

# KOREA *forum*

2014

SPECIAL NO. 2

Exchange Program for Regional Integration  
in East Asia and Europe

**EPRIE 2014**

## *CONCEPTS OF NATIONS AND NATIONS*

Supported by

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# MEMORANDUM

by 2014 EPRIE Participants as of July 1st, 2014

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the *Exchange Program for Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe*

– EPRIE is to promote and improve contacts between people of neighboring states whose relations, historically, have been troubled, such as Germany, Poland and France in Europe, as well as China, Japan and Korea in East Asia. This year's EPRIE took place in Warsaw, Halle, Berlin, and Strasbourg with twenty participants from the above mentioned countries. With distinguished speakers from a diversity of fields we discussed a great variety of issues.

The talks and discussion rounds included: »National Concepts in East Asia and Europe« with Prof. Dr. Yvonne Kleinmann and Dr. Maik Hendrik Sprotte, »History of Nations and School Book Initiatives« with Prof. Dr. Michael G. Müller and Dr. Tino Schölz, »Concepts and Constructions of Nations« with Dr. Elisabeth Botsch and Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo, »Reconciliation Initiatives and Processes« with Dr. Lily Gardner Feldman and Ms Watanabe Mina, and »National Membership and Identity« with Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo and Prof. Dr. Steffi Richter.

In the course of our seminar, we struggled with the concept of the nation and its numerous possible definitions. We conclude that the nation is an imagined community, based on the idea that there is a group of people perceived to be homogeneous to a certain extent because of shared communalities (like a belief in common heritage). The concept of the nation can be related to nationalism, the idea that the »nation« should also form a sovereign political unit. Even though the nation is imagined, it still has real effects. It reproduces itself by shaping individual and collective identities. Of particular importance for our discussions was the fact that the nation influences historical narratives and the way that reconciliation can happen. Given the strong interlinkage between local ethnic, religious or socio-cultural communities with their respective spatial experience across centuries, we mainly dealt with the historic and spatial shaping of today's statehood and »nation-ness« as a result of various points of view within the majority factions among these communities.

## 2. SUMMARY OF THE SEMINARS

### HISTORY

A common ground in our understandings of the nation has been that history is one of the most influential factors in forming national identities. We compared the experiences of Europe and East Asia with respect to the processes of history construction and textbook writing. While Poland has long been a nation without a state due to its history of division and occupation by neighboring countries, Japan has put priority on state-building over nation-building and constructed its national identity through the emperor-system ideology, which the Japanese Imperial Government wanted to extend on all of the neighboring (South East) Asian countries in order to create a similar type of transnational authoritarian statehood as the NSDAP-Government planned for Europe.

### RECONCILIATION

Taking the German-Israeli relations as an example of internal and international reconciliation is not always appropriate, but we can learn from their experiences if we do not try to blindly imitate them. Reconciliation is an ongoing process without a clear end point. Both the political leadership and civil society play a crucial role in this process. Addressing the comfort women issue in particular is essential in the case of East Asia, and the civil society can contribute greatly to the resolution of this issue. . . .

# CONCEPTS OF NATIONS

...was the title of this year's *Exchange Program for Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe* (EPRIE). It comprised a twelve-day program during which young people from these two regions came together to discuss historical issues and topics that strain mutual relations and weigh on people's minds to this day.

East Asian states' nationalistic tendencies in politics have increased considerably in the past few years. Cooperation in foreign policy is crucial to address the remaining problems between China, Japan and Korea. Yet how is it possible for these countries to build new bridges in the face of constant debates about islands and attitudes toward the past?

In Europe, voices critical of the European Union have grown dramatically, as became apparent in the recent elections of the European Parliament. Not only questions about the extent of regional integration versus member states' sovereignty, but also EU border security and immigration policy represent enormous challenges that need to be solved.

To better understand the meaning of national interests and attitudes, it is important to examine the development of nation states. The seminar was therefore intended to illustrate the »nation« as a political concept established in the 19th century. By bringing together researchers investigating the construction of nations in both regions, we discussed the images and metaphors that are implemented to maintain political power. This volume presents a selection of contributions by speakers and participants who reflect on these topics.

Dr. Elisabeth Botsch (European Academy Berlin) and Prof. Lee Chulwoo (Yonsei University) address differences in state formation. While Dr. Botsch illuminates the different developments of France and Germany, Professor Lee examines the multiple dimensions of nationhood and the dichotomy between civic and ethnic notions of a nation.

Dr. Lily Gardner Feldman (John Hopkins University) addresses the topic of »reconciliation in principle and practice«, focusing primarily on the role that the EU or Germany could play. In her opinion, »dealing with a difficult past in cooperative and constructive ways [is] one of the key foundational values from the very inception of the European project.«

Kim Hyun (Ph.D.-student at Tohoku University in Japan and Yonsei University in South Korea) asks why Japan and Korea have been unable to reconcile to this day and seeks an explanation for the growing animosity using the example of the »comfort women«.

Dirk Splinter and Ljubjana Wüstehube (inmedio Berlin) introduce the approach »from shared truths to joint responsibility (sha:re)«. They show that participants in this dialogue project can gain new understanding of one another, which often leads to a greater willingness to work together towards a better future.

Since 2012, EPRIE offers twenty selected young people from Europe (Germany, France, Poland) and East Asia (China, Japan and Korea) the opportunity for direct dialogue and exchange during a ten- to twelve-day seminar on current problems resulting from the past. The participants of EPRIE 2014 summarized their thoughts in a memorandum which they then translated into their own languages.

The Korea Forum Special EPRIE presents a platform for continuing the discourse on various related topics which extend beyond the boundaries of the seminar. It offers EPRIE alumni the chance to continue the dialogue they have begun. We are especially pleased that former participants use this opportunity and take part in the publication with own contributions. In his theoretical work, Katsumata Yu observes the role of capitalism in nation-building. Franziska Fröhlich examines the Korean minority in China and their influence on Chinese-Korean political relations. Isabella Jukas considers whether the process of reconciliation between Germany and France can be transferred to the case of Japan and Korea. Finally, Aleksandra Jaworowicz-Zimny explores the role of pop culture in shaping a country's image and in fostering international dialogue – especially between neighboring countries that share a difficult past.

We look forward with great enthusiasm to further involvement of our alumni!

*Han Nataly Jung-Hwa, Rita Zobel, Mathias Räther*

## EPRIE 2014

Exchange Program  
for Regional Integration  
in East Asia and Europe

*CONCEPTS OF NATIONS*

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## EPRIE 2014: A REVIEW AND A SUMMARY

Peter Kesselburg

*The Exchange Program for Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe* in 2014 -in short EPRIE- united 20 ambitious scholars and young professionals from six different nations within Europe and East Asia in order to discuss issues concerning the ›Concepts of Nations‹ and to promote and improve contacts between people of neighboring countries whose relations have been problematic and strained due to the historical experiences. The participants' group comprised four South Koreans, four Japanese, three Chinese, three French, three Polish and three Germans.

The first part of the seminars took place in Warsaw from 20 to 23 June where the participants had the opportunity to engage in different intercultural training measures in order to get to know each other better and to overcome previously held prejudices against the other's country. The program included a guided tour at the Warsaw Uprising Museum (Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego) which shows the efforts of the then-Warsaw residents to fight the occupying forces of the Nazi-regime in Poland in order to liberate the city. This guided tour was framed by an introduction by Joanna Urbanek, Alumna of EPRIE 2013 and Ph.D. student at the Institute of Modern History of the University of Warsaw, and Prof. Dr. Włodzimierz Borodziej of the Institute of Modern History, who gave a lecture on the meaning of Nations and Memorials with regard to the Warsaw Uprising Museum. A very friendly tour guide named Karolina introduced us to the historically important places and buildings of Warsaw, like the Warsaw Ghetto, the Pilsudski Square, the Warsaw Cathedral, and other significant memorials, in order to get a glimpse of the complicated history of the capital of Poland.

On the train to Halle (Germany), the five working groups read assigned articles on their panels' topics and discussed possible questions to present to the speakers. The seminar took place at the Martin-Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg in Halle/Saale in cooperation with the Aleksander-Brueckner-Centre for Polish Studies and the International

Graduate School Halle-Tôkyô. The first panel dealt with the National Concepts in East Asia and Europe by discussing the ›Concepts of the Polish Nation - From Early Modern Time through the 20th Century‹, a lecture held by Prof. Dr. Yvonne Kleinmann of ABZ, and ›A State without a Nation: The Case of Japan in Historical Perspective‹, presented by Dr. Maik Henrik Sprotte of IGK. The lectures encompassed the development of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego) and the three partitions of Poland and the genesis of the Japanese state headed by the quasi-divine body of the Japanese Emperor, the ›Father of the Nation‹. After lunch at a lovely local restaurant, we returned to the seminar location for the second panel which focused on the history of nations and schoolbook initiatives in East Asia and Europe. A joint lecture on the issue of ›the Joint Polish-German Commission for the Revision of History Textbooks and the Japanese-Korean Talks about the Revision of History Textbooks‹ was held by Prof. Dr. Michael Müller of ABZ and Dr. Tino Schölz of IGK. Both speakers contrasted the different developments and points of view towards joint history textbooks in Europe and East Asia and pointed out that cooperation between former enemies in terms of representation of historical events in schoolbooks could lead to a better mutual understanding and a softening of extreme nationalistic attitudes.

The third and most important part of EPRIE 2014 took place at the European Academy at Berlin where the last three panels and a public panel discussion were held. Dr. Gudrun Wacker of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs [SWP] took charge of chairing diverse discussion panels and duly helped organizing the seminar structure. The first panel at the Academy dealt with the concepts and construction of nations and comprised the lectures by Dr. Elisabeth Botsch, European Academy, on the topic of ›Concepts and construction of nations in Europe‹ and by Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo, Yonsei Law School, on ›concepts of nations and some problems of nation statehood in East Asia‹. It became obvious that the notions



and concepts of state construction in Europe and East Asia tend to be very different because in the latter case, the state is often closely tied to the dominant ethnic group in the respective country, whereas in the first case states are either tied to a specific ethnic group or a predefined residence. The subsequent panel focused on reconciliation initiatives and processes. Lily Gardner Feldman of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at John Hopkins University held a lecture on »Reconciliation in Principle and Practice: Lessons from Germany's Foreign Policy with Former Enemies«, and was later joined by Watanabe Mina, of the Women's Active Museum on War and Peace, who told the story of reconciliation initiatives and processes in the case of Japan's military sexual slavery. Even though those issues were the most delicate ones, the discussion atmosphere remained civil and the participants engaged in a lively dialogue with the two distinguished speakers. The last panel discussed the issues of national membership and identity. Here Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo elaborated on ethnicity, national belonging and the politics of membership in Korea and East Asia, whereas Prof. Dr. Steffi Richter of the University of Leipzig focused on »national identity and historical consciousness«. In the end, it became clearer how entangled the notion of citizenship in East Asian countries is with belonging to a certain majority faction of a predetermined ethnicity frame. A public panel discussion concluded the seminar session in the evening, addressing the regional integration and re-/nationalization processes which could be either compatible or contradictory. This session was chaired by Dr. Wacker. Shi Ming, a Chinese journalist, Prof. Dr. Steffi Richter and Dr. Nicolai von Ondarza of SWP were invited to elaborate on those topics and to engage in a fruitful discussion with the audience.

During the next two days at the European Academy, we engaged in a seminar of dialogue training, hosted by Dirk Splinter of inmedio, which aimed at enhancing our ability to overcome cultural and personal conflicts by using certain communication techniques. The alumnae and alumni of EPRIE 2012 and 2013 joined us at the Academy to share their experiences and knowledge and we had a nice barbecue dinner in the vast garden at the mansion. They prepared and hosted four guided tours to several national memorials located in Berlin, such as the Topography of Terror Documentation Center, the Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews in Europe, the Stasi Museum Berlin, and the German Resistance Memorial Center, which left a strong impression in our hearts and minds about the cruelties and atrocities of war and planned extermination efforts and the surveillance apparatus of the GDR state security forces. Later on, the alumni introduced us to the newly founded EPRIE Alumni Association for maintaining steady contacts between all the past participants to take the idea of intercultural networking a step further for future participants. On Sunday, some of us took a break and went to the Berlin city center for recreational activities and some sightseeing.

On Monday we left early to catch the train to Strasbourg, our final destination for EPRIE 2014. Having arrived in the late afternoon, we checked in at the Hotel Hannong and had another guided tour through the city of Strasbourg which again dealt with the importance of national memorial sites for the consciousness of a certain region and nation, such as the Rue de la Brigade Alsace-Lorraine/André Malraux or the Rue de la Division Leclerc/Place Broglie with the Leclerc Monument. On the following day, we visited the European Parliament which held its constituent session for electing the president of the European Parliament. Beforehand, a very well informed member of the visitors' service gave us a lecture on the function and the importance of the different European institutions and their relevance for the daily lives of Europeans residing in different EU member countries. EPRIE 2014 was then concluded by an evaluation session on Wednesday and a farewell lunch.

In summary, EPRIE 2014 was a special summer school and seminar for all of us who participated in this event. All of us shared intense discussion with other participants on several different hot or less hot topics during breakfast, lunch, and dinner and sometimes even more at local restaurants and bars. We became aware of our diverse international biographies and how they influence our diurnal behavior patterns and our mindset. Furthermore, some of us grew very close during the seminar days, even forming friendships, and we eagerly look forward to the next Alumni Meeting in 2015 which will be held in East Asia.

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#### PETER KESSELBURG

*is a Ph.D. student at the the Institute of Chinese Studies at Freiburg University. He achieved his M.A. in Sinology, Islamic Sciences and Political Sciences in July 2012 after his studies at the Universities of Freiburg and at the Mandarin Training Center of the Taiwan Normal University at Taipei. Since August 2013, he has been doctoral student at the Institute of Chinese Studies at Freiburg University. His main research interests concern subnational diplomatic cooperation forms (Paradiplomacy) between contemporary China and her neighboring SEA countries; development of the Cross-Strait relations and transnational regionalism in Asia in general. He is participant of EPRIE 2014.*

## CONCEPTS AND CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONS IN EUROPE

Elisabeth Botsch

### INTRODUCTION

After decades of European integration processes, nowadays the idea of the nation seems to be back in Europe. The current crisis which has particularly affected European Union member states has strengthened new ›renationalization‹ tendencies within the EU and, as a consequence, the results of recent elections to the European Parliament indicate the rise of populist parties which aim at reversing ›transnational‹ politics and lead to pursuing national interests. However, the European Union has been the answer to more than two centuries of wars between nation-states in Europe and two World Wars in the 20th century, in order to guarantee peace and prosperity in Europe. After the First World War, multi-ethnic states such as the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire declined, and new nation-states came into being. Yet the new order in Europe resulted in the ›Age of Extremes‹, as the historian Eric Hobsbawm called the era from 1914 to 1991. After World War Two, European integration constituted a turning point in the history of nation-states, as a new transnational political system began to develop, to which the nation-states delegated certain sovereign rights. This form of statehood limits the sovereignty of European nation-states. However, the nation continues to exist in contrast to the sovereign nation-state. This development is regarded as the key to the current long-lasting period of peace in the EU.

Concepts and constructions of nations in Europe are a various and complex issue. A number of historians have analyzed the rise of nations and nationalism in order to understand this complexity and to work out typologies. A considerable body of literature reflects these efforts. Therefore, only some aspects will be examined here, those which in my understanding are important and might explain why the ›nation‹ has become a constituent factor in history and has been an attractive concept up to the present day. This article will give a brief overview of the idea of ›the nation‹ in European history and of the concepts of ›nations‹ in Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Starting from a modern concept of nation, I will concentrate on two different examples of constructing nations in Europe: the French and the German case. My central questions will be: Why has the idea of ›nation‹ been so tempting, although the history of nation-states and nationalism has always been a history of violence and war in Europe? Has nationalism come to an end due to European integration?

### CONCEPTS OF THE NATION IN EUROPE

›Nation‹ in its modern and basically political sense is historically a very recent concept. It arose during revolutions in England, North America and France. During this ›Age of Revolution‹ as it is known, American and French authors systematically operated in their political and social discourse with the modern concept of nation. In this literature, nation equated with ›the people‹ and the state in the manner of the American and French revolutions. The French state was supposed to be one and indivisible. The nation was the body of citizens whose collective sovereignty constituted them as a state which was their political expression. In this sense, mass participation and choice had their roles in the definition of nation. The equation ›nation equals state equals (sovereign) people‹ linked nation to territory. It also implied a multitude of nation-states which was regarded as a necessary consequence of popular self-determination.<sup>1</sup>

Nationalism occurred as an answer to structural crises in modern ›Western‹ societies and in their view of the world. The French Revolution marked deep social and political changes which were the basis of new distribution of political and economic power, property and wealth. Nation became the new narrative which was able to support the new power, the Third Estate, in their struggle for dominance and their legitimation. In this regard, in Continental Europe the French

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<sup>1</sup>  
Hobsbawm (1992), p. 19.



Revolution of 1789 was a very important step towards a new and modern concept of nation. The debates in the Assemblée Nationale reflected this. The French Declaration of Rights of 1795 expressed this concept in this way: »Every people is independent and sovereign, whatever the number of individuals who compose it and the extent of the territory it occupies. This sovereignty is inalienable«.

In Revolutionary France, there was no logical connection between the body of the citizens of a territorial state on one hand, and identification of a »nation« on ethnic, linguistic or other grounds or characteristics which allowed collective recognition of group membership. What characterized the nation-people as seen by the citizens was that it represented the common interest as distinct from particular interests, the common good rather than privilege. Ethnic group differences were – from this revolutionary-democratic point of view – secondary. However, when the French Republic defended the outcomes of the Revolution against its enemies and therefore claimed more and more to be united and indivisible, heterogeneity within the territory created problems. Thus, for the Jacobins, language became a criterion for nationality. However, at the time, this insistence on linguistic uniformity since the French Revolution was quite exceptional.

This changed in the course of the 19th century when the nationalist concept of nation came into existence. For nationalists, the creation of political entities derived from the prior existence of some community distinguishing itself from foreigners. With Germany and Italy, two great powers based on the national principle emerged, as well as Austria-Hungary. Other smaller political entities were also recognized as independent states claiming their new status as nationally based peoples. This was the case with Belgium in Western Europe and with the Ottoman successor states in south-east Europe (Greece, Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria). The 19th century was the century of nation-making. However, the question was which of those numerous European populations classifiable as a »nationality« on one or other of the grounds would acquire statehood, and which of the numerous existing states would be recognized as a »nation«.

The concept of nation was so successful because it was able to link the modern aspects of nation consisting in a sovereign people with equal political rights to a traditional understanding of statehood. Hence, during the 19th century, the conventional idea of the nation emphasized the fact that the nation had existed since ancient times. It has been described as a non-historical universe which might have been obscured or put to sleep until it reappeared. Nationalism has been regarded as the awakening of a nation into »self-awareness«. This interpretation is due to an overlap between the modern appearance of nations with traditional experience of statehood encompassing ethnic entities. In this regard, ethnicity has become an important factor in

nationalism, although it played no role in the emerging notion of nation during the French Revolution.

In the middle of the 19th century, nation, nationality and national feeling were regarded as so self-evident in Europe that there was no critical reflection on these notions. To sum up, I would like to stress three points which characterized the narrative of nation: (1) The »nation« was regarded as a quasi-natural entity in European history. According to this, »nation« had available to it a potential for development ever since the Middle Ages, and flowered after an organic growth process. In the past, nation building was considered to be a divine act of creation and therefore was never the subject of any analysis. (2) »Nations« have the right to have their own state. Accordingly, new nations are permitted to fight for their state; old »nations« which have temporarily existed without a state are obliged to return to it. This vision implicated violent conflicts and war between states as a legitimate instrument in shaping nation-states. (3) Once a nation has built a state, it develops a system of ideas and values with the capacity to justify the existence of the nation, to interpret its past and to design its future. These ideas were indicated as national consciousness, patriotism or national feeling. This suggests that a nation based on a state and a common language automatically generates nationalism.

According to the prevailing definition, a nation is a community of people which is constituted on the unity of language, territory and state. In his book »Nations and Nationalism since 1780«, Eric Hobsbawm describes three criteria which allowed a people to be classed as a nation. Firstly, there had to be a historical association with a current state or a state with a recent past. The second criterion was the existence of a long-established cultural elite, possessing a written national literary and administrative vernacular. This was the basis of German claims to nationhood before the foundation of the German Empire by Bismarck. The third criterion was a proven capacity for conquest.<sup>2</sup> This is the reason why nations should have a certain size. In fact, nation-building went hand in hand with wars in order to constitute new nations.

Amongst 19th century writers, a French philosopher and writer, Ernest Renan (1823-1892) developed political theories concerning nationalism and national identity. His definition of a nation was quite influential.

In his text entitled »What is a Nation?« Renan said that the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common and also that they have forgotten many things, for example historic events such as the French St. Bartholomew's Night. According to Renan,

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Hobsbawm (1992), pp. 37-38.

the modern nation is a historical result brought about by a series of convergent facts, that is: »Sometimes unity has been effected by a dynasty, as was the case in France; sometimes it has been brought about by the direct will of provinces, as was the case with Holland, Switzerland and Belgium; sometimes it has been the work of a general consciousness, belatedly victorious over the caprices of feudalism, as was the case in Italy and Germany«.

In his definition of the concept of »nation«, Renan contended that race or ethnicity played no part in the constitution of modern nations. The inhabitants of European countries present a mixture of blood due to invasions and wars for many centuries, with the result that ethnographic considerations in the nation are regarded as a »complete illusion«.

According to Renan, this conclusion applies to language, too. In his definition, language appeared not to be a condition for building a nation. When the nation-states came into existence, the national language for every-day purposes was spoken only by a small minority of people in Germany or Italy. It was only universal primary school attendance in European nation states which led to »High« German (grammar and pronunciation) being used by everyone.

Therefore, what is a »nation« in the sense in which Renan is using it? »A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. Man does not improvise. The nation, like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice, and devotion. Of all cults, that of the ancestors is the most legitimate, for the ancestors have made us what we are. A heroic past, great men, glory, this is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea«.<sup>3</sup>

Renan also declared that the existence of a nation was based on a »daily plebiscite«. His view on the nature of the nation did not prevent him from racist and anti-Semitic ideas at the end of the 19th century.

Benedict Anderson (born in 1936) is one of the more modern researchers on nationalism who have argued that nations are a societal construction. In this sense, the nation continues to be regarded as a flexible product of modern history conceived by nationalism. Anderson proposed the following definition of the nation: »Nation is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently

limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion«.<sup>4</sup>

So, initially, the nation consists in an imagined community. This theoretical approach is based on the primacy of language and ideas. As a result, it postulates that a utopian concept of nation in the form of an imagined political unity precedes the creation of a nation.

Ernest Gellner went even further and pointed out that »nationalism invents nations where they do not exist«.<sup>5</sup> He sees the spread of nationalism in connection with industrialism in Western Europe.

In order to understand better the development of nations and of the nation-state, two contrasting examples will be presented: France and Germany.

## CONSTRUCTIONS OF NATIONS: FRANCE AND GERMANY

The French Revolution marked a turning point as far as constructing the French nation is concerned. Summoning the Estates General to Versailles, which was intended to provide a solution to the crisis in the »ancien régime«, launched a bourgeois revolution which brought about the collapse of the old order. From this revolution there emerged the First French Republic, at the heart of which stood the Third Estate, the urban middle class. All inhabitants, understood at the time to mean all male inhabitants, were citizens, legal members of the state, equal before the law, who, by means of universal suffrage, possessed political power, and, due to the abolition of feudalism and the right of property, possessed economic power. The Assemblée Nationale represented the citizens who were participating in the state. The First French Republic was based on the sovereignty of the nation. Deputies in the Assemblée Nationale affirmed the unity of the nation in opposition to the numerous internal opponents of the revolution and to the external threat from conservative powers in Europe who were striving against divesting the aristocracy of power. Thus France, in addition to England and Northern America, comprised one of those pioneer societies from which the fascination of a leap forward in evolutionary history emanated. In the case of France, an existing territorial state had been »nationalized« by means of an inner-state (domestic) revolution. For this nation, equality applied to all members

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<sup>3</sup>  
Renan (1882): *What is a nation?*

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<sup>4</sup>  
Anderson (1991), p. 49.

<sup>5</sup>  
Anderson (1991), p. 49.

of the nation; anyone or everyone who professed the aims of the revolution would be able to become a member of this nation. The sovereign nation-state, which was integrated and legitimized by means of nationalism, became the primary objective of national movements. Nationalism thus developed into the legitimization, mobilization and integration doctrine in the revolutionary modernization crisis, which revolution in its essence represents.

Germany's route to becoming a nation was a very particular situation compared to nation-building in other European states. Historians have classified Germany as a ›belated‹ nation. In contrast to France, nation building in Germany was not based on a homogenous state or a revolution. Germany was, at the time of the French Revolution, a territory characterized by particularism bodies, i.e. one in which small kingdoms and principalities were rivaling one another. At the beginning of the 19th century, as a consequence of the Napoleonic Wars, the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations collapsed; a body which for centuries had represented an important political order for the German community of states. As a result of this collapse and of new ordering in Europe at the Congress of Vienna, there emerged a completely changed political landscape in Germany, with profound repercussions for the everyday lives of the citizens. Subsequently, there began a long phase of searching for a new order which continued until the German Empire was established in 1871.

In the first half of the 19th century, Germans made every effort to achieve a democratic self-constitution as sovereign citizens. A national feeling had come into being in the wars of liberation involving the German states and the traditional monarchies in opposition to Napoleon's policies of conquest. German nationalists were fighting in the 1848 revolution for unification of Germany and for a German national state. When the 1848 March revolution in the German states failed, all the efforts of the German states to bring about a national state also failed. Many issues in connection with the territorial extent of the German nation and the arrangement of a new political order were not able to be agreed mutually. Amongst these unsolved issues was the problem as to whether the Habsburg Empire was to belong to the new German nation or not. Many people declared themselves



*Dr. Elisabeth Botsch, Photo: Yajima Tsukasa*

in favor of what was known as the Great or Pan-German solution. First and foremost, prior to 1871, the national movement in the German states was a liberal reform movement. Protagonists hoped that a German ›state-nation‹ would bring them all the reforms which they could not obtain through the German Confederation or the German states. Reforms were clearly linked to the ideas of liberalism and in their left-wing element also to democracy. But they were not successful.

It was not until 1871 that national state unification was achieved through Bismarck's policies. This was a unity imposed from above, based on power-policy developments and economic necessities, under the hegemony of Prussia and with no bourgeois civil rights. In the German Empire there was a multiplicity of constitutional forms, including constitutional monarchies in the south German states, but also the virtual dictatorship of a bureaucracy dominated by the military in Prussia. At one and the same time, relatively advanced parliamentary co-decision rights in some states came up against the anachronistic system of three electoral classes in Prussia which nevertheless was retained until 1918. Highly industrialized regions in the west of Germany were confronted with a purely agrarian economy in the eastern areas, dominated by aristocratic ›Junkers‹ (squires). The ›one German Nation‹ was therefore during the time of the German Empire from 1871 to 1914, as well, a fiction, one which had little to do with social, economic and political reality.

Historians perceive in this so-called special route towards democracy and to a nation state taken by Germany as one of the reasons for Germany being jointly responsible for the outbreak of the First World War and, in the era of National Socialism, for having launched World War II. In the present context there is no opportunity to discuss this issue in detail. However, the history of the 20th century and its disasters is common knowledge.

### THE DIVISION OF GERMANY

After 1945, Germans disapproved of nationality and national feeling as a reaction to the National Socialist era. The division of Germany into two separate states, the Federal Republic of Germany in the western part and the German Democratic Republic in the eastern part, prolonged the difficulties which Germans had with the concept of nation. There were two states, but only one German nation. However, both states developed their own concepts of nation. The German Democratic Republic perceived itself as a new Communist nation. After reunification in 1990, differences between both parts of Germany prevailed and made it – at first – difficult to redefine German nationhood.

### EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

After the Second World War, European self-conception and national identities changed dramatically. Generally speaking, national identities were discredited in Europe, in particular in Germany, but also in countries that had formed coalitions with the Nazi regime. In addition, the breakdown of colonial empires in Western Europe provoked serious political upheavals in a number of countries such as Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Belgium, which resulted in the geographical concentration of attention in these states towards Europe. A fundamental change in the nation-state was generated by a new concept of foreign policy, no longer based on the principle of balance between sovereign European powers, but, in contrast, on the idea of peacekeeping by controlling the nation-states reciprocally through supra-national institutions. European integration achieved the most advanced degree of supra-nationality in the process of transferring more and more sovereignty rights to European institutions. As a consequence, the ›typical‹ nation-state ceased to exist within the European Union.

Although national and European identity are very closely linked in contemporary Europe, there exist only very few studies seeking to understand the impact of both. One reason for this might be that European identity in the main is regarded as a sort of national identity at European level. European identity is therefore expected to have the same emotional binding as national identity and the same impact

in the public mind.<sup>6</sup> However, compared to national identity, European identity appears to be rather weak. On the other hand, modern European self-conception is oriented towards precise objectives such as democracy, internal peacekeeping, international responsibility, wealth and social security. In contrast to national entities, European identity is less based on a common language or on common culture or symbols. In fact, modern European identity is the result of lessons learnt from both World Wars on the territory of Europe which caused fatal destruction. European identity is to be seen as a consequence of these disasters in the first half of the 20th century.

