engage in business, in the scope of a single day.



Free Trade Zone of Masan

The Free Trade Zone of Masan was designed in 1970 by the government. It offered various tax benefits to the companies which housed their plants and offices in Masan.

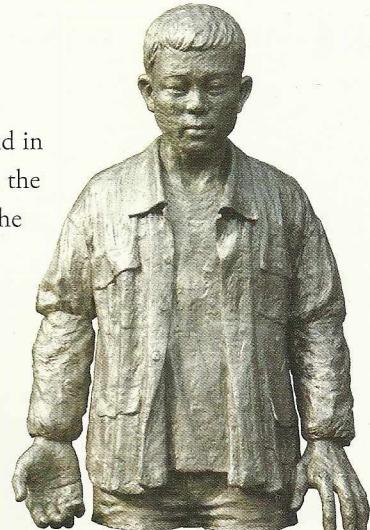
Miracle on the Hangang, Ups and Downs

In the 1960s and '70s, the Korean economy had grown so rapidly and in such a magnitude that the world had begun to call it the 'Miracle on the Hangang.' However, many problems were still brewing underneath the facade of a rapid growth.

The Korean government reestablished a normal diplomatic relation with Japan without receiving any form of an apology or reparations for Japan's 36-year colonial rule of Korea, on the pretext of raising funds for the economic development of the country. The Korean government also had to send a number of Korean youths to the Vietnam War.

Large business enterprises grew rapidly while small and mid-sized enterprises along with the consumers were often excluded from the concerns of the government. By placing priority on building major businesses' competing capabilities, the government often neglected the rights of laborers and oppressed the labor movements. Furthermore, agricultural workers did not receive proper compensation, as 'price ceilings' were required to keep food prices low enough for the laborers in the cities.

The damaged pride of the country, an economic development that continued rather not democratically, and a growth that was accomplished without sharing what was achieved, invited questions to the real purpose of an economic development. Students continued demonstrations demanding the realization of true nationalism and democracy while laborers were continuously asking for economic equality.



Jeon Tae-il (1948~1970)

On November 13 of 1970, Jeon Tae-il, a laborer who worked at the Seoul Pyeonghwa market, committed a suicide by burning himself to death. He did so to argue that the working conditions of laborers who had been suffering from low wages and overtime working while being forced to silence under the shadows of rapid economic developments must be improved. This incident became the turning point for the entire labor movement. The picture is his statue built in front of the Pyeonghwa market, which is located at the Cheonggyecheon 5th street and was also the very place where he sacrificed himself.



Protest against 'the Korea-Japan Pact'

On June 22nd 1965, the Korean government signed the 'Korea-Japan Pact' and established a formal relationship with Japan. Protests continued throughout the country in opposition of the idea of reconciliation with Japan that colonized Korea for 36 years.



Dispatching troops to the Vietnam War

The Korean government dispatched its troops to Vietnam. The number of dispatched soldiers mounted to approximately 300,000 from 1965 to 1973, as the war became very fierce. In exchange of dispatching the troops, the United States provided Korea with both economic and military aids.



Environmental pollution

Rapid industrialization which proceeded without preparation or caution beforehand caused severe environmental pollutions of water, air, and soil. It made many people suffer from illness without even knowing the exact reasons.

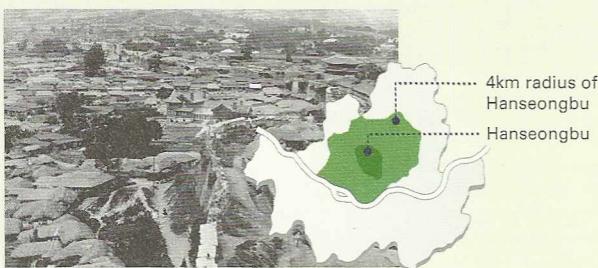
Metropolitan City: the New Image of Today's Seoul

In the middle of the city of Seoul there flows the beautiful Hangang. Since the Joseon Dynasty built its capital at Seoul, it has been the center of politics, economy, and culture of the country for the last 600 years. Many cultural heritages in Seoul exhibit the traditional culture of Koreans. Now Seoul is a modernized city full of skyscrapers, subways, and cars. Seoul is the center for administration, finance, information, and cultural activities. The total resident population of Seoul is over 10 millions today, but when its satellite cities included, the total population reaches up to about 25 millions, which is about 50% of the total population of the Republic of Korea.

