NATIONALISM AS A FACTOR IN INTER-KOREAN RELATIONS: 1997-2007

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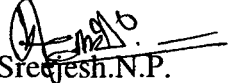JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**Nationalism as a Factor in Inter-Korean Relations: 1997-2007**" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

GLOSSARY

Choguk kundaehwa	-Modernization of the Fatherland
Choson minjok chuui	- The Korean nation as number one
Dong-a Ilbo	- East Asia Daily
Hunminjeongeum	- Letters for the Proper Instruction of the People
Kaehwadang	-The Party of Enlightenment and progress
Kidokkyo Sasang	-Christian Thought
Minjung	-The Mass of the People
Rodong Sinmun	-Newspaper of the workers
Segyehwa Ch'ujin Wiwonhoe	-The Committee to Advance Globalisation
Silhak	-Practical Learning
Taehan min'guk	-The Republic of the Great Han Race
The Chosun Ilbo	-Korean Daily News
The Hankyoreh	-The Korean Race
Tonghak	-Eastern Learning
Tongnip Sinmun	-The Independent
Uri nun hana	-We are One
Urisik sahoe chuui	- Socialism in Our Style

PREFACE

The proposed study aims to understand the nature and development of inter-Korean relationships. Specifically, the study seeks to analyse the role of nationalism as an important determining factor in these developments in the post-Cold War scenario. The end of the Cold War and advancing globalisation in the 1990s prompted predictions that nationalism would weaken around the world. Instead, the new digital age has helped to strengthen links among ethnic communities scattered across the national borders. This paradigm has created new trend and discourses on nationalism in Korea with the resurgence of pan-Korean nationalistic awareness among the Koreans. The history of modern Korean nationalism was complex, mainly because of the ideological and political divisions of the cold war times. The historical roots of Korea as a nation were complex, on the one level, in manner similar to many other nations in Asia and elsewhere in the world, the concept of Korean people as a nation (minjok) can be traced to a legendary founder was named *Tangun*. For most Korean nationalists *Tangun* is far more ethnically reasonable and emotionally popular.

Until Japan's annexation, Korean nationalism remained rather passive. However the Japanese colonial racism had been tried to assimilate the Korean identity within the broader frame of Japanese in terms of social, cultural, and ethnically. In response to imperial notion, Korean nationalism advocated the purity and distinctiveness of the Korean national identity. Since then it acquired new dimensions and became more robust. During the Cold War period nationalism on both side of the Korean peninsula was mainly determined by the two ideological positions such as anti-Communism in South Korea and anti-Americanism in North Korea. The end of the Cold War and expansion of the globalization have brought new focus to the dynamics of nationalism. In the South, the 1997-98 financial crisis and the harsh conditions of IMF's bailout programme have once again stimulated sentiments of nationalism. At the same time North Korea experienced continuous turmoil (in the 1990s). The death of Kim Il-Sung, chronic food shortage and famine, and international pressure over its nuclear programme has forced it to reevaluate the Socialist ideology and foreign policy. In 2000, the inter-Korean historical summit paved the way to develop intra-national cooperation, peace and prosperity between

the two Koreas. The younger generations in South Korea is playing an important role to maintain inter-Korean relations through forging strong sense of nationalism.

The resurrection of pan-Korean nationalism is closely related with changing notions of national identity that has been emphasising on Korean cultural heritage and common ethnic identity among South and North Korea. Belief in a unitary ethnic nation has produced an intensely felt collective sense of "oneness" and has performed verity of roles and functions in modern Korea. Ethnic nationalism functioned as an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ideology regarding the modern history of Korea. Korean civil society has given some new impetus to such an official identity by promoting anti-Americanism and *minjung* nationalism. Major example is the candlelight vigils over the US Army traffic accident that killed two schoolgirls. In the post-Cold War North Korea, the tomb of national founding father *Tangun was* excavated in the 1990s as national history and cultural heritage were given new attention. The anti-imperialist nationalist sentiment is more pronounced in North Korea, which stresses the importance of ethnic identity in the struggle for "national survival." While analysing the parameters of Korean nationalism, one can argue that Koreans still maintain a strong sense of ethnic homogeneity based on shared blood and ancestry and nationalism continues to function as a key resource in Korean politics and foreign relations.

The quest for a strong national identity has also been very influenced by the ideas of shared language and cultural heritage. In this context, the emerging claims on the superiority of Korean language and the assertion of a pan-Korean identity based on it can be seen as symbolic dimensions of national feelings. In the era of globalisation, contrary to the general expectations of the possible erosion of linguistic and national boundaries, one can argue that linguistic identity has to play an important role in the discursive formation of a pan-Korean identity. Since both Koreas have to cope with internal and regional frictions, each could use the efforts made to minimize those domestic societal divisions as a paradigm for pan-national efforts to develop an appreciation for cultural cohesion. Moreover, South Korean political progressives gained traction during the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun regimes. They creatively questioned the stalemate in the inter-Korean dialogue efforts that had been considerably slim prior to this stage. More effectively opened the South Korean

intellectual marketplace more than it had been previously to listening to North Korean nations of what might be desirable. This changed milieu became evident in the bold initiative launched by Kim Dae-jung when he assumed the presidency in early 1998, in the form of his "Sunshine Policy." It had opened the historical engagement with North Korea. President Roh persisted in using a modified form of the Sunshine Policy; it relabeled the "Policy for Peace and Prosperity."

Scope of the Study

However, the existing literature on Korean nationalism has some serious limitations in terms of its failure to understand the complexities of nationalism and its determining factors. It is possible to single out some important weaknesses of the dominant notions of Korean nationalism. On the one hand, most of the studies on nationalism have a tendency to reduce the nuances of national identity into the realm of ideological clashes between Capitalism and Communism and also a mere response to outside interventions. On the other hand, these studies have not been paid enough attention to the role of the factors like ethnicity and language as the catalyst in the generation of national consciousness. In reality, however, Korean peninsula had been undergone a complex histories of identity claims which based on ethnicity, language and heritage and most of the time these factors had helped to imagine a "national community." In such manner, the present study is an attempt to explore these undertheorised elements of Korean nationalism within the background of an emerging inter-Korean relation.

Several factors have been playing an important role in restructuring the inter-Korean relations, in which nationalism is considering as a core. The present study seeks to analyse how Korean nationalism functions to improve the relationship between South Korea and North Korea. In order to analyse the key elements of the nationalism in shaping inter-Korean relations this study examines the chief characteristics of traditional Korean nationalism in the Korean peninsula. For that purpose, it is important to understand the essential role of ethnicity and language within nationalism; nature of anti-colonial and anti-imperial nationalism and its close relation with national liberation movement; turn and twist of Korean nationalism until present scenario. More recently, in South Korea, the emergence of an affluent middle

class and a democratised society has created a sense of proud among young Koreans, particularly about their Korean nationality. They embrace this ethnic nationalism and it has two important dimensions. On the one hand, they have an assertive nationalism (anti-American feelings) towards the United States, and on the other hand, inter-Korean nationalism (pan Korean nationalism) with the people of North Korea.

Objectives of the Study

1. To explore the historical trajectory of Korean nationalism and also to understand the nature and characteristics of it.

2. To understand the major twists and turns of Korean nationalism and its impact on both Koreas.

3. To conceptualise the role of nationalism in the post-Cold War inter-Korean relations.

Research Questions

1. What are the linkages between nationalism and the evolution of inter-Korean relations?

2. Is nationalism a constructive force in the inter-Korean relations during the post-Cold War period?

Hypotheses

1. Nationalism with its ethnic and linguistic dimensions has been providing robust impetus to softening the inter-Korean relations in the post-Cold War period.

2. This process has brought new possibilities for building peace and prosperity in the Korean peninsula.

Methodology

The present study will be based on historical and analytical method. The sources of this study primarily are books, journal article and internet resources also will be utilised. The study will employ insights from various sociological and cultural theories to unravel the complexities of inter-Korean relationships and the role of

nationalism in the context of peace building processes in the peninsula. This study is limited in a qualitative framework. Therefore the present study will be considered the major works on nationalism in general and the Korean nationalism in particular.

Chapterisation

This study has been divided into five chapters. The first and fifth chapters are introduction and conclusion respectively. The introductory part of the study tries to give an overview of Korean nationalism and its linkages with emerging inter-Korean relations. The second chapter titled, "Understanding Nationalism: Theoretical Issues" discusses the contemporary debates on nationalism from various theoretical vantage points like modernists and ethno-symbolists perspectives on nationalism. This chapter will also examine the broader theoretical frameworks of Anthony D. Smith (the ethnic origin of nation and ethnic revival) and Benedict Anderson's (imagined political community) in the context an emerging post-Cold War ethnic nationalism. This chapter will also try to conceptualise the imperatives of Korean nationalism within the abovementioned theoretical framework. The third chapter, "Korean Nationalism: Its Past and Present" gives a detailed account of historical developments of Korean nationalism and the evolution of the idea of a modern Korean nation. Extensively, this part has gone to explore the Korean ethnic and linguistic nationalism with classification of three important stages such as historical origin, during the colonial period and post-liberation time especially the Cold War era. The chapter fourth, entitled, "The role of Nationalism as a key Factor in inter-Korean Relations" seeks to evaluate the influential role of nationalism in the recent developments of inter-Korean relationships. Particularly, an attempt has been made to examine the role of ethnicity and language as an important determining factor in the shaping of post-Cold War relationships between South and North Korea. The concluding chapter of the study will try to evaluate the possibilities and complexities of ethnic and linguistic nationalism in the Korean peninsula.

CHAPTER I

Introduction: An Overview of Korean Nationalism

The end of the Cold War and advancing globalisation in the 1990s prompted predictions that nationalism would weaken around the world. Instead, the expansion of advanced technology has helped to strengthen links among ethnic communities scattered across the national borders. In fact, in the post-cold War scenario, the reinforcement of nationalism has become more and more significant. However, proliferation of ethnic and national conflict in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has produced deep concerns in the studies of nationalism. The central theme of the debates on nationalism was based on the resurgence and tremendous expansion of ethnic and linguistic character of group identities all over the world. At the very same time, the end of the Cold War unleashed forces that have led to the rise of profoundly altered forms of nationalism throughout East Asia. Resurgent and rediscovered memories and interpretation of the past which was suppressed by Cold War logic in Asia have resulted in defining a clear and perhaps a more powerful image of themselves as a nation. Also the end of the cold War has produced a fundamental historical rupture that is now generating a new logic of national identity and new international relationships. One of the important paradoxes in the post-Cold War world is that on the one hand it has created a more interconnected world through globalisation, but on the other it has simultaneously energized particularistic and inward-oriented nationalisms based on ethnic, religious, and other cultural foundations.

A paradigm shift has occurred in the discourses on nationalism in Korea with the resurgence of a pan-Korean nationalistic awareness among the Koreans. The rebirth of pan-Korean nationalism[1] is closely connected with changing notions of

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[1]The resurrection of pan-Korean nationalism has been rooted with several political experiences and its memories among Koreans such as unresolved legacies of the Cold War (divided Korean peninsula), colonial history, democratisation, post-Cold War political changes etc. Sheila Miyoshi Jager (2007); See also Jiyul Kim (2006). Jiyul explores that Pan-Korean nationalism is a sense of Korean nationalism in South Korea that embraces North and South as one national identity. The young tend to construct for the imagine and invoke an understanding of the post Korean War situation on the peninsula that is a product of the post-Cold War status quo in which North Korea is no longer the evil aggressor, but an equal victim of Great Power politics.

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nationalism and national identity which has been emphasising to restore Korean cultural heritage and common ethnic identity among South and North Koreans. Belief in a unitary ethnic nation has produced an intensely felt collective sense of "oneness" and has performed several roles and functions in modern Korea. Ethnic nationalism functioned as an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ideology during the modern history of Korea. Now the appearances of the visible symptoms of ethnic sentiments and feelings are common phenomenon as a part of new political developments in both Koreas. Korean civil society has given some new impetus to such an official identity by promoting anti-Americanism and *minjung*[2] nationalism. A major example is the candlelight vigils over the US Army traffic accident that killed two schoolgirls. In North Korea, the tomb of national founding father *Tangun was* excavated in the 1993s and was projected as a symbol of national unity and common cultural heritage. The anti-imperialist and nationalist sentiments are more pronounced in North Korea, which stresses the importance of ethnic identity in the struggle for "national survival." While analyzing the parameters of Korean nationalism, one can argue that Koreans still maintain a strong sense of ethnic homogeneity based on shared blood and ancestry and nationalism continues to function as a key factor in Korean politics and foreign relations.

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[2]*Minjung* literally means "the mass of the people", or more simply "mass" or "the people." In the political and cultural context of Korea, *minjung* are those who are oppressed politically, exploited economically, marginalised sociologically, despised culturally and condemned religiously. Thus, the notion of *minjung* came to identify and inform the struggle for democracy in South Korea. Jin-Kwan Kwon gives detail explanation that the historical developments of the minjung were different social forms. During the pre-modern period (many centuries up till the end of the 19th century), *minjung* were feudal subject under feudal kingdoms. At the time of Japanese colonialism, minjung were the nation who struggled for national integrity and liberation. After the liberation, *minjung* proceeded to attain the consciousness of the "citizens" as a subject of the nation state. *Minjung* the age of the globalisation continue to be deprived of social status and insecure in their lives. They are also trying to attain new consciousness as they encounter new historical situation and understand new historical tasks. The *Minjung* theology is the contextual theology of Korea's socio-economic and political situation during the 1970s. Ahn Byongmu (1922-1996) one of the leading *minjung* theologians of the 1970s: "It was during these difficult 1970s that Ahn produced the *Minjung* theology, or the Theology of the People. The two leading discourses on the theme of the *Minjung* theology were first published in 1975. These two are as follows: Suh Namdong's article, "Jesus, Church History and the Korean Church" in *Kidokkyo Sasang* (Christian Thought) magasine in the February edition, and Ahn Byungmu's paper, "Nation and Minjung Church" in *Kidokkyo Sasang* in the April edition. Nancy Abelmann (1993, Cultural Nationalism in East Asia) discusses the notion of *Minjung* within the politics of South Korean nationalism. It recognising at the heart of a debates over cultural identity, historical memory and alternative political strategies within South Korean nationalism.

Historically Koreans have been constructed a sense of nation based on shared blood and ancestry. The "Korean nation was 'ethinicised' or 'racialised' through a belief in a common prehistoric origin, which inevitably produced a deep sense of collective oneness, ethnicity is generally regarded as a cultural phenomenon based on a common language and history, and race understood as a collectivity defined by innate and immutable phenotypic and genotypic characteristics" (Shin, Freda and Yi 1999: 469). Moreover, race served as a symbol that strengthened ethnic identity, which pave fundamental base for defining the notion of nation. Not only Koreans believe that they all belong to a "unitary nation", but also ethnically homogeneous and racially distinctive from their neighbors.

Since the 1850s, the transformation of the modern world system and hegemonic expansion of imperial powers has created some tensions in the Korean Peninsula. Faced with imperialist encroachments, from both the East (Japan) and West, Koreans developed the notion of a unitary nation to uphold its autonomy and uniqueness. For Korea, which had a long history of political, linguistic, geographic continuity and the internal issues of political integration or geographic demarcation were less important than the threat of imperialism. Enhancement of collective consciousness and internal solidarity among Koreans against the external threat was contextually more urgent. As a result, necessity of ethnic and linguistic nationalism was a key subject in Korea.

Until Japan's annexation, Korean nationalism remained rather passive. The establishment of Japanese colonial rule over Korea was the turning point for the rapid rise of ethnic and linguistic nationalism. The hegemonic attitude of Japan was used to justify colonialist policies to replace Korean cultural traditions with Japanese ones in order to supposedly get rid of all distinctions and achieve equality between the two nations. Moreover, the colonial assimilation policy was intent on changing Korean names into Japanese, exclusive use of Japanese language and school instruction in the Japanese ethical system and Shinto worship. Koreans resented and resisted these policies by asserting their unique and great national heritage. Given the misfortune of colonisation and unable to recover their political sovereignty, Korean nationalists turned to the task of "asserting the greatness of Korea's cultural heritage through a quest for Korea's historical origin." In response to colonial racism, Korean

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nationalists advocated the purity and distinctiveness of the Korean nation or race. They extensively studied and reevaluated Korean history, culture and heritage to provide a "scientific" basis for the distinctive origin of the Korean nation.

The need to assert the distinctiveness and purity of the Korean nation grew more important under colonial rule, especially as Japan attempted to assimilate Koreans into its empire as "imperial subjects." The assimilation policy was based on colonial racism, which claimed that Koreans and Japanese were of common origin but the former always subordinate. With the remembrances of their historical experiences, Koreans immediately grasped the real intentions of the Japanese project. As far as the Koreans are concerned, the entire programme of Japan has contained its supremacy in terms policy orientation. Throughout their resistances, the anti-colonial vision has been upholding the significance of the historical and cultural traditions of the Korea. Thus, in the formative period, ethnic nationalism has functioned as an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ideology. In Western Europe, nationalism developed as an ideology to integrate diverse ethnic groups into a unified political community and to justify imperialist expansion, but in the case of Asia and Korea, nationalism arose primarily as a response to imperialism. Gi-Wook Shin says that "for Korea, which had a long history political, linguistics, and geographic continuity, and traditional values, that is why the protection was more urgent to enhance collective consciousness and internal solidarity among the Koreans against the external threat" (Shin 2006a: 129).

In fact, the treatment of Koreans under Japanese colonial rule has raised some serious discussion regarding the existence of nation and national identity. The proliferation of discourse on Korean identity, which emanated from both the Korean nationalist movement and Japanese colonial state, stemmed from the necessity to "nationalise." For both Koreans and Japanese, the necessity of producing Korean subjects was prompted by the development of the global nation-state system. In the process of trying to compete, or "simply survive, in the nation-state system, both the colonial state and the Korean nationalist movements and organisations had to study, standardise and thus re-invent (or just invent) everything we now associate with the Korean nation, including such 'essential' elements as the Korean and Korean ethnicity" (Em 1999: 351).

Cha Ki-Pyok examines the thought and ideology of Korean nationalism with a description of three important writers in this period. They were Han Yong-un who emerged from the religious circles, Sin Ch'ae-ho from the group of historians, and Cho So-ang from the group of political leaders. Though largely independent in their ideological development and different in the historical focus, they all represented a form of unity of the Korean nationalist thought. Han Yong-un represents the independent stream of Korean nationalism and his concept was cogently expressed in his essay known as "Prospectus for Korea's Independence." Sin Ch'ae-ho was an historian who had been emphasised the need for a traditional nationalist thinking and focused on national identity and integration based on populist ideology. His dream was firstly, to see a robust reconstruction of his fatherland and secondly, in the interim to write a correct history of the nation in the form of *Tangun* as a starting point of history. Cho So-ang finally embodied a rather complete systematisation of Korean nationalism both in terms of his thought and action as a prominent politician. His basic ideas had already influenced and shaped the drafting of the "Independence Declaration of Great Korea" (Ki-Pyok 1976: 5).

Korean nationalism has attained a complex character during Cold War period. Different range of scholarship has observed to find out dynamics of nationalism in this period. Most of the studies have focused on understanding the changing pattern of nationalism as a civic and ethnic version. During the Cold War period, nationalism on both sides of the Korean peninsula was mainly determined by the two ideological positions such as anti-Communism in South Korea and anti-Americanism in North Korea. The territorial divisions and practices of separated political ideologies have provided some distinctive character to Korean nationalism. The systemic and societal values of both Koreas were different in terms of their economic, political, and ideological dimensions. The political forms of Communism and Capitalism have increased the distance between both Koreas. The social, economic and political functions of the both Koreas were based on these two ideologies which has been brought rigidity and orthodoxy between these two nations.

In fact, during the Cold War period, both Koreas extensively promoted two forms of political nationalisms which were often based the values of Communism and Capitalism. The main objective of this kind of a mobilisation was the ideological and

political legitimisation of each one's own political systems. From the very beginning of the state formation, both Koreas were seeking to establish their own sovereign states, they needed to attach a certain political criterion of membership to their respective regimes. Although all Koreans belonged to the same ethnic nation, not all of them were qualified to be legitimate members of a new political community. Each regime had to identify a certain political base to build a new Korea, free of such anti-national elements. For this purpose, contrasting criteria were applied: anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and anti-communism for the Republic of Korea (ROK).

The legitimation of political system was an initiative subject for both Koreas at the beginning of the Cold War. In order to understand the sustenance of ideological practice under the supervision of the state, it is very essential to analyse the nature of state philosophy and political systems in both Koreas. The stimulation of civic nationalism through various organization of state authority was a difficult mission because the feelings and thoughts of Korean people are closely rooted with ethnic, linguistic and cultural notions. The formation of separate nation state as South and North Korea and its ideological division has caught attention of scholars of the nationalism regarding the complexities of Korean nationalism in terms of civic and ethnic nature.

The dominant discourse has considered that ethnic notion of nationalism is going to be constrained behind outer space with the rapid expansion of political notion of nationalism in both Koreas. However, scholars like Shin argue that after independence in 1945 and despite peninsular division into North and South, the unity of the Korean ethnic nation or race was largely taken for granted. Neither side disputed the ethnic base of the Korean nation, spanning thousands of years, based on a single bloodline of the great Han race. Instead, both sides contested for the sole representation of the ethnically-homogeneous Korean nation (Shin 2007: 5). For instance, during Cold War, South Korea has promoted high level of "developmental

ethic" among people for the construction of "developmental state."[3] At the same time, North Korea has improved civic notion of nationalism in the name of "patriotism[4]." While recognising thousands of years of their nation's history and experiences of the people both Koreas have been stimulated the notion of nationalism based on historical heritage, traditional, cultural and ethnic identity. In fact, during the colonial period civic or political nationalism was a prominent factor in shaping national identity; however, ethnic and linguistic notion of nationalism was a remaining component as passive or active among both Koreans.

The main purpose of this study is to conceptualise the contemporary waves and twists of Korean nationalism within the broader framework of the notion of ethnic and linguistic nationalism. Internally, the new post-Cold War paradigm shift such as democratisation, activation of civil society, demise of the Soviet Union, absence of the ideological rivalry, death of North Korea's leader Kim Il Sung etc, and externally, the resurrection of ethnic and linguistic nationalism in other parts of the world have complexively blend in both Koreas in the post-Cold War setting, because the same people in terms of shared blood, ethnic origin, cultural heritage and historical experience etc. are living in the divided nation. The end of the Cold War and

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[3] The rapid industrialisation and economic growth of South Korea got attention of the world and the realm of economic research. See for details, A. Amsden (1989), "Asia's Next Giant: South Korean and Late Industrialisation." G. White (1988), "Developmental State in East Asia." H.J Kwon (2002), "Welfare Reform and Future Challenges in the Republic of Korea: Beyond the Developmental Welfare State", which discuss following the economic crisis of 1997, Korea has moved from welfare developmentalism to extending the coverage of its National Pension Programme to the whole population and has strengthened its financial sustainability and accountability. Reforms to enhance the efficiency of the National Health Insurance Programmes have also been carried out, although here financial sustainability remains a challenge. Yi and Lee (2003), "Changing Developmental Characteristics in the Korean Labour Market Policies." This was deeply intertwined with the rapid expansion of the developmental ethics among Koreans.

