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The biopolitical otherization of North Korea: a critique of anti-North Koreanism in the twilight of neo-liberalism and new conservatism

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THE BIOPOLITICAL OTHERIZATION OF NORTH KOREA: A CRITIQUE OF ANTI-NORTH KOREANISM IN THE TWILIGHT OF NEO-LIBERALISM AND NEW CONSERVATISM

by
Minkyu Sung

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
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Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Mark Andrejevic

ABSTRACT

My main argument in this dissertation is that popular nationalism in post-war South Korea, unlike the conventional claim to it among many South Korean critical intellectuals and unification policy-makers, cannot serve as an antidote to anti-North Koreanism. On the contrary, it is problematic that the cultural politics of national identification, prescribed as an authentic critical tool of challenging anti-North Koreanism, helps program hierarchical inter-Korea relationships by exposing the South Korean public to anomalous cultural-political characteristics of North Koreans. It also does so by creating popular discourses that have reinforced unification policy agendas that frame the development of North Korea in terms that would make it amenable to the needs of transnational capitalism and the legitimacy of liberal human rights discourse. This critical endeavor claims that the critique of anti-North Koreanism cannot be successful without problematizing the idea of discontinuity that stresses there is a rupture between cold war and post-cold war forms of anti-North Koreanism. This is because any un-scrutinized presumption of the historical transition can only confuse critical interpretations of the role of national identification while thereby reinforcing policy-driven resolutions for inter-Korea sociability. Thus, I locate the significance of my work in a democratic call for South Korean critical communication and cultural studies as well as the public to effectively deconstruct the contingent discursive collaboration of national identification and anti-North Koreanism that complies with transnational globalization.

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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has been approved by the Examining Committee
for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
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To My Parents

It is essential to the survival of traditionalism that it should not recognize its own exclusion of unknown alternatives.

Pierre Bourdieu
The Attitude of the Algerian Peasant Toward Time

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This dissertation is a project that has come out along the lines of critical voices, inquiries, and acts from the streets, archives, seminars, bars, chapels, and dining tables, in which I have always found enthusiastic endeavors to transform helplessness into hopefulness. Without advice, challenges, and encouragements from my teachers, mentors, colleagues, friends, and family, this project could never be successful. I have now realized it is never a truism. First of all, I am grateful to my teachers and mentors at Iowa and elsewhere, all of who have been and will continue to be my role models for/beyond teaching and research: Dr. Mark Andrejevic (my advisor), Dr. Bruce E. Gronbeck (my dissertation second reader), Dr. David J. Depew, Dr. Kembrew McLeod, Dr. John Durham Peters, Dr. Sonia Ryang, Dr. James Hay (at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Dr. Seung-Hyun Kim (at Korea University, Seoul), and Dr. Sang-Jin Choi (at Kyung Hee University, Seoul). My *Sahoebu* friends have always been great support for my study over the years since I left Seoul. My KABF friends have been steady in inspiring confidence in my everyday life. To my international and American friends at Iowa, Young Cheon Cho, Alessandra Madella, Amit Baishya, Hsin-Yen Yang, and Jennifer Ambrose, my warm thanks for their help and thoughtful acts in a provocative era of cosmopolitan globalization. Lastly, to my wife Yoonjoo, my daughter Seohyun Hannah, and my son Yoonhyun Nikolas as well as to my four sisters, my greatest thanks for their persistent support. It is my parents, Heewon Sung and Sookja Park, to whom the dissertation is dedicated.

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Rethinking the Twilight of Anti-North Koreanism

Pluralized memories of the Korean War (1950-1953) have jolted post-war South Korean public culture out of the engulfing ideological delirium of anti-North Koreanism (*Banbookjueui*). The collective memory politics does so by unfolding the historical atrocities of the war (Kim Dong-Choon 1997; Suh Jung-Seok 2000; Lee Im-Ha 2000; Kim Jae-Yong 2001; Lee Yong-Gi 2001; Do Jin-Soon 2005; Jeon Jin-Sung 2006; Kang Woo-Sung et al. 2008). For example, the political liberalization of South Korea in the late 1980s allowed public access to the terrifying historical event of the *No Gun Ri* massacre, where U.S. Army aircrafts and soldiers intentionally organized a massacre of Korean children, women, and senior villagers on July 26, 1950 in No Gun Ri, Gyeonggi Province, South Korea. The military decision to carry out the massacre was arbitrary, made without evidence and instead based only on the suspicion that theses villagers were pro-North Korean collaborators (Hanley, Choe, and Mendoza 2001). Since then, the continuing testimonies of civilian survivors of other mass murders of the kind have brought into play a cultural politics involving the question of "the being of nonbeing," a politics of ontological distinction between human normality and abnormality (Harootunian 1988, p. 121).

Such a cultural politics of collective memory helps expose the South Korean public to the significance of being stigmatized as being "(pro-)North Korean." In particular, as I shall discuss in more detail later in this chapter, recent historical investigations about another frightening massacre of the members of the *Goongmin bodo yeonmaeng* (the Korean Federation of Protecting and Guiding the Public) have revealed that the symbolic practice of *being (pro-)North Korean* enacts what Giorgio Agamben

(1999) calls "an indistinction between the right of living (killing) and the right of death (being killed)." That is, being (pro-)North Korean signified the suspension of national belonging, thereby creating a discursive zone of anomie in which all political determinations that were made complied with an ethnic purity that only confers the right to death on (pro-)North Koreans . Shortly after the 1945 National Liberation from Japanese colonial occupation (1910-1945), the Korean peninsula was divided into two ideological territories of political sovereignty along the lines of the then post-WWII international politics, generating large-scale political migrations across the borders between the South and the North, especially to avoid ideological and physical violence and oppression. In the South, the *Goongmin bodo yeonmaeng* members, who were considered an aggregate of the political body threatening to the then South Korean political leader Rhee Syngman's project of building up a nation-state, only deserved to "be killed but not sacrificed" because of the group's problematically presumed dangerousness in this process. As I shall discuss later in this chapter, a critical diagnosis of the mass mobilization of terror and fear against the body of North Korea then helps unmask the way in which anti-North Koreanism in post-war South Korea becomes constituted not merely repressive political ideology but discursive loci of deterministic hierarchical notions of the gendered and ethnic purity of the nation.

Against these historical backdrops, my main argument in this dissertation is that popular nationalism in post-war South Korea, unlike the conventional claim to it among many South Korean critical intellectuals and unification policy-makers, cannot serve as an antidote to anti-North Koreanism. On the contrary, it is problematic that the cultural politics of national identification, prescribed as an authentic critical tool of challenging anti-North Koreanism, helps program hierarchical inter-Korea relationships by exposing the South Korean public to anomalous cultural-political characteristics of North Koreans. It also does so by creating popular discourses that have reinforced unification policy agendas that frame the development of North Korea in terms that would make it

amenable to the needs of transnational capitalism and the legitimacy of liberal human rights discourse. This critical endeavor, as discussed shortly, claims that the critique of anti-North Koreanism cannot be successful without problematizing the idea of discontinuity that stresses there is a rupture between cold war and post-cold war forms of anti-North Koreanism. This is because any un-scrutinized presumption of the historical transition can only confuse critical interpretations of the role of national identification while thereby reinforcing policy-driven resolutions for inter-Korea sociability. Thus, I locate the significance of my work in a democratic call for South Korean critical communication and cultural studies as well as the public to effectively deconstruct the contingent discursive collaboration of national identification and anti-North Koreanism that complies with transnational globalization.

This critical examination stems from my involvement in the popular nationalist unification movements in the early 1990s. At the time, as a college social movement activist, I had a very hard time figuring out why the politics of national identification failed to challenge the workings of anti-North Koreanism in popular terrains, even if it had drawn enormously popular support from the democratic South Korean public. I never doubted the undisputed role of the national identification politics as an antidote to anti-North Koreanism until I frequently witnessed how those who accepted as incontrovertible the property of the identification claim orgiastically consumed North Koreans as inferior and incivil subjects of the nation. This striking experience strongly motivated me to make this intervention in the academic study of this subject.

What follows shortly in this chapter and those subsequent offers a critical view about the ways in which the claims to national identification implicitly work to facilitate an Otherizing of North Korea geared toward the reinforcement of anti-North Koreanism. More specifically, chapter one establishes the wide context of the study, mapping the rise of anti-North Koreanism and the role of national identification in post-Korean War South Korea. Historical examples such as the atrocious war mass murders

of (pro-)North Koreans at the turn of the 1950s, the political economic developmentalist agendas that were incorporated into the unification policy of the Park Chung-hee regime (1961-1979) during the political crisis that arose from the domestic and international political economy in the early 1970s, and the so-called North Korea human rights crisis much more vividly observable since the mid-1990s draw on the theoretical exploration of "biopolitics" when it comes to my challenge to the discursive collaboration of anti-North Koreanism and nationalism. This is, I argue, because the notion of biopolitics helps us understand how North Koreans become culturally discriminated as "an anomalous population" of the nation on the very self-evident claim of national identification. Chapter two considers at length the discursive collaboration wherein national identification advocates believe they are without doubt confident in genuinely understanding North Korea as an authentic part of the nation. This occurs because they believe they can speak about North Korea on "the self-evident position of truth" that in their view is already built into "the principle of nationalism." In sum, throughout this discussion, we can critically engage those popular nationalists' mischaracterization of the principle of nationalism as the position of truth in terms of challenging anti-North Koreanism as the Otherization of North Korea.

The central concern of chapter three is with the idea of discontinuity between cold-war and post-cold war anti-North Koreanism, analyzing the media events of the 4 July 1972 inter-Korea talk proclamation and the subsequent on-site textual and photographical representations of North Koreans by South Korean news reporters visiting Pyongyang in late August to early September 1972. These examples serve as a crucial historical moment of visual politics with regard to the intervention of anti-North Koreanism as cultural Otherization. It is the main thrust of popular nationalism that the visual representations of North Koreans as "humans," as opposed to the hitherto post-Korean War traumatic imagination of North Koreans as "non-human evils," seemed to have been enlightening to the South Korean public. Although I to some extent

acknowledge the interpretation regarding the difference between the 1970s and post-cold war representations of North Koreans, I contend that the media events, on the contrary, help us draw critical attention to the "continuity" of the cultural Otherizing process underlying anti-North Koreanism throughout the post-Korean War (but not simply post-cold war) decades in South Korea. Chapter four extends this claim into the recent debate on the so-called "North Korea human rights crisis." In doing so, I make a critical intervention in the claim of liberal human rights discourse which, as examined, entails therapeutic discourses about North Korean refugees settling in South Korea by reinforcing the ideas of self-autonomy and self-promotion as fundamental criteria of successful social adaptation in an advanced liberal society. My analysis of the psychiatric diagnosis of North Korean settlers and the visual politics of television documentaries about them delivers a painful scene, in which those settlers are never recognized as part of the nation while being forced to accept the principle of national identification. This examination can contribute to my claim to the continuity of cultural Otherization politics by critically addressing the problematic ways North Koreans still remain as an anomalously non-human disposable labor force in a market-driven society in spite of the post-cold war enlightenment contention that they have been recognized as at least part of the nation within a humanitarian formation.

In order to challenge the discursive inscription of "North Koreans as alien beings" in the combination of anti-North Koreanism and national identification, the last chapter discusses possibilities of "inter-Korea sociability." It does so by calling into question South Korean new conservatives' ideological tactics conveying a claim to "self-denial" of the traumatic historical events in post-Korean War South Korea. At this point, one can better understand my argument in this dissertation if I clarify my position regarding the public's engagements in/with anti-North Koreanism and the politics of national identification.

I do not simply posit the popular social movements of national identification as a failed massive practice of the Korean public. Rather, I seek to resist any valorization of the popular movements as such, which I believe is crystallized in the thrust of South Korean new conservatism. In other words, South Korean new conservatism is no other than the crystallization of popular pessimism attached to the ideological monstrosity of anti-North Koreanism. As shall be discussed throughout this dissertation, those new conservatives' tactics prevent the South Korean public from "self-experiencing" the war traumas in political violence, economic exploitations, and cultural authoritarianism in post-war South Korean society. More specifically, as claimed in chapter five, the "resilience" of reclaiming what I call "inter-Korea sociability," wherein Koreans can gather to share happiness of life, engage in political debate, and develop ethical accountability for life, is a normative form of universality for the sake of problematizing the discursive combination of anti-North Koreanism and the politics of national identification. But it is dangerous if this diagnosis only means to discourage the public from developing a healthy skepticism of the popular practices against anti-North Korean ideology. As I shall detail in chapter two, we must challenge the idea that romanticizes/isolates popular national identification politics as the self-evident discursive locus of finally countering anti-North Korean ideology in popular terrains. Thus, I suggest that anti-North Koreanism not simply be understood in the binary opposition of ideology and a set of practices in the sense that the latter can be best utilized against the former (and *vice versa*). There is no way to draw a definitive line of separation between the two; to do so is doomed to be a conceptual failure when the formation of popular hopes, illusions, and disappointments in critical engagements in anti-North Koreanism needs to be more effectively explained or further complicated. In sum, my challenge to the conceptual formulation of anti-North Koreanism as a combination of ideology and a set of practices can help reveal the operation of anti-North Koreanism in popular

formation, thereby challenging the ideological reduction in which the public's critical challenges to anti-North Koreanism are merely imagined as impotent heresies.

Despite the change in political and historical discourses about the war and inter-Korea ideological antagonism, the regulatory power of anti-North Koreanism has arguably still remained persistently powerful and problematically mutating in South Korean public domains. For example, in October 2005, well-known South Korean critical sociologist Kang Jung-Koo, who had until then taught contemporary Korean history and sociology for more than 30 years at Dongkook University in Seoul, was charged for his remarks on the Korean War as "a reunification war by North Korea,"[1] and thereby was barred from teaching his courses until his prosecution was resolved.[2] (He

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[1] In the conventional South Korean historiography of the Korean War, the rhetoric of "a North Korean plot to invade South Korea" serves as a tremendous ideological framework to demonize the North as well as to traumatize the South. As more specifically discussed in chapter two, the significance of counter-hegemonic knowledge production among South Korean critical historians and sociologists in the 1980s lies in challenging the ideological fabrication of this rhetoric.

[2] This kind of political gagging on the freedom of speech and expression especially related to critical intellectual practices was very easily observable in the 1990s in South Korea. Among many, in June 1991, Law Professor Lee Jang-Hee of the Korea University for Foreign Studies in Seoul published *Uri neun tongil il sedae* (*We are the First Generation of Korea Unification)* for the purpose of educating children with regard to cultural and social reunification issues. He was charged by the Seoul Prosecution Department for carrying the North Korean national anthem and a North Korean popular song, *Kim Il Sung chan ga* (*A Paean to General Kim Il Sung*). Another case is that in 1994, Jung Jin-Sang and Jang Sang-Hwan who were teaching economics and sociology respectively at Gyeongsang University in Jinjoo were also charged with the Marxist perspectives of their co-authored textbook, *Hankook sahoe e daehan ihae* (*Understanding Korean Society*), for undergraduates at the university. In June of the same year, four independent researchers at the Seoul Institute of the Social Sciences in Seoul were arrested for their research projects, in which socialist theories were addressed. In 1999, another well-known political scientist Choi Jang-Jip of Korea University had to step down from the Executive Director for Policy Planning and Coordination of President Kim Dae-Jung, because of his supposed polemical perspective on the Korean War and other North Korean related issues.

was finally dismissed of his tenure at the University shortly after the court decision made in November 2007.)

Such sweeping ideological madness intolerable of any North Korean markers was being set off in the contentious historical space of post-National Liberation Korea (1945-1950). As the two major National Liberation armaments movement groups during Japanese Colonial Occupation (1910-1945), nationalists and communists in post-National Liberation chaotic domestic politics were co-opted into the then cold-war international politics of the US-led Allies and the USSR-led communist bloc. Ideologues from each group rushed to publish numerous partisan newspapers in the dream of building up an independent nation-state that was only painted with their own ideological color. In the meantime, the Korean people were quivering with dread of the scenes propagated in these papers, in which the proponents of ideological confrontations mostly ended up being attracted to political violence. Through the political turmoil, the South, which was under the US Military Government (1945-1948), decided to form a new independent government by general election only held in the Southern part of the nation, and Rhee Syngman was elected the first President of the Republic of Korea (i.e. South Korea) in May 1948. In the North, Kim Il-Sung was turning himself into "the Great Leader" by purging his political opponents. However, the building-up of the two Koreas was just a bloody peace within each territory of state sovereignty. Until the 1980s, a time when South Korea began to dramatically gain political liberalization, anti-North Koreanism had imposed on the South Korean public authoritarian forces alluding to the well-known Hobbesian necessity of "a war of all against all," the legitimacy of political dictatorship that deprives the imagined community of the Korean nation of the capacity of exercising inter-Korea sociability.

What is noticeable at this point is that such ideological power of anti-North Koreanism has encountered another critical moment in which it has had to adjust its regulatory scope, as painful images of starving North Koreans in the so-called "North

Korea's Big Famine" starting in the early 1990s began to draw attention from the South Korean public. The disastrous event substantially helped invoke a conciliatory claim to humanitarianism in the formation of national belonging that appears to contradict the schizophrenic political antagonism to North Korea. In sum, along with the collective memory politics questioning the social Darwinist rhetoric of anti-communism that aimed to remove the pro-North Korean population in social and political spheres, the claim to humanitarian aid to North Koreans has to some degree challenged anti-North Korean political antagonism, insofar as it can resist the arbitrary practice of "righting wrongs" in a humanitarian intervention scheme (Spivak 2004). Indeed, the miserable images of these suffering North Koreans were translated into a moral claim to "placing vivid accounts of suffering before the spectator in order to provoke an imaginative identification with the misery of victims" (Rozario 2003, p. 423). But the painful, desperate scenes as "a possible basis for mutual obligation or community" (Peters 2007, p. 123) began to strangely be reified under the commercial take on the North Korean problem.

Consider the South Korean film industry as an example of the commercialization of humanitarianism. As of December 2005, the top 5 of box office films in the history of the Korean film industry are about the Korean War, inter-Korea relations, and North Korea (Kim Mee-Hyun and Do Dong-Joon 2006). The commercial mega-hit of the admittedly first South Korean blockbuster *Shiwri* (1998), in which a female North Korean spy fails to complete her secret mission because of irresistible love and pity for her South Korean fiancé, came together with a post-cold war popular desire for national unification.[3] This popular commercial success had also found its thrust in the historic

[3] This ascendancy of unification discourse in popular domains was also expressly pursued in the then post-cold war East Asian political economic arrangements of inter-Korea economic and cultural exchange such as tourism. I will discuss the political economy of post-cold war inter-Korea reconciliation in some detail in chapter two.

start, in November 1997, of South Korean tourism in Mount Geumgang, a famous North Korean National Park.[4] Since then, "North Korea" has become no less than a "golden goose" in the South Korean film market.

In the meantime, two other South Korean films, *The Spy Lee Cheol-Jin* (1998) and *Joint Security Areas* (2000) have brought "North Korea" into the symbolic terrain of run-of-the-mill reality. Among these two, *The Spy Lee Cheol-Jin* was interestingly responding to the popular criticism that the film *Shiwri* reinforced the cold-war-era image of heartless belligerent warmonger North Korea. *The Spy Lee Cheol-Jin* includes a desperate scene in which the North Korean Big Famine finally forces the North Korean intelligence agency to send a spy to the South in order to steal a hog gene from a South Korean genetics laboratory, believing that the gene may dramatically help resolve the terrifying food shortage in North Korea. In this film, the portrayal of the spy Lee appears to reverse the stereotype of North Koreans, compared to the one explicitly attributed to the female North Korean antagonist character in *Shiwri* (e.g. a cruelly selfish collectivist in the sense that she betrays her South Korean fiancé because of her ideologically fanatical commitment to the isolated communist dynasty). The North Korean secret agent Lee in the end turns out to be no different than an ordinary South Korean who wants to enjoy watching TV and hanging out at the mall and museum and to fall in love with a South Korean woman.

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[4] More recently, the South Korean Lee Myung-Bak government's (2008 to present) new conservative unification policy, which reminds many of cold-war political and military antagonism to North Korea, has led to the suspension of tourism in Mount Geumgang. In light of this failure of inter-Korea political negotiation, tourism still remains in the symbolic and material realm of conjuring up the necessity of inter-Korea economic and cultural collaboration.

Although such a humanitarian request for understanding North Korea, coupled with the politics of national identification, at first glance seems unproblematic, I suggest that the comic spy film remains symptomatic of a discursive shift of anti-North Koreanism in that the humanitarian representation of North Korea enacts the opposite affect of deep-seated hostility to North Korea. In other words, this tactic works through programming an affective economy of "post-ideological anti-North Koreanism,"[5] in which South Koreans are interpellated to think of themselves as those who are able to undoubtedly escape the fear of communist warmonger North Korea by identifying a mixed sentiment of humanitarianism and national belonging. In this discursive shift, the sympathetic object of "North Korea" mutates into a form of what Slavoj Žižek (1993) calls "mysterious enjoyment that threatens us" (p. 205).

This affective politics of *jouissance* in the Lacanian term is a strategy of national identification that aims to mitigate the antagonistic characteristics of North Korea. But it also does so by turning on the discursive multiplication of "good (popular nationalist) versus bad (anti-communist) nationalism." More specifically, South Koreans frequently encounter the idea that because they gain a sense of good nationalism they can keep the Red scare manifested as "anti-North Korean nationalism" (*banbook minjokjooeui*) at bay. This idea is made possible particularly when they believe that any physical contact with North Korean society can lead the two Koreas to recover the strong ethnic ties of the nation, the elements of ethnic homogeneity such as the inheritance of pure bloodedness from King *Dakun*, a mythic figure who is recorded to have invented the ancient Korean nation-state *Gojoseon* in 2333 BC.

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[5] For the term "post-ideological," I am referring to Francis Fukuyama's (1992) rhetorical hubris of "the end of history" along with "the fall of the Berlin Wall." Jacques Derrida (1993/1994) delivers a critique of the liberal triumphalism.

Along with the political liberalization since the late-1980s, South Koreans began to cast serious doubt on the anti-communist propagandas delivered by the South Korean military dictatorships until that time. This challenge was made by conceiving television and newspaper reports, documentary films, and travelogues about North Korean society as a means of empirically mediating authentic characteristics of the nation that North Koreans should presumably maintain. For example, in Yoo Hong-Joon's (1998) bestseller travelogue, *Na eui Bookhan munhwa yoosan dapsagi* (*My Travelogue of the Nation's Cultural Heritages in North Korea*), King *Dongmyung*, the mythic figure who in 37 B.C. founded the Gogooryo Kingdom of the Korean nation in the Manchuria region of northeastern China, and his royal tomb currently located in North Korea are presented as a locus wherein the authenticity of the nation is defined and at the same time pursued for unification:

> The nation's self-respect and self-esteem [one can feel in this heritage site]…have presumably enabled us, as descendents of the nation, to perceive ourselves in the spirit of the nation, which has frequently been authentically manifested in our struggle to defend the nation from outside invasion… To educate our descendents about the right perspective on the nation and its authentic spirit, I am compelled to feel that we, the South and the North, make unification as soon as we can. (Yoo Hong-Joon 1998, p. 104, 105)

That is, such mediated experience is perceived to convey an imperative of good nationalism through which a form of greater leverage to challenge anti-North Korean nationalism can be achieved. However, as I shall more specifically discuss in chapter two, I suspect that such a normative binarism of nationalism (i.e. good versus bad, etc.) functions as a discursive field of political intervention in which the ideological power of anti-North Koreanism can be sustained.

Thus, my study aims to deliver a critical endeavor deconstructing the normative tactics of rationalizing the binary dimension of nationalism, in which anti-North Koreanism would still remain problematically attached to the politics of national identification. To do so, this dissertation critically examines two main strains of South

Korean critical communication and cultural studies scholarship for failing to address the ways in which they engage in the discursive entwinement of nationalism and anti-North Koreanism. This is a significant democratic call for the South Korean public to effectively challenge a sense of inter-Korea sociability that keeps North Koreans inferior. By calling attention to particular historical conjunctures wherein the combined forms of nationalism and cultural Otherization are produced, my work aims to help South Korean critical/cultural studies scholarship to better engage in the critique of ideology that relies on a problematic state/culture split or otherwise overestimates the power of the state over culture. This is because the critique of ideology implausibly posits a rupture between cold war and post-cold war forms of Otherizing North Korea. This historical rupture, as I shall critically evaluate it in chapter three, is only plausible when unification policy is conceived as a prevalent or even the most privileged terrain in which characteristics of anti-North Koreanism are constituted as opposed to culture. In other words, my work challenges any attempt to constrain the scope of critical analysis of anti-North Koreanism to policy-driven resolutions of inter-Korea reconciliation, because those have a strong tendency to entail the idea that it is only possible to distinguish characteristics of anti-North Koreanism on the policy level. Ostensibly, in post-cold war South Korea, the attempt to oppose unification policy to anti-North Koreanism contends that unification policy, ceaselessly turning on the politics of national identification, has always been a contingent resolution of ideological forces. In so doing, the attempt forces the South Korean public to invariably adopt the contentious claim of national identification as the most effective means to engage in inter-Korea relations. However, my argument is the politics of restoring inter-Korea sociability along the lines of national identification reinforces the biopolitical Otherization of North Koreans, through which the anomalous characterizations of the nation are produced. As analyzed in chapters four and five, the greater cause of human rights in the face of the so-called "North Korean exodus to the liberal world" invokes a politicization of humanitarianism in which psychological traits

in North Korean refugees are rendered anomalous enough to account for their failure in social adaptation to a liberal capitalist society.

South Korean Critical Communication and Cultural Studies on the Politics of Anti-North Koreanism

As Foucault (1976/2003) discusses, the truth to which a society conforms always unfolds and gains its powerful currency by diagnosing "the abnormal," by which individuals in the society are constantly aroused in terms of "waging an ethnic and racial war." The South Korean sociologist Kim Dong-Choon (2000, p. 281) nicely translates anti-North Koreanism into such a politics, claiming that, as in the war massacres aforementioned, anti-North Koreanism has naturalized the violence of the ideological cleansing of communists by rendering them the Other who must be sterilized for national prosperity. In short, anti-North Koreanism from the outset in post-National Liberation Korea carried a hierarchically ambitious desire toward the Other of North Korea.

Resonating with Edward Said's (1978) critique of the historical-cultural codification of non-Western society as incivil, exotic, and inferior, some South Korean critical intellectuals have called for disenchantment with the Orientalist objectification of North Korea (Kim Myung-Seop 1998; Lee Namhee 2002). Indeed, their criticism was rightly responding to how the South Korean public needs to look at the representational features of North Korea in cultural terms. But while asserting that the Orientalist discourse can be resolved by virtue of creating a public terrain within civil society against the total exercise of state power (I will discuss more details in chapter two), the criticism tends to treat the Orientalist representation of North Korea merely as a recently occasioned political episode. For example, although Namhee Lee (2002) compellingly captures the discursive shift of anti-North Koreanism that has been more powerfully programmed with neo-liberalism (p. 61), she does not hesitate to astutely say that "If anticommunism as a dominant state ideology has waned in its effectiveness and its

appeal, largely because of North Korea's economic failures, *racist attitudes and Orientalist discourses are replacing anticommunism* in South Korea" (p. 60, my italics).

Until the 1990s, South Korean critical communication scholarship had dealt with the politics of anti-North Koreanism in terms of contributing to national unification by helping the South Korean public recognize the ideological and symbolic practices of journalistic reports on North Korean issues. South Korean critical communication scholarship emerged in the early 1980s as a critical response to the state project of economic development driven by modernization theory in the 1960s and 1970s, challenging the structural functionalist idea that the mass media be used to contribute to social and economic mobility of the population as part of the whole system in balance (Lee Sang-Hee 1986). This "critical turn in South Korean communication and journalism"[6] resonated with the critical endeavors of other fields in the humanities and social sciences to produce alternative discourses against the ideological sway of military dictatorship (see Cho Hee-Yeon 2009). The scholarship introduced theories of Marxist political economy of communication and (neo-)Marxist sociological, literary, and cultural studies to South Korean journalism and media studies scholars, attaching those theories to the identity of "critical media communication studies." As classified below,[7] albeit somewhat schematically, South Korean critical media communication studies scholarship in the 1990s largely falls into two strands of the critique of anti-North Koreanism that sought to (i) challenge the media-state nexus maintaining the South Korean *status quo*

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[6] By this emphasis, my work later limits the scope of discussion about South Korean "critical/cultural studies" within media and mass communication/journalism areas.

[7] I do not mean, by the classification I am offering here, that South Korean critical media communication studies scholarship must be only the attempt to engage with anti-North Korean issues.

characterized by the "subsystem" of division of the nation in the world system,[8] and (ii) unveil some symbolic tactics of inter-Korea ideological antagonism.

First, the intellectual practice primarily views the mass media as an integral part of the Althussserian ideological apparatuses geared toward the intensification of state power (e.g. Lee Kang-Soo 1989; Lee Chang-Hyun 1990). For example, Lee Chang-Hyun (1990) insisted that South Korean media news reports about inter-Korea issues conveyed anti-communist ideological claims manipulated by the state—especially given the then "extra-legal" media censorship—coordinated by law enforcement agencies such as the Korean Central Intelligence Agency and the police that involved arrests, layoffs, and even kidnappings of journalists (Youm Kyu Ho 1986). In addition, diverse state-sponsored journalist training programs through government-run media agencies such as the Korea Press Foundation and the Korean Broadcast Advertising Corporation consolidated the state-media nexus (Kang Myungkoo 1993, pp. 92-93). However, without concrete analysis of the ideological interpellation process of fashioning anti-North Korean subjectivity in the South Korean public, this strand of critical communication research only pays attention to the deterministic function of the state power constraining the significance of journalistic ethics and norms such as neutrality and balance in the news reports. As a result, those studies suggest that news reports about inter-Korea issues can reach their greatest innocence if there is no government censorship involved in the journalistic process.

Secondly, taking up the question of journalistic conventions in cultural formation, which was underestimated within the first strand of critical communication research, the other strand of South Korean critical communication scholarship regarding the politics of anti-North Koreanism interrogates semiotic tactics explicitly or implicitly invoking the

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[8] I shall discuss the counter-hegemonic knowledge production in the 1980s in chapter two.

evil images of North Korea in South Korean news coverage. In doing so, this approach sought to expand the scope to explore the ideological practice of anti-North Koreanism in a cultural terrain. While the Althusserian approach to the state-media nexus stresses the function of the "stronger state," the semiotic analysis draws more attention to the central role of the media. For example, Park Jung-Soon (1990) analyzed the South Korean news coverage of the Second High-Level Inter-Korea Talk on October 18, 1990 in Pyongyang, calling into question the ways in which "North Koreans" were portrayed as culturally inferior and ideologically militant. Park suggested that the power relations between the South and the North were symbolically embedded in the news reports, which cause the failure of journalistic ethics such as neutrality and fairness to deliver "the North Korean reality as it is" (p. 37).

Yet, as I will discuss in detail in chapter two, this claim to "the North Korean reality as it is" can be contested when it produces the very sense of inter-Korea sociability that keeps North Koreans culturally and politically "dangerous Others." Moreover, this approach rarely touches on specific cultural-historical trajectories and practices of anti-North Koreanism, through which to understand how the symbolic stereotypes of North Korea are imposed in popular domains. More significantly, the lack of historical scrutiny on the issue leads the scholarship to simply bring the imperative of ethnic homogeneity to bear on the symbolic stereotypes of North Korea (e.g. Bang Jung-Bae 1995; Park Myung-Jin 1996; Ryu Han-Ho 1997): "If we think that the degeneration of ethnic homogeneity caused by the national division over the past fifty years can be resolved at its best on the popular level, the mass media such as television can serve the process of restoring ethnic homogeneity, thereby successfully enacting the cultural integration between the two Koreas (Park Myung-Jin 1996, pp. 55-56).

In the meantime, the rise of consumer society in the 1990s, along with the associated political liberalization, began to redirect South Korean critical communication scholarship's concerns with analysis of the media's relations to the state and society,

leaving many to wonder at the state of a strange absence of critical analysis about anti-North Koreanism in post-cold war South Korean society. Arguably, the magnificent post-cold war transformation was the thrust of skepticism of Left strategies that led South Korean critical intellectuals to considerably reframe the scope of political commitment (Im Young-Ho 2001). Added to this, and more significantly, as "culture" was narrowly identified with "consumption" behaviors of media products such as advertisements, television dramas, popular music, etc., the realm of "traditional" cultural politics involving such issues as democratic social movements and cultural imperialism began to be "detraditionalized" in such a way as to be merely suited to postmodern adaptations of the work of poststructuralist theorists such as Derrida, Foucault, and Deleuze/Guattari (Lee Keehyeung 2000). In other words, consumerist approaches to youth subcultural practices became predominantly popular, simply by abstractly referring to such poststructuralist ideas as desire, knowledge/power, and deconstruction arising out of particular socio-historical contexts in Western society. This "de-contextualization" without significant discussion of theoretical explorations was lamented as "colonialization in local knowledge production" (Kang Myungkoo 2004a, 2004b).

