

Economic Growth and Political Development in South Korea:
Beyond the Structural Theory of Imperialism
and World System Theory¹

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I. Introduction

Economic growth and political development have been major topics of studies on South Korea. Due to anti-communism and the influence of behaviorism, South Korean academic circles had been predominated by developmental theories by early years of 1970s. However a skepticism about developmental theories was palpable along with destruction of procedural democracy by the establishment of *Yushin* (restoration or reformation) regime in 1972 and the economic crisis in 1974, so called the "First Oil Shock." In this context, various non-developmental theories such as dependence theories, theory of Bureaucratic-Authoritarian system were applied to analyze the situation of that time and to predict future of South Korean politics and economy, especially to explain South Korea's structural constraints in economic growth, and restricted autonomy of its state. In this context, the "structural theory of imperialism" of Johan Galtung had been applied to South Korean case by early years of 1990s. Along with socio-political democratization of the country, and enlargement of its foreign markets due to diversified and/or tightened diplomatic relations, especially with China and the EU, the "structural theory of imperialism" had lost its relevance. As an alternative explanation, the "world system theory" of Immanuel Wallerstein had replaced the structural theory. However I. Wallerstein did not paid sufficient attention to the strategic necessity of economic development which had influenced to a periphery nation such as South Korea. Moreover he did not make into the consideration the importance of leadership, mass mobilization, Confucian values such as educational fever, sprit of saving etc. This paper illuminates theoretical deviances of those two theories in case of South Korea, and searches for more valid explanation.

II. Deviance of J. Galtung's Structural Theory of Imperialism in Case of South Korea

1. Esquisse of Galtung's Structural Theory of Imperialism

Johan Galtung contributed with his Structural Theory of Imperialism to illuminate the elites' role of periphery nations with regards to their center nation, and to explain the periphery nations'

structural constraints of their foreign relations.

J. Galtung subdivides the relations between center and periphery into four different sets: center-center, center-periphery, periphery-center and periphery-periphery and defines them with harmony and disharmony of interest (see figure 1). According to him, combination of vertical relations between center and periphery nations form a radial shape (see figure 2). For example, P11 and P12 who have same center C1 do not have connection, so they do not have feudal trades. He assumes that the international society is composed with feudal center-periphery structure.

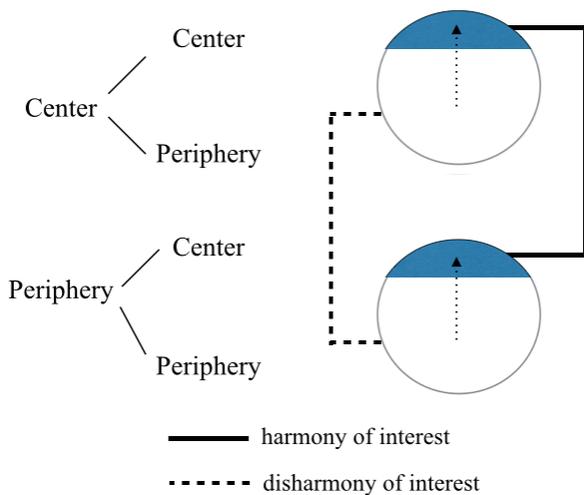


Fig. 1. The structure of imperialism

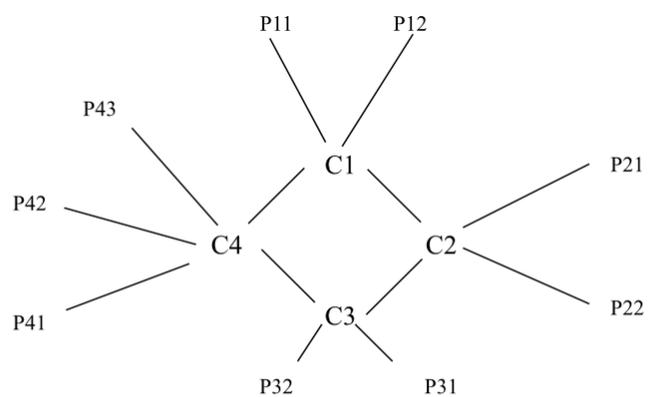


Fig. 2. A feudal center-periphery structure

As a way to testify this hypothesis, J. Galtung uses the Yule's Q methods, empirical tests of correlation pattern, based on 60 nations' economic data. He proposes GNP per capita and percentage employed in non-primary sectors as development variables. He uses GINI index and income distribution or GINI index and land distribution as inequality variables. For vertical trade variable, he relies on trade composition index. Yet he uses partner concentration index and commodity concentration index as feudal trade variables.