It is important to emphasize that European identity is no substitute for a national identity. On the contrary, it has been developed in addition to existing bonds to the nation-states. European identity is therefore perceived as a multiple identity linked to other national identities. The European Union is composed of nation-states which have joined the Union voluntarily and is based on diversity. This contrasts with national identity virtually based only on conquest, annexation, repression or assimilation. European identity also contrasts with multi-ethnic states such as the Habsburg Monarchy or the Soviet Union, which were based on the hegemony of one nation-state.

Little by little, Europeans have developed a dual identity and consider themselves today to be both Europeans and citizens of their country. In what way has the European Union contributed to changing European and national identities of citizens? Do both European and national identities converge? In order to find answers to these questions, take a closer look at a recent survey entitled »One year to go to the 2014 European elections« published in Eurobarometer 2013, which included questions on European identity.

According to 2013 findings, among respondents 49% feel national and European, as opposed to 43% in 2012. The number of respondents who only feel national decreased from 44% to 38% over the same period. The number of Europeans who primarily feel European and then national appears to be much less, comprising only 7% (6% in 2012). Respondents who only feel European represent no more than 3% (4% in 2012).

A further question was asked about the development of a sense of European identity. »Compared to 10 years ago, would you say the German or French people tend to feel more European than before?« 52% of the German respondents said that they feel more European than 10 years ago, compared to 36% of the French respondents.

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<sup>6</sup>  
*Kaelble (1999), p. 395*



15% of the German respondents answered that they feel less European than 10 years ago, compared to 40% of the French respondents.

According to the European average findings, 44% of the respondents said that they feel more European than before and 27% that they feel less European than before. 24% indicated no change.

To come back to the second question raised at the beginning of the article: Has nationalism come to an end due to European integration? Two lessons learnt by the survey can be identified: firstly, nations continue to be relevant to European citizens. Secondly, European identity constitutes an increasing element of Europeans' dual identity. The fact that, for French people, French identity appears to be more important than European identity reflects the history of the 'Grande Nation'. In contrast, the results of German respondents reflect the more ambivalent feeling of Germans in respect to their national feelings.

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#### DR. ELISABETH BOTSCH

*is program director at the European Academy Berlin. She has done research in the EU Network of Socio-Economic Experts in the Non-Discrimination Field. Her work included periodic reports and workshops on anti-discrimination and equal treatment issues, accredited by the European Commission, 2009, 2010, 2011. Further she is a lecturer at the Berlin School of Economics and Law for Franco-German Studies, International Management, Business Administration, Economics, Gender, European Integration and Globalization. She holds a Ph.D. in Social Sciences from Sorbonne University, Paris.*



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## CONCEPTS OF NATION AND THE POLITICS OF MEMBERSHIP IN EAST ASIA<sup>1</sup>

Lee Chulwoo

### *CIVIC VS. ETHNIC: A PROBLEMATIC DICHOTOMY?*

The dichotomy between the civic and ethnic notions of nation has been criticized as both analytically useless or normatively problematic (Brubaker 1998; Kymlicka 2004: 199-200). Brubaker (1998: 299) castigates the dichotomy as useless because, if the ›ethnic‹ notion is conceived in terms of descent, race or biology, there are so few cases of ethnic nationhood and, if the ethnic notion is conceived more broadly as involving cultural identity, there are no cases of civic nationhood, since no nationhood is acultural. Weber (1968: 385-98) also criticized the term ›ethnic group‹ as »unsuitable for rigorous analysis«, although he at least tentatively employed it as an ideal-type, which he defined as a human group that entertains »a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration«. Our observation of East Asian experiences will bring us back to the question of the validity of the distinction between the civic and ethnic models of nation.

However problematic the above dichotomy is, one cannot ignore the differences in the notions of nation that manifest themselves in the policies, public discourses and ideologies of nations and the spectrum of rationales that fuel the projects of nation-states. The 2005 Council of Europe Report on ›The Concept of Nation‹ (Doc. 10762) shows the diversity in the ways in which European states represent the nature of their peoplehood. The Report recognized the existence of wide ranging

concepts of nation across thirty-five states in Europe. Discerning both civic and ethnic conceptions of nation expressed in the statements of the delegations/experts and the constitutions of those states, the Report concluded that »it was difficult, not to say impossible, to arrive at a common definition of the concept of nation«. While the Report observed that the general trend of evolution was from a purely ethnic state to a civic state and from a purely civic state to a multicultural state, it recognized the validity of the ethnic definitions of nation that are even enshrined in some of the constitutions of those states. The Constitutions of Hungary and Croatia, for example, refer to the ›nation‹ as if it is an entity separate from the state and citizenry. Such reference to the nation is absent in the constitutions of most Western European countries. How do these European cases compare with the ways in which East Asian nations conceive of themselves? Does the recognized diversity of nation concepts make East Asian nations complacent because their conceptions of nation, often problematized as primordial, racialized and ethnicist, are not too idiosyncratic?

### *A FLEETING GLANCE AT THE EAST ASIAN CONCEPTIONS OF NATION*

One who travels East Asia would have an impression from China, Korea and Japan similar to the surprising observation of Eric Hobsbawm who acknowledged the ethnic homogeneity of the population. Hobsbawm (1990: 66) observed that »Japan and the two Koreas are 99% homogenous, and 94% of the People's Republic of China are Han«. It is surprising because of Hobsbawm's position as the skipper of the modernist camp in nationalism theory. Yet Hobsbawm's simplistic observation is a better starting point in discussing the concepts of nation in those countries than the constructivist view that explains away the putative homogeneity as a constructed myth,

<sup>1</sup> This essay is a revised version of my talk »Concepts of Nation and Some Problems of Nation-Statehood in East Asia« presented at the EPRIE 2014 seminar held in Berlin on 25 June.



which, borrowing the expression of Brubaker et al. (2006: 7), is »too obviously right ... to generate new insights«. People's belief in homogeneity and their understanding of the nature of that homogeneity manifested themselves in a 2000 survey where 93 percent of the South Korean respondents agreed that Korea had a »single bloodline« and that Koreans permanently living abroad were still of the same stock because of the same ancestry regardless of their citizenship (Shin 2006: 2). This kind of blood-centred conception of nationhood seems to be widespread in China and Japan too (Dikötter, ed. 1997). The three countries share the same term for »nation« made up of the same Chinese characters – minzu in Chinese, minjok in Korean, and minzoku in Japanese – which carry heavy connotations of descent. Let me characterize this notion of nation as an ethnic notion until we come back to our initial interest in the utility of the civic-ethnic models as analytical tools.

In what follows, I shall address the following questions that arise in thinking about the ethnic notion of nation that underlie the concepts of minzu, minjok and minzoku. First, what are the origins and backgrounds of that notion common and widespread in East Asia? Have the concepts minzu/minjok/minzoku carried the same meaning throughout East Asia? What political implications has the ethnic concept of nation had through historical processes? Second, does that notion take on any institutional form? Has it been translated into rules that draw the boundaries of the nation? How does it inform the principle of nationality (citizenship)? Third, does and, if so, how does the descent-centred notion of nation in each of the three East Asian countries fuel nationalism, namely, nationalizing projects on the one hand and homeland politics on the other?

#### *THE MODERN ORIGINS OF MINZU/MINZOKU/ MINJOK AND THE MULTIPLE DIMENSIONS OF NATIONHOOD*

It is often believed that descent-centred or racialized notions of nation have deep roots in the histories of East Asian societies. The powerful invocation of ancient myths with reference to Huangdi the Yellow Emperor, Tan'gun, or Emperor Jimmu, and lineage discourse based on Confucianism are examples of traditional elements often associated with the blood-centred notion of nation. Yet nationalism scholars more commonly look to modern discursive sources for origins of the racialized discourse of nationhood widespread in East Asia. Scholars who share this interest discover a shift »from cosmology to biology« in late-nineteenth-century public discourses in East Asia. According to those scholars, while East Asian societies had been accustomed to the distinction between civilization and barbarism, which corresponded neither to ethnic lines nor to state borders, such a distinction now combined with social Darwinism and the imported race discourse

to form a Weltanschauung that hierarchized the world according to racial superiority/inferiority. Traditional elements were invented or reappropriated to serve this discursive project (Dikötter, ed. 1997). The new discourse, however, was not exclusively focused on the ethnic nationality (minzu/minjok/minzoku). It also created an identity that encompassed the whole of East Asia – the yellow race. This identity was invented and used to serve political purposes, namely for mobilizing efforts of alliance among East Asian peoples against the West and for rationalizing the domination of one of the peoples in the region over the rest in the name of a common past and a common destiny (Dikötter, ed. 1997; Tikhonov 2013). Thus the biologically theorized notion of peoplehood operated at three different levels – Asia or, accurately speaking, the Mongoloid people, the nation-state, and the ethnic nationality.

The term that corresponded to the identity created for Asia was renzhong in Chinese. Within a single state, the same notion rationalizes two potentially conflicting identities – the Staatsvolk and the ethnic nationality – to which the same term minzu (minjok/minzoku) applies, although the former is also translated as guomin in Chinese (kukmin in Korean and kokumin in Japanese), which is coextensive with the citizenry. Not only the fifty-six ethnic nationalities but also the Staatsvolk or guomin is also explained in terms of the same descent, as descendants of the Yellow Emperor, the mythical origin of the Han Chinese (Sautman 1997). To the extent that Zhonghua minzu (the Chinese nation) is rationalized in the same terms, there is potential logical-ideological conflict between Zhonghua minzu and the minority minzu which form 8.4 percent of the population and each of which is believed to have a distinct ethnic-genealogical identity. The latter were classified during and after the Chinese civil war and their members determined after the communist takeover. This concept and programme were influenced by the Soviet model of nationhood, where »ethnic nationality (natsional'nost') ... was an obligatory and mainly ascriptive legal category« (Brubaker 1996: 31). The »groupist« communist concept of nation thus combined with the ethnicized concept of minzu developed in China since the late nineteenth century to produce an ethnic taxonomy unique to China.

Japan's building of the Yamato minzoku was logically simple, although the encounter with the Ainu created tension, which had to be resolved by a policy based on the same logic – mixing blood and making the Ainu a dying race (Siddle 1997). The Japanese were discursively created as a tanitsu minzoku (single-blood people) distinct from Koreans and Chinese. Basically this continued through the imperial period, which was demonstrated by the use of separate family registries for different peoples within the empire – the Japanese, Koreans, Taiwanese, and the people of Karafuto. This, however, was coupled with discourses such as dōsōdōkonron (the theory of the same ancestry and the same

roots) designed to justify the rule of Korea. As for Manchuria, the theory of *kozokukyōwa* (cooperation and harmony between five races) was developed to rationalize the creation of Manchukuo. The empire in its entirety and the expansionist enterprise in other parts of Asia were explained in broader race terms – the yellow race – and by a reverse-Orientalized cultural identity. Post-war Japan reverted to the notion of single identity – *tanitsu minzoku* – despite the presence of a permanent population of *zainichi* Koreans and the ongoing questioning of the assimilation of Okinawans.

Unlike China and Japan, Korea has had no experience of having multiple layers of identity. The *Staatsvolk* and the ethnic nation have come to almost squarely coincide with each other in concept. But, as we shall see, the fact that the ethnic nation has been divided into two states is a serious challenge to the ideal of the nation-state, that is, the ideal of congruence between nation and state.

### *THE CONCEPT OF NATION AND THE LAW OF NATIONALITY: JUS SANGUINIS IN EAST ASIA*

It is often assumed that a national identity based on ethnicity is translated into the principle of *jus sanguinis*, the principle of blood in conferring nationality (citizenship) at birth. Scholars often associate the ethnic notion of nationhood with *jus sanguinis* and the civic notion with *jus soli*, the principle of birthright citizenship based on birth on the territory (Brubaker 1992). *Jus sanguinis* is regarded as exclusionary, while *jus soli* is considered good for integrating immigrants. Citizenship indexes tend to treat *jus soli* as a decisively important indicator of liberal citizenship policy (Howard 2009). In that regard, the Republic of Korea, Japan, the People's Republic of China, and the Republic of China (Taiwan) should be judged negatively, because the nationality laws of the four countries have adopted *jus sanguinis* and do not grant nationality (citizenship) on the basis of *jus soli* other than in exceptional cases. Their *jus sanguinis* rules are often regarded as a sign of their racialized ethnic notion of nation and national self-perception. While it is true that *jus soli* is functionally effective in incorporating immigrants, *jus sanguinis* should not be castigated as representing a racialized and blood-centred notion of nationhood. Patrick Weil is keen to correct that preconception. According to Weil, when France became the first modern state to adopt *jus sanguinis*, its motivation was to break with the traditions of the *ancien régime*, where birth on the territory was the basis for allegiance to the monarch, and to prioritize family links transmitted by the *paterfamilias* over territorial subjecthood (Weil 2008: chap. 1).

Shao Dan's fascinating study shows that China's adoption of *xuetongzhuyi* (*jus sanguinis*) was motivated more by the political

goal of securing individuals' perpetual allegiance to the state than by a conception of nationhood based on a belief in a shared bloodline. According to Dan (2009), China's first nationality law, enacted in 1909 by the Qing government, adopted *jus sanguinis* in reaction against the 1907 Dutch statute in Java whereby all Chinese born in Java should be considered Dutch nationals no matter whether they resided in Java or China, and against the attempts of Chinese subjects to acquire the nationalities of European countries.

This has some parallel with Kashiwazaki's explanation of how Japan opted for *jus sanguinis* when it first enacted its nationality law in 1899. According to Kashiwazaki (1998), Japan's decision was a path-dependent choice impelled by the settled household registration system, security concerns, and the influence of European models, and was less driven by a blood-obsessed ethno-nationalistic impulse.

The path-dependent reliance on the household registration system was what I pointed to as a significant background of Korea's definition of its membership based on *jus sanguinis* and identification of its initial citizens. I pointed out that the delimitation of the personal boundaries of a nation-state is not only a matter of sovereign decision but also a product of what Foucault (1991) termed governmentality, the rationality and art of taking care of a population separate from the territory with the capacity to identify and act on the individual members of the population. When Korea was liberated from Japanese rule, it inherited a governmentalized state apparatus and a population with more or less clear boundaries, which coincided with the less-institutionalized boundaries of the subjecthood of the historic Korean state. The two Koreans adopted *jus sanguinis* in delimiting their citizenry. The putative blood-centred identity of Koreans, North and South alike, which apparently informed their principle of membership was both a result of the project of governmentality under Japanese rule and a reaffirmation of the boundaries thus defined (Lee 2012).

### *NATIONAL IDENTITY, NATIONALIZING PROJECTS AND HOMELAND NATIONALISM*

The nationalist project toward congruence between nation and state in each of the East Asian countries has been shaped by the concepts of *minzu*, *minjok* and *minzoku* developed respectively in those countries. In China, the state has been officially characterized as a «unified multinational state» (Ma 1989: 20-27), which means federalism is rejected. China's nationalizing project differs from that of the Soviet Union in that the former relies on the ideology of ethno-national unity, symbolized by the term *Zhonghua minzu*, whereas the latter rationalized its unity by recourse to shared socialist ideals despite the essentializing of ethnonational identity at sub-Union levels of government. Unlike the Soviet Union, where the right of self-determination and the right

to secede were nominally recognized, the People's Republic of China has denied those rights and stresses in its constitution that all areas governed by ethnic minorities are inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China (He 2005: 65). This works as a ground for a powerful nationalizing project. The PRC constitution recognizes the equality of ethnic minorities, prohibits discrimination, and provides for various kinds of autonomy, but the deficiency of political and civil rights distinguishes the system from the multiculturalism advocated by Kymlicka (He 2005). While Kymlicka might be accused of essentializing ›culture‹, China's ethnic taxonomy is far more essentialistic than Kymlicka's concept of ›societal culture‹, which Kymlicka (1995: 22-23) explicitly opposes to descent-based ethnicity. Japan's nationalizing nationalism is well-known for its exclusionary and assimilationist tendency, the treatment of zainichi Koreans being a case in point. South Korea has little experience of dealing with minorities, but its treatment of the small Chinese diaspora (huaqiao) has been criticized as exclusionary. South Korea's so-called ›multicultural family policy‹ demonstrates a conspicuous descent-based notion of ethnicity and is often accused of being an assimilationism in the name of multiculturalism.

The three East Asian countries also practise homeland nationalism in the form of policies towards ethnic diasporas, which show that they entertain concepts of nation that transcend state borders. On one occasion, such a policy brought about international tension. South Korea's Overseas Koreans Act of 1999, which gives economic benefits to members of the Korean diaspora when they are in Korea, was criticized by China for its potential danger of instilling nationalism among the Korean minority in China (chaoxianxu). In response, Korea excluded its coethnics in China and the former Soviet Union from the scope of the law. But later Korea developed a special immigration status for coethnics from China and the former Soviet Union who would work in less-skilled job sectors, a policy similar to Japan's policy toward nikkeijin from South America. Now, although Korea has amended the Overseas Koreans Act to include coethnics from China, China no longer complains (Lee 2010, 2012). China is also known to grant preferential treatment to returning overseas Chinese. Among these Chinese are huaren, who are not citizens of China, although the name of the law that institutionalizes this policy – Law on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Returned Overseas Chinese – sounds as if it is for returning huaqiao (overseas Chinese citizens) only (Thunø 2001; Skrentny et al. 2007: 803-4).

This kind of diaspora engagement policy calls for comparison with the East and Central European policies towards kin-minorities in neighbouring countries, the prime example being the Hungarian Status Law. The Hungarian Status Law sparked controversy and brought about the intervention of the Council of Europe, which issued statements and reports, including the aforementioned report

and recommendation ›The Concept of Nation‹. Skrentny et al. (2007: 793) compare the East Asian policies and the European ones by saying ›East Asian states use co-ethnic preferences instrumentally for economic goals and also offer preferential treatment of co-ethnic foreign investors‹ whereas ›European states offer preferences to coethnics to protect these populations or express symbolic ties, sometimes at great expense‹. This is an oversimplification, but if we accept some of the facts it rightly attends to, we see that the East-Central European kin-minority policies are more prone to cause tension between states than the East Asian diaspora engagement policies. No East Asian country uses dual nationality as a means of creating a transborder nation in the way Croatia and Hungary does, not to speak of what Russia does toward Abkhazia and South Ossetia (see Bauböck, ed. 2010). It is also interesting to see how coethnics that are brought into the scope of the policy are defined. The Overseas Koreans Act defines the target people in terms of past nationality, whereas the Hungarian Status Law defines the beneficiaries as ›persons of Hungarian ethnic origin‹. This sounds as if the Hungarian law is more strongly ethnic-oriented and the Korean law is more liberal. Yet, whereas ethnicity in Eastern Europe can only be defined in terms of culture and language because of the complex ethnic makeup of the kin-minorities as well as the populations of the kin-states, the Korean policy addresses a bounded community based on putative common descent without using the term ›ethnic‹, which is not only possible but also inevitable because the population of a hermit kingdom was reconstituted into an ethnically bounded collectivity whose members were recorded into family units and the personal boundaries of that collectivity were carried over into the new nation-state (Lee 2012: 94).

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PROF. DR. LEE CHULWOO

*is teaching sociology of law, citizenship and migration, and related courses at Yonsei Law School/Yonsei University, Seoul. He studied at Seoul National University, Georgetown University, and the London School of Economics and Political Science (Ph.D.). He taught at the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies and Sungkyunkwan University before joining Yonsei University in 2006. In 2011 he was Garvey Schubert Barer Visiting Professor of Asian Law at the University of Washington School of Law in Seattle, USA. Lee Chulwoo is currently President of the Korea International Migration Studies Association and Chairperson of the Immigration Policy Advisory Board of the Korea Immigration Service, Ministry of Justice of Korea. His areas of academic interest include law and social theory, social history of law, and citizenship and nationhood.*

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# RECONCILIATION IN PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE: CONCLUSIONS FROM GERMANY'S FOREIGN POLICY WITH FORMER ENEMIES

Lily Gardner Feldman

*The ideas in this essay derive from the author's book *Germany's Foreign Policy of Reconciliation: From Enmity to Amity* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012); and article »Reconciliation Means Having to Say You're Sorry«, *Foreign Policy*, April 2014.*

## INTRODUCTION

The topic of international reconciliation has attracted the attention of scholars and practitioners throughout the globe in the last two decades. In the last ten years, this interest has been particularly noticeable in East Asia, where there is frequent discussion of the lessons to be gleaned from the German experience to help illuminate the difficult debate about history between South Korea and Japan and China and Japan. Since the 2014 Munich Security Conference and the German President's reference to reconciliation as a singular German achievement that could be a useful template for peace building in other regions, Germany itself (both the government and civil society) is focusing on the phenomenon.

In all these discussions of reconciliation, rarely is the concept defined. By »reconciliation« I mean the process of building long-term peace between former enemies through bilateral institutions across governments and societies. Reconciliation involves the development of friendship, trust, empathy and magnanimity (not necessarily forgiveness). Reconciliation is not an easily approached terminal condition. This is a maximal definition of reconciliation that contrasts with the minimal definitions of peaceful coexistence, rapprochement, or the absence of war. It assumes that Karl Deutsch's notion of »security community« embraces both soft power and hard power elements.

The principle and practice of reconciliation feature four sets of actors involved in the concept of »nation«: traditional notions of national

government and political leadership; more recent ideas of nations comprising a diversity of actors, with an emphasis on civil society and moral leadership, and transnational activity; post-1945 regional principles of collective international action and community-building as a response to the profound excesses of nationalism; the reality that these different ideas of »nation« do not operate in a vacuum, but are connected to the broader international system.

The idea of transferring reconciliation experiences has engendered debate about the advantages and disadvantages of comparison. We should be cautious in arguing by comparison and analogy. There are many historical, cultural, institutional and contextual differences between Europe and East Asia, but this should not prohibit examining them together around the concept of reconciliation. We can view comparison as enriching debate about similarities and differences; as offering practical mechanisms for how reconciliation can be initiated, moved forward, maintained; and as identifying the ways in which reconciliation can be stymied. Practical mechanisms can be culturally neutral or capable of being adjusted to specific regions. Articulating a framework is an opportunity for dialogue, not an imposition from the outside or a strait-jacket.

## CHALLENGES FOR ASIA AND EUROPE

Many analysts posit that the Asia-Pacific region, including East Asia, will be the driver of global politics and economics in the 21st century. China will likely replace the US as the largest economy by 2016, according to the recent OECD Economic Survey of China. China has already surpassed the Euro-area as the second-largest economy. A major study by the Center for Transatlantic Relations (Johns Hopkins University) argues that tensions over historical reconciliation in East Asia will be one of the main factors affecting future stability in the



region, especially in the context of nationalism in Japan, China and South Korea. There are four main aspects of the 'history wars' in East Asia: territorial disputes, compensation to victims of Japanese war-time aggression, content of history textbooks, and historical revisionism in general.

Europe has undergone already its economic identity crisis with challenges to the Euro system and gradually seems to be emerging with some degree of confidence, according to a May 2014 survey by the Pew Research Global Attitudes Project. The ongoing tensions and chaos in and over Ukraine and the outcome of the European Parliament elections are a challenge to the values for which Europe stands and signal a major political identity crisis. However, judging by the past resilience of the European Community and the European Union, crisis has the potential to motivate and galvanize and to lead to reform and a sense of international purpose (witness the Balkans debacle and nationalist challenges in the 1990s, and the forward movement in its wake). One of the key foundational values from the very inception of the European project, now being questioned in Russia and Ukraine, is the concept of reconciliation, of dealing with a difficult past in cooperative and constructive ways, of melding diversity with community and solidarity.

As Europe is forced to examine and reaffirm its values, what are the lessons of its achievements with peace building that might be relevant in the long-term, when the dust has settled, in Ukraine and in the short-term in East Asia? Whether Europe and Germany (as the key architect and practitioner of reconciliation) like it or not, two East Asian actors – South Korea and China – look to the German experience of reconciling with former enemies for inspiration and practical guidance, as witnessed most recently in remarks made by President Xi Jinping and President Park in their March 2014 visits to Germany.

#### GERMANY'S EXPERIENCE AND THE POTENTIAL RELEVANCE FOR EAST ASIA

There are ten clear conclusions from Germany's experience that could help frame discussion about reconciliation challenges in East Asia:

### 1

***The process of reconciliation has been long, messy, non-linear, and is not over.***

Germany's reconciliation process evolved over seven decades, characterized often by vicissitudes and false starts. President Gauck's visits in the last two years to Oradour-sur-Glane, to Lidice, to Yad Vashem, and the Warsaw Uprising exhibition are just some of the many demonstrations of Germany's ongoing commitment to commemoration and remembrance.

East Asia: There is a tendency in East Asia to see reconciliation as perfect peace and harmony, and, therefore, an impossible ideal. A more realistic sense – in which reconciliation involves differences and contestation but in a cooperative framework – may prevent resignation and early, dashed expectations when initiatives fail. Small steps, rather than grand gestures, may be sufficient to jumpstart the process.

### 2

***From the outset, reconciliation faced opposition from the political realm and public opinion in both Germany and partner countries. The process moved forward because of the presence of visionary political and societal leaders.***

They were willing to take on the arguments of the opposition directly with concrete counter arguments about the benefits of reconciliation, and to develop personal ties with leaders of former adversary countries. The German experience indicates the important role non-governing party luminaries can play (like the Social Democratic Party's Kurt Schumacher and Carlo Schmid, without whom Chancellor Konrad Adenauer would not have succeeded with his initiative toward Israel); and the centrality of political leaders at the regional level (for example Johannes Rau, the minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia); and the key intervention of mayors (not only Willy Brandt as mayor of Berlin, but countless mayors in all the partner countries through town twinning arrangements).

East Asia: A forward-looking, practically-oriented political leadership on reconciliation has been particularly lacking in East Asia. If political leadership is absent at the official, national level, one should look to other arenas beyond the national level to identify and engage supporters of reconciliation.

### 3

***Early on, and repeatedly, Germany acknowledged the crimes it had committed during World War II and recognized its victims' suffering.***

The chief method for such an acceptance of the past did not always involve formal apologies sanctioned by cabinets or parliaments in advance, but rather were often statements of regret either by individual leaders or in treaties and agreements. When such statements were uttered, the grieving party usually responded with a sense of magnanimity (not forgiveness, which can be a burdensome requirement in reconciliation), often because there was a coordinated bilateral process of statement utterance and calculated reply.

East Asia: Japan has a spotty record of issuing apologies regarding its past behavior, and reduces any power they might have by taking





Dr. Lily Gardner Feldman

Photo: Yajima Tsukasa

actions contrary to the spirit of acknowledging historical facts (e.g., Yasukuni Shrine visits; discussion of revising the Kono and Murayama Statements). At the same time, South Korea in particular has sought highly formal, total apologies, whereas acceptance of something less than universal that does not speak for all of Japan might at least start a process. Any new movement in this aspect of reconciliation should bear in mind that a reciprocal minuet seems necessary.

## 4

***Compensation to victims was a core element of reconciliation for Germany.***

This commitment began with the Reparations Agreement with Israel in 1952; continued with domestic compensation and restitution laws for German citizens and former citizens; and also entailed other agreements with Western European countries (before unification) and Russia and Eastern European countries (after unification). Germany had no international legal obligation to pay reparations to Israel as the Jewish state had not existed at the time of the crimes, but for moral and pragmatic reasons the Federal Republic pursued justice.

And, on a number of occasions, Germany took the non-judicial route of establishing »special funds« to compensate those omitted by the restrictions of domestic compensation laws. Compensation for forced and slave laborers was concluded only in 2000, many years after the event, in an initiative that involved the German government and German companies equally.

East Asia: Japan insists that all compensation issues with South Korea were settled in the 1965 Treaty on Basic Relations and the 1972 Joint Communiqué with China and by subsequent economic assistance in both cases. The German example demonstrates that compensation issues, such as payments for victims of sexual slavery (»comfort women«), can be addressed long after the crimes are committed even if they have been previously neglected, and that extra-legal political exceptions are always possible.

## 5

***The resolution of territorial issues bedeviling Germany's ties with France, Poland and Czechoslovakia was a significant element of a complex evolution of reconciliation, but not the sole focus.***

With France, settlement took place early on, but with Poland de jure recognition by Germany of the Oder/Neisse line (the Western border between Germany and Poland) would have to wait until 1990 and German unification (de facto recognition occurred in 1970). With the Czech Republic, there is still today an agreement to disagree on the legal interpretation of the starting date for the invalidity of the 1938 Munich Agreement (through which Germany annexed the Sudetenland). None of those territorial tensions prevented reconciliation because they were contained in a much broader palette of relations; and historical and emotional issues lying behind the territorial disputes were dealt with in other fora.

East Asia: The East Asian territorial disputes might be muted or rendered less inflammatory if institutional initiatives could be undertaken in other dimensions, like economics and culture, developing bonds that can act as shock absorbers when there are territorial crises.

## 6

***The process of reconciliation in Europe and with Israel was hardly unilateral, but rather involved reciprocity and mutuality.***

At significant junctures when the reconciliation process was stalled victims took the initiative, for example, the May 1950 plan for a Coal and Steel Community of French Prime Minister Robert Schuman; and Czech President Vaclav Havel's reconciliation overtures to Germany in early 1990.

East Asia: One has the feeling in both South Korea and China that official actors are always waiting for a Japanese move. Most notable are the recurrent refusals of leaders in China and South Korea to meet with their Japanese counterparts as a response to official, negative Japanese utterances and actions, like Prime Minister Abe's December 2013 visit to the Yasukuni Shrine, that reflect a white-washing of past crimes. Now should be a time for South Korea and China to seek talks, not to avoid them. Not talking means status quo or backward movement, whereas dialogue has the potential of moving forward.

