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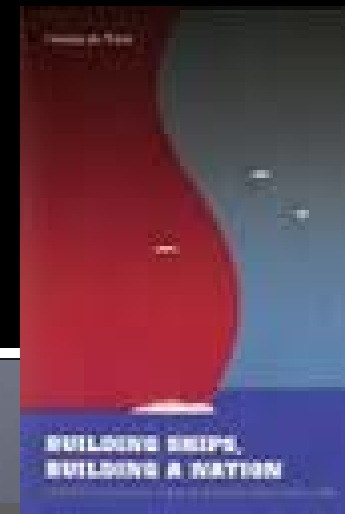
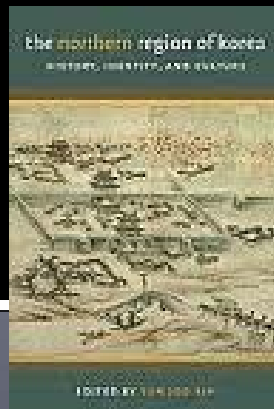


James B. Palais (1934-2006)

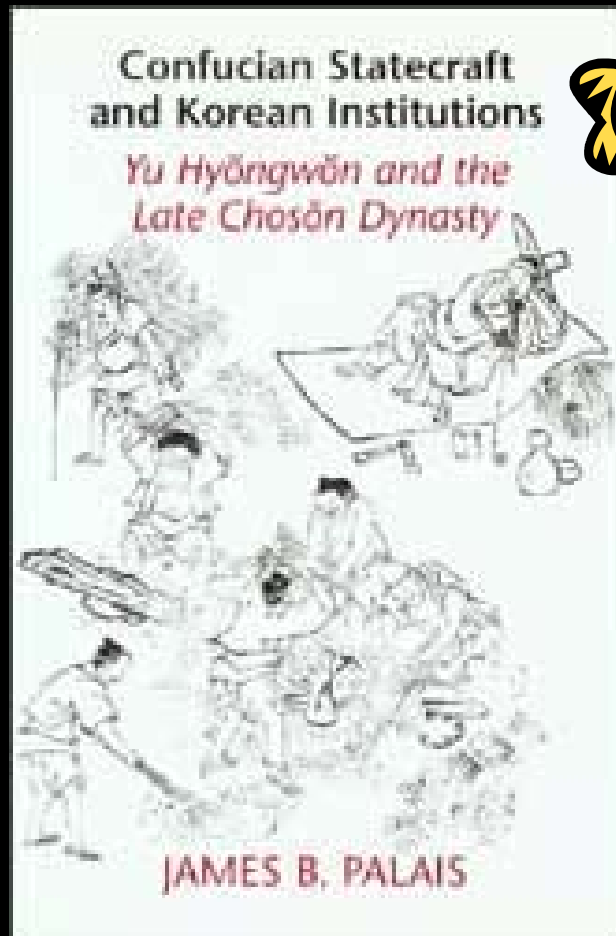




The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies
Center for Korea Studies



The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies
Center for Korea Studies



The Association for Asian Studies

The Professional Association for Scholars and Students Interested in Asia

A CENTER FOR KOREA STUDIES PUBLICATION

KIM &
SORENSEN

The Republic of Korea achieved a double revolution in the second half of the twentieth century. In just over three decades, South Korea transformed itself from an underdeveloped, agrarian country into an affluent, industrialized one. At the same time, democracy replaced a long series of military authoritarian regimes.

These historic changes began under President Park Chung Hee, who seized power through a military coup on May 16, 1961 and ruled South Korea until his assassination on October 26, 1979. While the state's dominant role in South Korea's rapid industrialization is widely accepted, the degree to which President Park was personally responsible for changing the national character remains hotly debated. This book examines the rationale and ideals behind Park's philosophy of national development in order to measure reconstruction of the national character and moral values.

HYUNG-A KIM is associate professor of Korean politics at the Australian National University and author of *Korea's Development under Park Chung Hee: Rapid Industrialization, 1961–1979*. **CLARK W. SORENSEN** is director of the Center for Korea Studies, University of Washington, and author of *Over the Mountains Are Mountains: Korean Peasant Households and Their Adaptations to Rapid Industrialization*. The other contributors are Myungkoo Kang, Young Jak Kim, Tadashi Kimiya, Hagen Koo, Gavan McCormack, Nak-Chung Paik, James B. Palais, and Seok-Man Yoon.