According to his analysis, development variables had positive correlations with vertical trade variable, and inequality variables had positive correlations with feudal trade variables. Yet there were not positive correlations between the other variables (see figure 3).

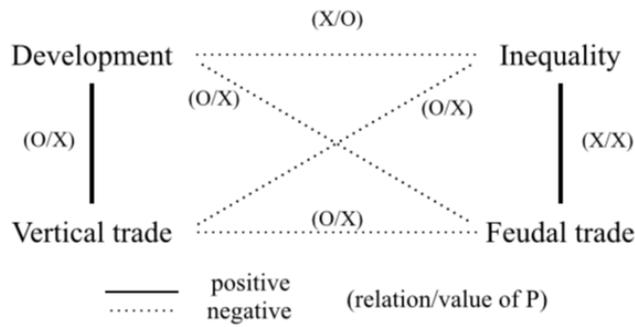


Fig. 3. The correlation pattern according to the imperialism hypothesis

As the above research is based on the data of 1970s, it is needed to retest the assumption. This paper re-examines J. Galtung's hypothesis with Pearson's correlation coefficient by means of STATA12 based on South Korean economic data during 1990-2013.

Table 1. Pearson's correlation coefficient testing in South Korea during 1990-2013

		development		inequality	vertical trade	feudal trade	
		1 per GDP	Non-primary	GINI	TCI	TPC	TCC
Development	1 per GDP	1.0000					
	Non-primary	0.9550** (0.0000)	1.0000				
inequality	GINI	0.7383** (0.0001)	0.6687** (0.0005)	1.0000			
vertical trade	TCI	0.1831 (0.4029)	0.0753 (0.7325)	-0.0015 (0.9946)	1.0000		
feudal trade	TPC	-0.2529 (0.2443)	-0.2904 (0.1789)	-0.3929 (0.0636)	-0.0193 (0.9302)	1.0000	
	TCC	-0.8487** (0.0000)	-0.8302** (0.0000)	-0.7491 (0.9296)	-0.0195 (0.9296)	0.3395 (0.1129)	1.0000

*= ≤ 0.05 **= ≤ 0.001

Pearson's correlation coefficient test shows that Galtung's hypothesis is statistically no more valid. Even the correlations between development variables and feudal trade variables are partial, i.e. only TCC is significant. There are correlations neither between development variables and vertical trade variable, nor between inequality variables and feudal trade variables. The last two sets of correlations are core of Galtung's hypothesis.

2. South Korea's Escape from Structural Constraints

By 1980s, the structural theory of imperialism had relevance to a certain extent to explain the South Korean economic and diplomatic situation. South Korea was defined as a periphery of the U.S. and Japan. Yet there found theoretical deviances since 1990s. According to the Galtung's structural view, South Korea, a periphery nation can connect neither other center nations nor other periphery nations. However South Korea got a success in setting up diplomatic relations and intensifying economic relations with China, and enlarging economic co-operations and commercial trades with European countries. From 1965 to late 1980s, U.S. and Japan were overwhelming partner of South Korean foreign trades. Yet there are obvious changes since 1990s along with increasing commercial trades with China and European countries, especially Germany (see figures 4).