4 Generally, Patriotism is love of and/or devotion to ones country, and also patriotism consisted of notions concerning language, religious traditions, ethics, law and devotion to the common good, rather than pure identification with a nation-state. In the context of North Korea, patriotism has developed as an alternative ideological mode from Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism. Kim Il Sung emphasised the importance of "genuine patriotism" through in his speech and writings. For instance, in the report to the Central Conference of the Fifty Party Congress in November 1970, Kim delivered a speech that "Among workers, socialist patriotism should be strengthened. Socialist patriotism is ideology that makes us enhance proletarian dictatorship for the victory of our revolution and love our country in socialist institution and self-reliant national economy... Our revolutionary tradition is critical revolutionary wealth to apply Marxism-Leninism to the history of Korean revolution creatively, develops it according to the reality of Korean revolution, and creates it in extreme hardship of anti-colonial armed struggle." Ultimately, this was different from USSR and Chinese model of Socialist ideology. It was complexively blended with nationalism and national identity.

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expansion of the globalisation have brought new focus to the dynamics of nationalism. In the South, the 1997-98 financial crisis and the harsh conditions of IMF's bailout programme have once again stimulated sentiments of nationalism. At the same time, North Korea experienced continuous turmoil (in the 1990s). The death of Kim Il-Sung, chronic food shortage and famine and international pressure over its nuclear programme has forced it to reevaluate the socialist ideology and foreign policy. The younger generations in South Korea is playing an important role to maintain inter-Korean relations by forging a strong sense of nationalism.

Even today, Koreans maintain a strong sense of ethnic homogeneity based on shared blood and ancestry and nationalism continues to shape Korean politics and foreign relations. Ethnic nationalism has been a crucial source of pride and inspiration for the Korean people during the turbulent years of their nation's transition to modernity that involved colonialism, territorial division, war and dictatorship and so on. It has enhanced collective consciousness and solidarity against external threats and has served Korea's modernisation well. Nationalism is also the underlying principle guiding the current globalisation process in the South. In the North, ethnic national consciousness offered the grounds for the formation of a belief that Koreans are a Chosen people, a position that became the epistemological basis for the *Juche* ideology and the recent *Choson minjok chuui* (theory of the Korean nation as number one). Ethnic nationalism could also play an integrative role in a unification process, as this self-ascribed identity of homogeneity can serve as the basis for the initial impetus toward unification, if not as the stable foundation of a unified Korea.

Recently, inter-Korean relations have entered a new stage at the social, economic and cultural levels. It has opened grand attention and discussion in the realm of academic research. Most of the study evaluates the new positive trends fundamentally based on the democratisation, globalisation, and liberalisation etc. This mode of study rhetorically reduces the role of other factors for the construction and improvements of inter-Korean relations in the post-Cold War scenario. At the same time, Gi-Wook Shin and Paul Y.Chang conceptualise that "Koreans still maintain a strong sense of ethnic unity and pride in their nation. They also find an element of ant-imperialist rhetoric in their nationalism appealing. Once again, despite different political systems, both North and South Korea still prioritise ethnic identity and

nationalism. Moreover, a shared sense of ethnic unity is likely to produce strong pressure for in-group homogeneity and conformity to an essentialised identity like the abstract notion of Koreanness. This is because such an (imagined) unity increases expectations for all members to conform to certain shared norms or customs" (Shin and Chang 2004: 141).

In fact, the close observation about the developments inter-Korean relations in the post-Cold War era has been deeply rooted with the resurrection of ethnic and linguistic nationalism. The quest for a strong national identity has also been very influenced by the ideas of shared language and cultural heritage. In this context, the emerging claims on the superiority of Korean language and the assertion of a pan-Korean identity based on it can be seen as symbolic dimensions of national feelings. In the era of globalisation, contrary to the general expectations of the possible erosion of linguistic and national boundaries, one can argue that linguistic identity has to play an important role in the discursive formation of a pan-Korean identity. Since both Koreas have to cope with internal and regional frictions, each could use the efforts made to minimise those domestic societal divisions as a paradigm for pan-national efforts to develop an appreciation for cultural cohesion. Moreover, South Korean political progressives gained traction during the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyan regimes. They creatively questioned the stalemate in the inter-Korean dialogue efforts that had been considerably slim prior to this stage. This changed milieu became evident in the bold initiative launched by Kim Dae-jung when he assumed the presidency in early 1998, in the form of his "Sunshine Policy." It had opened the historical engagement with North Korea. President Roh persisted in using a modified form of the Sunshine Policy; it relabeled the "Policy for Peace and Prosperity" (Jager 2007: 34).

Theoretically, this study will discuss recent major debates on nationalism within the general framework; it will particularly explore the conceptual framework of two important scholarships of Benedict Anderson and Anthony D.Smith. Anthony Smith's (The ethnic Origins of Nations, 1986) theorisation of nationalism has been providing some insights to understand the complexities of an ethnic construction of national identity in the modern times. Nationalists in Korea take enormous pride in how their ancestors created an ethnic nation-state and how they historically coped

with pressures from neighbouring countries like China and Japan. Also, Smith argues that nation-building is a historical process where both elements -political and ethnic-operate to varying degrees depending on specific historical and political conditions; "every nationalism contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees and different forms... Sometimes civic and territorial elements predominate; at other times it is the ethnic and vernacular components that are emphasised" (Smith 1991a: 13).

From this point of view we can examine the dynamics and complexities of Korean nationalism. During the Cold War period, the form of Korean nationalism was civic or political, because both Koreas were seeking to establish their own sovereign states; they needed to attach a certain political criterion of membership to their respective regimes. It ultimately has led to the promotion of the political notion of nationalism through various mechanisms of the state and also minimised the ethnic notion of nationalism. Since the post-Cold War period, the end of the ideological competition between US and USSR has produced alternative space for other partner countries especially for South and North Korea. New political developments such as democratisation, globalisation and absence of ideological rivalry, emergence of new generation, and desire for "self-sufficiency" are leading to complex resurrection to ethnic and linguistic notion of nationalism today. For instance, in 1999, South Korea conducted survey to confirm that belief in common blood and ancestry are still defining features of the Korean nation. This has found that 66 percent of the respondents consider "blood" the most important criterion for defining the Korean nation and 75 percent agree that "Koreans are all brothers and sisters regardless of residence or ideology"(Shin and Chang 2004: 124). Now North Korea also highly promoting national tradition and heritage to gain epistemological support for recent ideological shift likes *Choson minjok chuui* (Theory of the Korean Nation as Number One) and *urisik sahoe chuui* (Our Style of Socialism).[5]

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[5] Jin Woong Kang (2007) explains in his article "Historical Changes in North Korean Nationalism" during the 1980s and 1990s, North Korea promoted its nationalist ideology for regime maintenance and social control which state ideologies such as "socialism in our style" and "Korean nation as number one". Shin (2006) says that North Korean particularism expressed in *Juche* and *Kimilsungism* culminated to develop "a theory of the Korean nation as number one and socialism in our style" which appeared in the 1990s. Both are logical extensions of *Juche* and *Kimilsungism* and reflect the changed international environment, especially the demise of the Soviet empire that further isolated the country from outside. On December 27, 1990 Kim Jong Il made a speech entitled "Socialism of our country is a socialism of our style as embodied by *Juche* idea". Also see the speech of Kim Il Sung (May 24, 1990) entitled "Let us bring the advantages of socialism in our country into full play."

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The publication of the book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983) by Benedict Anderson has inaugurated new discourses on nationalism in academia. With reference to nationalism Anderson's thesis argues that nationalism is mainly a form of discourse, a type of narrative that imagines the political community as finite and sovereign entity. Anderson's theory of nationalism criticises all types of essentialised narratives on nations and communities. Nations are based on vernacular print- language and literature- mainly novels and news papers which portrayed an imagined political community in sociologically-vivid and easily identifiable ways. In the context of Korea, we can say that similarities in language and literature can create a constructive environment towards a new imagination of a pan-Korean identity. In such a scenario, Anderson's constructivist interpretation of the nationalist imaginations can provide some valuable insights to understand the on going dynamics and undercurrents of inter-Korean relation as well as an emergent pan-Korean identity.

The main concern of Korean language discourse was immediately captured by the popular medias in Korea. On the one hand, *The Choun Ilbo*[6] has been upholding the positive stand to mobilise English language among the Korean society which emphasises the necessity of the English as a global language in the era of rapid growth of globalisation. On the other hand, some other important newspapers have been raised counter argument against the expansion of English language as an official language. Their main concern is the Korea is a monolingual linguistic society and so the implementation of foreign language as an official part will cause the disappearance of the homogeneous linguistic tradition from Korean society. Another possible counter argument to the uniqueness of Korean linguistic nationalism is that, in seemingly "multilingual" or "monolingual" countries, linguistic nationalism is an ideology and not a fact of life. Also, in the case of Korea, it is true that in addition to resistance to imperialist powers, linguistic homogeneity is achieved partly because of political efforts to construct "imagined community" (Anderson 1991: 6).

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[6] The Chosun Ilbo (translated as Korean Daily News) is one of the major daily newspapers in South Korea With a daily circulation of over 2,200,000; the Chosun Ilbo has undertaken annual inspections since Audit Bureau of Circulations was established in 1993. Chosun Ilbo and its subsidiary company. Digital Chosun operates the Chosun.com news website. Other language versions are published on the internet in English, Chinese, and Japanese.

In short, the resurrection of ethnic and linguistic nationalism in both Koreas has brought intense discussions such as Asianism, pan-Korean nationalism, assertive nationalism, and inter-Korean nationalism in the field of recent academic and popular research. Against this background, the next chapter will try to discuss different ranges of scholarships about the complex dimensions of nationalism, especially its ethnic and linguistic aspects.

CHAPTER II

Understanding Nationalism: Theoretical Issues

The idea of nation and nationalism has been defined and theorised by various scholars from different vantage points and perspectives. Historically, the emergence of modern nationalism can be traced to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The post-War settlements of 1918-19 and the emphasis on "national self-determination" and the "anti-Colonial struggle" of the period following the II World War were influential in stimulating nationalist movements especially in areas of the world undergoing modernisation. The end of the Cold War and the proliferation of ethnic and national conflicts in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have produced serious concerns in the area of nationalism and nationalist thought.

Academic debates on nationalism reached its most mature stage in the second half of the twentieth century. During the 1930s and 1940s, study on nationalism was largely confined among to historians like Carleton Hayes, Hans Kohn, Louis Snyder and E.H Carr who were bent on tracing its characteristics by means of narrative and comparison or through purely descriptive typologies. After the II World War, the space of nation and national identity raised significant questions in academic circles. In the beginning of the 1980s, nationalism got great attention with the publications of John Armstrong's *Nation before Nationalism* (1982), Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), Ernest Gellner's *Nation and Nationalism* (1983), Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983) and Anthony D. Smith's *The Ethnic Origin of Nation* (1986). Many of the issues discussed in this chapter took shape in that period. After the disintegration of USSR, studies on nationalism have got wider currency in the realm of academic and popular discourses. One of the central themes of the debates on nationalism was the resurgence and tremendous expansion of ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities and character of nations and groups throughout the world.

Recently, the concepts and theories of nationalism are going through various typologies in the realm of academic research. In her recent essay, Virginia Tilley argues that "most arguments in the academia could be resolved if people would first take the time to define their terms" (Tilley 1997: 497). Walker Connor, an eminent

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scholar on nationalism who has written extensively on the problem of definition, answers this question by pointing to the widespread misuse of the key terms, in particular the "underutilisation" of the words "State" and "Nation" (Connor 1994:92). According to Craig Calhoun, nationalism is too diverse to allow a single theory to explain it all. Much of the contents and specific orientation of various nationalisms are determined by historically distinct cultural traditions, the creative action of the leaders, and contingent situation within international world order (Calhoun 1997: 123). Subsequently, John A. Hall has echoed the views of Calhoun that "no single, universal theory of nationalism is possible, as the historical record is diverse, so must be our concepts" (Hall 1993: 1). In the present context, changes in the sphere of social, political, economic, and cultural etc. are leading to seek nationalism as core subject in the realm of academia. Umut Ozkirimli points out that the interaction between the studies of nationalism and research conducted in other fields, like Diasporas, Multiculturalism, Identity, Migration, Citizenship, have been very much increased in the recent times. These allowed for a richer understanding of the dialectic of the national self-identification (Ozkirimli 2000: 56).

The present chapter attempts to conceptualise the major theoretical debates and issues on nationalism within the framework of two different paradigms such as "modernist" and "ethno-symbolist". The paradigm of modernism was a big tree of several ranges of arguments which maintain that emergences of nationalism as a result of the process of transition from traditional to modern society; some of these theories focus more specifically on the spread of industralisaton, and on the socio-economic, political and culture conditions functionally associated with it, as the main cause for the development of nationalism. The emergence of ethno-symbolism has led to challenge rhetorical writings and arguments of modernists, their study focused on the role of pre-existing ethnic ties and sentiments in the formations of modern nation and nationalism. Form the background of these debates, an attempt is being made to trace the nature and characteristics of Korean nationalism especially the resurgences of ethnic and linguistic notion of Korean nationalism in the post-Cold War era.

Concepts and Meanings of Nationalism

As a concept, "nationalism" discusses the process of formation, or growth of nations, sentiments or consciousness of belonging to the nation, language and symbolism of

the nation, social and political movement on behalf of the nation, and doctrine and ideology of the nation in terms of terms general and particular level. For the interpretations and definitions on the one hand, some scholars of nationalism is emphasising "objective" criteria such as language, religion, ethnicity, customs, territory, and institution and so on others, stress the importance of "subjective" criteria like attitudes, perception, sentiments, and self-awareness. Most of the scholars have been trying to bring the combination of these two elements. According to Elie Kedourie, nationalism as a doctrine claims to explain man, society and politics (Kedourie 1994: 1). Ernest Gellner explains that "nationalism is a primarily political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (Gellner 2004: 1). To Smith, nationalism is an "ideological movement for attaining and maintaining national autonomy, unity, and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'." He further suggests that it is an ideology that manifests itself through national symbols such as national anthems, currencies, myths and symbols (Smith 2005a: 9).

Benedict Anderson points out more "subjectively" that nationalism is an "imagined political community"-and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson1991: 6). Eric J. Hobsbawm defines nations and nationalism are product of "social engineering," which means a "set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tactically accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm 1988: 1). With the publication of *Nationalism and the State*, John Breuilly sees nationalism as a form of politics and political doctrine elaborated by intellectuals. It is about politics and power, and he further argues that "nationalism is used to refer to political unite seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist arguments" (Breuilly 1993: 1). Partha Chatterjee, the one of the important critics of the Western theories of modernity and politics and nationalism has also made some significant contributions in the field of third world nationalism debates. He emphasised the "need of an explicitly critical study of the ideology of nationalism," to analyse nationalism partly as a "derivative discourse" (Chatterjee 1986: 40).

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For further analysis, the entire definition of these scholars will be broadly assessed within the framework of modernist and ethno-symbolist paradigm. And also concern generally, the resurrections of ethnic notions of nationalism and its wider currency in all over the word, particularly, the changing turn and twists of Korean nationalism in post-Cold War period will be discussed.

Modernist Discourses on Nationalism

Nationalism is preferably is an aspect of modernity, particularly when the relationship between nationalism and the development of the modern state is considered. In modern history, nationalism is movements and transformations which the nation state regards as a paramount requisite of the realisation of social, economic and cultural aspiration of the people. Before the 18th century, when nationalism emerged as a distinctive movement, state usually was structured on religious or dynamic ties, in which citizens owed loyalty to their church or ruling family. The beginning of the modern nationalism may be traced to the disintegration of the social order in Europe at the end of middle Ages. The cultural life of Europe was based of common inheritance of ideas and attitudes transmitted in the West through Latin, the language of the elites. With the breakup of feudalism, the changes in the prevailing social and economic system was accompanied by the development of larger communities of wider social inter relations and dynasties that foster the feeling of nationality in order to win support for their rule.

The rise of nationalism coincides generally with the spread of industrial revolution which protected national economic development, the growth of middle class and popular demand for representative government. In the field nationalism, modernism emerged as a reaction to the primordialism[1] of the older generations who

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[1]   The earliest paradigm of nations and nationalism is the Primordialists. It is an umbrella term used to describe scholars who hold that nationality is a "natural" part of human beings, as natural as speech, sight or smell, and that nations have existed since time immemorial. Edward Shils used the term in his famous 1957 article that "in reference to relationships within the family." Clifford Geetrz another name identified with primordialism, uses a similar definition: By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the 'givens' or more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens' of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the give ness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of language, and following particular social practice. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves (Geertz 1993: 259).

tacitly accepted the basic assumptions of the nationalist ideology. The theoretical approaches of the modernists and its developments were a set of factors associated with modernity. They have emphasised different factors in their accounts of nationalism such as economic, political, social, and cultural. The entire debates of nationalism have focused on to theorise these key factors which introduced different range of thoughts.

In the 1970s, a number of attempts were made to explain the theory of nationalism within the frame of economy by neo-Marxists scholars. The orthodox Marxist position was beginning to be challenged with the emergence of anti-colonial nationalist movements in many parts of the Third World. While showing the limitations of classical Marxism to explain nationalism, the neo-Marxist scholar Tom Nairn argued that "nationalism was the result of certain aspects of the world political economy, in the era between the French and Industrial revolution and the present day; it was a way that peripheral countries found to defend themselves against the core, this was done by interclass mobilisation on the basis of a different identity from that of the alien dominating state" (Nairn 1981: 332). He sees the root of nationalism should not be sought in the internal dynamics of individual societies, but in the general process of historical development since the end of the eighteenth century. The base of entire explanation of nationalism was the trajectory of "world history" and its changes. Nairn's views the changing process of world history has been greatly influenced by the "dependency theories"[2], particularly the works of Andre Gunder

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[2] Dependency theory is a body of social science theories which are predicated on the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system." This is based on the Marxist analysis of inequalities within the world system, but contrasts with the view of free market economists who argue that free trade advances poor states along an enriching path to full economic integration. As such, dependency theory features prominently in the debate over how poor countries can best be enriched or developed. Dependency theory first emerged as a reaction to liberal free trade theories in the 1950s, advocated by Raul Prebisch, whose research with the Economic Commission on Latin America (ECLA) suggested that decreases in the wealth of poor nations coincided with increases in the wealth of rich nations. Paul A. Baran developed dependency theory from Marxian analysis. The theory quickly divided into diverse schools. Some, like Andre Gunder Frank, adapted it to Marxism. "Standard" dependency theory differs from Marxism, however, in arguing against internationalism and any hope of progress in less developed nations towards industrialisation and a liberating revolution. Theotonio dos Santos described a "new dependency", which focused on both the internal and external relations of less-developed countries of the periphery, derived from a Marxian analysis. Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso wrote extensively on dependency theory while in political exile, arguing that it was an approach to studying the economic disparities between the centre and periphery. The American sociologist Immanuel

Frank, Samir Amin, and Immanuel Wallerstein about the international system of capitalist exploitation. In fact, the core argument of Nairn on nationalism was the social and historical contribution of the accelerated implementation of capitalism at a global level.

The variable of politics in modernist paradigm has been propounded by many scholars; among them we will discuss major theoretical perception of John Breuilly on nationalism. He sees the birth of the first nations of Western Europe as a result of the political and religious opposition of the protestant countries of the North towards the monarchial structure of the South. Breuilly has been developing this concept in to the form of nationalist movements in the modern period. Breuilly describes nationalism in the form of politics which "political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist arguments." A nationalist argument in turn is a political doctrine built upon three basic assertions; there exists a nation with an explicit and peculiar character, the interests and values of this nation take priority over all other interests and values; the nation must be independent as possible which usually requires at least the attainment of political sovereignty (Breuilly 1993: 2). Thus the entire concepts of his nationalism are running on the base of nationalist movements and modern nation state. Further, Breuilly identifies three different function performed by nationalist ideas such as coordination, mobilisation, and legitimacy. By coordination he means that "nationalist ideas are used to promote the idea of common interests amongst a number of elites which otherwise have rather distinct interests in opposing the existing state." Mobilisation means "the use of nationalist ideas to generate support for the political movements from broad groups hitherto excluded from the political process." And legitimacy means "the use of nationalist ideas to justify the goals of the political movement both to the state it oppose and also to powerful external agents, such as foreign states and their public opinion" ((Breuilly 1996: 166).

At the level of Ideology, Elie Kedourie explains how the spread of nationalism occurred in Europe and the rest of the World. He says that "nationalism is a doctrine" invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Kedourie 1994: 1). It

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Wallerstein refined the Marxist aspect of the theory, and called it the "World-system." It has also been associated with Galtung's Structural Theory of Imperialism.

pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organisation of a society of states. Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government. According to him, after the French Revolution, ideological style of politics became attractive and popular and this ideological style was shared between nationalist movements to follow with other political movement. To him nationalism in "Asia and Africa is intimately connected with the existence of European Imperialism and Colonialism" (Ibid: 139-40).

To Kedourie, language is the means through which a man becomes consciousness of his personality. Language is not only vehicle for rational propositions; it is the outer expression of an inner experience, the outcome of a particular history, the legacy of distinctive tradition. Every language is a particular mode of thought and what is cogitated in one language can never be repeated in the same way in another. Thus language is a key factor for the expression of peculiar life and develops through some common practices. From this Kedourie draws two concepts. First is that people who speak an original language are nations, and second those nations, must speak an original language. To speak an original language is to be true to one's character to maintain one's identity (Ibid: 6).

In the final analysis, he emphasizes that nationalism in Asia and African countries is a reaction against the European domination. Though there is almost unanimity among the scholars about the validity of this argument the nature of this domination, the precise manner in which it has elicited such a reaction, and the character of the reaction itself are issues on which the consensus in perhaps less general. Both the Marxists and non-Marxists believe that the nationalism in the developing countries is the natural consequences of European exploitation of these areas, an exploitation which took in the form of imperialism. This notion of European or Western imperialism with its characteristic account of economic and political history now looming go large in political controversy (Kedourie 1971: 3). He also examines the Marxist line of thought concerning the emergence of nationalism in colonial society. The core arguments of Kedourie are the European origin and the

modernity of the nationalist identity, its quasi religious power and its role in breaking up empires and creating nations were none had assisted. Elie Kedourie has traced national ideology to the impact of Enlightenment and Kantian ideas of self determination and ultimately to Medieval Christian millennial doctrines and he also has demonstrated their destructive effects son non-European peoples when a discontented intelligentsia adopted this (Kedourie 1994: 71).

Further discussions seek to conceptualise nationalism as a mode of socio-cultural transformation, construction and reinterpretation. The influential analyses of Ernest Gellner, Eric J. Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson are essential to understand the contemporary debates on nationalism in academia. The entire debates of nationalism has touched the interpretations of these three figures such as "transition" from traditional societies to industrial societies, invented traditions, and imagined political community. The discourse of modernists' paradigm was mainly centered by these key concepts. Therefore, we need more detailed discussion to give conceptual clarification about the contemporary theoretical issues of nationalism with the interpretation of Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson and Eric J. Hobsbawm.