ISBN 978-0-295-99140-5



REASSESSING THE PARK CHUNG HEE ERA, 1961–1979

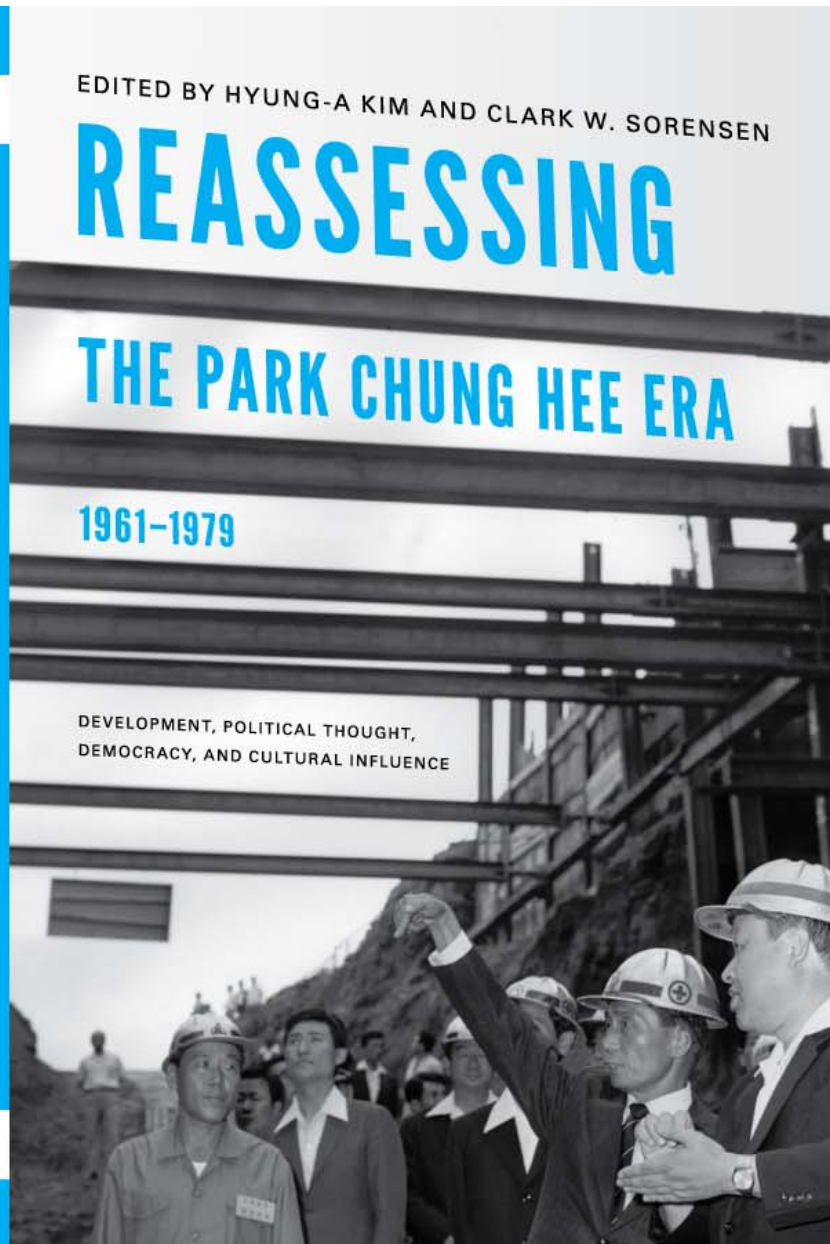
EDITED BY HYUNG-A KIM AND CLARK W. SORENSEN

REASSESSING

THE PARK CHUNG HEE ERA

1961–1979

DEVELOPMENT, POLITICAL THOUGHT,
DEMOCRACY, AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE



6

Democracy in South Korea: An Optimistic View of ROK Democratic Development¹

JAMES B. PALAIS

INTRODUCTION: THE PESSIMISTIC VIEW ON THE FUTURE OF SOUTH KOREAN DEMOCRACY

Most of the English literature on democratic development in South Korea is pessimistic. While almost all scholars agree that democracy has been achieved at the minimalist level, i.e., fair elections appear to have become the only method for choosing political leaders—the long-term prospects for “consolidated democracy” are suspect for a number of reasons. “Consolidation” requires the adoption of attitudes and values similar to those of Western democratic states that have endured over a period of two hundred years. The rea-



HAPPY 49TH BIRTHDAY!