## 7

***Civil society actors in both Germany and the partner countries often were the catalysts for reconciliation, initiating a process that governments then joined, shaped, solidified and institutionalized. Non-governmental actors could occupy a moral space often removed from governments with their focus on raison d'état.***

Key examples of catalysts are religious actors and town twinnings in Germany, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Israel; youth exchange between Germany and both France and Israel; dissident groups in Poland and Czechoslovakia under communism; history textbook commissions with France and Poland. Much of the civil society activity involved cultivating a »culture of remembrance«; a constant confrontation with history; the expression of symbolic gestures, such as the 1965 Polish bishops' offer of reconciliation and forgiveness to their German counterparts.<sup>1</sup>

East Asia: At a time of limited movement between political leaders, outside encouragement and coordination of East Asian civil society actors could be particularly useful, especially between young people in sports, popular culture, and educational exchange.

## 8

***From the outset, Germany's foreign policy of reconciliation combined moral imperative with pragmatic needs, and the process has been shaped by a balance of these two elements ever since.***

Even though the weights between moral and pragmatic motivations can change, this duality has been a central feature of German reconciliation.

East Asia: Striking in East Asia is a relative absence of overt references to a moral requirement for launching a reconciliation process. Unlike in the German case, it may be that pragmatism must come first

and dominate, and only once a process of building peace has been established can the necessary moral aspects emerge. This would suggest that civil society and official parties should focus on the highly concrete, material benefits that could ensue from reconciliation, not forgetting the past but lifting it from the shadows when other dimensions of reconciliation are in place. Civil society, however, because it does not face the constraint of *raison d'état*, has the luxury and requirement to also build bilateral relations based on moral concerns at any time.

## 9

***In the process of forging friendship between Germany and former enemies, the regional, institutional framework of the European Community/European Union proved essential.***

It meant the parties could not avoid one another; provided tangible benefits for daring to reconcile; and, through the equal rights and responsibilities of membership, conferred a degree of symmetry to counter structural power inequalities.

East Asia: The sui generis European Union, in which important degrees of national sovereignty have been surrendered, cannot be replicated in East Asia. But the nascent free trade talks among China, South Korea and Japan could provide the necessary multilateral framework to begin to bind the countries institutionally and for cooperation to spill over to the bilateral spheres. Trilateral free trade talks should be encouraged and not allowed to become inactive in deference to the negotiations over a Trans-Pacific Partnership, whose conclusion is in any case by far from certain.

## 10

***Reconciliation between Germany and its former enemies was propelled by German political leaders and German society and their counterparts in the other countries. It was also aided in significant ways by the support and cajoling of the United States.***

The United States played a role from the beginning and at difficult times along the reconciliation paths.

East Asia: The United States has been reluctant until recently to involve itself in the »history wars« of East Asia, but there has been some modicum of change in the last six months: American officials expressed disappointment and concern regarding Japanese revisionist statements about history and visits to the Yasukuni Shrine. President Obama facilitated a meeting between Prime Minister Abe and President Park in the Hague, but China was not part of it, and it focused on cooperation vis-à-vis North Korea and not on tensions in the region. There is a limit to what the US can do as a mediator for three main reasons. First, the US is not neutral, having a military alliance

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*Symbolic gestures of commemoration and remembrance by officials are equally important, for example the June 2004 participation of Chancellor Schröder in the sixtieth anniversary of D-Day in France; or President Herzog's 1994 address to the Polish commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising.*

with both Japan and South Korea. Second, for the US to have ultimate moral authority to help resolve historical issues, it would have to address US actions in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the firebombing of Tokyo, which is not likely to happen any time soon. Likewise, Japan would have to acknowledge its aggression in the attack on Pearl Harbor. Japanese leaders and Japanese society still perceive themselves as victims of American aggression. Third, there is an ongoing debate in the US about how to address China – as threat or as partner – that makes American policy inconsistent. Europe is less vacillating, addressing China much more as a partner.

## CONCLUSION

German officialdom is reluctant, at least publicly, to ›preach‹ to others about how to face history. So, as in many other areas of German foreign policy, the framework of the EU, in which Germany is not a singular voice, may be the most appropriate and effective framework. Today, the role of third-party facilitator in East Asian reconciliation and the practice of a joint US-European ›pivot‹ to Asia/East Asia will have to be a shared responsibility. The US can bring hard power assets to try to stabilize immediate geo-political tensions. Europe can contribute



soft-power experience for managing and/or resolving underlying and long-term conflict situations. This is especially true in the area of international reconciliation and peace-building, where Germany and its partners have ample experience over seven decades of acknowledging, accepting and building on a most difficult past.

### DR. LILY GARDNER FELDMAN

*is the Harry & Helen Gray Senior Fellow at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS) at Johns Hopkins University. She has a Ph.D. in Political Science from MIT. From 1978 until 1991, she was a professor of political science at Tufts University in Boston. She was also a Research Associate at Harvard University's Center for European Studies, and a Research Fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. From 1990 until 1995, Dr. Gardner Feldman was the first Research Director of AICGS and its Co-director in 1995. From 1995 until*

*1999, she was a Senior Scholar in Residence at the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University. She returned to Johns Hopkins University in 1999. Dr. Gardner Feldman has published widely in the U.S. and Europe on German foreign policy, German-Jewish relations, international reconciliation, non-state entities as foreign policy players, and the EU as an international actor.*

# WAS JAPAN'S CONTRITION DETRIMENTAL TO REACHING DEEPER RECONCILIATION?

## ›COMFORT WOMEN‹, JAPAN'S APOLOGY, AND KOREA'S RESPONSE

Kim Hyun

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The conflict between Korea and Japan over the issue of ›comfort women‹ has recently escalated. Regarding this issue, the Korean government began to speak up in international arenas such as the UN and simultaneously suggest bilateral negotiations with the Japanese government. In response, the Japanese government took the same stance as before, that the issue has been resolved in legal terms, and tried to show, by publishing the review of the Kono Statement<sup>1</sup>, that even though the Japanese side sincerely tried to address the compensation issue by establishing the Asian Women's Fund, the Korean government's capricious attitude toward it foiled Japan's plan. It has been more than two decades since Kim Hak-Soon, former ›comfort woman‹, astonished the world by revealing her former identity. However, regarding this issue, reconciliation between Korea and Japan has not deepened at all. On the contrary, it seems that not any time since the early 1990s has seen the wall of distrust higher than at present.

What then drove the two nations to their present gridlock in which animosity toward each other is growing bigger? What was the main reason that led two countries to enmity, not amity? To this question, Jennifer Lind proposes an intriguing answer. In her book, *Sorry States*, she challenges ›conventional wisdom‹, by arguing that contrition is the primary factor detrimental to reconciliation. Much literature

about international reconciliation takes for granted that apologies and follow-up measures play an important role in interstate reconciliation. Especially, it is argued, to enter into deep reconciliation, it is necessary for the perpetrator state to apologize for its past wrongs and to take proper measures to compensate for them.<sup>2</sup>

But Lind impugns this ›common sense‹, arguing that, paradoxically, contrition is the troublemaker which undermines the reconciliation. According to her, contrition, which is one way of expressing ›apologetic remembrance‹, usually triggers a backlash domestically in which nationalists and conservatives invoke ›unapologetic remembrance‹. This unapologetic national memory, in turn, influences the victim state's perception of the perpetrator state in a negative way. So, in the end, contrition destabilizes reconciliation rather than contribute to deepening it. To prove this argument, she adduces the Korea-Japan relationship as the typical case that demonstrates a backlash of contrition. In her view, the Japanese government's contrition caused denials and whitewashings of its wrongdoing from mainstream conservatives in Japan, which incited the Korean people's anti-Japan sentiment. In this respect, Japan's contrition was harmful to reconciliation, not vice versa, which is Lind's answer to the question posed above.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The official English title of the review is as follows: *Details of Exchanges Between Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK) regarding the Comfort Women Issue – From the Drafting of the Kono Statement to the Asian Women's Fund – (the Review of Kono Statement, hereafter)* Friday, June 20, 2014. For the full text of the review, see [http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96\\_abe/documents/2014/140620.html](http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/documents/2014/140620.html).

<sup>2</sup> For this ›conventional wisdom‹, see Yaacov Bar-Sima-Tov ed., *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Lily Gardner Feldman, *Germany's Foreign Policy of Reconciliation: From Enmity to Amity* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> Jennifer Lind, *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), pp.179-182.



Her argument challenges any people, especially politicians among them, who believe that reconciliation between Korea and Japan should keep pace with justice, to seriously think over the basic premise of their position. Is Japan's sincere contrition still a precondition of ›stable peace‹ or ›deep reconciliation‹? Or not, given that a backlash of contrition seems to be allegedly common phenomena across the globe? Are we forced to acknowledge that Japan's ›excessive‹ apologies are detrimental to reconciliation? So do we have to take a middle ground? My essay tries to answer these questions by re-examining the Korea-Japan relationship pertaining to the issue of ›comfort women‹. This essay demonstrates that the Korean and Japanese governments failed to reach a deep reconciliation, precisely because of the Korean people's ›deeper distrust‹ as a direct response to Japan's apology. Finally, in lieu of a conclusion, in order to better understand the road to deeper reconciliation between Korean and Japan, I will suggest it is necessary to address the relationship between national identity, justice, and reconciliation.

## 2. TRUTH TELLING AS JAPAN'S BARGAINING CHIP, KOREA'S DISENGAGEMENT POLICY, AND PRECARIOUS RECONCILIATION: JANUARY 1991 – AUGUST 1993<sup>4</sup>

Since the late 1980s, the Korean women's movement has demanded that Japan should investigate the issue of ›comfort women‹ and apologize for its involvement. However, the Japanese government refused this demand, sticking to its previous position that the institution of military ›comfort stations‹ was a private enterprise. Its attitude slowly changed, and when Kim Hak-Soon, the first woman to give public testimony to her life as a ›comfort woman‹ on August 1991, pursued a lawsuit against the Japanese government on December 1991, it also began to investigate government agencies relevant to the issue. While the investigation was in progress, the Japanese government did not officially give up its previous standpoint that the government was not involved in ›comfort stations‹, stating that it had not found documents that corroborated the government's involvement.

Contrary to its official position, however, in December 1991 the Japanese government seemed to have already recognized the Japanese military's involvement in ›comfort stations‹ and was communicating with the Korean government in order to deal with the problem. Both governments were concerned that this issue would surface as a volatile one during the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to Korea scheduled to

occur in January 1992. So, the Korean side delivered its request to its Japanese counterpart, suggesting that it would be desirable if the Japanese government expressed its apology in the form of a Cabinet Secretary Statement so that the issue would not create friction between the two countries. In response, the Japanese government was confidentially considering that the Prime Minister ›accepts the involvement of the Japanese military, and makes an expression of remorse and regret‹, and also that ›the Japanese government makes a symbolic gesture such as erecting a memorial for the ›comfort women‹, with the possibility in mind that public opinion in Korea would not be appeased by a verbal apology alone‹.<sup>5</sup>

In spite of the Japanese government's internal discussions, it did not take the initiative in tackling the heated issue. Instead, it set out to take measures as a reaction to the news that a scholar had found the evidence that could prove the Japanese military's involvement. On January 10, 1992, the Asahi Shimbun reported that professor Yoshiaki Yoshimi had discovered the documents that demonstrated the Japanese government's involvement; partly in response, Chief Cabinet Secretary Kato made a statement regarding ›comfort women‹ on January 13, and the Japanese Prime Minister Miyazawa also expressed his ›heartfelt feelings of apology and remorse to ›comfort women‹ during his visit to Korea.

After Japanese top officials apologized for Japan's wrongdoings, the Japanese government began to address follow-up measures, as was conceived in advance. Because Japan maintained the official position that all compensation issues had been resolved with the conclusion of the treaty of basic relations between Japan and Korea in 1965, it considered only measures that could express its feelings of remorse from a humanitarian point of view, which crystallized in October 1992 into the plan to establish the fund that would economically support victims' livelihoods.

Japan's efforts to make reconciliation like this, however, encountered vehement criticisms from organizations supporting ›comfort women‹, especially from the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan (Korean Council, hereafter), and their opposition resonated with Korean civil society organizations.

The Korean government also appeared to keep pace with their demands up until the middle of 1992. Not long after the Japanese government's acknowledgment of the Japanese military's involvement, the Korean government requested the Japanese government undertake an exhaustive investigation and compensate for its wrongdoings.

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*The following description of the history of diplomatic policy between Korea and Japan, which does not include any citations, is based on five daily newspapers, Donga Ilbo, Hankyoreh Shinmun, Joongang Ilbo, Kukmin Ilbo, Kyunghyang Shinmun.*

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*The Review of Kono Statement, p.1.*

Yet it did not take long for the Korean government to back off on this issue. While the Japanese government was trying to devise the follow-up measure pertinent to expressing its feeling of remorse, the then Korean ambassador to Japan revealed the Korean government's changed position on July 1992, saying that »our government does not intend to negotiate with the Japanese government regarding ›comfort women‹ compensation matter. Instead, we are thinking about whether to leave it to the Japanese government's discretion« (Joongang Ilbo 1992/07/09).

The Japanese government, which strongly desired to settle this issue during the term of the Roh Tae-Woo administration, asked the Korean government, whose position on compensation turned conciliatory, for a package deal on October 1992. In this proposal, the Japanese government suggested that it would carry out two measures as a package. The first one was to expand the scope of ongoing investigation into the issue of ›comfort women‹, interview representatives of former ›comfort women‹, and present a degree of recognition with regards to the issue of the involvement of ›coerciveness‹. The second one, which was intended to express Japan's feelings over the issue, was to establish the fund within the Japanese Red Cross that would help survivors' livelihoods.<sup>6</sup>

The intention of Japan's package deal seemed to win a concession from the Korean side regarding the follow-up measures by suggesting the Korean side's acceptance of the second measure as a pre-condition of the first one which was absolutely needed from the Korean side. In other words, the Japanese government, which was anxious to settle the issue, was pressing the Korean government to finalize the issue by utilizing Japan's acknowledgment of involvement of ›coerciveness‹ as its bargaining chip.

Japan's package deal must have plunged the Korean government into a dilemma. The Korean government, which wanted to have an amicable relationship with Japan, could not help but accept Japan's deal which at least guaranteed Japan's acknowledgement of ›coerciveness‹, that is, the most sensitive issue for the Korean people. However, it could not also approve of Japan's plan to establish the fund, which was scarcely acceptable to national sentiment. So, the Korean government was in a double bind.

Instead of tackling this issue during its last days of term, the Roh Tae-Woo administration simply passed down the problem to the next administration, that is the Kim Young-Sam administration. President Kim, who placed a high priority on establishing an amicable

relationship between Korea and Japan, conceived of a disengagement policy in order to solve the dilemma. According to this policy, what was important regarding the ›comfort women‹ issue was that Japan should disclose the truth. Concerning the matter of compensation, the Korean government did not plan to demand material compensation from the Japanese government. Instead, it was supposed to be carried out by the Korean government. By doing so, the Korean government tried to pursue a new Korea-Japan relationship with Korea standing on a moral high-ground.

The Japanese government's second investigation was expedited under this agreement between two governments, and as a result, the Kono Statement was announced on August 4, 1993; that is, on the last day of Miyazawa's cabinet. That the statement was issued on the last day had a symbolic meaning, as was pointed out by Arai Shinichi.<sup>7</sup> In July 1993, the Japanese government delivered its desire to »put a full stop to it (›comfort women‹ issue) diplomatically« with the announcement of the Kono Statement, and the Korean side also seemed to agree with it. Therefore, the comment of the Korean ambassador in Japan epitomized what both governments wanted to say after the Kono Statement. On August 4, he said, »Even though we cannot say its content is completely satisfying, our basic demands have been reflected fully in the respect that it acknowledged coerciveness and expressed the intention to take the lessons of history«. So, »it is the basic position of both governments that the issue of ›comfort women‹ has been resolved« (Donga Ilbo 1993/08/05). Given such a subtext of the Kono Statement, we can now see clearly that in the eyes of both governments it was the symbol of reconciliation between the two countries.

### 3. JAPAN'S SHORT-LIVED COMMITMENT TO DEEPER RECONCILIATION AND KOREA'S CONSISTENT DISENGAGEMENT: AUGUST 1993 – JUNE 1995

While in Japan the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was suffering from internal disputes, a vote of no-confidence in the Cabinet was proposed on June 17, 1993, and was passed on June 18. Thus, the LDP's long-term regime had collapsed, and Hosokawa's coalition cabinet was established, which consisted of seven parties and one political faction. In the terms of an agreement on coalition, they promised that they would cooperate for the peace and development of Asia and the world, based on reflection on the war of the past. Hosokawa, the then Prime Minister, expressed his apologies and remorse in accordance with their promise.

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<sup>6</sup>  
The Review of Kono Statement, p. 5-6.

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<sup>7</sup>  
Arai Shinichi, *Rekishii Wakai wa Kanô ka [Is Reconciliation of History Possible?]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), pp. 62-63.



Regarding the issue of ›comfort women‹, however, Hosokawa's cabinet could not move out of the path the LDP had already determined. As soon as the coalition government had launched, the Social Democratic Party of Japan (SDPJ), one of the constituent members of the coalition government, demanded that the Japanese government should compensate former ›comfort women‹. In spite of the demand from SDPJ, Hosokawa's cabinet stuck to the agreement between Korea and Japan concluded during the Miyazawa cabinet, allowing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to address the follow-up measures to express ›the feelings of remorse and apology‹. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced the Program for Peace, Friendship, and Exchange that would substitute for compensation to former ›comfort women‹, right after the Murayama coalition cabinet had launched.<sup>8</sup>

Yet owing to SDPJ-affiliated cabinet members' opposition, the undertaking of the program was thwarted, and a task force was set up under the then Chief Cabinet Secretary Igarashi Kōzō on August 9, 1994 to address the issue of ›comfort women‹. Its activity yielded a plan to undertake compensation by raising donations from the private sector. Murayama, the then Prime Minister, addressed this plan in his statement on the ›Peace, Friendship, and Exchange Initiative‹ on August 31, 1994, stating he ›would like to find out an appropriate way which enables a wide participation of people‹ in order to share his ›profound and sincere remorse and apologies‹.<sup>9</sup> This plan to compensate women through donations from the private sector was made known to the public on June 14, 1995, after it officially went through discussions and subsequent revisions within the Ruling Parties' Project to Deal with Issues Fifty Years after the War.

Notwithstanding the Murayama Cabinet's new initiative, the Korean government's standpoint did not change at all. In response to Murayama's Statement on August 31, 1994, a spokesperson of the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated, ›The policy of our government is that we do not plan to demand monetary reparation or material compensation‹, ›follow-up measures are the issue that Japanese government must deal with independently. So, (we) will keep an eye on whether the Japanese government will take concrete measures‹ (Kyunghyang Shinmun 1994/09/01). Also, it added that ›Japan should take into account victim survivors and their families' sentiments and feelings fully (Hankuk Ilbo 1994/09/01)‹.

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Pak Yu-ha, *Cheguk-ui Wianbu: ShingminjiChibae-wa Kiok-ui Tujaeng [Comfort Women of Empire: Colonial Rule and the Memory Struggle]* (Seoul: Ppuri-wa Ip'ari, 2013), p. 179.

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For the full text of his statement, see <http://www.awf.or.jp/e6/statement-04.html>.

First of all, the focus of this comment was not in the sentence that ›we will see if Japan takes concrete measures or not‹. Rather, the Korean government's true intention was reflected in the sentence that ›follow-up measures are the issue that Japanese government must deal with independently‹, to the effect that the Korean government was irrelevant in the Japanese government's undertakings; so, it was not responsible for the aftereffects of the measures. In this vein, its comment on ›relevant parties' sentiment‹ also meant that the Japanese government should obtain approval from the relevant parties by itself, because follow-up measures should not be ›our‹ business.

The Korean government explicitly expressed its disengagement and advocated for the adversary system policy once again when Chief Cabinet Secretary Igarashi officially announced a plan to establish the fund on June 1995. In its comment on the statement, the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs clarified its position again, stating that ›the Korean government considers that the follow-up to the wartime ›comfort women‹ issue is a matter independently decided upon by the Japanese government in accordance with the outcome of its fact-finding investigation, but in order to come to a satisfactory settlement regarding the wartime ›comfort women‹ issue, we have been pointing to the need to reflect the relevant parties' demands to the greatest possible extent.‹<sup>10</sup>

The Korean government's policy left the fate of Japan's follow-up measures in the hands of the relevant parties. How then did they respond to it? The most influential supporting organization that allegedly represented the victim survivors' stance, the Korean Council, was in intense opposition to Japan's newly-conceived idea. The Korean Council had already clarified its objection to the 1992 fund plan that aimed to support victim survivors' livelihoods, and harshly criticized Kono Statement, in that ›(it) is the statement that avoided the point that the essence of ›comfort women‹ was a war crime (Hankuk Ilbo 1993/08/05)‹. For the Korean Council, which considered the Kono Statement as an alibi on the part of the Japanese government to avoid legal responsibility, the newly proposed plan for the fund was only seen to be another deceptive measure.<sup>11</sup>

The negative image of the fund was strengthened by the leak of the plan to the Asahi Shimbun on August 1994, as the Asahi Shimbun identified ›atonement money‹ of the fund with ›comfort money‹.

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*The Review of Kono Statement*, p. 22

11

To see another victim country's response to the fund, refer to Chunghee Sarah Soh, ›Japan's National/Asian Women's Fund for ›Comfort Women‹,‹ *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (Summer, 2003), pp. 226-231.

In November 1994, former ›comfort women‹ put advertisements in Japanese newspapers as a reaction to the Japanese government's plan, which showed explicitly how they perceived the fund. In the advertisements, they protested that »We want the Japanese government to apologize and compensate, not comfort money provided by private-sector funds«, »What sins have civilians committed?« and »I am not a beggar. I don't need comfort money«.<sup>12</sup>

However, the Murayama cabinet was not sensitive to reactions from Korean and Japanese civil societies. Igarashi and his team kept on negotiating with government agencies such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Finance Ministry. During these discussions, they seemed not to listen to any advice from Yamahana, a former chairman of the SDJP who had suggested that the contents of compensation should not be unilaterally decided and that further discussion with the Korean side was necessary. However, even if the Japanese government had contacted the Korean government concerning the compensation issue, the Korean government certainly would have taken a policy of disengagement.

The negative image of the fund was entrenched in Korean society, while the Japanese government was unilaterally preparing for the plan. The Korean Council held the Third Women's Solidarity Forum on Military Sexual Slavery from February 27 to March 1, 1995, inviting women activists from Japan, the Philippines, and Taiwan. In this forum, all of the participants agreed that they should reject the fund. Against this growing opposition, the Japanese government officially announced the plan for the Fund on June 13, 1995. Thus it was not hard to anticipate the response from victim survivors and their supporting organizations. The Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs tried to appreciate Japan's plan as »a sincere measure to a certain extent that reflects the requirements of the relevant parties«.<sup>13</sup> However, most relevant parties were already inclined to understand the money from the fund as ›dirty money‹ that aimed to cover up war crimes. So, they asked for the Japanese government to withdraw the plan immediately after the official announcement of the plan.

#### 4. DIPLOMATIC FRICTIONS OVER THE ASIAN WOMEN'S FUND AND BROKEN RELATIONSHIP: JULY 1995 – 1998

The Asian Peace and National Fund for Women (Asian Women's Fund) was created on July 19, 1995. When the plan for a fund was

officially announced in June 1995, it was provisionally named Asian Peace and Friendship Fund for Women. Its name was changed due to a suggestion by the proponents of the fund that its purpose was to »situate the source of the atonement money in a definite expression of atonement from Japanese nationals in their role as public beings constituting the Japanese nation, rather than from civilians«.<sup>14</sup>

On August 15, 1995, Japanese Prime Minister Murayama announced the statement on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the End of the War. In this statement, he publicly acknowledged the invasiveness of the war that Japan invoked and expressed his ›feeling of deep remorse‹. In tandem with his statement, full-page advertisements in the six national newspapers covered Prime Minister Murayama's statement regarding the Fund and the Fund's proponents' appeal. By doing so, the Asian Women's Fund started to raise contributions from Japanese people.

Korean civil society organizations responded to the activity of the Asian Women's Fund, demanding that the Fund's activity must be immediately stopped. Also, they refused to accept Murayama's statement on August 15 as a sincere apology. An important background element that may have reinforced this adamant attitude toward the Japanese government's conciliatory measure was their struggle for justice in the international arena since the early 1990s.<sup>15</sup>

The Korean Council submitted a petition to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights on March 4, 1992, and the UNCHR responded by setting the issue of ›comfort women‹ on the official agenda for its August 1992 meeting in Geneva. In August 1993, due in part to the lobbying efforts of human rights activists, the UNCHR's Subcommission for the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities decided to investigate the issue. In July 1995, when the Asian Women's Fund was established, the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, Radhika Coomaraswamy, planned to visit Korea in order to investigate the issue, and on January 4, 1996, an Addendum Report of the Special Rapporteur, that is, Report on the Mission to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea and Japan on the issue of military sexual slavery in wartime was published. This report recommended the Japanese government pay

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Soh, »Japan's National/Asian Women's Fund for ›Comfort Women‹«, p. 221.

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For a more detailed explanation of their fight for justice in an international context, see Sin Hyesu, »Ilbon'gun 'Wianbu' Munje Haegyo-ul wihan Kukchehwaltong-ui Songgwa-wa Kwaje« [The Achievement and Remaining Task of International Activity to Resolve the issue of Japanese Military ›Comfort Women‹], in *The Korean Council Chinsanchosa Yonguehoe* (ed.), *Ilbon'gun ›Wianbu‹ Munje- ui Chinsang [The Truth of Japanese Military ›Comfort Women‹ Problem]* (Seoul: Yoksabip'yongsa, 1997), pp. 360-389.

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Pak Yu-ha, *Cheguk-ui Wianbu: ShingminjiChibae-wa Kiok-ui Tujaeng*, p.184.

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*The Review of Kono Statement*, p. 22

compensation to individual victims of Japanese military sexual slavery, make a public apology in written form, and punish perpetrators. The Korean Council evaluated that »this report condemned the Japanese government's deceptive measure to set up the Fund«.

The Korean government, however, still adhered to its disengagement policy. The Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs commented on the publication of Coomaraswamy's Report that »our government appreciates the Japanese government's effort to investigate the »comfort women« issue by itself«. It continued, »On account of the conclusion of the treaty about the claim to right in 1965, it is hard to demand compensation for the damage of »comfort women« on the part of Korean government. So, we expect the Japanese government's independent judgment« (Kyunghyang Shinmun 1996/02/08).

This position taken by the Korean government received harsh criticisms from Korean mass media. Most Korean mass media agreed with the Korean Council's evaluation on Coomaraswamy's Report. So they called on the Korean government to express a firm attitude toward the Japanese government. As public opinion grew, demanding compensation from the Japanese state, the Korean government could not stick to the position that the issue of »comfort women« was not part of the diplomatic agenda. President Kim Young-Sam ordered a re-examination of whether the Japanese military »comfort women« issue had been resolved by the treaty of basic relations between Korea and Japan. Accordingly, the Korean government grudgingly started to take a different posture in the international arena.

The Asian Women's Fund tried to contact supporting organizations in Korea in July 1996, planning to implement its project beginning in August. However, its activity was being squeezed from all sides. While it was rallying donations from the Japanese people, the Murayama cabinet collapsed in January 1996, and the following conservative Hashimoto cabinet was not sincerely cooperative with the Fund. Organizations supporting »comfort women« criticized that the Fund was a »trickery« to deceive the victim survivors, preparing to initiate a national movement to demand state compensation from Japan.

Stuck between the Japanese government's ambivalent attitude and the supporting organizations' strong opposition, activists, who had compromised their insistence on state compensation and decided to participate in the Asian Women's Fund, tried harder to persuade the former »comfort women« to take the atonement money. As a result, a few victim survivors in Korea agreed to accept the atonement money against »national« opposition, and on January 11, 1997, a group representing the Fund visited them in Seoul in order to deliver »a letter of

apology« from the Prime Minister and pay the atonement money.<sup>16</sup> This event brought about diplomatic frictions between Korea and Japan again. As soon as the implementation of the project by the Fund was reported in Korean mass media, the Japanese ambassador in Korea was said to have argued that »We tried our best to prevent the implementation of the project, however, we were unable to do it because it was a private affair« (Hankoku Ilbo 1997/01/12). The Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs also behaved as if it was not its responsibility, arguing that there was no preliminary notification about the event by the Japanese government.

The response of both governments to the event fueled the outrage from Korean civil society. Most mass media identified the Asian Women's Fund's action as the Japanese government's »plot« to buy the victims off by utilizing a private organization and criticized the Korean government, describing its response as irresponsible behavior that looked on »rude things equivalent to the encroachment on Korea's sovereignty« (Kukmin Ilbo 1997/01/13) with folded arms.

The Korean government was not able to stand indifferent to Japan's follow-up measures anymore when it was considered to be »an assault on Korea's sovereignty«. In the Foreign Ministers' meeting of Korea and Japan, the Korean minister of Foreign Affairs requested his Japanese counterpart to »withdraw the payment already undertaken and also suspend the future plan of payment«. But, the Japanese side indirectly expressed its refusal, answering that »we cannot do it because the Fund delivered atonement money to the victims according to their consent, but we will try to figure out the solution regarding the payment of atonement money in the future, negotiating fully with the Korean side« (Sekye Ilbo 1997/01/16).