The term "cultural studies" in South Korea appeared to be no other than a symbolic icon of bourgeois liberal "escapism" through the celebration of consumption as active audience and semiotic guerilla warfare, the idea of which became salient in the "political economy versus cultural studies debate" (e.g. McGuigan 1992; Seaman 1992; the well-known 1995 *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* special issue; Joo Chang-Yoon 1997; Won Yong-Jin 1997; Kim Sung-Ki 1997):

> [In South Korea] cultural studies has created a power bloc for itself by putting on a mask of knowledge and swaying didactic bravado … When it has finally taken after the social power which it fought for social justice, it's really an irony! … When Korean cultural studies was pretending to just refine Western theories while separating itself from real social realities and sticking itself into universities, the social influence of cultural politics and civil movements in the meantime was on the wane, and now I am afraid that there have been no resources for them. South Korean cultural

> studies scholars have been trying to get rid of the significance of cultural movements and their historical practices from its own list. Now, they finally did. (Won Yong-Jin 1997, pp. 209-210)

As a result, the skepticism of Western cultural studies theories led South Korean cultural studies scholars to pay more attention to the way in which they should learn from below to theorize claims to democratic society by expanding the scope of analysis about hegemonic spheres and historical subjects of class, race/ethnicity, and nationalism in post-colonial landscapes as well as South Korean neo-liberal restructuring (Kang Myungkoo 2004b; Yoo Sunyoung 2004; Jeon Kyu-Chan 2006, 2008; Lee Young-Joo 2006).

However, as Lee Sang-Gil (2004) aptly points out, such a critical self-reflection proceeded without a concrete exploration of the articulation of theory and context. The demand for "local knowledge" appeared to be somewhat ambitiously posed, but it was uncertain *what the local means* and *what knowledge can be theorized from the local*. For example, Yoon Sunny (2003) and Won Yong-Jin (2004) in a similar vein contended that South Korean cultural studies' heavy reliance on Western theories have resulted in the "excess of theoretical interpretations," leaving the readers of South Korean cultural studies substantially out of touch with the social and political reality that people's cultural experiences were exploited by political economic forces.

This strand of cultural criticism instead insisted that the significance of "cultural practices" be made available as a "source" in the social-political reformation process. But "the culture as source approach" has the strong tendency to underestimate the way in which "the source" can turn into "a norm" that would significantly constrain the abilities and scope of popular engagement with the administration of social-political reform. In doing so, the approach can run the risk of privileging the procedural deliberation of "policy" as a primary form of popular engagement (Osborne 2006). For example, Won Yong-Jin (2004, p. 67) writes:

> The normative criteria for cultural studies to evaluate cultural policy are as follows: firstly, what problematics cultural studies

> can bring to the fore in analyzing political circumstances; secondly, how cultural studies effectively articulates the relationship between culture and other terrains [politics, the economy]; thirdly, to what extent such analysis can contribute to unveiling social contradictions out of the articulated relations. [That is] what cultural studies should do is scrutinize the ways in which premises of cultural policy are consistently linked to the implementation of policy schemes. If the intervention of cultural studies is defined as such, it can be said that cultural studies and cultural policy are the two side of the same coin. Isn't it still legitimately imperative that cultural studies help to create new tastes through cultural policies and to expose people to the operation of regulating forces?

Here, I definitely do not disagree with Won's "public interest" advocacy of challenging neo-liberal schemes in the production of culture (e.g. huge budget cuts in local arts performance subsidy, the conglomeration of theater performance production, the decision, along with the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement, to remove the domestic film market protection called the Korea-US Screen Quota System).[9] Nevertheless, his approach brings its own liabilities by offering the problematic view that as culture is conceptualized as a useful tool of social and political reform, policy thus can come to be a locus of cultural criticism. The understanding of cultural criticism at the policy-making level can overlook the problematic properties and roles of apparatuses that aim to institutionalize social and political reforms. One can see below how this level of understanding the relationship between cultural criticism and cultural policy is reiterated in inter-Korea issues.

As for unification, within South Korean cultural studies scholarship, there has recently been a significant challenge to the idea of "unification through recovering cultural homogeneity" embedded in the ethnic purity of the Korean nation (e.g. *Munhwa*

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[9] Most recently, the Lee Myung-Bak government decided to disband some of the government-run arts institutions such as the National Opera Chorus of Korea for reinforcing conservative and neo-liberal schemes in the production and consumption of culture. The Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism also recently proposed a quasi-welfare cultural policy program called "Arts New Deal Project" that the South Korean local arts community suspects as a means of legitimizing the flexible labor market in local arts production. And see Jin (2007) for the detailed discussion of the neo-liberalization of the South Korean film market.

gwahak pyeonjip wiwonhoe [*Culture/Science* Editorial Board] 2005). Resonating with the criticism of Orientalist discourses about North Korea, this challenge puts forward the notion of a "cultural civil society" in which inter-Korea cultural and economic exchanges are operated in equal collaboration. This effort brings into the fore unification as a location of "recognition" (symbolic markers of identity) and "redistribution" (material markers of identity). In doing so, it helps South Korean cultural studies articulate the discursive shift (but not replacement) of anti-North Koreanism with cultural Otherization (i.e. recognition) while simultaneously addressing the unequal formation of national belonging in the current inter-Korea economic collaboration in the Kaesung Industrial Park, North Korea, in which North Korean workers are paid one-third of the salaries of their South Korean counterparts (i.e. redistribution).

However, the discussion becomes problematic when it insists that an equal formation of national belonging can be possible so long as the economic collaboration creates a policy ensuring that North Korea is on a somewhat equal footing with South Korea in the economic collaboration:

> We can certainly create a new environment of unification through the two inter-Korea projects, in which the Kaesung Industrial Park is made as environment-friendly residential and industrial manufacture space as well as a site of cultural civil society wherein, owing to the transfer of knowledge and skills by South Korean experts in business management, engineering, and social-cultural administration, North Koreans can transform themselves into technocrats who can facilitate the transition of North Korea from a closed society to an open society. (*Munhwa gwahak* pyeonjip wiwonhoe [*Culture/Science* Editorial Board] 2005, pp. 73-74)

This proposition is implicitly predicated upon the smug idea of "soft power," in which knowledge and values in cultural and economic practice as "global public goods" come to be the best means of rehabilitating "a more general inability to respond to modernity" (Nye 2004, p. 80, 43). The significance of technocratic politics that smacks of modernization theory with regard to economic development and social mobility in the third world is stressed as best suited to the imagination of a cultural civil society for

unification. In this so-called "soft-powered" cultural civil society, the role of the apparatuses such as the mass media in transferring knowledge and skills is presumed as highly neutral in terms of ideological implications (McCarthy 2007). It is also highly naturalized in this scheme that public advocacy of unification is pared down through policy administration.

One should not merely take my responses to the "culture as source perspective" as wholly negative or skeptical of the hitherto somewhat blunt intellectual practice of South Korean critical communication and cultural studies scholarship. Rather, my suggestion is that the scholarship's struggles with the difficulty in localizing Western cultural, social, and political theories in Korean contexts need to be reapproached to imagine the extent to which political sensibilities to critical issues are cultivated, posed, and practiced. The intellectual project can still gain pedagogical efficacy so long as it continues to resist what is called "a politics of amnesia" (Eagleton 2003), an empty political project that would only "promise to name the absent object" deeply naturalized in the consumer-oriented culture of liberal capitalism (Jameson 1993, p. 20). The scholarship must create "discursive conditions" with which to enable the South Korean public to examine oppressive relationships, to expose various types of inequality, and to problematize prevalent social and political understandings in South Korean society (Kang Myungkoo 2004b; Yoo Sunyoung 2004; Jeon Kyu-Chan 2006). It is worth underscoring Henry Giroux et al.'s (1985/1995) remarks that cultural studies "must develop methods of inquiry into how the present absences and structured silences that govern teaching, scholarship, and administration within academic departments deny the link between knowledge and power, reduce culture to an unquestioned object of mastery, and refuse to acknowledge the particular way of life that dominant academic discourse helps to produce and legitimate" (p. 657).

In sum, the ideological power of anti-North Koreanism has largely been underestimated vis-à-vis postmodern "de-traditionalized" cultural politics within South

Korean cultural studies scholarship. Under the circumstances, how can we create such a discursive condition in which the South Korean public can engage in the command of rationalizing inter-Korea relations in political economic terms that would frequently become highly promising unification discourses? How is North Korea constructed as the political body of a "collaborator," if not obviously a friend, for national reconciliation? How can this be understood against the backdrop of the inter-Korea collaboration that North Korea is still presumably an "enemy" threatening to the survival and prosperity of the nation? What is the role of the politics of national identification, so long as it is considered a major force of challenging anti-North Koreanism in South Korea? In other words, if we consider it a major force, how can we articulate *the anti-North Koreanism-nationalism nexus*, in which the politics of national identification, on the contrary, discursively undermines or exploits our abilities to challenge anti-North Koreanism?

To answer those questions, in the next section, my work explores episodic trajectories of historical events in which anti-North Koreanism gained peculiar ideological force when problematically attached to the normative way in which the Korean nation is anxiously imagined as an ethnically homogeneous body. I shall suggest that the notion of biopolitics, which has been developed by Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben among others, is particularly useful here because it can help to uncover a problematic dimension of the inclusive politics of nationalism presented as a powerful antidote to anti-North Koreanism.

The Contentious Space of the Biopolitical Otherization of North Korea

As for the post-cold war shift of anti-North Koreanism signaling that its reckless ideological sway, frequently accompanied by massive physical violence, has seemed to disappear, the South Korean political scientist Kwon Hyuk-Bum (2000a, p. 41) warns:

> Unlike the past decades until the late-1980s or early-1990s, in which there had been no substantial distance between the state and civil society [in the light of understanding North Korea as an enemy], I believe the present time can be called an era of the decline of anti-North Koreanism to the extent to which civil society challenges vicious anti-North Korean ideological mandates… But…I still want to warn that the ideological core of anti-North Koreanism remains filled with some other intense animosity and irrational attitudes toward the North in cultural terms. Any counter-hegemonic practice of challenging the discursive shift of anti-North Koreanism in a post-cold war period must nail its still sustaining juridical power and material base. To do so, the National Security Law[10] must be located at the very fore front.

Kwon is skeptical of the practice of popular nationalism regarding North Korean issues, because it is predicated on the prevailing account that, owing to the politics of national identification, the South Korean public can recover a primordial sense of ethnic homogeneity ascribed to the idea of the purebloodedness of the Korean nation descended from King *Dankun,* who is portrayed as the archetypical figure of the Korean nation by major historiography in both the South and the North (Shin Gi-Wook 2006, pp. 4-8). Although his critical diagnosis of the post-cold war political landscapes helps us to understand the anti-North Koreanism-nationalism nexus, what is still problematic in his diagnosis is the claim to the commitment to the annulment of the NSL as the first front line of a counter-hegemonic challenge to anti-North Koreanism. Here, I am obviously not suggesting that the judicial power of anti-North Koreanism only nominally works in its regulatory scope, nor am I insisting that anti-North Koreanism in the post-cold war period has shifted from the juridical terrain to a completely different one. It is no doubt that the annulment of the NSL will expand the discursive terrains of political democracy

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[10] As Rhee Syngman was elected President in the First Republic of Korea (South Korea) in May 1948, an Anti-Treason Law was proposed and later approved by the South Korean National Assembly as the National Security Law (NSL) on December 1, 1948. The NSL was mainly devised to control communist/pro-North Korean incidents in the South Korean public realm (Neary 2002, pp. 79-82). I will also discuss the operation of the NSL coordinated with other political apparatuses in chapter two.

in which an anti-communist politics would be shorn of a material base (Cho Hee-Yeon 2000).

Rather, I want to point to the extent to which the annulment of the National Security Law would bring to an end the ideological penetration of anti-North Koreanism working at different levels, moving between different political projects, and taking advantage of different elements of discourses reprogrammed for new political ends. A preoccupation with the workings of juridical power in sustaining anti-North Koreanism can tempt scholars to reduce the political effect of anti-communist juridical power to a totalizing function of the state, insofar as it is conceived that the state monopolizes jurisdiction over knowledge and claims of anti-North Koreanism that arise in other realms. I suggest that this temptation can come to be illusory, especially when the ideological grip of the state on the practice of anti-North Koreanism is perceived as loose.

On the one hand, it is to some extent true that the state is still a predominant operator of anti-North Koreanism in South Korean political culture, given the juridical function of the notorious NSL. On the other hand, recently, as Red-scare propagandas of the state have significantly been challenged, it is assumed that the discursive dimension of anti-North Koreanism has considerably been rationalized in such a way that the South Korean public can successfully challenge anti-North Koreanism. In spite of the significance of such a challenge, however, it is not a persuasive hypothesis that the abandonment of juridical power leads the South Korean public to successfully challenge the way in which North Koreans are anxiously imagined as a permanent threat to the nation and otherwise economically exploited in the labor marketplace. For example, it is ironic to see that although anti-North Korean political antagonism has consistently been challenged through calls for revision or abandonment of the NSL since the political liberalization of South Korean society, as I shall discuss later in this chapter, conservative politicians and commentators have successfully revamped their ideological thrust in social and political domains such as the so-called North Korean human rights crisis.

The critical evaluations of the hypothesis of the deployment of anti-North Koreanism as totalizing sovereignty control of the state over South Korean society can deliver two important implications to critical intellectuals who have engaged in the practice of anti-North Koreanism. First, the hypothesis tends to presuppose social and cultural domains of anti-North Koreanism as "homogeneous" and "stable," undoubtedly based on the premise that the elimination of anti-North Korean juridical power from the state can certainly recover the overriding function of a critical-rational debate over North Korean issues. Second, although the hypothesis rightly helps us to engage in the claim of anti-North Koreanism, it does not pay adequate attention to how it is justified that the South Korean public is constantly exposed to the contentious regime of waging a war against the dangerous adversary. In other words, in view of the hypothesis, it is insisted that the efficacy of the abandonment of anti-North Korean juridical power amounts to a successful transition to a society where ideological claims of anti-North Koreanism can be graded and altered on challenges to the juridical power.

Although I am certainly not denying the significance of the democratic transition, I want to point out that such a process cannot guarantee or affirm claims of social justice about anti-North Korean oppression. For, in this process, claims about North Korea from other terrains can be conceived as equally "homogeneous" and "derivatives" of the juridical realm. Any failure to dwell on contentious features of the practice of anti-North Koreanism produced through dynamic social apparatuses such as the media can result in rendering the critical engagement of the South Korean public, if not necessarily forced to, largely fit to the principles of nationalism as a universal protection against exclusive political antagonism. In short, my argument is that it becomes important to challenge the politics of national identification for the purpose of deconstructing anti-North Koreanism.

As a result, the hypothesis risks dismissing the way in which anti-North Koreanism bifurcates itself through social apparatuses in producing political "anomalies" suited to principles of the normalization of society. Here, my concern is less with

analyzing how the principles of nationalism are identified with those of the normalization of society than with how "the anti-North Koreanism-nationalism nexus" is maintained as a means of constantly exposing the South Korean public to the maintenance and proliferation of such anomalies.

To search for such tactics of the normalization of society, Michel Foucault (1976/1978) puts forward the notion of biopolitics as the exercise of power over life targeting the social body of a population so as to perpetuate an internal war suited to principles of the normalization of society. Drawing on this discussion, I locate the practice of anti-North Koreanism in the discursive loci of biopolitics, wherein North Korea becomes a permanent "anomaly of the socially [and politically] dead but biologically alive and economically exploited being" (Ziarek 2008, p. 95). I call this discursive politics of anti-North Koreanism "biopolitical Otherization of North Korea," defined as the discursive formation of incessant purification of degenerate, inferior North Korean populations along the lines of the problematic formation of national belonging.

Foucault (1976/2003) discusses racism as a crucial form of the biopolitical order in his last lecture entitled *Society Must Be Defended* (1975-1976), illuminating the way in which a human species is inscribed in the caesuras between what must live and what must die within mechanisms of the state power. A peculiar human species is defined as abnormal persons in "the indispensable precondition that allows [the abnormal] to be killed" (ibid, p. 256). In this murderous function of a biopolitical state, the human species then becomes an "enemy" not simply because it is a "political adversary" but also because it is a "biological threat." Thus, the exercise of the right over death of the enemy can be endorsed as positive, according to the biopolitical scheme, because the death of the enemy makes the life of others, who are self-referentially defined, vigorous and prosperous. In sum, the murderous function of sovereign power can be reactivated through the racial translation of a certain human species in a dangerous being, rearticulating the mechanism of disciplinary power and, more significantly, "expos[ing]

its own race [as well as the dangerous human species] to the absolute and universal threat of death" (ibid, p. 259).

Foucault takes a historically striking example of the biopolitical scheme of totalitarianism. Hitler's Nazism inscribed in itself a form of Spencerian social Darwinism that relies on "a deterministic conception" of "law common to humans and nature in general, a struggle for existence deriving from pressure on space and other resources which operated both at the level of individuals and social aggregates, of which races were the most important, and heredity constituting the mechanism whereby adaptive traits were transmitted to successive generations" (Hawkins 1997, p. 277).[11] In so doing, Nazism privileged "blood" as the principle of racism, whereby the Nazi state was able to successfully dispose the camps and to try to expose the entire social body of Nazi society to universal death at the end of the Nazi regime (Foucault 1976/2003, p. 260).

The activation of the biopower mode through the social body of a human species illuminates a problematic function of an "alien being" in terms of calculating a politics of anxiously imagining anomalies in an inclusive scheme of the entire social body. As Ann Stoler (1995, p. 69) aptly interprets, biopolitics "is more than an ad hoc response to crisis; it is a manifestation of preserved possibilities, the expression of an underlying discourse

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[11] Richard Hofstadter (1945/1992) brings up a critique of the imperialist pitfalls of Spencerian social Darwinism. Ellen Frankel Paul (1988) delivers a critique of the affinity between Spencer's conservative uptake of Darwinian evolutionary principles and Hayek's neo-liberal definition of the market as a spontaneous order. However, it is also worth warning that "the [belated] use of this term [social Darwinism] to name defenses of laissez-faire economics in the face of the growing organization of labor" in the late 19th century should be more carefully made, in that "the social theorists they [William Langer and Richard Hofstadter] took to have supported robber-baron capitalism, including Spencer himself, actually opposed it" (Depew 2009, p. 33). I am grateful to Professor David J. Depew's generosity for me to have access to his unpublished manuscript and his insightful comments on the critical subject.

of permanent war, nurtured by the biopolitical technologies of 'incessant purification.'" The modern shift of power for the normalization of society pursues making the tactical metaphor of "waging a war in politics," because it is conceived that the scheme of perpetual warfare in politics calculates and guarantees the optimal effectiveness of power. What is at stake thus is not merely terminating the life of all alien beings but also letting them exist. This is what Foucault calls "the art of governing" through the "disposition of the rights of living and death" geared toward a convenient, efficient end (Foucault 1978/1991, p. 208). This disposition always spans the mode of "power to *foster* life or *disallow* it to the point of death" (Foucault 1976/1978, p. 138, original italics), because

> …[the] formidable power of death—and this is perhaps what accounts for part of its force and the cynicism with which it has so greatly expanded its limits—now presents itself as the counterpart of a power that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavors to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations. *Wars are no longer waged in the name of a sovereign who must be defended; they are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone*; entire populations are mobilized for the purpose of wholesale slaughter in the name of life necessity: *massacres have become vital*……The principle underlying the tactics of battle—that one has to be capable of killing in order to go on living—that one has become the principle that defines the strategy of states. But *the existence in question is no longer the juridical existence of sovereignty; at stake is the biological existence of a population...because power is situated and exercised at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population*. (p. 137, italics added)

Giorgio Agamben takes up the notion of biopower to draw attention to the aporia of modern democracy that reduces individuals' happiness in their social life to massive political exploitation and physical violence. Agamben is concerned, like Foucault, with the production of biopolitical life across social-political domains, but unlike Foucault, stresses the centrality of sovereign power in the biopolitical production of the human species: It is "the original activity of sovereign power" that determines the "hidden point

of intersection between the juridico-institutional and the biopolitical models of power" (Agamben 1995/1998, p. 6).[12]

For Agamben, biopolitics means obliterating the boundary between bare life (*zoe*) and political life (*bio*), or "the politicization of bare life," creating "a zone of indistinction" through which the state sways arbitrary political power over the entire social body by recuperating "the friend and enemy antithesis" in politics (Schmitt 1932/1976). Agamben calls this process of political normalization "the state of exception," in which the political enemy as an aggregate of anomalies of the new biopolitical body comes to be "inclusively excluded." The status of being inclusively excluded means that the political enemy should not simply be killed but instead be made to exist, so that the entire social body of a population can be exposed to the normalization of society.

I suggest that the discussion of biopolitics can help challenge the anti-North Koreanism-nationalism nexus, especially in terms that the biopolitical production of political anomalies renders the discursive space of anti-North Koreanism heterogeneous to effectively expand the regulatory scope. As defined above, the discursive realm of anti-North Koreanism in South Korean society is not impervious to different ideas, arguments, and tactics in legitimizing its hegemonic post. The biopolitical production of political anomalies thus is necessary in order to maintain the effective operation of the discursive realm. But the precariousness and volatility can also become greater leverage

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[12] For both Foucault and Agamben, the major concern is with an analysis of political space in which the value and non-value of life are chosen and distributed, but Agamben conceptualizes the totalizing tactics of the "*grand enfermement*" which manifests the state as the entity of monopolizing violence (Agamben, 1995/1998, p. 119). For more discussion, see Genel (2006), Rabinow and Rose (2006), and Donzelot (2008).

with which the South Korean public challenges the mobilization of political anomalies pitted against democratic forces.

To more precisely incorporate the theoretical implications of biopolitics in the anti-North Koreanism-nationalism nexus, in what follows, I episodically draw particular attention to the three historical moments illustrating the nexus that involved changing the meaning of the nation and anti-North Koreanism: (1) the terrifying massacre of *Goongmin bodo yeonmaeng* members that took place shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953), (2) the representational crisis of the Park Chung-hee regime involving the state of emergency called the *Siwol Yushin* (the October Restoration) in the early-1970s, and (3) the recent so-called "North Korean human rights crisis" reinforcing South Korean (neo-)liberal capitalist democracy in the spectacle of North Korean defectors.

Rhee Syngman's Doctrine of "the One-Nation" (*Ilminjueui*) and the Birth of the Communist/North Korean Species

The origin of biopolitical Otherization as the discursive formation of anti-North Koreanism can be traced to the terrifying Korean War mass murder event involving the *Goongmin bodo yeonmaeng* (the Korean Federation of Protecting and Guiding the Public, KFPGP hereafter). The KFPGP was organized under the direct guidance of the Rhee Syngman government on April 21, 1949. Although there exist some variations with regard to the total membership number during the massacre event, it is largely agreed that the KFPGP had approximately more than 300,000 communist converters (Hahn Ji-Hee 1996; Kim Sun-Ho 2002; Jung Byung-Joon, 2004).[13] In the catastrophic war crimes that

[13] Many of the official governmental documents with regard to the organization of the KFPGP were discarded during the Park Chung-hee regime (Kang Sung-Hyun 2004, p. 56), and until now the South Korean governments have still allowed for very limited public access to the rest of the documents (Han Ji-Hee 1994, pp. 305-306). More recently, some striking official government records and personal

occurred shortly after the outbreak of the war, most of the 300,000 members were killed. Presumably, the South Korean police and military carefully managed the mass murder (Kim Gi-Jin 2002; Jung Byung-Joon 2004, pp. 95-96). They were killed, because they were political adversaries, but they could not be sacrificed in the cause of a unified Korean nation-state building-up project, because they were endowed with an anomalous trait of being "(pro-)North Korean" by anti-communist/anti-North Korean supporters and demagogues.

How did such a historical tragedy take place, if not totally unpredictable? Shortly after the National Liberation from Japan in August 1945, the Korean peninsula was divided into two different political regimes. In the South, the U.S. Army Military Government in South Korea (September 1945 – August 1948) controlled the administration of South Korea until the official establishment of the Republic of Korea in August 1948, entailing "the gates of [post-National Liberation] chaos" to the Korean War (Henderson 1968). Indeed, the national division was impending as a result of a series of precursor international cold-war politics of the Allies and the USSR. These included the intense debates between the so-called left and right nationalists over a long-term trusteeship of the South and the North respectively by the US and the USSR in a supposed effort to make substantial independence of colonial Korea "in due process." The decision was already jointly signed by the US, the USSR, and China in November 1943 in Cairo, Egypt (a.k.a. the Cairo Declaration).

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testimonies and memoirs about the genocide events were revealed in 2000, when the US decided to disclose some of the top-secret classified documents circulated during the Korean War. The decision was made to pacify the South Korean public resentment of the US military's deliberate involvement in the No Geun Ri massacre during the Korean War (Jung Byung-Joon 2004, pp. 126-127).

In this conjuncture the South Korean political culture was facing ideological confrontations involving political violence to South Korean civilians as well as between nationalists from the South and the North (Suh Joong-Seok 1995; Im Chong-Myung 2004). One of the major incidents occurred in April 1948 in Cheju, an island 106 miles southwest off the Korean peninsula. Rhee Syngman's Interim Government and the US Military Government propagated the incident as a communist/pro-North Korean insurgency.[14] On October 19, 1948, the 14th South Korea Regiment, which was embarking for Cheju from Yosu, Cholla Province, South Korea, mutinied with an attempt to disrupt Rhee's anti-communist policing in Cheju. As about two thousand soldiers and civilians who were involved in the military insurgency had been killed in the southern region, the mutiny was finally suppressed on October 27 of the same year. It was the first large-scale anti-North Korean political mobilization in post-National Liberation Korea since Rhee Syngman officially came to power through the general election solely in the South on May 26, 1948, and declared the foundation of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948.

The Rhee regime then devised a series of decrees, measures, and legislations in order to regulate communist/pro-North Korean public involvement in South Korea. The National Security Law was proclaimed as one of the anti-communist policing tools on December 1, 1948. Gregory Henderson (1968) shows, based on a report to the UN

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[14] The counter-insurgency operations that followed the initial communist guerrilla attacks on the police and anti-communists resulted in "a massive death toll of 80,000, or nearly one third of the entire island population, [but] the event has been largely overlooked in historical texts and virtually forgotten in everyday life" (Kim Seong-Nae 2000, p. 463). In May 2000, the Special Act for the Establishment of the National Committee for Investigation of the Truth about the Jeju April Third Incident was passed and revised in May 2000 and in January 2007 respectively. In particular, on 30 October 2006, President Roh Moo-Hyun for the first time in the history of Republic of Korea officially apologized that the incident was caused by vicious violence of the state power.

Commission, that 89,710 South Koreans had been arrested between September 1948 and April 1949, about 58,000 people were in 21 South Korean prisons, and up to 80 percent of the prisoners were charged with National Security Law violations (p. 163). Approximately 110,000 National Security Law violators were generated until the end of 1949 (Kim Hak-Jae 2004, p. 322). It became evident that the juridical institutions were brimming with political opponents and anti-government activists, as well as communists/pro-North Korean collaborators and suspects.

The KFPGP was another major political apparatus for administering the disciplinary mechanisms in exteriority to the juridical act of the National Security Law. This national organization sought to constitute a capillary network of anti-communist/anti-North Korean *Jeonhyangja*—those who converted to the nationalist-cum-capitalist cause—through cultural propaganda movements of anti-communist music and theatrical concerts and publications such as the weekly magazine *Aegookja (The Patriots)* and monthly magazine *Changjo (Creation)* (Han Ji-Hee 1994, pp. 297-298). The KFPGP also deployed a technology of confessions of the converters about their irrevocably regrettable experience of communist/pro-North Korean collaborations so as to lead the South Korean public to the anti-communist/pro-North Korean front (Kang Sung-Hyun 2004). In short, the KFPGP was desperately "preventing communist/pro-North Korean recidivism" in pre-war South Korean society.[15]

More symptomatically, the Manifesto of the KFPGP, which was declared in the founding preparation committee meeting of the Seoul City Police Department on April,

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[15] This type of disciplinary mechanism dates to the period of Colonial Korea, in which Japanese Occupation devised policing apparatuses such as the National Front of War Patriotism (*Chonsun sahsang bokook yeonmaeng* established in July 1938) and the Institute for Educating Grand Pacifism (*Daehwasook* established in January 1941) for the purpose of inculcating Japanese pan-Asian colonial ideology and correcting Korean independent movement activists. See for details Jung Byung-Joon (2004 pp. 98-102).

21 1949, precisely displays a biopolitical dimension of schematizing communists/pro-North Koreans as a dangerous species:

> It has been widely shared among the public that a host of recent communist/pro-North Korean activities committed and attempted by the leaders of the Southern Labor Party (*Namrodang*) have been proved as an effort to destroy our nation with political violence, civilian murders, property arsons, and unlawful public instigations. But it has also been concerned that these violent behaviors are made in ways of being insidiously receptive to the public and bureaucratically submissive to the Soviet communists. Now, fortunately, we see those futile attempts have been generating a greater number of anti-communist/anti-North Korean converters, resulting in the organization of the KFPGP. In this chaotically vibrant political situation, our decision to establish the KFPGP should *give those converters a serious opportunity to sacrifice themselves for the nation in the face of the communist/pro-North Korean threat to destroying the Korean nation.* (quoted in Hahn Ji-Hee 1994, p. 293)

The very resolution to the biological threat was to deprive communists/pro-North Korean collaborators of the right of living, attributing their depravity to a peculiarly heterogeneous and non-conciliatory trait supposedly found in them. In his 1951 treatise entitled "Thesis of a Prosperous Nation," Oh Je-Do,[16] the then chief director of the KFPGP insisted:

> Concessions to communism come with collaborations with communism, which amounts to a treason to the nation. This in turn results in the total destruction of the state. Commitments to anti-communism/anti-North Koreanism means showing a resolute will to defeat them, encouraging us to *exterminate them*, *which finally results in the prosperity of the nation.* (Quoted in Kim Hak-Jae 2004, p. 325, my italics)

As such, communists/pro-North Korean collaborators were posed as a permanent danger to the Korean nation in the rubric of the KFPGP. This discursive formation of anti-North Koreanism was obviously contradictory when one encounters a politics of identification under the conventional practice of nationalism embodying brotherhood and

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[16] It was Oh Je-Do who established the first institution of North Korean Studies in South Korea in 1971, as shall be discussed in chapter three.

sisterhood. Indeed, as for the politics of national unification, Rhee Syngman had strenuously emphasized a particular sense of the nation defined "in an organic and collectivistic terms…[and] thereby considered a natural being or fate characterized by shared bloodline and ancestry" (Shin Gi-Wook 2006, p. 102). In his treatise entitled *Ilmin gaeron* (*Introduction to Ilminjueui [One Nation]*), Rhee (1949, pp. 9-10) states:

> The Korean nation is originally one. We have lived in the common territory; our *Volkgeist* has been in the same imaginary boundary; we have had the same customs and rules in politics and culture; we have not discriminated against one another. *In order to make the nation one, we have to eliminate any kind of barriers that block the pathway*. Making a contribution to our way of becoming the one nation, if you find anything to violate the principle, you must just throw it away. With any discernible sensibility, we can maintain the ethnically homogeneous body of the nation. Know this: We survive when we get together; we all die when we are split up. We find the survival in the way of being one nation. (My italics; cf. Cumings 1990, p. 210)

Rhee's doctrine of the One Nation thrust South Koreans on his bellicose propaganda of "Unification of the Korean Nation through an Uncompromising Military March to the North"[17] (*Bookjintongil ron*) by discriminating the non-conciliatory element of communism/pro-North Koreanism from the supposed principle of unifying the nation, the rhetorical move of which was envisaged as the duties of South Koreans in a quasi-egalitarian term by his inaugural address on July 24, 1948:

> Good citizens must be protected, while bad ones [are] curbed. Selfishness must make room for justice. Formerly the state used to decline by the monarchs upholding the unworthy and estranging the wise. But in these times when it is the people that elect their officers, it is up to them to exercise the judgment to distinguish

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[17] See Rhee's (1956) *Korea Flaming High: Excerpts from Statements by President Syngman Rhee in 1954-55* regarding the reiterated post-war performance of Rhee's *Bookjintongil ron* and *Ilminjuui*. Refer to Suh Joong-Seok's (1995) historical analysis about the rhetorical incorporation of Rhee's anti-Japanese nationalism in the discursive articulation of anti-North Koreanism and ethnic nationalism. And see Shin Gi-Wook (2006, chapter 4) with regard to the historical narratives of ethnic nationalism deployed in North Korea's political schemes of a nation-state building-up.