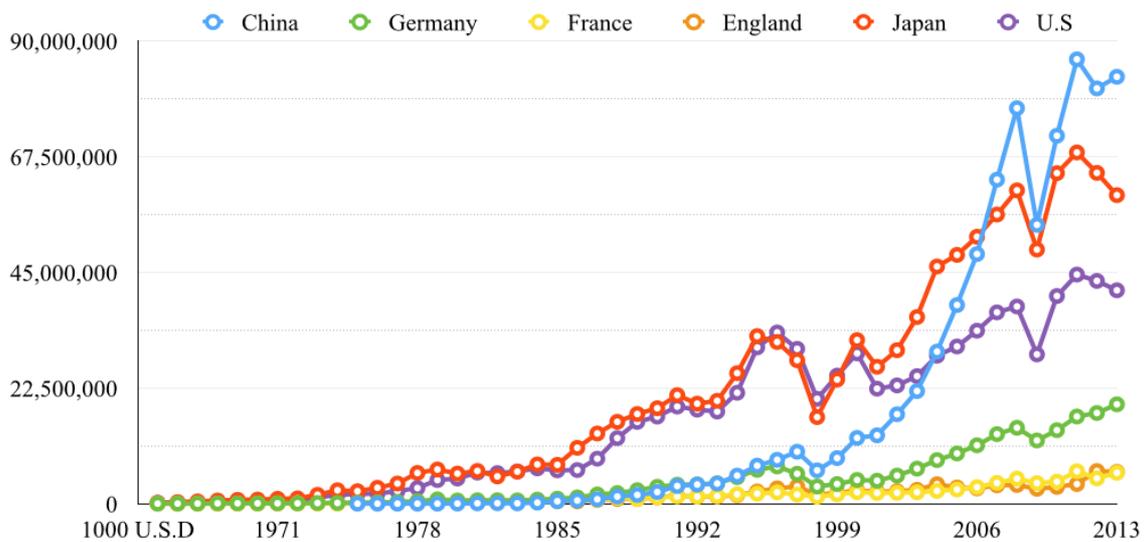


Fig. 4. The Amount of Trades by Country 1967-2013

Due to substantial closure of the Cold War after a series of collapses of socialist regimes in 1990, South Korea could proclaim *Bukbang Jeongchaek* (Nordic Politics). It came to establishment of diplomatic relations with its old enemies of the Korean War, and allowed to officialize and enlarge economic relations with them especially with China. Searching for a new world order in geopolitical and geo-economical view, the EU has enlarged and densified its exchanges with Asian

countries including South Korea.² European Commission has emphasized the importance of interchanges with Asia through a communication, “Towards a New Asia” in 1994 and represented “European and Asia: A Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnerships” for a basic principle towards Asia in politico-economic and social changes. For the EU, Asia is new areas of FDI(Foreign Direct Investment) and partner of new political order. For Asian countries, the EU is a frontier market. The increasing amount of trades between South Korea and the EU could be possible in this context.

Economic hypothesis of the structural theory of imperialism is no more valid for South Korea of today. As J. Galtung neglected the autonomy of periphery nations, he did not include in his theory their strategic choice of development according to the change of international environment, and their ability to develop their domestic politico-society coping with globalization.

III. Lack of I. Wallerstein’s World System Theory in Case of South Korea

1. Esquisse of Wallerstein’s World System Theory

The deviance of structural theory of imperialism to explain socio-economic changes initiated by periphery nations can be overcome with I. Wallerstein’s World System Theory. He assumes that the world system is composed with three strata: core, semi-periphery, and periphery. He opens the possibility of member states’ mobility according to self-development of higher value-added business, geopolitical advantages, and/or transfer of high technology and higher value-added business from Core nation.

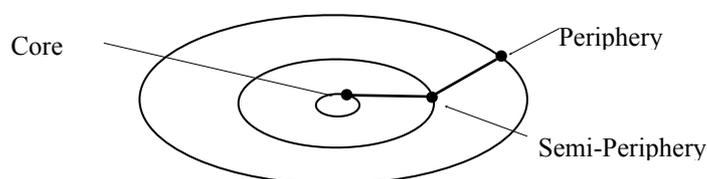


Fig. 5. The World System of Three Strata of I. Wallerstein

² “European and Asia: A Strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnerships” Communication from the Commission Brussels, 4.9.2001 COM(2001) 468 final

2. Partiality of the Theory in Case of South Korea

Even though I. Wallerstein's World System Theory contributes to overcome the deviances of dependence theories with member states' mobility and autonomy of periphery and semi-periphery nations, it is hard to avoid the critics of Theda Skocpol by ignoring potentially important variables other than economic condition and world market interests such as historically preexisting institutional patterns, threats of rebellion from below, and geopolitical pressures and constrains.³ Even if I. Wallerstein's dichotomized approach is accepted, political motivation has been overwhelming economic motivation in international society, and political functions of nation-states are more various than those of member states of the Three Strata defined by I. Wallerstein's. The most serious deviance in applying the world system theory to South Korean case is negligence of politico-military factors such as containment policy of the core, USA, in other words, necessity of periphery's political stability and economic development as a bridgehead of core's containment policy to cope with domestic communist revolution and North Korean eventual invasion.