To a
great
Father





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Carter J Eckert

Yoon Se Young Professor of Korean History
Harvard University

Carter J. Eckert was born in Chicago and originally trained in Western ancient and medieval history at Lawrence College in Wisconsin and at Harvard. He subsequently developed a strong interest in Korea and East Asia as a result of his experience as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Seoul in the late 1960s and 1970s. After several years of working and studying in Korea, he returned to the United States for doctoral study in Korean and Japanese history

at the University of Washington, Seattle. Since 1985 he has been teaching modern Korean history at Harvard, including a popular undergraduate course called "The Two Koreas," and working to build up the Harvard Korean studies program. In addition to developing the undergraduate Korean studies program, in the past two decades Eckert has also trained numerous Harvard graduate students, many of whom are now heading major Korean studies programs in North America and other parts of the world.

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John Duncan

*Professor of Pre-Modern Korean History; Director of the
Center for Korean Studies*

Department: [Asian Languages and Cultures](#)

290 Royce Hall / 11373 Bunche Hall

Los Angeles, CA 90095-1487

Campus mailcode: 148703

Tel: 310.825.3284/310.206-8235

duncan@humnet.ucla.edu



Keywords: Asia, East Asia, History, Korea, Korean Studies

EDUCATION

1988: Ph.D. in History, University of Washington, Seattle, Wa.

1977: M.A. in History, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hi.

1972: B.A. in History, Korea University, Seoul, Korea

TEACHING POSITIONS

2003-now: Professor, Departments of Asian Languages & Cultures and History, UCLA

1994-2003: Associate Professor, Departments of East Asian Languages & Cultures and History, UCLA

1993-94: Visiting Assistant Professor, Dept. of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University

1989-93: Assistant Professor, Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, UCLA

1988-89: Visiting Assistant Professor of History, Boise State University

1987-88: Lecturer in History, University of Washington

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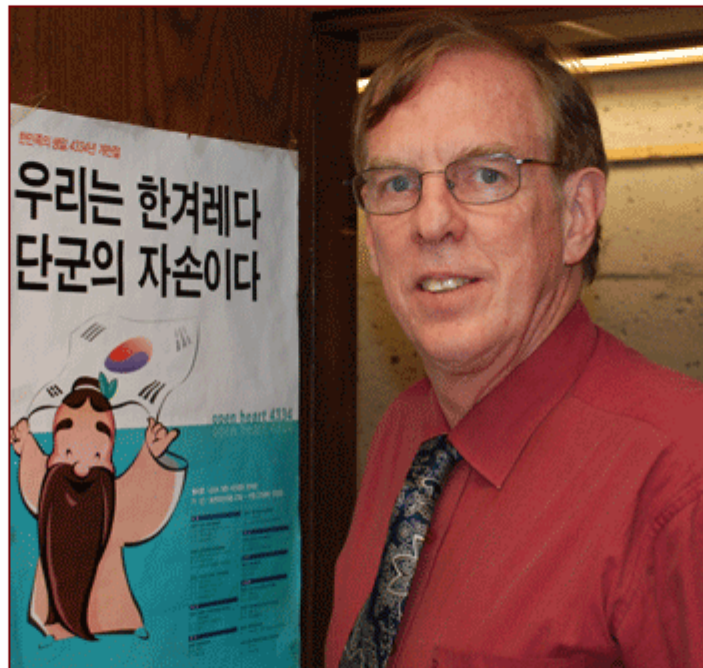


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UBC Asian Studies
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PEOPLE



Dr. Donald L. Baker, *Professor*

Major Research Interests

Don Baker studies the cultural and religious history of Korea. He received his Ph.D. in Korean history from the University of Washington and has taught at UBC since 1987. He teaches the department's introduction to Asian civilizations for first-year students as well as undergraduate and graduate courses on Korean history and thought (religion, philosophy, and pre-modern science). In addition, he teaches a graduate seminar on the reproduction of historical trauma in Asia, in which he leads graduate students in an examination of how traumatic events in Asia in the 20th century, such as the Korean and Vietnam Wars, the bombing of Hiroshima, partition of India, China's Cultural Revolution, and the killing fields of Cambodia have been reproduced in eyewitness accounts, historiography, fiction, and film.