> between the good and bad, between the competent and the incompetent. (Quoted in Cumings 1990, p. 209)

In his address, although Rhee's doctrine of the nation and national unification appeared to target "North Korean communism's anti-patriotism of countering the nation but not communism itself" (quoted in Kim Jung-Hoon 2000, p. 152, n. 16), his quasi-liberal principle seems to carve out a figure of the nation as "a new people…[who can] make a holy state away from all the old corrupt practices" (quoted in Cumings, 1990, p. 209).

The anti-North Korean thrust of Rhee's *Ilminjuui* doctrine had been elaborated by Rhee's ideologues such as Ahn Ho-Sang and Yi Bum-Seok, who were respectively the first Minster of the Department of Education and the first Secretary of State in the First Republic of Korea. Although they asserted that Korean nationalism should never be reconciled with any totalitarian and fascist principle with regard to politics, the economy, and war as in Hitler's Nazism (see Suh Joong-Seok, 2005, pp. 62-63), they insisted that the Korean nation, being synonymous with "the new, good citizen" in the One Nation doctrine, must be nurtured in the ethnic superiority of "pure bloodedness." For example, Yi Bum-Seok was insisting in a series of his published books:

> Hitler's Nazism mobilized the national movements of the German race in a failed attempt to grasp the particular history of the German nation. But in fact, his thrust successfully brought into effect national solidarity by excluding the Jewish. (p. 30 in *Minjok gwa chongnyon* [*The Nation and Youth,* published in 1947], quoted in Suh Joong-Seok 2005, p. 106)

> [Commitments to the One-Nation doctrine] are to demonstrate our loyalty to the unbreakable tie with the nation, which is operated in our pure bloodline that the Korean nation commands with the utmost solemnity. The nation's blood! The blood tying fathers and brothers together! ... This blood is the very beginning and the end, in which we can essentially think of the nation. (p. 227 in *Minjok ron* [*A Thesis of the Nation* published in 1947], quoted in Suh Joong-Seok 2005, pp. 106-107)

The One-Nation doctrine, predicated upon the alleged ethnic denomination of the Korean nation with a pureblooded race, had been inscribing communists/pro-North Koreans in the caesura between the right of living and the right of death, which was

justified through the mass murdering of the members of the KFPGP. As Kim Dong-Choon (2000, p. 281) discusses, the massacre events should not simply be regarded as the Holocaust in a complete term, because each of those events had a distinct tactic of making a "threat" in its own term (i.e. the ethnic nation for the Rhee regime, the race for the Nazi regime). But I also believe that one can make a homological imagination through both extreme historical events, in that both events invented an enemy not simply as a political/ideological/military adversary but also as a biological anomaly threatening to the body of each nation. Just as the Jewish were killed in the camps without sacrificing themselves to anything except for the tactics of strengthening the German race in Nazism, the body politic of communists/pro-North Korean converters was only to exist in the prisons throughout the war period while sacrificing their body *in a deterministic ethnic term of degenerating the "good citizens" of the Korean nation*.[18]

The Rhee regime viciously deployed the disciplinary mechanism of the KFPGP in the scheme of *preventing* anti-government activities of those converters and putting stringent social regulation on South Koreans' political performance in the chaotic post-Liberation terrain.[19] In the midst of a political crisis in the nation-state building-up project, the disciplinary tactic of anti-communism was affirmed through the exercise of the biopower mode that brought the body of those converters into an un-definable realm at the intersection of social Darwinian nationalism and anti-North Koreanism. The Rhee

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[18] Notably, *Ilminjuui*'s political-philosophical connection to the ideological imperatives of social Darwinism can be traced in some of the historical, sociological, and anthropological literature with regard to the origin and development of social Darwinism in Colonial Korea. For example, see Park Chan-Seung (1996, 2007), Jeon Bok-Hee (1996), Park Sung-Jin (1996, 1998), Yoon Geon-Cha (1996), and Shin Gi-Wook (2006, esp. chapters 1, 2, and 3).

[19] According to some post-war testimonies about war crimes, the KFPGP members were massacred, because of Rhee's anti-communist delirium that they would turn into organizers of political revolts against the nation after the war (see Jung Byung-Joon 2004, pp. 103-104).

dictatorship's defense of the "anti-national anomaly" continued to be invoked in the subsequent Park Chung-hee dictatorship, where the South Korean public imagined North Korea along the lines of the discursive combination of anti-North Koreanism and nationalism in a far more different and sophisticated way.

The Rise of the Park Chung-hee Dictatorship and the Integration of Korean Nationalism and Anti-North Koreanism

The April 19 Uprising in 1960 overthrew the Rhee regime, locating South Korean society in a prototypical moment where "*Minjung*"[20] movements came to the political front for democratic social movements of popular nationalism in post-war South Korea (Kang Man-Gil 1995; Kim Dong-Choon 2006). But shortly after the historic event, the May 16 *coup* in 1961 by Park Chung-hee brutally squelched the then glaring democratic revolutionary desires of national unification. By the late-1950s, the South Korean public was expressing popular support of Cho Bong-Ahm, whose progressive liberal-cum-social democratic advocacy of peaceful national unification substantially challenged Rhee's bellicose proposition of "Unification of the Korean Nation through an Uncompromising

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[20] As scholars have acknowledged, the term "*Minjung*" refers to the formation of South Korean universal political subjectivity across different lines of socio-economic interests under societal oppression. The counter-hegemonic political alliance of the *Minjung* movements, which dates from anti-Japanese colonialist struggles, is fundamentally strategic as in the political alliances of college students and farmers throughout the 1980s (see Abelmann 1995), and has been performed in a transcendental manner (Kang Man-Gil 1995). As Kenneth M. Wells (1995, p. 11) points out, the praxis of the *Minjung* movements embodies ontological contingency which is "applied, not to people who form a group within a structure of social relations by virtue of their *doing* something, but to 'the people' who form the dynamic of history by virtue of their *being* something—the bearers of certain values and qualities" (original emphasis and italics).

Military March to the North" (*Bookjintongil ron*) (Suh Joong-Seok 1992).[21] After the fall of the First Republic of Korea ruled by Rhee Syngman, Chang Myun, who was elected Prime Minister in the Second Republic (1960-1961) despite his avowed political dedication to liberal democracy, was too lukewarm to fully adopt and fulfill popular demands for institutional reforms to address administrative bureaucracies and political corruption in public organizations. Chang believed that his government would be seriously challenged by political and military elites who had still remained in power since the Rhee regime if he, somewhat radically in his view, pushed institutional reforms. The South Korean public then continued mass protestations, provoking an inevitably anxious state of the political transition of liberal democracy.

In his statement of the military *coup*, Park Chung-hee declared the revolutionary period of the April 19 Uprising as "an intolerable political chaos only enervating the South in the face of the communist threat of the North" (quoted in Choi Jang-Jip and Park Myung-Lim 1991, p. 61). Such "an atmosphere of security paranoia" led the Park regime to take advantage of nationalism under the developmentalist rubric of political governance (Robinson 2005, p. 17). The military dictatorship imposed on the South Korean public made plausible authoritarian mandates that national unification would never be feasible without demolishing the communist nation and implementing capitalist economic development, because only that would buttress "the nation's survival" (*minjok saengjon*).[22]

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[21] For this reason, Cho Bong Ahm was sentenced to death for an orchestrated espionage charge and executed in 1959, a time when the Rhee regime was hanging predictably on the verge of political collapse.

[22] As I discuss later for some detail in chapter two, such a rhetorical prescription of "the nation's survival" was reformulated in a series of cultural policy programs called "the restoration of national culture and art" (*Moonyeh joongheung*) in the early 1970s.

When Park Chung-hee came to power through the military coup, his Supreme Council for National Reconstruction declared on May 19, 1961 that the cause of the military *coup* did not simply reference an anti-North Korean security regime but also mobilized the population in a complete rebuilding up of the Korean nation.[23] While North Korea still remained in the very ideological status of political adversary threatening to the Park regime, this status began to be invoked in more economic terms translated into part of managing the government for national prosperity. In other words, "North Korea" became an object of analysis necessary for securing the strength and wealth of the (South) Korean population. Combined with the first Five-Year National Economic Development Plans beginning in 1962, "North Korea" came to be articulated under the ideological thrust of modernization theory (Park Tae-Gyun 2007), being reified as the primary object of "state extension" as well as of "state reconstruction" in order for the

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[23] During the Park regime, another political technique for the management of the population was the National Family Planning. This neo-Malthusian scheme to promote economic development aimed to curb the high fertility rate by controlling women's reproduction. The rate of population growth of South Korea whose fertility rate reached 6.3 percent in the 1960s dramatically went down to 0.9 percent in 2002 (National Statistical Office 2002). Population growth, as treated as a serious social pathology, began to be a major terrain of government administration for economic security. Various kinds of social, administrative, and ideological resources were deployed to control the high fertility rate in the early 1960s. Most of local health centers were primary institutions to educate people about contraceptive methods. One of the particular efforts made by the National Family Planning during the 1960s was to enact "a new family model" through national campaigns (Kim Eun-Sil 2000): for example, "Don't bear many (children) and don't suffer much, bear few and raise them well," "Bearing children without any plans causes poverty," "Three in a row with three years in between and finish at the age of 35," "Bearing few and raising them well is good for parents as well as children." Moreover, despite abortions were obviously illegal in the 1960s and 1970s, it was unlikely that they could be performed without the state's unspoken endorsements. The Family Planning in the 1980s was focused on the implementation of sterilization surgeries, while continuously being buttressed by a set of government assistance programs designed to adopt the new family planning model, population education as an official curriculum in elementary to high schools, and various kinds of public campaigns through the mass media (Kim Eun-Sil 2000).

Park regime to strategize a particular combination of political and economic activities (Martinussen 2004, p. 228).[24]

To facilitate the national mobilization of political dictatorship, the Park regime helped launch *Jaegeon goongmin undong bonboo* (the National Campaign for Korean Reconstruction) during the Interim Military Government (1961-1963). It was a national civilian organization led by well-known intellectuals, journalists, and educators such as Yoo Jin-O, Yoo Dal-Young, Kim Pahl-Bong, and Lee Heon-Goo who were highly critical of Rhee Syngman's political dictatorship and his militant anti-North Korean imperatives. The national campaign was a political apparatus to set out a political program of economic developmentalism through "a remodeling of individual souls for collective cooperation for national prosperity," which resonated with Park Chung-hee's scheme of the *coup* that the "total reform of the Korean consciousness" was urgently needed due to society-wide bureaucratic corruption and a lack of independence (Huh Eun 2003; Oh Seong-Cheol 2003). In addition, the military coup was hailed as an inevitable, promising political shift of promoting economic development by some college student government organizations and many lower-class farmers who had been involved in the rural region makeover project called the *Saemaeul undong* (New Village movements), as well as by liberal intellectuals who had been publishing the then prestigious scholarly journal *Sasanggye* (*The World of Thought*) that pioneered an adaptation of the idea of

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[24] Initially, the Park regime sought to push import-oriented industrialization under the free foreign aid policy of the US, which had been the major economic and military support for the Rhee Syngman government during the 1950s. But President Eisenhower's New Look policy in the middle of the US cold-war military containment of communism at that time was causing his administration huge deficit budgets, which in turn led to the substantial changes of the overall US foreign policy, as influenced by modernization theory. In particular, Rostow's modernization theory played a key role in the political economic transition of Third World South Korea (see Park Tae-Gyun 2007, especially see chapter two).

social and political mobility under the premise of modernization theory (Hwang Byung-Joo 2000; 2004; Lee Sang-Rok 2007).

Such substantial popular support of the legitimacy of the Park regime's modernization projects for the nation indeed gives the strong impression that Park Chung-hee's national development initiatives gained greater effectiveness, up until his assassination on December 12, 1979, than Rhee's aggressive anti-communist national mobilization of the population in the 1950s (Park Sang-Hoon 1995).[25] In this regard, more symptomatically, it is plausible to say that the popular support of the Park regime at the time can be viewed not only as conformism but also as voluntarism. To explain this doldrums of popular resistance to the Park regime, recently the idea of "*daejung dokjae*" (mass dictatorship) has been put forward, especially so as to understand the *Minjung's* role to collaborate in sustaining the Park regime (Im Ji-Hyun 1999, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2006; Im Ji-Hyun and Lee Sang-Rok 2005). This idea of "*daejung dokjae*" implies that Park's political dictatorship had been the very outcome of "popular consent" to the schemes of political, economic, and cultural modernization. The "*daejung dokjae*" thesis presented the "numerical decrease" in "large-scale" or "mass" political protestations against the Park regime as evidence of popular conformism to the state violence and economic exploitations,[26] making a link to the German population's comprehensive support of Hitler's Nazi regime during the Second World War (Hwang Byung-Joo 2000, pp. 49-50; Im Ji-Hyun and Lee Sang-Rok 2005, pp. 321-324).

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[25] I want to thank Professor Park Sang-Hoon at Korea University Center for Asian Research for his generosity to allow me to access his unpublished manuscript.

[26] For example, the loss of capital caused by labor strikes in South Korea from 1971 to 1980 amounted to only 4,000 hours of labor production in total, compared to other Third World countries such as the Philippines who lost 50,000 hours during the same period (Kim Joon 1993, in Hwang Byung-Joo 2000, pp. 49-50).

The *daejung dokjae* thesis indeed makes it clear that the normalization of society geared toward the state's mobilization of the population for economic development came to be possible when anti-North Koreanism renders its regulatory, violent tactics concealed within a popular formation of the nation. For example, since the *Saemaeul undong* was launched in 1972, it had successfully organized its training camps until 1979, attracting more than 680,000 "local opinion leaders" who were capable of helping their people effectively perform a diverse range of reform projects in agricultural, industrial, and urban modernization. This national organization came to be successful, appealing to the idea that the nation's destiny cannot simply be secured in the reckless anti-communist propagandas that the South Korean public experienced during the Rhee regime. The Park regime instead propagated the idea that the nation's prosperity must be measured in "economic terms," which in turn should be suited to the cultivation of an enthusiasm for "good nationalism" in an effort to defeat North Korea (Hwang Byung-Joo 2000, pp. 62-63).

This is the backdrop against which the critique of popular conformism to political dictatorship comes to be highly skeptical of the analytic binarism of "dominance versus resistance" developed by South Korean Marxian democratic social movement scholarship. In their debate over to the extent to which the *Minjung* made a substantial challenge to the Park regime (e.g. Cho Hee-Yeon 2004; Im Ji-Hyun and Lee Sang-Rok 2005), proponents of the *daejung dokjae* thesis claim that the preoccupation with the concept of resistance obscures the sustaining tactics of political dictatorship which penetrated into social life.

Although I agree that there should be a sophisticated framework to explain the success of the political tactics in the public realm, however, I suggest that the *daejung dokjae* thesis's strategy of dismantling the ambivalent characters of conformism and resistance in popular conduct still remains reliant on the schematic division of dominant

and subordinate cultural politics that the strategy ostensibly wants to target. First of all, Im Ji-Hyun (2001) contends that:

> If one considers the discursive terrain of the *Minjung* movements as *ceaselessly nomadic space*, the simple dichotomy of conformism and resistance of the *Minjung* cannot appropriately be made to explain the complicated mechanism of *everyday fascism*. (p. 84, my italics)

Here, Im rarely unfolds the daunting conceptualization of "everyday fascism," but it is fair to say that with that concept he wants to point to "the internalization of totalitarian discourses" within popular formation (Im Ji-Hyun 2001, p. 44). If then, how would such a "willful subscription" of the people to political dictatorship be possible? It is operated because social democratic practices are never fixed as counter-hegemonic but instead are exercised through negotiation. Admittedly, the idea of *daejung dokjae* is predicated on the notion of hegemony to illuminate the interplay of resistance and conformism in terms of negotiating their material and ideological forces, paying more attention to the psychological mechanism of consent production (Bennett 1998, p. 69).

More theoretically speaking, in the view of the *daejung dokjae* thesis, the discursive space of "ceaselessly nomadic movements" by the people is less concerned with how culture works in the exercise of power and organizes the relationships between individuals and cultural resources (e.g. the *Saemaeul undong*) than with the reasons why a certain type of the social relation (e.g. the dichotomy between the state power and the subordinate people) is maintained (Bennett 1998, pp. 69-70). The possessive conception of power makes a presumptive claim that social relations created in the "circularity of power relations" end up being reduced to the function of the state power (Hall 1997). The *daejung dokjae* thesis crumbles in such a reductive fashion, drawing on the "reproduction" of dominant totalitarian codes in a popular realm, because it concludes that the "negotiational capacity" of the people is likely to be only conceivable within the scope of the state (or dominant) power:

> The critical demands for abandonment of totalitarian cultural norms are consistently managed by the reproduction of everyday life as a "structured structure." … A challenge to the reproduction of emancipatory life...should be viewed in questioning everyday fascism. [In other words] this task can be achieved through the investigation of the reproduction of everyday life repeated by the dominant codes [operated by the state power]. (Im Ji-Hyun 2001, p. 75, p. 76)

First, the theoretical ambivalence inflicts its bold historical investigation with a hodgepodge of theoretical tools to explain the reproduction of anti-North Koreanism under the purview of the authoritarian state (see Im Ji-Hyun and Lee Sang-Rok 2005, p. 318). The elliptical stress on popular submissiveness is bound to imagine the authoritarian repressive political regime, in which social and political conformism of the *Minjung* is inherently "pre-given" (Cho Hee-Yeon 2005, pp. 319-320). At this point, it is worth underscoring E. P. Thompson's (1963) remark that "Although historians and sociologists have recently given more attention to millennarial movements and fantasies, their significance has been partly obscured by the tendency to discuss them in terms of maladjustment and 'paranoia'" (p. 49, original emphasis). Furthermore, the analysis of the dominant modes thus needs to disenchant its own oversimplified historicism of identifying the period of the Park regime with Nazism (Jang Jeong-Il 2004).

Second, the *daejung dokjae* thesis's call for dwelling on the reproduction of "popular consent from-below" to political dictatorship falls short of analyzing the tactics of normalizing "the discursive combination of popular nationalism and anti-North Koreanism" geared toward economic developmentalism. The Park regime devised the national campaign of the *Saemaeul undong* for the sake of exploiting local communities under the scheme of industrialization. The original idea of the national campaign paradoxically came from North Korea. While pitting the South Korea population against its North Korean counterpart, Park Chung-hee was emulating Kim Il Sung (and presumably *vice versa*), because Park knew how the Kim regime had been promptly revitalized after the Korean War in the collectivist scheme of political mobilization in

which any "anti-national" ethos was relegated to the submission of American imperialism (Robinson 2005; Shin Gi-Wook 2006, chapter 8).

Indeed, the problematic characteristic of nationalism vulnerable to political mobilization is explicitly the main target of analysis in the *daejung dokjae* thesis. And no one seems to disagree with the thesis that the success of the *Saemaeul undong* stemmed from the deployment of nationalism particularly suited to the tactic in which the South Korean public was pitted against North Korea (Cho Hee-Yeon 2005). But one may still be left wondering *what other way can be articulated to explain the success*. Put simply, in order to explain the "political silence from below" during the Park regime, the thesis winds up identifying "nationalism" as an expression of "statism" that reduces the political conduct of the populace to an outcome of the state's exercising political and bureaucratic power—i.e. the claim that popular conformism of the South Korean public can be substantiated in the success of the *Saemaeul undong* (Im Ji-Hyun and Lee Sang-Rok 2005). In this schematization, no one else except for the state appears to be allowed to imagine the political community of the nation. This speaks to the primary feature of Park Chung-hee's "anti-North Korean nationalism" as a manipulative and top-down political technique. The thesis thus conceives "popular conformism" as a mere ideological effect of anti-North Korean nationalism.

Accordingly, within the *daejung dokjae* thesis, as the state is conceptualized as the only entity that can imagine the nation, the scope of determining political conduct is constrained (or even always subject) to the function of the state. This implies that the thesis gives the discursive combination of anti-North Koreanism and nationalism a "static, homogeneous" character, as there would be "no negotiation between the state and the South Korean public" in the deployment of the discursive combination. Discussion of the representational crisis of the Park regime in the early 1970s can help to narrate the precariousness and volatility of the discursive combination, as shall be discussed in more detail in chapter three. At the time, the ideological contestations contrived to control the

emergent social protests against the Park regime were complicating the experiences of the South Korean public that passionately recognized North Korea as a part of the nation and at the same time anxiously spoke about provocative anomalous characters running counter to the formation of national belonging.

The State of Emergency, the Political Crisis of *Siwol* *Yushin* and Anti-North Koreanism

Once Park Chung-hee, who served as a military officer in Japanese-controlled Manchuria in the early 1940s, came to power in the bloodless *coup* in 1960, he attempted to normalize the diplomatic relationship with the former colonizer Japan for the purpose of facilitating export-oriented economic development, the legitimacy of which was never viable under Rhee Syngman's anti-Japanese principle. Protests of college students and intellectuals against the normalization treaty between South Korea and Japan started in 1962 and thrust out their highest resentment in June 1964. This "June 3 Uprising" in 1964 was a key marker of political resistance to the Park regime's abandonment of the affirmation of popular sovereignty built on the "April 19 Uprising" in 1960 (Lee Kwang-Il 1998, pp. 168-172). South Korean social movement groups who were sprouting the *Minjung* movements challenged the grim spell of political authoritarianism and violence that had been cast by the Park regime in order to suffocate political dissenting voices throughout the 1970s (Cho Hee-Yeon 2000).

Meanwhile, as the world system faced increasing global economic downturns at the turn of the 1970s, the South Korean economy likewise began to crash because of the crisis of domestic capital accumulation ensuing from the shrinking of foreign export markets and the limiting of consumer purchasing power in the domestic market. The benefits of economic growth never trickled down to South Korean labor workers called "export heroes and heroines" (*Saneop yeokgoon*) who were struggling to gain their rights to live. On November 13, 1970, Chun Tae-Il, a 22-year-old clothing manufacture laborer

in the Cheonggye industrial park, downtown Seoul, committed suicide by self-immolation in a desperate pursuit of drawing attention to the atrocious labor exploitation and relentless abuses of human dignity on wage workers.[27] The historic incidence was not the only marker to signify the deteriorating material condition under the disguising mobilization of the population for economic development by the Park regime. For example, in Gwangju, Gyeonggi Province, paupers, treated as a large reserve army of cheap labor for industrialization, were causing riots in April 1970 as they were evicted from their homes in a new urban planning scheme to develop satellite commute towns to Seoul (Cho Hee-Yeon 1995, pp. 105-106; Kim Min-Bae 1995, pp. 95-96; Lee Kwang-Il 1998 pp. 172-177).

As the Park regime faced such political challenges from within as well as from the world system, a political decision of the Emergency Measure for Economic Stability and Growth was made on August 3, 1972. To expand the scope of governing through the state of emergency, the Park regime took advantage of the discursive combination of anti-North Koreanism and nationalism. On July 4, 1972, the Park regime made a public announcement about the impending historic first inter-Korea talk (29 August to 3 September in Pyongyang) since the Korean War. Although the ideological sway of anti-North Koreanism under the trauma of the war still remained powerful in controlling dissenting voices from below in the state of emergency, it had to revise the delivery of anti-North Koreanism through which to enable it to put into effect its full regulatory impact on the South Korean public, circulating the conciliatory idea of "recuperating the national identification of ethnic homogeneity," in which shared values of nation are abstracted as essential, deterministic attributes of defining the nation.

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[27] Regarding the body politics of Chun Tae-Il in the South Korean public sphere, see Cho Young-Cheon (2009, chapter two).

For example, as one can see in chapter three, in the South Korean news coverage of North Korea during the inter-Korea talk, the body politic of the North Korean females wearing the Korean traditional garment *Hahnbok* signifies the tactical attempt of anti-North Koreanism to be reconciled to the politics of national identification. This visual politics of national reconciliation was operated within the scheme that invokes the political significance of the inter-Korea talk. In doing so, however, the ideological reconciliation was never committed to defusing political antagonism, but rather reprogrammed the way in which the South Korean public imagined the community of the nation as the body politic of the North Korean population revealed its anomalous characters through the visual representation. In short, in this discursive shift of operating anti-North Koreanism, "North Korea" was to be reconfigured not so much as *the threat to be killed for the nation's survival* but as *the body politic of the nation to be persistently identified for the nation's prosperity* on the grounds that—in the Park regime's ideological claims— national unification would serve as the means of overcoming the "domestic"—in the sense that national unification fundamentally pursues *the one nation*—and "international" political and economic crisis that the nation had to confront at the time.

On October 17, 1972, Park Chung-hee finally declared a state of emergency that was called the *Siwol Yushin* (October Restoration), completely abandoning the legitimacy of popular sovereignty and party politics in liberal democracy. The state of emergency created the National Conference for Unification, whose members were not allowed to be affiliated with any political party but rather were granted the constitutional rights to elect the president (Clause 36 in Chapter 3 in the *Yushin* Amendments). Moreover, thanks to the *Yushin* Amendments (Clause 40 in Chapter 3), Park Chung-hee, gaining the sovereignty status of the "supra-constitutional" dictator, came to be able to nominate one third of the body of congressmen. As a result, the principles of political representation

such as party competition and uncertainty of election were enormously restrained (Kim Min-Bae 1995, pp. 99-101; Jeong Sang-Ho 1998, pp. 127, 130-131).

Furthermore, as a communist victory in the Vietnam War was imminent in 1974, other President Emergency Measures were subsequently made to develop a more rigid national security regime in which the juridical order was being substantially suspended. Among the suspensions, on April 9, 1975, the eight South Korean student activists and opposition leaders (Seo Do-Won, Ha Jae-Wan, Doh Ye-Jong, Kim Yong-Won, Woo Heung-Seon, Song Sang-Jin, Lee Soo-Byung, and Yeo Jung-Nam), arrested under the suspicion of pro-North Korean collaboration spy activities, were sentenced to death and hastily executed less than eighteen hours shortly after the Supreme Court decisions on charges of treason, anti-governmental activities, and cooperation with North Korea by organizing an underground communist/pro-North Korean group, *Inhyuk dang* (People's Revolutionary Party).[28] The total denunciation of human dignity in the case was possibly made in an "unthinkable juridical void," in which the eight pro-North Korean suspects were placed "in an absolute non-place" of inhumanness (Agamben 2003/2005, p. 51). Such a juridical void was extended, insofar as it puts stringent regulation on the political conduct of the South Korean public by spectacularly inscribing pain on the distressed body through juridical violence (Foucault 1975/1979).

But public outcry also became much fiercer against the state of emergency. As the liberal Vietnam (and the US) finally surrendered the communist Vietnam on April 30, 1975, the Park regime in the end declared the 9th Presidential Emergency Measurement on May 13, 1975, trying to reinforce the anti-communist security regime. In this

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[28] Shortly after the execution on April 9, 1975, an international human organization called the date "the most barbarous day in the history of jurisprudence." On August 20, 2007, the Seoul District Court ruled that the government must pay the families of the eight men compensation in the amount of 63.7 billion won (about 60 million US dollars). Those eight men were already acquitted of all charges in a court ruling in January 2007 (Cumings 2007).

showdown, any politically dissenting voice was to large extent shut down,[29] and "the *raison d'être* of the Constitution was completely lost" (Kim Min-Bae 1995, p. 98). In order to "desperately defend the state,"[30] the regime had to be tuned in to anti-North Korean commitments to national security **(**Park Chung-hee 1975, p. 22).

Shortly after the series of emergency measurements, democratic challenges such as Catholic social movements in alliance with farmers and factory workers were intensively organized (Sohn Hak-Kyu 1989), seemingly targeting the instability of Park's rhetoric of national identification enshrined in anti-North Koreanism. As such, the *Siwol Yushin* (October Restoration) was a political "response" to the international and domestic challenges, in which a variety of dynamics were articulated in terms of the shift of anti-North Korean performance in political economic realms (Kim Soo-Haeng and Park Seung-Ho 2007). As is shown in the next section, such discursive dynamics of operating anti-North Koreanism and national identification can more recently be traced in the so-called "North Korean human rights crisis" along the lines of neo-liberalism and new conservatism.

The North Korean Human Rights Crisis

North Korean border-crossers have become literally a "mass phenomenon." From the end of the Korean War (1950-1953) until the 1980s, the number of North Koreans who had defected to South Korea was as small as 420 (Kim Yeon-Cheol 1996, p. 82).

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[29] Only in the second half of 1975, 1,412 dissenters were arrested in violation of the emergency measurement. With regard to the descriptions of the court decisions at the time, see "A Brief Summary on Republic of Korea Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Midterm Report 2* (2006)" (Yeoksamunje Yeonkooso 2007).

[30] In the radio speech delivered on January 9, 1970, Park Chung-hee resolutely spoke "the state is the very highest entity extended out of the *goongmin* (the organic unity of the population in the nation-state)." *National security* in this sense is translated into *self-determination* of *goongmin* themselves.

But since the mid-1990s, a time when fatal perennial natural disasters such as drought began to cause food shortages in North Korea, the number has exponentially increased. As of 2007, there are more than 10,000 North Korean border-crossers who have settled in South Korea (Korea Institute for National Reunification 2007). It is speculated that approximately 300,000 North Koreans have stayed illegally in China and other neighboring Asian countries in search of food and shelter.

North Korean border-crossers have historically and politically signified the contemporary failure in building up a unified Korean nation-state. Shortly after the National Liberation from Japanese colonial occupation (1910-1945), the Korean peninsula was divided into two ideological territories of sovereignty along the lines of the then international cold war politics. By 1950, approximately 740,000 large landowners and commercial business owners and their family members in the North who were suspected of having been involved in collaborations with the Japanese colonial government defected to the South in order to avoid antagonistic ideological and physical conflicts and oppressions that involved land and other private property seizures by the communist party (Chung 2009, p. 6). Another large-scale political migration generating war refugees predictably was made during the Korean War.

The South Korean Rhee Syngman dictatorship (1948-1960) took advantage of the provocative idea of "pure bloodedness of ethnicity" in framing North Korean communists—and thus, by extension, border-crossers from the North—as a dangerous species threatening to the survival of the Korean nation. Compared to Hitler's Nazism, albeit somewhat boldly posed, the ideological amalgam of anti-communism and nationalism conceived communists as the embodiment of inferior properties that would never be "considered a natural being or fate characterized by shared bloodline and ancestry" (Shin Gi-Wook 2006, p. 102). After the war, Rhee more forcefully deployed this political doctrine so as to secure his anti-communist grasp in South Korean political culture. Under the circumstances, border-crossers from the North who were seriously

abused by the political suspicion of pro-communists feared severe political and legal violence (Chung Byung-Ho 2009, p. 7).

It was not until the Park Chung-hee dictatorship (1961-1979) that those border-crossers came to significantly be treated as a symbolic carrier of waging a heroically patriotic war against the communist regime. Park Chung-hee, who subsequently rose to the throne of political dictatorship by *coup* in 1961, declared the total mobilization of the South Korean population to defeat the Kim Il Sung regime. North Koreans' defection began to be employed as irrefutable evidence of confirming the South's superiority over the North. To institutionally implement this discursive tactic, in 1962 the Ministry of Defense established the Special Relief Act for Patriots and Heroes Who Returned to the State, to confer on them a patriotic honor and financial rewards for special treatment (Chung Byung-Ho 2009, p. 8).

Such symbolic deployment of militant patriotism subsequently continued in Chun Doo-Hwan's military dictatorship (1980-1987) and his progeny Roh Tae-Woo's government (1988-1993). In 1992, several North Korean lumber workers in Vladivostok, Russia were exiled to South Korea. The Roh Tae-Woo government decided to grant two North Korean lumber workers from Russia political exile status in 1992, amending the Special Act for North Korean Surrenders of 1978 and thereby enacting the Surrendering North Korean Compatriots Protection Law. In March 1993, the Kim Young-Sam government (1993-1997) signed amendments to the 1951 Refugee Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol that defines refugees' rights and membership states' legal obligations.

At this point, what was noticeable in the 1990s is that the series of defections began to be framed as incidents of a serious deprivation of "human rights," helping to mark the decisive moment at which the spectacle of the North Korean human rights crisis came into play in making a discursive shift of anti-communism in South Korea. That is, the significant increase in the North Korean refugee flow primed the circulation of the

dramatic images of North Koreans abused by human trafficking as well as suffering from hunger and impoverishment, turning on the "cultural Otherness" of North Korea inscribed as "inferior, incivil, and exotic" (Lee Namhee 2002).