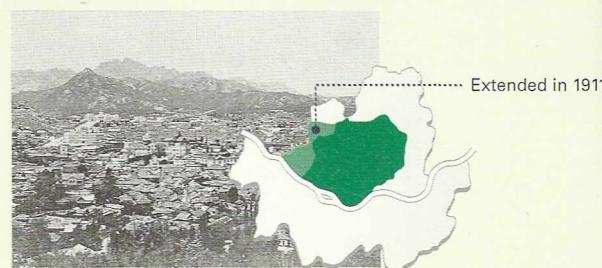
Seoul is the living proof of Korea's economic growth. 20% of the total GDP is produced in Seoul. Also more than 50% of the total finance and banking are concentrated in the city of Seoul, and more than 40% of IT industries are located in Seoul as well.

Seoul is one of the three mammoth cities in East Asia along with Beijing and Tokyo. Seoul is the center for consumer markets, facilitating airports, express train stations, bus terminals, and ports which connect East Asia to the world. As South Korea became part of the international economic axis in terms of industries, banking, and information, Seoul is now connected through the Incheon International airport to numerous areas of East Asia and the world in a fast and effective manner.

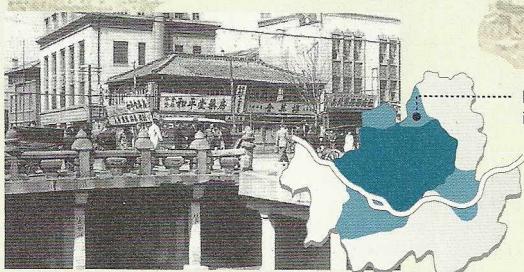
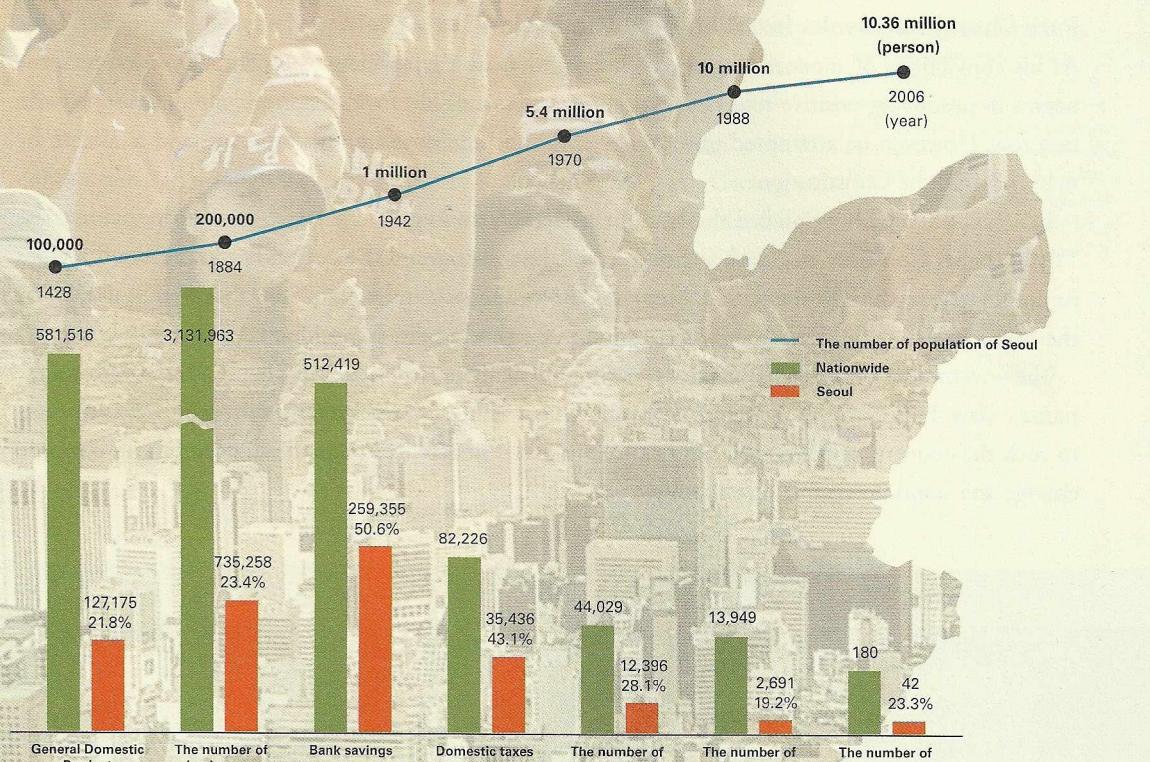
The Expansion of Administrative Districts of Seoul