While the two governments were colliding with each other over the issue of implementation of the project, the Asian Women's Fund decided to temporarily postpone the project. However, it strongly wanted to restart the project, and for this purpose it conceived of the idea of placing advertisements in Korean newspapers. The Japanese government did not want the Fund to place the advertisement and restart the project promptly because of the upcoming presidential election in Korea, and also because of ongoing fisheries negotiations between Korea and Japan. Due to the Asian Women's Fund's strong desire to restart the project, it agreed to place the advertisement in newspapers in a quiet and discreet manner after the election.<sup>17</sup>

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About these participants' efforts to implement the project, see Wada Haruki, Onuma Yasuaki, and Shimomura Mitsuko (ed.), *Ianfu Mondai to Ajia Josei Kikin Images*, Lee Won-ung trans. (Seoul: Orum, 2001), pp. 234-242.

17

*The Review of Kono Statement*, p. 26-7



*Kim Hyun with other participants in Warsaw*

On January 6, 1998, the full-page advertisement was placed by the Asian Women's Fund in Korean newspapers. This event again evoked national outrage, which made »the follow-up measure« a diplomatic issue between Korea and Japan once more. The Korean government finally judged that it should not be ignored. Therefore the moment Kim Dae-Jung was inaugurated in March 1998, the Korean government decided to provide the former »comfort women« with a »life-support fund« equivalent to the atonement money, and also decided that recipients of the National Fund would not be eligible for the life-support fund. By doing so, the Korean government eliminated the economic reason for the victim survivors to accept the payment from the Asian Women's Fund. However its measure was not aimed at openly objecting to the Fund, nor to denounce its projects. It only meant that the Korean government returned to its previous standpoint, that is its disengagement policy, and this position held true up to Rho Moo-Hyun's era.

Korea and Japan's efforts to reach reconciliation since 1993 turned out to be a total failure, as the Asian Women's Fund became a diplomatic

troublemaker. The Hashimoto cabinet held conflicting attitudes toward the Fund: On the one hand, in order to avoid international pressure, it tried to cast the Fund's activity as Japan's sincere effort to address past wrongdoings at an international level; on the other hand, in bilateral relations between Korea and Japan, it tried to describe the Fund as a private organization unrelated to the Japanese government. Hence, its dubious attitude confirmed and strengthened the Korean people's distrust. Also, the Korean government, by consistently holding fast to the third party standpoint regarding the compensation issue, was not fulfilling its constitutional duty to secure Korean victim survivors' rights, as was pointed out by the Korean constitutional court in 2011. As a result of the two governments' lack of deep commitment to justice, the Asian Women's Fund that was designed to deepen the interstate reconciliation paradoxically turned into a stumbling block to it. Furthermore, this »follow-up measure« split human rights activists who had fought in a united front for former »comfort women« into two antagonistic groups, which made reconciliation even more difficult than before.



## 5. IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION: NATIONAL IDENTITY, JUSTICE, AND RECONCILIATION

Lind thinks that what undermined the reconciliation between Korea and Japan was not a lack of contrition. Rather, the Japanese government's apology caused a backlash in Japan, which in turn strengthened the Korean people's distrust of Japan. In this respect, too much apologizing was the cause of the broken relationship. However, given the two countries' efforts to reconciliation, the opposite seems to be closer to the reality.

Both the Miyazawa cabinet and Kim Young-Sam's government seemed to be inclined to take »a middle ground«, as was proposed by Lind. They shared the standpoint that in order to secure reconciliation between Korea and Japan, it was necessary to compromise the demand of justice. Based on this pragmatic approach, both parties endeavored to reach a »future-oriented relationship« by promptly finalizing the issue of Japan's past wrongs. However, victim survivors, supporting organizations, and Korean civil society were heavily against the two governments' »middle ground« policy, which made the two governments' purported amicable relationships untenable. Given this background of the broken relationship, the Korean people's distrust of Japan was not primarily strengthened by the backlash in Japan, as was suggested by Lind. Rather, it is fair to say that Miyazawa's apology brought about »deeper distrust« in Korean society to a certain degree, and the backlash in Japan, that is, nationalists' and right-wing politicians' unapologetic remembrance, only confirmed Korean civil society's distrust.

The fact that the Japanese government's apology invoked »deeper distrust« urges us to rethink what went wrong from the beginning concerning the two governments' policies for reconciliation. For this re-consideration, we need to reflect on two neighboring countries' perception of their own and each other's national identity because Korea's »deeper distrust« as a response to Japan's apology cannot be explained without taking into account the »divergent historical narratives« about national identity.<sup>18</sup>

I cannot address this research question in this essay. However, while expecting an in-depth study that explains the deeper reason for the failure by tackling the relationship between national identity, justice and reconciliation, I want to consider the expected conclusion of the study in advance. It would seem that, given the antagonism between

Korean and Japanese national identity, the defect of »middle ground« policies in Korea and Japan were in their lack of deep commitment to addressing past wrongs in terms of their national identities. The Miyazawa cabinet did not seriously consider reconciliation being a long-term process, requiring the development or change of its national identity. Rather, it seemed to be obsessed with quickly resolving the issue of past wrong for the sake of »reconciliation«, as was shown in the Miyazawa cabinet's package deal. This policy, however, evoked deep distrust from Korean civil society, which frustrated Japan's intention to achieve »reconciliation«. The Kim Young-Sam government was not better than its Japanese counterpart in this respect. It kept clinging to its disengagement policy without serious intent to preemptively engage in the Murayama cabinet's efforts toward deep reconciliation and subsequently to reinterpret Korean national identity in light of their common commitment to justice. All in all, neither Korea nor Japan had enough visionary political leadership to show their own people that in their national identity, reconciliation could go hand in hand with justice, albeit not in the short-term. This may be the ultimate reason why the two countries failed to reach deeper reconciliation.

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### KIM HYUN

*is a Ph.D.-student in political science at Yonsei University, Seoul (South Korea) and at Tohoku University, Sendai (Japan). He joined Cross+National Doctoral Course at Tohoku University in 2011 and studied there from 2011 to 2012. His research interest lays in understanding the intermingling of liberalism and nationalism in East Asia. Currently he is working on his dissertation regarding liberal nationalism of the Independence Club at late-nineteenth century Korea. He is participant of EPRIE 2014*

# FROM SHARED TRUTHS TO JOINT RESPONSIBILITY (SHA:RE): COMBINING STORYTELLING, DIALOGUE AND MEDIATION AS A MEANS OF TRUST-BUILDING WITHIN OR BETWEEN DIVIDED SOCIETIES

Dirk Splinter & Ljubana Wüsthube

In her lecture about reconciliation at EPRIE 2014, Professor Lily Gardner Feldman from John Hopkins University referred to leading political analysts who state that a) the relationships between China, Japan and South Korea will be crucial for the future global security, and b) the way these countries develop their relations depends very much on how they deal with their past, particularly with Second World War atrocities, war remembrance-culture and frozen territorial disputes. Professor Gardner Feldman emphasized that reconciliation efforts on the governmental level have to be complemented by corresponding activities on different levels of civil society, which is very much in line with the state of the art in the field of conflict transformation.

This clearly includes interpersonal, people-to-people dialogues. However, experience, particularly from youth exchange programs, shows that exposure to people from the ›other side<sup>1</sup> does not necessarily lead to overcoming prejudices or a move towards reconciliation – even if people are coming together with these aspirations. In many cases, there is a risk of an adverse dynamic for many dialogue projects: When confronted with the perspective of the other group, participants time and again become reluctant, feel blamed and therefore refuse to

accept it. This frustrates members of the other side who then accuse the interlocutors of not being interested in a truthful dialogue. Sadly, this holds true even for very open-minded representatives of each group who have every intention to move towards reconciliation.

A dialogue project in the Japan-China-Korea context would face the risk of initiating the same destructive dynamic. This is why we have to look for a way to design dialogue processes so that the risk of conflicts being reinforced is minimized. This is an even bigger challenge if both sides try to counterbalance their own experience as victims and their own suffering with the other side's sorrowful experiences. Every attempt to obtain recognition for one's personal history of suffering is then answered by a reference to the atrocities that the others have lived through. If this vicious circle is not interrupted, none of the parties obtain the recognition they seek, and no steps are made towards reconciliation.

The approach »From shared truths to joint responsibility« (sha:re) is a design for a dialogue project that makes it possible to engage with the experiences of suffering of each side without the risk of creating the dynamic that was explained above. The new understanding between the participants often leads then to a greater willingness to work together towards a better future. This motivation is used to plan the implementation of concrete activities. In order to achieve joint responsibility for projects, especially in complicated settings, conflict analyses that integrate each group's perspective are essential. Such methods include scenario techniques, systemic feedback-loops, mapping or conflict-perspective analysis.

## 1

*When speaking of ›others‹, we emphasize a difference (gender, religion, nationality) between groups. This harbours the risk of fueling the reconstruction rather than the deconstruction of differences, even if one wants to do the latter. However, if one wants to address an explicit conflict, one has to label different conflict parties. Simplifications are inevitable in this case because without them, it would be impossible to develop a strategy of whom to engage with so as to establish a dialogue. On the other hand, when dealing with people who don't see themselves as part of a conflict, addressing them as conflict parties might be counterproductive.*



The share approach is one way to re-establish trust within torn societies through a combined approach of mediation, dialogue and story-telling. A project in Nepal that focused on fostering the re-integration of former Maoist rebels illustrates the potential of this method, and providing interesting insights for the Japan-China-Korea context as well.

## INTRODUCTION

*Chitwan, southern Nepal, December 24th 2013: Around 60 guests are sitting in the audience, the atmosphere is rather tense. All of the guests are inhabitants of the four surrounding communities. Half of them are long-standing residents of the communities. The other half consists of former fighters of the Maoist Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) who have come to settle in the communities. A short play is being performed by freshly trained mediators and facilitators. On stage, we see two groups glaring at each other aggressively. The host briefly introduces them to the audience: One is a group of former Maoist combatants, the other a group of long-standing residents. The dispute escalates quickly and the parties start pushing and pulling each other around with the former combatants shouting: »We also are in need of water! Water is a human right!« and the villagers shout back: »We don't have enough water for ourselves! Start building your own plumbing systems! After all, you received plenty of money from the government!« At this point the curtain falls and the host wants the audience to guess how the scene will continue: »There'll be more and more people joining!« »They'll kill each other!« Having heard this, the host curiously peeks behind the curtain... and even peeks twice...*



*Caption: Black box theatre (in reference to Boals »Forumtheater«): The decisive action is not displayed on stage. Credit goes to Amir Vitis (Bern), mediator und educator, for the idea and implementation. Photo: inmedio*

*The curtain rises again and what we see is the opponents chatting with each other in a friendly manner, arranging get-togethers. The host turns to the audience: »This must be a miracle! But no,*

*it's not a miracle, it's mediation!« At this point a mediator enters the stage and briefly describes mediation. At the end, he says »However, one doesn't have to wait until a conflict occurs— we also work with dialogue groups. This is where we prevent conflicts from escalating by talking about the past, present and future together«. Having heard this, we see the end of the play: a short scene of such a dialogue group meeting, with all participants sitting together on the floor in a circle and talking with each other.*

## BACKGROUND

The civil-war in Nepal lasted 10 years, with a Maoist rebel army – the so called Peoples Liberation Army, PLA – fighting the king's royal army and police aiming at taking down the widespread semi-feudal system of Nepal. Citizens disappeared or were massacred, tortured or raped, and children were recruited as soldiers. In November 2006, a peace agreement was signed and consequently the estimated 19,000 Maoist combatants were assembled in so-called cantonments. Against all original expectations, it took another six years to come to a political agreement which led to the re-integration of the ex-combatants and the dissolution of the so-called cantonments in April 2012. A small number of the former Maoist Combatants were integrated into the Nepalese army. The larger part decided to re-enter civilian life and settled down as larger groups within the communities close to former cantonments.

Civilians in the villages of the war-affected regions at times displayed sympathy for the Maoists. However, as is usually the case in guerrilla wars, they had to suffer atrocities from both sides. Not only were they threatened by national security forces which bombarded their villages and arrested and detained alleged supporters or actual supporters of the Maoists. They also were threatened by the rebel army which was in need of hide-outs, violently acquired money and food and also executed community members who they suspected to be traitors. This explains the ambivalent feelings between the communities and the former combatants who arrived to settle there. On the one hand, there are a lot of people who hold the opinion that the »Maos« originally aimed at changing the country positively and thus should be warmly welcomed. On the other hand, mostly the elite parts of the communities regard the »Maos« as a potential threat to traditions, such as the caste system.

Most of the long-standing residents consider the amount of money paid to ex-combatants as a retirement package to be way too high. The latter feel harmed and humiliated by the fact that they have never officially been honourably released from the rebel army. Rather than returning as heroes of a victorious struggle, they re-enter civilian life as part of an unwanted minority of strangers. Daily interactions are

still full of distrust, and smaller disputes escalate rapidly into full-fledged conflicts between the groups.

### THE ROAD ACCIDENT - AN EXEMPLARY CONFLICT

At a road crossing in a village, a young girl is involved in a road-accident and dies on the spot. The perpetrators escape quickly. Residents of the village report that they witnessed two drunken motorcyclists at the same time who were loudly singing Maoist propaganda songs and undoubtedly part of the group of ex-PLA. Within hours the situation escalates to such an extent that some of them start to hide in fear of being lynched, while some senior representatives of the community start protesting and demand that the perpetrators be turned over to them. A mediation tandem happens to be close by and is able to intervene quickly. Working with representatives from both groups - first separately, then jointly, they are able to deescalate the conflict and even re-establish peace. Later on, the perpetrators, who actually do turn out to be members of the former combatants, are taken into custody without being subjected to violence. Most importantly, a larger conflict between both groups was avoided.



Photo: inmedio

### THE PARTY OFFICE - ANOTHER EXEMPLARY CONFLICT

In the run-up to the highly controversial elections of the constitutional referendum in November 2013, a local party office is being completely destroyed. 16 motorcycles which were parked outside the office are rampaged. Many of the ex-combatants in this area are close to a party which boycotts the elections as a form of protest and is responsible for many similar incidents in the whole country. The local team of facilitators issues a press-release, conducts talks with each of the political parties and thus motivates them to issue a joint

press release in which they call for peaceful elections. This effectively calms down the situation, and the elections within this community are ultimately conducted very peacefully.

### THE UNDERLYING CONCEPT OF THE PROJECT

Given these circumstances, talks with the German GIZ (German Association for International Development Cooperation) led to an idea: to support the communities in dealing with the re-integration by strengthening their knowledge, skills and their resources for conflict resolution. The goal was to build a pool of mediators who had mixed backgrounds concerning their role during the civil war. Also, these mediator teams should be able to respond to rapidly escalating group conflicts or to pick up on and pacify conflicts already in their early stages.<sup>2</sup> Under the commission of the Nepalese ministry of peace and reconstruction and with the financial support of the German ministry of cooperation, the GIZ had already been working in the cantonments since 2007 and had already acquired a reputation as a trustworthy partner amongst the ex-combatants and the government.<sup>3</sup> Ever since the cantonments were cleared in April 2012, the GIZ has supported the re-integration of ex-combatants in selected communities.

During 18 days of training, a pool of facilitators was created, consisting of former Maoist combatants and representatives of the communities they settled in. They worked together in four teams divided by districts. Their cooperation as co-mediators increased their credibility as facilitators between both groups and as role-models. During the course of their training, they themselves had gone through a dialogue process to build up trust between each other, and they personally tried out and experienced the effect of exercises and methods that they are now employ when working with dialogue groups. Mediation and dialogue largely require the very same skills and mindset. Therefore, it was possible to combine both during the training.

### SHA:RE DIALOGUE GROUPS

The underlying thought is: When dealing with collective atrocities and trauma, a fundamental improvement of relations and a true reconciliation with the past won't happen unless the painful memories, the gruesome (war-) experiences and stories of the victims are shared. When experiencing the authenticity of the storytelling and the authenticity

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*There were well-functioning community mediation projects already in place in Nepal, however without the participation of ex-combatants, as they lived separately in the cantonments. (See the article Schraewer 2013).*

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*GIZ (2013): »Vom bewaffneten Kampf zur zivilen Verantwortung – Ein Beitrag zum Friedensprozess in Nepal«*

of the reactions, a change of mind and sometimes even a change of perspective can take place. This is the basis for developing new trust and a readiness to cooperate when working for a better future.

Based on this logic, we chose to name this approach ›from shared truths to joint responsibility‹, in short ›sha:re‹. It might be important to point out that we especially speak of ›truths‹ in plural and not ›truth‹ in singular, as this is not about uncovering such a thing as an ›objective‹ truth, but rather about making subjective truths accessible.

## GETTING STARTED

The session usually starts with a round of introductions and some sort of ritual. Then we proceed to a rather loose summary of the situation with the help of the following question: »What has worked out well with the re-integration of the Maoist ex-combatants, and what difficulties have arisen?« This may take place in partner interviews, meaning that the participants team up in pairs of two consisting of an ex-combatant and a long-standing resident. After this, they return to the large group and report what their partner has told them. This way we provide the possibility to slowly start approaching each other and begin to undertake an initial change of perspective.

## CONFLICT-PERSPECTIVE-ANALYSIS AND ICEBERG METAPHOR

The goal of the second session is to analyse a typical conflict between two groups in such a way that each side is able to develop empathy for the other side. During the Chitwan dialogue event, we used the conflict of the water plumbing, as described in the black-box play. From a methodological point of view, this calls for the use of the well-known iceberg model and the empathy lists from the conflict perspective analysis (KPA)<sup>4</sup>: Split into two homogenous groups, the participants are asked to express wishes, emotions and fears the other side might hold. In accordance with the KPA model, they are asked to stick strictly to talking from a first-person perspective. During the concluding feedback, we learned that it was a completely new experience for most of the participants to examine the stories behind the conflicts.

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Walter, Willibald (2013): »Durch Einfühlungslisten zum Perspektivenwechsel«, in: Peter Knapp (Hg.), *Konflikte lösen in Teams und großen Gruppen*, Bonn. GIZ-ZFD (2013): »Shimgelina under the shade – merging Ethiopian wise-council mediation and facilitative mediation«. *Trainers Manual*, Addis Abbaba, 71-75, <http://www.ziviler-friedensdienst.org/sites/ziviler-friedensdienst.org/files/anhang/publikation/zfd-merging-ethiopian-wise-counsel-mediation-and-facilitative-mediation-1949.pdf> [5 October 2014].

## STORYTELLING

Whenever possible in this part of the session, we choose to work with pictures, meaning that we ask the participants to begin by drawing a picture of the incident/ their story – a choice that very often creates resistance in the beginning. However, we still regard it as very helpful: Firstly, a picture helps to stay focused, making the story more vivid and concrete. Secondly, with a picture it is a lot easier to actually tell your own story, rather than reacting to the stories of others. Thirdly, with a picture it is also a lot easier to keep on listening, even after one has already heard six or seven stories. Fourthly, drawing a picture to some extent is a symbolic externalization of the story. This creates a greater mental distance to the painful memories. This is already a first step on the way to owning a story as opposed to being overwhelmed by it.

The drawing of the person who is telling the story is placed in the middle of the circle and we usually take between 5 to 30 minutes per person and story. Sometimes the individual gets sucked into the whirl of events that they experienced and drifts off into more and more details, finally getting stuck in the story. In such a case we usually intervene with a rather brisk: »...and then what happened?« or »and how did this situation finally end?«

Having reached this point, an appreciative way of dealing with the stories is crucial. We recommend starting by simply saying »thank you«. Also it is part of the facilitators' role to encourage the participants to show empathy and consternation, leading by example. Usually this is accompanied by a lot of tears, and our Nepali facilitators were surprised to realize that showing tears as a facilitator actually had a beneficial effect, rather than decreasing their authority. The facilitators continue by commenting on each story with much empathy and compassion. However, it obviously is a lot more effective if these comments are expressed by the participants themselves. We call this the ›compassionate sharing session‹. Resource-oriented reframing by the facilitator is vital to help people overcome their sense of helplessness. This means the facilitator emphasizes aspects of how the storyteller managed to survive and cope with the situation (i.e. his or her inner resources). When listening to a person who experienced an absolutely life-threatening situation and believes that his or her survival was up to pure chance, one might ask, »And what helped you overcome this situation?« In another case, a woman who often tended to feel rather helpless and insecure shared how during her childhood her sister died when fetching water at a crossing strewn with landmines. Amongst other compassionate comments, the facilitator declared her to be an expert on how to cope with severe loss, as she had experienced it herself. Under tears this woman began to radiate, realising that she actually had already comforted and counselled many people who had undergone such situations.

## POSITIVE CHILDHOOD MEMORIES

This session is designed to contrast the painful memories with something beautiful and to strengthen the bonding process within the group. Examining childhood memories frequently evokes the feeling of having something in common: Despite all the differences in political positions etc., we all were children at some point. Usually this leads to an impulse of parental care for one's own children and the future in general.

First of all we start with a relaxing exercise of body awareness. Then we ask participants to take a »walk« through their childhood memories and stop at a place where, as a child, they felt really good and secure. Even when the whole life has been one of suffering so far, there most likely must have been (at least) one happy moment. Diving into these stories usually brings up a lot of laughter, as these mostly are stories of love and care or of funny incidents. This is a good point to ask participants to think of something small they would like to undertake with their own children or even the children of friends or relatives during the following week.

## JOINT ACTION PLANNING

During the course of the sixth session we build upon this positive energy and start working on plans to organise joint activities that will help the community and spread the trust that was built within the dialogue groups. These activities might consist of joint festivities, working together on community infrastructure or sport events. Of course, in other settings there may be more group sessions to discuss, plan and follow up on the exact implementation of these activities; or to mediate conflicts in the group which might emerge later. In political dialogues with a high number of complex interlinked issues, you don't just brainstorm activities. Instead you conduct joint conflict analyses, using techniques like stakeholder mapping or systemic feedback-loop mapping, among others.<sup>5</sup> Depending on the dispute at hand, technical input by outside experts might also be needed to arrive at an agreement on joint activities. However, all these tools and techniques do not work very well unless the people involved are ready for a genuine dialogue. The sha:re approach attempts to foster this readiness through the trust-building process described above which includes the sharing of personal stories as an essential part.

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<sup>5</sup>

See <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/civilhandbook/Chapter8.pdf> or <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/pdfs/Conflict-Analysis-Tools.pdf>.

## OUTLOOK

Whereas this project had a clear grassroots-approach, we have begun to apply elements of it in political dialogues as well. This is a context, however, where participants meet each other with a significantly different motivation. Here it is clearly not about exchanging personal stories, but about exploring possibilities for cooperation, enforcing or convincing others of political positions and to sound others out. Therefore our approach had to be modified significantly. In Nepal, for example, we worked with a group of parliamentarians and party officials whose parties were in a political crisis and officially not talking to each other. What we asked them was, »What kind of experiences brought you to hold your respective political opinion?« In this case as well, we worked with drawings and came to hear stories of mothers fighting against the suppression of women, a boy who had to watch the execution of a reported Maoist, one person who had been beaten up by his teacher for showing up in school with torn trousers, a woman who had to watch a landowner whipping one of his workers, etc. The participants came to see a lot of similarities in their stories. We do not expect this to have a long-lasting or visible effect on actual politics. After only a one-time intervention during a short workshop which wasn't followed up, such an effect would be close to a miracle. However we take it as a sign that it might be possible to go even further and deeper.

A report by Norbert Ropers<sup>6</sup> is also very interesting in this context. He has worked with local or insider mediators on the conflict over secession in southern Thailand. The mediators covered the full spectrum of the conflicting parties. One day he asked them to share their answers to the following question: »How do you continue doing your work despite the fact that it is so nerve-wrecking, tedious and maybe even in vain?« What followed was an exchange about their personal biographies and relations to the conflict, clearly generating trust-building momentum. We regard this as one more encouraging example that including a personal level in political dialogues is possible, needed and promising.

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<sup>6</sup>

Norbert Ropers worked for many years as the head of the Berghof Foundation, an internationally renowned institute for conflict transformation. Currently he works as the head of its Bangkok office.



## DIRK SPLINTER AND LJUBJANA WÜSTEHUBE

*are certified mediators and mediation trainers as well as co-directors of inmedio berlin, institute for mediation, consulting, development. They work on conflicts in various contexts (community, business, international NGOs and relief agencies) and also design and implement conflict-management-systems*

*for organizations, amongst them hospitals, enterprises, and public administrations. Both of them are engaged in development cooperation and peace-building projects in post-conflict countries like Nepal as well as in countries or regions with internal (ethno-)political conflicts like Ukraine, Egypt or Libya.*

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EPRIE 2014 working group at the European Academy Berlin

Photo: Yajima Tsukasa



## MEMORANDUM

by EPRIE Participants as of July 1st, 2014

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the *Exchange Program for Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe* – EPRIE is to promote and improve contacts between people of neighboring states whose relations, historically, have been troubled, such as Germany, Poland and France in Europe, as well as China, Japan and Korea in East Asia. This year's EPRIE took place in Warsaw, Halle, Berlin, and Strasbourg with twenty participants from the above mentioned countries. With distinguished speakers from a diversity of fields we discussed a great variety of issues. The talks and discussion rounds included: »National Concepts in East Asia and Europe« with Prof. Dr. Yvonne Kleinmann and Dr. Maik Hendrik Sprotte, »History of Nations and School Book Initiatives« with Prof. Dr. Michael G. Müller and Dr. Tino Schölz, »Concepts and Constructions of Nations« with Dr. Elisabeth Botsch and Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo, »Reconciliation Initiatives and Processes« with Dr. Lily Gardner Feldman and Ms Watanabe Mina, and »National Membership and Identity« with Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo and Prof. Dr. Steffi Richter.

In the course of our seminar, we struggled with the concept of the nation and its numerous possible definitions. We conclude that the nation is an imagined community, based on the idea that there is a group of people perceived to be homogeneous to a certain extent because of shared communalities (like a belief in common heritage). The concept of the nation can be related to nationalism, the idea that the »nation« should also form a sovereign political unit. Even though the nation is imagined, it still has real effects. It reproduces itself by shaping individual and collective identities. Of particular importance for our discussions was the fact that the nation influences historical narratives and the way that reconciliation can happen. Given the strong interlinkage between local ethnic, religious or socio-cultural communities with their respective spatial experience across centuries, we mainly dealt with the historic and spatial shaping of today's statehood and »nation-ness« as a result of various points of view within the majority factions among these communities.

### 2. SUMMARY OF THE SEMINARS

#### HISTORY

A common ground in our understandings of the nation has been that history is one of the most influential factors in forming national identities. We compared the experiences of Europe and East Asia with respect to the processes of history construction and textbook writing. While Poland has long been a nation without a state due to its history of division and occupation by neighboring countries, Japan has put priority on state-building over nation-building and constructed its national identity through the emperor-system ideology, which the Japanese Imperial Government wanted to extend on all of the neighboring (South East) Asian countries in order to create a similar type of transnational authoritarian statehood as the NSDAP-Government planned for Europe.

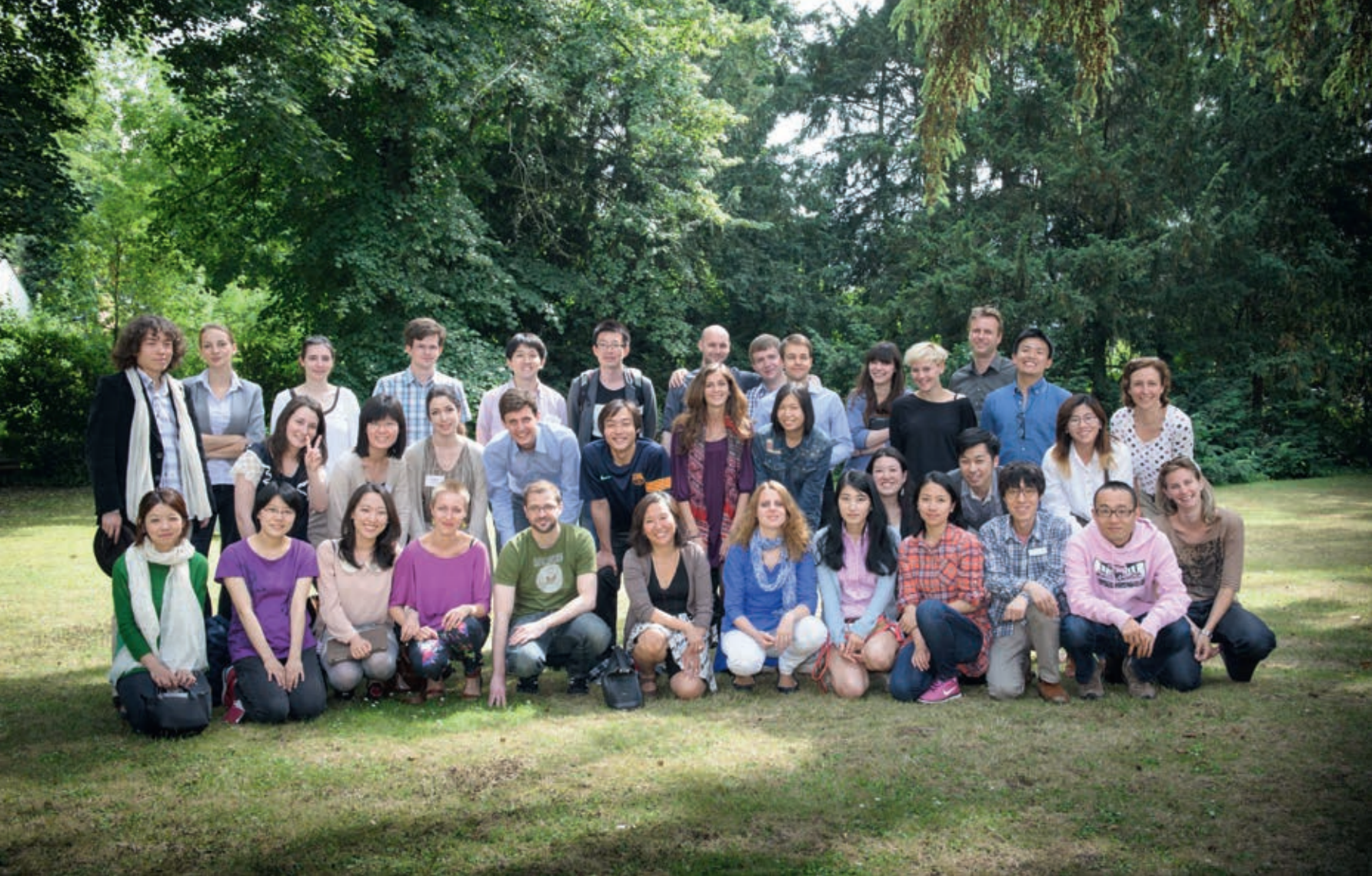
#### RECONCILIATION

Taking the German-Israeli relations as an example of internal and international reconciliation is not always appropriate, but we can learn from their experiences if we do not try to blindly imitate them. Reconciliation is an ongoing process without a clear end point. Both the political leadership and civil society play a crucial role in this process. Addressing the comfort women issue in particular is essential in the case of East Asia, and the civil society can contribute greatly to the resolution of this issue. Considering the present situation such as the review of the Kono statement by the Abe administration, there exists a real opportunity for the social movement for »comfort woman« to grow into a meaningful part of the global movement to protect women's human rights and to strengthen solidarity.