I. Wallerstein, as well as J. Galtung, neglected autonomy of periphery's state elites to do strategic choice and to negotiate with core. For example, Syngman RHEE refuted General Motors' advance into South Korea even when an important portion of his governmental budget was composed with the American financial supports. PARK Jung Hee negotiated with multi-national firms when he introduced nuclear plants, weapons, foreign capital etc. In that sense, the "path of promotion by invitation" and "self reliance", I. Wallerstein's major concept of development for periphery or semi-periphery nations are too limited to economic sector.

IV. Unilluminated Inherent Factors of South Korea's Economic Growth and Political Development

In the political development and economic growth dealing with nations levels, there are many factors of structuralism but there are also inherent factors that making difference among nations. My research point is viewing critically theories of Johan Galtung and Immanuel Wallerstein and defining the inherent factors of the political development of Korea.

At first, my hypothesis is 'there are 4 inherent factors of the political development of Korea.'

³ Theda Skocpol, "Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century. by Immanuel Wallerstein," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 82, No. 5(Mar., 1977), p. 1080.

First is the factors of leadership of political elites. there are many research about leadership especially political elites. Nowadays, leadership is important component of organization or nation. Taketsugu Tsurutani divided the leadership of political elites by based on a kind of nation situations. He introduced the political leadership of modernization. It contains that commitment to modern ideal, political intelligence and skill, commanding instate other elites groups.⁴ Grounded these criterion, I'll evaluate the president Park Jung Hee as modernization leadership.

Second is the factors of strategy of state and mass mobilization. Korea government made a plan economy after Korea war. It is so long time to plan economy during 1962~1981 totally 4 times. The strategy of state is successful because it is focussed the model of export-initiated economy. In this strategy, it is need to mobilization of a member of a nation. Political elites used the Saemaul Undong as mass mobilization. Many of rural people are easy to mobilized because of they want to be rich life and political elites use the rhetoric about economic growth.

Third is the factors of spiritual values. In the Saemaul Undong, there are some spiritual propaganda like protestantism. Self-reliance, Diligence, Cooperation made the national character. Following these aspects of spiritual values, the member of Korea have saving fever and education fever. At that time, the easy way of changing social status is empowerment by education so many parents and woman work in industry and man and especially first sons of family was educated desperate efforts. Saemaul Undong spread out both rural people and urban people. Urban people has also education fever so Korea has advantage of labor man power about relatively cheep and well educated.

Fourth is the factors of historical and cultural elements. Korea has a features among after independent states after WWII. Same nation states has advantage about low social cost. Many nations have differ the national language and ethnics so there are a little bit quietly spending social cost for unification or integration but Korea has one the national language 'Han Guel' and single ethnical composition. There are another advantage historically. After independent from Japan, reformation of land law and Korea War make social changing rapidly so it is easy to cut off premodern society. During 1960s, there are no resistance of landlord that traditionally powerful family. Surplus labor that independent farmer input the incremental and the export and the national industry. Comparing to Argentina and other Latin America countries, there are hard to industrialized by state leading because a landlord and a powerful family in Latin America countries doesn't lose

⁴ Taketsugu Tsurutani, 'The politics of National Development: Political Leadership in Transitional Societies', 1973. London: Chandler Publishing Co., 1973.

their vested rights and resistant to government for their harmony of interest.

1. “Modernization Political Leadership”

Taketsugu Tsurutani who a Japanese American political scientist empathize the political leadership in a developing countries. He publishes the result of his research work.⁵ In his research, there are some necessary conditions of the political leadership for the successful modernization and development. He explains that it is the modernization political leadership that efficiently mobilize and unitize the human, material resources and control the speed and the patterns of developments. Followed these researches that successions, there are three essential factors for the successful political leadership in modernization and development.

First, the modernization political leaders need to commitment to modern ideas. Although there are abundant controls and skills, if the leader does not have a force of will for themselves, it is hard to achievement for modernization and development. Gunnar Myrdal said that the political leader who want to modernization and development has overflowing ambitions and desire for the realization of ideals like rationality, improving the productivity and living conditions, equality of social and economy, reformation of institutions and consciousness, and consolidation of nations.⁶

Second, the modernization political leaders need to political intelligence and skills. It is concepts that including the virtues of politics about Machiavelli but it is hard to conceptualize because it depends on situations. Political intelligence is the knowledge about means and ways for the achievement of modernization object and the ability of evaluate properly. In this context, Skill is the ability of changing and realization that the political intelligence by intensifying the backing of public opinion. The leadership of developing countries has more complex risk and important role rather than the leadership of developed countries so it is need to diversity and high level political intelligence and skills.