Ernest Gellner: Social and Cultural Transformation

Gellner's theory is generally considered as the most important attempt to make sense of nationalism. The originality of his analysis lies in its broad theoretical sweep. Gellner's theory of nationalism can be better understood within the context of a long-lasting sociological tradition whose origins go back to Durkheim and Weber[3]. The cardinal feature of this tradition is a basic distinction between "traditional" and "modern" societies. With following in the footsteps of the founding fathers of

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[3] Emile Durkheim stated (1915), "society can and does worship itself or its own culture directly and not through the opaque medium of religion." Following this concept, Gellner point out that the emergence of industrial world was somehow intimately linked to a Protestantism which happened to possess some of the important traits that were to characterise the newly emerging world, and which also engender nationalism. Max Weber's (1979) account the origin of the world, it was engendered because certain men took their vocation so very seriously, it produced a world in which rigidly ascribed vocations have gone, where specialisms abound but remain temporary and optional, involving no final commitment, where the important, identity-conferring part of one's education or formation is not special skills, dependent on a shared high culture which defines a "nation." As Weber stated, Gellner conceptualise the modern state sustained with pervasive and homogeneous high culture, also within which there is relatively little ascription of status and good deal of mobility, presupposing a well diffused mastery of a shared sophisticated high culture.

sociology, Gellner has posited three stages in human history; the hunter-gatherer, the agro-literate and the industrial (Gellner 2004: 9-12).

The core of Gellner's argument is that the transformation from traditional agrarian societies to modern industrial societies. Gellner in his argument defines nationalism as "primarily a political principle which holds that the political national unit should be congruent" (Ibid: 1). He also defines nationalism as if they have a common culture, where culture is identified as a system of ideas and sign and association and way of behaving and communication. Nationalism begins with the distinction between the agrarian and the industrial stage of human history. He tries to account for the absence of nations and nationalism in pre-modern ages by referring to the relationship between power and culture; these are the two potential partners for the formation of nationalism. The emergence of industrial society goes on to promote cultural homogenisation at the end of a long process inherent in the economic logic of that society. Based on an evaluative technology and the idea of progress, it involves permanent growth of productivity; this results, in the necessity for extreme professional mobility, hence a versatility which implies a solid generic training. Thus "the level of literacy and technical competence, in a standardised medium, a common conceptual currency, which is required of members of this society, if they are properly employable and enjoy full and effective moral citizenship, is so high that it simply cannot be provided by the kin or local units, such as they are. It can be only provided by something resembling a modern 'national' educational system, a pyramid at whose base there are primary schools, staffed by teachers, led by the product of advanced graduate schools. Such a pyramid provides the criterion for the minimum size for viable political unit" (Ibid: 34). The cultural homogenisation thus generates a new, national consciousness that Gellner calls "nationalism." For him, nationalism is not awakening of an old, latent, dormant, force through that is how indeed present itself. It is in reality the consequence of new form of social organisation, based on deeply internalised, education-depend high cultures, each protected by its own state. In fact, Gellner's theory, so far, recalls that of the school of 'national-building; once again national integration is the main issue at stake and is seen depending upon cultural homogenisation in the context of socio-economic and state led modernisation.

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On the issues of language and literature, Gellner argues that the earlier society contained several thousands dialects, each of which could have been existed the base of informalised literary language. Moreover, in agrarian societies, literacy was confined to the few human beings who were bound together by the structure of roles and institutions, often based on kinship, while in modern industrial societies, "culture replaced structure." The gradual development of industrial society which produce possible situation the rise of nationalism has blended with the active circulation of literatures. That is "language and culture" became new cement for an atomised society.

In short, Gellner's view of nationalism is a product of industrial social organisation. According to him, "nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases of the totality, of the population... It is the establishment of an anonymous, impersonal society, with mutually substitutable atomised individuals, held together by a shared culture of this kind" (Ibid: 57).

Several grounds of criticisms have risen about Gellner's theory of nationalism among the scholarship of nationalism. The deep observation of his views on nationalism can be understood as nations are those which are created by nationalism, which in turn is the cultural form assumed by modernity, that is, modern industrialism. In this context, Smith, the leading exponent of the ethno-symbolist approach, begins his criticism by asking some questions: why should people ardently identify with an invented high culture and be willing to lay down their lives for it? (Smith1996: 134). Here Gellner seeks the answer through modern system of mass education. However, Smith sees the ardour of early nationalists, those who create the nation in the first place, cannot simplify the product of national mass education system which has not at that date come into being. Further, it is not possible to establish a "national" education system without first determining who the "nation" is. Who will receive the education? In which language? These important questions go to search for solution from Smithian concepts of "pre-existing ethnic culture" has closely connected with the developments of national culture.

Many scholars have criticised Gellner's theory of nationalism and argue that he misread the relationship between industrialisation and nationalism. Minogue points

out an opposite view by contenting that Britain industrialised without having nationalism all, and concludes that nationalism is not necessary condition of industrial society (Minogue 1996: 121). Moreover, the application of Gellner theory to the developing countries is limited by the inadequate recognition of the way in which the international state system has compelled the society everywhere to seek integration through nationhood. His thesis has built imbalances within each single industrialising society. International factors such as the role of the European colonialism, American and Soviet inspiration are not included in his model (Tonnesson and Antlov 1996: 6).

Constructivist Interpretations of Benedict Anderson

The idea that the nation is, first of all, a cultural artifact to be distinguished by the style of imagining and mode of its representation, chimed with the rising tide of post-modernism, even though its original formation emerged from a post-Marxist[4] framework. In a fascinating study titled *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* Anderson defined nation as an "imagined political community"- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson 1991: 6). He argues that nation is a cultural construct, not in a sense of building historical tradition but in that of being collectively imagined by all those view and listening to the same media, sharing the same mutual idea about the nation and its surrounding world. It is similar every where, through it uses different symbols. "It is imagined because members of the smallest nation will never know most of their follow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Ibid: 6).

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[4] Post-Marxism dates from the late 1960s, its development was influenced by several trends and events of that period. The weakness of the Russian Communist paradigm became evident beyond Russia. This happened concurrently with the international student riots in 1968, rise of Maoist theory, and the advent of commercial television, which covered in its broadcasts the Vietnam War. When Roland Barthes began his sustained critique of mass culture via semiology- the science of signs- and the book "Mythologies", some Marxist philosophers based their social criticism upon linguistics, semiotics, and discourse. Basing himself upon Barthes' oeuvre, Baudrillard's For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign criticized contemporary Marxism for ignoring the sign value of their philosophic discourse. Recently, one of the world's leading social theorists, Goran Therborn, tackles the question of the trajectory of Marxism in the twentieth century and its legacy for radical thought in the twenty-first century.

For Anderson, nationalism is mainly a form of discourse, a type of *narrative* that imagines the political community as finite, sovereign and horizontally cross-class. The rise of "print-capitalism" has quickly created large reading publics and mobilised them for political and religious purpose. Nation based on vernacular "print-communities", that is, reading publics of vernacular "print-languages and literatures" mainly novels and newspapers, which portrayed the imagined political community in sociologically vivid and easily identifiable ways. Anderson argues that these print-languages laid the bases for national consciousnesses in three ways. "First, they created 'unified fields of exchange and communication through these medias.' Second print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language which helped to build the image of antiquity so central to the idea of nation. And third, print-capitalism created language-of-power of a kind of different from the earlier administrative vernaculars" (Ibid: 42). Equally important, for Anderson has been a revolution in the conception of time. The reader finds himself placed in a specific period of time within a certain society in which he observes characters playing their roles following a linear axis of time. Whereas in earlier periods time had been conceived as messianic and cosmological, in terms of prefiguring and fulfillment of events, now time was increasingly seen as linear and homogeneous, with communities moving through an "empty, homogeneous time" and events tied to the measurement of clock and calendar.

Anderson deals with the rising of nationalism in the colonial territories of Asia and Africa. To him it was in response to the new style of global imperialism, which was made possible by the achievements of industrial capitalism. He notes the importance of the concept of "pilgrimage" or movement, undertaken by people to receive some education or training in the metropole, initially these journeys where undertaken by few people. However, after the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth century this journey involved huge and variegated crowds. These happened mainly because of this reason; the enormous increase in physical mobility made possible by astonishing achievements in the field of transport, railways, steamships etc. Anderson's model therefore combines two dimensions which are respectively epitomised by print capitalism and the pilgrimages of the intelligentsia whose members really acquire a new, national consciousness in the class-room of centralised and uniform education system and as bureaucrats. Anderson, by the way, often formulate like "national consciousness" or "nation-ness."

Anderson views of nationalism were made explosive reaction in the realm of nationalist academia because which had questioned the whole type of nationalist interpretations until that time. Thus number of criticisms has risen from the part of various nationalist scholars. Anderson's has emphasised on the way in which nations as "imagined communities" come to be constructed through cultural representation led some scholars to accuse him of "cultural reductionism." Breuilly, for instance, criticises that Anderson for underestimating the political dimension of nationalism, and more specifically, for the exaggerating the importance of cultural nationalism in nineteenth century Europe (Breuilly 1985: 72).

A significant objection is raised by Partha Chatterjee. Drawing on Anderson's definition of the nation that, nationalism in the rest of the world has to choose their imagined community from certain "modular" forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine? History, it would seem, has decreed that we in the post colonial world shall only be perpetual consumers of modernity. Europe and The Americas, only two subject of history, have thought on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but also that of our anti- colonial resistance and post colonial misery. He questions if even our imaginations must remain forever colonised (Chatterjee 1996: 216).

Political and Historical Interpretations of Eric J. Hobsbawm

The distinguished Marxist historian Eric J. Hobsbawm is another scholar who stressed the role of political transformation in the analysis of nationalism. According to him both nations and nationalism are products of "social engineering". What deserves particular attention in this process is the case of "invented tradition" by which he means, "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tactile accepted and rules and of a ritual our symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with past" (Hobsbawm 1988:1). According to Hobsbawm, the period from 1870 to 1914 can be considered as the apogee of invented traditions. This period coincides with the emergence of mass politics. The incursion of hitherto excluded sections of the society into politics created unprecedented problems for the rulers who found it increasingly difficult to maintain the obedience, loyalty and cooperation of their subjects- now defined as citizens whose political activities were recognised as something to be taken

into account, if only in the form of elections (Ibid: 264). Thus the "invention of tradition" was the main strategy adopted by the ruling elites to counter the threat posed by mass democracy. He points out three major innovation of the period as particularly relevant, the development of primary education, the invention of public ceremonies, and the mass production of public monuments. As a result of these process "nationalism became a substitute for social cohesion through a national church, a royal family our other cohesive traditions, our collective group self - presentation, a new secular religion."

Hobsbawm holds that the origins of nationalism should be sought at the point of intersection of politics, technology and social transformation. Nations are not only the products of the quest for a territorial state; they can come into being in the context of a particular stage of technological and economic development. Hobsbawm identifies three stages in the historical evolution of nationalism. The first stage covers the period from the French Revolution to 1918 when nationalism was born and gained rapid ground. His second stage covers the period from 1918-1950, this period was the apogee of nationalism, not because the rise of fascism, but the upsurge of national sentiment on the Left as exemplified the course of Spanish Civil War. The late twentieth century constitutes Hobsbawm's last stage. He argues that the nationalism of this period where functionally deferent from those of earlier period. "Nationalism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was 'unificatory as well as emancipatory' and they were a central fact of the historical transformation" (Ibid: 163). However, nationalism in the late twentieth century was no longer a major victory of historical development. In short, Hobsbawm argues that nations belong to a particular, historically reason, and period. It does not make sense to speak of nations before the rise of modern territorial state; these two are closely related to each other.

Hobsbawm's theory of nationalism were mainly criticised from the accounts of ethno-symbolist view. Theories of "Political Transformations" are misleading so far as the date of first nations is concerned; it was mostly articulated by ethno-symbolists. This "counter-argument" suggests that the first examples of nationalism can be found much earlier than the eighteenth century. But Smith argues that "the emergence of nationalism as an ideology and movement is a recent phenomenon, however, the origin of national sentiments can be traced to the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries in many states of Western Europe" (Smith 2005b: 38). Further, Smith objects to Hobsbawm's notion of "invented tradition" and claims that these turn out to be more akin to "reconstruction" or "rediscovery" of aspect of the ethnic past. He notes that "although the past can be interpreted in different ways, it is not any past, but rather the 'past of that particular community, with its distinctive patterns of events, person ages and milieux.' This past acts as a constraint on the manipulations of elites, hence on invention" (Smith 1991b:358).

The Paradigm of Ethno-Symbolist Discourse

Modernist arguments have been challenged in recent years by a number of scholars who focused on the role of pre-existing ethnic ties and sentiments in the formation of modern nations. In their determination to reveal the "invented" or "constructed" nature of nationalism, these scholars argue that, modernists systematically overlooked the persistence of earlier myths, symbols, values and memories in many parts of the world and their continuing significance for a large number of the people. This approach was not a complete rejection of objective factors such as external politics, geo-politics and economic factors, however more focus on subjective symbolic and socio-cultural elements, encouraged more nuanced perspective and approaches, and thereby addressed the vital symbolic issues of ethnic identity, myth and memory that so often prove intractable. In fact, ethno-symbolists place the rise of nations and nationalism within the framework of earlier collective cultural identities especially of ethnic communities or *ethnies*.[5]

To conceptualise and understand the nuances of ethno-symbolist discourses on nations and nationalism, it is necessary to have a broad discussion and deep analyses of major figures in this arena. In their discourse, John Armstrong, Anthony D.Smith, and John Hutchinson stressed the role of pre-existing texture of myths, memories, values and symbols to create legacy of pre-modern ethnic identities for today's nations. The entire arguments of these figures can be discussed within the broader

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[5] The nations are a delocalised and politicised form of *ethnie*, as Benjamin Akzin (1964) had claimed, ethnies may, after all, be quite extensive and populous, and also may be organised in political form, as ethnic states. Rather, what differentiates the nation from the ethnie is the "type of (public) culture, (single, territorial) economy and legal order (common rights and duties for members). For details see Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History* (2000).

frame of nationalism; however, this study particularly highlights the key concepts of Smith such as the *Ethnic Origin of Nations* and *Ethno-National Revival*. The recent theoretical debates on nationalism have been mainly centered on the resurgence and tremendous expansion of ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities and character of nations and groups throughout the world. Moreover, the tremendous growth of globalisation and the expansion of advanced technology have helped to strengthen links among ethnic communities scattered across the national borders.

Armstrong's ideas on nationalism have mainly been articulated in his pioneering work *Nations before Nationalism* (1982) in which he argues that ethnic consciousness has a long history; it is possibility to come across its traces in ancient civilisation, for example in Egypt and Mesopotamia. In this sense, contemporary nationalism is nothing but the final stage of a larger cycle of ethnic consciousness reaching back the earliest forms of collective organisation. The most important features of this consciousness, according to him, are its persistence. Therefore, the formation of ethnic identities should be examined in a "time dimension of many centuries" (Armstrong 1982: 4). For him, myth, symbol, communication, and a cluster of associated attitudinal factors are usually more persistent than purely material factors. However, Smith points out that Armstrong adopts a phenomenological account, which sees ethnic identities as shifting clusters of perceptions, sentiments and attitudes. At the same time, he employs the cultural and symbolic boundary analysis pioneered by Frederik Barth[6], and stresses the need for investigations of 'myth-symbol complex' over to understand the persistence of ethnicity (Smith 2005b: 59).

John Hutchinson, on the other hand, has adopted a more Weberian approach to distinguish modern cultural nationalism from the political type of nationalism, and uncover the dynamics of the cultural forms. Movements of cultural regeneration and ethnic revival may be more common in the modern period, and they can be found in

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[6] Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: Frederik Barth's Revolutionary Reconceptualisation of Ethnicity/ The "Cultural Constructionist" Model of Ethnicity (1969, 1991 publications): Barth's work is "revolutionary" and has stood the test of time. Barth was the editor of the ground-breaking and highly influential Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (1969) in which he outlines an approach to the study of ethnicity which focuses on the on-going negotiations of boundaries between groups of people. Barth's view is that such groups are not discontinuous cultural isolates, or logical a priories to which people naturally belong. Barth wants to part with anthropological notions of cultures as bounded entities, and ethnicity as Primordialist bonds, replacing it with a focus on the interface between groups.

every epoch. He points out that "in spite of significant differences between pre-modern and modern societies, long established cultural repertoires (myths, symbols and memories) are 'carried' into the era by power institutions (states, armies, churches) and are revived and redeveloped because populations are periodically faced with similar challenges to their physical and symbolic survival" (Hutchinson 2000: 661). Thus he is emphasising the complex blend between pre-modern societies and modern societies.

Anthony D. Smith's Perceptions: The Ethnic Origin of Nations and the Revival of Ethno-Nationalism

Smith is the leading exponent in the felid of ethno-symbolism. In his several books and articles on ethnicity and nationalism, Smith focused on the pre-modern roots of contemporary nations, with contesting the modernist interpretation of nations and nationalism. His central thesis, *the ethnic origin of nations*, is that "modern nations and nationalisms spring up on the basis of pre-existing *ethnie* and their ethnocentrisms, but that in order to forge a 'nation' today, it is vital to create and crystallise ethnic components, the lack of which is likely to constitute a serious impediment to nation-building" (Smith 1989: 17). He begins by proposing the following definition of the nation, derived to a large extent from the images and assumption held by most or all nationalists: "nation is named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith 1991b: 14).

In his major theoretical work, *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* Smith seeks to find out the origin and roots of modern nations and nationalism. The existence of pre-modern ethnic ties helps us to determine which units of population are likely to become nations. Smith begins by identifying two type of ethnic community, the "lateral" (aristocratic) and the "vertical" (demotic) in which *lateral* were generally composed with aristocrats such as bureaucrats, high military officials and richer merchants. The origin of modern nationalism lies in the successful bureaucratisation of aristocratic *ethnie*, which were able to transform themselves into genuine nations only in the West. Smith argues that in the West, territorial centralisation and consolidation went hand in hand with a growing cultural standardisation and

moreover, "[t]he indivisibility of the state entailed the cultural uniformity and homogeneity of its citizens" (Smith 1989: 134). Thus territoriality, citizenship rights, legal code and even political culture, are features of society that the West has made its own. And also the compulsion for ethnie to enter the political arena is seemingly universal to the modern era. "In order to survive, ethnie must take on some of the attributes of nationhood, and adopt a civic model" (Ibid: 157). Cross-class inclusion and mobilisation for common political purposes are essential in this process. The spontaneous formation of nations is long-term process, continually reenacted and reconstructed; so they requires ethnic cores, homelands, heroes, and golden ages if they are to survive. In fact he says that nations rooted in particularist, quasi-religious vision are the most common new nationalist project today (Ibid: 212). In sum, "modern nations and nationalism have only extended and deepened the meanings and scope of older ethnic concepts and structures. Nationalism has certainly universalised these structures and ideals, but modern 'civic' nations have not in practice really transcended ethnicity or ethnic sentiments" (Ibid: 216).

Moreover, Craig Calhoun discuss about the theoretical understandings of Smith on nations and nationalism. He says that Smith agrees that nationalism, as ideology and movement, dates only from the later eighteenth century, but argues that the "ethnic origin of nations" are much older. Because Smith focuses on ethnie-ethnic communities with their myths and symbols, and shows that these exist in both modern and pre-modern times, and with substantial continuity through history (Calhoun 1993: 227).

Recently, the debates on nationalism have entered into the new dimensions with introduction of "ethnic revivals." In his latest works Smith articulates spread of global patterns of politics and communication have helped to revive the ethnic ties of many communities through the return by many people to religion and religious mythologies in all over the world. (Smith 2005b: 82). One of the important paradoxes in the post-Cold War world is that, on the one hand, it has created a more interconnected world through globalisation, but on the other it has simultaneously energised particularistic and inward-oriented nationalisms based on ethnic, religious, and other cultural foundations. Smith explore that so many areas of the world is a double collective appropriation; of the traditional message of the individual and

collective salvation beyond the world of experiences, and of the new nationalist message of collective immorality for the elect through posterity and its judgments. It is the achievement of nationalism to have given political expression to these twin appropriations by linking "the memories of the ethno-history and the older religious myths of election to the striving for collective territorial recognition and political autonomy in a historic homeland" (Ibid: 84).

The rapid expansion of cultural globalisation throughout the world has raised a number of questions on the existences nation's boundary. Moreover, the penetration of different social, economic, and cultural process have challenged by national and local cultures. In contemporary realm of academia have appeared several ranges of theoretical arguments about the new dynamics of globalisation. For instance, Anthony Giddens has argued forcefully for the conjunction of a revival of localism alongside, and as a result of, the trend to globalism. The various forces of globalisation have the effect of stimulating a new attachment to local areas, issues and problems. This may help to explain the "paradox of increasing large scale supranationalism and fissiparous ethnic nationalism- that is, on the one hand, emergence of continental associations and communities, and on the other hand, the proliferation small scale ethnic movements alongside other regional and local ecology movements. These are all part of the movement away from class based politics to the new *politics of identity*" (Giddens 1991: 42).

The significance of ethnic revival and resurgence of nationalism in the contemporary world, the sources of the power of these poetical forces must be traced back to the "ethnic substratum" of collective identity and community. Further, Smith sees the growth of democratic institutions and practices has helped, in varying degree, to counteract the alienation of peripheral ethnic populations and their intelligentsias. They have been able to provide channels through which their collective grievances might be redressed and their interests accommodated (Smith 2005b: 76). In fact, Smith points out that, there has been some ethnic basis for the construction of modern nations, be it only some dim memories and elements of culture and alleged ancestry, which it is hoped to revive.

Several grounds of criticism appeared against ethno-symbolist theories of nationalism form part of different branch of scholars. The main content of criticism

was that ethno-symbolist approaches that they were conceptually confused, they underestimate the deference between modern nation and earlier ethnic communities, it is not possible to speak of nations and nationalism in pre-modern eras, ethno-symbols underestimate the fluidity and malleability of ethnic identities, the relationship between modern national id entities and cultural material of the past is at best problematic, and their analysis of the process of ethnic consciousness formation is misleading.

Understanding Korean Nationalism in a Theoretical Framework

The new dynamics and complexities of Korean nationalism have created a feasible situation to search the characteristics and natures within the framework of contemporary debates of nationalism in the post-Cold War period. After the territorial division, more than fifty years experiences with a strong legacy of ethnic homogeneity were remaining questions in both Koreas. Beginning with the post-Cold War period the rise of visible symptoms of ethnic sentiments and feelings are common phenomenon as a part of new political developments in both Koreas. Korean civil society has given some new impetus to such an official identity by promoting anti-Americanism. In North Korea, the tomb of national founding father *Tangun was* excavated in the early 1990s and projected it as the symbol of national unity and common cultural heritage. The anti-imperialist and nationalist sentiments are more pronounced in North Korea, which stresses the importance of ethnic identity in the struggle for national survival.

