

## Contents

Introduction: The Case for Political History	I
<i>Byung-Kook Kim</i>	

### PART ONE Born in a Crisis

- |   |  |    |
|---|--|----|
| 1 | The May Sixteenth Military Coup  | 35 |
|   | <i>Yong-Sup Han</i>  |    |
| 2 | Taming and Tamed by the United States  | 58 |
|   | <i>Taehyun Kim and Chang Jae Baik</i>  |    |
| 3 | State Building: The Military Junta's Path<br>to Modernity through Administrative Reforms | 85 |
|   | <i>Hyung-A Kim</i>   |    |

### PART TWO Politics

- |   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| 4 | Modernization Strategy: Ideas and Influences                              | 115 |
|   | <i>Chung-in Moon and Byung-joon Jun</i>                                   |     |
| 5 | The Labyrinth of Solitude: Park and the<br>Exercise of Presidential Power | 140 |
|   | <i>Byung-Kook Kim</i>   |     |
| 6 | The Armed Forces  | 168 |
|   | <i>Joo-Hong Kim</i>   |     |
| 7 | The Leviathan: Economic Bureaucracy<br>under Park                         | 200 |
|   | <i>Byung-Kook Kim</i>   |     |
| 8 | The Origins of the <i>Yushin</i> Regime:<br>Machiavelli Unveiled          | 233 |
|   | <i>Hyug Baeg Im</i>   |     |

PART THREE	Economy and Society	
9	The <i>Chaebol</i> <i>Eun Mee Kim and Gil-Sung Park</i>	265
10	The Automobile Industry <i>Nae-Young Lee</i>	295
11	Pohang Iron & Steel Company <i>Sang-young Rhyu and Seok-jin Lew</i>	322
12	The Countryside <i>Young Jo Lee</i>	345
13	The <i>Chaeya</i> <i>Myung-Lim Park</i>	373
PART FOUR	International Relations	
14	The Vietnam War: South Korea's Search for National Security <i>Min Yong Lee</i>	403
15	Normalization of Relations with Japan: Toward a New Partnership <i>Jung-Hoon Lee</i>	430
16	The Security, Political, and Human Rights Conundrum, 1974-1979 <i>Yong-Jick Kim</i>	457
17	The Search for Deterrence: Park's Nuclear Option <i>Sung Gul Hong</i>	483
PART FIVE	Comparative Perspective	
18	Nation Rebuilders: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Lee Kuan Yew, Deng Xiaoping, and Park Chung Hee <i>Ezra F. Vogel</i>	513
19	Reflections on a Reverse Image: South Korea under Park Chung Hee and the Philippines under Ferdinand Marcos <i>Paul D. Hutchcroft</i>	542

20	The Perfect Dictatorship? South Korea versus Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico <i>Jorge I. Domínguez</i>	573
21	Industrial Policy in Key Developmental Sectors: South Korea versus Japan and Taiwan <i>Gregory W. Noble</i>	603
	Conclusion: The Post-Park Era <i>Byung-Kook Kim</i>	629
	Notes	651
	Acknowledgments	737
	List of Contributors	739
	Index of Persons	741

FEW PERIODS HAVE CHANGED South Korean history more than the Park era that began in May 1961 with a military coup d'état. The nature of leadership, the political parties and political opposition, the bureaucracy, the armed forces, relations between workers and farmers and their government, the *chaebol* industrial conglomerates, foreign policy—all were transformed. Meanwhile, economically South Korea grew out of poverty into an industrial powerhouse in one generation, albeit with massive political, social, and economic costs. And after the Park era suddenly ended in 1979, the reactions to what had taken place transformed the country once more.

The eighteen-year Park era has proved to be one of the most, if not the most, controversial topics for the Korean public, politicians, and scholars both at home and abroad. How much was the economic takeoff fueled by changes in the political and social fabric? To what degree was Park Chung Hee personally responsible for the transformation—both political and economic—across multiple sectors? Why did South Korea's political regime drift toward "hard" authoritarianism while its economy modernized at a hyper pace? Were these changes causally related? Why was his era marked by both dazzling policy successes and spectacular failures? How much were South Korea's successes and failures explained by its historically antecedent conditions? As one of a handful of newly industrializing countries (NICs) that succeeded in economically catching up with early de-