#### CITIZENSHIP

There is an ethnicity-based as well as a civic-based perspective on citizenship. The East Asian definition of the term »citizenship« is very much interlinked with the concept of »homogenous ethnicity«, while there was no such imagined coherence between citizenship and ethnic belonging in the European nation-states. Despite demographic changes





*EPRIE 2014 participants and alumni in Berlin*

in East Asia, including increased immigration, which challenge the perceived interlinkage between ethnicity and citizenship, the allocation of citizenship still happens mainly through *jus sanguinis* rather than *jus soli*. This eventually caused some problems for the formation of multi-layered identities such as national identities and some cases of statelessness as was mentioned by Professor Lee Chulwoo in his presentation about South Korean citizenship laws. Only some citizenship laws have been introduced as temporal measures to cope with the situation of greater fluidity in notions of citizenship.

### 3. RECOMMENDATIONS

#### *HISTORY*

For a joint history textbook writing project, governments' positive attitude towards history and academic autonomy are necessary as seen in the case of the joint German-Polish textbook commissions. Since this privilege is yet to be enjoyed by East Asian countries, we recommend to start from the very basic civil society level. An example could be the exchange of history textbook as an optional reading in East Asia, especially among China, Japan and South Korea. Such an initiative could be a first practical step towards a joint history textbook which presents a multi-narrative version of East Asian history for the

three countries and other East Asian countries rather than a singular ›master narrative‹.

#### *RECONCILIATION*

In order to foster reconciliation processes in Europe and East Asia, we should cooperate and support civil society organizations as they have the power to influence the moral and political leadership. It is crucial to raise awareness about issues surrounding reconciliation particularly on comfort woman, as well as aiming for a pragmatic approach in the process.

#### *CITIZENSHIP*

We think there should be more fundamental and thorough discussions on citizenship in East Asian societies, and in order to vitalize this discourse, there should be civic education programs on citizenship in both academia and the political field.

# MEMORANDUM

in French

## 1. INTRODUCTION

L'objectif du « Programme d'échange pour l'intégration régionale en Asie de l'est et en Europe - EPRIE » est de promouvoir et d'améliorer les contacts entre les personnes des pays voisins dont les relations ont été troublées historiquement, comme l'Allemagne, la Pologne et la France en Europe, ainsi que la Chine, le Japon et la Corée en Asie de l'est. Cette année, EPRIE a eu lieu à Varsovie, Halle, Berlin et Strasbourg, avec une vingtaine de participants provenant des pays mentionnés ci-dessus. Nous avons abordé une grande variété de sujets avec des conférenciers renommés dans leurs domaines. Les discussions avec ces derniers étaient les suivantes : « Concepts nationaux en Asie de l'est et de l'Europe » par Pr Dr Yvonne Kleinmann et Dr Maik Hendrik Sprotte, « Histoire des nations et initiatives de manuels scolaires communs » par Pr Dr Michael G. Müller et M. Tino Scholz, « Concepts et constructions des nations » par Dr Elisabeth Botsch et Pr Dr Lee Chulwoo, « Initiatives et processus de réconciliation » par Dr Lily Gardner Feldman et Mme Watanabe Mina, et « Appartenance et identité nationale » par Pr Dr Lee Chulwoo et Pr Dr Steffi Richter.

Au cours de notre séminaire, nous avons beaucoup débattu du concept de la nation et de ses nombreuses définitions possibles. Nous concluons que la nation est une communauté imaginée, fondée sur l'idée de l'existence d'un groupe de personnes perçu dans une certaine mesure comme homogène en raison de caractéristiques partagées (tel que la croyance en un patrimoine commun). Le concept de nation peut être lié au nationalisme, c'est-à-dire l'idée qu'une « nation » devrait également former une unité politique souveraine. Bien que celle-ci ait été imaginée, elle génère des conséquences bien réelles. Elle se reproduit en formant les identités individuelles et collectives. Un point particulièrement important pour nos discussions est le fait que la nation influence les récits historiques et la manière par laquelle la réconciliation peut avoir lieu. Compte tenu des fortes interactions entre les communautés ethniques, religieuses ou socio-culturelles locales et de leur expérience territoriale propre à travers les siècles, nous avons principalement abordé le développement historique et géographique de l'Etat contemporain et l'idée de nation comme produit d'une variété de points de vue au sein des factions majoritaires dans ces communautés.

## 2. RÉSUMÉ DES SÉMINAIRES

### HISTOIRE

Un point d'accord que nous avons trouvé dans notre compréhension du concept de Nation est que l'Histoire est l'un des facteurs les plus influents dans la formation des identités nationales. Nous avons comparé l'expérience de l'Europe avec celle de l'Asie de l'est dans le processus de construction de leur histoire et de la rédaction des manuels d'histoire. Tandis que la Pologne a pendant longtemps été une nation sans État en raison de son histoire de division et d'occupation par les pays voisins, le Japon a donné la priorité à la construction de l'État plutôt qu'à celle de la nation et a basé son identité nationale sur l'idéologie du système impérial que le gouvernement impérial japonais a voulu étendre dans tous les pays d'Asie (du sud-est) dans le but de créer un État autoritaire transnational à l'image du projet du parti nazi NSDAP en Europe.

### RÉCONCILIATION

Le cas des relations germano-israéliennes comme exemple de réconciliation interne et internationale n'est pas toujours approprié mais nous pouvons apprendre de leur expérience si nous ne cherchons pas à les imiter aveuglement. La réconciliation est un processus continu sans fin précise. Le pouvoir politique et la société civile jouent tous deux un rôle crucial dans ce processus. En Asie de l'est, le problème des « femmes de réconfort » ne peut être ignoré et la société civile peut grandement contribuer à sa résolution. Compte tenu de la situation actuelle, par exemple avec la révision de la déclaration de Kono par l'administration Abe, il existe une chance réelle pour que le mouvement social de soutien aux « femmes de réconfort » devienne une composante significative du mouvement plus général pour la défense des droits des femmes et le renforcement de la solidarité.

### CITOYENNETÉ

Le concept de citoyenneté peut être basé sur deux concepts : l'ethnicité et le contrat. En Asie de l'est, la définition de citoyenneté est étroitement liée au concept d'« ethnicité homogène », idée absente dans les États-nations européens. Malgré les évolutions démographiques en Asie de l'est, notamment une hausse des flux d'immigration qui remet en cause le lien entre citoyenneté et ethnicité, la citoyenneté



reste attribuée par le droit du sang plutôt que par le droit du sol. Ceci pose des problèmes quant à la formation d'identités à couches multiples, identité nationale comprise, et génère des cas d'apatridie mentionnés par le professeur Chunloow Lee lors de sa présentation sur les lois de citoyenneté en Corée du sud. De rares lois ont été adoptées comme solution temporaire pour définir de façon moins restrictive la citoyenneté.

### 3. RECOMMANDATIONS

#### HISTOIRE

L'exemple des commissions en charge de la mise au point du manuel d'histoire germano-polonais montre qu'une attitude positive des gouvernements à l'égard de l'histoire et l'autonomie des chercheurs sont nécessaires à ce genre de projet. Puisque les pays d'Asie de l'est ne jouissent pas encore de ce privilège, nous recommandons de partir du niveau le plus élémentaire de la société civile. Un exemple pourrait être l'échange de manuels d'histoire comme lecture optionnelle dans l'Asie de l'est, en particulier pour la Chine, la Corée du sud et le Japon. Une telle initiative pourrait être un premier pas concret vers un manuel

d'histoire commun qui présenterait une version polyphonique de l'histoire de l'Asie de l'est pour ces trois pays et d'autres de la région plutôt qu'un récit cadre unique.

#### RÉCONCILIATION

Afin de soutenir les processus de réconciliation en Europe et en Asie de l'est, nous devrions soutenir les organisations de la société civile et coopérer avec elles dans la mesure où elles ont la capacité d'influencer le leadership politique et moral. Il est crucial de faire prendre conscience des questions de réconciliation, en particulier celles touchant aux « femmes de réconfort », et de viser une approche pragmatique dans ce processus.

#### CITOYENNETÉ

Nous pensons qu'il devrait y avoir davantage de débats de fond et englobants sur la citoyenneté dans les sociétés d'Asie de l'est et afin de les rendre plus vivants, il devrait y avoir des programmes d'éducation civique sur la citoyenneté à la fois dans les champs politique et universitaire.



Seminar Discussion in Berlin

Photo: Yajima Tsukasa

# MEMORANDUM

in German

## 1. EINLEITUNG

Das Ziel des ›Austauschprogramms für Regionale Integration in Ostasien und Europa – EPRIE‹ ist es, den Kontakt zwischen benachbarten Staaten, deren Beziehungen historisch belastet sind, zu fördern und zu verbessern. In Europa zählen dazu Deutschland, Polen und Frankreich, in Ostasien China, Japan und Korea. Am diesjährigen EPRIE, das in Warschau, Halle, Berlin und Straßburg stattfand, nahmen zwanzig junge Wissenschaftler aus den obigen Ländern teil. Zusammen mit einer Reihe von angesehenen Rednern, tätig in einer Vielzahl von Feldern, diskutierten wir vielfältige Themenkomplexe. Die Vorträge und Diskussionsrunden behandelten die folgenden Themen: »Konzeptionen der Nation in Ostasien und Europa« zusammen mit Prof. Dr. Yvonne Kleinmann und Dr. Maik Henrik Sprotte, »Nationale Geschichtsschreibung und Schulbuch-Initiativen« mit Prof. Dr. Michael G. Müller und Dr. Tino Schölz, »Konzepte und Konstruktion von Nationen« mit Dr. Elisabeth Botsch und Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo, »Initiativen und Prozesse zur Aussöhnung« mit Dr. Lily Gardner Feldman und Frau Watanabe Mina, und »Nationale Zugehörigkeit und Identität« mit Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo und Prof. Dr. Steffi Richter.

Im Laufe unseres Seminar beschäftigten wir uns intensiv mit dem Konzept der Nation und seinen vielen möglichen Definitionen. Wir kamen zu dem Schluss, dass eine Nation eine imaginierte Gemeinschaft ist, die sich auf der Idee gründet, dass eine Gruppe von Menschen bis zu einem gewissen Grad als homogen wahrgenommen wird aufgrund geteilter Gemeinsamkeiten (wie der Glaube an eine gemeinsame Abstammung). Das Konzept der Nation kann in direkte Beziehung treten zum Nationalismus, der Vorstellung, dass eine ›Nation‹ auch eine souveräne politische Einheit bilden sollte. Obwohl die Nation als solche imaginiert ist, hat sie doch Auswirkungen in der Realität: Sie reproduziert sich, indem sie individuelle und kollektive Identitäten formt. Von besonderer Bedeutung für unsere Diskussionen war die Tatsache, dass die Idee der Nation historische Narrative sowie die Art und Weise, wie Aussöhnung stattfinden kann, beeinflusst.

Da eine enge Verflechtung zwischen lokalen ethnischen, religiösen und sozio-kulturellen Gemeinschaften mit deren jeweiligen Erfahrungen von Räumlichkeit durch die Jahrhunderte besteht, haben wir uns hauptsächlich mit der historischen und räumlichen Prägung heutiger Staatlichkeit und ›Nation‹ beschäftigt, die ein Ergebnis von verschiedenen Ansichten innerhalb der Mehrheitsgruppierungen in diesen Gemeinschaften sind.

## 2. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG DER SEMINARE

### *GESCHICHTE*

Eine Gemeinsamkeit in unserem Verständnis der Nation war, dass die Geschichte einer der einflussreichsten Faktoren in der Ausformung nationaler Identitäten darstellt. Wir verglichen die Erfahrungen in Europa und Ostasien in Bezug auf die Prozesse der Geschichtskonstruktion und das Abfassen von Schulbüchern. Während Polen aufgrund seiner Geschichte der Aufteilung und Besatzung durch benachbarte Länder lange Zeit eine Nation ohne Staat war, gab Japan dem Staatsaufbau den Vorrang gegenüber dem Nationsbildungsprozess und konstruierte seine nationale Identität durch die Ideologie eines auf den Kaiser ausgerichteten politischen Systems, welches die Japanische Kaiserliche Regierung auf alle benachbarten (südost)asiatischen Länder ausdehnen wollte, um einen ähnlichen Typus transnationaler autoritärer Staatlichkeit zu kreieren, wie es die NSDAP-Regierung für Europa plante.

### *AUSSÖHNUNG*

Es ist nicht immer angemessen, die Deutsch-Israelischen Beziehungen als ein Beispiel für innere und zwischenstaatliche Aussöhnung zu nehmen, aber wir können von den Erfahrungen der beiden Länder lernen, wenn wir nicht versuchen, sie nur blind nachzuahmen. Aussöhnung ist ein andauernder Prozess ohne einen klaren definierten Endpunkt. Sowohl die politische Führung wie auch die Zivilgesellschaft spielen eine entscheidende Rolle in diesem Prozess. Die Thematisierung der ›Trostfrauen‹ im Besonderen ist essentiell im Falle Ostasiens, und die Zivilgesellschaft kann außerordentlich dazu beitragen, diese Angelegenheit zu lösen. In Anbetracht der aktuellen Situation wie



der Neubewertung der Kono-Stellungnahme durch die Regierung Abe existiert eine echte Chance für die soziale Bewegung für ›Trostfrauen‹, um zu einem bedeutungsvollen Teil der globalen Bewegung zum Schutze der Menschenrechte der Frauen zu werden und um die Solidarität zu stärken.

### STAATSANGEHÖRIGKEIT

Es existieren zwei Perspektiven auf die Staatsangehörigkeit: Eine, die die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Staat an ethnischen Kriterien festmacht, und eine andere, die ›Staatsbürgerschaft‹ mit zivil-politischen Wertvorstellungen verbindet. Die ostasiatische Definition des Terminus ›Staatsangehörigkeit‹ ist sehr mit dem Konzept der ›ethnischen Homogenität‹ verbunden, während dagegen eine solche imaginierte Kohärenz zwischen Staatsangehörigkeit und ethnischer Zugehörigkeit in europäischen Nationalstaaten nicht existierte. Ungeachtet des demographischen Wandels in Ostasien - der zunehmende Immigration miteinschließt - welcher die angenommene Verkettung zwischen Volkszugehörigkeit und Staatsangehörigkeit infrage stellt, findet die Zuweisung von Staatsbürgerschaft immer noch vorrangig durch das Jus sanguinis anstatt durch das Jus soli statt. Dieser Umstand begründet letztlich auch einige Probleme bei der Ausformung von mehrschichtigen Identitäten wie Nationalidentitäten und schafft Fälle von Staatenlosigkeit, wie sie Professor Lee Chulwoo in seiner Präsentation über die Staatsbürgerschaftsgesetze Südkoreas erwähnte. Nur einige Staatsbürgerschaftsgesetze wurden als zeitlich vorübergehende Maßnahmen verabschiedet, um mit der größeren Fluidität in der Bedeutung von Staatsbürgerschaft klarzukommen.

## 3. EMPFEHLUNGEN

### GESCHICHTE

Um ein Projekt zum Verfassen eines gemeinsamen Geschichtsbuches durchzuführen, ist eine positive Einstellung der Regierungen zur Geschichtsschreibung und zur akademischen Autonomie notwendig, wie man am Fall der Gemeinsamen Deutsch-Polnischen-Schulbuch Kommissionen sehen kann. Da dieses Privileg so noch nicht in den ostasiatischen Ländern existiert, empfehlen wir, diesen Prozess vom niedrigsten zivilgesellschaftlichen Niveau aus starten zu lassen. Ein Beispiel hierfür könnte der Austausch von Geschichtslehrbüchern als optionale Lektüre an ostasiatischen Schulen sein, besonders in China, Japan und Südkorea. Eine derartige Initiative könnte der erste praktische Schritt hin zu einem gemeinsamen Geschichtslehrbuch sein, welches eine multi-narrative Version der Geschichte der drei Länder, sowie der anderen ostasiatischen Ländern darstellt, anstatt einem singulären ›Hauptnarrativ‹ den Vorzug zu geben.



*Peter Kesselburg in the intercultural Training in Warsaw*

### AUSSÖHNUNG

Um Aussöhnungsprozesse in Europa und Ostasien zu fördern, sollten wir mit zivilgesellschaftlichen Organisationen kooperieren und diese unterstützen, da sie die Macht besitzen, die moralische und politische Führungsebene zu beeinflussen. Es ist äußerst wichtig, das Bewusstsein für alle Angelegenheiten hinsichtlich der Aussöhnung und im Besonderen die ›Trostfrauen‹ betreffend zu schärfen, um auf ein pragmatisches Vorgehen in diesem Prozess abzielen.

### STAATSBÜRGERSCHAFT

Wir meinen, dass es fundamentalen und gründlichen Diskussionen zur Staatsangehörigkeit in ostasiatischen Gesellschaften bedarf, und um diesen Diskurs zu beleben, sollte es staatsbürgerliche Bildungsprogramme sowohl im akademischen wie auch im politischen Bereich geben.

# MEMORANDUM

in Polish

## 1. WPROWADZENIE

Celem EPRIE (Programu Wymiany dla Integracji Regionalnej w Azji Dalekowschodniej i Europie) jest promowanie i poprawa kontaktów między uczestnikami z następujących państw sąsiadujących: Francji, Niemiec i Polski w Europie oraz Chin, Japonii i Korei w Azji Dalekowschodniej, których wzajemne relacje wciąż kształtują się przez pryzmat historii. Dwudziestu uczestników z ww. krajów wzięło udział w programie EPRIE 2014, przebywając kolejno w Warszawie, Halle, Berlinie i w Strasburgu. Program uświetnili wybitni przedstawiciele różnych dziedzin naukowych, którzy wraz z uczestnikami podejmowali żywe dyskusje dotyczące rozmaitych zagadnień. Oto główne tematy: "Koncepcje narodowe w Azji Wschodniej i Europie" z prof. dr Yvonne Kleinmann i dr Maik Hendrik Sprotte, "Historia Narodów i Inicjatywy Tworzenia Podręczników" z prof. dr Michael G. Müller i dr Tino Schölz, "Koncepcje i Konstrukcje Narodów" z dr Elisabeth Botsch i prof. Lee Chulwoo, "Inicjatywy i Procesy Pojednawcze" z dr Lily Gardner Feldman i panią Watanabe Mina, oraz "Przynależność i Tożsamość Narodowa" z prof. Lee Chulwoo i prof. dr Steffi Richter.

Podczas seminariów zmagaliśmy się z pojęciem 'konceptu narodu' i jego licznymi definicjami. Uznaliśmy, że 'naród' to społeczność wyobrażona, zakładająca istnienie grupy ludzi, postrzegająca się jako grupę w pewnym stopniu jednorodną ze względu na wspólne cechy (np. wiarę we wspólne dziedzictwo). Koncepcja narodu może wiązać się z nacjonalizmem, zakładającym, że 'naród' jest także suwerenną jednostką polityczną. Chociaż naród jest wyobrażony, jego koncepcja silnie oddziałuje na rzeczywistość, reprodukując się w tożsamości jednostkowej i zbiorowej. Szczególnie ważny dla naszych dyskusji był fakt, że koncepcja narodu wpływa też na narracje historyczne oraz procesy pojednania. Uwzględniając silne zależności pomiędzy lokalnymi, etnicznymi, religijnymi oraz społeczno-kulturowymi wspólnotami wraz z ich doświadczeniami na przestrzeni wieków, zajmowaliśmy się głównie historycznymi i geopolitycznymi uwarunkowaniami kształtującymi obecną państwowość i 'narodowość' wynikającymi z różnych poglądów prezentowanych przez grupy większościowe wewnątrz tych społeczności.

## 2. PODSUMOWANIE SEMINARIÓW

### HISTORIA

W naszym rozumieniu narodu, rola historii, jako czynnika najsilniej kształtującego tożsamość narodową, jest bezsporna. Porównaliśmy doświadczenia Europy i Azji Dalekowschodniej, uwzględniając zarówno procesy konstruowania historii, jak i tworzenia podręczników szkolnych. Podczas gdy Polska przez długi czas była narodem bez państwa, ze względu na historię rozbiorów i okupacji przez kraje sąsiadujące, Japonia położyła nacisk raczej na tworzenie państwa niż narodu, konstruując narodową tożsamość poprzez zbudowany wokół cesarza system ideologii, którym to Imperium Japońskie chciało objąć wszystkie sąsiadujące (na południowym wschodzie) państwa azjatyckie, aby stworzyć ponadnarodowy, autorytarny typ państwowości, podobnie jak chciał to uczynić rząd NSDAP w Europie.

### POJEDNANIE

W kwestii pojednania wewnątrz- i międzynarodowego wzorowanie się na relacjach niemiecko-izraelskich nie zawsze jest właściwe. Pamiętając, by ich ślepo nie naśladować, zawsze można czerpać z ich doświadczenia. Pojednanie jest procesem ciągłym, bez wyraźnego końca. Zarówno liderzy polityczni jak i społeczeństwo obywatelskie odgrywają istotną rolę w tym procesie. Odnosząc się do kwestii 'pocieszycielek' (comfort women), tak istotnej zwłaszcza dla Azji Dalekowschodniej, społeczeństwo obywatelskie może w znacznym stopniu przyczynić się do jej rozwiązania. Obserwując obecną sytuację i rewizję oświadczenia Kōno zarządzoną przez administrację premiera Abe, istnieje realna szansa powstania społecznego ruchu na rzecz 'pocieszycielek' (comfort women) i ukształtowania się globalnego ruchu na rzecz ochrony praw kobiet i wzmocnienia solidarności.

### OBYWATELSTWO

Obywatelstwo rozpatruje się zasadniczo z dwóch perspektyw: etnicznej i cywilnej. Dalekowschodnio-azjatycka definicja 'obywatelstwa' silnie wiąże się z koncepcją 'jednorodnej etniczności'. Natomiast w przypadku europejskich państw narodowościowych taka wyimaginowana spójność między obywatelstwem a etnicznym pochodzeniem nie

istniała. Pomimo zmian demograficznych w Azji Dalekowschodniej, w tym zwiększonej imigracji, która kwestionuje powiązanie między etnicznością a przynależnością narodową, przyznawanie obywatelstwa nadal odbywa się raczej na bazie *ius sanguinis* niż *ius soli*. Fakt ten utrudnia kształtowanie się wielowarstwowych tożsamości, takich jak tożsamości narodowe lub niektóre przypadki bezpieczeństwa przedstawione przez profesora Lee Chulwoo w prezentacji na temat praw obywatelskich w Korei Południowej. Nieliczne prawa obywatelskie wprowadza się jako tymczasowe środki zaradcze wobec zwiększonej płynności 'obywatelstwa'.

### 3. REKOMENDACJE

#### HISTORIA

W kwestii wspólnego opracowywania podręczników do historii niezbędne jest, aby rządy wszystkich państw uczestniczących w projekcie miały pozytywne nastawienie. Przykładem może być Wspólna Polsko-Niemiecka Komisja Podręcznikowa. Niestety, rządy krajów Azji Dalekowschodniej nie mogą sobie jeszcze na to pozwolić, dlatego zaleca się wprowadzenie zmian na poziomie społeczeństwa obywatelskiego. Można rozpocząć od akcji 'lektur do wyboru', czyli

wzajemnej wymiany podręczników do historii, zwłaszcza między Chinami, Japonią oraz Koreą Południową. Byłby to pierwszy krok do wspólnego opracowywania historii, pozwalający dopuścić i uwzględnić wiele narracji historii trzech krajów Azji Dalekowschodniej oraz innych krajów tego regionu i tym samym uniknąć jednej głównej narracji.

#### POJEDNANIE

W celu popularyzacji procesów pojednania w Europie oraz Azji Dalekowschodniej, największy nacisk powinno się kłaść na współpracę i wsparcie organizacji społeczeństwa obywatelskiego, gdyż mają one ogromny wpływ na morale i przywództwo polityczne. Niezwykle ważne jest zwiększanie świadomości dotyczącej kwestii związanych z procesem pojednania, zwłaszcza zagadnienia 'pocieszycielek' (*comfort women*), a także dążenia do praktycznych rozwiązań.

#### OBYWATELSTWO

Uważamy, że w społeczeństwach Azji Dalekowschodniej należałoby dopuścić bardziej fundamentalne i wnikliwe debaty dotyczące zagadnień obywatelstwa. W celu ożywienia dyskursu zarówno w sferze naukowej jak i politycznej, zaleca się opracowanie i wprowadzenie programów edukacyjnych dotyczących obywatelstwa.