From the background of these events, Korean nationalism can be analyzed within the framework of Anthony Smith's conception of ethnic revival of nationalism. Smith's idea about nation and nationalism such as *the ethnic origin of nations* and *ethno-national revival* has been providing some insights to understand the complexities of an ethnic construction of national identity in the modern times. Smith's core argument is that pre-modern roots of contemporary nations and nationalism can be traced in the context of Korea that Koreans are still maintaining enormous pride in how their ancestors created an ethnic form of nation-state. Because of Korea's roots as an ethnic nation traced back Tangun as a legendary founder of Korea.

Moreover, Smith explores that nation-building is a historical process where both elements- political and ethnic- operate to varying degrees depending on specific historical and political conditions and for him "every nationalisms contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees and different forms... Sometimes civic and territorial elements predominate; at other times it is the ethnic and vernacular components that are emphasised" (Smith 1991b: 13). During the Cold War period, the form of Korean nationalism was a civic or political, because of both Koreas were seeking to establish their own sovereign states; they needed to attach a certain political criterion of membership to their respective regimes. Since the post-Cold War period, new political developments such as democratisation, globalisation, and absence of ideological rivalry, emergence of new generation, and desire for "self-sufficiency" are leading to a complex resurrection of ethnic and linguistic notion of nationalism today. This complex process has intertwined as less or more to shape modern Korean nation and nationalism.

Recently, the emergence of various political movements in South Korea has highlighted some elements of ethnic notion of nationalism in the form of Smith's ethnic revival. Thus new trend got great attention to the scholars of Korean nationalism today. For instance, Sook-Jong Lee (2006) analyses the recent phenomenon which the emerging trends of younger generation in South Korea. With no memories of war and less fear of the communist North, younger Koreans embrace the idea of South and North Korea as one nation. The entire discussion focused on new developments of idea about inter-Korean nationalism.

Further, there is some limitation to explain Korean nationalism and its post-Cold War dynamics within the frame of a single theory of nationalist debates that is, also recognising the constructivist interpretation of Anderson's frame of nation and nationalism. The central argument of his *imagined political community* will help us to locate some of the recent developments of inter-Korean relations in terms of an emerging constructivist notion of "Koreanness." This idea of "Koreanness" has some considerable influence among the younger generations. With reference to nationalism, Anderson's thesis argues that nationalism is mainly a form of discourse, a type of narrative that imagines the political community as finite and sovereign entity (Anderson 1991: 6). Anderson's theory of nationalism criticises all types of

essentialised narratives on nations and communities. Nations are based on vernacular print-language and literature- mainly novels and news papers which portrayed an imagined political community sociologically vivid and in easily identifiable ways. In the context of Korea, we can say that similarities in language and literature can create a constructive environment towards a new imagination of a pan-Korean identity. For instance, recent discourses of language in South Korea give some insights to explain the significances and proud of native language among Koreans (this part is broadly discussed in the following chapter).

Conclusion

These are some of the main lines of discussion and debates that have taken place in the last three decades of the twentieth century in the field of nationalism. As we have seen, scholars of nationalism are generally divided in terms of their concepts and approaches they espouse; modernists, and ethno-symbolists. And moreover, some scholars today are questioning the relevance of the nation state. They even claim that we live in the post-national, globalised world dominated by new forms of cosmopolitanism. But, even these more recent developments can only be understood in the context of "paradigm debates." Not only are these recent theoretical debates essentially developments of earlier approaches, they also presuppose certain historiographies of the nation and nationalism, and rest of their underlying paradigm. We need to describe and comprehend the various "histories of the nation" offered by the rival approaches, not only of their own sakes, but for the insight they afford for grasping recent theoretical debates and the empirical aspects of the nationalism.

CHAPTER: III

Korean Nationalism: Its Past and Present

Historical trajectory of Korean nationalism had been shaped by anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggles. The formation of national consciousness among Koreans was mainly based on a shared ethnic identity and historical legacy. From the middle of seventh century, Korean people were an organised society and had achieved national unity under the centralised political authority of Shilla dynasty. There had been a strong sense of shared culture, language, history, religion and ethnic origin among the Koreans which dates back to more than 1,000 years, while the territorial division of Korean peninsula was relatively a recent development, spanning over a century. The rise and penetration of Western colonialism and resistance of Asian countries was an intertwined and complex historical development which shared by the Korean peninsula also. The present chapter tries to discuss the important historical processes spearheaded Korean nationalism and its present-day complexities, especially its twists and turn. The main purpose of the chapter is that to trace the role of ethnicity and language in determining the course of Korean nationalism. An attempt is also being made to understand the historical formation of the Korean nation and its origin in an ethnic and linguistic identity which has been explored in the Korean nationalist historiography. The first part of the chapter is focusing on historical settings and transformations of Korean nationalism in the modern period. The characteristic features of Korean nationalism under the Japanese colonial rule and the influential factors that emboldened the ethnic and linguistic nationalism among the Koreans will be discussed in the second part. The final part will trace the complexities of Korean nationalism after liberation and division of Korean peninsula as South and North Korea.

During the nation building phase both Koreas had promoted different forms of ideologies such as Capitalism in South Korea and Communism in North Korea and legitimised their own political system. The dichotomy of nationalism in the form of political and ethnic notions of nationalism in both Koreas can be analysed within the framework of ethnic/cultural and civic/political debates in the background of the theories of nationalism. In short, the chapter aims to emphasise and attribute the role of ethnicity and language in the process of Korean nationalism from the formative

period to the end of cold-War. Significantly, the entire debates and conceptualisation of Korean nationalisms will be placed within the major theories of nationalism.

The historical roots of Korea as a nation are complex when it is analysed at the economic, social, cultural and geopolitical level. In East Asian regional settings, Korea is located in a central part and it shares border with China and Russia and lies just across the sea from Japan. The Korean Peninsula covers an area of approximately 220,000 km (Gil-sang 2005:14). Various artifacts believed to have been used by human beings around 700,000 years ago, were discovered in a cave in Korea. During the same period number of ethnic nations appeared in other parts of Asia. The ethnic origin of Korean nation can be traced back to a legendary founder, *Tangun*. The legend around Tangun is very popular in the Korean Peninsula. According to this legend Tangun was the offspring of a deity called Hwan-ung who supposedly came to Paektu-san with a band of followers in response to spiritual prayers from a female bear and female tiger and then mated with the bear and after she was transformed into a woman, yielded a son, *Tangun*. This son of a deity is considered to be the founder of Korea in 2333 BC. Another origin myth of Korea is revolves around called Kija who was the Chinese prince of the Shang Dynasty who supposedly founded Korea in southern Manchuria in 1122 BC. Most Korean academics and nationalists have been recognised *Tangun*. Moreover *Tangun* provides a symbolic way to explain how a complex blend of tribal Asian and proto-Caucasoid people interacted and merged ethnically and linguistically to constitute the people of Gojoseon (land of the morning clam). This historical conceptualisation is leading to trace the formation of Korean state in Bronze Age. The founder of Gojoseon, Tangun, is remembered by Koreans as "Grandfather Tangun." This designation is an embodiment of the deep pride and affection Koreans hold for him. Throughout the 5,000 years of Korean history, the legend of *Tangun* has empowered the people of the Korea to unite and overcome difficult times, and also served as a symbol of Korea's long history and traditions in which Koreans take much pride (Ibid: 48).

The establishment of Three Kingdoms such as Goguryeo (56 BC), Baekje (18 BC), and Shilla (37 BC) had brought some kind of advanced institutional structure over the Korean peninsula. For most of the Three Kingdoms period there was a fourth kingdom on the southern end of the peninsula named *Kaya* which shared close

cultural ties with Japan. These three Kingdoms have been developed in different parts of the peninsula which has also been created some sort of contradictory elements into the ways of national unity and the development of unified Korean identity. Moreover the early historical situation of the world was in mainly based on the competition of tribal states with each others. At the same time Korean Peninsula had also witnessed the power struggle of each state in the name of gaining power and survival. As the states on the peninsula each expanded its territory and population, leading to the intensification of conflict amongst them, need for a more efficient organisation of the states arose. As a result, the political systems, including government departments, government posts, ranks and central and local administrative organisations, economic and social system were also set up. However one remarkable thing is that close interactions between each state and people. They are deeply intertwined with one language, history, culture, and ethnicity. Jung Hae Choi points out that "the myth of the ethnic/national origins and implication of pure blood reinforce the belief that Korea has been and should be like one big family or kinship groups which shares language, history, culture, life style, tradition, institution, customs as well as political institution" (Choi 2008:2).

During the period of three Kingdoms, Buddhism was introduced and widely disseminated under the protection of the royal families. The philosophy of Buddhism provided a vehicle for personal devotion and belief on the one hand, the aspect of Buddhism as a doctrine has helped to the protection of the state on the other. This was a period spread of Buddhism in these Three Kingdoms. Buddhist monks moreover played a pioneering role in bringing new elements of Chinese culture to Korea. The monks also gave ethical guidance to the people. During the mid seventh century, the series of breathtaking confrontations between the Three Kingdoms continued unabated. In the end, Shilla Kingdoms got prominence and came to unify the central southern parts of the Korean peninsula. It was a remarkable achievement for Shilla, which had faced all sorts of difficulties and even collapse at the end of its confrontation with the *Tang* Dynasty. Even though the unification was limited to the territory south of the Daedong River, it was a turning point in Korean history because Shilla defeated the *Tang* aggression and provided an opportunity to form a unified nation integrating the distinctive heritages and culture of the Three Kingdoms. Under Shilla's successor, the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392), some Koreans with ethnic bonds

to the Manchus to the north created another state, known as *Balhae*. Therefore the name of "Korea" originated in the Goryeo period. The Goryeo dynasty lasted until 1392 when Manchurian controlled Yuan Dynasty in China changed the dynamic that surrounded Korea, causing the creation of the Yi Dynasty which lasted until the early 20th century. With the emergence of Yi Dynasty the Korean peninsula was entering into the modern form of Korean nation. In this period, "society underwent a series of upheavals with the appearance in the ranks of central government bureaucrats of new ideological force- men ever more deeply committed to the abstract doctrines of Neo-Confucianism" (Eckert, Lee, Lew, Robinson and Wagner 1991: 135). It was closely related to the rise of *yangban literati* groups[1] (this class dominated political, economic, and cultural life in the early Yi Dynasty and also they had played prominent roles for assisting the ruling system especially in the form of intellectual level).

Gi-Wook Shin, an authentic scholar in the study of Korean ethnicity has quoted Shin Chae-ho, a leading nationalist, who consider Korean history as one of the ethnic nation and traced it to the mythical figure *Tangun*. According to Shin Chae-ho, the Korean people were descendants of *Tangun* Joseon, who merged with Buyo of Manchuria to form the Goguryeo people. This original blend, Shin contended, remained the ethnic or racial core of the Korean nation, a nation preserved through defense and warfare against outside forces. The nation was defined as "an organic body formed out of the spirit of the people...descended through single pure bloodline" (Shin 2006: 1).

Ethnicity and social identity is generally regarded as a cultural phenomenon, mainly based on a common language and historic heritage. From this point of view

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[1]   The Yangban were part of the traditional ruling class of dynastical Korea during the Joseon Dynasty. Yangban were landed or unlanded gentry who comprised the Confucian idea of a "scholarly official", and thus were part of the agrarian bureaucracy within Korea. Throughout Joseon history, the monarchy and the yangban existed on the slave labor of the lower classes- particularly sangmin and cheonmin- whose bondage to the land and servitude enabled the upper classes to enjoy a perpetual life of leisure particularly the life of a "scholarly" gentleman. In modern Korea today, the yangban legacy of patronage based on common educational experiences, teachers, family backgrounds and hometowns continue in some forms, both officially and unofficially. While the practice is more visible among the Korea's upper class, in the South, patronage based on filial ties, one's alma mater, one's hometown, etc. persist, with the North having formed a de facto yangban class based mostly on military and party alliances.

we can understand that the formation of Korean national identity was closely related to the common characteristics of its language. The historical roots of Korean language can be traced back to the Yi Dynasty, during that time a leader of Yi, King Sejong introduced the Korean alphabet *Hunminjeongeum* (Letters for the Proper Instruction of the People', now called *Hangeul*) to construct a social identity of Korea through language. Because ancient Koreans used their own unique oral language, they did not have a writing system corresponding to their spoken language and therefore used Chinese characters to keep records. However, consisting of tens of thousands of ideographs, Chinese was difficult for commoners to learn. Therefore, a writing system that matched spoken Korean was necessary not only for the development of learning and culture but also for the proper governing of the people. At this juncture, King Sejong, the fourth king of the Yi dynasty, finally came up with a phonetic writing system that well represented the speech of Koreans.

There is another important argument about the origin and development of Korean language, that the modern Korean language is descended from the language of the Shilla Kingdom, which unified the peninsula in the seventh century. As Korean linguist Yi Ki-mun notes, the more remote origin of the Korean language are disputed, although many Korean linguists, together with a few western scholars continue to favor the now widely-contested nineteenth-century theory of an Altaic family[2] of languages supposed to include Korean, Japanese, and Mongolian, among other languages. The cultural history of East Asia and civilisations was mainly dominated by Chinese power struggle. As a result, some kind of cultural and social factors had been remained over Japan and Korea. However, in the trajectory of

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[2] Altaic language family is very controversial subject in the realm of languages. However, generally which recognise Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Korean and Japonic languages are part of this family. These languages are spoken in wider from northeast Asia, through central Asia to Eastern Europe. Stefan Georg, Peter A. Michalove, Alexis Manaster Ramer, and Paul J. Sidwell (1999) discuss. these language families share numerous characteristics. Therefore, the main debate concerns the origin of their similarities. One camp, often called the "Altaicists", views these similarities as arising from common descent from a Proto-Altaic language spoken several thousand years ago. The other camp, often called the "anti-Altaicists", views these similarities as arising from "areal interaction" between the language groups concerned. Some linguists believe the case for either interpretation is about equally strong, they have been called the "skeptics." Another view accepts Altaic as a valid family but includes in it only Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic. This view was widespread prior to the 1960s, the expanded grouping, including Korean since the early 1970s.

modern history they developed and maintained a distinctive social, cultural, and economic identity. Since 1948 the continued use of Chinese characters in Korea has been criticized by linguistic nationalists and some intellectuals. They fear that loss of character literacy could distance younger generations from a major part of their cultural heritage. Although the Korean and Chinese language are not related in terms of grammatical structure, more than 50 percent of Korean language vocabulary is derived from Chinese loanwords, a reflection of the cultural dominance of China for over two millennia. In many cases, there are two words, a Chinese loanword and an indigenous Korean word with same meaning. However, Koreans select one and other variant to achieve the proper register in speech or in writing, and to make suitable distinction of meaning in accordance with established usage. In short, it proves that the historical developments of Korean language is representing to the formation of modern Korean nation and the national identity to the Koreans in the name of nationalism.

Korean nationalists in both of the current Korean states take enormous pride in how their ancestors created an ethnic Korean nation state and how they generally coped with pressures from neighboring- but not always neighborly- China and later on Japan. However, the ways in which Korean culture interacted with China has produced a great deal of philosophical, religious, literary, political and other forms of "Sinic" influence on what constituted Koreans' sense of who they were and where they fit into the world as they could perceive it (King 1998: 63).

Historical origin and developments of Korean nationalism has been discussed and located by various scholars in several range of thoughts. Gi-Wook Shin and Paul Y. Chang argue that during its formative years, Korean nationalism developed a strong anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist orientation. "Nationalism inspired Koreans to create a new, modern nation that could ward off imperialist encroachment at the turn

of the twentieth century. Strongly influenced by the Social Darwinism[3] that was then popular in East Asia, Korean intellectuals viewed the political sphere as a struggle between imperialists and nationalists and therefore advocated an energetic nationalism that could withstand rampant imperialist force. In contrast to nineteenth century Italy or Germany, where nationalism became an ideology to integrate diverse ethnic groups into a unified political community, nationalism in Korea served anti-imperialist purposes" (Shin and Chang 2004: 121).

Samuel S. Kim explains the divided Korean nationalism into three political developmental stages- the traditional, transitional, and modern. The traditional period began in 1637 when Korea completely isolated itself from the outside world invasions by the Japanese (1592-1597) and the Manchus (1627-1636). "The first period ended in 1876 when Japan forced Korea to open its door with the Treaty of Kanghwa[4]. The transition period lasted from 1876 until 1910, the year Korea was formally annexed to the Japanese Empire. The modern period from 1910-1945 covers 36 years of Japanese colonial rule in Korea" (Kim1978: 10-37).

Scholars like Wonsun Yi and Songeum Yi see the last half of the nineteenth century as the beginning of modern nationalism in Korea. It was the period during which a series of foreign encroachments were committed along the costal area of

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[3] The rush to introduce, internalise and utilise Social Darwinism so characteristic of "pro-modern" Korean intellectuals of the 1880-1920's can be understood and explained from several viewpoints. One, the most conventional, is to recall that harsh realities of the time – internal crisis aggravated by external aggression threatening the very existence of independent Korean statehood -naturally sparked the interest in the theory supposedly explaining the deeper evolutionary context of international rivalry and showing in most manifest ways the urgent necessity of "self-strengthening" and reforms. In this connection, it is also usually recalled that, in the Korean – as well as in the Chinese and Japanese - case, the "struggle for survival" was generally understood, first and foremost, as rivalry between nations, not persons, while "cooperation and patriotism" were supposed to be the most optimal and effective way of interaction between the subjects of the same state. In a nutshell, this popular view concentrates the attention on the fact that the state or "nation" (after the demise of Korean statehood in 1910), not an individual, was the subject of "struggle" and "evolution" for Korean Social Darwinists – the members of a reformist elite group using this ideology for the first attempts at the "modernisation from above." In other cases, Social Darwinism provided the underpinnings for the formation of the ideology of resistant Korean nationalism which, while having eventually overgrown its Social Darwinist beginnings, retained for long time easily distinguishable Social Darwinist traits.

[4] The Treaty of Kanghwa, signed on February 27th, 1876, was written by Kurod Kiyotaka Governor of Hokkaido, and Shin Heon, General/Minister of Joseon Dynasty Korea, also designed to open up Korea to Japanese trade. Japan employed gunboat diplomacy to press Joseon Dynasty to sign this unequal treaty. The Treaty also granted Japanese many of the same rights in Korea that Westerners enjoyed in Japan, such as extraterritoriality (Japanese in Korea would be subject to Japanese, not Korean, law).

Korean, American, French, British, Russian, and Japanese merchant marines and naval ships landed along the costal regions or off-shore islands of Korea demanding trade and commercial relations. Such attempts often ended in bloody disputes. In the end it was neighboring Japan that successfully compelled Korea to establish new trade and commercial relations by opening up two Korean harbors, Inchon and Pusan (Yi and Yi 1975: 1-14).

Chong-sik Lee, meanwhile, identified the period of the Tonghak Rebellion (1894-1896) and the Righteous Army Uprising in the wake of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 with Japan as the beginning of modern Korean nationalism. He asserted that through these events, the Korean people found new symbol or a common enemy, Japan, to rally against, and anti-Japanese sentiment brought Koreans closer to each other as they had never been in "any time in the preceding three hundred years" (Lee 1965: 51-53).

Woo-Keun Han has had a different take from Lee on the origin of modern Korean nationalism. According to Han, early anti-Japanese resistance movements, including the Korean Army Revolt of 1882, the Tonghak Rebellion of 1894, and the Righteous Army Uprisings were primarily interested in restoring the traditional order of Korean society and, thus, nationalism in the modern sense had played no part in it. He identified, instead, the March First Movement of 1919 as the origin of modern Korean nationalism. The March First Movement brought the Koreans of all classes and ages together for the first time. Also through the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence in this movement, the idea of establishing an independent modern state with a democratic government was born (Han 1971: 477).

A number of observations can be mode on these range of arguments about the origin and developments of Korean nationalism. One thing that can be identified is that Korean nationalism and nationalist movements might have been triggered by a series of foreign intrusions and invasions by the Westerners in nineteenth century. The Confusion nature of Korean society during the Yi dynasty period widely debated with Western notion of modernization project. For example, in the era of Daewongun's rule Korea's foreign policy was generally categorized as a *Seclusionist* policy (it prevents the Western strategic expansion of *Catholicalism* with holding traditional values). Moreover Korea in the late 19th century got entangled in events

which yielded the Sino-Japanese War (1984-1985) and then the Russo-Japanese War (1905). All of this led to Japan's of the expense of would be Chinese and Russian mentors, establishing a protectorate relationship with Korea in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, and compelling Korean leaders to sign in 1910 a treaty of annexation that made Korea part of the Japanese empire. In the light of all these events it can be understood that the construction of Korea's identity was essential for people. By stressing the ethnic, collectivistic, organic nature of nation, Koreans were able to enhance internal solidarity and collective consciousness of the Korean nation against external threat. The need to assert the distinctiveness and purity of the Korean nation grew even more significantly under colonial rule, especially as Japan attempted to assimilate Koreans into the empire as "imperial subjects." The protection of ethnic identity, language, and cultural heritage of Koreans in the name national sovereignty were significant factors before and during the colonial regime. By a deep assessment of nationalist historiography it is possible to locate role of the ethnicity and language as influential elements of Korean nationalism. Further, broad discussions are needed to trace the role of ethnic identity and languages in the formation and developments of Korean nationalism. To understand complexities of these histories it should be necessary to have a detailed analysis of modern Korean nationalism, especially its modern but pre-colonial variants, anti-colonial nationalism (during the Japanese colonial era), and post-liberation period (divided nationalism) and finally in the end of the Cold War.

Historical Origin and Characteristics of Korean Nationalism

The formative period of Korean nationalism followed the pattern of Asian forms of nationalism which had highly stimulated anti-imperialist and anti-colonial sentiments. The Korean people enjoyed national unity from the middle of the seventh century and they were ruled by a centralised political authority. They shared an attachment to their native soil, a sense of togetherness, the same memories, and the same historical experiences. Andrew C. Nahm, one important scholar in the area of modern Korean history, points out that the Korean nationalism originated in the reform movement of the *Silhak* (Practical Learning). Nationalist scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, promoted a drive to establish the identity of the Korean nation by discovering her unique heritage. Their aims were the establishment of the legitimacy

of Korean history and to uphold the rights of the Koreans to make changes necessary to promote their national strength and improve the conditions of the people without coping with Chinese models (Nahm 1983: 34). The main objectives of movements in this period were the construction of ideological foundation to the Koreans in terms of literary and ethnically. At that time, global polity was in shadow of Western imperialist system and power struggles. In the case of Korea, Daewongun's administration had already adopted the policy of isolation and criticised the penetration of the foreigners such as French in 1866 and US in 1871. For considering the protection of Koreans, he stated that;

> Foreign barbarians have invaded our country. If we do not fight, we must make peace with them. If we make peace with them, it would lead us to the selling of the country. Let our posterity be warned of this for ten thousands of years (cited from Nahm 1983: 20).