The New Conservative Uptake

In the meantime, the dramatized human rights crisis discourse has led South Korean popular nationalist social movements to rise to challenge their own principle of national collaboration from within as well as from new conservatives.[31] The social movement groups have been reluctant to engage with North Korean human rights issues, because they believe that US-led international economic sanctions and potential military humanitarian interventions in North Korea would have resulted in another terrifying war in the Korean peninsula. However, their request for recognizing the social and political dimensions of human rights for the sake of dealing with the North Korean refugee debate did not attract much popular support from the South Korean public, because it never convinced the public of the validity of the request in terms of resolving the crisis. In other words, their take on a "comparative" approach to the human rights crisis frequently crashes in the received skepticism of a "relativistic" approach, by which those social movement groups ended up being portrayed as if they eventually were "politically aloof."

South Korean new conservatives promptly took advantage of the North Korean human rights crisis, framing the contention that national unification would only result in another disaster in economic terms without any consensus on the matter of North Korean refugees. For them, the only ultimate resolution can come along with the collapse of the

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[31] North Korean human rights agendas have brought about a significant impact on South Korean progressive left politics. For example, shortly after the 2007 presidential election, the Democratic Labor Party was finally split into the majority group that wants to keep working with popular national collaboration and the minority group that wants to keep the scheme of national collaboration at bay in an effort to ensure the international human rights consensus.

Kim Jong Il regime. For South Korean new conservatives, "humanitarianism in good faith" must be tied to the cause of the "democratization" of North Korea:

> The North Korean human rights crisis has essentially been caused by the Kim Jong-Il dictatorship. The only resolution to the problem can be made possible in the fall of the regime, which means the democratization of North Korean society. The North Korean human rights crisis is definitely a political problem. (Kim Gi-Pyo 2004)

At this point, one may still be left wondering why those South Korean new conservatives made enormous efforts to deploy the discourse of the North Korean human rights crisis. Above all, they wanted to recuperate the hegemonic position that they had failed to secure in a broad range of unification matters during the periods of the Kim Dae-Jung government and the Roh Moo-Hyun government. To do this, those new conservatives have framed the popular nationalist social movements, which have mostly supported the inter-Korea economic collaboration policies of the Kim Dae-Jung government and the Roh Moo-Hyun government, as anachronistic support for the North Korean regime, thereby attempting to marginalize other alternative voices regarding the human rights issue (Park Seok-Jin 2006).[32]

The new conservative uptake in liberal human rights discourse gained more popular currency as North Korea broke away from the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights shortly after the UN Human Rights Committee passed a resolution to the alleged human rights abuse cases in North Korea. Over the three years since 2003, the UN Human Rights Committee had passed other resolutions to the violation of human

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[32] Apparently, here, I do not suggest that such a new conservative force has always prevailed over alternative voices (e.g. a call for the distinction between humanitarian "aid" and humanitarian "intervention" that some NGOs such as Good Friends have persistently urged) regarding the human rights issues, nor do I intend to allude to the way in which such alternative voices are always seized with an impotent humanitarianism. I have attempted to lay out how South Korean new conservatives have undertaken the North Korean human rights crisis with liberal human rights discourse. As the South Korean human rights lawyer Kim Dong-Han (2005) aptly points out, no single force relation in South Korean society can be defined with regard to North Korean human rights issues.

dignity, especially regarding political prisoners and open executions of criminals in North Korea, most of which were allegedly witnessed by North Korean refugees. Such international consensus of framing North Korean human rights abuse has been extended through the UN General Assembly over the three consecutive years since 2005, as the 2005 UN General Assembly decision led to the establishment of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In 2006, the European Union Parliament also joined the international efforts to take issue with suspicious human rights violations in North Korea, and the Japanese Parliament similarly adopted the North Korea Human Rights Act of 2006. It is no surprise that the U.S. has been a major player leading to such human rights debates over North Korea, as the post-9/11 foreign policy of the second Bush government declared North Korea part of an "axis of evil" threatening the security of the liberal world. The U.S. House passed the North Korea Freedom Act of 2003, and the North Korea Human Rights Act was passed by the U.S. Congress and endorsed by President George W. Bush in 2004.

South Korean new conservatives deplored popular nationalists' criticism of the second Bush government's North Korea Human Rights Act of 2004, calling on the South Korean public to be aware that the Act would be the best means of implementing humanitarian aid to North Koreans. For example:

> One should be opposed to those who are simple-mindedly opposed to the Act, which explicitly does not aim to overturn the Kim Jong-Il regime but is designed in good faith of humanitarianism to improve North Korea's human rights situations. Their skepticism will turn out to be an insane assault on the pedagogy of [liberal] human rights. (Kim Soo-Young 2004)

Indeed, the North Korea Human Rights Act of 2004, made possible in part through American evangelical new conservative populist movements such as the establishment of the North Korea Freedom Foundation in July 2003, consists of three major clauses: North Korean human rights protection, humanitarian aid to North Korean residents, and granting exile status to North Korean border-crossers who want to stay in the U.S.

However, given the budget allocations, which concentrate on financial aid to NGOs helping North Koreans (i.e. 80 million dollars out of the whole 96 million dollar budget over 4 years), it is highly suspected that the Act is no more than part of a larger political scheme that would prompt large-scale North Korean defection by which the hermit country would end up collapsing (Jeong Wook-Sik 2004).

Since then, South Korean new conservatives have more emphatically demanded categorizing North Korean border-crossers not as "defectors" but as "refugees."[33] This politics of classifying displaced North Koreans has a significant ideological implication. While the term "defectors" puts a premium on the impression of voluntary migration practice pursuing economic remuneration, the term "refugees" brings the border-crossing movements into discursive effect. More specifically, the latter implies that these border-crossers are *the very innocent victims of oppression* by the Kim Jong Il regime's frightening violations of human dignity.

South Korean new conservatives then have successfully framed recent North Korean border-crossing issues as "serious crimes against humanity" in an attempt to justify the liberal human rights regime, under which citizens should presumably be able to be guaranteed and enjoy individual autonomy and self-promotion for entitlements such as income, health care, and education. But as Peter H. Schuck (2002) aptly puts it, the liberal conception of citizenship *rights* naturalizes the citizenship *duties* of individuals in a liberal society who "must decide [with their own device] what kind of citizen to be—including the possibility that they will decide to forswear any political activity at all,

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[33] North Korean border-crossers were given the status of 'mandate refugees', a special categorization of the principle of 'nonrefoulement' that was admitted by the United Nations High Commissions for Refugees (UNHCR) in September 2003. The Secretary General of the UNHCR, Ruth Lubbers, admitted in the 54th executive meeting of the UNHCR held in Geneva, Switzerland that based on the information about North Korean defectors which was researched and collected by the UNHCR's Department of International Protection, the UNHCR reached a reasonable conclusion of granting North Korean border-crossers the status of 'command refugees', those who are entitled to the protection for persons of concern to the UNHCR.

preferring to a retreat to an entirely private world of family, friends, market transactions, and self-absorption and gratification, into a largely indifferent attitude toward any public goods not generated within these parochial domains" (p. 137). The liberal claim to the primacy of a rights-holding individual also requires individual citizens to tolerate inequalities in wealth, profession and education, making the citizens dismiss the fundamental idea that 'human rights as an idea is…only possible because of the inequalities intrinsic to the existence of the state and capitalism" (Woodiwiss 2005, p. 11).

In addition, South Korean new conservatives pushed the South Korean government to adopt legislation of the 1997 North Korean Defectors Protection and Settlement Act, which was particularly for the first time intended to help the settlement of displaced North Koreans in South Korea while also automatically granting them South Korean citizenship. In so doing, more recently, these new conservatives have brought up the idea of the North Korean human rights crisis in line with the principles of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, which stressed the intervening role of Western liberal countries in human rights issues taking place in the former Eastern bloc (see Heo Hyun-Joon 2004; Heo Man-Ho 2006). But this tactic is a disguising "anti-political" formulation of liberal human rights discourse, in that it stresses the "political neutrality" of liberal human rights discourse, even as it pronounces the "political effectiveness" of liberal human rights consensus in terms of forcing illiberal societies such as North Korea to seek to trade a humanitarian intervention for a remunerative military and/or economic security guarantee. Such a humanitarian intervention scheme apparently aims to help the hermit regime of North Korea to entirely collapse. And yet, any military intervention in North Korea is largely seen as implausible, especially given geo-political concerns associated with China and Russia; South Korean new conservatives attempt to employ such a diplomatic transaction as an alternative or tentative tactic in order for them to effectively utilize liberal human rights discourse.

Another formative process in the discourse of the North Korean human rights crisis can be found in the rise of NGOs that are conceptualized as the most "neutral arbiter" of dealing with North Korean defector issues in "a growing internationalization of political regulatory systems" regarding human rights issues (Hirsch 2003: 242-245): Good Friends (originally launched as the Buddhist Campaign for National Cooperation in 1996), the Civil Alliance for North Korean Human Rights (since 1996), the North Korean Democratization Network (since 1999), the Alliance for Free North Korea (since 2003), to name a few. Their political dispositions regarding North Korean border-crossers are diverse to the extent that they collaborate with one another (Kim Dong-Han 2005). At this point, I suggest that a critical investigation be conducted of the political significance in the rise of NGOs, because the emphasis on the central role of NGOs in the North Korean human rights crisis shifts the performance of anti-North Koreanism onto non-state realms (primarily markets), in which discourses about North Korea are translated into economic terms geared toward depriving North Korean settlers in South Korea of their agency and forcing them into a neo-liberal, market-oriented society, as shall be analyzed in chapter four.

First, advocates of NGOs as a fair arbiter in inter-Korea relations rest on the premise that NGOs neutrally perform to minimize or even prevent an inter-Korea political and military crash (see Rah Mee-Kyung 2001**;** Sohn Gwang-Joo 2008). However, as critical interpreters (Hardt and Negri 1999**;** Demirovic 2003**;** Passavant and Dean 2004**;** Ong 2006**)** have pointed out, albeit some variations in their position on the role of NGOs in a cosmopolitan global civil society, the role of NGOs in dealing with human rights violation issues can never be neutrally defined. In the case of the North Korean human right crisis, NGOs' political leverage is seen to be viable, whatever ideological perspective they might adopt, such that they make an effective partnership with the state (Lee Hye-Young and Seo Dae-Gyo 2005).

Second, more significantly, such a cooperative partnership of the state and NGOs of enacting international human rights consensus is obscured in the process in which the scope and capacities of the state in dealing with North Korean settlers in South Korea are valorized as minimal. In other words, the discourse of the North Korean human rights crisis infuses, into the rise of NGOs, the idea that the state can only vindicate human rights through institutional safeguards, and therefore the free markets as a neutral domain can best work to resolve the human rights crisis. This is asserted in terms that the violations of human rights in North Korea result from the absence of a free market realm in which individual autonomy can be guaranteed. This conception of market-oriented agency reframes the human rights crisis as the problem of a lack of self-autonomy and self-promotion. This reframing comes to be problematic when it not only disallows those settlers' individual agency as who they are (because of the forced social adaptation to liberal capitalist South Korean society) but also when it aims to discipline them to be a competent working force in South Korea's neo-liberal marketplace.

In sum, the discourse of the North Korean human rights crisis valorizes North Korean border-crossers as a population of neo-liberal social reform. In this process, on the one hand, North Korean border-crossers are regarded as "heroes/heroines" on rebellion against tyranny and oppression of the totalitarian regime. On the other hand, in the process of transforming refugees themselves into citizens in a neo-liberal capitalist society, they are attributed "second-rate citizen" traits, because in the transformation scheme they cannot fundamentally cultivate virtues of liberal citizenship on the ground that their troubled mind as a consequence of their North Korean and ensuing refugee life would otherwise be reconciled. As such, the human rights discourse shifts anti-North Koreanism from an exclusive realm of political antagonism to an inclusive realm of citizenship politics. In doing so, while ideological claims at first sight seem to be taken off North Korean issues, they are implicitly maintained in the politicization of

humanitarianism suited to the proliferation of anomalous characteristics of North Koreans.

Chapter Outlines

In the dissertation I show why and how South Korean society has still been so haunted by anti-North Koreanism that powerfully regulates conduct in political and cultural domains in post-war South Korea. The dissertation examines the discursive formation of "North Korea" as a problematically feminized, racialized, and ethnicized historical construct in South Korean public culture. To do so, the historical and textual investigations are clustered around the following particular aspects of the discursive formation: (1) how the identity politics of nationalism has posed a challenge to anti-North Koreanism, and in what way it implicitly subscribes to anti-North Koreanism along the lines of neo-liberalism and new conservatism, (2) how South Korean political and popular culture has conceived "North Korea" as an "exception" with which to justify the brutal regulation of society and to turn on the biopolitical body of North Korea as an "internal threat" to the nation, (3) the significance of the media's role in translating the principle of national identification into the ideological forces of cultural difference, (4) how the conciliatory impulse to view North Korean defectors under the (neo-)liberal discourse of human rights speaks about the troubling maintenance of the cultural Otherization discourse of anti-North Koreanism in neo-liberal capitalism. Here, while analyzing the psychiatric discourses of North Korean defectors, I examine how the formulation of cultural Otherness is signified through South Korean television documentary films about North Korean defectors who have settled in South Korea.

More specifically, in chapter two, I narrate what I call the "truth politics" of anti-North Koreanism in which a "genuine" figuration of North Korea is mistakenly presumed to be achievable at the popular level. I define the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism as the political-cultural discursive formation obscuring the ideological powerfulness of

anti-North Koreanism that draws on "the normality of nationalism," in which the dichotomy of good versus bad nationalism is entailed and imposed. The truth politics reinscribes and reinforces the populist and functionalist belief in national unification that justifies economic developmentalist agendas for North Korea. In other words, identity politics, caught up in the truth politics, unabashedly puts forward inter-Korea collaboration schemes that arguably turn on the provocative modernization tenet, prevailing during the several post-WWII decades, that non-Western nation-states must follow their Western counterparts for economic and political as well as cultural mobility. As an alternative, I discuss the post-colonial cultural criticism that calls into question the identity politics of popular nationalism, which implicitly performs along the lines of the Sunshine Policy guidelines to naturalize the normality of nationalism under economic developmentalism. The questionable formation of nationalism prevents South Koreans from gaining self-reflexive access to the ways in which heterogeneous tropes of the nation rupturing in the discursive practice of popular nationalism are exploited. This politics of nationalism illustrates how the relationship between South and North Korea is valorized in the rhetorical formulation of the modernization as a civilizing force. In this cultural politics, it is argued that national identification along the lines of liberal capitalism is presented as a panacea for North Korean ill will. In the discussion, however, I critically evaluate the analytical framework presumed within the criticism that constrains its scope and ability to question the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism the criticism ostensibly targets.

The third chapter aims to challenge the hegemonic contingency of anti-North Koreanism in post-war South Korean society. In particular, I wish to complicate the politics of national identification and its emphasis on the idea of ethnic homogeneity, which is largely supported by some South Korean national unification movements. I argue that the intertwining representational economy of gender and ethnic authenticity imposes what I call the biopolitical Otherization of North Korea, in which anomalous

characteristics of North Koreans are attached to the politics of national identification. In this chapter, I particularly pay attention to the way in which anti-North Koreanism is conceived as a claim to cultural Otherization by challenging the premise that post-cold war anti-North Koreanism be distinguished from its cold-war counterpart. My argument is that the reliance on this method of dividing "cold-war" and "post-cold war" in tracing anti-North Korean politics only helps pay scant attention to the discursive organization of regulatory apparatuses that maximizes the effectiveness of the combination of nationalism and anti-North Koreanism. To demonstrate this, I discuss how the visual experience of "eyewitness" plays a role in the formation that gives anti-North Koreanism the discursive power of cultural differentiation. Particular attention is drawn to on-site textual and photographic representations of North Korea by South Korean newspapers, as a means of the empirical affirmation of the biopolitical Otherness of North Koreans, during the historic event of the first official post-war inter-Korea talk held in Pyongyang from 29 August to 2 September1972.

In my fourth chapter, engaging with the claim of the "North Korean human rights crisis," I show how North Korean settlers in South Korea are expected to calculate the rubric of neo-liberal citizenship to program the fantasy of an enterprise of free and autonomous selves, in which the migrant population is compelled to ceaselessly improve its incompetent social skills in economic terms. I shall discuss the psychiatric discourse of therapeutically speaking about North Korean settlers as the population deprived of the psychological capacity to be autonomous and responsible for their social lives. The psychiatric diagnosis of strange mental properties presents the criteria of successful assimilation as an antidote to the psychological oppression that North Korean settlers must have experienced, encouraging the South Korean public to tolerate the social deviance of these settlers. Finally, by analyzing a South Korean television documentary film about North Korean settlers, I discuss how the pathological performance of examining those settlers' troubled minds enacts a therapeutic discourse translating their

everyday practices into the question of the ethico-politics of neo-liberal citizenship. In the documentary, it is implied that the ideal of the neo-liberal citizen is reinforced and imposed on those settlers as well as the South Korean viewers. I argue that this politics of neo-liberal citizenship is anti-political in the sense that it reduces claims to humanitarianism to the justification of liberal capitalism.

The fifth chapter concludes the dissertation by highlighting the general claims and thereby articulating the implications of the study when it comes to inter-Korea reconciliation. This chapter in particular illustrates the connection that neo-liberalism and new conservatism in South Korea make in the attempt to help anti-North Koreanism survive democratic challenges. In so doing, I discuss a discursive condition of inter-Korea sociability, in which the South Korean public can appropriate historical claims about the inter-Korea relationship that range from the atrocious and violent events in the Korean War to the so-called North Korean human rights crisis.

Conclusion

A challenge to anti-North Koreanism in South Korea has still been an obviously daunting political-cultural project in spite of the political liberalization of South Korean society. Whenever any radical democratic politics is posed, its legitimacy and acceptability is measured by an ideological ruler of the reified memory politics of the Korean War that prescribes the reasoning of waging a war with the North Korean species. The ideological integrity of any thought and activity related to North Korean issues is still censored through a very limited access to the historic event of the war. Those who want to challenge the ideological manipulation inevitably have to rely on the manipulated contents, because we would otherwise always have to be in an endless pursuit of truthful contents. This Nietzschean metaphor of a confrontation with our world speaks not to the pessimism that we do not have a truth about our history but to *a commitment to critical*

analysis from within us. The next chapter takes up the inquiry by analyzing how North Korea has been imagined in discourses of critical intellectuals in South Korea.

CHAPTER TWO THE "TRUTH POLITICS" OF ANTI-NORTH KOREANISM: THE POST-IDEOLOGICAL CULTURAL REPRESENTATION OF NORTH KOREA AND THE CULTURAL CRITISISMS OF KOREAN NATIONALISM

Introduction

Post-cold war South Korean national unification discourse seems doomed to enter into an elliptical political obscurantism. As the unyieldingly mandated political spectacle of cold war anti-North Koreanism transmutes itself into a somewhat attenuated and forbearing discourse, the discursive construct of "North Korea" appears to be replaced with a nebular "post-ideological" constellation of theatrically humanitarian characters. In other words, the post-cold war discursive reformulation of anti-North Koreanism at the turn of the twenty-first century is projected as if the cold war demonized characters of North Korea would be alleviated and even removed. It is a popular belief that painstaking scenes of North Korean defectors operate strong rhetorical functions of the discursive reformulation, through which South Koreans can verifiably recognize tolerable characters of North Korea. In what way and to what extent do we legitimately embrace the idea of "verifiably understanding North Korea"? What is the work of the discourse of national unification that supposedly works to alleviate anti-North Koreanism in a post-ideological South Korean popular-political terrain? In what way and to what extent has the discursive formation of anti-North Koreanism been sustained and contested?

In grappling with those questions, this chapter argues that the post-cold war discursive transformation about North Korea intensifies the "truth politics" of anti-North Koreanism, in which a "genuine" figuration of North Korea is presumed to be verifiable at a popular level. I define the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism as the political-cultural discursive formation configuring questions about the ideological powerfulness of

anti-North Koreanism that still regulates South Korean conducts on political, economic, and cultural domains. By "truth" here I mean the way in which a "reality" of the nation comes to be apodictic. In this sense, the term "truth politics" particularly points to the practice of national identification posited as a "true judgment" against the "false judgment" of anti-North Koreanism.

Yet, I argue that the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism reinscribes and reinforces the populist and functionalist belief in national unification that justifies developmentalist agendas for North Korea, which is made amenable to transnational capitalism. The more this peculiar mixture or displacement of anti-North Koreanism gains powerful political and cultural circulation, the more "North Korea" occupies discursive terrains of elliptical bewilderment through which North Korea is put aside *outside* the very expanded discursive space of national reconciliation. In other words, the "post-ideological" representation of North Korea deploys an ambivalent principle that prescribes "North Korea" as a national collaborator that is imagined to sacrifice itself for the cause of the nation's survival.

For example, advocates of the "Sunshine Policy," the government national reconciliation policy proposed by the Kim Dae-Jung government (1997-2002) and maintained by the Roh Moo-Hyun government (2002-2007), believe that the policy would help North Korea remove its own shabby communist clothes and open the regime to the liberal world, which ultimately eliminates South Korean popular antagonism toward North Korea and brings into effect national unification.[34] In short, it is their

[34] The legitimacy of the Sunshine Policy attracted less popular appeals, as North Korea forced a nuclear weapon test in October 2006, which became a milestone distinguishing the Sunshine Policy of the Roh administration from that of the Kim administration. Although the Roh administration did not discontinue the many of the policy guidelines inherited from the Kim administration, it suspended rice and fertilizer aids for North Korea on that nuclear test. At the time, former President Kim Dae-Jung highly criticized the decision of the Roh administration, because he believed that the decision fundamentally corrupted the legitimacy of the policy with the principle of antagonistic reciprocity about North Korean issues.

assertion that the policy best vanishes inter-Korea political antagonism. Unlike this somewhat naïve expectation, I suggest, the discourses about "North Korea" proliferated in the Sunshine Policy function as a force of political normalization that renders a politics of national reconciliation and unification only adaptable to certain political projects for South Korean national development. In other words, those policy advocates remain in an orgy of consuming "North Korea," generating and imbuing economic developmentalism in national reconciliation and unification issues as a means of rationalizing the political-cultural transformation of post-cold war South Korean society **(**Cumings 1998**)**. The policy promise of "mediating the genuine terrain of national identification" fails to fulfill its intended public advocacy to question anti-North Koreanism in cultural terrains, since it dismisses the lingering instrumentalist characters orchestrated along the lines of practices of nationalism. The policy has sought to take advantage of popular nationalism for the purpose of curbing anti-North Korean popular antagonism among South Koreans at the risk of making popular nationalism the political panacea for all anti-North Korean ills. This adventurous move reifies South Koreans' relationship to popular nationalism, because it empties the immanent space of mirroring contingent, differentiated tactics and roles of popular nationalism and instead fills the emptied narrative gap with the absolute instrumentalism of identity politics that locks inter-Korea sociability into pathological terms by reiterating anomalous characteristics of North Korea.

As I investigate in what follows, such displacement of nationalism prescribes the normality of nationalism that multiplies a certain division of *positive (i.e. virtuous/healthy/supreme) versus negative (vicious/ill/dreadful) nationalism*. I argue that the pathological multiplication of positive versus negative nationalism is the very discursive ground on which the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism rests for valorizing the range of verifiable characteristics about North Korea. That is, the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism imposes the idea that we genuinely recognize North Korea as a national collaborator so long as we subscribe to a nationalism that would be heralded as

the counter-ideological force of anti-North Koreanism. My discussion of the truth politics then aims to articulate some of the significant discursive intersections between the practices of anti-North Koreanism and nationalism: why and how do we believe, as in many conventional ideological critiques of anti-North Koreanism, that a democratic challenge to anti-North Koreanism is feasible on the practice of nationalism? To what extent should the challenge of national identification be conceived as democratic? I suggest that a critique of the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism illuminate its dynamic discursive formation evolving from the pathological multiplication of nationalism.

Those questions above manifest the popular-political context wherein a cultural criticism of nationalism emerged in South Korea. In particular, while witnessing the political performance of nationalism that was mobilized as a remunerative means of avowing patriotic sacrifices for the rehabilitation of the falling South Korean national economy during the so-called "IMF crisis" in the late 1990s, the criticism began to call into question a single political continuum ranged from popular nationalism to anti-North Korean nationalism with regard to national unification issues. Although there are some general premises of popular nationalism that the criticism has come to value and incorporate into its own principle of national unification (e.g. peaceful coexistence and cooperation deterring ideological and military confrontations), the criticism has largely been skeptical of the performance of popular nationalism that defends the postulate of the Sunshine Policy. In doing so, the criticism significantly delivers an anthropological question about discourses of cultural difference operated by the identity politics of popular nationalism (Kwon Hyuk-Bum 2000a).

In what follows, I first investigate the trajectories of the politics of national unification until the 1980s in order to trace the emergence and intensification of the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism. Second, I discuss critical intellectual interventions in the politics of national identification that to some extent overlap and challenge one another in such a way as to question the politics' hegemonic incorporation, if not entirely,

in the free market-driven Sunshine Policy in the 1990s. Finally, I critically interrogate the analytical framework preconceived in the post-colonial criticism of Korean nationalism that constrains its scope of interrogating the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism the criticism ostensibly targets.

Anti-North Koreanism and the Political Challenge of Popular Nationalism

The year 1980, after the assassination of Park Chung-hee on October 26, 1979, was presumably a major turning point in the reshaping of tropes of popular nationalism for the *Minjung* movements throughout the 1980s. Witnessing the atrocious Kwangju Massacre in May 1980, many *Minjung* movement groups began to deeply suspect the role of the U.S. in South Korea, because they believed that the U.S. implicitly supported the subsequent military dictator Chun Do Hwan's (1980-1987) horrible slaughters of dissenting Kwangju civilians.[35] The reassessment of the U.S.' roles in South Korea by the Minjung movements was evoked as claims to national unification, as political oppositions to US foreign policy began to be framed as a keyword of the political liberalization of South Korea. This critical interpretation had already been kindled by the production of South Korean counter-hegemonic knowledge in various intellectual domains that had challenged anti-communism, political dictatorship, and ideological interpretations of the historical backgrounds of the Korean War.

The intellectual movements were envisaged in the 1979 publication of the first volume of *Haebang Jeonhoosaui Inshik* (Understanding the History of Pre- and Post-National Liberation Korea) and further facilitated by Bruce Cumings's 1981 publication of *The Origins of the Korean War* (Suh Joong-Seok 1996; Lee Namhee 2007). In this

[35] See Lee Namhee (2007, especially chapter three) for the more detailed political trajectories of South Korean anti-Americanism in particular within college student movement groups in the 1980s.

conjuncture, the Mingjung movements of popular nationalism believed that "national self-reliance" (*minjok juchesung*) and "national collaboration" (*minjok gongjo*) could best ensure South Korean democratization. This was the self-consolidating moment for social movements of popular nationalism that positioned themselves on the narrative of the colonizer (America) and the colonized (South Korea) by incorporating anti-Americanism into the counter-hegemonic practice against anti-North Koreanism (Choi Chungmoo 1997).

The ascendancy of popular-political anti-Americanism in South Korea can be vividly observed in the occasions of college student occupation of the U.S. Information Services Buildings in Seoul and Busan, the second largest city of South Korea, between 1982 and 1986. Demanding an explicit apology from the U.S. government for its implicit involvement in the Kwangju Massacre, the college student movement groups declared the U.S. "a predominant imperialist force colonizing South Korea." They believed that if the U.S. had been expelled from South Korea, national unification as well as the political liberalization of South Korea would have been facilitated by that time.[36]

The fall of Chun's military dictatorship along with the June Uprising in 1987 seemed to open up an enlightened discursive terrain that could much more greatly subvert the sway of anti-North Koreanism rampant among South Koreans. The advocates of popular nationalism, especially major college student movement groups, mainly sought to discursively transform anti-Americanism into a democratic force refuting the political oxymoron of anti-North Koreanism-driven nationalism, which was believed to hinder "a genuine understanding of North Korea." For instance, in 1988, those college student

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[36] Given the historical trajectories of popular nationalism that challenged American power during the 1980s, it is no surprise that anti-Americanism was ideologically synonymous with pro-North Koreanism. Advocates of national collaboration with the North are still stigmatized as anti-American, even though there are diverse political spectrums of popular anti-Americanism among South Koreans (cf. Oh and Arrington 2007).

movement groups of popular nationalism launched the so-called *Bookhan baro algi undong* (the National Campaign for Getting to Know North Korea), through which they sought to contradict ideological stereotypes of North Korea in a popular terrain. More specifically, the national campaign was intended to illuminate how North Korean social and cultural life would be nothing less than South Koreans' by debunking the fallacy of anti-North Koreanism. Indeed, the national campaign gained significant political repercussions. Roh Tae-Woo (1988-1992), who was part of Chun Doo-Hwan's military coup on December 12, 1979 shortly after the assassination of Park Chung-hee and came to power after the Chun Doo-Hwan regime, generated conciliatory unification policy responses such as "the July 7 Declaration."[37]

More symptomatic, however, in spite of the significance of the democratic challenge to anti-North Korean-driven nationalism, the national campaign was activating and even subscribing to the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism. At this moment, one may want to ask some important questions about the discursive intersection of anti-North Koreanism and popular nationalism in the era of political democratization: How did the discursive transformation about North Korea change the enunciative mode of national identification discourse? How did the institutionalization of national unification discourse give South Koreans access to the discursive terrain of the previously "unspeakable"? I suggest that such questions can articulate how "the truth politics of anti-North

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[37] As, in 1988, the *Minjung* groups pushed their post-June Uprising democratization movements along the lines of national reconciliation and unification issues for the sake of facilitating the establishment of peace, the withdrawal of the US Army from South Korea, the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, etc., a student movement leader at the Seoul National University proposed to North Korea a talk between North and South college students for a sports event. Such a glaring move on popular nationalism led the Roh Tae-Woo regime to position its own political power under the legitimacy of national unification. "The Special Declaration for National Self-Reliance, Prosperity, and Unification" on July 7, 1988 recognized, albeit nominally, North Korea as a community of the nation. For further details, see Choi Jang-Jip and Park Myung-Lim (1991, pp. 68-71).

Koreanism" began to emerge as a "political effect" of popular aspirations to democratization and national unification.

In this sense, I definitely *by no means* relegate the counter-hegemonic knowledge production within the South Korean critical scholarship and the Minjung movements throughout the 1980s to a mere realm of the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism, *nor* do I reduce the counter-hegemonic knowledge production to a cause of the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism, because I am not asserting that the counter-hegemonic knowledge production was merely dynamic to the extent that the state's political grip remains less powerful. More apparently, as one can see in the following sections, I am not suggesting that the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism is static, only to manifest itself as a by-product of state power manipulation.

On the contrary, I want to suggest that *the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism* not be understood as a historically pre-given, but as *a political-cultural tactic discursively and institutionally programmed through the multiplication and naturalization of a certain division of positive versus negative nationalism*. In other words, the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism aims to prescribe and valorize "the normality of popular nationalism" for authentically understanding North Korea as the collaborator of national self-reliance and prosperity. This is the discursive transaction between popular nationalism and anti-North Koreanism with which cultural criticisms began to be otherwise engaged regarding national unification in the 1990s. Those cultural criticisms convincingly posed some important challenges to the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism at the popular level. But, as I will discuss later, the criticisms also evade such problems, straitjacketing and circulating the normality of popular nationalism at a different point.

The Immanent Criticism of the Self-Affirmation of "Authentic" North Korea

Such a legacy of the identity politics of popular nationalism until the 1980s was unfolded in scholarly practice in the 1990s, challenging the then anti-communist research tradition of North Korean Studies (Lee Jong-Seok 1990; Kang Jung-In 1990). Another timely warning from the scholarly practice addressed the way in which liberal capitalist agendas are prescribed for delivering national unification issues at a knowledge-sociological level, which is destined to perpetuate the self-referential superiority of the South to the North (Kim Dong-Choon 1991). One of the notable critics in the intellectual intervention was the Germany-based South Korean social philosopher Song Du Yul,[38] who had been pioneering the critical intellectual formation in an enlightened era of national unification.[39] Song particularly called into question the national unification

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[38] In 2003, when he was able to visit his home country 35 years after his leaving for Germany for his postgraduate study at the University of Heidelberg and the University of Frankfurt where he was a student of the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, Song Du Yul, who called himself *Kyengkye In* [trans-borderer], opening up a third imaginative sector in the national division, was indicted for the violation of the National Security Law and finally released from jail after an appeal following a 7-year sentence to prison. In the espionage case, Song was unduly portrayed as the utmost communist pro-North Korean betrayer by South Korean conservative newspapers, magazines, and scholars.