Third, the modernization political leaders need to controls other kind of domestic elites. The political leadership of developing countries not only the originality of values and attitudes but hold a dominant with other relations of domestic elites in politics and administration. The political leadership of developing countries should free form the interference group who are not want to develop and modernization and keep their mind for the originality of behavior and the process of a

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Gunnar Myrdal(1967), Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nation

policy decision.

It is possible to matching the modernization political leadership and the president Park Jung Hee using these factors. The cause of focusing Park Jung Hee is that he is controversy character in the South Korea history and the heart of the political elites during 1960~1970s. After Coup d'etat, as the head of military force, he represent to visions of motherland modernization and series of political initiatives to people and some of these contents are supported by people who want to well living. He wants to integrate and lead people by the ways that preemptive initiatives one-sidedly for the his visions that modernization of motherland. The preemptive initiatives include that controls by autocracy and stabilization of the people's live hood by modernization and the national security.

Park Jung Hee diagnosed the South Korea as the disorganization and economic dislocation by the lacking of leadership that the regime of second republic in the South Korea. He introduces and drives forward to policy that people's live hood and security using the model of initiative that the thrifty and the diligence and the honest leader by himself like a gentleman in Confucian ideas in spite of he shows sting disapproval of Confucian politics in Joseon Dynasty. In this situations, He stress that 'If the state is not being, liberal democracy is not existed and if not guarantee of security, there are not possession of individual freedom.' It is called the National Democracy. He has promoting the decisioned polices furiously during thee his term of office. There are many complains about the agreement of Korea and Japan after world war II, the dispatch of troops to Vietnam, the constructions of national levels like an iron mill in Pohang and the Seoul-Busan Expressway but he go ahead with a consistency plan. For these leadership, he takes a charge of many of executing process policy and inspect central government and local administration at the beginning of the year directly.

The administrative branches cooperate with a secretary's office and perform their work following the leadership of Park Jung Hee. At first, the members of military revolutionary government are fill with a former military man overwhelmingly but after Third republic, there are fill with civilian political elites almost over 70%. He assigns government officials an important position. The average term of office is 20 months and it is longer than other government relatively. In the area that needed of economical expert knowledge, he promotes the economical elites and military elites was appointed other branches. That policy was continued until 1970s and there are 73% of military elites in the area of the Construction and the Transportation and the

Communication branches but there are no military elite in the Finance and the Economic planning Board.

Park Jung Hee obtains the results that mobilization of people and rapid economic growth by the ways of the preemptive measurement that related to development throughout many of formations that a political high-handed policy. Although some of results are succeed, he do not succeed fully in the degree of commitment of his visions that democratic politics toward liberal rich and powerful nation. He failed overcoming the limitation of developmental dictatorship himself and was killed his henchman in the situation that does not executing or suggesting the policy decision for the establishing the complete democratic regime. The goal-oriented modernization leadership of Park Jung Hee maintains efficiently caused by the consensus and symbiotic relations with the military elites and civic elites but it has also limitation that sacrificing democratic ideas and representativeness in policy making.

2. Administrative Guidance and Mass Mobilization

One of the inherent factors that the economic growth and the political development is the strategy of the state and mass mobilization. The government of the South Korea establishes the heavy chemical industry promotion act(1973) and the export promotion policy that five year plan. In the late of 1953 and early 1954, the government of the South Korea prioritize that the recovery after the Korea war and also emphasize establishing the national basic industries like that the steel industry and the fertilizer industry and the manufactory of machinery. The tradition of a plan economy in the South Korea is started at 1960s. Starting with Korea Economy Reformation Five Year Plan(1954) so called the Nathan reports, it is the beginning that Tasca toward the Korea aid policy that represented comprehensive ecumenic aid plan of the U.S. for the South Korea but there are also the limitations of that plans are made by the U.S. so it is policy plan that the U.S. toward to the South Korea and that plan is the lacking originality of the South Korea. The plan economy having originality of the South Korea is the Economy Development Three Year Plan that represented a committee of industrial development under the department of Reconstruction in 1957. This plan passed the State Council but it is not execute caused by the 4.19 Student Movement and the economical changes. Although it is not execute, it has important meaning in the originality plan economy that effected to a contents of the First Economic Development of Five Year Plan which is represented by the Bank of Korea after establishing the military government. With the progress of the Fist Economic Development of five Year Plan, the military government full-scale accepts the

heavy chemical industry promotion act in 1970s.