The picture of Seoul taken in the 1900s

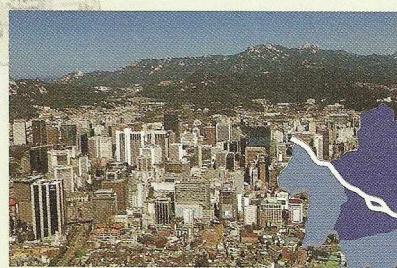


The picture of Seoul in 1930s



The picture of Seoul in 1950s

Extended in 1949



Today's Seoul

Extended in 1963

2

Accomplishment of Both Industrialization and Democracy

Park Chung-hee seeks for Military Authoritarianism

As his convictions of modernizing the country and escaping underdevelopment succeeded to some degree in producing positive results, Park Chung-hee managed to win the Presidential elections twice in a row. However, he attempted to seize power for an indefinite amount of terms, and he did so by manipulating the Constitution.

In 1972, he forcibly dismissed the National Assembly and enacted a new constitution, namely, the "Yusin (New) Constitution," with the support of the military and the police. It allowed the President to nominate one-third of the national representatives and suspend certain laws that were legislated by the National Assembly. The Yusin Constitution put an end to direct presidential elections.

The government oppressed all democratization movements and even put people to death under the name of law. However, the movements for democracy led by infuriated university students continued to rock the country, and civil activist groups composed of intellectuals and religious figures began to emerge and stand up against dictatorship.



① A Presidential election held at a gymnasium (1972)

The Electoral College of 5,000 representatives elected the President of Korea under the 'Yusin' political system. The Electoral College representatives were not allowed to reveal which specific candidate they were in support of.

② The Bu (Busan)-Ma (Masan) Resistance

In the fall of 1979, a huge demonstration joined by numerous citizens and students rose up to demand the abolishment of the Yusin system and the restoration of democracy. These demonstrations broke out in the cities of Busan and Masan. The protesters in both cities were subjugated by the military.

③ October 26th Incident

On October 26th 1979, President Park Chung-hee, the symbol of the Yusin system, was assassinated. The picture is a scene in which Kim Jae-gyu, head of the Korean CIA at the time, was recreating the moment that he shot the President.

Democratization Movements engaged

The so-called 'Yusin system' came to an end in 1979. The fight against dictatorship was fierce, and laborers continued to fight for their rights to live. The civilian resistance that erupted in Busan and Masan in October 1979 in particular, had a substantial impact on the fate of the Yusin system.

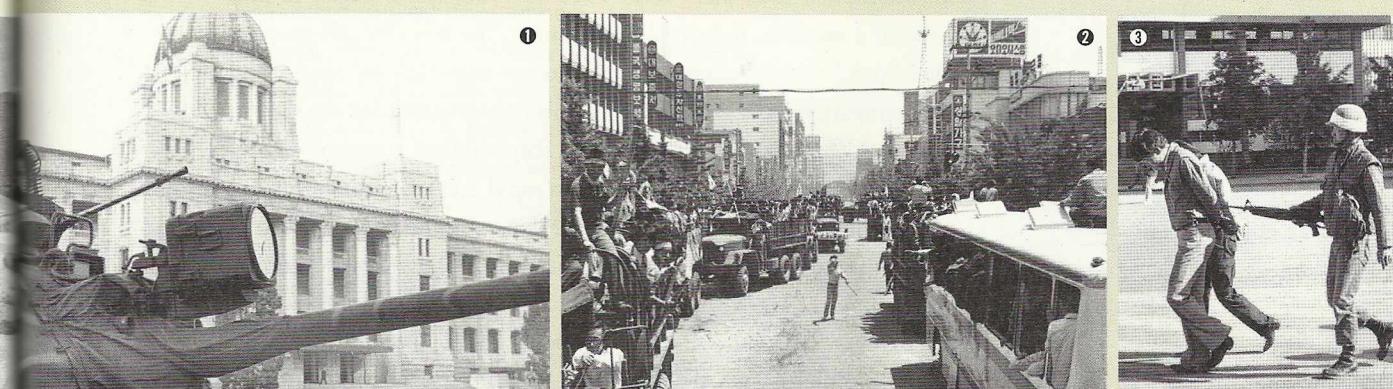
Arguments for a partial democracy within the Yusin system began to develop. Then, the head of National Intelligence, Kim Jae-gyu, suddenly assassinated the president, Park Chung-hee. With his death the Yusin system, a system which was completely dependant upon the absolute authority of a single ruler, came to an end as well.