[39] The immanent criticism profoundly provoked an anthropological questioning of ethnographic practice about cultural experience within South Korean alternative North Korean Studies scholarship (Kim Yeon-Cheol 1995, pp. 166-167). Although Song's intersubjective strategy does seemingly question the contrast between internal and external observers in constructing experience of North Korea (Song Du Yul 1995, pp. 275-258), it does not interrogate questions dealing with "authority" in the very interpretive act of cultural description (Clifford 1995). In other words, Song poses a challenge to the arbitrary postulate of valorizing the immanent approach as "observation by the insider or the participant" and the external approach as "observation by the outsider," the dichotomy of which repeats the ideological principle of scientific objectivity and neutrality that are represented by the external approach. But the immanent criticism hardly questions the "authorial function" of empirically affirming North Korean reality in which an on-site seer claims her/himself not to be an insider or participant but to be a just observer.

campaign of "Getting to Know North Korean Society," arguing that the campaign sought to develop national unification movements in the pursuit of an "authentic" entity for filling up the historical and ideological rupture of national division.

> The national campaign led by national unification movement groups could fall short of recognizing and even lead to the objectification of North Korea in the very terrain of national unification…[That is,] the substantially constructed meaning of North Korea in the campaign is no more problematically challengeable to such democratic efforts for national reconciliation than had been anti-communist representation of North Korea until the 1980s. Thus, it is a very questionable idea that what we should first of all find out is an *authentic North Korea* and we can then develop national unification movements. (Song Du Yul 1995, p. 180)

Song suspected that the identity politics of popular nationalism was subscribing to the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism through recuperating an "archetype" of the nation within the critical discourse intended to overcome the national division regime, because it evades the question of "cultural Otherness" in favor of national identification (Song Du Yul 1995, pp. 139-140, 259). In other words, the national campaign's preoccupation with "blood and belonging," in attempting to invigorate national collaboration, disregards heterogeneous cultural dimensions between the South and the North which resulted from the national division. Although Song shares with the identity politics of popular nationalism the view that addresses such issues of cultural heterogeneity proliferated out of the national division, he takes on a different route to contradict the method of the identity politics that valorizes as a public advocacy resolution "a culturally homogeneous form allegedly inherent in the Korean nation." For, in his view, such a popular obsession of "the authentic nation" can symptomatically mystify "North Korea" as "the cultural Other." Drawing on Edward Said's (1978) notion of "Orientalism," Song claimed the question of cultural Otherness should be addressed to denounce the illegitimacy of "Western colonialism-like capitalist desires for the North" ingrained in the South Korean public discourse of popular nationalism (Song Du Yul 1995, pp. 253-254).

Song called his alternative approach "immanent criticism," the notion of which was originally developed by the Frankfurt School Critical Theory philosopher Theodor W. Adorno. In *Negative Dialectics*, Adorno (1983) criticizes Hegel's absolute system of dialectics, because its fundamental principle establishes the determinate system of "positivity" configuring an "absolute spirit," which ultimately reinforces the idea of social abstraction of "the identical." In the Hegelian dialectics, particular activities in thought are then forced to discontinue their dialectical thinking of the nonidentical in the purview of the absolute spirit. In the light of experiential uncertainties of dialectical thinking, Adorno seeks to carry out the "negative" dialectics of "nonidentity," which can continuously mediate unrelenting forces of particular heterogeneous elements that are "immanent" in the act of thinking. In tandem with this view, Song framed his immanent criticism that can challenge the normative conception of national authenticity, which forces South Koreans to hastily accept the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism by excluding heterogeneous political and cultural formation of "North Korea as nonidentitical."

But as to the question of how South Koreans can expand their mediated experience of culturally heterogeneous North Korean society, Song's immanent criticism remains strikingly contradictory in the attempt to implicitly affirm the culturally homogeneous attribute of Korean ethnicity that was "inevitably" displaced by division of the nation (Song Du Yul 1995, p. 140). Although it can be acknowledged as an urgent call for inter-Korea political talks to avoid potentially extreme political, ideological, and military confrontations between the two Koreas, his ambivalent move is made to establish an inter-subjective terrain legitimizing the characterization of the nation-state as securing universal human values (Song Du Yul 1995, pp. 147, 144-146). For this reason, Song does not want to make total abandonment of nationalism a discursive force which shapes a future contour of unified Korea, because he believes that the inter-subjective realm of "the national" does not necessarily embody an instrumental force but rather

endows the nation with a significant channel for constructing communicative rationality that judges normative content for public deliberation regarding national reconciliation, which would not compromise with transnational global capitalism.[40]

And yet, what still remains problematically unclear in Song's immanent criticism is *whether the allegiance to the form of communicative rationality can contest the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism* that fundamentally works with the abstraction of cultural homogeneity (Jeon Hyo-Gwan 2000, pp. 189-191). In the first place, one can pose a significant problem with the method of Song's immanent criticism: the intersubjective realm of "the national" can be substantially vulnerable to the instrumentalization of culturally heterogeneous dimensions in unification discourse. The immanent criticism's call for maintaining inter-Korean collaboration under the prescribed principle of the national equivocates how the question of cultural Otherness can be challenged along "the national," because within Song's immanent criticism "nonidentity," or heterogeneous cultural formation, is seen to compromise the discursive terrain for a possibility of self-identification with the nation (Song Du Yul 1995, p. 146). In short, his immanent criticism appears to prohibit heterogeneous elements of North Korea from being mediated under the purview of "the national," so that these heterogeneous elements can only be considered meaningful so long as they serve or even conform to the identity politics of nationalism.

At this point, consider, for example, visualization of the cultural Otherness of North Korean settlers since the 1990s in many South Korean popular television shows making fun of North Korean speech styles in Korean,[41] which ends up assigning to

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[40] Song's Habermasian premise of nationalism as a "procedural" form for achieving universal human values can be traced out in Habermas's critique of Horkheimer and Adorno's denouncement of the Enlightenment project of modernity, which will "render one insensible to the traces and the existing forms of communicative rationality" (Habermas 1987, p. 129).

[41] See Choo Hye Yeon (2006) with respect to how mediated scenes of "North Korean settlers" (*tahlbook kuisoonja*), who have difficulty in adapting themselves to

"South" Koreans "a discursive password" of "who's in and who's out" regarding national belonging.[42] The scheme of national belonging blames "North" Korean settlers (and by extension North Koreans) for the presumed differentiated speech style, while explicitly confusing the possibility of recognizing how the South Korean speech style becomes privileged. In sum, the discursive terrain of national identification comes at the risk of sacrificing heterogeneous cultural formation at a socio-pathological level.

Thus, it still remains skeptical how the method of Song's immanent criticism, which problematically hinges on the principle of "national," can question the instrumentalization of cultural Otherness. More precisely, the criticism fails to address how the inter-subjective realm of the national can help problematize the stigmatizing effect of cultural Otherness on North Koreans, and rather holds on to a problematic moral value geared toward repeating the normality of popular nationalism on "positive versus negative," on which the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism maneuvers its operation.

In sum, the immanent criticism attempts to challenge the truth politics of post-ideological anti-North Koreanism, to which the identity politics of popular nationalism implicitly subscribed, but consequentially returns to the very object of national authenticity it wanted to criticize. The criticism's preoccupation with the "filial" narrative (i.e. brotherhood) inherent in nationalism contradicts the underlying principle of "nonidentity" mediating heterogeneous "affiliative" dimensions that involve considering and questioning hegemonic notions such as gender (McClintock 1993). Thus, the criticism is bound to underestimate an "overpowering dimension" of nationalism, the

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South Korean society, serve as a visual marker of the cultural Otherness of North Korea, which ends up rationalizing the legitimacy of liberal capitalist society that is doubtlessly presumed as a utopian place for South (and North) Koreans.

[42] This idea of a discursive password stems from the American socio-linguistic communication studies scholar Robert Hopper's (1976) well-known concept of "the shibboleth schema" referring to "a set of linguistic habits involving the use of communication patterns for social discrimination." My use of Hopper's idea is indebted to Professor John Durham Peters.

idealized assertion in which nationalism ultimately confers universal or equal positions on all participants (Anderson 1992, p. 205).

For example, as Sheila Miyoshi Jager (1996) shows, it is not bloodline but gender that empowered the politics of national unification in the 1980s, through which national reconciliation is hierarchically translated into conjugal terms regarding the relationship between North and South Korea. The implication of the gendered discourse of the South and the North, which are respectively represented as man and woman, becomes evident: *such a hegemonic dimension of nationalism is the demonstration that the politics of national identification is anything but the form of cultural differentiation.* It is the point at which post-colonial criticism began to intervene in order to redefine the post-ideological conjuncture of division of the nation.

The Post-Colonial Criticism of the Identity Politics of Nationalism

Since the late 1990s, South Korean "post-colonial"[43] cultural critics have been more actively involved in public discussion of the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism

[43] As shall be discussed in a following section, this cultural criticism on unification issues is usually called "the approach of *post-division* of the nation" (*Tal-boondan-ron*). Nevertheless, my use of the term "post-colonial" here is intended to help articulate the criticism's more comprehensive attempt to address the overriding rhetorical strategies of the identity politics of Korean nationalism in challenging anti-North Koreanism. For the purpose of this essay, by the term "post-colonial" I do not mean that the South Korean cultural critics fit into a single strand of post-colonial cultural criticism scholarship, nor do I mean that those they only connect anti-North Koreanism with legacies of Korean colonial experience. I call them "post-colonial" critics, given their understanding of the particular historical dimension of the post-cold war era as the intensification of cold war transnational Western economic and cultural power. To some extent they also distance themselves from postmodernism, because they criticize that postmodernism surrenders capitalist consumer culture (cf. Hong Seok-Ryul 2007). And I am definitely aware that as scholars have already noted (e.g. Shohat 1993; McClintock 1992; Chen 1996; Dirlik 1997; Choi Chungmoo1997), the term "post-colonial" can function as a notoriously ambiguous and problematic conception that maintains Eurocentric/Westernized geographical imagination and historiography (e.g. the binary categorization of the First and the Third World) and naturalizes the historical rupture of "post-colonial." For the reasons, some scholars prefer to use such variations of the term as "de-colonial" and "neo-colonial" for

that had hitherto been underestimated by the politics of national identification (Cho-Han Hae-joang and Lee Woo-Yung 2000; Cho-Han Hae-joang 2000; Kwon Hyuk-Bum 2000a; 2000b; Jeon Hyo-Gwan 2000; Lee Woo-Yung 2003; Kwon Hyuk-Bum 2005). This post-colonial scholarship, developing Song's immanent criticism and not being limited to it, argues that cold war anti-North Korean ideology has evolved into the Orientalism of North Korea, especially proliferated in the Sunshine Policy (Kim Myung-Seop 1998; Lee Namhee 2002). Unlike Song's immanent criticism that underlines positive performative characteristics of nationalism for challenging anti-North Koreanism, however, the post-colonial criticism casts doubt on nationalism's ability to shape reunification and reconciliation discourses, because the criticism is deeply suspicious of the hitherto held presumption of "national cultural homogeneity." In particular, those critics contend that the preoccupation with cultural homogeneity within the identity politics of popular nationalism reinforces cultural authoritarianism predicated on the ethnic mythos of King *Dankun* in ancient Korean society (Shin Gi-Wook 2006).

The post-colonial criticism defines the identity politics of popular nationalism as the political argument of *Hahnminjok* (Korean nation), which functions as the normative category tying the South with the North. As discussed earlier, the post-war identity politics of nationalism dates back to the 1960s and1970s, in which social movements were challenging Park Chung-hee's ideological mobilization of nationalism to justify

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different connotations of intellectual intervention. What can be implied from the debate on the term "post-colonial" is the complexity of historical representation. As such, the Korean term "*tahl-shikmin*," which in this chapter I have translated into "post-colonial," can have multiple connotations (e.g. "beyond" or "overcoming") for alternative historical accounts for Korean modernity. Acknowledging the predicament inevitably involved in the translation, I am definitely critical of any ideological attempt about the translation of "*tahl-shikmin"* to be valorized as a contemporary form of effacing and denying the historical traces of colonial power in modern Korea, which is manifest in recent South Korean new conservative politics. In addition, I do not exclude any possibility of alternative interpretive strategies for the translation. The political-cultural intervention of "*tahl-shikmin*" does not represent a singular formulation.

economic developmentalism and to oppress democratic dissenting voices. The military dictator deployed diverse institutions and, to borrow Eric Hobsbawm's (1983) words, tried to "invent cultural traditions" for establishing the political and moral legitimacy of the military dictatorship and mobilizing material resources for economic developmentalist projects after his *coup d'état* on May 16, 1961. For example, the Park regime for the first time enacted the Cultural Relic Protection Law in 1962, established the Department of Culture and Public Relation in 1968, and launched the first "Long-Term Project for Protection of Traditional Culture" in 1969 (Jeon Jae-Ho 1998). Such institutionalization of nationalism indoctrinated South Koreans in the discourse of national security crisis by reference to patriotically heroic characters such as Lee Soon-shin, who courageously defeated the Japanese fleets during the Japanese invasion of Korea (1592-1598). In doing so, the patriotic discourse of national security created an allegorical political trope for justifying the cause of *coup d'état* and mobilizing the South Korean population. More recently, it is no accident that neo-liberals and new conservatives have desperately mobilized the iconic image of Park Chung-hee as the embodiment of an archetypal national hero to represent the quest for strong political leadership and for such nationalism captivated by economic developmentalism since the national economic crisis in the late 1990s. As one can see below, this so-called "Park Chung-hee syndrome" became a discursive reference on which the popular practice of national collaboration is inscribed and prescribed.

The post-colonial critics suspect that the discursive principle of the identity politics would as such collaborate with such a developmentalist rubric. More precisely, the criticism fears that the identity politics of popular nationalism would conceal political illegitimacy to justify a transnational power structure in dealing with national reconciliation. Indeed, as advocates and activists of popular nationalism who were involved especially in the college social movements in the 1980s came to power later in the Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Moo-Hyun administrations, their national unification

schemes in the Sunshine Policy began to further activate a market-oriented principle versed in circulating spectacles of exchange value. In sum, the identity politics of popular nationalism has fought anti-North Koreanism with nationalism, but now its nationalist principle rationalizes the exploitation of the object with which it wanted to collaborate, and projects nationalism as the most lenient and tolerant blanket language to accommodate differentiated and heterogeneous thoughts, styles, and practices in North Korean socialist life. Allow me to describe, albeit schematically, how it became possible that the identity politics of popular nationalism subscribed to the legitimization of economic developmentalism in the 1990s.

As the late South Korean sociologist Kim Jin-Kyun (1991) points out, such a market-driven conception of national reconciliation emerged in the early 1990s as part of the complex rearrangement of establishing "the regime of post-cold war North East Asian economic cooperation" in which the U.S., Japan, and South Korea sought to attract North Korea not as an equal partner of economic cooperation but as a tactical place of transnational capital movement. As I discussed above, the post-June Uprising Minjung movements led the Roh Tae-Woo government to become conciliatory to popular aspirations to peaceful national reconciliation and unification. This domestic political transition about inter-Korean relation issues was further implemented by a series of groundbreaking inter-Korean exchange events such as the shipment of South Korean rice to the North as the first direct inter-Korea economic trade in July 1991, the North-South joint entry to the UN in September 1991, and the United Nation Development Plan's proposition of the North East Asian Conference for Regional Cooperation in August 1991 and North Korea's follow-up proposition of a special international economic district in the Dooman (Tumen) river area neighboring China.

All of the then inter-Korean reconciliation and unification efforts eventually appeared to converge on the Basic Agreement between the North and the South (signed December 13, 1991), which was furthermore worked out by the North and South Joint

Declaration of Denuclearization (agreed and initiated on December 31, 1991). In addition to the military reconciliation effort, the Basic Agreement particularly delivered the significance of inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation (and cultural exchanges) as a way of actualizing the process of political and military reconciliation. In this milieu, the question of inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation became the "linchpin" with which South Korean politicians, especially anti-communist conservatives, had to maintain their political character as supporters, albeit superficial, of national unification (Kim Jin-Kyun 1991, p. 437). This post-ideological overbearing of anti-North Korean conservatism with regard to national unification issues was then pivoting on the rhetorical ascendancy of globalization as a means of the neo-liberal revamping of the South Korean nation-state throughout the 1990s. As Kang Myung Koo (2000) shows, the neo-liberalization of South Korean society during the Kim Young-Sam government (1993-1997) had made a discursive shift of "the free market" as a principal machine of "managing national survival" in the economically competitive and hierarchical nature of globalization. In the meantime, along with the North Korean nuclear crisis in March 1994, a battery of representations of North Korea as the collapsing last iron curtain country through such events as North Korean lumber workers' rush to South Korea in April 1994, the death of the Great Leader Kim Il Sung in June 1994, and the shipment of rice to North Korea as a humanitarian support for the North Korean disaster of the so-called "Big Famine" in June 1994 all entailed a spectacular post-ideological endorsement of the legitimacy of liberal capitalism refurbished with free market-driven neo-liberalism.

The discursive entwinement of neo-liberal inter-Korea economic cooperation schemes and post-ideological representations of North Korea became intensified along with certain political economic events in the late 1990s. In December 1997, the winter of the South Korean national economic crisis, as South Korean society witnessed the

historic first peaceful regime change by Kim Dae-Jung since the Korean War, many anticipated more democratic and egalitarian social reform than ever before.

Yet the mandate of neo-liberal social reformism did not falter but rather held sway across society. The Kim Dae-Jung government sought to project the ideal of a developmentalist state along the lines of neo-liberal free market principles, the manifestation of which was the so-called "Third-Way" social welfare reform referring to the then UK Prime Minister Tony Blair's neo-liberal catchphrase **(**Jeong Seung-Geun 2000). In particular, while catering to the conservative capture of Park Chung-hee as the embodiment of the nation's survival, the discursive amalgamation of economic developmentalism with neo-liberalism gained "popular appeal" for allegedly recuperating the economic miracle of the South Korean state, onto which the Kim Dae-Jung government desperately programmed its Sunshine Policy. This is the discursive moment in which the practice of national collaboration under the banner of great brotherhood can be publicly permitted free of pro-North Korean suspicion and charge insofar as it runs on the legitimacy of neo-liberal capitalism and post-ideological hubris of anti-North Koreanism.[44]

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[44] Conservative anti-North Korean advocates contend that the Sunshine Policy would eventually help the North Korean regime to change, but not take off, their clothes and to rearm the North Korean army. Those conservatives discredited the policy, especially as some of the policymakers of the Sunshine Policy during the Kim Dae-Jung government were indicted in 2003 for sending illicit funds to Pyongyang ahead of the first-ever inter-Korea summit talk in 2000. This inter-Korea "affair" intensified anti-North Korean conservative denouncement of the Sunshine Policy. On the one hand, although South Koreans became suspicious of the policy delivery process, they did not renounce the underlying principle of the Sunshine Policy of inter-Korea economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation. Such a popular support of the policy principle appeared to contradict the conservative anti-North Korean charges of the Sunshine Policy as an outdated mode of national reconciliation. On the other hand, as the popular support remained enthusiastic for a peaceful resolution of national reconciliation, progressive politics camps, especially the Democratic Labor Party (DLP), failed to call into question the neo-liberal scheme inherent in the Sunshine Policy. For the popular support was a key to challenging the ideological mobilization of a "reciprocity principle" by conservative anti-North Koreanism in which inter-Korean relations are reduced to a dimension of issue-based political trade. It is very symptomatically puzzling that while the DLP, for example, has been a major contributor to renouncing neo-liberal economic and social welfare

Such a glimmering national collaboration discourse in the Sunshine Policy was being proliferated through a spectacular event on June 6th, 1998. Jung Joo-Young, the founder of Hyundai, one of the most powerful corporate conglomerates in South Korea, crossed the South-North military borderline and visited North Korea. He was driving 1,001 cows overland, which was playing up South-North economic cooperation as a dramatic pathway to national reconciliation.

Until he died in 2001, Jung had visited North Korea five times in the same way. His entrepreneurial adventures gained powerful currency representing the feasibility of the Sunshine Policy, although conservative anti-North Korean politicians and pundits highly criticized the policy-making process. The South Korean sociologist Park Young-Shin lamented the post-ideological scene, in which transnational political economic triumphalism parades its smugness of resolving ideological tensions in national reconciliation discourse and thereby shows up neo-liberal paternalism restraining an alternative national reconciliation discourse that would attempt to intervene in the uncontrolled political economic spectacle:

> Many plausible stories about national reconciliation and unification are being unfolded out of the discourse that targets the expansion of ideological spectrums so as to nominally outdo the repeated cliché political hostility between the two Koreas, but they are in essence trading on the ideological ambition of developing

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policies in domestic politics, few declarations of the DLP are found in contesting the neo-liberal scheme of the national unification policy. Indeed, the DLP's self-contradictory ideological position on North Korean issues primed the recent breakup of the DLP whose major leaders crashed into each other due to the failure to reach consensus on such significant issues as North Korean nuclear missiles. Their competing views on North Korea substantially inherit from the debate on democratic politics between the two major social movement groups of National Liberation (NL) and People's Democracy (PD) during the 1980s and 1990s. The PD group has been highly critical of the NL group's favoritism of North Korea on popular nationalism. More recently, as the Lee Myung-Bak government's conservative anti-North Koreanism runs amok in dealing with inter-Korean issues, it is predictable that such a principle of the Sunshine Policy can gain more popular appeals without scrutinizing neo-liberal parameters.

> the national economy of each. Both the South and the North are obsessed with the building up of a "republic of economism." The burgeoning enlightened idealism of national reconciliation and unification has the self-image projecting the bulwark of economy-first ideology. (Park Young-Shin 2000, p. 33, original emphasis)

From the post-colonial scene, Cho-Han (Cho-Han Hae-joang and Kim Soo-Haeng 2000) argues that both the North and the South seek to attain national unification in cahoots with each other in inculcating patriarchal nationalism and economic developmentalism in each society, and to circulate these problematic discourses so as to survive and maintain their own regimes and compete with each other. In sum, the Sunshine Policy intensifies such economic calculability in shaping discourses of national reconciliation and helps to revive and permeate developmentalist ideology in the neo-liberal restructuring of South Korean society along with the national economic crisis in the winter of 1997.

Cho-Han's critique targets the discursive combination of nationalism and neo-liberalism. Indeed, when the South Korean national economic crisis was enticing South Korea into neo-liberal restructuring, Korean nationalism was sublimated in a way of spelling out the collective mobilization of "self-sacrifice" and "self-devotion" to escape the bailout from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). At that time, many Koreans were voluntarily participating in the national campaigns that requested a donation of gold as a scheme of paying off the national debt to the IMF. Korean nationalism was being translated into a form of the moral duty that every single South Korean ought to be subject to in the sprit of "restoration of the national economy."[45] This case proved the post-colonial critique that such a practice of popular nationalism exploits "the normality of nationalism," perpetuating "moral imperatives" that the South Korean public should maintain and uphold (see also Kwon Hyuk-Bum 2005).

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[45] The aesthetic sublimation of Korean nationalism was also being deployed to affirm South Korean cultural subjectivity under the spell of hypermasculinity, which projects the mythos of the South Korean national economic success (Cho-Han Hae-joang 1998; Kim Hyun Mee 2001).

For the post-colonial criticism, this questioning of the pathological multiplication of nationalism is thus conceived as fundamental to challenging the developmentalist calculation of national unification discourse. In the post-cold war era, North Korea was emerging as a new labor marketplace that would be best suitable for the nationalist rubric of restoring economic prosperity. In other words, the South Korean discursive space of national reconciliation was rationalized by such developmentalist projects, as North Korea was projected as a new zone where the agonistic experience of political and ideological battlement after the Korean War would vanish.

For example, the Kaesung Industrial Park in North Korea serves a precise testimony to such a developmentalist economic scheme that makes North Korea amenable to transnational capitalism under the guise of inter-Korean, national economic collaboration. The joint venture combining North Korean labor with South Korean capital is a tantalizing iconic place for national unification where North Korean labor is generally "rated only one-third" in comparison to its counterpart in the South (Onishi 2006; Leonard 2006). At this point, it is worth reading Immanuel Wallerstein's (1991, p. 131, original emphasis) remark that the invention of a modern nation-state should be understood as "the 'incorporation' of new zones into the capitalist world-economy system, [which] reshap[es] political boundaries and structures in the zones being incorporated and creat[es] therein 'sovereign states, members of the interstate system,' or at least what we might think of as 'candidate sovereign states'—the colonies." Such a transnational economic zoning presumably imposes or reinforces "inferior tastes" on those who work in the new labor marketplace as the "cultural Other" whose bodily mediated presence disrupts the eschatological sense of national identification.

As such, the post-colonial criticism sparks the questioning of the cultural formation of post-cold war anti-North Koreanism in constituting South Korean cultural subjectivity. As the post-ideological liberal triumphalism reigned in the reshaping of the South-North relationship, the post-colonial criticism, like Song's immanent criticism,

delivered its critical responses to the Otherization of North Korea. But, unlike the immanent criticism, the post-colonial critics do not return to the principle of identity politics, which is suspicious of rendering the discourse of national unification vulnerable to the tactical process of cultural differentiation. In Said's parlance, the post-colonial criticism calls particular attention to the feminization of North Korea, which recalls the Orientalism of North Korea that positions South Korea as mimicking Western hegemonic culture (Kim Myung-Seop 1998; Lee Namhee 2002). One of the more recent examples of the cultural discourse is the popular obsession with the erotic sensuality of North Korean female cheerleaders in the international sports events of the Universiad in Daegu, South Korea in August 2003. Said (1978, p. 188, 207) argues that the "almost uniform association between the Orient and sex" has facilitated a "male conception of the world." As such, the popular fantasy about the feminine body of North Korea characterizes the South as a masculine subject in constructing its relationship to the North.

The "Statue of Brothers" in the Yongsan War Memorial, Seoul, is another symbolic space in which the masculinity of South Korea spectacularly takes shape (see the picture below). The patronizing posture of the South Korean soldier, whose grand corporeality denotes his hierarchical position toward the humiliated and miserable North Korean soldier, connotes patriarchy discourse naturalized in the relationship between the two Koreas, while signifying the glaring mythic power of capitalist development along the backdrop of high-rise buildings. Here "the national" conceals particular schemes of economic instrumentality and cultural differentiation under the inflammatory "fantasies of blood and belonging," the deterministic idea of ethnicity in which the Korean people are strengthened by national homogeneity (Gilroy 2000, p. 32).

Figure 2.1. The "Statue of Brothers" in the Yongsan War Memorial, Seoul, South Korea.

Source: The author's photograph, December 2006

The *Boondancheje-ron*'s Countering of the Post-Colonial Criticism

The post-colonial criticism points to popular nationalism's (un)witting discursive complicity with the instrumental postulate of national unification discourse that merely translates national reconciliation into an economically calculable term. In doing so, the criticism also suggests that the questionable formation of popular nationalism prevents South Koreans from gaining a sober view of the post-ideological representation of North Korea. From this view, the criticism (Kwon Hyuk-Bum 2000a; Cho-Han Hae-joang 2000) proposes "the approach of *post-division* of the nation" (*tahl-boondahn-ron*) as an alternative to "the approach of the system of division of the nation" (*Boondancheje-ron*),

which pays more attention to the mobilization of popular nationalism as a collective force to overcome the subsystem of the national partition operated by the world capitalist system (e.g. Paik Nak-chung 1993; Park Soon-Sung 1999). In the post-colonial view, the *Boondancheje-ron* primarily underestimates the dynamic formation of cultural practice for its overriding reliance on the abstraction of cultural homogeneity of the nation (Cho-Han Hae-joang and Kim Soo-Haeng 2000, p. 88). That is, such skepticism corresponds to a general criticism of the *Boondancheje-ron,* whose political disposition attributing all kinds of societal problems of the South and the North to the structural nature of division of the nation invariably recuperates the premise of popular nationalism. In short, the post-colonial criticism questions the discursive circulation within the *Boondancheje-ron* which eventually reactivates the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism that perpetuates the normality of nationalism as a genuine means of understanding North Korea as embodying cultural homogeneity.

More recently, proponents of the *Boondancheje-ron* have begun to respond to such criticism. For example, critically interrogating a new conservative politics about nationalism discourse,[46] Paik Nak-Chung, who is one of the prime *Boondancheje-ron* critics, contends that division of the nation still significantly constrains the development of liberal democracy in South Korea, and goes further to say that any political discourse disregarding the world system nature of national division would subscribe to political conservatism falling under the rubric of anti-North Koreanism (Paik Nak-chung 2006).

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[46] South Korean new conservatives have sought to mobilize popular appeals by criticizing as pro-North Korean those who advocate popular nationalism and the Sunshine Policy. The new conservative groups called the New Right strongly support neo-liberal globalization and anti-North Korean principles about national unification and legitimate the political dictatorship of Park Chung-hee (see Shin Ji-Ho 2006; Park Seil 2006). They call themselves "true liberals," but one can hardly find any consistent argument of liberalism in their neo-liberal deliriums. They have superficially attracted the South Korean public to some liberal criticisms of modernity, but never discussed how liberalism has challenges neo-liberalism. For discussion of the origin and tactics of the South Korean New Right, see Jeong Hae-Koo (2006) and Ha Jong-Moon (2007). And see Gray (1998) for some excellent liberal criticisms of (Hayekean) neo-liberalism.

However, Paik's argument becomes strikingly ambivalent, as he describes such neo-liberal principles inherent in the Sunshine Policy as an inevitable means of facilitating national unification. This ambivalence with regard to transnational power structure formation can demonstrate that his deliberation would serve the political justification of neo-liberal restructuring of South Korea while contradicting his resolution for national unification on the theoretical premise of the world capitalist system.[47] Referring to such criticisms of the *Boondancheje-ron* , Hong Seok-Ryul (2007) seeks to modify yet maintains Paik's proposition. While discussing Bruce Cumings's interrogation of the ideological function of anti-North Koreanism that has caused the politics of ethnic nationalism, Hong speculates that the democratic mobilization of popular nationalism can invalidate the discursive formation of ethnic nationalism that perpetuates anti-North Korean tropes (Hong Seok-Ryul 2007, p. 166-167). His exhaustive attempt to recuperate a possibility of popular nationalism ends up hinging on the binary opposition between "positive versus negative" nationalism, which, as with

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[47] Recently, Kuan-Hsing Chen (2008) discusses the significance of the *Boondancheje-ron* in an attempt to understand the historical specificity of local events in contriving bottom-up counter-hegemonic strategies. Although his discussion seems largely descriptive rather than argumentative, I am compelled to, albeit briefly, comment on his cross-referential schemes for inter-Asian cultural-political practice. First, his discussion of Paik's *Boondancheje-ron* neglects the problematic dimension of Paik's liberal left imagination of recuperating the reunified "nation-state," which would endorse the neo-liberal schemes for North-South reconciliation. This omission is puzzling, especially given Chen's persistent engagement in challenging "the danger of reproducing the nation-state on epistemological, methodological, and political ground" (Chen 1996, p. 42). Second, Chen makes a deliberative analogy between Tomiyama's dicussion of Okinawa's legitimate anti-American movements and Paik's *Boondancheje-ron*: "The Okinawa economy has been subject to [U.S.] political-military imperialism. For this reason, the emancipation of Okinawa would turn out to be the emancipation of the [Okinawan] ethnic group, which signifies a challenge to global capitalism. On this horizon, it's fair to say that Tomiyama's discussion and Paik's *Boondancheje-ron* are of logical congruence with each other" (Chen 2008, p. 153, my translations of the Korean translations into English). Although Chen seeks to draw attention to the significance of understanding the U.S.'s (and by extension transnational) hegemonic power formation, the analogy helps only confuse the question of Korean unification as dependent on "ethnicity" or rhetoric of "ethnic emancipation," being more likely to fall into an ahistorical non-contextualism.

Song's immanent criticism, is likely to discursively establish the conceptual glorification of national authenticity that explicitly operates the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism. Such advocates of popular nationalism seem to believe that making such a division of "positive versus negative" nationalism becomes the precondition upon which anti-North Koreanism can be subverted.

However, as we can see below, *the normative division of nationalism appears as a discursive field of political intervention in which the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism can be sustained*. In short, the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism cannot be subverted but is rather sustained on the normative division of nationalism. The post-colonial criticism seems to deconstruct the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism by bringing into question the normality of nationalism inscribed in popular national unification discourse. This is how the post-colonial criticism of national identification can function as an alternative challenge to the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism. But I also find problematic the primary dichotomous framework within the post-colonial criticism that preconceives the state as the origin for the deployment of power relations and the realm of civil society as being operative only through the exercise of state power. In the next section, exploring some historical examples from the 1970s about the deployment of such a normative division of nationalism as a political technique that maintains the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism, I suggest that the dichotomous framework significantly constrains its scope and ability of the criticism to deliberately target the multiplication of positive versus negative nationalism.