Starting with the First Economic Development of Five Year Plan(1962~1966), the South Korea government has promoted the plan economy totally 4th until 1981. These plan economy has proceeded that fixed aim of development in a sections and the supplement of savings, investment, induction of foreign capital, formation of specialized commerce human resources for the realization of the aim by initiative the export-led industrialization strategy. In the 1970s, the South Korea government was aggressive in pursuing the plan economy for the promoting the heavy chemical industry but with emerging the global economy crisis caused by the oil crisis, the government included not the economic growth but the economic stability and equality.

The plan economy of 1980s in the South Korea has feature that including a comprehensive contents than other before ones in development of economy and society. During the 1980s, the ratio of government control about the market has decreased and the private area and the market autonomy has increased. The South Korea government represented a comprehensive economic development that including advancement of the economy and promotion of the public welfare by seeking to efficiency and equity same time. For these purpose, the name has change the economy development plan to the economy society development plan. This context affects to a follow-up plans that not simply growth in an appearance but the entrance of economic constitution and development of high-tech industry that needed a skills and knowledge for the upgrading of industrial structure and medium and small-sized enterprises that a basis for the blanch development.

In the 1990s the South Korea economy was the conditions of low efficiency and high cost, the South Korea government represent the New Economy Five Year Plan included contents that reformation of financial regulation and financial administration and awareness of the economic agents and expansion of the international market and improvement of people's lives. This plan is practice until the bailout request from IMF at 1997, effect of plan economy has decreased in the South Korea. The New Economy Five Year Plan has focused on expansion of the economic growth potential, the planning and compulsion become very weak than the others.

Although it is systematically plan economy, it is impossible that if there are no active participations each economic agents. The political elites of the South Korea use the rhetoric that a family-centered mind and communitarianism generated by traditional Confucianism for performing the plan economy. It is sufficient reason for masses who want to escape from the poverty that the slogan of economic growth. Typical case is the Saemaul Undong.

Many of researches about explaining the economic growth and industrialization of the South Korea including the new mercantilism has pay attention to the role of the state. The industrialization of the South Korea is not only economic course but also political course.⁷ There are mass mobilization and controlled by state toward to a rural community in the Saemaul Undong that a groundbreaking occasion in the rural development in the South Korea.

There are many origin of Saemaul Undong story. In the 1969 august, at that time the Gyeongsang region suffered severe flood damages. Park Jung Hee make an inspection of the one villages around Cheongdo and he discover that the village become relatively well-maintained so he has an inspiration about the voluntary cooperation of the rural residents. He thinks that overcome the poverty if all rural area in the nation has the spirits of diligence and self-reliance and cooperation like a village of Cheongdo. The next year, 1970, 22 April, in the regional ministerial meeting, he addressed ‘The government will support that if young people who have wills for development of their villages work together and the village people mobilized to promote and request to government what a not enough power. We will promote these movement, it will be called the Saemaul Undong that means new community making movement.’ Many research point out that was origin of the Saemaul Undong.

There are historical background that the Saemaul Undong was settled for example Dure of the Silla Dynasty and Hyangyak of the Joseon Dynasty and Kye that the spirit of mutual aid system in the rural residential community. In the 196~70s, the rural villages are traditional living space that solving the everyday problems and maintaing autonomous orders even the period of colony, independent, Korea war and also centripetal space of implemented in village politics. As part of the modernization of rural, by setting the basic unit of village, the Saemaul Undong took advantage of the autonomy of village community and led to a collective participation of the villagers. Competitive with neighboring villages played an important role in the movement spreading. Thus the Saemaul Undong is very original and unique model of regional development in the South Korea.

The Saemaul Undong is the spiritual and mass movements through the voluntary participation and the pursuit economical and social development. Basic principles of the movement are diligence, self-reliance and cooperation. The diligence is a spirit of self-good use that individuals and groups to enable the growth and the self-reliance is autonomy and independence of spirit to establish a foundation and the cooperation is the spirit of ensure the efficiency and sustainability of the

⁷ Cive Hamilton, Capitalist industrialization in Korea. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986

development. The diligence of the Saemaul Undong has linked to the saving fever of people of the South Korea. The diligence promotes rational economic activity that internalized the sprit of saving and inhibiting over-consumption. The self-reliance provokes the will through the establishment of their own independent and solve the various problem. The cooperation is a role of orientation of one community and based on the spirit of cooperation it is possible overcome that the Korea war in 1950s, the economic crisis in 1960s, the oil shock in 1970s, the political crisis in 1980s. Before the establishment of social capital theory like trust, network, community, leadership, in the 1970s, the government has effectively used intangible resources as a means of policy. Thus, the Saemaul Undong is the movement for the well-living and modernization and sprit of the revolutionary.