Though many Koreans expected that democracy would come soon, it was discouraged by "the New Military faction,"⁴ another group of military officers led by Chun Doo-hwan. The factions within an overgrown military seized power by staging another coup d'état on December 12th.

With the establishment of another military authority, the Korean society once again had a tough time. However, civilians and students in Gwangju demonstrated for ten days beginning upon May 18th, 1980, demanding the disbandment of the new military authority and restoration of democracy (the May 18th Democratization Movement).

The new military faction squashed civilian protests and consolidated its power. As a result, in 1981, Chun Doo-hwan became the 7-year term president after enacting a new constitution, similar to that of the Yusin Constitution. The fifth Republic began like this.

■ **The New Military faction** This 'New Military faction' refers to yet another military faction which staged a coup d'état on December 12 of 1979. They had been gathering colleagues through the secret 'Hanahoe' organization inside the military, and soon after the assassination of Park Chung-hee they took control of the government.

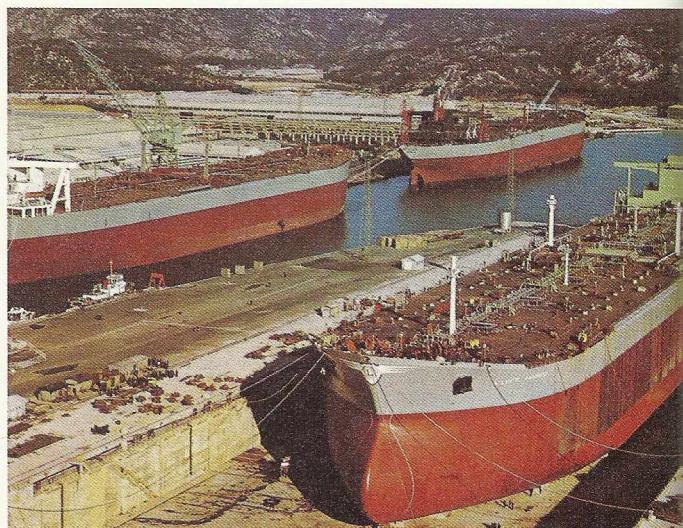


① December 12th Military Coup d'état (1979)

A group of military leaders who had been deeply involved in politics since the May 16th military coup staged a coup d'état once again. Chun Doo-hwan and Noh Tae-woo, two leaders of the coup, later became Presidents. The picture shows the tank that was driven to the Central Governmental building at Gwanghwamun by the coup d'état force.

②③ May 18th Democratic Movement (1980)

The citizens of Gwangju stood up against the fully armored military troops. More than 200 people were killed, including 25 soldiers. Approximately 3,000 people were injured.



An automobile factory in Ulsan and a shipyard in Pohang in the 1980s
Ulsan and Pohang are located in the southeast part of the Korean Peninsula and have developed into huge industrial complexes since the 1980s.

Accomplishing an 'Industrial Revolution'

In 1979, the year of Park Chung-hee's demise, the Korean economy fell into a crisis, as the investments in heavy chemical industries that continued with the government's deliberate support had been showing repeats and excess. Many enterprises went out of businesses, and for the first time in 20 years the economic growth rate began to back paddle.

The Chun Doo-hwan administration tried to overcome this problem by means of enormous financial support, forceful mergers and liquidations, and also by opening up the Korean economy even more. As a result, the overall role of the 'Jaebeol' houses in the national economy was expanded. Also, in the name of strengthening the competitive capabilities of the business, the government continued to put stronger restrictions upon the labor movements.

With events that took place from 1986 to 1988, Korea began to take the shape of a modern, industrialized country. The so-called phenomena of "Three lows," which referred to low interest rates, low oil prices, and 'low (underrated) dollars,' provided favorable opportunities for the Korean economy and allowed rapid growth of it. Shipbuilding, automobile production and construction industries led to a rapid accumulation of capital, and the economic growth rate exceeded 12% per annum. Also, industrial technology progressed dramatically and became less and less dependant upon foreign technology and capital.

Changes became evident in societal structures as well. The 'Jaebeol' houses acquired more influence and became the leading power of the society, while the number of laborers increased and its movement organizations

became more active. The number of white collar office employees also increased greatly. With the labor class and the democratic movement hand in hand, a new level of a civilized society began to take form.