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Hwasook Nam

Assistant Professor

Joint Appointment: Jackson School of International Studies
Modern Korea

Email: hsnam@uw.edu

Phone: (206) 685-7756

Office: THO 301A

Web:

Office Hours: On Leave

Education

Ph.D. University of Washington, 2003.

Selected Bibliography

Building Ships, Building a Nation: Korea's Democratic Unionism under Park Chung Hee. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009. Winner of the 2011 James B. Palais Book Prize (Association for



Sun Joo Kim Director, Korea Institute Harvard University

Sun Joo Kim is Harvard-Yenching Professor of Korean History in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University. She began teaching Korean history at Harvard since 2001 after she received her doctoral degree in Korean history from the University of Washington in 2000. She also earned her master's degree from the University of Washington in 1992 and her bachelor's degree from Yonsei University (Seoul, Korea) in 1984.

She is the author of the book, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion of 1812*, published by the University of Washington Press in 2007. She is also the editor of the book, *The Northern Region of*

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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FACULTY AND RESEARCH

Michael Robinson

- Professor, **Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures**
- Adjunct Professor, **Department of History**

Education

- Ph.D. at University of Washington, 1979

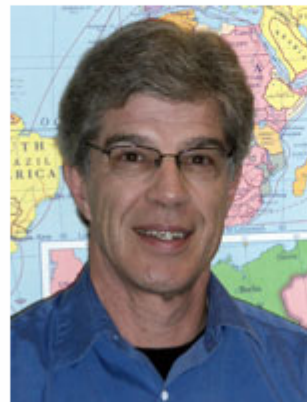
Contact Information

robime@indiana.edu

Goodbody Hall, Rm. 227

(812) 855-3635

Background



Throughout my career I have been fascinated by the modern history of Korea and Japan. While I am involved in the study of both modern and contemporary Northeast Asia, my principle studies have focused on modern Korea during the period of Japanese colonial rule. My first book, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea* (1988), explored early Korean nationalist ideology and identity formation exposing the roots of later ideological splits on the peninsula that emerged after 1945. Subsequent work shifted to focus on the root causes for how the Japanese successfully obtained hegemony in Korea and how this hegemony shaped early Korean formations of modernity. I addressed this theme in *Imperial Korea* (1996, 1997, 1998). My most recent book, *Korea* (2000), is a history of the Korean peninsula from the late 19th century to the present.

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Bucur, M.

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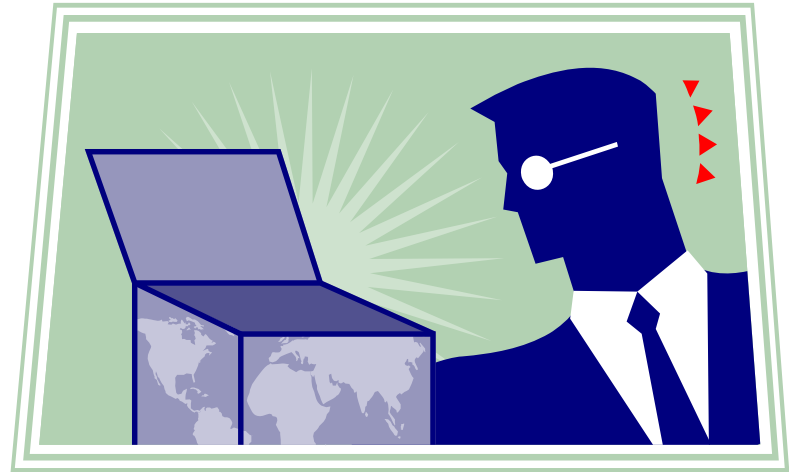
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Vision