The Saemaul Undong also changes the emphasis that in response to the economic situation of the times depending on the change of the times like the plan economy. Occurred early in 1970s, the movement focused on the improvement of the living environment in rural and income growth and through the education, the movement makes people easily to mobilize. The spirits of movement in the rural area spread to the urban and become the driving force of the economic growth in the South Korea. In the 1980s, the role of government has decreased and the role of local leaders and private organizations has increased and after 1990s, like a decline of the plan economy, the character of movement has changed the pursuing economic and social development to the private sector-led community movement for role of local volunteer.

At a time starting the Saemaul Undong, the South Korea defined as a station that weak infrastructural power for penetrating the country's policies to civil society although success of monopolize the physically violent means after the Korea war.⁸ As this point, the political elites make the rural people to de-politicization and want to incorporate the controlled infrastructure through the Saemaul Undong and that was successful as mass mobilization. In these context, the correspondence of the strategy of state and mass mobilization is the inherent factors of the economic growth and political development in the South Korea.

3. Education and Savings as Confucian Values

The spiritual values is one of the inherent factors of economic growth and political development. The values of Saemaul Undong as mass mobilization are self-reliance, diligence, cooperation. These values affect to the spiritual backgrounds of developmental state in the South

⁸ Michael Mann. 'States, War & Capitalism'. Basil Blackwell Ltd. 1988

Korea 1960s.

As previously mentioned, Saemaul Undong that started in rural areas spread to urban and have affected to a life of city workers. Having stages of industrialization, education is important meaning that opportunity of upward mobility in the South Korea. In the 1960s, although low per capita income rather than the Mexico and the Brazil, the South Korea has equal or higher primary education level than the Mexico and the Brazil.⁹ Later, these education fever generate the effect that relatively inexpensive and high level education labors input industries in the country.

Saving fever also was formed by the values of Saemaul Undong especially diligence. At that time, there are encouragement of saving in individual levels and national levels for the stability of the economy. Fig.6 shows that the rate of total saving rapidly increasing in the late 1960 to 1980s. Saving fever is based on the plan economic policy system in the South Korea. The rural savings rate compared to the 60's income is about 10% but increase about 20% and the agricultural cooperative association deposit was 20.6% in the 1963 but increase 50.5% in 1980s.¹⁰

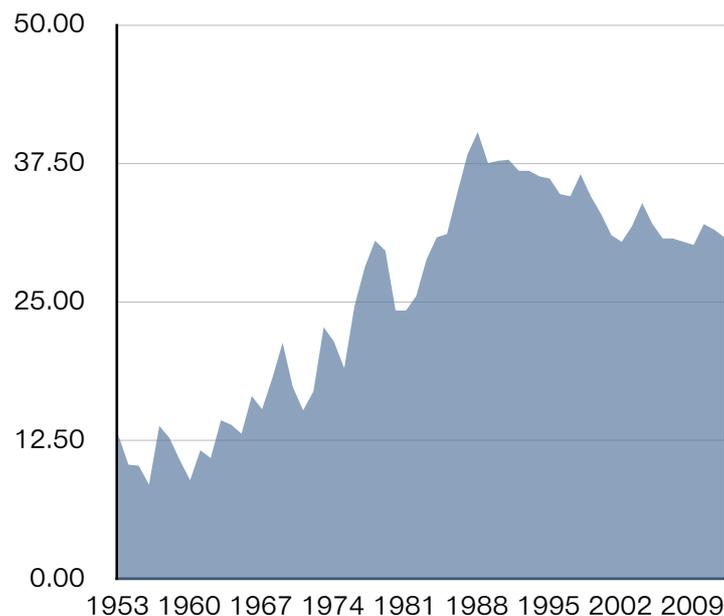


Fig.6. Total Saving Rate in South Korea (%) From the Bank of Korea

4. Ethnic Homogeneity and Easier Social Transition

The South Korea has a cultural homogeneity. Although there are damage of a cultural homogeneity with disconnection and destruction of traditional society in the process of the

⁹ Haggard.S. 'Pathway from the Periphery: the politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries', Cornell University Press. 1990

¹⁰ Central Institute of Saemaul Undong(www.sucti.com)

modernization, there are ethnic and cultural homogeneity as the factors of social integration. Especially the Confucian values are deeply penetrate in the daily lives of Koreans. It is widely spread that as the patriarchy in the family and as the factory authoritarianism in the industrial areas and as the political authoritarianism in the national level.