The Limit of the Dichotomous Positioning in the Post-Colonial Challenge to the Truth Politics

No doubt, the post-colonial criticism offers an important counterpoint to the post-ideological transition that the vocabularies of nationalism, whether conservative or progressive, have problematically redefined and altered political-cultural discourses of

post-cold war national unification, especially after the national economic crisis in 1997. What needs to be explored by the criticism is the question of what kind of political-cultural possibility the criticism can bring into the fore in discursive fields of national unification. One of the major figures in the post-colonial criticism, Cho-Han (2000, p. 333) suggests "the space of national unification…turns into a new public sphere replete with a new communicative code of pluralism." Since she never explicitly discusses any conceptual or theoretical notions or legacies of the public sphere, it is hard to trace the new public sphere as comprehensively as she would have intended to.

In spite of this difficulty, it is quite visible in her argument that the new public sphere of national unification is supposed to be a more "flexible" discursive realm defined by "cultural relativism," as opposed to the "absolute" realm already totalized by the anti-communist sentimental mobilization of nationalism, where Korean people have been repressed under the rhetorical sway of the nation and the family (Cho-Han and Kim 2000, p. 87). Thus, the main goal of the new public sphere of national unification is to find a creative possibility in which the manipulated and developmentalist conception of Korean subjectivity can be demystified (Cho-Han 1998; Cho-Han and Kim 2000, pp. 74-75).

> The exploitative characterization of developmentalist modernization carried with itself the sentimentalization of "nationalism" for mobilizing political and military oppositions in the division of the nation…More specifically, both strong state and exclusive familial grasp of political and social representation have undoubtedly weakened the intermediate autonomy of civil society. (Cho-Han 2000, p. 330, 331, original emphasis)

From those remarks, it becomes more conceivable that the sentimental mobilization of nationalism amounts to the undermining of the foundations of South Korean civil society under the rubric of political economic developmentalism. What then remains at stake is to replace the manipulated discursive realm of civil society with a new public sphere of civil society for national unification, in which alternative dispositions of "postmodern, procedural, and plural" can take place (Cho-Han and Kim 2000, pp. 87-88).

This is an interesting proposition for a counter-public sphere for mediating diverse forms of intimacy and sociability, which in her view might have been displaced by the totalizing effect of nationalism in discourses of national unification. My concern here is less with a comprehensive genealogical survey of the Korean public sphere, which is obviously beyond the scope of this chapter, than with *what analytic work the proposition can operate in order to reveal the way in which making a division of "positive versus negative" nationalism sustains the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism*.

In particular, I find problematic the dichotomous positioning of "manipulated versus non-manipulated" civil society, since it is in the binary structure that formation of cultural practice can be idealized vis-à-vis the totalizing power of the state. That is, civil society is described as a byproduct of the building-up and mobilization of the nation-state: "the totalizing mobilization of the nation by the state in post-war South [and North] Korea completely overshadowed the realm of civil society, so that civic subjects lost their forces of counter-conducts" (Cho-Han and Kim 2000, p. 85). Under this purview, the state as sovereign power becomes the origin or point of reference for the deployment of power relations, and the realm of civil society is then rendered operative only through the exercise of sovereign power. In so doing, the search for an autonomous sphere of civil society for unification remains strikingly ambiguous, because the autonomous sphere should be preconceived in the sense that revolts against political authority are just a manifestation of ideological interpellation dictated by the authoritarian function of sovereign power.

In such a dichotomous framework, as David Scott (1999, p. 36) nicely puts it, "the state [sovereign power] is the privileged site of an immense and magical power standing in opposition to a civil society imagined as the absence of power and the fulfillment of freedom." On the contrary, the maximum exercise of the state's forces is put into effect through a considerable activation of diverse regulatory apparatuses optimizing political authority (Foucault 2007).

For example, consider how the Park Chung-hee regime deployed the cultural policy programs called the *Moonyeh Joongheung Project* (the Restoration of National Culture and Art) that sought to restore "authentic pasts" for foundations for the legitimacy of anti-North Korean national mobilization in the 1970s. In 1971, the Park regime launched the *Project of Shilla Kyungjoo Ancient Remains and Relics* in pursuit of a sacred orthodoxy of theatrically affirming the legitimacy of political dictatorship. Far from significantly otherwise engaging in the archaeological excavation and preservation of ancient remains and relics in Gyungjoo,[48] the project was mostly intended to celebrate the Park regime as analogous to the Shilla Kingdom that reunified the nation in ancient times (Oh Myung-Seok 1998, pp. 129-130). Thereafter, the Restoration of National Culture and Art Law was enacted in 1972, the Korean Culture and Arts Council as a principal administrative institution of the law was established in 1973, and the First Five-Year Plan for the Restoration (1974-1978) was activated. All of the cultural apparatuses aimed to cultivate cultural tastes that were ultimately geared toward the valorization of the normality of nationalism.[49]

The cultural policy programs glorified the history of the Shilla Kingdom as the archetypal embodiment of the Korean nation, ideologically valorizing North Korea's mobilization of nationalism that consecrated the ancient history of the Gogooryo Kingdom's ruling over the Manchurian region.[50] The doctrine of national security to justify the alleged cause of Park Chung-hee's military coup through "the invention of

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[48] Gyungjoo, now one of the oldest cities in Korea, was the capital of the Shilla Kingdom that reunified the Korean peninsula in the late seventh century.

[49] The Five-Year Plan consisted of four major categories: "conducting public relations for the plan, locating the foundation of the orthodox perspective on Korean history (Korean Studies, Traditional Arts, Cultural Remains and Relics), promoting popular arts (literature, drama, fine arts, music, dance), and facilitating the growth of the popular culture industry (films, printing)" (Oh Myung-Seok 1998, p. 134).

[50] The Gogooryo Kingdom located the northern Korean peninsula was ruined by the Shilla Kingdom.

traditions" in the 1960s, discussed earlier, was successfully refashioned as anti-North Korean national unification discourse through the deployment of such regulatory apparatuses in the political crisis in the 1970s, in which orthodox South Korean nationalism was normatively distinguished from mythic North Korean nationalism (Oh 1998, pp. 146-147). The deployment of the cultural policy programs helps illustrate that making a certain division of "positive versus negative" nationalism is the conduit that operates a normative field of political intervention to facilitate and ensure the discursive formation of anti-North Koreanism, in which it is believed a genuine understanding of the North could take place.

At this point, one the on hand, some may insist that the cultural policy programs would serve as a compelling example demonstrating the state's totalizing, global sovereign power, because in their view the South Korean population became oblivious to the political repression and economic exploitation under the purview of the Park regime.[51] But they should take into consideration the nature of those cultural regulatory programs. At the time, while facing serious international and domestic challenges in the early 1970s (see "*Siwol Yushin*" in chapter one), the regime exhaustively sought to manage its authoritarian grasp of civil society. This move was made through creating such political apparatuses, which were devised to help multiply a division of "positive

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[51] This sort of scholarly argument involving the notion of totalizing state power is observable in the so-called "Mass Dictatorship" thesis (*Daejung dokjae-ron*), which engages in the question, "why/how the South Korean people were in voluntary support of the Park regime" (see chapter one). For example, advocates of the thesis want to pay attention to the numerical decrease in labor struggles during the Park regime as quintessential evidence showing the compromise between the authoritarian political dictatorship and the South Korean people, or the latter's submission to the former. I am sympathetic to the basic outline of the thesis, which conveys the message that analysis of power relations should cut across taken-for-granted conceptual notions and historical assumptions. But the thesis runs the risk of historicizing the European experience of totalitarianism, valorizing the practice of political compromise or negotiation as mere submission to political power. One can find some significant debates on the thesis in Lee Sang-Rok (2007) and Jang Jeong-Il (2006). See chapter one in this dissertation regarding the *daejung dokjae* thesis in some detail.

versus negative" nationalism. In other words, those political techniques such as the cultural policy programs are integral to the specification point of the mobilization of nationalism, in which the state cannot but respond to cultural formation in civil society in order to work out its power function. Without dwelling on the operations of those cultural policy programs, the function of state power can be overestimated or privileged in the multiplication of "positive versus negative" nationalism, through which the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism is affirmed.

On the other hand, others would also claim that such cultural policy programs were not necessarily successful in mobilizing nationalism at a popular level. For example, Yoo Sunyoung (2007**)** argues that the popularity of a sexism-cum-gender motif film genre (i.e. the "hostess" [*bar girl* in the conventional South Korean terms] films) in the 1970s South Korean film market serves the demonstration of a failure of the cultural policy programs in mobilizing nationalism. One may acknowledge that there were different strategies of domination by and negotiation with the Park regime, especially given Yoo's main concern questioning the presumption of the state's totalizing power function. As Yoo (2007, pp. 9-10) points out, there was popular reluctance to the mobilization of nationalism in such cases as a failure in the distribution of anti-communist, war, national arts, and government policy films by the Agency of Film Promotion.

In a sense, it might be asserted that the cultural policy programs failed to complete the mobilization of nationalism from below for the sake of implementing developmentalist state projects, if we hinge on the view that projects of nationalism are only characterized by the actualization of state power. Rather, I suggest that the practice of mobilizing nationalism be read as the intricate multiplying of "a series of imaginary as well as real demarcations between us and them, we and the others" (Benhabib 2004, p. 18). Indeed, the discursive proliferation of a normative sense of "blood and belonging" in

the 1970s fundamentally deployed political intervention that maintains anti-North Koreanism in "the state of exception" of Park Chung-hee's Yushin regime.

For example, through a series of historic inter-Korean talks in Pyongyang in 1972 and 1973, popular aspirations to national unification became much intensified. For most South Koreans who had never put foot on the North for twenty seven years since the Korean War, those political events mediated through newspapers and television were conceivably provoking "anxious aspirations" to viewing North Korean society. A female novelist in an interview with the South Korean newspaper *Dong-A Daily* (4 July 1972) confessed a serious confusion, as a result of the news coverage, about whether or not she could be allowed to feel sympathetic about the mediated scenes of North Koreans. Such anxiousness about the moral and political authority of anti-North Koreanism appeared to never be stabilized, but rather to be further precariously complicated through the mediated experience of juxtaposing "the principle of national identification as a norm of viewing" with "the fetishism of the heterogeneous nation as a register of cultural Otherness." For the eyes of South Korean journalists who were encountering Pyongyang,[52] North Korea was no less than a place of "discontentment" in which everything under observation gave rise to a sensual figuration of "the inauthentic" in the light of the initial expectation on the journey of national identification.

This feeling of discontentment stems from the inability to satisfy the desire of identifying an archaic vision of the nation in North Korea, which is still powerfully narrativized in most of the recent mediated North Korean scenes delivered to the South Korean public (see chapter three for details). From this observation, one cannot merely say, hastily spinning Yoo's eloquent investigation, that such a failure in mobilizing

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[52] The journalistic authority of defining empirical verifiability is established through a mediating relation to audiences, as the audience's dependence on the act of eyewitnessing in order to acquire empirical accuracy is heightened (Peters 1993; Zelizer 2007). In chapter three, I will discuss some more theoretical details.

nationalism or gaining popular consent for the cultural policy programs confirms or amounts to the vanishing of the multiplication of positive versus negative nationalism. As the spectacular representation of North Korea implies, *the practice of mobilizing nationalism, whatever consequence it has, rests on the discursive fabrication of the normality of the nation.*

To summarize, in the dichotomous positioning of "manipulated versus non-manipulated" civil society, the state tends to be predestined as a totalizing, global institution. My critique of this view suggests how the dichotomous positioning within Cho-Han's *tahl-boondahn-ron* constrains the scope and abilities of challenging the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism. The binary framework has a strong tendency to overestimate the function of the state in distributing anti-North Korean discourses. Although the framework appreciates other social apparatuses, these apparatuses are then conceived as auxiliary agencies on the view that the state exercises totalizing, global power over the realm of civil society. If a non-manipulated civil society realm of national unification is drawn against these backdrops, it must find a possibility that makes cultural practice in the realm not subsumed into the power function of the state. But such a binary framework that presumes the totalizing power function of the state can end up validating the following contention: speaking about North Korea is prohibited by the state; so if the state lifts an anti-North Korean regulation or law, our speaking about North Korea can gain a genuine grasp on anti-North Koreanism. At this point, Foucault's (1979) notion of the "repressive hypothesis" helps us understand that if an analysis of anti-North Koreanism relies on the notion of prohibition that defines power relations in negative terms, the analysis is bound to celebrate "after-the-life-of-the prohibition" as a greater age of genuine recognition of North Korea.

Conclusion

The Austrian economic philosopher Friedrich von Hayek (1944) perplexingly

emphasizes a right or privilege to property as being achieved through social competition in a free market. In Hayek's term, the free market is programmed to be the most efficient social realm, where individual freedoms are guaranteed and maximized. In the spontaneous order, wages and salaries are formulated to best measure individual competitiveness, manageability, and efficiency. In a more striking manner, the American neo-liberal advocate George Gilder writes in his 1981 best selling book *Wealth and Poverty* "Wages and salaries are philanthropy, trickled down from above" (quoted in Grossberg 2005, p. 116). As such, neo-liberalism performs as if the free market were an all-inclusive social terrain. National economic collaboration caught up in such a free market mentality involves construing North Korean workers' economic inequality, subordination, and marginalization as an inevitable or necessary passage to unification of the nation. Challenging to the neo-liberal schemes of national economic cooperation, the cultural criticisms of the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism have questioned the politics of national identification that could prevent national reconciliation from being translated into different political vocabularies and diverse symbolic valences with which we can address particular cultural understandings about North Korea.

How can we avoid falling back on such a predicament of the politics of national reconciliation? How can we challenge the instrumental principle of economic collaboration without subscribing to the valorization of the normality of nationalism in an era of globalization? As Immanuel Wallerstein (2005, pp. 1272-1273) remarks, "the aftermath of developmentalism in the Third World" is a move to neo-liberalization of the national economy and the building up of government-free market partnership, which resembles and develops "a massive political attempt to roll back remuneration costs, to counter demands for internalization of costs." In the post-ideological era, North Korea falls into the hands of neo-liberal developmentalism, as the hermit state is degenerately transfigured into an economic territory that can bring to the South potential economic and political compensation for appeasing a South Korean public outcry over the neo-liberal

restructuring in the national economy since the late 1990s. This characterization of the South Korean relationship to North Korea in national economic collaboration operates and maintains particular tactics to reinforce the post-ideological representation of North Korea. Any attempt to endorse such developmentalist philosophies together with neo-liberal economic rationality that are "only reactive, never proactive" (Addo 1996, p. 140) merely serves as what Roland Barthes (1957/1972, p. 45) calls the "'universal' language," which "knows only how to endow its victims with epithets [and] is ignorant of everything about the actions themselves, save the guilty category into which they are forcibly made to fit."

The increasing rush of North Koreans to South Korea for the economic destitution of North Korea has called for a humanitarian approach along the lines of discourses of national authenticity and homogeneity. But the discursive practice of empirically affirming the North Korean reality co-opts with an ideological fantasy reprogramming rather than challenging the post-ideological representation of North Korea, while naturalizing the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism.

The post-colonial criticism has offered a significant possibility of challenging the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism in order to facilitate public deliberation on the discursive embrication of neo-liberal developmentalism and nationalism. It does so by giving self-reflexive access to the displacement that heterogeneous tropes of the nation rupturing out of the discursive practice of nationalism are exploited. The judicious thought that even a popular democratic movement or criticism implicitly becomes oblivious to the truth politics of anti-North Koreanism can refute the normalizing practice of nationalism to unscrupulously subscribe to neo-liberalism. In other words, a democratic challenge to such neo-liberal principles of national unification can be intricately twisted without calling into question the political technique of multiplying and naturalizing a division of positive versus negative nationalism beyond the dichotomous framework of the state and civil society prescribed as an alternative source of mutual and

equal recognition.

From this critical endeavor, we may find promise of new forms for public interaction involving national unification issues that can constantly and persistently challenge the desperate practice of anti-North Koreanism. But I also want to suggest that such a challenge find a possibility of critical inter-national alliance capable of questioning neo-liberal democracies, given the transnational trajectories that the normality of nationalism is powerfully naturalized as complied with neo-liberal rationality.

CHAPTER THREE THE VISUAL POLITICS OF GENDERING AND ETHNICIZING THE KOREAN NATION

Unsettling Anti-North Koreanism Hiding behind Nationalism

On February 26, 2008, the New York Philharmonic performed at East Pyongyang Convention Hall in Pyongyang, North Korea. This history-making concert was compared to the ping-pong diplomacy between the U.S. and China in the early 1970s. The unprecedented cultural event, along with North Korean nuclear disarmament issues, was also hailed as a new round of U.S.-North Korea relations. The front page of the *New York Times* on February 27, 2008 covered the concert with a photo (Figure 3.1) in which all ideological and military tensions appear to be defused. Frequently demonized as the totalitarian state that has made its people fanatically cling to the delirious dictator Kim Jong Il, "North Korea," signified in this photo, is synecdochically transposed into "young females" who no longer look petrified by Kim Jong Il's communist fanaticism.

In the photographic frame, there is no trace of the king's body commanding the North Korean population. Those two smiling North Korean women embody the harbinger of a new diplomatic era implemented through the "soft-powered" event (Nye 2004), the manifestation which culture undoubtedly turns into a pragmatic form of relief and reconciliation with political antagonism.

Indulging the reader in his/her sensual feeling of glancing down at the females sitting in seats, the body politic helps maintain a conventionally gendered division of politics and culture. The photographic representation of the female body powerfully asserts that the "soft-powered cultural diplomacy" at stake is not feasible in a men's political game, as it is only programmable in a feminized passion for reconciliation. As

such, the gendered body politic of North Korea depoliticizes the hyper-masculine totalitarian state.


INSIDE

CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Symphonic Diplomacy in North Korea

The New York Philharmonic performed for an audience in North Korea in a concert featuring works by Wagner, Dvorak and Gershwin, as well as a traditional Korean folk song. PAGE A10

10 Top New Restaurants

After traveling across the nation, Frank Bruni lists

Figure 3.1. The Gaze on the Body of North Korean Women

Source: *The New York Times*, 27 February 2008, A1

But, by doing so, it also compels itself to be *objectified* in such a way as to be *more affectively recognized* with an ethos of the nation that is attached to the bodily practice of the identity marker, in which the Korean traditional clothing *Hahnbok*, which the two females wear, takes up a symbolic space of national identification.

In this chapter, I trace the visual formation of North Korea operating in South Korean political and popular discourse. In doing so, I problematize the idea that the authoritarian ideology of anti-North Koreanism, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, has been withering away, or even replaced by the cultural discourse of anti-North Koreanism called "the Orientalist representation of North Korea." Many South Korean critical intellectuals have warned that anti-North Koreanism has been shifted from draconian cold-war ideology to more sophisticated discursive tactics of imposing cultural imperialistic views on North Korea (e.g. Kim Myung-Seop 1998; Kwon Hyuk-Bum 2000a, 2000b, 2005; Lee Namhee 2002). While I would concur with those critics that anti-North Koreanism in South Korea is articulated through the discursive strategy of anthropologically producing "inferior enemies" (McNair 1988), I am compelled to suggest that the cultural Otherization discourse about North Korea as a political technique not be posited as "just a post-cold war phenomenon." That is, those critics tend to presume a historical rupture between the "cold-war" and "post-cold war" period with regard to the discursive shift of anti-North Koreanism. However, I argue that the discontinuity of "cold-war" and "post-cold war" in understanding the workings of anti-North Koreanism still problematically qualifies the politics of national identification to undoubtedly challenge anti-North Koreanism. By the term "discontinuity," I do not mean that there has been a transcendentally immutable attribute in sustaining anti-North Koreanism in post-war South Korean political and popular terrains. Rather, as demonstrated in the subsequent sections of this chapter, the "cold-war" and "post-cold war" division disrupts an adequate understanding of the discursive operation of national identification geared toward the reinforcement of anti-North Koreanism.

Here, my argument is twofold. First, theoretically, I critically examine in what way the cultural Otherization of North Korea can be challenged. I wish to complicate the politics of national identification and its emphasis on the idea of ethnic homogeneity. As discussed in chapter one, the claim to the Korean nation's ethnic homogeneity dates back

to the turn of the 20th century, when the Chosun dynasty (1392-1910) in the Korean peninsula faced diverse political challenges from within and outside the dynasty in the formation of modernity. At the time, Korean historians such as Shin Chae-Ho began to extensively re-write an ethnic historiography of the Korean ancestry in terms of the irrefutable inheritance of King *Dankun*'s pureblood. The intellectual movements were dispersed through the then nationalist ideologies of liberalism and socialism to educate the Korean people in the face of impending Japanese colonial expansion to Korea. Meanwhile, contemporaneous modernists such as Yoon Chi-Ho, Lee Kwang-Soo, and Choe Jae-Seo developed the idea of ethnic homogeneity to be amenable to social Darwinism, through which the property of the nation as an organic ethnic unity was validated and later expanded to Rhee Syngman's "One-Nation" thesis of anti-communism (Park Chan-Seung 1996, 2007; Jeon Bok-Hee 1996; Park Sung-Jin 1996, 1998; Yoon Geon-Cha 1996; Shin Gi-Wook 2006). Ironically, South Korean popular national unification movements still largely adopt the idea of ethnic homogeneity in the politics of national identification, in order to challenge anti-North Korean ideology. In short, for those social movements, nationalism is conceived as an antidote to anti-North Koreanism.

Yet I will show how anti-North Korean ideology is tactically attached to the discursive operation of nationalism by analyzing the first on-site news coverage about North Korea during the historic inter-Korea political talk called "July 4 North and South Korea Communiqué in 1972," which I believe can be seen as a founding moment of institutionalizing anti-North Koreanism in cultural Otherization discourse. More specifically, I will show symbolic variables in the media representation of North Korea that display the spectacle of ethnicized and gendered traits of North Korea in a strategic pursuit of ethnic authenticity. Here, particular attention is paid to the "on-site witness" that demonstrates itself as the most powerful "paradigm" of a claim to verifiability for "others who lack the original" (Peters 2001, p. 709). Such visual formation of anti-North

Korean discourse tactically implicates a claim to the "truth politics" of anti-North Koreanism as an empiricist tactic of locating essentialized characteristics of the nation. But in doing so, the visual politics articulates biopolitical features of North Korea as the ideological cultivation of "internal threats to the nation."

I draw the notion of biopolitics from Michel Foucault's (1978) political-historical argument about the transformation of the modern sovereign power mechanism that takes the rights of life and death of the governed in an absolute and unconditional manner. Foucault explains biopolitics as a politics of life through which power relations reach the optimal points of development and intervention in life of the governed as the entire social body of a population. I want to call the ideological practice of anti-North Koreanism the "biopolitical Otherization of North Korea," in which North Korea is located as the essentialized body of the Korean nation under the rubric of deploying multiple regulatory aims for maximizing the effectiveness of the politics of national identification. In sum, I am arguing that our critical discussions with regard to the hegemonic shift of anti-North Koreanism would be implausible unless we deconstruct the discursive coordination of anti-North Koreanism and nationalism. Thus, I suggest that any implicit or taken-for-granted adoption of the politics of national identification in challenging anti-North Koreanism be seriously questioned.

This first argument can be further articulated through the second dimension of my argument, which involves re-considering the praxis of cultural politics to target the discursive evolution of anti-North Koreanism. As discussed above, those academics and commentators regarding the shift of anti-North Koreanism tend to problematically demarcate "the popular" from "the political," relying on the idea of "the decline of authoritarian anti-North Koreanism" since the collapse of cold-war international politics. That is, since the 1990s, it is insisted that political power has no longer been able to impose cold-war-like hysterical Red scares and instead has had to activate a conciliatory government policy program to switch to the cultural tactics of the Orientalist discourse

about North Korea (Kim Myung-Seop 1999; Lee Namhee 2002). What comes out problematically from this insistence is the perception that the shift of anti-North Koreanism in popular terrains has still been made by the political process of government policy. While it seems to me that this perceived idea still bears out a top-down ideological process of cultural formation, what is much more problematic is the presumptive insistence of popular innocence in the discursive formation of anti-North Koreanism. At this point, I am not simply suggesting that the South Korean public should be recognized as a major culprit of the tactical deployment of Orientalist discourses about North Korea, nor am I claiming that the hegemonic process of gaining popular consent about anti-North Koreanism is unilinear or monolithic, through which the South Korean public is understood as a simple-minded victim of false consciousness. My contention here is that the popular formation of anti-North Koreanism should be examined in terms of the way in which popular anti-North Korean sentiments are articulated through multiple practices of power relations dispersed and intersected across various social domains.

In the light of rethinking the praxis of cultural politics to challenge anti-North Koreanism, this chapter aims to pose a sophisticated method of analysis with which one can expand the scope of the criticism that heavily rests on the practice of government policy. I thus claim that the symbolic and discursive exchanges between the two Koreas be unveiled if one wants to challenge the cultural Othering of North Korea. In doing so, my analysis of inter-Korea symbolic and discursive practices sheds critical light on the discursive formation of anti-North Koreanism, through which it can be better understood that the exercise of cultural differentiation had been "already programmed" in the events of political crisis such as the *Goongmin bodo yeonmaeng*, as I discussed in chapter one. Again, the point of my argument is not to suggest, in opposition to the claims of South Korean critical intellectuals, that cultural Otherization discourses about North Korea no longer continued—as shown at the beginning of this chapter, this is still a powerful

program of anti-North Koreanism—but to stress that such earlier activation of the cultural discourse of anti-North Koreanism leads us to problematize a productive function involving particular discursive strategies of anti-North Koreanism as biopolitical Otherization.

In what follows, as for the primacy of multiple points of the exercise of power relations between the two Koreas, I first want to examine the point at which anti-North Koreanism is translated into the discourse of cultural difference. More specifically, I analyze how the visual experience of the "eyewitness" plays a role in the formation of what gives anti-North Koreanism the discursive power of cultural differentiation. Particular attention is drawn to on-site textual and photographic representations of North Korea by South Korean newspapers, as a means of the empirical affirmation of the biopolitical Otherness of North Korea, during the historic event of the first official post-war inter-Korea talk held in Pyongyang from 29 August to 2 September 1972.

The Normalization of Knowledge of "North Korea" in the Political Crisis

The idea of "North Korea" as "the being of non-being," which was conceptualized in the political desire to restore "the loss of the northern land of the Korean nation" (Im Chong-Myung 2004), began to be modified in the political demand to foster economic developmentalism in the 1960s. The conception of "North Korea" in the discursive shift no longer continued its merely imaginary status of the being of non-being, but instead had to take on its concrete characteristics that could then turn into a more legitimate source of economic developmentalism in popular-political formation. From the late 1960s, the Park regime was entering into a political crisis brought about by politically dissenting voices arising out of the economic exploitation and poverty. Although the Park regime never stopped the violent oppression of such bottom-up political practices of the *Minjung*, undoubtedly the performative power of anti-North

Koreanism during the Park regime was capable of maximizing its scope not only through the state power but also through the deployment of apparatuses to work in coordination with the government.

Indeed, just as the eighteenth century French historian Henri de Boulainvilliers remarks "the real battle, or at least within society, is no longer fought with weapons, but with knowledge" (quoted in Foucault 1976/2003, p. 155), the 1970s witnessed that the discursive formation of "North Korea" began to be tremendously facilitated through knowledge/power. For example, while the number of scholarly publications, especially focusing on North Korean literature, culture, politics, and economy, was as small as 467 for the twenty years from 1945 to 1969, the number reached 1,986 in the first six years of the 1970s (Kim Chang-Soon 1981). In addition, a number of university institutes whose primary focus was on North Korea and national unification under the imperative of regional studies began to be established from the late 1950s. For instance, the Korea University Asian Studies Institution was founded in 1957 as the first university-level research center with regard to North Korean and unification issues. Many other universities' affiliate research centers, professional research institutes, and North Korean departments within South Korean newspapers, all of which were by definition related to North Korean Studies, began to be institutionalized from the early 1970s: Donggook University Security and Defense Research Center (December 1971), Hankook University of Foreign Language Studies Soviet Union and Eastern European Institute (January 1971), Kangwon National University Korea Unification Institute (March 1971), Yonsei University East-West Institute (March 1972), Kyungnam University Far-East Research Center (September 1972), the *Chungang Ilbo*'s [the *Daily Chungang*] East-West Institute (November 1972), the *Hankook Ilbo*'s [the *Daily Hankook*] Unification Research Department (November 1972), and the *Chosun Ilbo*'s [the *Daily Chosun*] Institute for the Korean Unification (November 1971).

In this institutionalization, "North Korea" was no longer abstracted from the image of an evil barbarian but rather was analytically categorized in terms of the political, economic, and cultural sustainability of structural functionalism. The hegemonic conceptions of modernization theory such as the middle class, social mobility, psychosocial entrepreneurship, the necessary responsiveness between economic growth and cultural change, and so on began to be widely used as "a mode of addressing moral messianism" (Barnes 1979, p. 423) in analyzing North Korean society and culture. However, the knowledge of North Korea aspired to be fulfilled with more "empirical affirmation" of the North Korean reality archived in the institutionalization.

On July 4, 1972, the announcement of the first official post-war inter-Korea talk, to be held in Pyongyang from 29 August to 3 September of that year, entailed greater opportunities for the institutionalization to gain established authority to align North Korean and unification issues with the nation's prosperity in economic terms. Shortly after the first inter-Korea talk event, the North Korea Institute (*Bookhan Yeonkooso*), which was established in 1971 by the anti-communist lawyer Oh Je-Do, the first Director of the *Goongmin bodo yeonmaeng* from 1949 to 1950, published a series of articles that purported to give such academic institutes credit for hitherto helping make the problems of North Korea more "scientifically" suited to the question of unification (the Editorial Board of the North Korea Institute 1973a, 1973b).

Constructing the Spectacle of the Cultural Otherness of North Korea

Edward Murrow's journalistic intervention in the ideological gust of cold-war McCarthyism seemed to bring to the American public a "democratic Renaissance" in the 1950s through the mediated experience of television watching (Achter 2004). Similarly, the South Korean media coverage of the historic North-South talk in Pyongyang was

expected to convert intense popular antagonism to North Korea couched in the war trauma into humanitarian recognition to promote national reconciliation.

Figure 3.2. Reunification Aspirations Erupting in the Street

Source: *The Kyunghyang Daily*, 4 July 1972, p. 6

A public scene on the morning of July 4th, 1972 can serve to manifest such an enthusiasm that South Koreans were clustering around television or radio at home, in their workplaces, in coffee shops, and in the street to watch or listen to the broadcast of the first official inter-Korea agreement to promulgate national reconciliation that had previously proceeded in secret. Tumultuous applause and exclamations were bursting out from place to place in the aspiration of national reunification (Figure 3.2).

As such, the government announcement on TV, as a precursor "celebration" of the scheduled inter-Korea talk, was already "portray[ing] an idealized version of society, reminding society of what it aspires to be rather than what it is" (Dayan and Katz 1992, p. ix). For most South Koreans who had never put foot on the northern part of the nation for twenty seven years since the Korean War, however, the mediated event was also conceivably provoking *anxious aspirations* to viewing North Korean society. At the time, South Korean newspapers ran mostly the same photos of North Korea, because they dispatched a press corps to report the historic talk events in Pyongyang. Although each of the newspapers had different editorial arrangements of those photos, it is no doubt that the representation of North Korea was spectacularly provocative to the South Korean public. As will be revealed below in some of the on-site reports and photographic representations of North Korean society, such anxiousness appears to never be resolved. On the contrary, it appears to be further complicated through the mediated experience of juxtaposing the principle of national identification as a norm of viewing with the fetishism of the heterogeneous North as an "ocularcentric" (Jay 1993) register of biopolitical Otherization.

Now one may still be left wondering why and how such mediated experiences of North Korea, in spite of their sheer factuality and verifiability, were provoking deep anxious feelings about national identification among the South Korean public. I suggest that a very compelling answer can be pursued through a discussion of the discursive power of eyewitnessing. Above all, the anxious aspirations articulated through the mediated event in Pyongyang were narratively substantiated with the journalistic experience of eyewitnesses that naturalized its authority to prescribe audience experience. As Barbie Zelizer (2007, p. 411) discusses, the inclusion of eyewitnesses can mark "journalism's credibility and authenticity, particularly when audiences have no first-hand knowledge of what is being reported." The authority of credibility and authenticity are molded through the embodiment of a journalist's "on-site presence…for reporting events

of the real world" (Zelizer 2007, p. 410). In this way, the act of journalistic eyewitnessing is institutionalized as the fundamental principle of "objectivity" in news coverage, because the key principle is the understanding of "a hierarchy of testimony determined by the witness's [the journalist's] proximity to the event" (Peters 2001, p. 715).