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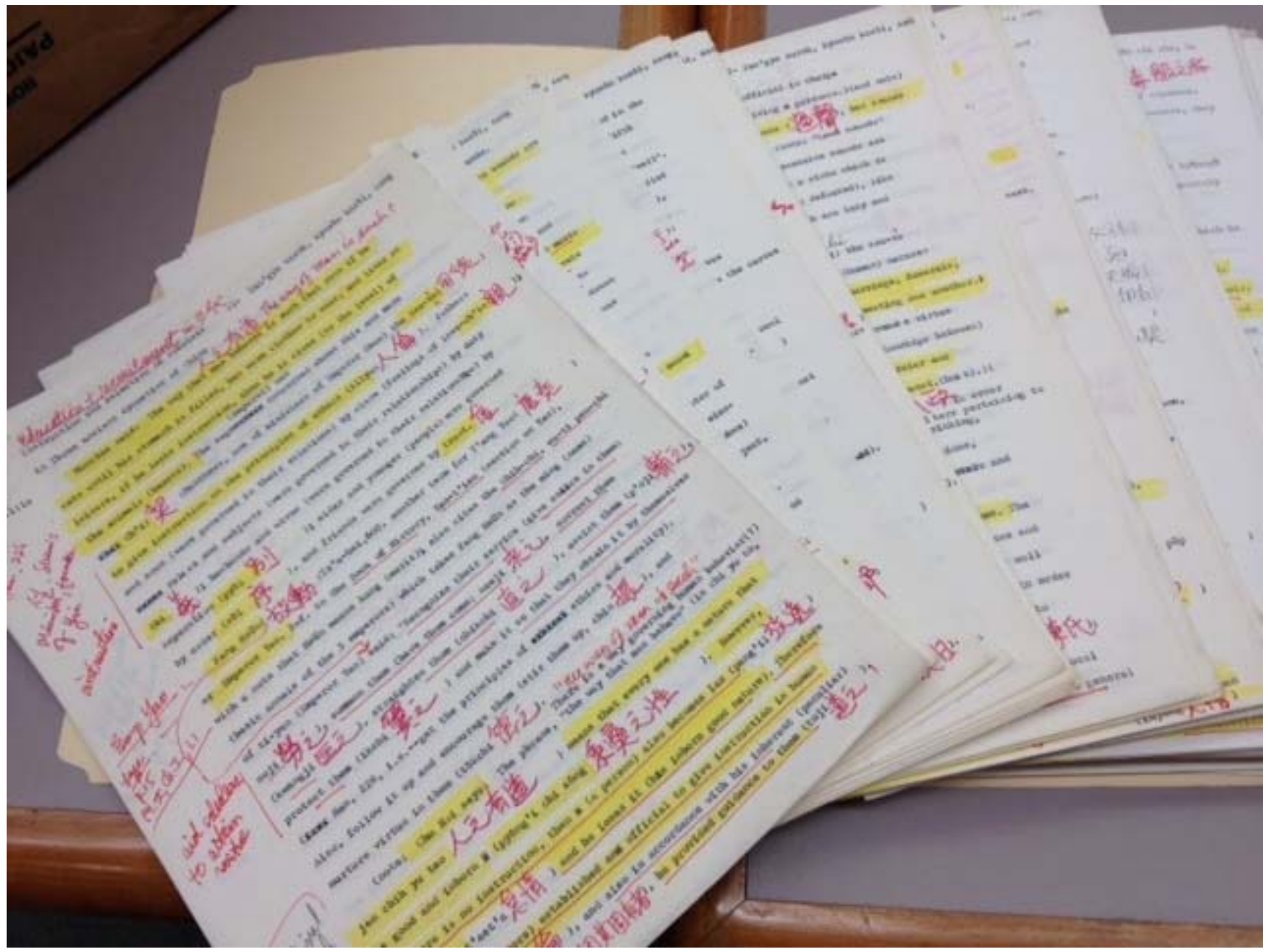


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Shunshun's research report - 2018
Introduction
The purpose of this report is to provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of research on the topic of [topic]. The report is organized into several sections, each focusing on a different aspect of the research. The first section discusses the background and context of the research, while the subsequent sections delve into the methodology, results, and conclusions. The final section provides a summary of the findings and offers suggestions for future research.