It is very important to analyse the Korean understanding of Western imperialism in the context of the preservation of traditional ethnic values and heritage. The realisations of cultural values and the need of ideological bases in the sphere of literacy had been tended to the collectivity of *Silhak* scholars in Korea. They had deeply promoted the Korean literature for the construction of national identity in the form of knowledge. Gellner suggests that the nationalist transformation is made possible partly by the development of a literate "high culture" and is an extension of its relationship to the everyday culture of face-to-face relationships (Gellner 2004: 11). Moreover their collective form known as *Kaehwadang* (the Party of Enlightenment and progress) has also played an influential role over the administration.

With the end of the nineteenth century Korean nationalism entered the transformation period which often went in aggressive actions against anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. I-sop Hong has explained that the anti-foreign movement (whether it was conservative or exclusive) which erupted in 1881 ended in failure due to the Japanese infiltration. "A series of other turbulent incidents, such as resistance against the Japanese army in 1882, the political reform of 1884, and the agrarian revolt spearheaded by the *Tonghak* (Eastern Learning) believers in 1894, resulted in awakening the Korean people to the necessity of strengthening their racial unity" (I-sop1966: 15). Another important argument put forward by Chong-sik Lee is that, the

Tonghak, "a religion which 'carried a seed of nationalism', emerged in the early 1860s and gained momentum in the early 1890s, as Korea's existence was threatened by alien powers. Indeed, the Tonghak movement became a milestone in the history of Korean nationalism, as it was the first large-scale mass movement of the commoners" (Lee 1965: 22).

After the *Tonghak* Movement the Korean nationalism shifted into organisation structure which led to the formation of The Independence Club. In order to achieve their aims, they published a Korean language newspaper named *Tongnip Sinmun* (The Independent) and also organised the first modern political party in Korea, the "Independence Club." The primary intension of *The Independent* was the stimulations of national consciousness among the Koreans for the construction of their own identity. The first issue of this newspaper emphatically stated that "to speak in the interest of Koreans and Korean's alone." Moreover, "one must know one's own national history before knowing those of others." In his article, Heung-soo Hahn mentioned that "the foremost objective of the Independence Club was to educate and awaken the people of Korea with a view to lay the foundation of a strong and self-reliant nation" (Hahn 1975: 355). This kind of observation visibly draws the vital role of Korean ethnic identity to overcome the threat of foreigners. Brahm Swaroop Agrawal says that the Club encouraged the people to believe in the prowess of the Korean race and to take pride in the legacy of the glorious past. It emphasised the necessity of studying the national history using Korean alphabet (*hangul*) (Agrawal 1998: 56). The movement brought out the latent potentialities of the Korean society for the formation of modern and advanced nation. The nationalist sentiments and movements must be cultivated to the creation of national identity. Heung-soo Hahn says "the nationalism put forward by the independence Club became the backbone and prime mover of the modernisation in Korea" (Hahn1975: 392). Thus the Independence Club was the first public organisation in Korea which evolved a well considered ideology of progressive nationalism. The wide range literary debates had been created the possible situation for the construction of social identity among the Koreans. Further, it has been made the significance of ethnic identity for retaining cultural tradition and values among Koreans.

The establishment of a "Japanese Protectorate" over Korea was a visible intervention of outside power on national sovereignty. It was a critical juncture for the Koreans and the foreign intervention has created an extreme level of nationalist sentiments among them. As a result, nationalism had gone into the phase of militant resistance with the formation of Righteous Army in this era. According to the unofficial estimates, there were at least 50,000 Koreans arose in revolt and 20,000 were killed out of an approximate total population of 15,000,000; that is to say, at least three Koreans out every one thousand fought against the Japanese colonialism, and in which one out of every thousand laid his life. The ultimate goal of the Righteous Army insurgents was "to regain national sovereignty and prevent the demise of the Korean race" and also declared that "our land is Korea and we are the Koreans" (Nahm1983: 24).With concerning that the mobilisation of this ideas among Koreans, they took initiative to set up various social and cultural associations. The core activities of the groups were the articulations of nationalist sentiments through publishing newspapers and magazines. The ultimate result of this intellectual resistance was the development of a high level of national consciousness among the Korean people. The people were enlightened by the modern ideas of democracy and nationalism.

The deep examinations of the historical origin and characteristics of Korean nationalism have brought out some insights into understanding of the role of ethnic identity and literature on Korean nationalism. Throughout their resistances, the anti-colonial vision has been upholding significance of the historical and cultural traditions of the Korea. Thus, in the formative period, ethnic nationalism has functioned as an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ideology. In Western Europe where nationalism developed as an ideology to integrate diverse ethnic groups into a unified political community and to justify imperialist expansion, but in the case of Asia and Korea, nationalism arose primarily as a response to imperialism. Gi-Wook Shin says that for Korea, which had a "long history political, linguistics, and geographic continuity, and traditional values, that is why the protection was more urgent to enhance collective consciousness and internal solidarity among the Koreans against the external threat" (Shin 2006: 128).

At the same time nationalism was operated through propagation of literatures. Number of literature had appeared in Korea which mainly emphasised the creation of nationalist notions among the people. The core objectives of nationalists were the construction of their own national identity. Benedict Anderson explains that "the key mechanism in the process of diffusion of nationalism is imitation by native elites, which is made possible by print capitalism" (Anderson 1991: 67). By considering this argument we can say that, in the context of Korea, the *Silhak* scholars sought to establish the legitimacy of Korean history among the people by resisting the misinterpretations of imperialists. Moreover they initiated Korean studies, which included geographical, historical, political, and economic, and social studies so as to make Koreans more knowledgeable about their own country, and they published various books on those subjects. This trend was continued in all other nationalist movements in Korea. Ultimately it had played an intensified role to construct emotions and sentiments among the Koreans.

Nationalism in Japanese Colonial Period

During the colonial period, which lasted from August 1910 to August 1945, Korean nationalism became strongly anti-colonial and anti-imperial. Its ultimate objective was the liberation of Korea from Japan, and its immediate task was the preservation of the racial and cultural heritage of the Koreans. A significant new element in Korean nationalism was the "we consciousness", which carried certain racist overtone and the concept of collective ethos promoted by nationalist historians. Under the colonial rule Korea's national identity was questioned visibly. The long-term objective of the Japanese policy in Korea was that complete assimilation of the Korean nation into the Japanese national entity so that, ultimately, Korea could become integral part of the Japanese empire. Shin and Chang analyze that the Japanese assimilation policy was based on colonial racism, particularly *nissen dosoron*, which claimed that Koreans shared a common origin with Japanese but were always subordinate to them. However, Koreans resisted it by asserting their unique racial origins and great national heritage. They stressed that "Koreans are without a doubt a unitary nation in blood and culture." To question such unity would have been tantamount to denying "Koreanness" in the face of imperial challenge. Thus Japanese

rule failed to erase Korean national consciousness but rather reinforced the claims to become a distinct and homogenous ethnic identity (Shin and Chang 2004: 122).

The Japanese colonisation has given some new dimension to Korean nationalism and brought some changes in its characteristics. With the annexation, Koreans realised an important thing that the invisible imperial project of Japan which ultimately restricted the spread of national consciousness among peoples. And also Japan became a common enemy among the Koreans and this realisation and construction has been tremendously influenced the anti-Japanese feelings among them. The loss of the national sovereignty has brought the possible situation for thinking a new sense of Korean nationhood and nationality as a binding identity and solidarity. Chizuko Allen points out that the Japanese colonial policy intensified Korean nationalist sentiment with the consequence of further "racialising" the Korean notion of nation. Given the misfortune of colonisation and unable to recover their political sovereignty, Korean nationalist turned to the task of "asserting the greatness of Korea's cultural heritage through a quest for Korea's historical origin" (Allen1990: 791). In response to colonial racism, Korean nationalists advocated the purity and distinctiveness of the Korean nation or race. They extensively studied and reevaluated Korean history, culture, and heritage to provide a "scientific" basis for the distinctive origin of the Korean nation.

Anthony D. Smith has tried to show that nationalism has some stronger roots in pre-modern ethnicity. He agrees that nationalism, "as an ideology and movement, dates only from the later eighteenth century, but argues that *the ethnic origins of nations* are much older. Smith focuses on *ethnie*-ethnic communities with their myth and symbols which shows that these existed in both modern and pre-modern times and with substantial continuity through history" (Smith 1989: 16). The threat of Japan over Korean cultural identity was very much helpful to raise the significance of Korean ethnic identity in the mainstream debates of a nation and national culture. For Instance, Ch'oe Namson, one of the key nationalist figures during the colonial time, stressed the uniqueness of the Korean culture (including its language, literature, and folklore) and elevated *Tangun* as the supreme symbol of Korea's cultural and historical heritage. He went so far as to advocate a historical view of "Northeast Asia centered on Korea."

The result of this self-contradictory policy of persuasive assimilation and forced Japanisation of the Korean society was a complete alienation as far as the Koreans were concerned. Thus the Korean national consciousness became stronger which has increased their eagerness to free themselves from Japanese rule. Instead of changing the Koreans into loyal subjects of the Japanese empire, the policy of forced Japanisation infused the spirit of national unity among the Koreans. Ultimately, it was leading to the organisation of various classes of Korean society to a common fight against the Japanese colonial rule. The suffering of the Korean masses under the Japanese colonialism has brought an historical direction with the emergence of the 1919 Independence Movement. Chong-sik Lee argues that the March First Movement 1919 was the first peaceful and righteous demonstration of the Koreans who were inspired by the principle of national self-determination and the concept of "one people, one nation". Moreover, "two million Koreans participated in these mass demonstrations, which resulted in 7,700 deaths, 45,600 people have been wounded and 47,000 arrested" (Lee 1963: 101-106). Some scholars argue that March First Movement was the beginning of the modern form of Korean nationalism. Apart from this, the global scenario had also been witnessed some major events such as Russian Revolution of 1917, and the First World War (1914-1918) which has been dramatically changed the geopolitical equations across the continents. Nationalism was entering into a modern era, this time in the form of anti-colonial nationalism that has made some qualitative changes in the theory and practice of nationalism in Asia generally and Korea in particular.

Through the manifesto of the March First Movement, popularly known as the "Song of Independence" and the "Declaration of Independence" signed by thirty-three leaders of the national movement eloquently expressed their views on Korean nationalism. The whole statements and declarations spontaneously raised national sentiments among the Koreans in terms of an ethnic solidarity. For instance, the declaration stated that:

> The Joseon people are called the losers, the weak, the displaced, the wanderers and the vagabonds who were expelled from their native country. Everywhere one goes across five oceans and six continents, one witnesses the painful tribulations and tears of Koreans. The worst crime is that of having no country and the most heart-rending pain is that losing one's country. How can we leave Joseon's jade-colored sky and fertile land? We don't

have our own land. Oh brothers! Are you going to live like animals? Are you going to live like doges without a native land? Finally, the enraged voice of the Korean people is heard in Seoul. The march of the 20th century has begun! Fellow Koreans, come to the streets! My deaf, blind, dumb, and starving brothers! My brothers! My sisters! All of you come out into the streets (cited from Gil-sang 2005: 95).

The search for an ethnic Korean identity was a crucial subject in the time Japanese colonialism. It was mainly chanalised through promotion of Korean language and literature. Several books have been appeared around that time with regards to the aspects of cultural and traditional heritage of Korea. Cha Ki-Pyok examines the thought and ideology of Korean nationalism with a description of three important writers in this period. They were Han Yong-un who emerged from the religious circles, Sin Ch'ae-ho from the group of historians, and Cho So-ang from the group of political leaders. Though largely independent in their ideological development and different in the historical focus, they all represented a form of unity of the Korean nationalist thought Han Yong-un represents the independence thought of Korean nationalism and his concept was cogently expressed in his essay known as "Prospectus for Korea's Independence." Sin Ch'ae-ho was an historian who had emphasised the need for a traditional nationalist thinking and focused on national identity and integration based on populist ideology. His dream was firstly, to see a robust reconstruction of his fatherland and secondly, in the interim to write a correct history of the nation in the form of *Tangun* as a starting point of history. Cho So-ang finally embodied a rather complete systematisation of Korean nationalism both in terms of his thought and action as a prominent politician. His basic ideas had already been influenced and shaped in the drafting of the "Independence Declaration of Great Korea" (Ki-Pyok 1976: 5).

Korean literatures were very keen to focus on promoting a national identity "we consciousness." Meanwhile, the Korean Language Study Society was founded in 1924 (it was renamed as the Korean Linguistics Society in 1931) and launched a campaign to systematize and preserve the written Korean language as Japanese pressure to stamp out the Korean language increased. The protection of language has created a kind of notion of collectivity among the Koreans. While making uncompromising efforts to preserve the Korean language, the Koreans relentlessly

confronted various attempts made by the Japanese to the Koreans. The Koreans refused to give up their traditional costumes, particularly white color clothes, which symbolised the Korean national characteristics.

The press law and other regulations hampered the expression of Korean nationalism. However, many magazine and journal articles carried subtle expressions of nationalism. Most Korean magazines did not survive long because of highly restrictive press ordinance and censorship. However they played an important role in preserving Korean language. The publication of a fair number of popular literatures has taken an influential role in the shaping of public opinion against Japanese imperialism and its ideological hegemony. *Dong-a Ilbo* (The Oriental Daily) and *Chosun Ilbo* (The Korean Daily), which were established in 1920, and *Joong-ang Daily News* (The Central Daily), which emerged a short time later, were the spokesmen for the Korean nationalism. These nationalist papers have drawn many critical statements and articles against Japanese policies, and because of that they were suspended many times, and many of their issues were confiscated.

Korean students have played a positive role in the self-strengthening movement as they themselves adopted such slogans as "One Must Learn to Survive", and "Knowledge is Strength". Moreover, when *Dong-a Ilbo*[5] and *Chosun Ilbo* was leading a new cultural movement in the name of anti-illiteracy campaign in 1931, thousands of Korean students from Japan as well as Korea, have joined along with the people movements in the rural regions. The students traveled to almost every nuke and corners of Korea campaigning for literacy and to promote a knowledge level resistance against Japan.

After the March First Movement, Korean nationalist movements entered into two kinds of ideological divisions. The Korean nationalists were split into two broad camps, namely the militarists, and the gradualists (diplomats). After the Russian Revolution, communism proclaimed that the imperialism was an enemy of the people

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[5] The Dong-a Ilbo (literally East Asia Daily) was founded in 1920 by Kim Sung-soo who also founded Korean University during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Later. Kim also served as the second vice-president of South Korea in 1951. Dong-a Ilbo started as a nationalist paper but today it avows in its company motto to be critical and honest in reporting the news. It is also one of the three major newspapers in South Korea with a daily circulation of more than 2 million. The main goal of this paper is to attain "For the people, democracy and culture."

of colonies and semi-colonies. As a result, communist ideology rapidly spread into the colonies and came to hold an important part in nationalist independence movements. Ultimately, under such a situation, Korea's nationalist movements were also split into two wings of rightists and leftists, and Korea's nationalism underwent a great change in its ideological outlook following the March 1st Movement. Shin critically examines that the colonial racism and international socialism were seen as constraining Korea's national sovereignty, denying the distinctiveness of the Korean race, or arguing for the primacy of class over nation, respectively (Shin 2006: 125). In such a scenario, the interference of out side powers and ideological schisms has paved a fertile soil for the divisions of the nation. However, there remains an important question, that whether these ideologies have been very much influential in Korea to compare the influences of the ethnic and language identity of the nation.

Nationalism in post-Liberation Period

The liberation of Korea in 1945 from Japanese imperialist rule was an important milestone in the history of the modern Korean nation. However, the formation of USSR in 1917 and the ascendancy of the US as a capitalist super power were some of the influential factors in the shaping of modern Korean nation, both politically and ideologically. The ideological rivalry between these two camps has led the Soviet Union to make use of a sizeable group of Koreans who had been part of communist-backed anti-Japanese movements in Soviet Union, China, and Japanese controlled Manchuria in guiding the future of liberated Korea. While the US made some use of its connection with the former Korean "provisional" government's representatives in the US- notably including Syngman Rhee. Ultimately, the US domination remained over Southern part of Korea; USSR was focused on Northern part of the Korea. Thus some historical studies on the Korean affairs have observed that, Korea's temporary division hardened, in fact, informally it remained as two separate Korean states from 1948 onwards which created circumstances that led to the Korean War and its aftermath, over half a century of peninsular geopolitical tensions.

The discussions of post-liberation ethnic and linguistic nationalism in both Koreas are very complex and a matter of serious contestations in the realm of academia also. Rival ideological practices and the existence of two different political systems have created some tensions in the field. Regarding this issue, scholars on

nationalism have put forward several ranges of thoughts. The most of these discussions are mainly concerned about the changing perception in international politics. From this point of view, it can be traced that the changing trends in international power structure depends upon the criteria of power equations of several nations. The disintegration of the USSR has brought the possibility of some fundamental geopolitical shift in international politics. To understand the mode of ethnic and linguistic nationalism in the Korean context an alternative method of study should followed. Edward A. Olsen argues that the continuous ideological practices of both Koreas have developed "Semi-Nationalism". Authoritarian Communism in the North Korea and politically pluralistic Capitalism in the South Korea has driven a major wedge between the two halves of the divided nation, clearly blurring what nationalism can mean to Koreans in each Korea today. The anti-imperial global vision of what could be called Marxiam-Leninism-Stalinism-Kimism which guides North Korea's brand of "semi-nationalism" is not very compatible with the divisive nature of strident nationalism. Similarly, South Korea's embrace of economic globalism, pride in the success embodied by the cultural impact of the Korean Wave in international media, which roots to display of South Korea's brand of "semi-nationalism." However he agrees that the both Koreas share the traditions of Korean nationhood and nationalism, how they can express it for the South and North are simultaneously similar and different in each Korea's domestic affairs (Olsen 2008: 10).

The major debates on the characteristics of ethnic and linguistic nationalism will be very significant in the understanding of post-liberation. In the time of state building processes in Koreas, communism and capitalism was a dominant actor. From the very beginning of state formation period, ideological perception of communism and capitalism has taken initiative to create different mode of state system in terms of economic, political, and ideological level. Thus North and South Korea adopted two different ideologies which highly promoted political nationalism in the launching phase. North Korea intentionally avoided using the language of nationalism, which Marxism treated as an ideology of the bourgeoisie, and preferred to use "Patriotism." However, some scholars argue that, from a nationalist point of view, North Korea was undoubtedly nationalist in its rhetoric and policy. Shin and Chang explains that the North Korean leader, Kim Il Sung, went so far as to say that he was pursuing not a

communist revolution rather a nationalist programme. He believed it was premature to seek communist society in Korea as he would not be able to garner enough popular support. Instead, he claimed, Korea must first accomplish "a democratic revolution to remove colonial and feudal elements" through the promotion of "patriotism that hates the enemy and loves the fatherland." For him, "there is no point to have-ism or ideology without *minjok* and fatherland" and "authentic communists should be patriots who enthusiastically love their nation and fatherland" (Shin and Chang 2004: 124).

Similarly, South Korean leaders like Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee have extensively used nationalist rhetoric. The southern regime was named *Taehan min'guk* or the Republic of the Great Han Race and the *Tangun* myth became indispensable national symbol as illustrated by the adoption of the Tangun calendar. The anniversary of *Tangun*'s accession was designated as a national holiday to celebrate the birth of the Korean nation or race. Moreover, Syngman Rhee, the first president of Korea proposed the ideology of "One People-ism" as the state policy of the new nation. In fact, the leaders in both Koreas appealed to nationalism in post-colonial state building by stressing ethnicity. Park Chung-Hee never questions the fact that Koreans are of "one race and one people" and constantly stressed Korea's mytho-historical derivation from a common ancestor, *Tangun* (Hee 1970: 21). Furthermore, he proudly proclaimed that "we have never given up our pride or our dignity in being a homogenous people." From this kind of perspective, and despite the reality of political division between the North and South, he went so far as to call the North Koreans "our brethren in the north of this great Han race" proclaiming that:

> Although we are now separated into South and North, we are one entity with a common destiny, bound by one language, and by one history and by the same racial origin. Ideology changes, but the nation stay and last. We must quickly recover our identity as the inseparable Han race, and boldly push ahead to bring about the historical point through which national identity can be revived in the northern land. We are great nation which, during some five thousand years of history, has had to confront innumerable trials and perils, and yet has shown courage amid hardship, wisdom amid crisis, and has thus triumphantly overcome adversity (Hee 1973: 22).

Thus, Park shares that a commitment to an ethnic notion of Korean nation, found in its historical homogeneity and greatness. The speeches and proclamations of

national leaders in both Koreas were deeply rooted on the base of ethnic origin of nation. Shin, Freda, and Yi analyze the official discourse of Kim Il-Sung of the North and Park Chung-Hee of the South, based on Connor's recommendation that "nationalist speeches and proclamations" are fruitful areas for research on nationalism. It was during the 1960s and 1970s that both Koreas engaged in the most intensified ideological contest, and the legacy of this period looms large despite some important changes in the recent years (for example, Roh's *Nordpolitik* of the late 1980s). Of course, we acknowledge that the speeches and works of these two figures contain a variety of propagandistic elements, but the focus here is "not the sincerity of the propagandist, but the nature of the mass instinct to which he or she appeals." Thus, we view both Kim and Park as skilful practitioners of nationalist mass politics, which can be best seen Kim's *Juche* ideology of independence or self-reliance, and Park's slogan of *choguk kundaehwa* (modernization of the fatherland) (Shin, Freda, and Yi 1999: 476).

From the point of ethno-symbolist view, it can be traced why both Koreans are keeping some kinds of historical heritage and traditional symbols and values in their consciousness? And also what is the contradictory nature of both Koreas political ideologies with traditional ethnic values? Anthony D.Smith, a leading scholar on the theories of nationalism proposed the idea of an *ethnic origin of nation* on the basis of an ethno-symbolist understanding of nationalism. He agrees that nationalism is a modern phenomenon; it was more developed as an ideology and movement later in nineteenth century. But the core concept is that the *ethnic origin of nations* is much older. Because, Smith argues, "myths, symbols, memories, and values are 'carried' in and by forms and genres of artifacts and activities which change only very slowly, so *ethnie*, once formed, tend to be exceptionably durable under 'normal' vicissitudes, and to persist over many generations, even centuries, forming 'moulds' within which all kinds of social and cultural processes can unfold and upon which all kinds of circumstances and pressure can exert an impact" (Smith 1989:16).

After liberation in 1945 and despite the peninsular division into North and South, the unity of the Korean ethnic nation was largely taken for granted. In 1947, the prominent South Korean historian Son Chint'ae wrote: "since the beginnings of the history, we (Koreans) have been a single race that has had a common historic life,

living a single territory ... sharing a common history." Similarly, North Korean historian Peak Namun noted in 1946 that "the Korean nation is a unitary nation with a common blood, territory, language, culture, and historical destiny for thousands of years." Neither side disputed ethnic homogeneity of the Korean nation, which spanned thousands of years and was based on a single bloodline of the great *Han* race. More recently, in the early 1990s, North Korea announced the discovery of the tomb of Tangun, mythic founder of the Korean nation, and some South Koreans sought to erect an honorary Tangun statue in every government office building (Shin and Chang 2004: 122).