The June Democracy Movement, the first steps towards Democracy

From the beginning of the 1980s, democratization movements considerably grew. Countless students and civilians held demonstrations in the streets, demanding justice against those responsible for the 1980 Gwangju massacre. Laborers engaged in labor movements as well. Students, intellectuals, and laborers came to form a unified front, and political parties also joined the democratization movement since 1985.

In 1987, the Great Democratic Alliance was created in opposition of the Chun Doo-hwan administration. Democratization movement groups that united under the 'People's Campaign Headquarters for Achieving a Democratic Constitution' held massive demonstrations demanding the amendment of the Constitution. The demonstration which began on June 10th, lasted for about 20 days, and millions of civilians and students stood against the police shouting out for democracy, and finally secured their victory, in what we now call the "June Democracy Movement" of 1987.

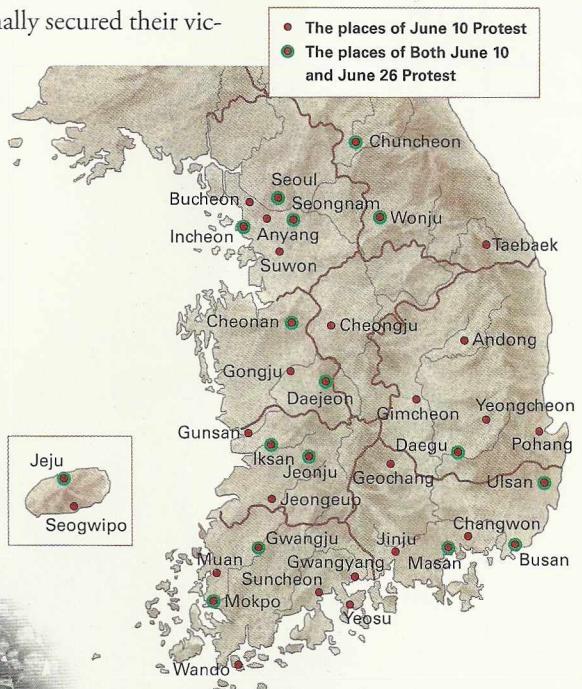
After military despotism retreated, laborers threw themselves into a struggle to form a democratic labor union. Especially, the male laborers in big corporations stood together to form democratic labor unions, and office workers and professionals organized labor unions.

Finally, the era of military authoritarianism was ended. The Korean people held a free election and successfully hosted the 24th Olympic Games, with their pride in having accomplished both industrialization and democracy.



Massive labor struggle in Ulsan

Democratic labor unions were organized in many large corporations since the June Democracy Movement. The picture is a protesting labor force in Ulsan, in the fall of 1987. Ulsan is one of the leading industrial cities in Korea.



Sites of Demonstrations Arranged on June 10th and June 26th



Protestors with neckties in the June Democracy Movement

Many office workers participated in the June Democracy Movement, along with students and members of non-governmental organizations.

3

North Korea: the Socialist Country Hits a Wall

Establishing 'Socialist industrialization'

The economy in North Korea had been steadily growing as a result of the Seven-Year Plan (1961~1967) that was implemented in 1961. The percentage of national income controlled by industry increased from 25% (1956) to 65% (1969), and led to the successful establishment of a Socialist industrialization. As a balance between light industry and agriculture was achieved, the living standard of the people was enhanced as well.

Since the 1960s, mass production of Polyvinyl Alcohol brought huge shifts to the apparel industry and not to mention people's clothes, and production of food also increased. New cities were built and modernized residences were provided to the rural areas.

With the provision of free medical care, expansion of free and mandatory education, the national welfare system continued to develop. With the establishment of institutes such as nurseries and pre-schools, the nation began to take responsibility for child rearing as well.



The Statue of the Cheollima Campaign

"Cheollima" refers to a legendary horse that was known to have run so swiftly that it could make a thousand-ri (400km) travel a day. The Cheollima Campaign was adopted as an important strategy that would facilitate the five-year Economic Development Plan which was initiated in 1957. With shortage of technology, capital, and materials, North Korea pursued a policy to mobilize all available labor forces in order to achieve economic development. Although the ultimate goal of the Cheollima Campaign was to increase the overall production, the campaign was not a mere mobilization movement that would only serve economic development. It was also used as a political propaganda to promote multiple ideas that would guide the society.

Attempting to apply the “Juche” Ideology to the entire society

The Socialist Constitution of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea is a Kim Il-seong legislation of the ideology and accomplishments behind the building of the country.