Although the idea of objectivity as a cultural construct or professional ideology has been challenged by deliberate forms of journalistic writing such as advocacy journalism and literary journalism in a post-yellow journalism era, the idea has been reformulated as the principal register of news values such as neutrality, impartiality, balance, accuracy, and factuality. In particular, the conception of objectivity becomes perceived as a discursive formation of constituting "formal knowledge" (Freidson 1986), the form of institutional power that is established by the expert system of journalism that should be distinguished from the ordinary, commonsense, or popular experience. In the light of such theoretical implications, it can be said that on-site journalistic reports on North Korea during the historic visit were delivering a far more "realistic mode" of understanding the nation of North Korea.

But it should also be noted from the discussion of the powerfulness of eyewitness that the journalistic practice of the eyewitness is arguably coextensive with fictional accounts (Hartley 1993). In other words, journalistic eyewitnessing is the discursive terrain where "fact meets fiction, and they [should] intertwine" (Inglis 2002, p. 149). For example, in the courtroom, where no one can be legitimately allowed to record and mediate a trial with any electronic device without permission, journalists or hired artists for the news agency sketch characters and chronicle moments of tranquility, graveness, and heroicness. Such conventionalized accounts about the event, however, still bear the stamp of the mode of realist reporting, because the act of eyewitnessing in the courtroom is empirically legitimated as the physical and sensory experience of the observer.

The journalistic authority of defining empirical verifiability is established through a mediating relation to audiences, as their dependence on the act of eyewitnessing for gaining empirical accuracy is heightened. Photography as an idealized means of journalistic eyewitnessing magnifies and modifies such audience demand for, and dependence on, visual experience (Nye 1986; Taylor 2000). Photographing as evidence of witnessing rests on the idea that a "photograph reveals its potential as a source of insights about the relationship between image and existence, or between picture and reality and makes 'seeing' a meaningful social practice" (Hardt 2007, p. 478, original emphasis). As John Durham Peters (2001, p. 717) notes, it should be stressed that "[t]he cultural authority of mechanical recording lies in the claim to document events without the filter of subjective experience." As such, the relation of realism to the status of truth in photographic representation becomes always problematic (Tagg 1993; Taylor 2000).

This idea of the transparency of the mechanical optical system can be traced from the invention of the camera obscura in the seventeenth century, as the optical machine was conceived of as "an apparatus that guaranteed access to an objective truth about the world," "the Cartesian and Lockean idea of visual purity detached from the signification of the body" (Crary 1999, p. 31, 34). In the dark room of the camera obscura, the interior passive observer came to endow the mechanical machine with an authoritative and sovereign status of vision for the observer "to guarantee and to police the correspondence between exterior world and interior representation and to exclude anything disorderly or unruly" (Crary 1999, p. 32). The camera obscura model as a dominant apparatus of vision, however, was challenged in the 1820s and 1830s, as optical devices such as the phenakistiscope, diorama, and stereoscope were invented and developed (Crary 1990). The popular use of those devices began to bring into the fore the greater perceptual autonomy of human vision, because the physiological processes of human vision as numerous responses to external stimuli were recognized as playing a specific role in producing visual experience. In sum, the outcome of the perceptual autonomy as "the

articulation of subjective vision coincided with a new network of techniques and institutions [e.g. the development of physiology] by which visual experience could be produced *for* a subject" (Crary 1999, p. 46, original italics).

Nast and Kobayashi (1996, p. 82) argue that Crary's discussion of the physiological model does not take into account "a specified ensemble and relation of subjects and objects" through which the body politics of the camera obscura mediates and activates "particular kinds of political relations." In particular, they insist that Crary's definition of "visuality" as a "nonvertical" transfer of symbolic experience ignores the significant role of "those who designed, produced, and/or operated the newly emergent optical devices to target the external world" (p. 83). The human body under optical observation or surveillance is not neutrally measured but instead meticulously "gendered space," through which the external nature is constructed "in terms of a passive materiality that [is] called to order by the masculine, rationalizing gaze and hand of science" (p. 80).

In sum, the body ensures its significance as the condition and terminal point of visual experience by complicating the locus of signification in a mediated world. But it also does so by reifying its relation to the external world. It is the very point at which eyewitnessing turns into a powerful discursive register of "the retreat to the body as the haven of truth" (Peters 2001, p. 712). As shall be seen shortly in the next section, the mass-mediated eyewitness scenes from Pyongyang began to powerfully adopt a utilitarian claim to national identification by targeting the body of North Koreans as the very verifiable locus of ethnic homogeneity.

The Ambivalent Visualization of Gendering and Ethnicizing the Korean Nation

The historic inter-Korea talk in Pyongyang was no doubt a "media event" (Dayan and Katz 1992) that successfully institutionalized the discursive formation of "North

Korea."[53] The virtual proximity to the physically inaccessible territory of North Korea presumably appeared to help continue the mystified imagination of North Korea, which was under the ideological sway of anti-North Koreanism. But the media event of the inter-Korea talk also more anxiously complicated the South Korean mediated experience of North Korea than when South Koreans could only imagine the atrocious perpetrators of the Korean War. Without the occurrence of an eyewitness opportunity, the South Korean public might have somewhat successfully had its anxieties and fears about the enemy enveloped and contained when it saw and heard about North Korea. As the North Korean reality unfolded through the media coverage, the promise of the imaginary relief had to be prepared to compromise on the veracity of eyewitnessing. At stake is the issue of whether the South Korean public's recourse to the veracity of eyewitnessing permitted it to adequately resolve its anxious feelings about North Koreans, who were dismissed as an anomalous subject of the nation. As shall be shown shortly in my analysis of the textual and photographic representations of North Koreans, symbolic objects of national belonging such as *Hahnbok* were consistently presented to the South Korean public in hopes of getting it to indulge in the authentic experience of national identification. But instead of resolving the anxieties, the framing of North Koreans exposes the South Korean public to a deeper contradictory process, in which the moral command of national identification comes to be effective only if it is violated.

During the historic inter-Korea event in 1972, the aspiration of authentic experience for national identification from on-site eyewitness reports encounters bizarre and idiosyncratic scenes through which the biopolitical Otherization of North Koreans is specified for normalization. Here, drawing on Foucault's discussion of biopolitics in the

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[53] The outcome of the July 4 Joint Statement enacted a total of seventy-three inter-Korea talks across Seoul and Pyongyang until 1979. Among them, six were held in North Korea, and six in Seoul. The other preparation meetings for those exchanges were held at the *Panmunjom* in the Joint Security Area on the borderline between North and South Korea.

modern political transformation of Western society, I define biopolitical Otherization as the contentious desire to prescribe national identification in terms of "the fantasies of blood and belonging" (Gilroy 2000, p. 32). That is, the biopolitical Otherization of North Korea implies the deterministic idea of cultural difference that only "ethnic homogeneity" strengthens the Korean population. I will show how such "ocular*e*ccentric" (Jay 1993), or in other words "heterogeneous," scenes embedded in the practice of biopolitical Otherization were being proliferated through the textual and photographic representations of the North Korean body, by which the idea of ethnic homogeneity problematically maintains to be *over-familiarized* to the South Korean public. In short, one can see, from my analysis below, how the politics of national identification becomes feasible through the discursive activation of cultural differentiation.

For example, in the eyes of one South Korean journalist, North Korea was appearing as an object of "discontentment," upon which everything under observation was giving rise to a sensual figuration of the "inauthentic," as opposed to his initial expectation on the journey of the journalistic eyewitnessing.

> Pyongyang…is seen as a city of no preservation in which the monotonous shape of apartment archipelagoes and newly paved urban driveways at a first glance radiates an impression of modernization. I can't imagine any archaic romanticism now even overlooking the Daedong River that is eloquently flowing around the Neungra Island and the Mountain Moran, which must have been waiting for us since division of the nation! (*The Chosun Daily*, 5 September 1972, p. 2)

This feeling of discontentment stems from the inability to satisfy the desire of identifying an archaic vision of the nation in the North Korean landscapes. In the imagination of the South Korean news reporter, North Korea, before the historic on-site visit, might have been a "vast, deserted, and permafrost grave" that should be characterized by backwardness and the incompetence of the socialist economy (*The*

Chosun Daily, 5 September 1972, p. 2). Such a self-referential illusion was now hindering the journalist's relation to the immediate reality of North Korea.

In addition, more significantly, those remarks on discontentment serve as a testimony to the allegorical representation of the North Korean landscapes. As Gillian Rose (1993 p. 89) notes, landscape is "a form of [gendered] representation and not an empirical object," because geographical discourse hinges on the representation of "a different relation between subject and environment from other spectating positions." In the portrayal of Pyongyang, the eyewitness narrative adopts two different forms of landscape: the artificial landscape of urban modernization and the immutable landscape of natural preservation. The enigmatic absence or lack of nostalgic authenticity which were manifested from the first-hand observation of the urban landscape above are compensated by the negotiation of urging the on-site observer to re-establish a romanticized relation to North Korea, through which the observer could maintain moral authority over North Korea.

At this point, it is important to note that such romanticization is fulfilled and facilitated by feminizing North Korea through such images of nature. This self-consolidating tactic is often formulated as a complementary means of fictional accounts in order to sophisticate an imaginary masculine narrative about the targeted objects for visual experience. In the textual narrative about the river and mountain above, "nature" is implicitly translated into the object of recuperating "national integrity," which is displaced by division of the nation. The textual inscription of "the nature awaiting us" in turn prescribes the relationship between the South as the positive spectator and the North as the passive object. In so doing, while the South is put to work as an embodiment of the integrity of the nation, the North is pictured as a mere entity that must recover its own

deprived integrity through the abandonment of communism as well as by being necessarily filled with the very integrity which the South gloriously upholds.[54]

Furthermore, the attempt to fill the narrative gap in the chain of signifiers displaying moral authority and nostalgic authenticity of the nation helps make the narrative subject feel an exotic curiosity about the scenes. In a travelogue after the visit, another eyewitness becomes obsessed with restlessly capturing the reality of Pyongyang:

> In this idiosyncratic city in which there are apartments across the government office buildings and again apartments across the theater and again and again...We were anxiously driving down the street through the monotonous repetition of urban design. However, *we were still busy photographing them*. (*The Dong-A Daily*, 8 September 1972, p. 3; also see Figure 3.3)

The striking contrast between the restless narrator who is aroused by the desire for snapping something like rare wildlife and the synecdochical character of lifeless North Korean reality gives rise to a narcissistic mode of cultural differentiation. This narrative interrogation refutes the trace of modernization or social mobility in North Korea and relocates it onto a discursive terrain of cultural immutability. It is also interesting to see how this displacement then complicates the belligerency of characterizing North Korea that was presumably rhetorically constructed in cold war anti-communist propaganda.

Let me use some examples to show such narrative approval of the re-characterization of North Korea that are constituted by the eyewitness reports and photographic representations of North Korean female schoolgirls:

> Most of North Korean women wear the same set of a seamless black one-piece skirt and a white jacket in the Korean traditional garment called *Hahnbok*. What remains more disturbing than the style of clothing is their faces that are full of blank and flat expression…The characteristics of the uniform clothing arguably

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[54] Interestingly, in contrast to the signification of the North as a passive, feminized object which should reclaim its own national integrity through the abandonment of communism, the narrative of "being raped" is a typical discursive strategy to deal with the traumatic event of the Korean War, positioning the South as a female victim, as opposed to the North as a male perpetrator (see Kim Kyung-Hyun 2004).

> reveal immutability inherent in North Koreans…This is not something that our common ancestry can tell us. (*The Chosun Daily,* 3 September 1972, p. 1)
>
> While it seems extremely natural to North Koreans to see such a military march by their teenagers, due in part to their extravagant habit of indulging themselves in organized activities across public and private spaces, it is quite a strange spectacle for our South Korean journalists to observe…About clothing and sociability, our South Korean teenagers are quite different from those North Korean counterparts. (*The Chosun Daily,* 1 September 1972, p. 2)
>
> We have a striking anxiety about North Korea as a military camp society…Uniformly styled apartments, no sign posts and advertisements on them…[This all seems to amount to] North Koreans' communist consciousness, which is devoid of something *we* [*the Korean nation*] should share, but with that consciousness, they would look always prompt and mindful of public orders imposed by government. (*The Dong-A Daily*, 4 September 1972, p. 4, my italics)

In the first textual portrayal above, while the Korean traditional garment *Hahnbok*—dubbed as the North Korean uniform—is somewhat acceptable to the narrator, the main trouble with national authenticity incited in his perception results not necessarily from the clothing style itself but from the harsh dissonance in the identity-marking process along with the extremely monotonous sartorial elegance and the striking complete lack of expression in the women's faces. What this means is that the narrator's concerns, anxieties, and fears about North Koreans cannot successfully be alleviated, unless/until he finds his aspirations of national authenticity successfully settled at the moment of satisfying himself with identity markers tailored to his own standards of the formation of national belonging. Meanwhile, in South Korea at the time, the sartorial extravagances such as women's mini-skirts were targeted as a manifestation of moral corruption and anti-social deviance, thereby being banned by the Park Chung-hee government. Given this aspect, it is imaginable that, despite the fact that the identity marker of *Hahnbok* can give the narrator a contingently conceptual link to the standard of social conformism (e.g. as alluded to in the third block quotation above, "North Koreans' communist consciousness, which is devoid of something *we* [*the Korean nation*] should share"), the discursive effect scales down to the degree that the narrator cannot legitimatize his

standard by seeing the ticklish scene, wherein the North Korean uniform indeed seems to conform to the standard of national authenticity. As such, the practice of national identification is implemented but fails in the end, as its norm is self-contradictorily violated in the evasive characterization of the very object that must be recognized. The narrator then alternatively condemns, as shown in the second block quotation above, the North Korean schoolgirls' "extravagant habit of indulging themselves in" the organized military-style behaviors.

The ambivalently defined disqualifications of North Koreans furnish the on-site viewers with a medium for imaginary articulation of the motionless body onto whom the viewers' anxieties and fears concerning the perpetual loss of ethnic authenticity are continuously invoked. This narrative frame culminates in the portrayal of quasi-religious fanaticism on artistic performance predicated on socialist realism:

> We were watching a spine-chilling performance scene in which one hundred female guerillas scream out "Destroy all enemies!" while vehemently waving red flags. This uncanny feeling stems not just from the performance on stage but also from the audiences' fanaticism over the anti-Japanese/anti-colonialist performance called *Peebahda* [*The Bloody Sea*]. (*The Dong-A Daily*, 9 September 1972, p. 4)

> What was much more overwhelming than the theatrical scale of the performance seems to be the audiences' emotional responses observed on the site. All the fanatic emotions were literally horrible and strange. The audience was shivering, immersed in the psychical synchronization with the performers along with the captivating orchestral sounds (*The Chosun Daily,* 3 September 1972, p. 3)

What is important at this point in the textual signification of North Koreans is how a discursive redeployment of the statements of North Korean reality is enacted. The motionless body of North Koreans, as described earlier in the scenes of North Korean schoolgirls, now is reconfigured onto the collective body politic to speak of its heroic or heroine anti-Japanese/anti-colonialist national liberation achievements. However, this discursive exploitation of North Koreans is immediately reified by the stigmatization of North Koreans as the hysterical subject to be haunted by ideological fanaticism. It is a

peculiarly (again) self-contradictory narrative formation with respect to Korean national liberation movements against Japanese colonial power (1910-1945), given that any anti-populist provocation against anti-Japanese nationalist sentiments in post-colonial South Korean society is obviously vulnerable or subject to public distrust (Ha 2007).

In sum, the discursive slippage of North Koreans provides the speaking subject with a more privileged status to imagine the Otherness of North Korea. That is to say, the restless on-site South Korean journalists, who strikingly clashed with the bizarre, monotonous, and monolithic object of North Korea in the encountering moment, began to *re-negotiate* the feeling of discontentment with their narrative tactics, which in turn *re-affirmed* the narrative status of the speaking subject positioned in more flexible control of his representational practice. As shall be shown below, this re-negotiation and re-affirmation of the speaking subject's power relations to the collective body politic of North Korea are specified in the signifying practice of destroying such North Korean ideological fanaticism. The discursive positioning of the speaking subject is authorized to satisfy its own symbolic mastery over the object under discursive surveillance, the representational trope of which involves facilitating the "*af*-filial" relationship between the North and the South, as opposed to nationalism's convention of an emphasis on putatively "filial" relations, as also discussed in chapter two. Here, this discursive contingency is the transformational practice of anti-North Koreanism, in which national identification is tactically deployed back and forth to constantly modify the scope of biopolitical Otherization in regulating the visual experience of the audience.

The Transformational Discursive Economy of Biopolitical Otherization

The discursive shift of North Korea from the lifeless body to the turbulent body of hysterical fanaticism, discussed above, functions to address the narrator's political and cultural anxieties and fears about any potential perpetuation of the loss of ethnic

authenticity. Because of the complicated intensification of the experience of national authenticity, he still wants to give recognition of national identification to North Koreans in such a way that the incongruities and anomalies of authenticity are discovered but can also be endured. This ambivalent feeling of discontentment is made transformational through the recognition of what the narrator initially intended to find from the departure to Pyongyang, as was shown in the very beginning of the previous section. All this means that *the symbolic power of the biopolitical Otherization of North Korea can expand its scope and capacities by making its discursive space not constrained but transformational through symbolically overlapping the gendered nation and North Korean urban landscapes.*

To illustrate this, I want to take a set of photographic images of Pyongyang from daytime to dusk, entitled "The North Korean Look and Custom" (Figure 3.3), because it is interesting to see how those images are geared toward such a transformational discursive economy. First of all, these concatenated pictures feature two main iconic characters: female North Koreans wearing *Hahnbok* and modernized Pyongyang's landscapes. These main characters are editorially arranged to take up two major dimensions of the photographic space, while being contingent on each other.

Grouped on the right-hand side column, Pyongyang's daytime landscapes are portrayed in two different manners. The first two photos from the top of the column characterize the landscapes as a locus of North Korean belligerency. The image of a construction site provides the reader with an expanded view of a battlefield, as the photo captions declare "Work hard, as we fight in a battlefield!" delivered from the catchphrase posted in the site. This message immediately flows down to the next picture, zooming in on an apartment building whose façade is decorated with roaring anti-American and communist revolution advocacy political slogans. However, this characterization of North Korean "militancy" is compromised by the signification of bizarre North Korean "tranquility" in the streets that the two images from the bottom display along with each of

the photo captions, “Too Much Quietness Felt on the Okryu Bridge” and “Few Pedestrians in the Street” (the bottom picture). The portrayals of the North Korean urban landscapes collaborate rather than counteract each other, offering a striking symbolic

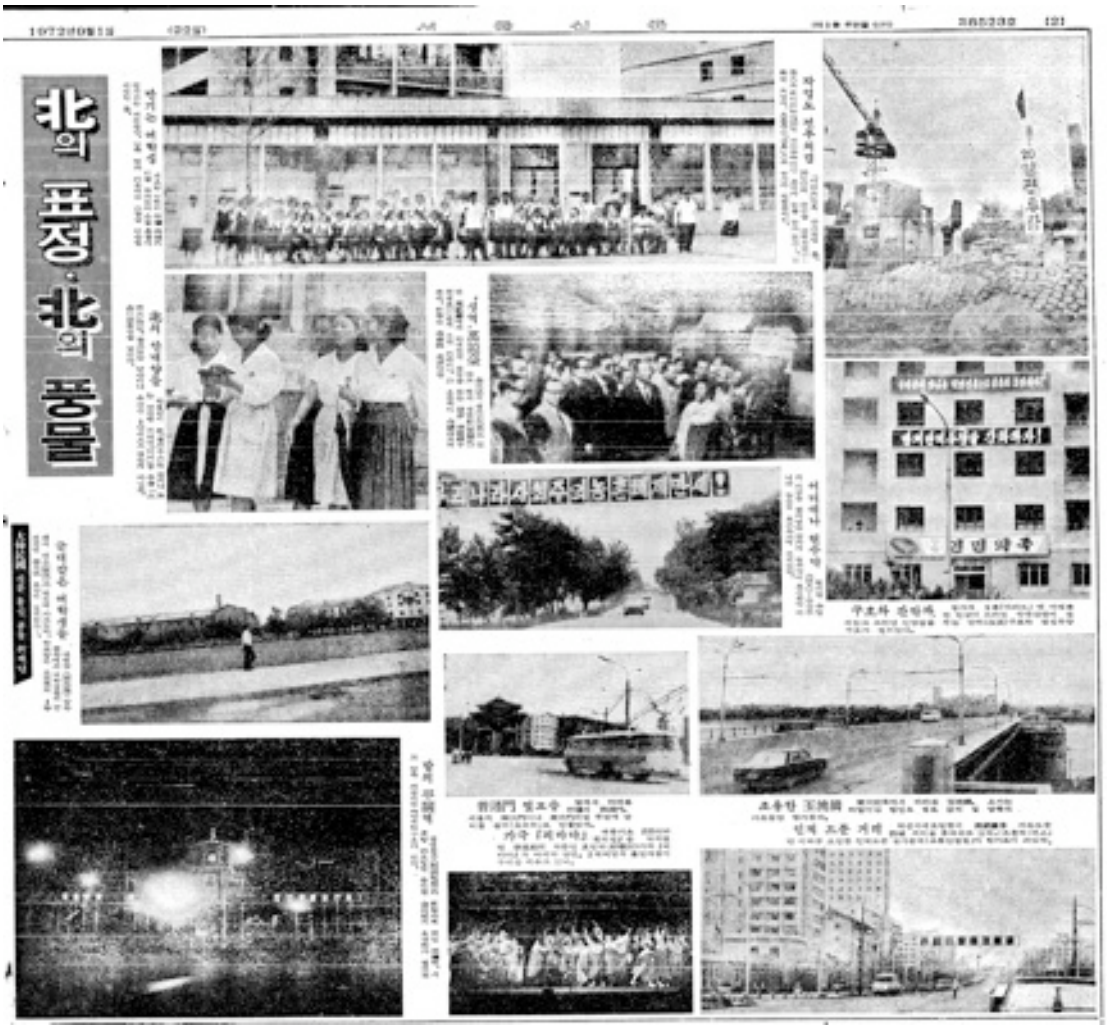

Figure 3.3. The North Korean Look

Source: *The Seoul Daily*, 1 September 1972, p. 2

contrast that enhances/supports the articulation of the anamolous characteristic of North Korea. The North Korean militancy turns into "empty threats" in the encounter with the mediocre urban landscapes that signify unlikely acknowledgeable strangeness.

The feeling of relief associated with this symbolic contrast has recourse to the gendered nation for deeper resolution, as arranged in the left-hand column, wherein such empty threats come to be measured and categorized. As discussed above, the recognition of national authenticity is frequently put on North Korean women, in that their Korean traditional clothing style is viewed as a symbolic manifestation of affirming the ethnic homogeneity of the Korean nation. In other words, although the idea of purebloodedness of the nation can by no means adequately be proved, it can be (over-)estimated under the premise that it is inherent in shared values of national belonging. The Korean traditional garment *Hahnbok* is conceived as evidence of proving likely ethnic homogeneity. Such affirmation of ethnic homogeneity through the symbolic marker delivers a significant political implication in terms of understanding the manner in which the degree of such empty threats is contrived.

For example, the images of North Korean women in the left-hand column formatively respond to the strange tranquility found in the Pyongyang streets. In the first two pictures from the top of the column, an army of schoolgirls "brightly greeting the South Korean visitors" (from the captions) and five adult female travel agents "with tidy suits" (from the captions) break into the dreary scenes of the North Korean landscapes. It appears that the lifeless North Korean landscapes can be invigorated by the feminine characterization, and, in so doing, the sense of empty threats is articulated as attached to the body of the gendered nation. Furthermore, such ambivalently defined North Korean properties are strangely improved by virtue of a night landscape of Pyongyang (the first picture from the bottle of the column). The façade of Pyongyang Rail Station Building, dimly glamorized with electronic lights, appears to alleviate the anxiety of the photographic gaze over the narrative fluctuations. The monolithic bellicosity inherent in

the discursive inscription of North Korea is once again tempered with the erotic phantasm of objectifying North Korea at the terminal point of the photographic sequence.

In sum, the syncretism of North Korean landscapes is intended not to promote a genuine understanding of the mystified Otherness of North Korea but to productively maintain the symbolic exchange between the North and the South. The very discursive fluctuations or irregularities presented by the photographic sequence are a testimony that the textual and photographic observers enter into an overarching yet indeterminate power relation to the observed body. The tactics of biopolitical Otherization can be subverted if the observer has less authorial power than the observed in the discursive operation. More authorial power of the observer is feasible, insofar as the textual reader can be given manageable discursive room in interpretation. This is the significance of what Foucault (1972) calls "the specification of space of exteriority," the pluralized enunciative modalities of certain statements, where different positions of speaking subjects should take shape in order to ensure the discursive operation. The tactics of anti-North Koreanism courting ethnic homogeneity in the photographic sequence characterize such a transformational discursive economy.

Once again, this call for understanding the transformational discursive economy should not be read as a claim to impotence of the ideological power of anti-North Koreanism. The representational practice of domesticating the turbulent body of North Korea is still important to the narrative speaker because, without taming the wildness of North Korea, the moral authority of the narrative speaker would more easily be cast into doubt.[55] Nevertheless, this exhaustively ocularcentric indulgence in establishing moral

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[55] During (and beyond) the cold-war period, the socialist regimes (and recently non-Western Middle Eastern nations and countries, as well as surviving socialist regimes) deployed spectacular, theatrical apparatuses such as political and military parades to display and legitimize political and cultural achievements (Hung 2007; e.g. North Korea's *Annual Arirang Grand Mass Gymnastics and Artistic Performance*). Extracting and mixing visible features of barbarity, primitiveness, and irrationality out

authority cannot successfully be anchored and extended, since the discursive economy of governing the narrative structure of on-site eyewitness activities is rendered dramatically ambivalent, owing to the inevitable connection to the politics of national identification with the North. This ambivalence is further disruptive to the exercise of anti-North Koreanism, especially when the female body becomes the very enunciative terrain over which to re-articulate ethnic homogeneity, by which the narrative speaker cannot but give the observed body of North Korea the nationalist recognition equivalent to the status of South Korea. As a result, the initiative of recognizing national identification through the gendered signification of the North Korean body translates the hierarchical inter-Korea relationship into heterosexual terms.

For example, such a heterosexual mode can be found in a news report's opening remarks on the historic inter-Korea talk in Pyongyang: "[We] *Take Off the Veil* of Darkened and Faceless North Korea!" (*The Kyunghyang Daily*, 31 August 1971, p. 1, my italics). As discussed previously, the body of North Korea is the signification of 'the loss of ethnic integrity' connoting "the deprivation of untouched virginity." Now the opening remarks imply that the integrity can be reinstated only through the nakedness of the North Korean body. This sort of symbolic translation is analogous to the projection of the sexist sensuality of Orientalism by conveying images signifying "inaccessibility" through veiled women, in which the colonialist desire to take the Orient under control is often frustrated, and thereby colonialist deeds justified (Said 1978, pp. 205-207; Mills 1991; Melman 1992; Behdad 1994). As such, the symbolic imagination of the "ethnic purity" of the Korean nation is affirmed and implemented through "gendering the nation," escalating into the biopolitical Otherization of North Korea.

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of such events has been conventional discursive strategies for Western society to legitimately mediate the sustaining cold-war spectacle for the purpose of ensuring its own moral authority over the ideological competitors (Schlesinger and Elliot 1991; McNair 1988).

The fetishistic photomontage of overlapping North Korean women and urban landscapes (Figure 3.4) is an example that underlines a passage into the genesis of biopolitical Otherization, on which the bodily and ethnic purity of the Korean nation are fixated.

Figure 3.4. The Bizarre Ethnic Authenticity Encountered in the Monotonous Street of Pyongyang

Source: *The Dong-A Daily*, 30 August 1972, p. 4

Here, the images of North Korean women in the photographic foreground are intended to deploy a productive function of the female body to invigorate the bleak urban landscapes. This stereotyped femininity of corporeal sensuality at first glance seems to validate "the Great Leader's promise of self-sustaining politics and economy," the manifestation of which is North Korea's governing political philosophy of *Juche Sasang*—an ideological

amalgamation of Marxist Leninism and Maoism. However, this repertoire of political validation simultaneously is doomed to be circumscribed or even unacknowledged, as the fuzzy background of the urban landscapes overwrites the humdrum characteristics of North Korean reality while reducing the vigorous look of the North Korean women to due cliché.

In doing so, the photographic image also successfully registers the symbolic relationship between the South as "urban, innovative, and central" and the North as "suburban, passive, and peripheral" (Williams 1973). At this point, the productive function of the North Korean female body is exploited to position the audience in a privileged status, in which North Korea is allowed to make atonement for all the sins of devastating the Korean nation (particularly referring to the Korean War) and thereby corrupting the ethnic purity of the nation. It is in the intertwining representational economy of gender and ethnic authenticity that an efficient discursive formula for imposing the narrative architecture on the visual reader—i.e. securing the discursive scope of expanding moral authority over North Korea—takes place. The conception of ethnic authenticity is *recalcitrant* to maintain the positive values of the female body as productivity and fertility in order to avoid any potential discursive malfunctioning of the politics of national identification that manages the hierarchical relationship between the two Koreas.

Conclusion

I have attempted to trace the discursive nature of anti-North Koreanism in such a way as to request that a critique of the Orientalist representations of North Korea elaborate on the transformational discursive economy of biopolitically Otherizing the Korean nation. The on-site textual and photographic representations of North Korea during the first post-war inter-Korea talk in 1972 help us understand the hegemonic contingency and negotiation of anti-North Koreanism on the politics of national

identification. More significantly, my analysis suggests that the ideological powerfulness of anti-North Koreanism be understood in terms of its deployment of multiple points of discursive operation. In other words, the hegemony of anti-North Koreanism can be effective to the extent that it allows for a dynamic symbolic exchange between the South and the North, which is established on national identification. Thus, if one over-emphasizes the role of the state or government policy in an attempt to challenge anti-North Koreanism by relying on the claim to the politics of national identification without questioning the underlying principles of nationalism, one's criticism can run the risk of under-estimating or over-simplifying the discursive coordination of gendering and ethnicizing the Korean nation.

The analysis of the on-site textual and photographic representations of North Korea calls attention to critical engagement with an assemblage of apparatuses deploying such Otherization discourses of North Korea, especially in recent dramatic increases in South Korean travelogues and journalistic reports about North Korea. It is misleading if we simply take for granted the innocence of the verifiability of visual experience. Besides, if such a visual experience is in fetishistic pursuit of the nation, the pedagogy of national identification becomes uncertain, questionable, and even disturbing, because of its inherently over-stimulated narrative formulation of ethnic authenticity ingrained in hierarchical gender discourse. The critique of the biopolitical Otherization of North Korea implies that a democratic challenge to the hegemony of anti-North Koreanism cannot be made with the monochromic formulation of the politics of national identification, which presumably is a primary counter-hegemonic thrust in most of the South Korean democratic national unification movements, as discussed in chapter two. But the critique also suggests that it is urgent to capture and reveal dynamic, changing, and multiple strategies of anti-North Koreanism catering to a popular sentiment of national unification.

CHAPTER FOUR THE BODY POLITICS OF NEO-LIBERAL CITIZENSHIP: NORTH KOREAN REFUGEES, PSYCHIATRIC POWER, AND INCOMPETENT CITIZENS

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with understanding the so-called "North Korean human rights crisis" in order to problematize a politics of citizenship in South Korean neo-liberal capitalism. The dramatic increase of North Korean refugee populations in the liberal world since the mid-1990s has brought up a claim to liberal human rights, especially in the wake of the collapse of the former Soviet bloc. Frequently translated into the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention, the claim has been made in the thrust of new conservative political movements in South Korea.[56] But, more significant, the claim also speaks to the programmability of advanced liberal government through which a certain set of knowledges, norms, and resources are constantly deployed in the realm of 'the

[56] As Um Han-Jin (2004) points out, the rise of Thatcherite New Right/New Labor movements in South Korea was accompanied by a series of political economic and cultural events in the late 1990s. First, the national economic crisis in winter 1997 legitimized the principle of economic reform in South Korea made amenable to neo-liberal globalization, invoking nationalist patriotism. Second, the 2000 inter-Korea summit talk in Pyongyang, North Korea provoked a deep-anxiety among South Korean conservatives about losing hegemonic posts in South Korean politics on the political consensus of pacifying the inter-Korea relationship. Third, as conservatives were defeated once again by liberals and progressives in the 2002 presidential election, the failure of the conservatives to recover presidential power since 1997 made them much more anxious to pursue political schemes employed to throw back institutional reform. For example, the proposed revision of the National Security Law by the Roh Moo-Hyun government (2002-2007) and the then ruling party Uri-dang in 2004 failed to be drafted, because of their political retreat to populism on the matter of a conservative ideological backlash against the radical move. The enervated Roh government and the ruling party attempted to be submissively reconciled with the conservative hegemonic bloc under the scheme of facilitating neo-liberal social reforms. South Korean new conservatism is nothing less than an ideological manifestation of cold war anti-communism, being couched in the myth of neo-liberal globalization.

social' to shape idealized subjects and populations in free market-driven democracies (Foucault 1978/2007; Rose 1999; Dean 1999; Woodiwiss 2005; Brodie 2008). In this chapter, I want to push further such a critical diagnosis in order to examine discursive forms of "neo-liberal citizenship" wherein social rights are just "pared back as provision through the market" (Hindess 2002, p. 140). I locate theses discursive forms in apparatuses of mediating particular ways of speaking about North Korean refugees settling in South Korea.