The territorial divisions and practices of separated political ideologies have provided some distinctive character to Korean nationalism. The systemic and societal values of both Koreas were different in terms of its economic, political, and ideological dimensions. The social, economic, and political functions of both Koreans were based on these two ideologies which has brought a rigidity and orthodoxy between these two nations. In fact, during the cold War period, both Koreas extensively promoted two forms of political nationalisms which often based the values of communism and capitalism. The main objective of this kind of a mobilisation was the ideological and political legitimisation of each one's own political systems. Smith says that nation contains two elements that ethnic/cultural and civic/political (Smith 1991: 2). On the basis of the above mentioned argument, one can discuss the characteristics and nature of both Koreas nationalism. From the very beginning of the state formation both Koreas were seeking to establish their own sovereign states, they needed to attach a certain political criterion of membership to their respective regimes. Although all Koreans belonged to the same ethnic nation, not all of them were qualified to be legitimate members of a new political community. Each regime had to identify a certain political base to build a new Korea, free of such anti-national elements. For this purpose, contrasting criteria's were applied: anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and anti-communism for the Republic of Korea (ROK).

The post-colonial state building processes in both Koreas has taken initiative to promote ethnic nationalism as a developmental strategy. In South Korea, nationalism was instrumental to the rise of a "developmental ethic." The high level of

labour productivity of South Korean industrial workers has been one of the most important factors in the phenomenal economic development since the mid-1960s (Amsden1989: 4).The mobilisation of labour force commitments is one of the major factors to the growth of industrialisation. The Weberian concept of the creation of "work ethic" has played an important role in the promotion of industrialization in South Korea under Park Chung Hee's regime. Andrew Eungi Kim and Gil-sung Park explain that, in Korea nationalist elements came to encompass the entire content of modernization, and the industrial economy was viewed as the necessary basis for a modern state and society. The slogans by which the government attempted to unify public opinion, stressed the collective aspects of work and national economic development. Invocations of nationalist sentiments also involved mobilisation of national symbols, including the flag and national anthem. The South Korean flag was found virtually in every office and factory, and workers rose to attention, facing the flag, when the national anthem was played over the public-address system each morning and evening. Moreover, the training of new recruits, which usually involved several days of camp training, also subjected new employees to intensive ideological training aimed at inspiring their loyalty to the company and diligence to benefit both the company and the nation. Besides, the use of national symbols, the company also seemed to have appealed to its employees' more subtle form of nationalism- a commitment to "traditional" Korean culture (Kim and Park 2003: 42). In South Korea, developmental nationalism functioned as a governing ideology which has been mainly employed by the government. First, it was used to establish the political legitimacy of the government. Second, developmental nationalism used as an oppositional tool against Marxian project (Cho 2008: 85).

During the authoritarian period South Korea's developmental strategy was known as "state led capitalism." However, the post-liberation Korean society had been strongly influenced by the ethos of its cultural heritage and the traditional ethnical values. The capitalist mode of production and ideology was only partially functioned in Korean social system. Even though South Korea introduced a Western-style political system, the very structure of the system itself was not completely able to accommodate the Western system, because traditional values remained in society was a very influential element. In fact, for the realisation of rapid industrialisation and

the assimilation of individuals into a new work culture, the state actively promoted the values of Korea's historical heritage and ethnic homogeneity.

Under the colonial rule, language and literature played an important weapon in the hands of Koreans for resisting Japanese colonial administration and its cultural and ideological hegemonies. The challenges of the assimilationist thrust of Japanese cultural policy were immense. So they realised the significance of a national culture, language and literature as an important tool of integration. Ok Kyoon Yoo argues that during the colonial rule, these two elements of national culture was actively used and promoted for the making of a counter-discourse against Japanese cultural imperialism (Yoo 2005: 27). In the post-colonial state, one of the main objectives of the South Korean state was the promotion of language and literature as part of a boost for their developmental nationalism. In South Korea, nationalism and work ethic were developed into a full-fledged national campaign in the early 1960s and were thoroughly advanced in the next two decades by the government. Posters and pamphlets containing the work-exalting slogans were found ubiquitously on the walls of the workplaces and on street billboards, while banners on the streets and those hanging on the buildings ensured that there was no real escape from becoming aware of the urgency of industrialisation and the necessity of the hard work. National campaigns stressing both the need for diligent work and meeting export targets were also promoted through the mass media, including television, radio, news papers, and magazines.

The short nationalist history of South Korea between 1980s and 1990s draws attention to some significant turn and twist in national politics and international politics. South Korea's transition to democracy and activations of civil society, and also the rise of anti-Americanism was as influential in creating some renewable interest in the idea of political nationalism. Internally, the democratisation processes intended to change the authoritarian state system in terms of power distribution, changing of economic and political policies. Externally, it has compelled to rearrange national policies and priorities and also its international relations with outside powers. Anti-American sentiments were much stronger and all these are immediately translated into some radical actions. From May 23 to 25, 1985, large number of students occupied the U.S Information center in Seoul demanding a formal U.S

apology for "its role in the Kwangju massacre" (Shorrock 1986:1205). In addition to that, there emerged a new generation of political leaders who led the anti-American movements during Korea's fight for democracy in the mid 1980s. Many Koreans felt that United States behaves like a hegemonic power which threats the very idea of national sovereignty and determined to impose America's imperial interests on the peninsula. This kind of a movement and rhetoric also clearly reflects the growing sentiments of national identity among the Koreans. Moreover, they have gone to reexamine the relationship with North Korean and treat the North as part of Korean ethnic community.

Kim's political notion of the nation reflects his ideological positioning and takes the form of opposition to Japanese and American imperialism. In contrast, he points out that, Democratic Republic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) had its origin in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, thus allowing him to lay claim to the legacy of a pure ethnic nationalism. Jin Woon Kang explores that the political nation of North Korean nationalism can be understood in terms of interplay of the two relationships: the relationship between North Korea and Soviet Union and the South-North relationship. Kim II Sung could be considered as a leader who molded communism and nationalism for socialist revolution. During the formative period North Korean nationalism characterised was "revolutionary nationalism" under and along with Soviet communism. Seen this way, revolutionary nationalism during 1945-1953 was possible in the process in which Kim established a stable socialist system through reform and war mobilisation in order to achieve a complete unification of the Korean peninsula in the name of "national war for liberation" (Kang 2007: 93). The ideological contradictions between Sino-Soviet models of socialist understanding had created some tension over North Korean socialism. Thus Kim tried to consolidate nationalist *Juche* ideology, which was the major weapon for ideological mobilisation of society and alternative path of Sino-Soviet socialist version.

With the establishment of the *Juche* ideology, socialist patriotism began to shift from Stalinist patriotism to Kim's socialist patriotism. Since the 1970s, the North Korean economy has taken a downturn because of an excessive arms budget for military build-up and the ending or reduction of economic aid from the socialist brother countries (largely the Soviet and China). Even though North Korea faced

some serious the domestic troubles and external threats during the 1980s and 1990s, it further promoted its own nationalist ideology for regime maintenance and social control. State ideologies such as *urisik sahoe chuui* (socialism in our style), *Choson minjok chuui* (Korean nation as number one) the "military-first politics," and a "powerful and prosperous nation" were a new version of *Juche* nationalism in North Korea.

From a comprehensive understanding of the theories of nation and nationalism, one could argue that even if North Korea remained as Communist state, the history and transformation of that country also hints at the development and practices of some nationalist elements. Whenever North Korea faced national crisis, nationalism has been necessary, and most of the time, successfully used as a tool for social mobilisation and control. This mechanism of domination and control enabled the regime to create various nationalist rhetoric and discourses to work in its favor and to recreate national tradition for the justification of the regime. During this period the entire literature had played significant role to legitimate state ideological mechanism such as *Juche* version of socialism in North Korea. The prominent role of state was an influencing factor in shaping public discourses regarding the commitment of people towards national prosperity and wealth. In fact, the creation of political nationalism mostly has gone depended historical tradition and ethnic identity. Thus the search for a Korean historiography and an ethnic homogeneity was essential for retaining national sentiments among the North Koreans.

Conclusion

The nationalist history of South and North Korea can be classified in the light of ethnic/cultural and civic/political theories of nationalism. Both Koreas have used cultural heritage and ethnic homogeneity as a legitimizing factor of their own rule. The formation of the political notion of nation was a task impetus in both Koreas without maintaining ethnic homogeneity. North Korea, as discussed above, has promoted establishing a democratic revolution to remove colonial and feudal elements through maintaining "patriotism" that is stimulating mechanism loves to fatherland. At the same time in South Korea, the creation of developmental state through the support of industrialisation has asserted ethnic nationalism in terms of work ethic. The ultimate goal of both Koreas was affirmation of the people to legitimize state

ideologies, but in fact, it has gone to construction of strong ethnic sense of national sentiments among the people. Some scholars of ethnic nationalism held the view that ethnic and linguistic cleavages are fundamental and permanent than political nationalism. Given the strength attributed to ethnic affiliations, therefore, ethnic and linguistic nationalism ought to properly function as an integrative force in Korea, since Koreans despite territorial division believe that they belong to the same race and ethnicity for thousand years ago. Moreover, Koreans still maintain a strong sense of ethnic and linguistic unity and also take pride in their nation. They find the anti-imperialist rhetoric in their nationalism as appealing. Despite different political systems both North and South Korea still prioritize ethnic and linguistic nationalism. Therefore, analysing the actual working of nationalism in both North and South Korea is vital for comprehending and understanding the developments in inter-Korean relations. The next chapter will try to examine the role of nationalism in post-cold War inter-Korean relations.

CHAPTER IV

Nationalism as a Key Factor in Inter-Korean Relations

In the post-cold War scenario, studies on nationalism have got wider currency in the realm of academic and popular discourses. One of the central themes of the debates on nationalism is the resurgence and tremendous expansion of ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities and character of nations and groups throughout the world. In particular, the proliferation of ethnic and national conflicts in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has produced deep concerns in the area of nationalism and nationalist thought. The end of the Cold War unleashed forces that have led to the rise of profoundly altered forms of nationalism throughout East Asia. Resurgent and rediscovered memories of nations and interpretation of the past suppressed by Cold War equations have resulted in defining a clear and perhaps a more powerful image of themselves as a people and a nation in many parts of Asia. Also the end of the cold War has produced a fundamental historical rupture that is now generating a new logic of national identity and new international relationships. The paradox of the post-Cold War world is that it has created a more interconnected world through globalisation, but it has simultaneously energised particularistic and inward-oriented nationalisms based on ethnic, religious, and other cultural foundations.

During the Cold War period both Koreas were under the shadow of Communist and Capitalist power struggle. The disintegration of USSR and restructuring of the global polity in to the new world order were the influential factors which simultaneously helped to the transformations of both Korea's political, economic and social identity. The complex resurrection of ethnic and linguistic notion of nationalism among Koreas was very much related to its own recent changes in the realm of political and social experiences. In retrospective, the formation of ethnic notion of nationalism in Korea had deeply rooted in the colonial rule of Japan which often tried to impose a cultural assimilationist policy among Koreans.

This chapter seeks to conceptualise the post-Cold War transformations of both Korea's social and political identity. It will also discuss the rapid or gradual rise and expansion of new constructive notion of ethnic and linguistic nationalism among both Koreans. Democratisation and activation of civil society was a major political and

ideological turn in the contemporary history of South Korea. Moreover, the emergence of anti-Americanism and destruction of national economy in the financial crisis (1997) has created new space for the expansion of national feelings and sentiments among people. This chapter also tries to discuss the debates of complex blend between globalisation and nationalism especially, how South Korea understands globalisation and tries to place their own national identity.

Recent major international and national political developments such as disintegrations of USSR, death of the supreme leader Kim Il Sung of North Korea, stagnation of national economy, ideological flexibility and realization about contemporary global polity have brought possible situation to stimulate alternative thoughts about survival of nation and changes of national identity. The spread of starvation throughout country was a significant national question. In such a scenario an important question has been raised on the very survival of North Korean nation in the changing and challenging circumstances. The force of globalisation challenged the state centric ideological values of North Korea and it has also compelled to rethink the policy reforms in the social, economic, and political sphere. An attempt has been made here to understand North Korea's recent search to discover traditional values, ethnic and cultural identity and construction of awareness about it among the society.

The resurrection of ethnic and linguistic nationalism in both Koreas has brought some serious discussions about themes and concepts like Asianism, pan-Korean nationalism, assertive nationalism, and inter-Korean nationalism in the field of recent academic and popular debates. This chapter will try to discuss various concepts and arguments and of different ranges of scholarship about complex dimensions of Korean nationalism particularly its ethnic and linguistic forms. And an attempt is also being made to evaluate the questions like - what is the role of nationalism in shaping the relationship between South Korea and North Korea in the post-Cold War era and does the shared sense of ethnic unity lead to produce strong pressure for in-group homogeneity and conformity, therefore a quest for an essentialised identity of "Koreanness" etc.

Development and Transformation of South Korea's Ethnic and Linguistic Nationalism in the post-Cold War Era

The political transition to democracy in South Korea has occurred in the latter half of the 1980s which manifested specifically through the "June Uprisings" (1987). The massive protest against state by students and civil society groups inevitably resulted into the replacement of authoritarian regimes. Thus the democratisation process has created and cultivated through the active participation of various civil society and social movements. Thus the very culture of democracy has played a critical role in shaping South Korea's present political system in the level of political, economic, and cultural identity formations. Sunhyuk Kim discusses that during this period there were several voluntary organisations have risen such as Citizen for Economic Justice, the League of anti-Pollution Movements, Feminist Groups, Teachers' Association for Educational Reforms, pressure groups for ensuring responsive state agencies with the part of initiative operation of state system and so on (Kim1997:1135). The system of democracy provides an alternative space for critical evaluation and discussions which in turn results into restructuring of entire institutions of the state. Simultaneously it helped to create awareness of national sentiments and gave energy for an assertive thought among the young generation in South Korea. The social representation of new generation stimulated some kind of thoughts like "assertive nationalism" and "inter-Korean nationalism[1]" in South Korea. These notions have received considerable attention and started to discuss extensively in the recent academic research on Korea.

Sook-Jong Lee points out the two remarkable incidents which occurred in Korea in 2002. The first one is a series of dramatic victories of Korean football team in 2002 World Cup that has been jointly hosted by South Korea and Japan. Another thing is that the "candle light vigils" protest against deaths of two schoolgirls resulting from a U.S armored mine-clearing vehicle exercise. These two events that took place on the same downtown streets in 2002 appear to be a different on the surface; one was to cheer on sports team, the other was a political protest. Yet these two seemingly different strands of culture and politics are woven together to reflect the rising of the ethnic nationalism of today's Korean youth. Some scholars argue that the tremendous

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[1] Sook-Jong Lee (2006) broadly analyses this recent phenomenon by conceptualising the emerging trends of younger generation in South Korea. With no memories of war and less fear of the communist North, younger Koreans embrace the idea of South and North Korea as one nation.

rise of this kind of national sentiments can be understood in the form of "Assertive nationalism"[2] among the Koreans. They also argue that through the expression of nationalistic sentiments South Koreans are actually trying to improve or intensify their relationship with North Korean people. Some scholars anticipate that the emergence of assertive nationalism in South Korea has to play a crucial role in terms improving the inter-Korean relations and creating the peace and prosperity in the Korean peninsula also (Lee 2006: 128).

The generation gap is a key factor which helps to understand attitudinal difference in contemporary Korean politics. Various polls reveal that members of the younger generation tend to be more reform-minded, more sympathetic to North Korea, and more critical of what they perceive as a unilateral U.S foreign policy than members of other age groups. The younger generation's view toward North Korea is essentially a "post-Cold War" perspective. Living in a country whose economy is twenty five times larger than that of North Korea, most South Koreans see North Korea as lacking capacity to pose any serious threat. Stories of chronic famine resulting in millions of deaths and outflows of North Korean refugees over the Chinese border only strengthened the image of North Korea as a poor brother in need of help from the rich South. Moreover, they embrace national identity with their Northern brothers; their inter-Korean nationalism is not far-reaching enough to guarantee their willingness to pay the huge expected costs of reunification and then reintegration of two radically different societies. However, they prefer a peaceful and gradual unification with North Korea that can minimize the resulting economic and social shocks. With the memories of War and less fear of the communist North, younger Koreans embrace the idea of South and North Korea as one nation. The South Korean government's policy shift to active engagement with North Korea has facilitated this embrace. The rise of inter-Korean nationalism naturally has been accompanied by increasing suspicion of foreign interference in security affairs on the Korean peninsula.

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[2]   Sook-Jong Lee discusses the concept of Assertive Nationalism in her recent article (2006). Today young Koreans are enjoying more freedom under the democratic system. They are very proud of their nationality and embrace ethnic nationalism in two dimensions: one is that the mobilization of critical notions towards US unilateral behaviour. Second is the improvement of relationship with North Korean people.

The recent dimensions of social phenomenon like assertive nationalism, inter-Korean nationalism, and anti-Americanism[3] is not only a temporary wave length in South Korea but also is a part of their tradition and historical heritage. A close observation of South Korea's social structure shows that the elements of ethnic notion have deeply blended with Korean people in terms of their past experiences. The cultural uniformity and traditional values were an essential factor to construct modern nation and national identity among the Koreans. As Smith suggests, nationalism has became a modern phenomenon and it was a construction of the ethnic of modernity' in South Korea (Smith 1990: 100).

In 1997, the East Asian Economic Crisis was one of the major challenges in the contemporary history of South Korea. The consequences of the crisis expand into Korea in the second half of 1997 as a financial and currency crisis. The harsh impact of crisis absolutely affected on Korea's economic, political, and social sphere. With the beginning of IMF's (International Monetary Fund) economic restructuring programme was an opening of new political and social dimensions in South Korea. Younghan Cho explores that the financial crisis and intervention of IMF had brought another discourse that appealed to nationalistic sentiments, in spite of seeming contradiction of replacing one kind of nationalistic ideology. One example that heavily utilises a nationalistic discourse was the Gold Drive Campaign of 1998. This campaign, which was initiated by the government and then joined by various media corporations and organisations, basically asked people to donate their private gold to pay down national debt. Campaign broadcasts on the national networks elicited huge interest and participation; 200,000 Koreans joined in January 1998, when total earning was approximately $2 billion (Cho 2008: 87).

Moreover, the policy of IMF like some kind of restrictions over entire section of the society has led to critical evaluation from the part of people. The financial adjustment policies like labour restrictive condition and other internal impact on social structure such as family, marriage etc. were a visible provocative action of IMF

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3   The origin and developments of anti-Americanism is not recent phenomenon in South Korea. Seung-Hwan Kim (2002) and Lee In-ho point out that ideological base of anti-Americanism has started in the intellectual circle in 1980s. Ultimately it was a desire of Korean people to maintain national identity and improve their "self-sufficiency" because many Koreans believe the hegemonic notion of US is not ultimate protector of the nation and national identity.

restructuring programme. Martin Hart-Landsberg and Paul Burkett have critically examined the role of IMF and reconstruction of South Korea's economy. One of the hard burdens of the crisis was social disturbance and violence, joblessness and recession which have driven many Korean workers into a desperate situation, triggering and explosion in the number of homeless and the desperate. The unemployment rate in Korea, after it showed a stabilised rate around 2 percent until November of 1997, started to increase, peaking at 7.6 percent in July 1998. And also the unemployment rate and poverty incidence increase and income distribution deteriorates; property-related crime rate and frequency of suicide have risen sharply (Hart-Landsberg and Burkett 2001: 24).

The high level social tension spontaneously moved throughout the society and it led to the intensification of the nationalist feelings among Koreans. The hegemonic character of IMF has also gradually evoked the historical memories of the Korean people and their life experiences in the colonial times. The colonial history of Korea was paved the fertile soil for strengthening of ethnic notion of nationalism in terms of cultural identity, traditional values and historical heritage. Present circumstances was quite different from the past, however, there can be seen some sort of linear linkages with the present situation which was invisible form of colonialism over the life of Koreans. Ultimately, IMF intervention questioned the national identity of Koreans and awaked the awareness of national sentiments and feelings in terms ethnic and cultural traditions.

On the one hand the rapid expansion of globalisation and other the location of South Korea as a nation state and national identity are intertwined subjects in the study of Korean nationalism in the post-Cold War scenario. Recent debates on nationalism and globalisation have centered on whether globalisation will weaken the functional power of the nation state or whether global culture and cosmopolitan identity will replace ethnic and national culture and identity. Anthony Smith argues that "in the era of globalisation and transcendence, we find ourselves caught in a maelstrom of conflicts over political identities and ethnic fragmentation". However, he is of the view that globalisation, as with modernisation, inevitably produce social and cultural disruption and only ethnic and national solidarity can fill the holes created by its process. Chains of memory, myth, and symbol connect nations to their

ethnic heritage; national identity satisfies the people's need for cultural fulfillment, rootedness, security, and fraternity. Global culture simply cannot offer "the qualities of collective faith, dignity, and hope that only a religious surrogate, with its promise of a territorial culture and community across the generations, can provide" (Smith 1995: 2).

Mauro Guillen explains that Globalisation is a double-edged sword, a force that is both "civilizing" and "destructive". Thus it can be contented that 1) globalisation, like other Trans-nationalist forces, can be proactively appropriated nationalist goals: and 2) globalisation can intensify, rather than weaken, ethnic/national identity in reaction. These interrelated mechanisms can thus explain the current coexistences of national and global forces in many parts of the world (Guillen 2001: 2335).

Modern East Asian history has shown that Japan, China, and Korea all sought to appropriate global forces of science, technology, and even the discourse of "civilization and enlightenment"- all originated from the West- for their own national use. Western technology and Eastern spirit, a highly popular slogan in early twentieth century East Asia, reflected Asian's desire to appropriate Western technology and science, even as they faced the encroaching force of global imperialism. This is particularly so, given that even when using the global technology (i.e., the Internet), most people still use their own national language to navigate the new (cyber) space. Ironically, the communication based on web space, which is apparently an essential element of globalisation, provides effective means to mobilize recourses for national and local purposes and to construct a cultural framework of national and local identity.

The process of globalisation and nationalism in particular context of South Korea can be understood through close observation of changing trends of national character which more emphasizing to gain "self-determination" within the frame of globality. Even though the social and political values of globalisation is moving to assimilate the entire structure of local culture and traditional values, but South Korea focus to maintain their own national tradition and heritage with remembering past struggling experience. Gi-Wook Shin, one of the authentic scholarships in the field of ethnic Korean nationalism deeply examines contemporary dynamics of Korean

society and nationalism. He points out that due to historical experiences specified elsewhere Koreans came to believe that they share a single blood line and thus belong to a unitary nation, and ethnically homogeneous and racially distinctive collectivity. If means of globalisation intensifies one's ethnic/national identity, we can expect that the stronger one's exposure to globalisation, the stronger one's sense of ethnic homogeneity. Koreans also hold a strong sense of ethnic identity, as seventy five percent of the respondents agree that "Koreans are all brothers and sisters, regardless of political ideology or regional residence". The Korean government has indeed promoted globalisation to enhance Korea's national competitiveness in a rapidly globalising world and simultaneously sought to preserve and strengthen Korean national heritage and culture (Shin 2003: 18).