These the ethnic and cultural homogeneity have effects that reducing the social costs in terms of national integration. In the South Korea, these homogeneity become the foundation for important organizing principle of society formed by the collectivism values. It is emerging the individualistic values while experiencing the process of modernization but still remains a collectivism values in the family, group, nation.

The land reform has not only direct effect that increasing agricultural productivity and equalization of income distribution and providing food and raw materials for industry and labor force in the industrial sectors but also indirect effect that dissolution of pre-modern social structure and changes in class relations. It is find that mitigation of income inequality increasing the income of peasants 1/3 or more. This is economic implications and also political significance because throughout land reform, government gained the support of rural people. It is help to ensuring autonomy of government and promoting economic policy continuously. After land reform, the meaning of dissolution of landholder class is remove a cause of potential sources that a group of against industrialization.

In the Latin America, there are traditional latifundium that planing monoculture incorporated into the world capitalist system since conquered by Spain and Portugal. This latifundium is a huge farm community that the exploitation structure through debt bondage relation between the owner and the farmers. In the Latin America, land reform proceed in late 1950s due to creation of excessive population growth, labor force, need for increased productivity, increase farmers' protest movement after Cuban Revolution, press of the reform like the struggle for progress in U.S. In the other case the South Korea, there are background of land reform for the incorporating into the world capitalist division after Japanese colonial division and the intervention of the U.S. want to stop the socialist revolution. In the Third World area, it is rare that successful capital structural change agriculture to commerce and industry except the South Korea and the Taiwan. The factor of success is due to direct intervention of the U.S. for strategic importance. These countries have important meaning toward northeast Asia in the containment policy.

After the land reform and the Korea war, the class of landholder become collapse. Changed in the nature of capital as the state-dependent, other social classes are decreased and in that situation, it

is prepared that based of the developmental state in 1960s. The farming groups who are given the distribution of farmland before the Korea war suffer from the North Korea's occupation policies and

and have crack down after the restoration of the South Korean government and have conservative political ideology. Conservative farming group supported the Rhee regime in the 1950s. Having an experience with the land reform and the Korea War, dissolution of the landhold class and conservative farmers made a situation that government has initiative to congress and state has initiative to society and then conditions of emerging the developmental state in the 1960s.

V. Conclusion

In the explanation of the economic growth and political development in the South Korea, the Structural Theory of Imperialism and the World System Theory has partly theoretical gap and lacking of relevance in the South Korea. In the Structural Theory of Imperialism, there are lack of explanation that the diplomatic and economic diversity of the South Korea that the semi periphery or the periphery toward the U.S. According to the World System theory, it is explanation that a case of the South Korea as the status change periphery to the semi periphery or the semi periphery to the core but there are also critiques that only describes the economic factors. In the that theory, the cause of status change is the advantages of geopolitical inspect and the transferring techniques from the core and developing economy but in the South Korea case, there are important that not only the factors of economy but also the factors of military policy of the core that so called the strategy of promotion by invitation.

In the explanation of the economic growth and political development in the South Korea, the cause of lacking of relevance theoretically is that there are changes of social economical situation that the feudal status of the periphery to modernization status in the South Korea through the inherent developmental factors. Without these the inherent developmental factors, it is hard to argument that the explanation of the economic growth and political development completely.

For the theorizing work of the economic growth and political development with validity, it is need to not only approaches of structuralism but also approaches of the defining inherent factors. In the South Korea case, there are some mixed factors that the leadership of the political elites, the strategy of state and correspondence of mass mobilization, the spiritual values like the saving fever and education fever and the historical and cultural elements that effects of ethnic and cultural

homogeneity and land reformation and the Korea war.

Notwithstanding long time colonial situation and suffer the ravages of Korea War, under the duplication hegemony of U.S. and Japan, developmental authoritarian regime of Korea focused on the export-imitated economy success to making strategy of industry. Based on that economic success, Korea regime has changed democratic ways reliably. It is hard to generalization for a development model and law because there are some distinctiveness in the South Korea. Although there are some hard point, if defining the general principle, it is good role model of the economic growth and political development for the emerging independent state after World War II.

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