*Intercultural Training in working groups in Warsaw*



# MEMORANDUM

in Chinese

## 1. 简介

历史上，许多相邻国家之间的关系曾陷入困境，比如欧洲的德国、波兰和法国，以及东亚的中国、日本和韩国。“东亚与欧洲地区融合交流项目”(EPRIE)的目标在于推动和促进来自这些国家的人们的交流。今年的EPRIE项目在华沙、哈勒、柏林和斯特拉斯堡举办，20名来自以上国家的年轻人参与了此次活动。和来自多个领域的著名学者一起，我们讨论了许多话题。发言和讨论包括：与 Yvonne Kleinmann 博士和 Maik Hendrik Sprotte 博

士探讨东亚与欧洲的民族概念；与 Michael G. Müller 博士和 Tino Schölz 博士讨论民族的历史与教科书倡议；与 Elisabeth Botsch 博士和 Lee Chulwoo 研讨民族的概念和建构；与 Lily Gardner Feldman 博士和 Watanabe Mina 女士讨论和解的行动与过程；与 Lee Chulwoo 博士和 Steffi Richter 博士探讨民族的成员与身份认同。

在论坛中，我们很努力地尝试厘清民族的概念及其多个可能的定义。我们得出结论，民族是一个想象出来的社群，建立在这样的理念上：因为共有的集体特性



*Intercultural Training in working groups in Warsaw*

(比如对共同的传统的信仰)，某个人群在一定程度上被认为是同类。民族的概念可以与民族主义结合，即民族应组成一个独立自主的政治体。尽管民族是想象出来的，它仍然有实际的作用。它通过塑造个人和集体的身份认同，重现自身。对我们的讨论尤其重要的是，民族影响历史叙述与和解可能发生的方式。因为地方的种族、宗教或社会文化群落在几个世纪的时间和相应的空间体验之间的强烈内在联系，我们主要把今天的国家地位和民族性质的历史和空间塑造作为这些社群中主要的小团派之间多种观点作用的结果。

## 2. 会议摘要

### 历史

首先，在关于民族认识的讨论中，参会人员一致认为历史在形成民族认同的时候起至关重要的作用。在讨论历史的形成与教科书编写时，我们对比了欧洲跟东亚的经验。波兰，由于她长期的分割与占领的历史，使她在很长时间内有自己的民族但并没有自己的国家。而日本，在很长的一段时间内，把她的首要任务设定为国家建设而不是民族认识的建设。她通过天皇系统的意识形态来建设她的民族身份，并且试图把这套系统延伸到所有的东亚邻国以创造一个跨国威权统治体系，就像纳粹政府在欧洲做的那样。

### 和解

在谈论国家内部与国家间的和解时，总是以德国跟以色列的关系为榜样并不恰当。但从另一个方面说，只要我们不盲目复制德国跟以色列的和解，我们仍然可以从他们身上学到很多东西。首先，和解是一个持续的过程，并且没有明确的终点。在这个过程中，不仅政治上的领导层起关键作用，市民社会也起着同样重要的作用。特别是在讨论如何解决东亚的慰安妇问题的时候，市民社会起着极大的作用。考虑到当前的很多新情况，比如说安倍政权重新审视河野谈话，我们可以发现当前我们正面临着很多的机会与挑战。我们完全可以利用目前的形势，推动关于慰安妇的社会运动，并使这场社会运动成为保护妇女权益，加强社会团结的全球化运动。

### 公民身份

关于公民身份有两种认识，一是建立于民族认识之上，一是建立于市民身份的认识之上。在东亚对于公民身份的定义在很大程度上是与‘单一性民族’这个概念相关联的，而在欧洲民族与公民身份之间并没有这么确切的联系。尽管在东亚也有人口的变化与迁移，在一定程度上改变了民族与公民身份的关系，但市民身份的决定仍然是基于血统主义而不是出生地。这最终会导致很多问题，特别是对于形成多层面的民族认识，以及 Lee Chulwoo 教授提到的韩国公民身份法与无国籍状态的问题。只有一部分的公民身份法作为临时措施被引用于解决公民身份的不确定性问题。

## 3. 建议

### 历史

对于联合编纂教科书的项目，以德国-波兰教科书委员会为例，需要相关政府正视历史和保持学术自主性。目前，在东亚国家间，尚未完全具备以上条件，我们建议先从民间和社会层面着手。例如，东亚国家间，尤其是中国、日本和韩国，互以将他国历史教科书作为选读材料。这会是探索联合（编纂）教科书的有益尝试。联合（编纂）教科书应定位于向三个国家展现一个多面的东亚历史以及其他东亚国家的历史，而非一种“权威解释”。

### 和解

我们应该促进与支持民间与社会组织的合作，通过其对道义与政治领导力的影响力，推进在欧洲与东亚的和解进程。同时，增强和解的相关事务的意识，如慰安妇问题，并且在和解进程中设定切实可行的目标很关键。

### 公民身份

我们认为公民身份在东亚社会需要更根本和彻底的探讨。为开启这一领域，需要在学术和政治领域开展关于公民身份的公民教育项目。



# MEMORANDUM

in Japanese

## 1. 前書き

EPRIE - *Exchange Program for Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe*、東アジアとヨーロッパにおける地域統合のための交流プログラム)の目的は、ヨーロッパではドイツ・ポーランド・フランス、東アジア地域からは中国・日本・韓国など、近隣諸国と困難な関係にある国における人々のつながりを推進・改善することである。今年度の EPRIE は、ワルシャワ(ポーランド)、ハーレ、ベルリン(ともにドイツ)とストラスブール(フランス)で行われ、上記6カ国出身の20名が参加して、様々な分野の著名な講演者とともに、多様な問題について議論した。講演や議論の内容は以下の通りである。イボン・クレイマン博士・マイク・ヘンドリック・スプロッテ博士「東アジアとヨーロッパにおける国家の概念」、マイケル・G・ミューラー博士・ティノ・ショルツ博士「国家の歴史と教科書イニシアチブ」、エリザベス・ボッシュ博士・李喆雨博士「国の概念と構築」、リリー・ガードナー・フェルドマン博士・渡辺美奈氏「和解イニシアチブとプロセス」、李喆雨博士・ステフィ・リッター博士(ライプツィヒ大学 教授)「国家メンバーシップとアイデンティティ」。

セミナーの中で、私たちは国の概念とその多様な定義という困難な課題に取り組んだ。私たちは、国とは想像の共同体であると結論付ける。これは、共有する共通性(共通の伝統に対する信念など)により、ある程度同質だと受け止められている人々の集団が存在するという考えに基づいている。国の概念はナショナリズム、すなわち、「国家」は主権を有する

政治的単位を形成するべきという考えとも関連する。国家とは想像によるものではあるが、実質的な影響力を持ち、個人や集団のアイデンティティを形成することにより再生産されている。私たちの議論において重要な点は、「国家」が歴史的な物語の形成や和解が生まれる方向に影響を及ぼすという事実である。地域の民族的、宗教的、社会・文化的共同体と、それぞれの何世紀にも渡る空間的経験との強い相関関係を前提として、私たちは、歴史的・空間的に形成された今日の国家としての地位と、共同体の多数派が様々な視点を元に形成した「国民性」について主に議論を行った。

## 2. セミナー概要

### 歴史

私たちの共通の国家に関する見解は、歴史がナショナルアイデンティティを形成する最も影響のある事柄の一つということである。私たちは歴史構築と教科書執筆のプロセスについて、ヨーロッパと東アジアの経験を比較した。ポーランドは、長い分裂と占領の歴史により、国家を持たない国民であったが、日本は天皇制にもとづき、国民形成よりも国家形成を優先させることにより、そのナショナルアイデンティティを構築した。また、日本帝国政府は、ヨーロッパの国民社会主義ドイツ労働党(NSDAP)と同様に、国境を越えた権威主義的国家を近隣のアジア諸国にまで拡張することを意図していた。

### 和解

ドイツとイスラエルを、国内および国際的な和解の模

範的な例とするのは常に適当なことではないが、盲目的な模倣を行わない限り、私たちは彼らの経験から学ぶことが可能である。和解は、明確な終点のない現在進行のプロセスであり、政治および市民社会のリーダーシップはこのプロセスにおいて重要な役割を担う。東アジアでは、特に慰安婦問題について取り組むことが必要不可欠であり、市民社会が大いにこの問題の解決に貢献できる。安倍政権による河野談話再検証など昨今の状況を鑑みると、慰安婦問題に対する社会運動が女性の人権を守り、連帯を強化するための世界的なムーブメントの一端を担う実質的な可能性がある。

### 市民権

市民権については、民族ベースと市民ベースの視点が存在する。東アジア的「市民権」の定義は、「単一民族」という概念と深く関係するが、ヨーロッパの国民国家では、市民権と民族への所属についてのこのような想像上の一貫性はない。民族と市民権の既存の関係を脅かす移民の増加など東アジアで人口的变化が起こっているにも関わらず、市民権の授与は出生地主義 (Jus soli) より血統主義 (Jus sanguinis) 的な方法で起こることが多い。これは、李喆雨博士が韓国の市民権法の例で言及したように、ナショナルアイデンティティーやいくつかの無国籍の例などは、多層的なアイデンティティーを構築する上で問題となる。流動性の高まる市民権の概念に対して、いくつかの市民権法が一時的な解決策として導入されている。

### 3. 提言

#### 歴史

共同の教科書プロジェクトの進展には、ドイツとポーランドの例に見たような歴史と学問の自治性に対しての政府の積極的な態度が必要である。東アジアではこのような機会はまだ与えられていないため、基本的な市民社会レベルから始めることを推奨する。中国、日本、韓国など東アジアの国家間で各国の歴史教科書を副読本として使用することなどが例として挙げられる。このような取り組みは、単一の歴史的物語 (Master narrative) ではなく、多数の叙述を含む共通の東アジアの歴史教科書作りに向けての実質的な第一歩になる。

#### 和解

ヨーロッパと東アジアで和解プロセスを促進していくために、

倫理的・政治的リーダーシップに影響を及ぼす可能性のある市民団体と協力し支援していくべきである。慰安婦問題等の和解に関わる問題についての認識を高めるだけでなく、実用的なアプローチもこのプロセスの中でとっていくべきである。

### 市民権

東アジアにおいて、市民権に関する根本的で徹底的な議論がなされるべきであり、このような議論を活性化させるためには、市民権についての市民教育が学術の世界だけでなく、政治の分野でも行われるべきである。



Watanabe Mina from the Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM) at the seminar in Berlin  
Photo: Yajima Tsukasa

# MEMORANDUM

in Korean

## 1. 들어가기

“동아시아 및 유럽의 지역통합을 위한 교환 프로그램 (*Exchange Program for Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe*, 이하 EPRIE) ”은 유럽 내 독일, 폴란드, 프랑스 그리고 동아시아 내 한국, 중국, 일본과 같이 역사적으로 갈등관계에 있었던 주변국들간의 인적교류 촉진 및 개선을 목표로 하고 있다. 2014년도 EPRIE는 폴란드의 바르샤바, 독일의 할레, 베를린, 프랑스의 스트라스부르에서 진행되었으며, 위 여섯 개 국가에서 총 20명이 참가하였다. 12일간의 프로그램 동안 다음과 같은 주제로 관련 전문가들과 함께 심도 깊은 세미나와 활발한 토론을 하였다: “동아시아와 유럽에서의 민족의 개념 (클라인만 교수, 마이크 스프로테 박사)”, “민족의 역사와 교과서 이니셔티브(마이클 뮐러 교수, 티노 쉴츠 박사)”, “민족의 개념과 형성(엘리자베스 보쉬 박사, 이철우 교수)”, “화해 이니셔티브와 과정(릴리 펠트만 박사, 미나 와타나베)”, “국민 성원권 (national membership) 과 정체성(이철우 교수, 스테피 리히터 교수)”.

세미나와 토론이 진행되는 동안 우리 참가자들은 민족의 개념과 이에 대한 다양한 정의에 대해 고심하였으며, 그 결과 “민족은 공동의 유산과 같은 공유된 공통성으로 인해 스스로 동질적 (homogenous) 이라고 간주하는 상상의 공동체”라는 결론을 내렸다. 더 나아가 민족이라는 개념은 “민족”이 주권을 가진 정치적 공동체를 형성해야 한다는 점에서 민족주의와 관련될 수 있다. 비록 민족이 “상상의 관념”이라 할지라도 여전히 그 실질적 영향력은 유효하다. 민족은 개인 및 집단의 정체성을 형성함으로써 지속되며, 토론 중에 강조된 바와 같이 역사 서술 방식과 화해가 이루어질 수 있도록 하는 방식에 영향을 미친다는 점에서 매우 중요하다. 또한 우리 참가자들은 민족/종족 (ethnic), 종교, 또는 사회문화적 공동체가 수세기에 걸친 각 공동체의 공간적 경험과 매우 밀접한 관련이 있다는 점을 고려하여, 오늘날의 국가성 (statehood) 과 민족됨 (nation-ness) 의 역사적, 공간적 형성에 대하여 주로 논의하였다.

## 2. 세미나 요약

### 역사

역사는 민족의 정체성 형성에 가장 영향력있는 요소 중 하나라는 공통의 이해를 바탕으로, 역사 형성과 교과서 서술과 관련하여 유럽과 동아시아의 경험을 비교하였다. 폴란드의 경우 분단의 역사와 주변국의 점령으로 인해 오랜 기간 동안 “국가 없는 민족 (a nation without a state) ”이었던 반면, 일본은 국가형성 (state-building) 을 민족형성 (nation-building) 보다 우선하는 등 “민족 없는 국가 (a state without a nation) ”의 형태를 띠었으며 이후 민족 정체성을 천황제 이데올로기를 통해 형성하였다. 이는 일본 제국주의 정부가 동남아시아 등 주변 아시아국가로 확장시키고자 했던 이데올로기로서 과거 독일의 민족사회주의노동자당 (NSDPA 또는 Nazi Party) 이 유럽에 그러했듯 아시아에 일본과 유사한 형태의 초국가적인 권위주의 국가성을 형성하기 위한 목적을 가지고 있었다.

### 화해

제 2차 세계대전 이후 독일-이스라엘 관계를 국내적 국제적 화해의 예로 드는 것이 항상 적절한 것은 아니지만 맹목적으로 모방하지만 않는다면 이들의 역사적 경험으로부터 배울 수 있는 점은 많다. 화해는 분명한 종착점이 없는 지속적인 과정이다. 이 과정에서 정치적 리더십과 시민사회 모두 중요한 역할을 한다. 특히 동아시아의 경우 화해에 있어 ‘위안부’ 문제는 매우 중요한 사안이며, 시민사회가 위안부 문제해결에 지대한 공헌을 할 수 있다. 아베정권의 고노담화 재검토 등 현 동아시아의 상황을 고려할 때, ‘위안부’ 여성을 위한 사회운동은 여성 인권을 보호하고 국제적 연대를 강화하는 전지구적 운동으로 발돋움할 수 있는 진정한 기회를 맞이하고 있다.

### 시민권

시민권에는 종족성에 근거한 (ethnicity-based) 시민권뿐만 아니라 시민자격을 근거한 (civic-based) 시민권도 있다. 동아시아에서 정의하는 시민권은 ‘동질적 종족성 (homogenous ethnicity)’ 이라는 개념과 밀접한 연관이 있는 반면, 유럽의 근대 민족국가에서는 시민



권과 종족적 귀속성과의 어떠한 인위적인 일관성도 발견되지 않는다. 이민자 수의 증가 등으로 인한 인구구조의 변화와 실제로 이러한 인구구조 변화가 기존의 종족성과 시민권간의 상호연관성에 의문을 제기하고 있음에도 불구하고, 동아시아는 여전히 출생지주의 (jus soli) 가 아닌 혈통주의 (jus sanguinis) 에 근거하여 시민권을 부여하고 있다. 이는 궁극적으로 다층적 정체성 형성에 있어 문제를 야기하였고 이철우 교수가 한국의 시민권법과 관련하여 언급한 바와 같이 여러 무국적자를 생산하였다. 단지 소수의 시민권법만이 시민권 개념에 있어 보다 유동적인 상황에 대처하기 위해 일시적 조치로 도입된 바 있다.

### 3. 권고

#### 역사

역사 교과서 공동 집필 프로젝트와 관련하여 독일-폴란드 공동 교과서 위원회에서 볼 수 있듯이 역사와 학계에 대한 각 정부의 보다 긍정적인 자세가 필요하다. 동아시아 지역에는 아직 이러한 사례가 없기 때문에 우리는 매우 기본적인 시민사회 차원에서부터 시작할 것을 제안한다. 예를 들어 동아시아 국가, 특히 한국, 중국,

일본이 각국의 역사교과서를 서로 교환하여 선택적 교재로 사용하는 것이다. 이러한 시도는 한중일 삼국과 여타의 동아시아국가들에게 단일한 "거대 서사 (master narrative)" 가 아니라 "다층적 서사 (multi-narrative)" 로 구성된 동아시아 역사를 제시할 수 있는 공동 역사 교과서 편찬으로 나아가는 실질적인 첫걸음이 될 수 있다.

#### 화해

유럽과 동아시아 지역에 화해의 과정을 조성하기 위해서는 시민사회단체와 협력하고 또한 시민사회단체를 지원해야 한다. 시민사회단체는 도덕적, 정치적 리더십에 영향력을 미칠 수 있기 때문에 화해 과정에 있어 중요한 역할을 할 수 있다. 화해, 특히 '위안부' 여성의 화해를 둘러싼 문제에 대한 대중의 인식을 제고하는 것뿐만 아니라 화해의 과정에 있어 보다 실용적인 접근을 목표로 하는 것 또한 매우 중요하다.

#### 시민권

동아시아는 시민권에 대한 보다 근본적이고 철저한 논의를 진행해야 하며, 이러한 논의를 활성화시키기 위해서는 학계와 정계 모두 시민권에 대한 시민교육프로그램을 도입해야 한다.



Participants at the city tour on 'nations and memorials' in Warsaw

## THOUGHTS ON NATIONALISM: EPRIE AND SOCIAL THEORY

Katsumata Yu

*The Exchange Program for Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe (EPRIE) was held on the topic of 'Concepts of Nations in Europe (Poland, Germany, and France) from June 20 to July 2, 2014. This paper will analyze possible directions for the future of the EPRIE program. This article was developed based on theoretical analyses of 'nationalism'. Considering the aim of the EPRIE, a deeper understanding of nationalism is critical to promoting international understanding and improving cooperation among neighboring countries. The nature of nationalism is a broad topic. It cannot be adequately discussed in this short piece. Thus, this article does not intend to broach an in-depth examination on nationalism as a whole. Rather, this work aims to pose critical questions for the development of the EPRIE program, based on social theories on nationalism from the works of Gellner, Anderson, Smith, Foucault, Kayano, and Deleuze and Guattari. First, we will define nationalism based on the work of Ernest Gellner. Second, we will analyze the historical origin of nationalism based on Gellner, and Deleuze and Guattari. The theoretical works suggest that the expansion of capitalism was crucial for the emergence of nationalism. Third, we will analyze some of the potential challenges of nationalism: fascism, globalization and cosmopolitanism. Finally, we conclude that the nation-state system is facing unprecedented challenges as we see a global economic decline in developed countries.*

### WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

Many in-depth studies have been published on the topic of nationalism. Accordingly, we encounter numerous definitions of the concept. Among them, Gellner's definition of nationalism is one of the most standard definitions in nationalism studies.<sup>1</sup> For Gellner »nationalism is primarily a political principle that holds that the political and

the national unit should be congruent«.<sup>2</sup> For Gellner, nationalism presupposes the existence of a political unit, and the political unit is a state. This concise definition claims that a state should be organized for a nation. Or if a nation has not gained independence, the nation should have an independent state.

Also, while often interchangeably used, it is crucial to differentiate between a nation, nationalism and a nation-state. A nation is a unit group of people based on shared commonalities. Nationalism is the political principle. A nation-state is a version of a state based on nationalism. Nationalism is a relatively new phenomena in history dating from 18 to 19C, while distinctive characteristics of each nation have been constructed through idiosyncratic historical processes.<sup>3</sup> For instance, in Japan nationalism became a dominant institutional logic in the 19th century, but the unique characteristics – culture, traditions, and language – of the Japanese nation might be traced back through its 3000 years of history.

Lastly, before moving on to the next chapter, let us define a »state«, because nationalism presupposes a state. In this article, we use one of the most commonly used definitions by Max Weber. According to his definition, »state is human community that (successfully) claims monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory«.<sup>4</sup> We cannot separate the concepts of nations and states. Therefore we find this definition critical in our understandings of nationalism.

<sup>2</sup> Gellner, Ernest (2000): *Nations and Nationalism*, trans. Setsu Katou, Tokyo, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Kayano, Toshihito, 75.

<sup>4</sup> Weber, Max (2009): »Politics as a Vocation«, in: *From Max Weber - Essays in Sociology*. New York, 78.

<sup>1</sup> Kayano, Toshihito (2011): *Nationalism ha akunanoka*, Tokyo, 26.



## HOW HAS CAPITALISM INFORMED NATIONALISM?

It is important to understand the historical origins of nationalism in order to develop constructive discussions on regional issues. Social theories of Gellner, and Deleuze and Guattari suggest that nationalism emerged due to the force of industrialization.

Gellner argues that nationalism became prevalent through the process of homogenization of a society by national linguistic and educational policies. These policies were heavily initiated by the demands of industrialization.<sup>5</sup> This point becomes clear when we examine the differences between society before industrialization – the agrarian society – and industrialized society. The agrarian society was ordered by differentiation between classes<sup>6</sup> for instance, there were only a few people who could read and write. They were typically born into an elite status and were therefore conferred political power. This relatively small group governed the society. Their rule was justified by publicly presenting their special characteristics such as royal blood.

This differentiation is not only observable between rulers and ruled, but among ruled peasants within a small community. The relationship is vertically formed between powerful and less powerful. Building horizontal relationships beyond one's immediate community was rare. Therefore, there was little possibility for nationalism to become widespread.<sup>7</sup> In other words, order was maintained through class differentiation.

However, the capitalistic production system started to prevail in European states. Gellner discusses that due to demand of the industrialized society, nationalism emerged.<sup>8</sup> Through industrialization, people started to choose various occupations. They began moving out of their villages. As a result, people were fractured from their traditional communities. Consequently, society became significantly more fluid.

The fluid industrial society required people to speak a common language and to possess advanced literary and mathematical skills. Their occupations demanded them to communicate with others beyond their native community by a common language. Thus, people were educated in order to gain these homogeneous standardized skills and

a common language. This large national-scale, educational project was only possible by a state and was a key aspect in the cultural homogenization of society.<sup>9</sup>

Gellner insists that nationalism emerged through the process of cultural homogenization.<sup>10</sup> Notably, nationalism did not force people to be homogeneous. Instead the objectively forced process of homogenization appeared to be nationalism.

Some authors insist that the idea of nationalism is observable in pre-industrialized states such as former colonial states. Nevertheless, Kayano<sup>11</sup> argues that these cases of nationalism are merely a symbolic idea that is held only by a certain segment of the population. This is different from a point Gellner makes: He discusses the historical origin of nationalism as a dominant institutional logic in society. This should be differentiated from the origin of the mere symbolic/micro idea of nationalism.

In a similar vein with Gellner, Deleuze and Guattari's 'Thousand Plateaus' (1994) argues that the pervasiveness of the nation-state and the development of capitalism are inseparably linked. A nation-state emerged through the establishment of a national social infrastructure that was conducive to the advance of capitalism. Historically there were two basic conditions for the growth of capitalism.

First, in order to secure the free movements of labor forces, people must be freed from a rigid class hierarchy.<sup>12</sup> The traditional class system prevented people from entering new industries. Thus the rigid hierarchy had to be abolished. Next, the free investments of capital – within the territory of the state – must be secured at all costs by abolishing the feudal system. In the feudal system, land ownership was determined by traditional social relations between masters and servants. It hindered the free flow of capital.

In this way, the state reformulated its domestic territory into a culturally homogeneous space that was conducive for capitalism.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>  
Gellner, Ernest, 66.

<sup>6</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>7</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>8</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 67.

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<sup>9</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>10</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>11</sup>  
Kayano, Toshimoto, 162f.

<sup>12</sup>  
Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari (1994): *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Kunikazu Uno et al., Tokyo, 510.

<sup>13</sup>  
*Ibid.*

Nation-states emerged within this process of the state-oriented homogenization. In other words, the state was nationalized in the response to capitalisms' demands. For Deleuze and Guattari, a state and capitalism have been inseparably connected since the inception of capitalism.

Some scholars contend that the nation-state and capitalism are independent, separable entities. Kayano mentions that these scholars often argue that a state operates in a way to appease inequalities created by the free market through public investments and social security systems.<sup>14</sup> However, they fail to account for conditions that led capitalism to become the dominant economic system. For Deleuze and Guattari, the development of capitalism presupposed the power of states. It was more than stating that the state protected private property. It was the state that reformulated national territory into a homogenous space. That space was highly desirable for the development of capitalism.

The relations between capitalism and nation-states explain the reasons for why a nation-state system became the dominant political system in today's world. It was because nation-states successfully integrated the efficient capitalistic production system into the territory of the state. In terms of economic and military power, these European states were successful. According to Smith, this is one of the major reasons why nation-states became the dominant political principle.<sup>15</sup> Observing their successes, elites in non-European regions started to long for the nation-state system. In the case of Japan, for instance, to a large extent it was economic and military progress that motivated the elites to engage in the massive project to nationalize the state.

## NATIONALIZATION AND THE DISCIPLINARY SOCIETY

In the last chapter, we looked at the close connections between capitalism and nationalism. In this chapter, I will illustrate the transformation of power exercised by authority. Gellner discusses how national education systems provided people with the means to acquire homogenous skills in a homogenous space. People acquired not only the skills but also disciplines that are favorable for capitalism and state authority. These disciplines included such traits as punctuality, obedience to rules, and proper posture. Industrialization imposed states with the necessary task of managing the fluid populations beyond the mere exercise of laws. They started to pay attention to not only

the population's skill levels but also to their disciplines. According to Michel Foucault, this is called a disciplinary society. In ›Discipline and Punish‹, Foucault argues that the mechanism of disciplines is crystallized in examinations that people typically take at school.<sup>16</sup> Examinations made it possible to individualize evaluations of subjects. This act of individualization was the basis of the disciplinary society. Next, the examinations made it justifiable to punish or reward individuals based on the results. Consequently, they acquire the tendency to constantly improve themselves. Importantly, people started to believe that they were under constant surveillance. They were not only under surveillance during the exams, but also throughout their daily lives since the performance at the exams was determined by how they spent each day. This possibility of being under constant surveillance made people obedient in the disciplinary society. Discipline is practiced not only at schools, but also in places such as factories, the military, hospitals, and so on. This discipline is practiced throughout society, as Foucault famously elaborated with his analogy of the Panopticon.

It suggests that the way states exercise power has transformed in disciplinary society. Let us look at how the exercise of power has changed. Before the disciplinary society, prior to industrialization, the exercise of power was symbolized in cruel public torture. Markedly, ›Discipline and Punish‹ starts with the description of a public torture and execution of man who attempted to kill Louis the 15th. This technology of physical punishment must be differentiated from mere lawless brutal violence. It was a mechanism for a sovereign authority to exercise power.

At that time, laws were proclaimed by the king who held sovereignty. Thus, breaking laws meant attacking the king and challenging his sovereignty. Therefore the king had to teach people the clear supremacy of his power, using brutal public torture.<sup>17</sup> Remember, Weber defines the state as »human community that (successfully) claims monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory.«<sup>18</sup> The ultimate reason why the king had sovereignty to proclaim laws was his possession of the legitimate use of overwhelmingly strong physical force. In this way, the public torture functioned to show off the devastating power of the sovereign authority. The supremacy of physical force of a state appeared barely before a state had been nationalized.

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<sup>14</sup>  
Kayano, Toshimoto, 170.

<sup>15</sup>  
Smith, Adam (1999): *The Ethnic Origins of Nation*, trans. Yasushi Suyama. Nagoya, 155.

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<sup>16</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>17</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>18</sup>  
Weber, Max, 78.

Foucault maintains that the technology of power with brutal public torture disappeared because it was inefficient in industrial society.<sup>19</sup> The technology functioned only when public torture was seen by the masses. Therefore, the more remote people lived, the more difficult it was to exercise the power. The spatial reach of the power was limited. Foucault emphasized that practices of disciplines are closely related to the increase of economic productivity.<sup>20</sup> In this respect, the public torture did not make people useful and docile subjects for capitalistic economic production. The exercise of sovereign power through physical punishment was too inefficient. Discipline replaced the physical punishment and therefore overcame its inefficiency. Under disciplinary society, subjects become docile and useful so they were incorporated into the efficient production system.



*Katsumata Yu at the dinner with alumni in Berlin*

For that reason, after industrialization, the use of violence by the state was moved from public, conspicuous torture to more invisible mechanisms of power. Although states are still able to use physical force as an option, states do not publicly display their physical force as much anymore. That is, in a disciplinary society the exercise of power is not dependent on a particular individual like a king. Although before the disciplinary society, the sovereign power was directly connected with the individual, the power was ›depersonalized‹.<sup>21</sup> In order to make a state nationalized, no particular person should hold sovereign authority. The sovereign authority should be handled based on an institutionalized legal system. This is a structural matter, different from the question of whether there is a dictator or not. Disciplinary society through industrialization brought depersonalization of sovereign power. Without this transformation in the power structure, it was impossible to nationalize a state.<sup>22</sup>

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*Foucault, Michel, 219.*

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*Ibid.*, 221.

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*Ibid.*, 202.

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*Kayano, Toshihito, 199.*

## CHALLENGES OF NATIONALISM

In this chapter, I will give an overview of the possible challenges of nationalism. These include fascism, globalization and cosmopolitanism. As the analysis so far indicated, these three issues are generally informed by the development of capitalism.

First, we will discuss fascism. In ›History of Sexuality‹, Foucault mentions that Nazism was formed by the combination of old sovereign power based on visible displays of physical force and disciplinary power.<sup>23</sup> For him, fascism was formed as subjects started to appeal to violence to protect their nation. In this sense, fascism is an extension of a nation-state. Yet, not all nation-states become fascist.

Regarding this point, Deleuze and Guattari suggest noting the relationship between a state and capitalism. For establishing capitalism as the prevailing economic system, the basic form of a state was the nation-state.<sup>24</sup> There are variations in how nation-states support the accumulation of capital. One of the possible variations is fascism. Fascism's main characteristic is to try to make up for a deficit or a

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*Foucault, Michel (1986): History of Sexuality, trans. Moriaki Watanabe, Tokyo, 188.*

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*Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari, 511.*



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decline of the national economy by expanding into overseas markets, while leaving the domestic economic markets in decline. These states especially draw on wars in order to realize overseas expansion of the economy.<sup>25</sup> For example, after the Great Depression, Japan tried to make up for the decline of its domestic economy through expansion of their markets overseas by utilizing their military power.

The analysis of Deleuze and Guattari suggests to us that a particular economic condition and a particular economic policy have formed fascism. The main reason that led nation-states to fascism was leaving their domestic economies in decline and primarily focusing on expansion of their overseas markets. Kayano insists that to prevent nation-states from becoming fascist, they should not progress economic policies that prioritizes overseas markets, thus leaving the domestic markets in decline, or policies that may accelerate the domestic decline.<sup>26</sup> Therefore in order to prevent fascism, national policy to protect the national economy is necessary.

Globalization has brought many challenges to the nation-state system. These challenges include increasing economic inequality within a

nation-state and transnational flows of capital, people and information. The first is significantly relevant to the challenge of fascism.

It is said that there are rightward conservative trends in developed countries, especially among younger people and those who are unemployed.<sup>27</sup> As the labor market has been globalized, it is becoming increasingly difficult for labor in developed countries to compete with significantly cheaper labor forces in developing countries. The decline of the domestic economy in developed countries is directly related to increasing globalization of the world economy. Based on this world trend, national identity of those who experience hardship in the globalized labor market is strengthened. For young unemployed Japanese people, for instance, being a Japanese person is one of the few things they can

hold on to.<sup>28</sup> This is a foundation that nationalism uses to produce xenophobic thought. According to Kayano, as I mentioned earlier, in order to prevent this tendency, social and economic national policy to protect and nurture domestic economies is crucial.<sup>29</sup> This is becoming an increasingly difficult challenge for the nation-state given the bleak economic circumstances of our current globalized order.

The second additional challenge of globalization is the flow of capital, people and information beyond the spatial boundaries of a nation-state. Some scholars argue that if a nation-state system was initiated by industrialization, globalized economy would shrink the nation-states. In fact historically, globalized economies would have allowed some states to be more tolerant of immigrants. In many countries, deregulation of international economic transactions has been progressing.

However, if we look at the present world, it is hard to find convincing clues for the weakening trends of nationalism. As mentioned, in developed countries, there is a rightward/conservative political

<sup>25</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 517.

<sup>26</sup>  
Kayano, Toshihito, 210.

<sup>27</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>28</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>29</sup>  
*Ibid.*, 210.



trend. They may not only occur in developed countries. For example, increasing numbers of terrorist acts cannot be separated from issues of nationalism. Separation movements are clearly visible in many parts of the world. The influence of nationalism is not weakened in the globalized world where flows of people, information and capitals go beyond national territories.