The elements of civic nationalism have been promoted by the government as part of a propaganda which was also logical extension of past experience of South Korea, because during the time economic miracle of Korea in the form of "developmental state" was an intensified project of state mechanism. Yi Jeong Duk draws attention towards the fact that recent initiative of state, in January 1995; the Korean government organised *Segyehwa Ch'ujin Wiwonhoe* (The Committee to Advance Globalisation). In its first meeting, then President Kim Young-sam defined the goals of Korea's globalisation policy: first, to become a leading nation in the world; second, to reform irrational social customs and consciousness; third, to unite all Koreans North and South; fourth, to advance Korea's unique value system and traditional culture into the world stage; finally, to participate in solving global problems (Duk 2002: 11). The objective of this policy orientation was search to find out South Korea's historical tradition and cultural heritage. It has shaped that the expression of cultural nationalism as "ours is better for us"[4] among the Koreans.

Government initiatives in the area of education were also intended to cultivate nationalist consciousness among the student community. This can be clearly seen through the operation of Minjok Leadership Academy (KMLA) in Korea. Shin points

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[4] For details see, Yi Jeong Duk (2002), p.11. The term "ours is better for us" means that Cultural nationalism is often expressed in Korea in this manner. Recent penetration of cultural globalisation has brought some tension in the sphere of cultural and national identity of the Koreans. Thus the protection of tradition values and cultural heritages through stimulating this slogan "ours is better for us".

out that even while teaching classes in English; however, KMLA strongly emphasized the curriculum aimed at enhancing Korean national identity. Its curriculum was carefully formulated which includes Confusion ethics, traditional music and sports, and rituals. For instance, every morning at 6 am, students gather in front of a traditional Korean building, and bow deeply to their teachers, a ritual that a son is supposed to perform toward his parents every morning and evening to display his filial piety. Students are also required to practice at least one of three Korean traditional music or sports after the ritual (Shin 2003: 5).

The policy of governments to promote the notion of nationalism has been genuinely related with Korea's ethnic identity and cultural heritage. Elements of civic nationalism have been stimulated through agencies of the state to build a strong national identity in the context of recent social and political transformations such as democratization, activation of civil society, and globalisation and so on. From a constructivist point of view, one can argue that nationalism has always mattered in South Korea. It is not just about ideology or myth; rather, nationalism is a moral imperative or a norm which every Korean must follow and adhere to. The notion of nationalism is both powerful and omnipresent in Korea's everyday life. Korean nationalism has been intensified systematically through government propaganda, educational curricula about national history, commemoration of important historical events, and repetition of daily routines (Anderson 1991:85).

The complex blend of ethnic and civic nationalism in South Korea is a significant factor in the conceptualisation of present nationalism and national identity. From the beginning of 1960s itself, South Korea has realised the importance of national sentiments and feelings for the successful construction of a developmental ethic and state. For the making of such a developmental ethic among people, government took various initiatives for promoting awareness on historical traditions, cultural heritage and ethnic identity in society. In the ancient and colonial history of Korea, people had a shared sense of ethnic unity, blood relations, cultural heritage. In retrospect the entire idea of state to mobilize the notion of civic nationalism in the country which was contextually promoted ethnic notion of nationalism in terms of historical understanding of Korea's cultural and ethnic identity. From this point of view, the present dynamics of Korean nationalism can be placed within the

framework of what Anthony D. Smith (1995: 53) described "ethnic revival"[5] of nations and communities.

For instance, the World Cup fever seen in summer 2002 indicates Korean's pride and confidence in their ethnic nation. Millions of Koreans come out to the streets to cheer for their national soccer team, shouting slogans such as "*taehan min'guk*" (Republic of Korea" or, literally, "the Great Han People's State") and "*uri nun hana*" (We are One)[6]. After the Korea's victory over Spain, which put them in a semifinal showdown with Germany, President Kim Dae Jung proclaimed the day to be "Korea's happiest day since Tan'gun, the God-king who, according to legend, founded of the Korean nation" (Escobar 2002: 1). Most Koreans do not question the racial purity and homogeneity of their nation, and believe strongly in a shared blood line and common ancestry. The current notion of citizenship is based on this racial conception of nationhood, as expressed in government policy toward overseas Koreans and foreign migrant workers inside Korea. Sallie Yea draws the picture of Korea's initiatives in the celebrations, during the last decade, Korea has seen a proliferation of festival and events in various cities designed to enhance images and identities of each respective locality. The Andong Folk Festival, the Biennale of Kwangju, and Asian Film Festivals in Pusan are good examples of the current active promotion of regional identities (Yea 2003:118).

Changing notions of nation and nationalism in South Korea has made the possible situation for ideological discourse about the resurrection of pan-Korean nationalism and Asianism. The Cold War conditions and its ideological rivalry pushed the concepts of pan-Korean nationalism and Asianism down to lay passively. Jiyul Kim argues that two major ideological trends gaining momentum in South Korea, pan-Korean nationalism and anti-Great Powerism, in which pan-Korean nationalism is emphasising the developments of inter-Korean relations based on

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[5]   Anthony D. Smith (1995) explores the "resurgence of ethnic nationalism" in the contemporary world. The culture, national culture, has reasserted its primacy over politics, economics and technology, for culture is the unchanging fabric of society, with its slow rhythms of communication, its deep structures in the human psyche and its all-encompassing symbolic codes and net works of social relations. The spread of global patterns of politics and communications have helped to revive the ethnic ties of many communities through the return by many people to ethnic identity and religious mythologies.

[6]   For details see, Asia Times: June 25 (2002) in that news titled "The Roving Eye Korea's Red Devils: The Pride of Asia.

ethnic and linguistic similarity. Anti-Great powerism[7] refers to the desire of Koreans to escape from the sort of great power exploitation and victimisation (Kim 2006: 2).

Gi-wook Shin discusses the re-emerging trends of Asianism and the approach and understanding of Korea within the frame work of post-Cold War dynamics of ethnic notion of Korean nationalism. He says that "*The Journal Tradition and Modernity*" that appeared in the 1990s and scholars associated with it merit special consideration. As its title implies, the journal sought to reinterpret and recycle Korea's transition for contemporary use. According to Ham, one of the contributors to this journal (1997), Korea faces a "crisis of success", as it still must offer a new vision for the twenty-first century after successful modernisation and democratisation. In this context proper understanding of Korea's traditional thought and discourse is so essential. The end of the Cold War, in his view, offered a great opportunity for Koreans to reexamine their own tradition and to use it creatively in formulating new direction for the nation (Shin 2005: 13).

This pattern of new Asianist thinking, first and foremost, reflects Koreans' discontent with US-led globalisation and unilateralism. It also represents a proactive effort to redefine its identity in a changing regional order. South Korea's links with China have expanded dramatically over the years. Recently, Asianism is being advocated by progressives. In the 1980s and 1990s, a group of Korean scholars and intellectual advocated the Asian values to establish Confucian capitalism or Confucian democracy. It is also promoting a new strategy for the entire Korean peninsula and argues that US-led globalisation unfairly excludes North Korea and that a new strategy of national survival must incorporate northern half. This perspective reflects a changed view of the north from foe to partner, largely thanks to the demise of the Soviet empire and the South Korean government's prolonged engagement policy. In this new thinking, a regionalist approach, inclusive of the North would be more effective in resolving inter-Korean problems as well as establishing a system of peace and prosperity in the Northeast Asian region.

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[7]   The term 'Anti-Great Power-ism', Jiyul Kim (2006) is introducing as a distinctive notion of ethnic nationalism. During the Cold War period, South Korea was witnessed many difficult experience. It has created some kind of challenging mentalities among Koreans, now they are questioning the aggressive and unilateral act of US. It is expanding in the name of Anti-Great Powerism.

Recently, in one of his interviews Gi-Wook Shin discussed the question of present multi-ethnic character of Korea. Now there are number of studies are going on emphasizing the unique character of Korean ethnicity is shifting into multi-ethnic culture. However he says that "if you look at what is going on right now, you may know Korea is becoming quite multi-ethnic. There is a lot of migrant labour and also more international or inter ethnic marriage-like Korean men marrying Vietnamese women. I think right now, as for international marriages, the rate is almost fifteen of all marriage in Korea. If you look at rural areas, it is almost thirty percent... in order to deal with this now, Korean NGO groups are trying to promote a more civic version of Korean nationalism in order to integrate these different ethnic groups into Korean society. That is fairly new development, but it shows that there is certainly a civic version of nationalism in contemporary Korea" (Yasuda 2008: 168).

The post-Cold War period particularly the context of the penetration of globalisation challenged the native and local languages of the countries. The sudden expansion of English language as a compulsory factor has produced some tensions in the less English speaking countries. The dichotomy between global and local in the realm of languages has been raising significant questions regarding the existence of local culture and languages. For formation of modern Korean nation, the language was key factor to construct nation and national identity. The present political dimensions of South Korea as an emergence of national feelings and sentiments among the people language has played vital role.

Ok Kyoon Yoo analyse the contemporary debates that South Korea has recently witnessed proposal for English as an Official Language (EOL) as a language policy for meeting the demands of globalisation. In response, another competing force, nationalism, has formed strong reaction to these proposals, thereby opening up heated debates in the media and publications. Considering that South Korea in a "monolingual" society, not a "multilingual one", that enjoys a very high degree of congruity as a speech community and that it is an Expanding Circle country, where English is learned as a "foreign" language, the proposal for English as an Official language in South Korea is an extreme case that focuses only on the need for international communications without critical consideration of its potential effects on domestic language situations (Yoo 2005: 1).

The main concern of Korean language discourse was immediately captured by the popular media in Korea. On the one hand, *The Choun Ilbo* has been uphold the positive stand to mobilize English language among the Korean society which emphasise the necessity of English as a global language in the era of rapid growth of globalisation. On the other hand, some other important newspapers have raised counter argument against the expansion of English language as an official language. Their main concern is with Korea is a monolingual linguistic society, so that the implementation of foreign language as an official part will be caused the disappearance of homogeneous linguistic tradition from Korean society. Another possible counter argument to the uniqueness' of Korean linguistic nationalism is that, in seemingly "multilingual" or "monolingual" countries, linguistic nationalism is an ideology and not a fact of life. Also in the case of Korea, it is true that in addition to resistance to imperialist powers, linguistic homogeneity is achieved partly because of political efforts to construct "imagined community" (Anderson 1991: 6).

In April 2002, the government announced 'Korea as the Business Center of North East Asia' project with Special Economic Zones, where English will be used as an official language. For the present, there is much confusion needs to be cleared up about the debates that the notion of "official language" especially in a monolingual country, the scope of applicability in implementation, etc. however, one common thread of the proposal is a call for the realisation of rapidly growing importance of English in the era of globalisation. On the other hand, counter argument to the proposal also seem to converge on one general stance, which is deep rooted in the essential notion of nationalism and the importance of ethnic language in Korean nationalism. In July 1998: the publication of the book "Ethnic language in the Age of Global Language" (Bok, 1998), and a subsequent review of the book in *The Chosun Ilbo* newspaper that triggered heated debates in the media and publications (Yoo 2005: 7). Ultimately, English as a sole international language will be used everywhere in every society in the world. The rise of English will shrink space for ethnic languages, which will make them lose their vitality and be out of daily use. Finally, ethnic language will disappear... and remain as a museum language. S.J Kim explains highly critically that an official language is a notion that is required only in multilingual countries and that, since Korean has been a monolingual society throughout history, there has been no need for the discussion of an official language.

Rather, the only concern in language policy in Korea has been the standardisation of the Korean language (Kim 2001).

Alexander Fedotoff has analyzed the changing nature of Korean literature in the era of globalisation; it took effort to conceptualise the complexities of international and national space. It means the rapid growth of globalisation is forcing to shift that the essential behaviour of Korean literature, however, the dominant form of Korean culture, tradition, and identity are highlighting through whole discourse. (Fedotoff 2002:191).

Role of Ethnic Nationalism in the North Korean Political Transformation

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the subsequent disintegration of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe which enthused discussion about the ideological existence of Communism and its practices in other socialist states like China, Cuba, and North Korea and so on. The alternative mode of ideological frame of North Korea's *Juche* (self-reliance) ideology was quiet different from the Marxist-Leninist mode of socialism. However, the opening of the discourse such as Fukyuama's "end of the ideology"[8] has been raised serious questions over the survival of socialist states including North Korean political system. With this context, North Korea realised the critical deed of transformation and new understanding of global and regional polity within the framework of socialist ethos.

In his study about North Korea's civil society Charles K. Armstrong discuss the role of civil society in North Korea as an essential part of the political, cultural, and economic settings. As a major actor, civil society is influencing on North Korean political system to shape and rearrange economic and social policies. There are now some signs of "fissures within the conscious mythmaking" of North Korean ideology, even in officially sanctioned literature. At the level of general economy, the state has given official recognition to private market and, in 2002, initiated a series of wage and price reforms that marked major departure from earlier economic practices. Since the economic crisis began to emerge in the early 1990s, long before the famine, there had been signs of liberalisation and the growth of local market in the North Korean

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[8]   See for details, Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History?', The National Interest, Summer (1989), also the argument was later developed in his more detailed work, The End of History and the Last Man (1992).

economy (Armstrong 2002:189). The Public Distribution System (PDS) for delivery of food and other necessities was drastically reduced, and in some areas of the country collapsed altogether. What took its place was the market, at first clandestinely in remote areas, and then openly throughout the country. As an acknowledgement of this new reality, the Korean Workers' Party newspaper *Rodong Sinmun*[9] announced in January 2001 a policy of "New Thinking", which called for scrapping outmoded habits and mentalities and putting all efforts into the technological reconstruction of North Korea.

Generally, under the socialist form of government in that the leaders of the nation are a soul in the entire socialist system. For instance, Lenin, Mao, and Kim Il Sung etc. were charismatic leadership and they controlled the total state system. For shaping, national identity and construction of uniformity among people which they has taken inevitable role. In North Korea, the leaders of the nation are recognising as a powerful authority and admired by people of the nation. Kim Il Sung, the founder of modern North Korea was remembered as a great person, so because he utilised nationalism as an essential factor to mobiles patriotism among Koreans.

Kim Il Sung put forward his concepts through an important speech related to the discourse of nationalism, entitled "Let us Fulfill a Great Unity of Our Nation". According to him, "bourgeois nationalism is totally different from genuine nationalism that supports real interest of nation... in our country, one-nation state, genuine nationalism becomes patriotism. Our nation that has the same blood and the language, and has developed great national culture is highly patriotic, independent nation" (Kang 2007: 100). In a conference, a North Korean historian claimed, "The reason why Tangun becomes the founder of our nation is that as a great founder of the first country of Old Choson, he has been great figure who brought us an advanced civilisation, brought glory to our nation and our historical countries, and peoples have also succeeded from the history and culture of Old Choson that he founded." This

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[9]   *Rodong Sinmun* (Newspaper of the workers) is a North Korean newspaper and the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, published by the Rodong News Agency. It is the most widely read newspaper in the country. It was first published on November 1, 1945 as *Chongro* (right path), serving as a communication channel for the North Korea Bureau of the Communist Party of Korea. It was renamed in September 1946 to its current name upon the steady development of the Workers' Party of Korea.

North Korean historian reevaluated the value of Old Choson and its leader, once criticized as a residual of reactionary class and ideology.

After the death of Kim Il Sung, North Korea continuously emphasized to promote nationalism through the search of their ethnic and cultural identity. In a 1998 speech titled "Let us Unify the Country Independently and Peacefully through the Great Unity of the Entire Nation," Kim Jong Il proclaimed that "no force can ever split into two forever the single Korean nation that has been formed and developed through a long history, nor can it obliterate our national traits, the present division our nation into north and south is a temporary misfortune and ... the reunion of our nation that has been divided by foreign force is an inevitable trend of our nation's history"[10] (Kim Jong Il 1998:1).

In 1993, a new directive called for "improving and strengthening projects to properly inherit and develop national cultural heritage," and the Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics was enacted the following year. As a representative project, North Korea excavated the tomb of Tangun, the founding father of the Korean nation, in 1993 designated the Pyongyang area where the tomb supposedly was discovered as home to "one of the five world civilization." In 1997, during a devastating famine, Kim Jong Il asserted that "developing national character means preserving and advancing the superior characteristics of the nation applying them in all areas of social life" aimed the rapidly changing the international environment, North Korea began to take tentative steps in various areas while maintaining its basic national identity. First, the nation expanded its incentive system to help overcome the shortage of food and other necessities. With factories and collective farms unable to continue food rationing, the North Korean authorities were forced to allow private farming in rural areas and small scale domestic production of necessities in cities.

The changes represent the changing meaning of "independence," the core concept of North Korea's ruling ideology. The word "profit" was officially adopted as the vital goal of economic reform, which began with the July 1 measure. Since the 2000 Summit, "intra-national cooperation" has continued with reunions of separated

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[10] See for details, Kim Jong Il- 'Let Us Reunify the Country Independently and Peacefully Trough the Great Unity of the Entire Nation' (1998). http//: www.korea-np.co.jp/040th_issue/9804901.html.

families, joint operation of an industrial park, and expansion of tourism projects, which had remained cut since the Korean War (Yong-so 2007: 126).

In recent years, faced with the precarious international environment after the collapse of the Soviet empire and the confrontation with the United States over nuclear issues, North Korea further stressed the value of ethnic/racial nationalism in the "*Chosen minjok cheil chuui*" (Theory of the Korean Nation as a Number One) and "*urisik sahoe chuui*" (Our Style of Socialism). Just as the Sino-Soviet dispute contributed to the emergence of *Juche'* ideology, so did the collapse of the Soviet empire influence the rise of these more contemporary ideological variations? This context, North Korea aggressively promoted national tradition and heritage in 1990s. In addition to resurrecting the Tangun myth, the North reevaluated Confucianism, which had once been condemned as the ideology of reactionary feudalism, as a possible political ethic that could support *Juche* ideology

Major Developments in the post-Cold War Inter-Korean Relations

Although the question of Korean unification is remains a complex issue in the post Cold War period, however, new political dimension such as democratisation, activation of civil society, expansion of globalisation, financial crisis etc. in South Korea and death of Kim Il Sing, demise of the USSR, globalisation, promotion of ethnic and cultural identity in North Korea which have been creating feasible situation to construct post-Cold War inter-Korean relations. The entire process the post-Cold War shift visibly or invisibly has stimulated ethnic and linguistic notions of nationalism in both Koreas.

Son Key-young points out that a South Korean engagement policy with North Korea has given some insights to conceptualise the recent developments and achievements of inter-Korean relations in terms of political, cultural, and economic level (Key-young 2006: 63). In spite of the possibility of asymmetric inter-Korean interdependence resulting from the difference in size of the two economies, the Kim administration envisaged the creation of inter-Korean economic community, which would in turn contribute to the process of fostering a regional community in Northeast Asia. Before the inauguration of the Kim administration, a large amount of investment in North Korea had been unrealistic, but the shifting identities between the two

adversaries during Kim's term opened up new possibilities for inter-Korean economic cooperation and integration. The Kim administration mobilized a wide range of tools, from humanitarian aid to bribes, as activist government propagating new norms of more contact, more dialogue, and more cooperation. Even though the administration had been subject to criticism by political opponents for propping up a dictatorial state which was known to keep thousands of its own citizen in concentration camps and millions below the poverty line, the Kim administration firmly believed that inter-Korean economic integration would improve North Korea's behaviour and improve North Korea's quality of life for the eventual prosperity of the Korean nation (Ibid 2006: 63-64).

In fact, the traditional value orientation has functioned in a measured and stable fashion in the North and South as the leading force in the socio-economic development. A brotherly spirit was evident when South Korea suffered floods in the 1980s and the North Korean people sent rice and other relief goods. The same spirit was evident among the South Korean people as North Korea experienced difficulties due to natural disasters on 1998. These supportive gestures are contemporary manifestations of the value of traditional interdependence. In later years, contention over national identity expanded beyond the inter-Korean state level, moving into the realm of a state-society conflict within the South. Most notably, during the democracy movements of the 1980s, the authoritarian state's notion of national identity based on anti-Communism faced serious challenges from democratising civil society. Although the protest movement began with anti-*yusin* populism (called the *minjung* movement) in the 1970s, it evolved into a nationalist struggle for democracy and eventual unification in the 1980s.

Two factors are central to the emerging notions of ethnic and linguistic nationalism in both Koreas during post-Cold War period. Firstly, the spontaneous resurrection of ethnic and linguistic identity which fundamentally based on the remembrances of historically Koreans has developed a sense of nation based on shared blood and ancestry. The Korean nation was "ethinicised" or "racialised" through a belief in a common prehistoric origin, producing an intense sense of collective oneness. Secondly, the whole process of political changes in post-Cold War scenario is providing a constructive space for visible rise of ethnic and linguistic

national identity. Thus ethnic nationalism is remaining as an important organizing principle in both Koreas' politics and society. Moreover, it is also a determining factor in shaping relationship with international, regional, and national spheres.

The late 1980s brought important structural changes in the South Korea. Internally the ROK underwent democratisation, and externally it witnessed the collapse of the Soviet empire. In the post–Cold War context, the ideology of anti-Communism was weakened, and the Korean government pursued a "northern" policy, normalizing relations with Russia and China. With democratisation, anti-American nationalism gradually declined in the 1990s, although events such as the 1997 financial crisis did occasionally spark resurgence of these ideas. More broadly, a rich civil society has been developed which in turn expanded and diversified national discourse on a number of issues ranging from the North to the U.S.-ROK alliance.

Shin Gi-wook and Kristin C. Burke have conceptualized the changing trends of South Korea's perception toward the unilateral approach of United States. Now civil society is challenging the state sponsored ideology of anti-Communism with support of democracy, the close association between the United States and the authoritarian regimes led to questioning of the U.S. role, and the movement came to incorporate a vehement anti-Americanism, as featured in protest rhetoric and tactics. Not only was the United States the foreign "other" seen to be preventing realisation of national unification, but there was a strong perception that the United States had been involved in recent injustices and violations of the people's human rights, in collusion with the authoritarian government. In this struggle for political democracy, the question of national identity came to the fore, provoking an intense and emotional contest between the authoritarian states and democratizing civil society. Here, once again, we see the dynamic of identity politics, that is, the struggle to represent the "true" Korean national community (Shin and Burke 2008:154).

The recent spike in anti-Americanism organizing has much to do with the rise of new nationalism that in turn reflects a shift in South Korean views toward North Korea. First the recent change in inter-Korean relations, especially after the June 2000 Summit meeting between Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Il. The Summit and the prolonged pursuit of the "Sunshine policy" have had a lasting psychological effect. Recently pan-Asianism originates from a group of scholars and intellectuals, they

promoted as a new strategy for the entire Korean peninsula in contrast to US-led globalisation that excludes North Korea. Treating the North Korea as part of Korea's ethnic identity, this group of pan-Asianists questions whether US policies are compatible with South Korea's national interests.