Chapter 1
Introduction
The purpose of this report is to provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of research on the topic of [topic]. The report is organized into several sections, each focusing on a different aspect of the research. The first section discusses the background and context of the research, while the subsequent sections delve into the methodology, results, and conclusions. The final section provides a summary of the findings and offers suggestions for future research.

and relation
to other
works

As these various questions of [topic] are addressed, the reader will be able to gain a deeper understanding of the current state of research on the topic. The report is organized into several sections, each focusing on a different aspect of the research. The first section discusses the background and context of the research, while the subsequent sections delve into the methodology, results, and conclusions. The final section provides a summary of the findings and offers suggestions for future research.

It is also worth noting that the research in this area has been largely limited to [topic]. While there have been some recent developments in the field, much more work needs to be done in order to fully understand the complexities of [topic]. The report aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of research on the topic, and to offer suggestions for future research.

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KOREAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

March 8, 1984

Dr. James Palais
The School of International Studies
The University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98195

Dear Dr. Palais:

North Korea has proposed a three-way dialogue which would involve the United States and North and South Korea. This represents a change in attitude from its traditional position of intransigence. Previous to this proposal, it had only sought dialogue between North Korea and the United States. South Korea is now insisting on bilateral talks between North and South Korea alone. As I mentioned in one of the enclosed speeches, I see a good possibility of dialogue developing between both sides which might involve two, three, four or six nations.

Also at this time, there is a political crisis in the South stemming from the present military government's lack of popularity among our people and the lack of democratization to which our people have long aspired.

In a word, I see great possibility of change in Korea this year. There is looming danger because of the present dictatorial rule in the South and because of United States government support for that dictatorship.

I have made some speeches which address these issues and I am sending them to you for your reference as you evaluate the situation in Korea. I really hope you will have time to read this material. I would appreciate any comments you may have to make on it.

Sincerely,

Kim Dae Jung
KIM Dae Jung

enclosures: "The Present Situation in Korea"; February 21, 1984
"The Korean Peninsula - Peace and Reunification"; February 22, 1984

The Seattle Times

Washington's largest newspaper

Copyright, 1983, Seattle Times Company

The Seattle Times Saturday, April 30, 1983



Kim Dae Jung answers questions at a U.W. press conference.

Bruce Minton / Seattle Times

August 8, 1973
History Department
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98195

Editor
New York Times
New York, N.Y.

To the Editor:

A U.P. despatch to the Seattle Times, August 8, notes the kidnapping in Tokyo of former South Korean opposition party presidential candidate (in 1971), Kim Dae-jung. While the report does not indicate those responsible for the kidnapping, the past actions of the Park regime in West Germany and elsewhere would suggest that the South Korean CIA was involved. Ever since Pres. Park Chung-hee abandoned the former constitution and established virtual dictatorial rule in South Korea at the end of 1972, his regime has been noticeably intolerant of criticism both at home and abroad. The kidnapping of Mr. Kim is an obvious attempt to stifle one of his most outspoken critics, even though it involves flouting the sovereignty of Japan.

The kidnapping of Mr. Kim should rouse the indignation of the American people, for the U.S. currently has about 40,000 troops stationed in South Korea and we are still committed to the defense of that country, which in effect means that we are also committed to the defense of the Park regime. The kidnapping of Mr. Kim no doubt indicates that that regime still does not hesitate to use the entire force of the police state against its political enemies.

If Mr. Kim's life is to be saved, the U.S. government and the American people should exert as much pressure as possible on the representatives of the South Korean government.

Sincerely,

James B. Palais
James B. Palais

'Ruthless Dictatorship' in S. Korea

Events in South Korea have convinced me that the Park government has become the most ruthless, dictatorial, and oppressive regime in South Korea since the liberation from Japan in 1945. The recent execution penalty for the famous poet, Kim Chi-ha, is just the latest in a succession of outrages since the abrogation of the constitution of the Third Republic in late 1972. Kim has been anathema to the government since publication of his famous "Five Bandits" poem attacking the corruption of government officials.