We can understand this through social theories of Gellner, and Deleuze and Guattari. In the analysis of Gellner, it was a state that initiated the mass educational and the common linguistic policy in the response to the demand from industrialization. For Deleuze and Guattari, it was a state that reformulated society so as to secure the free flows of labors and capital. Thus, nationalization is a historical process initiated by a state for the purpose of developing capitalism.

Moreover the globalized world does not have a corresponding global government that encompasses the space of the entire earth. The world does not have such a government that can reformulate the entire world into a culturally homogenous place beyond the sovereignty of nation-states. Globalization's development of increased fluidity is therefore not enough to destroy nation-state systems.<sup>30</sup>

Additionally Benedict Anderson famously mentions that death and language are the two things that capitalism cannot conquer.<sup>31</sup> In the nation-state system, a state's sovereignty is managed through a common language. In other words, the state's sovereignty protects a certain common language. As Anderson suggests, the connection between a state and an official language is not destroyed by globalized capitalism. While capitalism expands beyond states' territories, it does not indicate the disappearances of states. From its inception, capitalism has presupposed a state. Thus the view based on a dichotomy between a state and a market is too nearsighted.<sup>32</sup>

The last challenge of nationalism is cosmopolitanism. In this article, we define cosmopolitanism as »an orientation of openness to foreign others and cultures«.<sup>33</sup> It is said that its emergence is due to two factors. First, transnational movement of cultures and people make everyday life experiences beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. Second,

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*Ibid.*, 175.

31  
Anderson, Benedict (1997): *Imagined Communities*, trans. Sava Shiraishi and Takashi Shiraishi, Tokyo, 82.

32  
Kayano, Toshihito, 179.

33  
Igarashi, Hiroki and Hiro Saito (2014): »Cosmopolitanism as Cultural Capital: Exploring the Intersection of Globalization, Education and Stratification«, *Cultural Sociology* 3:1-18, 1.

there is a growing trend of institutionalizing human rights' discourses that takes shared humanity – rather than nationality – as the primary frame of reference.<sup>34</sup> The EPRIE program can be categorized as a program based on such a cosmopolitan value. Some researchers posit the possibility of cosmopolitanism as a solution for global economic, political, and ecological issues.

However, others argue that cosmopolitanism is deeply embedded in economic inequality and power relations in the world.<sup>35</sup> These scholars typically apply Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital – the idea that not only economic capital but also social and cultural capital contribute to perpetuating social inequality – to critically examine cosmopolitanism and its relation to wealth stratification. They contend that cosmopolitanism, desirable at a glance, can function to perpetuate entrenched economic inequality in the world. Igarashi and Saito further examine the unequal access to cosmopolitanism and its relation to wealth stratification. They contend that cosmopolitanism can function to perpetuate inequality due to its unequal distribution of chances to gain it, while educational systems legitimize it as a desirable trait. They also mention that further research is needed to identify the clear causal linkages between cosmopolitanism and wealth stratification.<sup>36</sup> While the research is still ongoing, and we should refrain from stating conclusive opinions, we need to treat cosmopolitanism with caution. Domestic economic inequality is one of the major reasons for xenophobic nationalism. With these critiques in mind, we at the EPRIE are ready to embrace the contradictions of our mission statement and the possibility of perpetuating wealth stratification in the world. We want to be responsible in how we understand cosmopolitanism and its effects on national/regional issues.

## CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF EPRIE

In this article, we gave a theoretical overview of nationalism and a nation-state system, and their possible challenges. The analysis revealed that inter-linkages between capitalism and states are vital in the emergence of nationalism and nation-states. The process of nationalization of states is to a large extent initiated by the force of industrialization and expansion of capitalism. The economic force was the key engine

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*Ibid.*, 3.

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Calhoun, Craig (2008): »Cosmopolitanism and nationalism«, *Nations and Nationalism* 14: 427–448.

36  
Igarashi, Hiroshi and Hiro Saito, 12f.

to reformulating a state into culturally homogenous space that was highly conducive for the growth of capitalism.

The analysis indicates that due to the recent global scale economic decline and possible future economic crisis, it is becoming more and more difficult for nation-states to avoid xenophobic nationalism, especially for developed countries. As this analysis has shown, there is a possibility for the expansion of fascism if domestic and overseas market economics are not vigorously studied and analyzed using the critical concepts of nationalism and capitalism. Therefore the issue of capitalism and economic decline would be a critical topic for future discussions at the EPRIE. Not many people would disagree that capitalism is a dominant institutional logic that has been shaping today's world to a great extent. It is crucial to consider how to deal with capitalism, given the aim of the EPRIE.

Furthermore, we discussed the exercise of power in today's world based on the works of Foucault. Due to disciplinary power, subjects have been formed to be useful and docile in a way to be successfully incorporated into the efficient capitalistic production system. In the disciplinary society, the power of authority was moved from a highly visible form to a more discrete mechanism of power. Yet it still influences how we view the world. In this vein, I suggest that when we discuss history issues in the future, an examination of multiple technologies of power within those histories is a moral and ethical imperative. This is because acquisition of knowledge is not exempted from relations of power generated in a Foucauldian disciplinary society.

Moreover the potential contradiction of cosmopolitanism can be another possible topic. Recent research reveals the potential of cosmopolitanism to perpetuate wealth stratification. The institutional logic of EPRIE program is somewhat based on cosmopolitanism given the program's vision for transnational cooperation. The possible contradiction of cosmopolitanism would be a meaningful topic of discussions for the future program. While this article has tried to posit some fundamental questions with regard to nationalism, the insights that I have developed are partial. More in-depth analysis is needed in the future. Nevertheless, I hope I was able to provide some constructive comments for the future development of the EPRIE. Lastly I would like to applaud all the hard work and constructive effort made by the organizers and participants.

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KATSUMATA YU

*is a sociologist in Japan. He earned his MS in Sociology from the London School of Economics and Political Science and his M.A. in Adult Learning from Columbia University. His research interests include economic sociology and cultural sociology. He is participant of EPRIE 2014.*

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# CHINA'S KOREAN MINORITY, THEIR TRANSNATIONAL ETHNIC LINKS, AND SINO-SOUTH KOREAN RELATIONS

Franziska Fröhlich

## 1. INTRODUCTION

After long decades of Cold War hostility, Sino-South Korean relations eventually began to improve when China's reform policy economically opened the country up to the capitalist world. Bilateral trade quickly picked up. Ever since the two countries formally established diplomatic relations in 1992, bilateral ties have been growing tighter in the political and cultural field as well. The economic interdependence between the two countries has by now reached astounding levels. In the wake of the improvement of bilateral relations, China's Korean minority was also busy to re-establish their traditional links with their South Korean ethnic kin.

The Koreans in China, the so called Chaoxianzu (朝鲜族)<sup>1</sup>, comprising a population of almost two million, are one of the 55 ethnic minorities of China. The Koreans are relatively recent settlers on the territory of today's China. They migrated to Manchuria in the late 19th and early 20th century as farmers fleeing from poor harvests and population pressure, and, after the Japanese had occupied Korea in 1910, as Korean nationalists trying to organise an independence movement.<sup>2</sup> They settled down in China's Northeastern Provinces Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning, with a focus on the area that was later turned into the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin Province.<sup>3</sup>

In the following I want to explore how this situation, namely the existence of a transnational ethnic group within the territory of the People's Republic of China (PRC), as well as their growing transnational links to their ethnic kin in the Republic of Korea (ROK), impacts on the

Sino-South Korean relations. Limiting my analysis to the Chinese side, that is the Chinese state's perceptions of and reactions to the growing ties, I want to explore what role the Chaoxianzu play in the context of the two countries' relations. Do the Chinese Koreans function as facilitators for Sino-Korean relations, or are they an obstacle to the increasing rapprochement between Beijing and Seoul? In this paper, I argue that the Chinese Koreans' transnational ethnic ties have been a valuable development resource for China's economically stagnating Northeast and have contributed to the growth of economic interactions between China and South Korea. However, while Chinese officials have been eager to promote Korean transnational ethnic ties in the economic field, they have been more cautious about other effects of these links. The Chaoxianzu have repeatedly functioned as a source of diplomatic friction between the two countries because of China's sensitivity about its ethnic minorities and nation building processes. As Chaoxianzu cultural and political identity evolves, and the Chinese Koreans more strongly identify as Chinese nationals, the Chinese government might become less sensitive in the future, and the Chaoxianzu might cease to be a cause of bilateral conflicts.

## 2. ECONOMIC RELATIONS: THE FACILITATING ROLE OF THE CHINESE KOREANS

The impact of transnational ethnic links on bilateral economic relations has been a matter of interest for scholars exploring the emergence and dynamics of transnational ethnic economies. Research in the context of the interaction between Chaoxianzu and South Koreans is especially focused on the question of whether this ethnically based interaction has the potential to increase Sino-Korean trade and enhance regional economic development. In fact, transnational ethnic ties have provided an important development resource for the economically stagnating regions of China's Northeast. Particularly in the early years of Sino-South Korean rapprochement, the resurgence of Korean transnational ethnic ties formed an important entrance point for the establishment of business links and worked to facilitate

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper, I will use the terms ›Chaoxianzu‹, ›Chinese Korean minority‹ and ›Chinese Koreans‹ interchangeably.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Kwon 1997: 3-6.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Chen 2000: 280.



*Franziska Fröhlich with participants in the working group.*

*Photo: Yajima Tsukasa*

labour migration.<sup>4</sup> Ever since relationship visits became possible in the mid-80s, and even before formal diplomatic relations had been set up, contacts were built through semi-official and unofficial channels that drew on ethnic and family ties, which would lay the basis for later business negotiations.<sup>5</sup>

A way of conceptualising this positive economic influence of transnational ethnic ties is to view them as a form of social capital which facilitates economic interaction. They do so by having both a »gluing« and »lubricating« function:<sup>6</sup> their common ethnicity brings together Korean actors separated by political boundaries and helps them build the exchange reliability, investment confidence and general mutual trust so integral for sustained economic interaction. According to Chen's conceptualisation, transnational ethnic social capital entails several elements: it »is dependent on centuries of entrenched history and culture«, it is furthered by »kinship and ancestral networks created and sustained by past and present migration circuits, coupled with shared regional dialects«, and »thirdly, transnational ethnic social capital often contains a strong native-place identity«.<sup>7</sup>

In the case of the Chaoxianzu, their ties to South Korea lack some of these characteristics, and therefore their affinity to their South

Korean ethnic kin is not as strong as in other cases of transnational ethnic ties. Even though the Chaoxianzu share a common culture and history with their Korean kin since their migratory history to China is relatively recent, the majority of them (some 80%) has their relatives in today's North Korea<sup>8</sup>. Even in those cases where South Korean family ties exist, interaction between relatives was completely suspended from the Korean War up until the rapprochement between the PRC and the ROK. Therefore, family ties alone do not account for the transnational ethnic social capital,

and Luova rightly assesses that the »diffuse solidarity« of common culture and ethnicity »provided a basis to mobilize Korean ties beyond interpersonal contacts with all members of the community«.<sup>9</sup>

Kim (2010) also stresses the importance of a common language and culture to attract business.<sup>10</sup> The initial investment pattern consisted in small scale, low technology investment, concentrated in the service sector. The South Korean business people were mainly attracted by the familiar cultural and language environment in Chaoxianzu-dominated areas, which facilitated their access to the Chinese market. The Chaoxianzu played a vital role for the South Korean businesses: because of their shared ethnic background and common language, South Koreans preferentially employed Chaoxianzu as translators and intermediaries between themselves and their Chinese employees. Furthermore the Chinese Koreans provided numerous services catering to the South Korean community, for example as maids, language teachers and restaurant owners. Even as South Korean businesses expanded from their initial focus on the Yanbian Prefecture and grew in size, the Chaoxianzu still continued to provide these crucial services, following the South Korean businesses to China's economic centres.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup>  
*Comp. Luova 2006: 33 and Luova 2009:436-7.*

<sup>5</sup>  
*Luova 2006: 44.*

<sup>6</sup>  
*Chen 2000: 272.*

<sup>7</sup>  
*Chen 2000: 271-72.*

<sup>8</sup>  
*Comp. Luova 2009: 429.*

<sup>9</sup>  
*Luova 2009: 429.*

<sup>10</sup>  
*Comp. Kim 2010: 9-11.*

<sup>11</sup>  
*Comp Kim 2010: 28-29.*



As Chen points out, »the integrating effect of shared transnational ethnicity and culture varies according to the actual social networks that are created«,<sup>12</sup> that is to say that ethnic ties are not a fixed reality which automatically leads to business deals, but require social actors who are invested in building up these networks. Ordinary people, and their family ties, were imperative to set up these networks, and the active work of myriads of associations, educational institutions and private individuals remains an indispensable driving force to further develop and extend them.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the involvement of local officials of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture as key agents in fostering economic interaction brought about by transnational ethnic ties<sup>14</sup> proves that this was also a state-endorsed process from the side of the local governments, though higher level government units also were involved to a lesser degree<sup>15</sup>. State officials actively promoted the Korean ethnic networks and even went as far as stressing their region's ethnic and cultural commonalities to attract ethnic Korean investors. Luova calls this proactive attempt to »mobilize, institutionalize, steer and control transnational activities« that is aimed at facilitating economic cooperation, attracting investment, know-how, remittances and labour migration, »transnationalism from above«.<sup>16</sup> The harnessing of transnational ethnic ties to foster economic growth is not a strategy that is peculiar to the Yanbian prefectural authorities. Yet within the framework of China's national strategy to alleviate inter-ethnic conflict through promoting economic development of ethnic minorities<sup>17</sup>, it is clear that in an economically stagnating region like the Chinese Northeast, the authorities would be especially eager to make use of this opportunity to strengthen the local economy.

In this sense, the transnational economic ties between the Chinese Koreans and South Koreans have enhanced the bilateral economic relations. In many ways, the ties have contributed to stimulating investment, labour migration as well as trade relations, and furthered economic growth. They have positively influenced

the development of the Yanbian economy<sup>18</sup> and brought clear earning advantage to those working in the Yanbian ethnic economy<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore, the positive influences have not been restricted to Korean autonomous regions. As the Korean minority migrated to the industrial centres of China to follow the South Korean businesses, similar ethnic economies began to form there. As Jeong shows for the example of the Korean-dominated Wangjing district in Beijing, some of these transnational ethnic economies became hugely successful as the Chaoxianzu and the South Koreans utilised their common ethnic background to form flourishing networks of economic cooperation.<sup>20</sup> The fact that different Chinese government agencies have actively endorsed this proves that, in the economic field, the Chaoxianzu and their transnational ethnic ties have played a positive role for Sino-South Korean relations.

### 3. POLITICAL RELATIONS: ETHNICITY, HISTORY AND THE NATION

In other fields, particularly the field of political relations, the Chinese Koreans' transnational ethnic ties have had a less positive impact on the Sino-South Korean relations, not because of any activity on the part of the Chaoxianzu, but rather because of their potential actions as well as their symbolic value for the Chinese state. Different scholars note that the Northeastern Provinces are a strategically sensitive area for the Chinese government and that therefore political considerations have placed limitations on the agents of Korean transnationalism in China.<sup>21</sup> The fear of shifting national loyalties and separatism has made the Chinese government wary of an uncontrolled growth of those bonds. It has been cautious to reinforce national unity, to control collective activities, and has clamped down on activities by Chinese Koreans and South Koreans in China that might foster loyalties among the Chaoxianzu other than to the Chinese state.<sup>22</sup> I would argue that even Sino-South Korean disputes that do not obviously concern border security and separatism, like the Chinese government's protest against South Korean plans to grant Chinese Koreans certain privileges on

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Chen 2000: 227.

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Comp. Luova 2006: 40-41.

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Comp. Chen 2000: 227.

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Comp. Luova 2009: 435.

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Luova 2009: 427-28.

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The so-called »Great Western Development Strategy« in which the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture is included despite being located in China's Northeast.

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Comp. Luova 2010: 348.

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Comp. Kim 2003: 802-838.

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Comp. Jeong 2014: 330-350.

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Comp. for example Luova 2009: 442 and Choi 2010: 171.

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Comp. Luova 2009: 443-44.

par with Korean citizens because of their ethnic Korean-ness<sup>23</sup> and the dispute between the two countries about the historical kingdom of Goguryeo ultimately relate back to the Chaoxianzu.

The Goguryeo kingdom issue in particular has bewildered observers of Sino-South Korean relations. The region in question covers most of today's North Korea and large parts of China's Northeast where from the 1st to the 7th century AD the Goguryeo dynasty ruled. The Goguryeo kingdom has long been seen as part of Korean history, but starting in the 1980s, Chinese historians began to claim that Goguryeo had actually been a vassal state of China and should thus rather be counted as a part of Chinese local history. The issue became politically sensitive in 2002 when a group of Chinese historians formed the so-called Northeast Project under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (thus indicating a certain level of government endorsement), and finally turned into a full-blown diplomatic row when China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs deleted references to Goguryeo from a summary of Korean history on its official website in 2004. This caused a public outcry and widespread protests in South Korea. The actions were seen to be steered by the Chinese government and thus an 'offensive strike' against South Korea and its national history. Meanwhile Beijing was busy to downplay the issue. The questions arise: Why would such a seemingly minor historical dispute strain the relations to a degree where even studies mostly focused on economic and security relations are not able to ignore it?<sup>24</sup> Why does the Chinese government in general react so sensitively to issues involving the Chinese Koreans?

To understand how the above-mentioned bilateral frictions are ultimately tied to the Chaoxianzu and their importance to the Chinese state, one needs to look into matters of Chinese nation building, the interrelation between national identity, ethnicity and the state, as well as the integral role history plays for the construction of these. Goguryeo, in that scholars who scrutinise the issue seem to agree, implicates national identity. Both China and South Korea care about Goguryeo because of its importance for Chinese and Korean national identity, which in turn has far-reaching foreign and domestic implications.<sup>25</sup>

Gries defines national identity as »that aspect of an individual's self-concept that derives from his or her perceived membership in a national group. National identities [...] are constituted in two ways: through

international relations today or through the stories that we tell about our national pasts«. <sup>26</sup> Nations are, following Benedict Anderson's famous rendering, »imagined communities«<sup>27</sup>, and as such are constructed through shared memories contained in historical narratives. History as narrative is so important because our identities are a function of the narratives we tell: »Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past«. <sup>28</sup> What also becomes evident in the above definition is the fact that national identity has the effect of binding an individual to the collective of the nation, making the nation and the national community an object of a person's loyalty and solidarity. In a nation-state, national identity functions as the »unifying element of a cohesive state«. <sup>29</sup> This explains the domestic relevance of historical narratives: they impact on national identity construction and thus to a certain degree on national unity and state integrity.<sup>30</sup> It does not come as a surprise, then, that national elites try to manipulate national identities by changing the way national history is narrated to pursue political goals. The Chinese Koreans and their transnational ethnic ties with South Korea, therefore, can cause political friction because the Chaoxianzu as an ethnic minority factor into Chinese narratives of the nation. Nationalism as an ideology »has constantly propelled modern states toward a goal of cultural homogeneity and toward fostering a common national belonging among its otherwise heterogeneous populace. That is what we call nation building«. <sup>31</sup> In a multi-ethnic state such as China, building a common national belonging among the various ethnicities inhabiting the territory of the state proves particularly difficult.

The approach of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to resolve this tension has been ambiguous: China proclaims itself to be a unified multi-ethnic state which values ethnic equality. It grants certain autonomy rights to its officially acknowledged ethnic minorities, allowing a degree of self-rule in the areas of language, culture and religion. Yet, Chinese nationalism at all times displayed a more or less distinct degree of Han-centrism which functioned as the unifying element in this centrifugal construction. During China's Maoist era, the granting

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Comp. Chung 2009: 478; for discussion of changes in South Korean law concerning the status of Chinese Koreans see Lee 2012: 85-102.

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Eg. Snyder 2009.

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Comp. Gries 2005: 6.

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Gries 2005: 6.

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Anderson 2006.

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Hall 1994: 394.

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Comp. Roehrig 2010: 8.

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Comp. Lee 2005: 101.

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Han 2013: 7.

of ethnic autonomy clashed with the Marxist evolutionary vision of humanity's development towards a communist society in which all ethnic differences would melt away; naturally the vision of how this progressed society would look like most closely resembled that of the Han majority society. The goal of the state, and its ultimate source for its claim towards its population's loyalty, lay in the state's capacity to ›help‹ its minority peoples to reach the standard of progress and modernity of the ideal communist society.<sup>32</sup>

As the reform era progressed, and the Marxist-Leninist ideology gradually lost its legitimacy within the Chinese population, the CCP tried to fill the ensuing ideological void by re-emphasising the specific brand of nationalism called ›state nationalism‹<sup>33</sup> to cope with the changes brought about by the economic reforms. In scholarly analyses, Chinese nationalism is discussed as containing various strands.<sup>34</sup> State nationalism is a form of nationalism which emphasises the convergence of the political community of the nation and the territorial-administrative unit of the state and takes the state and its sovereignty and integrity as the core meaning of the nation and the object of the population's loyalty. The state in this conception becomes the yardstick of national interest, and its defence from internal and external threats the highest goal of nationalism. Only if the state is thus protected can it ›assum[e] the essential responsibility of defending the integrity of the Chinese identity, including China's physical survival and cultural distinctiveness and the restoration of China's national grandeur‹<sup>35</sup> and lay claim to its population's loyalty. ›[I]dentification with the communist state was reoriented to be a function of the state's performance in improving the economic well-being of Chinese people‹.<sup>36</sup>

The objective of this reorientation towards a performative legitimacy and the stress on the state's pivotal role in achieving China's prosperity and grandeur was to firmly place the locus of affiliation with the nation-state, and not with any other affiliations such as kinship or ethnicity. Especially in the case of the Chaoxianzu, the Chinese government felt that such a ›glue‹ was much needed. As described above, the 1980s saw the resurgence of transnational ethnic links between the Chinese Koreans and South Korea. When the economic,

cultural and human exchanges between the two countries increased, and as Chinese Koreans became increasingly aware of South Korea's economic prosperity, they began to develop a certain pride in their ethnic identity, which led to a revival of Korean culture amongst them in the fields of language, education, culture and mass media (known as 韩流 hanliu – Korean wave in China).<sup>37</sup> The Chinese government feared that this ethnic revival might connect to a more assertive South Korean nationalism, that the Chaoxianzu's political identification might shift, and that they might want to pursue an ethno-nationalist agenda. This is also the reason why the government started to classify the Korean minority as a ›dangerous‹ splitter minority and put the Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture on a list of potential security concerns as a ›sensitive area‹ when the growth of ethnic ties experienced its greatest upsurge in the first half of the 1990s.<sup>38</sup>

As state policies toward China's minorities generally became less restrictive in the reform era, the Chinese state was hard-pressed to better tie its ethnic minorities into the Chinese nation and promote patriotism toward the nation-state in order to tackle the rise of ethnic nationalisms. Amongst other things, the government set out on an ›ambitious nationalistic reconfiguration of historiography‹<sup>39</sup>. It began to integrate minority histories more strictly into the overall national history. It did so by stressing the ›common ancestry‹ of all Chinese nationalities, and by more strongly territorializing Chinese national history: Today's political boundaries were projected backwards in time and used as the dividing line to judge what should count as Chinese national history and what should count as ›foreign‹ history.<sup>40</sup> The argument that Goguryeo, which covered large parts of today's China, should be counted as a part of China's national history is consistent with this overall trend. It is therefore no coincidence that Goguryeo has only recently come into the focus of Chinese historians as ›part of a state-centric nationalism that seeks to decentre ethnicity and imprint the current political orthodoxy of the Chinese nation as an ethnically diverse, yet harmonious whole, onto a historical past‹.<sup>41</sup>

The overall drift is clear: Any actions that put into question the Chaoxianzu's loyalty towards and belonging to the Chinese nation

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*Comp. Han 2013: 33-34.*

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*Comp. Zhao 2004: 28.*

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*Comp. Zhao 2004: 21-29 as well as Lee 2001: 91 ff.*

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*Zhao 2004: 26-27.*

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*Zhao 2004: 28-29.*

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*Freeman 2008: 6.*

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*Comp. Freeman 2008: 23 and Lee 2001: 117ff.*

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*Comp. Seo 2008: 44.*

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*Comp. Seo 2008: 53 and Baranovitch 2010: 97ff.*

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*Roebrig 2011: 63-64.*

are unacceptable in the eyes of the Chinese government, and therefore the Chaoxianzu can become a source of friction on the political level between the PRC and the ROK.

#### 4. CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE OF CHAOXIANZU IDENTITY

In place of a conclusion, in the following I will try to make an assessment of the future potential of the Chaoxianzu to work as a factor that negatively impacts on the Sino-South Korean relations by taking a look at developments in the cultural and political identity of the Chaoxianzu. I argue that there is a trend towards a greater political identification of the Chinese Koreans with the Chinese nation, and that this trend might alleviate the Chinese government's worries about separatist aspirations among the Korean minority.

The verdict in the literature on Chaoxianzu identity seems almost unanimous<sup>42</sup>: Although South Korea's economic success and the increased interaction with South Korean nationals has stoked Chaoxianzu pride in their ethnicity, this identity stays on a cultural level rather than becoming political. The predominant trend is that of identifying strongly as ethnic Koreans and Chinese nationals at the same time. The two identities, far from being mutually exclusive, are felt by the Chaoxianzu to merge into a »third identity«<sup>43</sup>. The reasons for this shift are manifold, and the most important ones will be set out below.

Right from the start, the integration of the Korean minority into the Chinese nation-state proceeded relatively smoothly: Large parts of the Korean migrants were either communists themselves or farmers favourably disposed towards the Communist Party and supporters of the New China. A general lenience and favourable attitude of the Chinese state toward this »model minority« further strengthened the overall positive attitude of the Chaoxianzu towards the Chinese state.<sup>44</sup>

The Chinese Koreans' identification with the Chinese state is further reinforced by the fact that they have not only received no support to defend their political or cultural autonomy from the ROK<sup>45</sup>, but, on the contrary, feel alienated by the behaviour of the South Korean state and the South Korean public towards them. Even though the

Chinese Koreans receive preferential treatment compared to non-ethnic Koreans when they immigrate to South Korea, they do so less than ethnic Korean citizens from developed countries.<sup>46</sup> In South Korea, they mostly have to take up »3D« jobs (dirty, dangerous, demeaning), and the interaction with the South Korean population has often led to conflicts and severe clashes. The Chinese Koreans feel mistreated and discriminated against by the South Koreans. These kinds of conflicts are not only restricted to South Korea, but also extend to Chinese Korean – South Korean interaction within China.<sup>47</sup> The inter-ethnic conflicts have made the Chinese Koreans aware of the differences in values, habits and identity between themselves and South Koreans. Better educated members of the younger generation of Chaoxianzu therefore increasingly choose to stay in China instead of migrating to South Korea.

Lastly, ever since the beginning of the economic reforms, the Chinese Korean community has undergone big changes that impact on their ethnic consciousness. The Chaoxianzu are a minority that has traditionally been conservative with regards to its cultural customs, habits and values. This is mostly due to the fact that they settled in compact village communities with little contact to the mainstream society, where they could keep their traditional lifestyle.<sup>48</sup> However, in the wake of the market reforms, more than 60% of the Chinese Korean migrated either to Chinese industrial centres or to South Korea in search of better economic opportunities.<sup>49</sup> Along with the growth of the Han Chinese population in the Korean autonomous areas and the Chinese Koreans' increasing willingness to adapt to the mainstream Han society (for example with regards to language, as more and more young Chinese Koreans in urban centres do not speak Korean anymore<sup>50</sup>), this trend is expected to weaken Korean ethnic consciousness. Though no definite assessment can be made, the overall result of the increasing disintegration of Korean ethnic coherence in China is certainly a greater interaction with and adaption to the mainstream society.

In conclusion, Chaoxianzu ethnic identity has mostly »divested itself of the political and territorial connotations [...]. At the same time, it

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42

Comp. for example Kim 2010: 41ff and Choi 2001: 119-141.

43

Lee 2001: 127.

44

Comp. Choi 2001: 123-124.

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Comp. Han 2013:79ff.

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46

Comp. Lee 2012: 94-95.

47

Kim 2010: 87ff.

48

Comp. Choi 2001: 121-122.

49

Comp. Paik 2012: 111.

50

Comp. Choi 2001: 126



has taken up stronger cultural and ethnic national identity as a historic culture-community<sup>51</sup>. The Korean minority feels that they are part of the Chinese nation in a civic sense and that Chinese nationality is compatible with a Korean ethnic identity. They are looking for ways to better adapt to and integrate into Chinese mainstream society. As the Korean minority in China moves out of their traditional settlement areas in China's Northeast, increasingly adapt themselves to the Chinese mainstream society and more visibly embrace their Chinese national identity, the potential for a negative impact of their interaction with South Koreans on Sino-Korean relations should decrease. Given that they manage to preserve those traits of their ethnic Korean identity (most importantly their language proficiency and cultural affinity) that serve as the basis of Korean transnational ethnic social capital, the positive economic stimulus may endure.

51

Lee 2005: 112.

FRANZISKA FRÖHLICH

*is a Graduate Student in Chinese Studies at the University of Würzburg. She holds a Bachelor degree in Modern China Studies from the University of Würzburg and Peking University as well as a Magister degree in South Asia Studies, British Cultural Studies and Spanish Literary Studies. One of her main research interests has been the inter-linkage between post-colonialism, ethnicity and nationalism as well as nation-building processes in multi-ethnic countries like China and India. She is participant of EPRIE 2014.*

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# FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS AS A MODEL OF RECONCILIATION FOR JAPAN AND KOREA?