The Socialist Constitution which was established in 1972 argues that Socialism and “Kimilseongism” are the same things. It underlines an absolute trust in the Joseon Labor Party in regards to the nation-building process led by Kim Il-seong’s leadership and achievements in the anti-Japanese struggle. In accordance with this constitution, Kim Il-seong was able to position himself as the head of state and to secure ultimate power. After 1967, “Kimilseongism” became the fundamental policy of their party, namely the ‘Juche’ Ideology.

In 1974, spreading of this ideology throughout the party and the population was proposed as a fundamental goal of the government. Kim Il-seong’s life and struggle during his anti-Japanese movements became a model from which all people should learn.

Nominated as the only successor of this leader in 1974, Kim Jeong-il, Kim Il-seong’s son, secured an

Administrative Districts in North Korea

North Korea has two directly-controlled municipal cities including Pyongyang, and nine provinces. The total land size is 122,762km², and the total population is 23.3 million (as of 2008). The overall size of North Korea is larger than that of South Korea, while the population is about half of that of South Korea. Because of the mountainous geography, North Korea is enriched with underground resources, yet it also experiences more difficulties in food production.



indomitable authority within the party in 1980. From here on, Kim Jeong-il was referred to as the ‘beloved leader,’ and actually led the nation through all of its matters of great consequences.

The planned economy meets a wall

As the Juche Ideology and a notion of unity around the leader were emphasized, the North Korean system operated with relative stability. Any thoughts or imagination beyond the frame of Juche Ideology were suppressed. People’s criticism against the party and their raising questions to the supreme leader or the party were not accepted in any condition.

Then, the 1950s’ and ‘60s’ “successful economy,” which strengthened the people’s belief in their leader and the party, came to face a test. In the 1970s, the North Korean government promised complete victory of Socialism through achieving “sovereignty, modernization, and the advancement of science in the people’s economy.”

However, the technology that should have acted as the core of this promise met various obstacles. In 1979, the GNP per person was \$1,920, which was higher than that of South Korea (\$1,636) at the same year. However, in the beginning of the 1980s, the economic growth slowed down and the second Seven-year Economic Development Plan (1978~1985) did not reach its goal. At this time, the Socialism in Eastern Europe which had been providing North Korea with raw materials and foreign capitals began to subside. North Korea did not anticipate that at all.

The expected improvement of the public’s living standards began to reach its limit as well. The economic policy of self-sufficiency, and the stagnation in technological developments, did prevent the industry from achieving competitive capabilities on the international stage. Exports grew difficult

Pyeongyang, the center of North Korea

Pyeongyang, which was destroyed during the Korean War was totally transformed into a well-planned city which now reflects a Socialist ideology. The Daedonggang flows through the center of the city, and there are major buildings standing in its vicinity.



and problematic, and that led to a decrease in incoming foreign currency, which also led to periodic halts in imports of resources, energy, not to mention foreign state-of-the-art technology.

In the beginning of the 1980s, the economic growth considerably slowed down. North Korea instituted the Joint-Venture Company Act (1984) to allure foreign resources and implemented a new policy that gave incentives to business activities. However, policies of economic management that had been established in the 1950s were generally maintained, so the results of this new act were negligible.

"Let us live by our own ways"

In 1989, East Germany collapsed and Germany became one. And following the Eastern Socialist nations, the Soviet Union finally fell in 1991. Massive demonstrations kept going inside China.

Such changes gravely alarmed North Korea. Especially as the friendly cooperative relationships with their "Socialistic brothers" came to an end, North Korea fell into a deeper economic crisis. The procurement of petroleum and raw materials, and exports in general, all faced serious difficulties. And with the shortage of electricity, factory operations became increasingly demanding.

The North Korean leaders intended to break free from this crisis by propagating the slogan of "Let us live by our own ways." Pointing out that the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe was because of the Capitalistic countries' attacks and also wrong management of the ruling parties, they claimed that they could preserve their Socialist system if they united both the party and the people with their leader at the center.

To overcome the economic crisis, they took various actions to invite foreign investments. And with military tensions declining, they also made positive steps toward talks between South and North Korea's high-ranking officials. The relationship between them, which had been formed through war and competitions, was finally beginning to change.



Kim Il-seong (right) and Kim Jong-il (left)

Kim Jong-il (1942~2011), the late leader of North Korea, was designated as an official successor to Kim Il-seong in 1974, and has ever since made important decisions for national policies.