Hae Yeon Choo gives some important information about the North Korean settlers in contemporary South Korea through an empirical research. The total number of North Korean settlers in South Korea at the time of his field work was 6,870, according to the Ministry of Unification in South Korea. Choos's study is based on ethnography of North Korean settlers in Greater Seoul, the capital city of South Korea. The first group of the interviewers was 21 North Korean settlers, 11 women and 10 men. Most of the interviewers are from northern part of North Korea, which were more impoverished than central areas and struck hard by the food crisis of the mid 1990s. Although they held various jobs in North Korea (e.g., school teacher, factory worker, farmer), their lives took a common, drastic turn after the food crisis. In the face of life-threatening famine and years living as refugees in China, each settler made a difficult and hazardous, but ultimately successful, trip to South Korea. Many times, North Korean settlers referred to South Korea as "our country" during the interview. Also, when author was asking for access to the North Korean ethnic church and volunteered to be a piano player, Hyun Mi, the preacher of the church, welcomed author and said, "There is no separate South Korean God or North Korean God. We are the same people in God's eyes." This context show their national sentiments and feelings has been robustly covered with historical experience, shared belief, and cultural and ethnic identity (Choo 2006: 588).

With the absence of the ideological dispute in the post-Cold War period has paved fertile soil to develop relations between South and North Korea. For South Korea, in addition to its economic success and the demise of the Soviet empire, this challenged the region's Cold War alignment of capitalism versus communism and created space for new thinking. The most notable change in post-Cold War era was South Korea's normalisation with China and Russia in the early 1990s, both of which fought the nation (and the United States) in the highly destructive Korean War. Within Korea too, the ideological left-right split has weakened facilitating various efforts to move beyond Cold War divisions. These developments facilitated new

thinking toward Korea's collective identity. It became important to appreciate the Asian roots or values of Korean society, and to criticise both left (Communism) and right (Capitalism) as originating from the West and thus unfit for Korea.

Kim Dae-Jung' Sunshine Policy was a major breakthrough in the recent history of inter-Korean relations. South Koreans had witnessed to see the affects of a terrible famine in a North Korea, now lacking its state sponsor, with the collapsed Soviet Union. Motivated by progressive ideology and nationalism, President Kim inaugurated a policy of engagement and cooperation to assist North Korea and ensure peace on the peninsula. His policy also separated business from politics and advocated economic aid to the North to help in its efforts of reform. This constructive engagement policy led to the historic inter-Korean summit in the summer of 2000 in Pyongyang. While its tangible outcomes were modest, the summit was instrumental in transforming many South Koreans' views of the north form an enemy to a partner.

With introduction of a new policy, numerous debates have been started with regards to the necessity of Sunshine policy. The Sunshine policy provoked strong reactions from the conservatives in the South. Though not necessarily in opposition to engagement, conservative forces were skeptical that the North would change, and they demanded greater reciprocity. In their view, the North Korean threat had not diminished, and thus the pursuit of rapprochement seemed disconcerting at best and an open threat to national security at worst. The bitter contention between progressives and conservatives on the North Korean issue has been referred as the "South-South conflict" or "a house divided" (Hahm 2005: 57).[11]

The politics of identity has clearly been reemerged in South Korea recently. Now forces within civil society were locked in dispute over the politics of national identity and the leading advocates of leftist-nationalist ideology stood at the head of government instead of in the streets. This engagement policy, which has been furthered by the Roh government, has also clashed with the Bush administration's

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[11]   Chaibong Hahm (2005) in the article "The Two South Koreas: A House Divided," discusses the ideological conflict between Progressives and Conservatives within South Korea. " "the financial crisis created widespread panic and disgust among the population with the ruling conservative coalition's corruption and mismanagement of the economy. providing the opportunity for Kim Dae-jung to surmount" significant obstacles that would normally keep him from winning a presidential election. Thus, Kim Dae-jung's election helped shape an environment in which progressive ideas were gaining credence.

hard line on DPRK policy, straining U.S.-ROK relations. This new iteration of the politics of national identity should be understood within the larger framework of Koreans actively seeking to (re)define their position vis-à-vis foreign powers like the United States as well as their northern half. This new outlook is closely related to self-assessment in the context of a changing regional order, especially the rise of China, and (South) Korea's discontent with U.S. unilateralism, especially its handling of the North Korean nuclear issue. But, ultimately, the North lies at the heart of the current politics of national identity.

The notion of linguistic nationalism is very important for the construction of national identity. Historically, the formation of modern Korean nation had closely related to language through the mobilisation of Korean literature. During the colonial period Korean literature had been played an intensifying role to challenge imperial and colonial hegemony. In the post-Cold War political dimensions such as activation of civil society and flexibility of political ideologies have highly influenced to active participation of literature in both Koreas. The contemporary debates on Korean literature have become a dominant factor in shaping the social and political policies of the nation. The language and literatures have been maintaining national feelings and sentiments as a communicative force to rise of nationalism among both Koreans. As a monolingual society in South and North Korea literature can function in the form of constructive force to improve mutual understandings between two divided nations and peoples.

The role of newspapers as a central part of the South Korea's social and political space is an emerging phenomenon in the post-Cold War time. South Koreans' view towards North Korea is closely intertwined with their views of the United States. The differential perceptions of newspapers are key expansive force to develop South Korea's relationship with North Korea. For instance, the conservative newspaper stresses North Korean threats and the importance of the alliance, while the liberal newspaper advocates improved collaboration between the two Koreas and charges that the United States is responsible for North Korea's behavior and the current standoff. In addition, the conservative newspaper emphasise reciprocity in relations with the North, while the liberal newspaper argues that inter-Korean relations should be a top priority. These findings support the contention that South

Koreans are now caught between two conflicting identities: the "alliance" identity that sees the North as a threat and the United States as a key provider of security, and the "nationalist" identity that pits Korean identity against the United States and advocates close collaboration with the North as a national priority of the first order. Furthermore, the gap in views of the United States and North Korea has widened in recent years, especially since the launch of the Sunshine Policy. These conflicting identities are unlikely to be mitigated or muted in the near future, thus presenting a fundamental challenge to the alliance.

The recent extensive study of Shin Gi-wook and Kristin C. Burke discuss the approaches of news papers in the engaging policies of South Korea with North Korea. In their study, they examine how two major South Korean newspapers have framed issues within their coverage of North Korea. In particular, we look at the frequency with which South Korean newspapers employ various issue frames related to relations with North Korea over the study period of 1992–2003. To evaluate how the discourse has evolved over time and to demonstrate the significant psychological impact of the Sunshine Policy, we also consider the frequency of North Korea–related media frames before Kim Dae-jung's term in office (the 1992–97 periods) compared with the period after his inauguration (1998–2003). They utilize constructivist theories of international relations in arguing that conceptions of national identity are central to South Korea's relationship with the North and, by extension, its relationship with the United States. Issue frames related to the North, bound together, compose a political orientation that is largely rooted in identity (Shin and Burke 2008: 155).

They went to examine more than 1,000 editorials and columns that appeared in two newspapers, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh Shinmoon*, between 1 July 1992 and 30 July 2003. These newspapers serve as a reasonably good proxy for major and often contending views in the South Korean press regarding North Korea and inter-Korean relations. The *Chosun Ilbo*, founded in 1920, is both the oldest and largest newspaper (in terms of circulation) in Korea and represents conservative views. The *Hankyoreh*

Shinmoon[12] was founded in 1987 in the midst of democratization and represents "progressive" views. Despite a smaller circulation, this liberal newspaper exerts strong influence in Korean policymaking circles because of its ties to progressive forces in power since the late 1990s. The South Korean news media have been a major forum in the national debate over policy toward North Korea and prospects for the alliance (Shin and Burke 2008:156).

Even though the expressions of opinions are different between two news papers, most conspicuous is the increased prevalence of the "reciprocity" (*Chosun*) and "prioritizing inter-Korean collaboration" (*Hankyoreh*) frames from the earlier to the latter period. Once again, these findings indicate that Kim's Sunshine Policy has provoked intense debate over the proper policy approach toward the North— that is, the *terms* of engagement rather than the broad concept in itself. The Sunshine Policy has had a powerful, lasting psychological effect in South Korea, increasing the debate and hardening politically constructed notions of identity in the process. Among progressive forces, it has changed threat perception and therefore devalued the alliance in some respects. The younger generation has come to find the politics of national identity appealing, and, much like the student movements of the mid and late 1980s, the youth are eager to liberate a proud, successful, prosperous Korea from foreign (read U.S.) influence. Especially since the George W. Bush administration took office, many Koreans of this orientation have questioned the compatibility of Korean and U.S. interests and priorities.

Conclusion

The resurrection of ethnic and linguistic nationalism and construction of the notion of "Koreanness" were showing the significance of the discussion about nationalism in

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12   The newspaper *Hankyoreh Shinmun* was established in May 15, 1988.The *Hankyoreh* (literally The Korean Race, or One Nation is a leftist daily newspaper in South Korea. It was established in 1988 after widespread purges forced out dissident journalists, and was envisioned as an alternative to existing newspapers, who were regarded as unduly influenced by the authoritarian government at the time. When it opened, it claimed to be the "the first newspaper in the world truly independent of political power and large capital. *Hankyoreh* was intended to provide an independent, left-leaning, and nationalist alternative to mainstream newspapers regarded as blindly pro-business, pro-American, and opposed to national reunification. To underscore its patriotism and its break with tradition, the Hankyoreh became the first daily to completely reject the use of Chinese characters and use only native script in terms of nationalist perspective.

South and North Korea in the post-Cold War era. The entire discourse has focused on the emerging trends such as pan-Korean nationalism, Asianism, Assertive nationalism among youth and inter-Korean nationalism and so on. Moreover, the post-Cold War changes like democratisation, activation of civil society, absence of the ideological disputes, globalisation, and political change have deeply connected with above concepts.

Ethnic nationalism will remain an important organizing principle of South Korean society. Neither democratisation nor globalisation has been able to uproot the power of nationalism. Recent rise anti-American sentiments was visible reaction of democratising civil society and also the changing perception of youth to maintain their "self-efficiency" of the nation were a key changes in the post-Cold War period. The rapid expansive forces of globalisation penetrated external and internal body of the nation state, however, with improving its historical experiences, and ethic identity South Korea has maintained and developed the notion that "South Korea's understanding globalisation" which has ultimately stimulated ethnic nationalism. The visible symptoms of ethnic nationalism have appeared many times in South Korea as a result of Financial Crisis in 1997, candle light protest against US Army etc.

In the North, ethnic national consciousness offered the grounds for the formation of a belief that Koreans are a chosen people, a position that became the epistemological basis for the *Juche* ideology and the recent "theory of the Korean nation as number one" and "socialism in our style." Recent political change that the death of Kim Il Sung, and the discovery to find out traditional values and historical heritage were containing ethnic notion of nationalism in the North Korea.

The role of the state and the promotion civic nationalism has also complexly merged with the emerging ethnic and linguistic nationalism. The significance of the situation came in South Korea with the submission of report by the Korean government to the CERD (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination) in 2006; the government had repeatedly used phrases as "Korea is an ethnically homogeneous country." Moreover the recent debates about the growing "multicultural" character of the nation are another dynamics of globalisation. However, Korea understands globalisation containing on the one hand to preserve

traditional values, customs, and ethnic-cultural identity, on the other is willing to accommodate multicultural character of migrants and marriage etc.

Recently, inter-Korean relations have developed in terms social, economic, and cultural level. These whole processes fundamentally related with the rise of ethnic and linguistic nationalism in the post-Cold War period. Even today, Koreans maintain a strong sense of ethnic homogeneity based on shared blood and ancestry, and nationalism continues to shape Korean politics and foreign relations. The construction of the notion as "Koreanness" is a leading factor to shape inter-Korean relations today. Through the collapse of the Soviet empire, democratisation, and the implementation of the Sunshine Policy, South Koreans have sought to redefine their view of the North in relation to conceptions of national identity.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

The complex phenomenon of ethnic nationalism and its expansion is reflected on the entire structure of South and North Korea's political, economic and social system. On the one hand, the unexpectable changes of world politics such as disintegration of Soviet Union, the proliferation of ethnic conflict and the emergence of a unilateral world order, and on the other hand, the internal dynamics of South and North Korea's political and social sphere like democratisation, activation of civil society, neutralisation of ideological clash, financial crisis and resistance for "regime survival" were determining factors in the shaping of an ethnic notion of nation in both Koreas. The resurrection of nationalism as an *ethnic revival* is not only a recent phenomenon; but it was also a self-reflection on the past experiences of Koreans.

This study has sought to account for the origin and developments of Korean ethnic nationalism until the present period. More specifically, in this study an attempt has been made to identify the historical process by which ethnicity and nation came to be conflated, producing a strong sense of "oneness" based on shared blood and ancestry. The study also has reflected on the development of national identity on its contentious politics emanating both internally and externally from within and without the boarders of Korea. More specifically, it looked at dual process of contention in explaining the process of ethnicisation of the both Koreas through Cold War period.

Historically, as a nation, Korea's national identity had been questioned from the outside world. Because in the time of the expansion of imperialism into all over the world, Korea's foreign policy (Daewongun's rule in 1864-1873) was generally categorised as *seclusionist* policy. The main intention behind this policy was the preservation of nation and national identity from the imperialist aggression. Faced with imperialist encroachments, from both the East (Japan) and West, Koreans developed the notion of a unitary nation to show its autonomy and uniqueness. Therefore, the hegemonic notion of imperialism called Korea as a hermit nation (isolated nation).

During the time of Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945), the question of national identity secured an important topic of debate in the country. The social

programme of Japan attempted to assimilate Koreans into its empire as "imperial subjects." The assimilation policy was based on colonial racism, which claimed that Koreans and Japanese were of common origin but the former was always subordinate to the latter. As a result, notion of ethnic nationalism was strongly bounded with anti-colonial and anti-imperial elements. A significant new element in Korean nationalism was the "we consciousness", which carried certain racist overtone and the concept of collective ethos promoted by nationalist historians. For instance, Sin Chae-ho, a leading nationalist of the time, presented Korean history as one of the "ethnic nation" and traced it to the mythical figure Tangun. According to him, the Korean people were descendants of Tangun Chosun, who merged with the Puy of Manchuria to form the Kogury people. This original blend, Sin contended, remained the ethnic or racial core of the Korean nation, a nation preserved through defense and warfare against outside forces. The nation was defined as "an organic body formed out of the spirit of a people descended through a single pure bloodline."

Korean nationalism has attained a complex character through a dual process of civic and ethnic linkages during the Cold War period. The territorial divisions and practices of separated political ideologies such as Communism and Capitalism have provided some distinctive character to Korean nationalism. The systemic and societal values of both Koreas were different in terms of its economic, political, and ideological dimensions. From the very beginning of the state formation, both Koreas were seeking to establish their own sovereign states, and they needed to attach a certain political criterion of membership to their respective regimes. Although all Koreans belonged to the same ethnic nation, not all of them were qualified to be legitimate members of a new political community.

The legitimation of political system was an important subject of concern for both Koreas from the very beginning of the Cold War time. The stimulation of civic nationalism through various organisation of state authority was a difficult mission because the feelings and thoughts of Korean people have closely roofed with of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural notion. For instance, during the time of Cold War South Korea had promoted high level of "developmental ethic" among people for the construction of a "developmental state." At the same time, North Korea had improved civic notion of nationalism in the name of "patriotism". By recognising thousands of

years of nation's history and experiences of the people, both Koreas have tried to cultivate a form of nationalism based on historical heritage, traditional, cultural, and ethnic identity. In fact, during the colonial period civic or political nationalism was a prominent factor in shaping the national identity; however, ethnic and linguistic notion of nationalism had remained as a passive or active component among both Koreans.

The main concern of this study was to discuss the resurrection of ethnic and linguistic notions of nationalism in both Koreas in the post-Cold War scenario. In South Korea, the functions of democratisation, globalisation and nationalism has been moving as an intertwined process. As stated by some scholars, globalisation, with modernisation, inevitably produce social and cultural disruption and only ethnic and national solidarity can fill the vacuum created by this process. Chains of memory, myth, and symbol connect nations to their ethnic heritage while; national identity satisfies the people's need for cultural fulfillment, rootedness, security, and fraternity. With the recognition of a more vibrant mode of democratic space, South Koreans appealed for a "politics of national identity" in terms of mass movements and social representation. The deep concern of the peoples to improve "self-sufficiency" of the nation is a driving force to all the movements and mobilisation. For instance, the anti-Americanism was a self-reflection of the people with the memories of life experience and maintaining national autonomy.

As examined earlier, an understanding of globalisation within the frame of Korea's perspective is very important. The Korean government has promoted globalisation to enhance Korea's national competitiveness in a rapidly globalising world and simultaneously sought to preserve and strengthen Korean national heritage and culture. Recently, the policies of the government were mainly intented towards the integration of the elements of globalism and nationalism in the context of South Korea. For example in 1995, the Korean government organized The Committee to Advance Globalisation (*Segyehwa Ch'ujin Wiwonhoe*) and defined the goals of Korea's globalisation policy: first, to become a leading nation in the world; second, to reform irrational social customs and consciousness; third, to unite all Koreans North and South; fourth, to advance Korea's unique value system and traditional culture into

the world stage. Ultimately, it has paved the new possible environment for South Korea to reshape the relationship with North Korea.

Similarly, whenever North Korea faced national crisis, nationalism has been a necessary and, most of the time, successful tool for social mobilisation and control. This mechanism of domination and control enabled the regime to create various nationalist rhetoric and discourses to work in its favor and to recreate national tradition for the justification of the regime. Today, North Korean nationalism is imagining and recreating a historical nation for the regime maintenance. For instance, as an intensified project, North Korea excavated the tomb of Tangun, the founding father of the Korean nation, in 1993 designated the Pyongyang area where the tomb supposedly was discovered as home to "one of the five world civilisation."

Now Koreans are still maintaining a strong sense of ethnic unity and pride in their nation. They also find the anti-imperialist rhetoric in their nationalism appealing. The anti-imperialist nationalist sentiment is even more pronounced in North Korea, which stresses the importance of ethnic identity in the struggle for national survival. Moreover, the ethnic national consciousness offered the grounds for the formation of a belief that Koreans are a chosen people, a position that became the epistemological basis for the *Juche* ideology, "theory of the Korean nation as number one" and "socialism in our style." In the 1950 and 1960s there was a conflict between the Soviet Union and China. So North Korea became more independent that is when *Juche* ideology began to appear as the dominant ideology in North Korea. Thus today the main ideology of North Korea is not communism or socialism, but nationalism. Over time they came to emphasis how great the nation was and really promoted this ethnic notion of Korean nationalism.

If we look at the origins of the civilisational discourses, modernisation, globalisation, socialism and capitalism all these came from the West; either from Germany, England or United States. Koreans were willing to accept these transnational ideological currents but only as a means, not as a goal in and of itself. Even today Koreans are globalising their society and economy because they want to improve their national competitiveness in a globalising world. So globalisation is not an end, it is not the main goal to achieve. These are just means. It's the same case with socialism and with civilisation. Why do we need to civilise? The answer is to

defend our nation. The goal was nationalistic and all of these transnational forces like socialism, capitalism, modernism and globalisation all are taken as a means to realise Korea's nationalist ambitions.

The process of globalisation has raised some challenges to the existence of native language of the nation. In the context of Korea, it created serous tension to the preservation and resistance of the Korean language. While Koreans would support making English their second official language since it could enhance their national interests, they would not support making it their official language. Korea's strong nationalist character is not a paradox but rather a major feature or "paradigm" of Korean globalisation. Considering that both Koreas as a "monolingual" society, not a '"multilingual one", that enjoys a very high degree of congruity as a speech community and that it is an expanding circle country, where English is learned as a 'foreign' language. In fact, the notion of linguistic nationalism can function as a constructive manner to convince and interact between South and North Korea's people.

The tremendous expansion of ethnic notion of nationalism has been a complex process in both Koreas in the post-Cold War period. As a constructive force, ethnic and linguistic nationalism has created an abstract notion of "Koreanness" among both Koreas. Now nationalism is functioning as an influential factor in South and North Korea's political and social system which often determines or shapes the policy makings and outcomes. These whole processes have provided new space to build peace and prosperity over the Korean peninsula. And also move to compel to the government to rethink and reshape the entire reconciliation policies in terms of inter-Korean relationship between South and North Korea. Moreover, the notion of ethnic revival has closely connected with emerging notions such as pan-Korean nationalism, Asianism, Assertive nationalism, inter-Korean nationalism among the Koreans.

In addition, this study proposed the deep concern of policy makers in the South and North Korea and also the need to understand unique features of Korean nationalism. In other words, precisely because of the shared sense of ethnic unity and contested nature of the political notion of Korean nation, many South Koreans see North Korean people as brothers and sisters sharing the same blood and at the same time victims of the Communist regime that betrayed the Korean national community.

It is also for this reason that South Korean government programs perceived as helping northern siblings in need garner public support, but not programme that buttress the northern regime. In the past, the Southern government has often failed to recognise this distinction and consequently has generated inconsistent support for its northern polices. It is important, therefore, for the South Korean government to prioritise the people of North Korea in the framing of engagement policy.

Since the inauguration of President Kim Dae-jung, South Koreans positive identification with North Korea has became evident to the extent that the public has almost lost its perception of threats emanating from North Korea. A shift has occurred in the inter-Korean relations in terms of the control over newer forms of mutual engagements and determining the course of discussions from hardliners to the advocates of engagement. As discussed in this study, a sense of ethnic homogeneity is still strong in the midst of globalisation and defines unification discourses and policies. Particularly, the federation is more complicated for the Korea case. In principle both Koreas agree on federation (as two Korean leaders announced at the 2000, June Summit) as a system of a unified Korea. Yet is not clear whether Koreans will content with federational form of governance. Recently, a regionalist outlook is gaining more currency among Korean leaders and intellectuals and Roh Moo-hyun government sought to make Korea a "hub" of the northeast Asian region. Yet their main motivations still seem to be nationalist in terms of "pan-Korean nationalism" and "pan-Asianism." Then Koreans must strive to find ways to use ethnic nationalism constructively and mitigate its potential harmful effects.

Analysing the above mentioned complexities, one could argue that ethnic nationalism will remain as an important organizing principle of Korean society. Neither democratisation nor globalisation has been able to uproot the power of nationalism. It would thus be wrong and dangerous to ignore or underestimate its power, treating it as a mere myth or something to pass away in due course. At the same time, we can't remain simply content with its current role, either. Instead, it should be recognized that ethnic nationalism has become a dominant force in Korean society and politics and that it can be oppressive and dangerous when fused with racism and other essentialist ideologies. Koreans must strive to find ways to mitigate its potential harmful effects and use it in constructive manner. In particular, Koreans

must promote cultural diversity and tolerance, and establish democratic institutions that can contain the repressive, essentialist elements of ethnic nationalism. Even today, Koreans maintain a strong sense of ethnic homogeneity based on shared blood and ancestry, and nationalism continues to shape both Korea's politics and developments of inter-Korean relations.

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