

ing, and Menderes began to adopt more authoritarian policies in a bid to retain power. In May 1960 a group of officers overthrew the DP government. The DP was shut down, and Bayar and Menderes were both tried for charges ranging from corruption to crimes against the nation. Menderes was convicted and executed; Bayar served six years in prison. The DP's agenda was adopted by the Justice Party, which held power in the late 1960s and 1970s.

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DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PARTY—JAPAN In 1960 the right wing of the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) split off, and the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) was formed. Three issues divided the left and right wings of the JSP. One was the far-left faction's continued adherence to the goals and tactics of Marxism, such as the elimination of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' state by means of violent revolution. The second issue was the right's support for the existence of the Japanese military (the Self-Defense Force), and the third was its interest in an expanded security role for Japan in international affairs by being a more active partner with the United States and by taking a more visible role in international organizations.

The DSP moved away from doctrinaire socialism and toward centrism, accepting private enterprise instead of public ownership of the means of production and emphasizing welfare issues. It saw its role primarily as a coalition partner with other moderate parties such as the Clean Government Party. The DSP drew support from labor and in particular the federation of unions representing industrial and trade workers mostly from the private sector.

In several elections, the DSP tried to present itself to voters as an alternative to the Liberal Democratic Party. The strategy worked in that LDP losses translated into DSP gains and vice versa. In the party realignments of the 1990s, the DSP was unable to make headway. Smaller parties were joining with each other to form new parties and the DSP was no exception. In 1993, the party disbanded and its members joined the New Frontier Party.

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DEMOCRATIZATION—SOUTH KOREA

South Korea's movement from authoritarian rule toward a more democratic form of government has been a record of irregular progress since the nation developed political independence in 1948. The movement toward democracy has been interrupted by the involvement of high-ranking military officers who have seized power in times of crisis, but a central group of opposition candidates have, over time, led the nation from authoritarian rule to a more democratic system.

Korea's First Elections

Korea's first elections were held in 1948. In that year, United Nations-sponsored elections were to be held in all of Korea, but the election was not permitted to be carried out in the Soviet-controlled north. The election, held in the U.S.-controlled south, chose a National Assembly that wrote a constitution and appointed Korea's first president, Yi Seung-man, known in the West as Syngman Rhee (1875–1965). While the president was indirectly chosen in this first election, he governed, according to the constitution, at the will of the National Assembly. When the Assembly sought to remove Rhee from office in 1952, however, he declared martial law and forced into effect a revision to the constitution that called for direct election of the president.

Rhee was elected by popular vote in 1952, and in 1954 the constitution was revised to permit him to run for an unlimited number of terms. He was reelected in 1956 (after his opponent died of a heart attack ten days before the election) and again in 1960 (when another opponent died just before the election); however, because of widespread suspicion over balloting, Rhee resigned, and a new constitution, placing executive power in the hands of a prime minister, was drafted. In July 1960, Chang Myon (John Myon Chang) was chosen as the prime minister of the Second Republic.

Political Difficulties in the 1960s and 1970s

Economic difficulties in 1960 led to political difficulties for the new regime, and in May 1961 General Park Chung Hee (1917–1979) seized power in a coup organized by Colonel Kim Jong-pil (b. 1926). A new constitution approved in late 1962 returned power to the president (who was to be elected by popular vote) and diminished the power of the National Assembly.

Park left the military to seek election in 1963 and was elected that year and subsequently reelected in 1967 and 1971. In the 1971 election, Park was nearly defeated by the opposition leader Kim Dae Jung (b. 1925), who received 45 percent of the vote. Kim Dae Jung lost votes to another opposition candidate, Kim Young-sam (b. 1927). President Park named Kim Jong-pil as his prime minister.

President Park subsequently declared martial law in South Korea and in October 1972 instituted the Yushin (Revitalization) constitution, which provided for election of the president through an electoral college, ending direct election of the president.

During this period of martial law, Kim Dae Jung was in Japan; in 1973, he was kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel by agents of the South Korean government and smuggled back to South Korea, where he was placed under house arrest. He was arrested for subversive activities in 1976 and sentenced to five years in prison but was released in 1978 for health reasons.

President Park was elected by an electoral college in 1978 for a six-year term, but was assassinated by the head of his own Korea Central Intelligence Agency in 1979. In accordance with the Korean constitution, Prime Minister Choe Kyu-ha (b. 1919) became acting president and declared martial law. Within a few days, President Choe began the release of political prisoners (including Kim Dae Jung) from house arrest and prison and subsequently pardoned hundreds.

Political Repression in the 1980s and the Beginning of Democracy

The officer in charge of the investigation of Park's assassination, Lieutenant General Chun Doo Hwan (b. 1931), began to consolidate his power within the military and seized power from Choe in May 1980; Choe retained his position as president, but Chun held actual power, leading to massive protests in the city of Kwangju. Chun authorized the use of the military to put down the riots and retake control of the city. Hundreds of citizens were killed in the fighting, and Kim Dae Jung was arrested and sentenced to death as a protest leader (his sentence was later commuted to twenty years, and he was released in exile to the United States). Chun rose to four-star rank, retired from the military, and was named president by the electoral college in August 1980.

Under a new constitution, President Chun was reelected to a single seven-year term in February 1981. Kim Young-sam, was placed under house arrest for two years. Kim Dae Jung returned to Korea in 1985 and was placed under house arrest with his civil rights



In October 2000 South Korean students protest and block the arrival of former president Kim Young-sam at Korea University. They hold pictures of people who died during his presidency. (REUTERS NEWMEDIA INC./CORBIS)

suspended. As this political repression was taking place, South Korea hosted the 1986 Asian Games and prepared for the 1988 Olympic Games.

