

ABSTRACT

Power Structure and State Policy in Modern Korea

: in relation to industrialization oriented for heavy
industry in 1970's

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In my thesis I propose an alternative perspective to the prevailing ones for analyzing the state power of Korea. Studies of Korean state power, locked in the framework of class relation theories, have investigated only state-capital relations and drawn conclusions of pro-economic determinism. I rather approach Korean state power focusing on the power structure of the state and its policy processes and probe the state power as an actor and power relations among various social groups that influence on it. The effects of the structure and the power relations are also assessed. The analysis of the power structure entails as a prerequisite a recapitulation of the characteristics of Korean social structure and their historical development.

Based on Elite Conflict Theory, Patrimonial Social typology, and Praetorian Mercantile State Theory, my dissertation argues that the immaturity of Korean civil society and authoritarian ruling system are the structural character of Korean state. Particular importance is given to the fact that PARK regime, with legitimacy supported by the two pillars of developmentalism and anti-communist ideology, excluding other social forces than its own, established a most authoritarian power group.

Industrialization oriented for heavy industry, was a response to rather the crisis of political legitimacy than that of capital accumulation. Political interests of maintaining the power of the regime, menaced by the legitimacy crisis from organizing the YOUSHIN system and the division of North and South Korea, produced the heavy industrialization. The state opted for concentrated investment in and support for heavy industry in pursuit of military independence and economic development. The objective of the regime's economic policy was never capital accumulation and the expansion of the forces of capitalists but nationalistic state development. But the heavy industry policy harvested the unintended consequence of aggravating dependency on foreign capital and technology. Up to a measure it originates from the state-led export oriented industrialization, but nevertheless it is not a necessary corollary. Capitalists that have grown under the protection of the state power which has

striven for economic development of the nation, have interested themselves more in speculative businesses than in productive investment and helped not to break off the fetter of dependency.

In spite of the authoritarian political control of Park regime, capitalists, exchanging their organisational power around Korean Managers' Association(KMA), have much strengthened their power of negotiation with the state. The power of social forces, with student power their center, have also been fortified. But the negotiating power of KMA has been confined only to economic issues and could not have forged a competitive group for the state power. The virtual political competition group has been the students that are best organized of the social forces. Against students, the state has employed anti-communism and convicted them of pro-communist activities and severe repression is followed. In this way, Park regime ruled over the nation as an exclusive political power group.