Kim has not been the only one to suffer, however. The renowned Chang Chun-ha, famous patriot, assemblyman, and ex-publisher of the *Sasanggye* monthly, languishes in jail with a 15-year sentence. The distinguished Ch'on Kwan-u, editor of the *Tonga ilbo* newspaper and scholar of Korean history, is either under surveillance or arrest. Ex-presidential candidate, Kim Dae-jung, kidnapped by government henchmen or possibly the ROK CIA, is now on trial in contravention of the spirit of the agreement worked out between the Park and Tanaka governments to leave Kim alone. Now the venerable Yun Po-son, opposition party leader and presidential candidate of the 1960s, faces arrest and indictment despite his advanced age. Many students, professors, and intellectuals are either languishing in jail or being subjected to beatings and torture.

Meanwhile the U.S. State Department remains silent despite a succession of atrocities. Committed to our new amoral Bismarckian Realpolitik, we now openly declare that what goes on inside South Korea is none of our concern. Possibly that is true, but 35,000 Americans gave their lives during the Korean war, \$11-billion has been granted by the U.S. to South Korea in military and economic aid since 1945,

and the ROK is currently requesting another \$200 million in aid for the next year. What more would give Americans the right to express open displeasure at the unfortunate legacy of our involvement in South Korea? As a matter of fact, our State Department has probably been more effective in ameliorating the plight of Soviet Jews than it has in saving the skins of democratic politicians and liberal intellectuals in South Korea.

Either the State Department or the Congress should immediately withhold aid to South Korea until the release of Kim Chi-ha, Kim Dae-jung, Chang Chun-ha, and Yun Po-son have been obtained. Those of them that desire it should at least be allowed exile abroad. And whatever other pressure our government can put on the Park regime to back off from its paranoid policies of repression should be exerted openly and forcefully.

Despite the successes of Kissinger's diplomacy, rigid and dogmatic eschewal of all moral considerations can also have its drawbacks. The Vietnam war, for example, showed how the moral indignation of the American people can prevent the implementation of Realpolitik application of force. The same will be true of South Korea—continued repression in the ROK will reduce to a nullity the chances of significant U.S. support in case of a renewal of hostilities on the Korean peninsula. These are practical considerations that both Kissinger and Park should keep in mind. For us ordinary citizens, however, the immediate issue is the salvation of the persecuted and oppressed, which our government can help to achieve by overt pressure.

JAMES B. PALAIS,

Assistant Professor,
Korean History,
History Department,
University of Washington.

Seattle.

I will not belabor you with my views on our Korean policy, since my main purpose here is to induce you to put pressure on the ROK government to let Kim Dae-jung go. While you're at it, though, it wouldn't do any harm to the cause for human justice to use your influence to restrain Park's systematic repression of political enemies, students, intellectuals, the press, and even religious groups that has been going on since the suspension of the old constitution last October.



The Institute for Comparative and Foreign Area Studies

University of Washington - Seattle, Washington 98195

Sept. 6, 1973

Mr. Henry Kissinger
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kissinger:

I don't know how much concern the U.S. government has shown over the abduction of Mr. Kim Dae-jung from Japan to South Korea, since the NYT only hinted vaguely about American pressures on the ROK in its recent articles on the subject. I did read in the Korean language press (Tongja ilbo, LA edition) that Sec. of State Rogers while in South Korea last month had refused to comment publicly on Korea's internal affairs; and I also have read the Korean reports on the August 28 US-ROK strategy talks in Seoul pertaining to the forthcoming UN debate on the Korean question.

Rogers's silence, the open display of US cooperation and support in the August 28 meeting, and the firm commitment to the maintenance of U.S. troops in Korea (even to the extent of vetoing in the Security Council a General Assembly vote for withdrawal of US forces), seems

policy of non-intervention
assessment of U.S. interests
support for South Korean economic
military presence until sufficient
from the North, and maintenance
be obvious by now that
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ies on police-state tactics
its. If the Park regime
to the U.S. and elsewhere, it
ly more "rational") aspects

a-vis the ROK--why not apply
humanity and the longer
political order in South

at you can to save Kim Dae-jung.

Sincerely,

James B. Palais

James B. Palais
Asst Prof
Korean History