South Korea's democratization is often said to have started with the election of President Roh Tae Woo (b. 1932) in 1987. A new constitution that year provided for the first direct election of a president since 1971, the others having been conducted with an electoral college similar to that in the United States. However, Roh was a former army general, a classmate of Chun Doo Hwan at the Korean Military Academy, class of 1955, and had been in charge of the military forces that had put down the protests in Kwangju in 1980.

The 1987 electoral campaign was hotly contested, and the primary opposition candidate, Kim Young-sam, led in some polls late in the campaign. In what was claimed to be an act of good will, President Chun restored Kim Dae Jung's civil rights late in the campaign. Kim Dae Jung declared himself a candidate for the election, which split the opposition vote between himself, Kim Young-sam, and Kim Jong-pil. This division of the opposition vote allowed Roh to win the election with 8.2 million votes. Kim Young-sam received 6.3 million, while Kim Dae Jung received 6.11 million. Once again, a former general had come to power, although this time by more democratic means. During Roh's administration, his former political rival Kim Young-sam brought his political party into a coalition with Roh's.

South Korea's Government in the 1990s

In 1992, South Korea elected its first president since Syngman Rhee who had not been in the military, and Kim Young-sam won with 42 percent of the

vote. Kim's main competitors were Kim Dae Jung, who received 34 percent of the vote, and Chung Ju-young, the founder of the Hyundai Group, an industrial conglomerate. President Kim initiated a campaign against corruption in government, asserting that no official should profit from his or her position. To this end, in 1995, the former presidents Chun and Roh were tried and convicted of mutiny, treason, and corruption. Chun was sentenced to death (later reduced to life in prison) and Roh to twenty-two years in prison (later reduced to seventeen years).

In the national elections of 1997, Kim Dae Jung was elected president, winning over 40 percent of the popular vote. Kim's popularity was based largely on his continued role in opposition to past administrations, despite accusations of his being pro-North Korea. One of his first actions was to pardon the former presidents Chun and Roh, who were present at his inauguration.

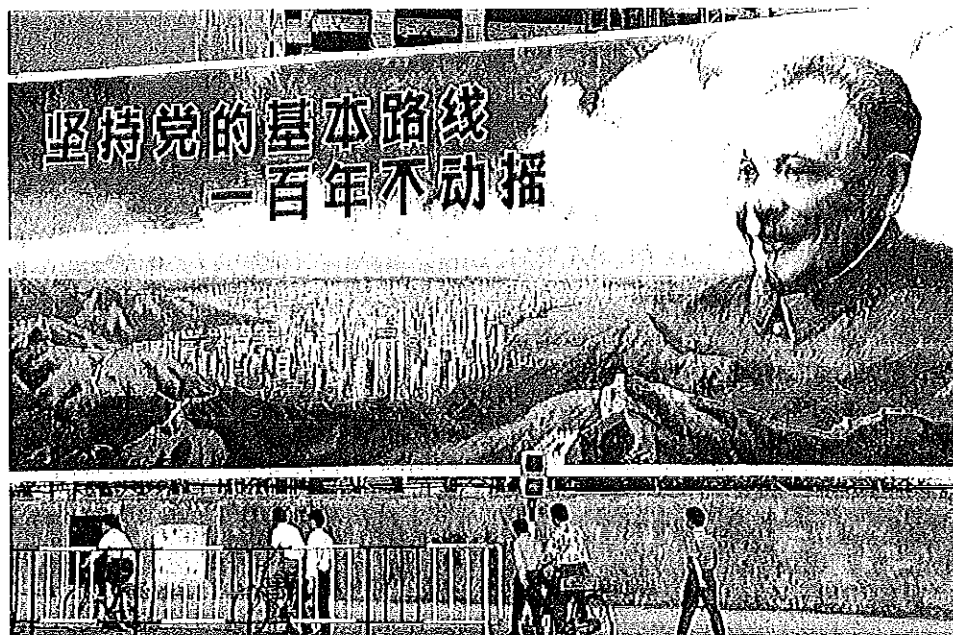
Kim Dae Jung held a summit meeting with North Korea's leader, Kim Jong Il (b. 1941) in June 2000, the first summit ever between the leaders of North and South Korea, and reestablished cross-border family reunions. Advances in public welfare, human rights, and the economy were primary goals of his administration. However, he has been criticized for his government's hard line on labor issues.

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DENG XIAOPING (1904–1997), leader of the Chinese Communist Party. Deng Xiaoping, head of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) during the 1980s, survived the purges of the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976 to assume the party leadership. The eldest son of a prosperous landlord, he was born on 22 August 1904 in Paifang Village, Sichuan Province. Like many of his contemporaries, Deng went to France through the work-study program, where he became involved with what would be the future leadership of the CCP. Following his time in France, Deng went to Moscow, where he trained as a political activist and organizer. After working briefly as Communist Party organizer in Southwest China, Deng moved to the Kiangsi Soviet to be with party leader Mao Zedong (1893–1976). From 1938 to 1952, Deng served in the forerunner of what would later be the People's Liberation Army, where he led forces against



A billboard in Shenzhen features Deng Xiaoping and reads: "Uphold the party's fundamental line—we will not waver in a hundred years." (EYE UBIQUITOUS/CORBIS)