Isabella Jukas

For centuries, the ties between France and Germany, as well as Japan and Korea, were perceived as seemingly irreconcilable hereditary enemies. A blood-drenched history of warfare and rivalry left deep scars in the collective memory of both people, from time to time awakening the thirst for revenge for past humiliation and loss. However, while post-war Germany and France achieved reconciliation and the establishment of a European community, relations between Japan and Korea are still marked by long-standing distrust and a number of unsettled historical and territorial disputes. This paper shall discuss the differences between the two pairs and to what extent the German case can or cannot serve as a model for Japan.

The controversies concerning Japan's and Korea's shared history lead to political disputes and a differing depiction of the past in each country's school textbooks. Those issues even spread out to the field of music. A Korean composer refused to accept an award affiliated with a pro-Japanese collaborator under Japanese colonial occupation, which was a decision that could be either interpreted as his 'conscientious decision' or as him 'politicizing art'.<sup>1</sup> Especially in recent times, with newspapers reporting Japanese politics as moving further to the right, a big stir was evoked when South Korean media reported that Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzō sought to deny that Japan had waged wars of aggression. Washington also conveyed its concerns over Abe's stance on history, with a former US Deputy Secretary of State warning that the visits to Yasukuni Shrine 'will have the effect of tearing down all that he has been building up', since paying respect to the controversial site would implicate honoring war criminals among those Japanese who died in wars.<sup>2</sup> Countless newspaper headlines remind citizens of the seemingly unsolvable issues of territorial disputes, compensations

for colonial rule, military sexual slavery and nationalist historiography, arousing nationalistic sentiments.

Some scholars and journalists like to cite Germany as an ideal model for coming to terms with the past and making efforts at reconciliation with neighboring countries.<sup>3</sup> Germany and France share the bitter memory of four wars during two centuries (1792/1815, 1870/1871, 1914/1918 and 1939/1945) which were followed by profound consequences, millions of victims, scars in the collective memories on both sides, and the perception of the other country as a hereditary enemy. However, consider general and statesman Charles de Gaulle. Leading the Free French Forces during World War II, he inspired the French people to resist German occupation on June 18, 1940. He also gave a speech on September 4, 1962, addressing the German people in their mother tongue with the words 'When I see you all the way assembled around me, when I hear your messages, I feel, even more than before, the esteem and the trust I have for your great nation, yes, for the great German nation. Long live Bonn, long live Germany, long live the Franco-German friendship'.<sup>4</sup> This illustrates a complete shift of Franco-German relations and shows that a nation's attitude to its past can change in a very short time. However, Germany's road from amnesia (Federal Republic) to today's state is not obvious and unique to Germany, which is probably the most post-national state in Europe.

The Élysée Treaty, also known as the Treaty of Friendship, established on January 22, 1963, can be traced back to an unofficial meeting between Charles de Gaulle and the first post-war Chancellor of Germany, Konrad Adenauer, in September 1958. Despite their different

<sup>1</sup> Sung, Sang-Young (2013): 'Composer refuses award affiliated with pro-Japanese collaborator', *The Hankyoreh*, 16 September 2013, [http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english\\_edition/e\\_entertainment/603599.html](http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_entertainment/603599.html) [5 October 2014].

<sup>2</sup> Gil, Yun-Hyung (2013): 'A visit to Yasukuni by PM could damage Japan's foreign relations', *The Hankyoreh*, 2 November 2013, [http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english\\_edition/e\\_international/609578.html](http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_international/609578.html) [5 October 2014].

<sup>3</sup>

Go, Sang-Du (2013): '일, '엘리제조약 50년' 獨·佛을 보라', *Munhwa Ilbo*, 24 January 2013, <http://www.munhwa.com/news/view.html?no=2013012401073137191004> [5 October 2014].

<sup>4</sup>

'Discours de Charles de Gaulle en allemand (Bonn, 4 septembre 1962)', *YouTube*, 1:03, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqQdyKbyRXY> [5 October 2014].

backgrounds, the two statesmen managed to find common ground for communication. Even though centuries of rivalry define a large part of Franco-German history, the deep historical roots reaching back to Charles the Great, the Catholic religion, and their 19th century middle-class background – in a nutshell, the shared European culture, embedded in literature, knowledge and religion – served as strong connection between them. Furthermore, there was a bond through the common wish to build a new, strong Europe by combined efforts under the protection of the USA and against the Soviet Union. Their bi-lateral ties were established out of a need for each other, but above all, their friendship served as the basis for redefining the relationship between their nations.

Recognizing that their reconciliation serves as precondition for true and sustainable peace in the region, the two statesmen made collaborative efforts to show their sincere wish for rapprochement after the war to their own people and to the world. On July 8, 1962, a joint military parade was held in Champagne where Germans and French once grimly fought in static warfare. On the same day, Adenauer and De Gaulle set up a mass of reconciliation in Reims Cathedral which had been burned and damaged by German shellfire during the opening engagements of World War I. After signing the Élysée Treaty, it came into effect on July 2, 1963, obligating both governments to consult each other in policy concerning foreign affairs, security, youth, as well as culture and education. Furthermore, regular conferences on a government level were undertaken. The Franco-German Youth Office, founded on July 3, 1963, was responsible for intensifying the bonds between the youth of both countries by deepening their understanding of each other by encouraging cultural exchange and interaction. In the following period, countless partnerships between cities, towns, and even schools and associations were established. Later governments came together as well. Between Helmut Schmidt and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, there was a close, personal collaboration even beyond the regulations of the treaty. A strong symbolic gesture was given by Helmut Kohl, whose father had fought near Verdun in World War I, and François Mitterrand, who had been taken prisoner nearby in World War II, standing at the Douaumont cemetery, holding hands for several minutes in the driving rain. This strong symbolism embodied the meaning of sharing equal responsibility in the declaration of the war and providing a reconciliatory example for future generations. Last but not least, political idealism became reality through the broad support of the German and French populations and transformed the decision of the two statesmen in 1963 into a decision coming from the people.

However, Franco-German post-war politics cannot serve as a role model for Japanese-Korean relations due to three preconditions that do not apply to the latter case. The first precondition was that there



*Isabella Jukas with Yann Prell, EPRIE 2013 in Seoul Photo: Northeast Asian History Foundation*

were structural reasons for a change in the relationship between France and Germany. As Adenauer emphasized in his speech on May 24, 1963 before the German Bundestag, without the friendship between France and Germany, Europe would have not been able to survive. Their relationship was thus established in a wider, regional context and with the aim of European integration. Secondly, Germany took exclusive responsibility for the war. There was no contestation of national borders and about the past. This total, national consensus can also be observed in the commitment to punishing war criminals. Germany admitted to its evident and clear guilt and this guilt was perceived as an irrevocable fact in both Germany and France. Thirdly, France and Germany are connected through shared values as members of the European community. Due to the European dimension of their relationship, they share common values and fears, such as the notion of anti-Communism. Those factors do not apply to the Japanese-Korean relationship, which is marked by distrust and historical distortion, with the Japanese government not showing any intention of taking full responsibility and engaging in open dialogue.

Just like France and Germany, Japan and Korea will always be neighboring states. Without dispute settlement, as implemented in post-war Germany, there will be no reconciliation between the two countries. History can be defined as collective memory passed down through records and interpreted through new perspectives. It is human nature for collective memories to be selective and influenced by various factors. Rather than emphasizing the notion of national identity and fostering nationalistic sentiments, there has to be a shift towards serious academic and truthful discourse. However, it should also be clear that dispute settlement is only the first stage in establishing fruitful ties.

A second step would involve reconciliation understood not as something manufactured by politicians, but from the citizenry. Following the example of the Élysée Treaty, the potential for change through youth projects between Japan and Korea should not be underestimated as a means for a step towards reconciliation.

It has to be taken into consideration that even as recent as in 1992, all Japanese cultural products were still banned in Korea. Today's cultural exchanges have never been as high in the past, and this is just the beginning. Like Adenauer and de Gaulle who discovered many commonalities in their relationship such as their mutual appreciation for German music and philosophy and French art and literature, a positive first step would be for Koreans and Japanese to strengthen a channel of non-political exchanges and common grounds. Japan and Korea should let themselves be inspired by the ideas and attitudes that motivated Adenauer and De Gaulle over a century ago towards finding a new direction and ultimately forging a deep friendship as

the goal of their efforts. As Charles de Gaulle expressed his vision for peace after signing the Élysée Treaty: »Not only does this mean that the tide is turning after a long and bloody history of battles and wars, but at the same time a door is being opened towards a new future for Germany, for France, for Europe and, hence, for the world«.

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ISABELLA JUKAS

*is a Bachelor Student of Korean Studies as well as English/ American Studies at Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen. From 2013 to 2014 she was exchange student at Seoul National University through European Union's EU ICI scholarship. She is participant of EPRIE 2013.*

## VIEWS OF ALUMNI

# THE ROLE OF POP CULTURE IN SHAPING A COUNTRY'S IMAGE AND FOSTERING INTERNATIONAL DIALOG

Aleksandra Jaworowicz-Zimny

What do people in Poland imagine when they hear the name ›Japan? You can easily tell: samurai, geishas, Mount Fuji. Also some more recent associations: Tokyo Tower, students in school uniforms, video games. For many, especially for people in their 20s and 30s, those latter pictures are accompanied by their beloved childhood heroes – Sailor Moon, Captain Tsubasa, Yattaman or Tiger Mask. They did not get their image of Japan from school books or academic articles. It is mostly pop culture that has shaped their views. For some people, it has also sparked the beginning of a deeper interest in Japan – its language, history and culture. Most people do not know the name of the Emperor or the names of Japan's four main islands, but they

have seen at least one Japanese horror movie, watched Shōgun and get very sentimental about the Japanese Manga Fairy Tales broadcast on Polish public television (TVP) as part of its main cartoon block.

A similar trend recently occurred for younger generations: the Korean pop culture. Even before *Gangnam Style* became a huge hit in 2012, K-wave had already reached Poland. Now, it is all about Korean music: Large numbers of blogs and fan sites dedicated to Korean bands, Polish fans going to London for a K-pop concert and the Korean Culture Center in Warsaw organizing a K-pop festival as part of the 2013 K-Pop World Festival are just a few examples of fans' engagement.



It is possible that Korean dramas, food and fashion will soon follow suit. Although both Japanese and Korean pop cultures are generally popular in Poland, there are not many people who have actually been to Asia or even know someone who has been there. A lack of a personal experience and deeper knowledge of Asian countries gives pop culture room to shape people's opinions about this part of the world. The less information and prejudice people have toward a country, the easier it is for pop culture to create a strong positive image on the »tabula rasa« of someone's opinion. But how does it work in the case of neighboring countries? Especially those who share a difficult past? Let us take a look at German-Polish-Russian relations in terms of pop cultural influence.

There was never anything like the anime boom or K-wave in Poland when it comes to German pop culture. An exotic taste of a foreign world that draws Polish audiences' attention cannot be found in European productions. However, there are several German TV shows that nonetheless became great hits. In the 1990s, many viewers faithfully followed the adventures of the surgeon in the series *Der Bergdoktor*. *Alarm für Cobra 11* was broadcast on four channels, generating massive audience attention, and the German-language series *Kommissar Rex* even inspired a very popular Polish remake: *Inspector Alex*. German music, too, is highly appreciated in Poland. Almost everyone knows *the Scorpions*, *Rammstein* and *Die Toten Hosen*, while *Tokio Hotel* topped the Polish music charts in 2006.

Despite the popularity of these shows and bands, it is doubtful that they have influenced the image of Germany in Poland in any significant way. Nevertheless, the image of Germany has generally improved over the last two decades. In 2011, 44% of Polish respondents stated that their opinion about Germany has improved.<sup>1</sup> Almost half of them claimed that they »liked Germans«. It can nonetheless be assumed that Germany will never be looked at through the prism of their pop culture in Poland. More than half of the Polish have been to Germany. What is interesting is the fact that the opinion of Polish people who have visited Germany is very close to those who have not. It suggests that the image of Germany is fairly accurate, based if not on personal experience, than on stories told by friends and family, as well as German news reported in the Polish media. Poland joining the European Union, European integration and massive job migration to Germany certainly has influenced the way the Polish perceive Germany. It is safe to say that German pop culture will never affect its image in Poland in the same way as Japanese pop culture does.

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<sup>1</sup> Fundacja Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej (2011): *Poważny krok w kierunku normalności. Stan stosunków polsko-niemieckich. Wyniki reprezentatywnych badań opinii publicznej w Polsce i w Niemczech*. Allensbach: Instytut Demoskopii.

The fact that it is difficult for pop culture to improve tense relations between two countries is even more visible in the case of Polish-Russian relations. Despite the Russian animation *Nu, pogodi!* ranking third in a TVP voting for the most beloved animation of all time, the relationship remains difficult. Neither the fact that at the beginning of the 2000s, most teenage girls had a soft spot for Aleksander Domogorow (after his performance in *With fire and sword*), nor the major success of the band *t.A.T.u.* could improve the negative image of Russia in Poland. The tragedy of Smolensk, where in 2010 a plane carrying the Polish president and notable politicians crashed, made Polish-Russian relations probably worse than ever – which did not, however, hinder the Russian biographical series *Anna German* from becoming one of the greatest hits broadcasted by TVP in 2013. Poland does not reject the products of Russian popular culture. Not many, but some of them actually enjoy huge popularity. Still, it does not change the generally negative opinion the Polish have about their eastern neighbor. Evidently Poland has no problem with enjoying some pop culture products from Russia without developing positive feelings toward Russia as a country.

Again, I would assume that the closer two countries are geographically, the more possibilities exist to visit each other. The greater the amount of common history, the less pop culture can positively influence the image of a country in somebody else's eyes. Probably it also depends on the amount of imported pop culture products. Yet for now, at least in the case of Poland and its neighbors, it is impossible to find out what the effect would look like if more German or Russian productions became popular in Poland. Still, it is interesting that, for now, pop culture does not have much of a positive influence, although it can have a negative one, especially if it touches on sensitive historical issues, which, in times of a »history boom« on television, can quite easily happen.

The highly acclaimed German miniseries *Generation War* (*Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter*), awarded with the Prix Europa, caused a real storm of indignation in Poland. It did not limit itself to major criticism in the media, politicians and veteran associations also protested officially against misrepresentation of Polish history in the film. The Polish ambassador in Berlin wrote a letter to the German television channel, saying that the Polish perceived the film as »wrongful and offensive«.<sup>2</sup> When the BBC bought the rights to the miniseries, the Polish community protested against plans to broadcast it in Great Britain.

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<sup>2</sup> Margański, Jerzy (2013): *Brief des Botschafters Margański an das ZDF*. [http://www.berlin.msz.gov.pl/de/nachrichten/interventionendesbotschafters/brief\\_des\\_botschafters\\_marganski\\_an\\_das\\_zdf](http://www.berlin.msz.gov.pl/de/nachrichten/interventionendesbotschafters/brief_des_botschafters_marganski_an_das_zdf) [23.11.2013].



*Aleksandra Jaworowicz-Zimny (4th. from left) taking part in EPRIE 2013 tour to the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) in South Korea  
Photo: Northeast Asian History Foundation*

Situations like these definitely encourage certain circles to propagate a negative image of our western neighbors as historical revisionists, unwilling to accept their responsibilities and pursuing an anti-Polish policy. Still, it is only a small group. I would not judge broadcasting films like this entirely negatively. A discussion about the past is necessary. Showing a particular point of view in the form of a TV show can start a very important broad discussion, not limited to academics and politicians. Large parts of the nation started talking about historical perspectives and the possibility that our own perspective might not be the 'one and only' true one. This effect could not have been that easily generated by any other means. Historical books and academic articles, even a statement by a politician, could not match a TV show watched by 3.4 million viewers in Poland.

In the case of two close countries connected historically, socially and economically, an exchange of pop culture will not drastically influence the opinion of one nation about the other. Such an impact is much more likely when it comes to geographically distant countries, neutral toward each other. In the case of close neighbors, current events will always play the first fiddle in shaping mutual relations, for example

in the case of Korea and Japan: Although K-wave increases the feeling of affinity toward Koreans, the rate of Japanese well-disposed toward Koreans drops when major political disputes occur.

Of course this does not mean that there is no worth in exchanging pop culture between such countries. On the contrary, it is very important, and not only because it provides a chance to bring two nations (especially younger generations) closer together, even if not in a spectacular fashion. I believe that the most important feature of pop culture is its popularity. Despite its shortcomings, it can reach a broad group of consumers. Pop culture, especially in times of a 'history boom' in media, can be used to introduce and share national perspectives, and it provides an opportunity for broad discussion. This public discourse can be harsh and controversial, such as in the case of *Generation War* in Poland, which may not be the most positive example. Yet as long as the product (movie, series, comic book or even a song) does not deliberately aim at portraying a country and nation negatively, but presents a certain interpretation of history, it can facilitate the dialog. I believe that broadcasting productions like the Japanese drama *Kaikyō* in Korea or co-productions like *My Way* (2011) could be helpful for

mutual understanding and forgiveness. It is also important for both sides to be able to present their productions, not only when it comes to historical content<sup>3</sup>, but pop culture in general. Mutual export of pop culture between neighbors can reveal, after some time, that there are more similarities, shared hopes and values than the two nations could have imagined.

Pop culture will probably not change the state of affairs between any countries or radically change the image of a nation, especially in the case of close neighbors. Nonetheless, thanks to its basically unlimited range in the days of the Internet, it can become the basis for discovering common tastes and values, for creating mutual interest for foreign customs, culture and history, and eventually starting a dialogue. Such an opportunity should be used in the best possible way.

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### 3

*Although after Polish television broadcasted ›Generation War‹, many wished for Polish popular war-themed series ›Time of Honor‹ to be aired in Germany – association Students for Poland demanded from the director of TVP efforts heading in this direction.*

ALEKSANDRA JAWOROWICZ-ZIMNY

*is a Japanese translator from Poznań, Poland. Currently she is research student at the Hokkaido University in Sapporo, where she also was as an exchange student through a MEXT scholarship from 2010-11. She holds an M.A. in Japanese Studies from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and is especially interested in Japanese history, as well as Polish-German relations concerning the legacy of war. She is participant of EPRIE 2013.*

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*JUNE 20 TO JULY 2, 2014*

*WARSAW - HALLE - BERLIN - STRASBOURG*

# EPRIE 2014

**Exchange Program for Regional Integration  
in East Asia and Europe**

*CONCEPTS OF NATIONS*



*Citytour on »nations and memorials« in Warsaw, EPRIE 2014*



# POLAND

FRIDAY, JUNE 20

## WARSAW

15.30 – 18.30 h **Welcome, seminar introduction, aims**  
HAN Nataly Jung-Hwa and Dr. Rita ZOBEL

**Self-introduction and motivation of participants**

SATURDAY, JUNE 21

## WARSAW

09.00 – 11.00 h **Pre Program – Intercultural training**  
Cultural flower/reflection

11.45 – 12.00 h **Introduction to the Warsaw Uprising Museum**  
Joanna URBANEK, *Alumni of EPRIE 2013 and Ph.D. student at Institute of Modern History, University of Warsaw*

12.00 – 14.00 h **Visit to Warsaw Uprising Museum**

15.00 – 16.00 h **Nations and memorials – the case of Warsaw Uprising Museum**  
Prof. Włodzimierz BORODZIEJ, *Institute of Modern History, University of Warsaw*

16.00 – 17.00 h **Pre Program – Intercultural training**  
Name game/frame definition for group work/reflection

SUNDAY, JUNE 22

## WARSAW

09.00 – 13.00 h **Pre Program – Intercultural training**  
Further organisational information/Working group formation

15.00 – 18.00 h **Nations and Memorials – guided Warsaw city walking tour**

MONDAY, JUNE 23

## WARSAW

10.00 – 12.00 h **Visit to FRONTEX** (*European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union*)

# GERMANY

TUESDAY, JUNE 24

**HALLE**

**Seminar with Aleksander-Brueckner-Centre for Polish Studies and the International Graduate School Halle-Tôkyô (IGK)  
at Martin-Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg in Halle/Saale**

09.30 – 10.00 h Introduction of institutions, speakers and participants

10.00 – 12.00 h **National concepts in East Asia and Europe**

Concepts of the Polish Nation – From Early Modern Times through the 20th Century

Prof. Dr. Yvonne KLEINMANN, *Aleksander-Brueckner Centre [ABZ]*

A State without a Nation: The Case of Japan in Historical Perspective

Dr. Maik Hendrik SPOTTE, *Institute of Political Science and Japanese Studies, International Graduate School Halle-Tôkyô [IGK]*

14.00 – 16.00 h **History of nations and school book initiatives in East Asia and Europe**

The Joint Polish-German Commission for the Revision of History textbooks and the Japanese-Korean talks about the Revision of History textbooks

Prof. Dr. Michael G. MÜLLER, *Aleksander-Brueckner Centre [ABZ]*

Dr. Tino SCHÖLZ, *International Graduate School Halle-Tôkyô [IGK]*

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25

**BERLIN**

**Seminar at European Academy**

09.00 – 10.00 h **Welcome**

Dr. Elisabeth BOTSCH, *European Academy of Berlin*

**Introduction**

Dr. Gudrun WACKER, *German Institute for International and Security Affairs [SWP]*

10.00 – 12.00 h **Concepts and constructions of nations**

Concepts and constructions of nations in Europe

Dr. Elisabeth BOTSCH, *European Academy Berlin*

Concepts of nations and some problems of nation statehood in East Asia

Prof. LEE Chulwoo, *Yonsei Law School, Yonsei University, Seoul*

13.30 – 15.30 h **Reconciliation initiatives and processes**

Reconciliation in Principle and Practice: Lessons from Germany's Foreign Policy with Former Enemies

Prof. Dr. Lily GARDNER FELDMAN, *American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS), John Hopkins University, Washington, DC*

Reconciliation initiatives and processes: the case of Japan's military sexual slavery

WATANABE Mina, *Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM), Tokyo*

16.00 – 18.00 h **Review of the day and working groups**

THURSDAY, JUNE 26

BERLIN

**Seminar at European Academy**

- 09.00 – 10.00 h    Working groups
- 10.00 – 12.00 h    **National membership and identity**  
Ethnicity, national belonging and the politics of membership in Korea and East Asia  
Prof. Dr. LEE Chulwoo, *Yonsei Law School, Yonsei University, Seoul*  
National identity and historical consciousness  
Prof. Dr. Steffi RICHTER, *University of Leipzig*
- 13.30 – 17.30 h    **Working groups and panel**
- 18.00 – 20.00 h    **Public panel discussion**  
**Regional integration and re-/nationalization processes -compatibility or contradiction?**  
Welcome  
Dr. Elisabeth BOTSCH, *European Academy of Berlin*  
Introduction and Chair  
Dr. Gudrun WACKER, *SWP, Berlin*  
Panelists  
SHI Ming, *Journalist, Berlin*  
Prof. Dr. Steffi RICHTER, *University of Leipzig*  
Dr. Nicolai von ONDARZA, *SWP, Berlin*  
Discussion with Audience  
Closing Remarks  
HAN Jung-Hwa Nataly, *KOREA VERBAND, Berlin*
- 20.00 h            Reception

FRIDAY, JUNE 27

BERLIN

**Seminar at European Academy**

- 09.00 – 10.00 h    **Review of the seminar**  
Dr. Gudrun WACKER, *SWP, Berlin*
- 10.00 – 17.00 h    **Dialogue training**  
SHA:RE - from shared narratives to joint responsibility linking interpersonal and political dialogue  
with Dirk SPLINTER, *institut for mediation, consulting, development, inmedio Berlin*
- Alumni Meeting**
- 19.00 – 22.00 h    Dinner with Alumni of EPRIE 2012 and 2013



*Citytour in Berlin guided by alumni, EPRIE 2014*

*SATURDAY, JUNE 28*

**BERLIN**

**Alumni Seminar at European Academy**

09.00 – 15.00 h **Dialogue training with participants and alumni**

Dirk SPLINTER, *institut for mediation, consulting, development, inmedio Berlin*

15.30 – 19.30 h **City tour group formation by EPRIE Alumni Association**

»Nations and Memorials« Berlin city tour in four groups guided by members of EPRIE Alumni Association

- a) Topography of Terror Documentation Center  
*Anna DZIERZANOWSKA (EPRIE 2012)*
- b) Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe  
*Yann PRELL (EPRIE 2013)*
- c) Stasi Museum Berlin  
*Juliane ASO (EPRIE 2012)*
- d) The German Resistance Memorial Center  
*Mathias RÄTHER (EPRIE 2012)*

20.00 – 22.00 h Joint dinner with alumni

*SUNDAY, JUNE 29*

**BERLIN**

**Alumni Seminar at European Academy**

EPRIE Alumni Association

Alumni Meeting (country specific alumni group formation)

Plenum of city tours on »nations and memorials« with group reports

Introduction to memorandum of alumni from 2012 and 2013

Joining the alumni association and further activities

Alumni Farewell Lunch



# FRANCE

MONDAY, JUNE 30

**STRASBOURG**

16.00 – 18.00 h »Nations and memorials« guided Strasbourg city walking tour

TUESDAY, JULY 1

**STRASBOURG**

10.00 – 12.00 h **Visit to the European Parliament**

Introduction into the work of the European Parliament

**Visit of the Plenary Chamber**

Plenum with summary of all working groups and memorandum

Farewell dinner

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2

**STRASBOURG**

**Evaluation of EPRIE 2014**

Individual departures

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## ORGANIZER

KOREA VERBAND



Contact: EPRIE, c/o KOREA VERBAND  
Rostocker Str. 33, 10553 Berlin / Germany  
Telephone: (0049) 30 39 83 72 98  
[www.eprie.net](http://www.eprie.net), [info@eprie.net](mailto:info@eprie.net)

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## EDITORIAL OFFICE

Korea Forum  
c/o Korea-Verband e.V.  
Rostocker Str. 33  
10553 Berlin / Germany

Tel: +49 (0)30 3980 5984  
Fax: +49 (0)30 3980 5986  
redaktion@koreaverband.de

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## EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Han Nataly Jung-Hwa – V.i.S.d.P.

## MANAGING EDITORS

Mathias Räther  
Dr. Rita Zobel

## LAYOUT AND TYPESETTING

Choe Dong-Ha

## ENGLISH PROOFREADING AND TRANSLATIONS

Suzanne von Engelhardt

## PROOFREADING

Sibylle Auer  
Simon Hufschmid  
Mathias Räther  
Dr. Rita Zobel

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## AUTHOR INFORMATION

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**oh\*21**

Oranienstr. 21  
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KOREA FORUM SPECIAL published since 2013, consolidates our understanding of relevant themes presented at seminars and conferences like the *Exchange Program for Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe* – EPRIE.

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# MEMORANDUM

by 2014 EPRIE Participants as of July 1st, 2014

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the *Exchange Program for Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe* – EPRIE is to promote and improve contacts between people of neighboring states whose relations, historically, have been troubled, such as Germany, Poland and France in Europe, as well as China, Japan and Korea in East Asia. This year's EPRIE took place in Warsaw, Halle, Berlin, and Strasbourg with twenty participants from the above mentioned countries. With distinguished speakers from a diversity of fields we discussed a great variety of issues. The talks and discussion rounds included: »National Concepts in East Asia and Europe« with Prof. Dr. Yvonne Kleinmann and Dr. Maik Hendrik Sprotte, »History of Nations and School Book Initiatives« with Prof. Dr. Michael G. Müller and Dr. Tino Schölz, »Concepts and Constructions of Nations« with Dr. Elisabeth Botsch and Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo, »Reconciliation Initiatives and Processes« with Dr. Lily Gardner Feldman and Ms Watanabe Mina, and »National Membership and Identity« with Prof. Dr. Lee Chulwoo and Prof. Dr. Steffi Richter.

In the course of our seminar, we struggled with the concept of the nation and its numerous possible definitions. We conclude that the nation is an imagined community, based on the idea that there is a group of people perceived to be homogeneous to a certain extent because of shared communalities (like a belief in common heritage). The concept of the nation can be related to nationalism, the idea that the »nation« should also form a sovereign political unit. Even though the nation is imagined, it still has real effects. It reproduces itself by shaping individual and collective identities. Of particular importance for our discussions was the fact that the nation influences historical narratives and the way that reconciliation can happen. Given the strong interlinkage between local ethnic, religious or socio-cultural communities with their respective spatial experience across centuries, we mainly dealt with the historic and spatial shaping of today's statehood and »nation-ness« as a result of various points of view within the majority factions among these communities.

## 2. SUMMARY OF THE SEMINARS

### HISTORY

A common ground in our understandings of the nation has been that history is one of the most influential factors in forming national identities. We compared the experiences of Europe and East Asia with respect to the processes of history construction and textbook writing. While Poland has long been a nation without a state due to its history of division and occupation by neighboring countries, Japan has put priority on state-building over nation-building and constructed its national identity through the emperor-system ideology, which the Japanese Imperial Government wanted to extend on all of the neighboring (South East) Asian countries in order to create a similar type of transnational authoritarian statehood as the NSDAP-Government planned for Europe.

### RECONCILIATION

Taking the German-Israeli relations as an example of internal and international reconciliation is not always appropriate, but we can learn from their experiences if we do not try to blindly imitate them. Reconciliation is an ongoing process without a clear end point. Both the political leadership and civil society play a crucial role in this process. Addressing the comfort women issue in particular is essential in the case of East Asia, and the civil society can contribute greatly to the resolution of this issue. . . .

KOREA  
*forum*

c/o  
KOREA VERBAND  
Rostocker Str. 33  
10553 Berlin

Tel: +49 (0)30 3980 5984  
Fax: +49 (0)30 3980 5986

www.koreaverband.de  
redaktion@koreaverband.de