The spectacularly circulated miserable images of starving North Koreans have helped facilitate the claim of liberal human rights, encouraging South Korean viewers to find acceptable characteristics in North Koreans on the principle of national identification. The refugee spectacle explicitly affirms the irrefutable superiority of liberal capitalism over the communist regime while stigmatizing North Koreans as fundamentally deprived of the human nature of self-autonomy and self-promotion presumed in liberal capitalism. From the scenes, it seems unlikely that humanitarianism alone can refute this discursive politics of the refugee spectacle, especially because the North Korean human rights crisis has entailed what Peter Nyers (2006) calls "the politicization of humanitarianism," in which "the ability of humanitarian actors to maintain their neutrality and impartiality in conflict or crisis situations" is problematically undermined or overestimated (p. 31).

For example, the new conservative claim—i.e. humanitarian aid to North Korea would have ended up feeding Kim Jong-Il and his internal allies but not starving North Korean people—has gained popular currency as Kim Jong-Il has ventured out into the series of missile and nuclear tests for political negotiations with the U.S. government. When such a political crisis takes place, humanitarianism is conflated with, or frequently overshadowed by, the overarching claim to nationalism belonging under the scheme of inter-Korea economic collaboration, which was manifested in the Sunshine Policy of the Kim Dae-Jung (1998-2003) and the Roh Moo-Hyun (2003-2008) governments. In

particular, once the discursive incorporation of humanitarianism into the politics of national identification is implemented, it enacts what Laurent Berlant (1997, p. 8) calls "intimacy rhetoric," which exploits the unequal formation of national belonging under the political therapy of market-driven democracy (Dicken 2004; Harrington 2005; Evans and Ayers 2006; Schick 2006).

For example, forty thousand North Korean factory workers in the Kaesung Industrial Park, North Korea, which was launched in 2003 as part of the 2000 South-North Agreement shortly after the historic first inter-Korea summit talk in Pyongyang, have become a symbolic icon for national reconciliation that is expected to significantly alleviate the mutual antagonism endemic in the political culture of both regimes. But the reality that those North Korean workers are paid only one third of the salaries of their South Korean counterparts under the economic collaboration problematically evades public scrutiny in South Korea. In the inter-Korea collaboration scheme, the northern territory of the Korean nation appears to be imagined only if it functions as a compensation for the South Korean flexible labor market in neo-liberal restructuring.[57] If this is so, what is the effect of the discursive interaction of humanitarianism and national identification on North Korean settlers in South Korea in terms of understating their rights and responsibilities as citizens in an advanced liberal capitalist society? In what way can the challenges imposed on those settlers speak about citizenship politics?

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[57] More recently, as of March 2009, President Lee Myung-Bak is pushing his South Korean government against the unification policy of the former Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Moo-Hyun governments that had implemented the inter-Korea economic collaboration over the past decade. One of the recent serious outcomes is that the North Korean government has threatened to close the Kaesung Industrial Park. As the Lee government's new conservative thrust in inter-Korea relations has to some extent been criticized in public discourse, the recovery of inter-Korea economic collaboration has become highly desired as a means of implementing national reconciliation as well as overcoming the national economic crisis accompanied by the recent larger scale world financial crisis.

To explore these questions, in what follows I first discuss the current state of the North Korean refugees in political terms, reflecting on their historical trajectories as border-crossers embodying the project of building up a unified Korean nation-state. Second, I examine the discursive tactics operating in a psychiatric diagnosis about these populations, particularly in order to question the way in which "Refugees are silenced by the very discourses that attempt to provide a solution to their plight" (Nyers 2006, p. xiv). To do so, I pay attention to how North Korean refugees are categorized as a social group that is expected to develop techniques of neo-liberal citizenship that aim to maximize individual talents, values, and choices in a market-driven society. My argument is that their disqualified inner traits, revealed in the psychiatric diagnosis and reaffirmed in the television documentary about North Korean settlers, are discursively deployed to display the duties of a good citizen in an advanced liberal society. Third, I conclude this chapter by discussing how the pathology suggesting that North Korean refugees are mentally troubled—i.e., they are experiencing psychological trauma resulting from the fact that they are refugees—enacts a therapeutic discourse programming their everyday practices in an ethico-politics of neo-liberal citizenship.

From "Refugees" to "Citizens"

Upon arriving in South Korea after spending several months or years in a third country, North Korea border-crossing refugees are compelled to "make over" their whole lifestyles for successful social adaptation. They are required to spend a mandatory twelve weeks at the *Hanawon* (One Community Center, the South Korean government-run settlement education facilities for North Korean refugees) in training themselves to become "citizens" by developing schemes of individual autonomy and self-responsibility in advanced liberal capitalist society. To help this lifestyle transformation, the curricula at the *Hanawon* consist of psychological management education in assimilation (46 hours), fundamental social and cultural adaptation skills (118 hours), field education (92

hours), basic job training (114 hours), and comprehensive settlement orientation (64 hours) (Kim Younghoon 2005).

The lifestyle transformation training is consummated through a rigorous self-examination procedure along with the interrogation of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) with respect to the intentions, purposes, and processes of their escape from North Korea. This procedure is not simply considered a typical investigation for immigration, because the NIA interrogation predominantly targets communist spy suspects. As the integrity of becoming citizens in liberal capitalist society is confirmed then, most refugees are invited to interviews, lectures, and researches hosted or led by psychiatrists, sociologists, and public administrators, journalists, social workers, anti-North Korean conservatives, and human rights NGOs. Their testimonials of the striking misery of the hermit regime are mostly presented to the South Korean public in various venues such as local church and community meetings, because they are conceivably thought of as indisputable evidence of the terrifying North Korean reality, no matter the extent to which these testimonials can be verified as valid and trustworthy (Lim and Chung 2006).

One notable aspect that North Koreans experience throughout the settlement education is a citizenship transformation attached to their identities. North Korean ways of life programmed by the communist regime are allegedly treated as backward, underdeveloped, incivil, and inferior to the South Korean ways of advanced modern life predicated on the gratification of individual achievements and the greater chance of being recognized with national belonging. North Korean ways of doing and thinking are not qualified as a normative driving force in successful social adaptation. That is, this citizenship transformation is also problematically exercised in the language of "social reproduction" that requires North Koreans to practice along the lines of certain established norms and values (Brodie 2008, p. 27).

For example, the settlement education curricula underline "gendered" labor divisions in which "while all adult men are taught how to drive, all women should learn

how to cook and sew in South Korean style with electronic machines" (Chung Byung-Ho 2009, p. 16). In the gendered settlement education, domestic paternalism is reinforced in such a way that female settlers particularly are obliged to incorporate Confucian values such as "dedication to duty, loyalty and sacrifice, respect for authority, and harmony in the family" into a work ethic across the private and public realms (Choo Hae Yeon 2006). Furthermore, this implies that North Korean settlers are constantly put under the pressure to subscribe to the instrumental formation of national belonging, which is articulated in the family metaphor of Confucianism that has continued to prevail in the mobilization of South Korean workers for the economic development of South Korea (Kim A. Eungi and Park Gil-Sung 2003). More problematically, the duties of social-cultural membership, defined in such collectivist terms, compromise the ability of these settlers to find rights claims of social existence in provisions through the market.

As Hae Yeon Choo (2006) observes in her ethnographic research on North Korean settlers in South Korea, the gendered settlement education can help female settlers find and get a job, making their entitlements problematically vulnerable to, and marginalized in, a flexible labor market. The image of female North Koreans frequently perceived as victims of terrifying events such as human trafficking in their refugee process places them in a position to be better recognized by humanitarianism, but this humanitarian recognition does not leave a substantial resolution with which they can survive in cheaper labor markets than their male counterparts, owing to the earned work skills suited to domestic drudgery (e.g., cleansing, dishwashing). But this does not suggest that male North Korean settlers are in a better position of recognition in the labor market than their female counterparts. They generally lack tech-savvy and multi-tasking work experience and skills necessary for using computer and learning foreign languages. Although they had higher education experience in North Korea, it is hard for them to meet the South Korean professional standards deeply embedded in the entrepreneurial business mind.

In such an assimilation process, North Korean settlers rise to the challenge in which "Citizenship … becomes less an entitlement than a definition": the challenge of citizenship that is "centered on provisions rather than entitlements" (Dahrendorf 1992, p. 17). Indeed, the social policy discourse of South Korean government aid to North Korean settlers can be understood as such. For example, the Kim Young-Sam government passed the North Korean Defectors Protection and Settlement Act in 1997. The Act stipulated that each North Korean settler household would be granted up to 37,000 US dollars and a lifetime apartment housing rental along with some other subsidies and benefits such as a special college admission program. In 2004, the Roh Moo-Hyun government revised the Act, considerably cutting by about 30 percent the amount of financial aid to each settler. South Korean new conservatives immediately renounced the policy change, because they believed it would testify to President Roh Moo-Hyun's "pro-North Korean" inclination in the sense that it displayed his "conscious unwillingness to engage in the greater cause of human dignity" under the political scheme to avoid any diplomatic conflict with North Korea in inter-Korea economic collaborations.

However, such a political diagnosis was an anxious exaggeration arguably on the ideological post of the new conservative politicians and commentators, given their constant challenge to the conciliatory unification policy. Any subscription to the diagnosis can dismiss some critical discourses arising out of North Korean border-crossing issues and popular perceptions about North Korean settlers' social adaptation. First, the policy change was also made in order to address the fact that as South Korean brokers (would-be "helpers") were involved in many North Koreans' border-crossing cases, North Korean settlers frequently end up using most of the settlement financial support to pay the brokers for "planning their escape" (*gihwoik talbook*). Second, and more significantly, there was a growing public concern about the lifestyle transformation in terms of whether or not it promoted efficacy in helping North Korean settlers on their

own to cultivate liberal capitalist talents, values, and norms for work skill development and management as well as for the good consumption habits and sociability experience suited to national belonging. For example, an anonymous South Korean volunteer who was helping North Korean refugees' settlement attributes the failure of their social adaptation to their psychological incapacities to prepare themselves to become autonomous, competent, and responsible citizens:

> Once they arrive in South Korea, they are granted the settlement assistance package of the financial aids of 37,000,000 won [equivalent to about 37,000 US dollars] per person and lifetime rental housing per family, as well as special college admission program. But I believe North Korean settlers are not prepared to take jobs offered to them, because they tend to mostly complain why they have to earn as little as 1,000,000 won [about US 1,000 dollars] per month in their full-time jobs. It seems to me they believe their salaries should deserve more money than the amount, based on the experience they were paid more than 1,000,000 won when they were invited to public lectures to witness their North Korean life and refugee experiences. I am really confused about whether or not I should help them, especially when I see them just want to buy a brand-new cell phone despite there is no necessity or urgency, or run into some North Korean settlers mindlessly spending settlement aid money in buying a car. (From an interview with the *Hankyoreh* Special News Report Team 2002)

In sum, the policy change was an attempt to respond, "using pro-market and pro-communitarian rhetoric" (Roche 2002, p. 76), to the degree to which North Korean settlers can develop individual autonomy and responsibility for their successful social adaptation, rather than simply utilizing them as greater leverage to orchestrate political compromises for inter-Korea economic collaboration. Indeed, around the time of the debate, social policy makers and researchers began to significantly focus on the way in which social provision is made in the assimilation of North Korean settlers. For example, In-Jin Yoon (2000), a prominent South Korean sociologist on social policy regarding North Korean border-crossers' health care and family issues (e.g., Yoon 2007a, Gil, Yoon, and Lee 2007, Park and Yoon 2007), urged that the government program be elaborated to effectively allocate government aid and subsidies to North Korean settlers who would be able to demonstrate entrepreneurially competent small business schemes.

More recently, Yoon (2007b) puts forward the nebular idea of "positive or productive welfare" as a means of promoting North Korean settlers' self-interest in developing autonomy and responsibility, insisting that their entitlements in income and education should be provided "through the market rather than being guaranteed through government subsidies" (p. 141).

As shall be discussed in the next section, this "positivity" of neo-liberal citizenship defined as the belief that individuals are "rational" agents in the market confronts the "negativity" of a pathology of refugee behaviors. In this discursive encounter, North Korean settlers' aberrant psychology cultivated from their refugee experience becomes the problematic locus from which social reproduction of normal behaviors suited to the mainstream society is challenged. But as one can see below, it is unlikely in the articulation of their psychological symptoms that North Korean settlers in South Korea can fulfill the idealized social goal of neo-liberal citizenship, although they are emphatically expected to do so. The "emergency discourse" of refugees, which is obsessed with "a problem-solving mentality" to respond to a political, economic, and/or cultural crisis or anxiety (Nyers 2006, p. 3), is attempted through the psychiatric diagnosis of North Korean settlers' afflicted minds, while expecting them to speechlessly tolerate the reality of inequalities generated through the market.

Psychiatric Power in the Enactment of Neo-Liberal Citizenship

As for the problem of refugees and illegal immigrants, psychiatric diagnosis emphasizes the significance of racial and ethnic property to identify their mental problems in the social adaptation process, in order to ensure such anthropological traits are measured in the good cause of humanitarianism. As Didier Fassin (2001) shows, for example, the mental illness of refugees or undocumented immigrants in France is addressed to respond to the growing concerns of French society about these populations.

Psychiatric symptoms such as post-traumatic stress syndrome and depressive syndromes likely caused in the refugee process are vividly presented, through the gaze of medical practitioners and social workers, to the French public for request of humanitarian understanding of their desperate situations in the liberal human rights purview. This implies that "the good cause of humanitarianism" is never neutrally addressed, encouraging us to scrutinize the role of experts in discursively shaping the anthropological status of refugees on the different political, cultural, and social norms of a host country.

The North Korean exodus has similarly brought up public concerns about the psychological dispositions of North Korean refugees in their workplaces and social networking with South Koreans. Social policy researchers conventionally request the South Korean public to be tolerant of, and to express cosmopolitan hospitality to, North Korean settlers, especially stressing the "shared ethnic homogeneity" of the Korean nation as "a sublime source for inter-Korea cultural integration" (Yoon In-Jin 2007c, p. 23). This sort of "tolerance talk," uniquely programmed under communitarian terms, on the one hand seeks to essentialize contingent traits of North Koreans speculated through the "cultural Otherness" discourse of North Korea as discussed above (cf. Brown 2006; Žižek 2005). On the other hand, this kind of tolerance talk wants to articulate the presumed cultural heterogeneity, which is recognized as a seriously troubling cause of conflicts that North Korean settlers seriously face in their adaptation process. In sum, as shall be discussed shortly, the psychiatric diagnosis of those settlers' troubled minds invokes the sense that "We, North and South, have been different due to political division of the nation, and can be integrated owing to our shared ethnic homogeneity. But to do so, we must take out/eliminate the inferior, barbarian, and backward traits you have adopted/developed as an integral part of your North Korean life, in order to bring into effect the cultural integration of the nation." North Korean settlers then come to be significantly targeted as a social aggregate of the nation whose socio-cultural and mental

properties should be constantly exposed to the South Korean public for the purpose of securing the well-being of the nation and thereby predicting the process of national unification.

Much research convincingly tell us that, in such a utilitarian tactic of reforming the social body, refugees are one of the most vulnerable human populations, in that their socially-culturally defined inner traits are considered disqualified for citizenship rights so long as those traits are not suited to the criteria of citizenship duties (Arendt 1973; Agamben 2000; Fassin 2001; Dicken 2004; Harrington 2005; Ong 2006; Nyers 2006). How are such "disqualified" traits researched, analyzed, and revealed in the North Korean refugee/settler population case? How are those "affirmed" problems addressed to help the population best suited to the norms and rules of advanced liberal capitalism? What is the discursive effect of the diagnosis of inner traits on the population, and by extension on South Korean society?

The most salient search for such disqualified inner traits of the North Korean population in South Korea has been made by the prominent South Korean psychiatrist Jeon Woo-Taek, who has been recognized as "a pioneering activist of national unification in the mental health of North Korean refugees" (Lee Han-Soo 2007). Through collaborations with social workers and public administrators, his psychiatric work has addressed the problem of North Korean refugees in terms of their peculiar "ill will to" acting on the top-down decision-making process inherited from their North Korean experience, the "psychological symptom" which is suspected to be definitely harmful to their psychological assimilation to South Korean society (Jeon Woo-Taek 1997/2007, pp. 227-229). Jeon also diagnoses that the "learned passivity" and "mutual distrust" which "must have been programmed by the communist regime" continue to "re-activate" their incompetent personhood. He suggests that they end up being seriously less autonomous and responsible for social and economic life such that they "do not possess and develop self-management skills for financial prudence" (Jeon Woo-Taek 2003/2007, pp. 166-167;

Jeon Woo-Taek 2000, p. 85). This psychiatric prescription is presented as follows:

> North Korean settlers' strong tendency to rely on their group cohesion in social adaptation never helps them develop good socializing skills while simultaneously throwing away their passivity. The type of sociability North Korean settlers have to cultivate in their minds is determined by the extent to which they develop "the capacities of individual autonomy and self-promotion as well as commitment to group cohesion in good faith." This is a long-term assimilation project for North Korean settlers. (Jeon Woo-Taek 1997/2007, p. 229, original emphasis)

Here I cannot pay attention to the technicalities of the psychiatric measurement method, but what interests me is how it remarkably helps to verify a North Korean reality *based on* those settlers' troubled minds. For example, the psychiatric method of "Traumatic Experiences Scale for North Korean defectors" has been developed by a group of psychotherapists consisting of "two psychiatrists, three North Korean refugees who have settled in South Korea over seven years, and two clinical psychotherapists, especially in order to take into consideration the peculiar cultural situations to which North Korean refugees had belonged" (Jeon Woo-Taek 2005/2007, p. 320). This method particularly is a manifestation of what Foucault (1982) calls "technologies of the self," in which the interviewed North Korean settlers are directed to express what they acknowledge as their most peculiar psychological traits, relying on their experiences in North Korea and the refugee process, as well as on their social adaptation to South Korean society.

More specifically, when a psychiatric research study decides the "factors" of self-reported depression, it measures the "traumatic experiences" of witnessing public executions, torture, sexual harassment, and human trafficking as well as hunger and illness before refugees' entry to South Korea. In doing so, the psychiatric investigation seeks to find the significant relationship between the higher rate of traumatic "experiences" and the higher rate of posttraumatic distress "symptoms" (Cho et al. 2005). While these rates are imposed on the criteria of elaborating on qualifications for North Korean settlers to become autonomous and responsible citizens (I shall return to this

later), those settlers are presented as a means of empirically verifying the sheer dreadfulness of North Korean reality.

For instance, Jeon Woo-Taek (2003) measures the degree of psychological oppression North Koreans presumably feel under the Kim Jong-Il regime. To do so, the psychiatrist crafts a set of survey questions, with which the interviewed North Korean settlers are asked to "create a virtual North Korean of their own imagination" in answering those questions (p. 147). The virtual voice is designed to measure the oppressive nature of North Korean society, which would otherwise be suspected untrue if it was only verbalized in those settlers' testimonies (p. 148). For example, one of the questions in the survey is stated as (p. 174):

> How would North Koreans respond to the public consensus that "all residents in a local town should do something else in order to survive the food shortage without recourse to the communist party"?

The two top-ranked answers to this question are then presented respectively as follows: "It will be hard for the town residents to cooperate because *they do not trust each other* (40.5%)" and (ii) "They can to some extent help each other, although *they frequently fail to trust each other* (36.8%)" (p. 174, my italics).

What matters in this survey is not just how the North Korean regime should be viewed but also, more significantly, how the oppressive North Korean reality is introduced and defined. That is, the striking absence of mutual trust and cooperation, manifested as the oppressive North Korean reality, is symptomatically measured in those settlers' minds. This absence simultaneously casts doubt on those settlers' capacity to develop mutual trust and cooperation, which is highly valued in the formation of national belonging, if they still remain characterized by such "North Korean traits." In addition, the pathology of North Korean settlers' self-examinations through the virtual voice is then reified as purely humanitarian, ideology-free evidence of the terrifying suffering that North Koreans, in their entirety, experience. It is not only because the self-examinations

are regarded as the very outcome of *their voluntarily speaking about their inner aspirations* to transform themselves into the autonomous and responsible subjects of advanced liberal capitalist society, but also because *the making up of the evidence* is valorized as *scientific* "in the name of a truth…in the name of medical science, of psychiatry" (Foucault 1974, p. 133).

Such psychiatric diagnosis displays the source of therapeutic prescriptions to the troubled mind of North Korean settlers, promoting the moral ideal of "good citizens." The highly measured degree of "posttraumatic stress disorder" (PTSD) found in the interviewed North Korean settlers is employed as confirmation of developing insecurity about their mental health. The experience of disruptions in their attempt to cultivate inner desires of self-autonomy and self-responsibility for successful social adaptation turns out to be a complex set of psychiatric symptoms (Jeon, Yoon, and Um 2003; Cho et al. 2005; Cho and Jeon 2005). More precisely, the research claims that the psychiatric evaluations prove the strong relationship between "the prevalent expression of distresses" presumably caused in their refugee life and "the likelihood of developing dangerous personhood" as a consequence of their failure in social adaptation. The degree of PTSD is integral to understanding the displaced population's psychological preparedness and competence for their becoming good citizens in a liberal capitalist society (Cho et al. 2005, pp. 478-479).

Specifically, among others, Cho et al. (2005), in their three-year follow-up study, find that in 2004 the interviewed settlers' posttraumatic expressions suggest the greater positive impact of their traumatic experiences in North Korea on the degree of their post-refugee depression symptoms, compared to the psychiatric diagnosis conducted in 2001. The psychiatric evaluations also show that a lesser degree of depression symptoms in social adaptation is found in those settlers with more traumatic experiences in their refugee lives. That is, this contingency manifested in the development of posttraumatic depression symptoms implies that a higher degree of "self-efficacy" of assimilation can

effectively be measured in refugees with more enormously abused refugee life than in other groups, signifying the "positivity of posttraumatic stress" to which those settlers refer in successful assimilation:

> This contingency uniquely tells us that refugees' exposure to traumatic events does not necessarily have negative impact on their mental health in the process of assimilation, as opposed to the findings of major refugee studies in this subject matter… Presumably, their traumatic experiences are likely to be referred to as healthy criteria in positively evaluating posttraumatic stresses that those settlers face in social adaptation…Highly measured self-efficacy may function to help envisage the [positive] relationship between traumatic experience and posttraumatic depression. (Cho et al. 2005, pp. 479-480)

Their traumatic experiences in North Korea and/or refugee life are significant in defining the degree of self-efficacy in their assimilation. That is, if they express a higher degree of self-efficacy in social adaptation, it implies that their traumatic experiences can be positively involved in curing their posttraumatic depression symptoms. What this psychiatric diagnosis suggests then is that their posttraumatic depression symptoms not be viewed as something that needs to be concealed in assimilation but instead be "identified as early as possible" (Jeon Woo-Taek 2000, p. 86). Thus North Korean settlers are encouraged to speak about their traumatic experiences, because it can help not only the South Korean public better understand their situations—especially given, as discussed above, the growing concern about their (potential) social deviations—but it is also always attached to their own degree of self-efficacy, which amounts to "the capacities of individual autonomy and self-promotion as well as commitment to group cohesion in good faith." In so doing, those settlers are expected to ceaselessly take up the question of "*what aspect of them can be legitimately spoken of"* (Bidima 2000). However, a North Korean settler speaks:

> Upon stepping on the land of freedom, I began hypnotically brainwashing myself, believing now I am a South Korean. To think in a South Korean manner, I have tried my best to throw away things potentially labeled as the brand of "North Korea," which may hide deep inside my mind. Indeed, I have been struggling with this… When my South Korean school friends point

> to my use of North Korean speech styles, I am very anxious about that. I really want to erase everything associated with North Korea haunting my body and mind. I do nothing about North Korea, and I hope no one knows then I am a North Korean. (Quoted in Song 2007, p. 1162)

In this discursive process, North Korean settlers also find themselves deeply ingrained by the stigmatization in which they are portrayed as inherently "incompetent citizens." This arbitrary idea is programmable to the discursively mediated assimilation of citizenship, not only because of the untenably naturalized superiority of advanced liberal democracies to the illiberal regime, but also because of the presumption of psychiatric investigation that the psychological repression imposed on North Koreans by the North Korean government is a fundamental barrier to the suitable cultivation of individual autonomy and self-promotion (Jeon Woo-Taek 2003/2007, p. 147). In so doing, the psychiatric diagnosis of their strange mental properties presents the criteria of successful assimilation as an antidote to the psychological oppression that North Korean settlers must have experienced, encouraging the South Korean public to tolerate the social deviance of North Korean settlers who were involved in alcohol abuse, sexual harassment, and poor financial management (Jeon Woo-Taek 1997/2007, p. 226; Kim Mee-Ryong 2005). In sum, the psychiatric intervention in the assimilation process obsessively reveals how "they" (i.e. North Koreans) are inherently different from "us" (i.e. South Koreans) and how their psychosocial behaviors caused by posttraumatic depression symptoms should inevitably be marked as tolerable.

North Korean settlers are nominally given the status of the rights-holding individual who should be able to make a free choice for social existence. However, such self-realization seems possible only if they agree to identify the source of conflicts in psychology and behavior. Indeed, as is shown above, the psychiatric diagnosis remains a therapeutic scale for them to measure and calculate their choices and capacities, as it is constantly referred to by social policy researchers and administrators who problematically propose that North Korean settlers can contribute to national economic

prosperity, given their significant lack of work skills associated with the affirmed inner traits, by providing their cheap labor power in the so-called "3-D" (*Dirty, Difficult, Dangerous*) industrial sectors of a private-public partnership scheme (Kim Joo-Sam 2004; Kim Hyun-Cheol 2004).

In sum, the psychiatric diagnosis of North Korean settlers' incompetent skills and deviant inner traits makes them amenable to the South Korean flexible labor market, encouraging them to elaborate on "a know-how of [the] autonomous individual striving for self-realization" (Rose 1998, p. 18). The lack of individual autonomy and self-responsibility diagnosed in the psychiatric investigation is presented as part of the market reasoning of what Aihwa Ong (2006) calls "an ethics of exception," in which North Korean settlers' "rights to life and bodily integrity" are thinkable only if "their capacity [is] to serve the insatiable demands of the neo-liberal sectors" (p. 215). In the next section, I discuss how the psychiatric diagnosis is manifested through a therapeutic technique of documentary in such a way as to prescribe the pathological performance of self-examination for neo-liberal citizenship.

Confessing the Troubled Mind, Visualizing Incompetent Citizens

The self-examination technique of psychological pathology thus needs to be understood as part of the active engagement of equipping oneself with diverse sources by adopting certain norms of citizenship. In other words, the technique is a mode of "subjectivation" that invokes "claims to" a ceaseless work of training oneself as an ideal citizen. As Foucault (1983) remarks, the subjectivation of acting on oneself is not simply a static, top-down performance of identity formation, but rather it brings into dynamic play—and consciously draw on—different rules, conventions, and customs, thereby morphing into what is called "technologies of the self." As Nikolas Rose (1999) puts it, the question of citizenship in terms of technologies of the self can thus be articulated

through an assemblage of multiple discursive and institutional tactics and loci of identity formation:

> [I]ndividuals no longer inhabit a single "public sphere," nor is their citizenship conferred upon them through a singular relationship with the state. Rather, citizenship is multiplied and non-cumulative: it appears to inhere in and derive from active engagement with each of a number of specific zones of identity—lifestyle sectors, neighborhoods, ethnic groups—some private, some corporate, some quasi-public. (p. 178)

As an integral tactic of naturalizing neo-liberal citizenship, the self-examination technique can be found in the "realistic" mode of popular media culture to represent the body suited to the well-being of society (White 2002; Palmer 2003; Ouellette 2004; Ouellette and Hay 2008a). As an audience glimpses via the media other citizens speaking about their distress and lack of desire for building a perfect body and developing entrepreneurial skills, the well-managed body and highly assessed professional techniques adduced through the media provide the audience with the criteria of "an implicit condition of citizenship" (Ouellette and Hay 2008b, p. 473). For example, Meredith Jones (2008) observes that, as we frequently see in the American cosmetic surgery body-makeover reality television show *The Swan*, the audience is actively engaged in the positive relationship between cosmetic surgery and psychological well-being of the self; however, the audience experience enormously alienates audiences from the reality in which many of those who suffer psychologically as a result of their morbidly obese bodies would not be able to afford to resolve the problem due to a substantial lack of material sources. The pathological performance of confessing degenerate, less favored lifestyles and inner aspirations enacts a therapeutic discourse helping to turn everyday practices into an ethical choice for maximizing self-management for the ideal citizen.

In the case of North Korean settlers in South Korea, television documentaries have become an integral part of the assemblage of apparatuses through which they are called on by the imperative of the good citizen in a neo-liberal capitalist society. If this is

so, *in what representational conventions* are the criteria of producing good citizens articulated? I will discuss below how the discussion of narrative reconstruction strategies of television documentary can help articulate the therapeutic discourse of the troubled mind of North Korean settlers in South Korea.

In 1996, twenty non-fictional autobiographies and novels written by North Korean refugees and South Korean writers came out in the South Korean publishing market (Yeo Dong-Eun 1996). Most of the South Korean newspapers began to scramble to cover the miserable scenes through North Korean refugees' testimonies and interviews in a series of special news reports. Among others, *The Hankyoreh*, which is admittedly considered one of the most progressive South Korean newspapers, equipped with public advocacy of national identification politics, began to feature serial news reports about the North Korean natural disaster and economic crisis. The prominent reports, entitled "*Ah! Gumjurineun Bookhan*" (Ah! Starving North Korea), lasted from April to September 1997, resonating with sympathetic humanitarian sentiments arising from stunned South Koreans and making a substantial contribution to the then humanitarian support campaigns for North Koreans on the verge of starvation (Kim Dong-Won 1997).

No other scene could be more promptly provoking than the Korean Broadcast System's (KBS) television documentary, entitled *KBS Ilyo Special: Jigeum Bookhan-eseo museun iree ireo nago itneunga* (KBS Sunday Special Report: What's Happening in North Korea), which was the first television documentary about North Korean refugees (broadcast on 22 June 1997). The documentary vividly reported that North Koreans were making do with a handful of wild herbs and ground wheat flour, having to skip meals if they did not find anything to eat. The South Korean audiences could watch young North Korean refugees called "*Kotjebee*"[58] who were hovering to earn some food in a Chinese

[58] The term *Kotjebee* translated into "flower swallow" in English refers to the integrity of children. Since the traditional Korean folklore *Heungboo wa Nolboo* (the story of two brothers), swallow has frequently been used as a metaphoric icon signifying a providential care for the weak (i.e. the young brother in the Korean story).

marketplace. Those audiences were just astonished at the scene in which a young *Kotjebee* was not spitting out (and continued to chew and swallow) a piece of food that he seemed to steal, even as he was being battered by a Chinese person. The television documentary's earning of 20 percent of TV ratings at the time was unprecedented in terms of the then marginalized portion of the genre in the South Korean television programming market (Heo Yeop 1997).

The KBS broadcast a sequel to the documentary on December 20, 1998. Unlike the first broadcast that covered scenes mostly taken from Chinese towns on the North Korea-China border, the sequel used a more provocatively interventional documentary mode involving a North Korean defector's undercover amateur videotaping operation with a 6-mm video camera, capturing somewhat more factual scenes of *Kotjebee*s and North Koreans who still wore short-sleeve shirts and pants in late October in the far northern region neighboring China. This filmic technique contributes to a consolidated claim to "veracity" of the factual scenes videotaped, by demonstrating that the subject of filming is not the documentary director but the persons themselves who are concerned about the subject matter. The audience then is more likely to be positioned in "a gritty realism" of authenticity at the discursive level of "common-sense views" along the lines of visual properties such as "limited lighting," "crude, underproduced, and shaking camera working," all of which are most frequently observable in television crime scene programs such as the American crime show *Cops* (Doyle 2003, pp. 77-81). The success of the television documentaries promoted another South Korean television company of the Seoul Broadcast System (SBS), employing such similar filmic techniques, to join the rush to produce documentaries spectacularizing the grim North Korean reality (e.g. *A*

In this regard, the term *Kotjebee* is characterized as a symbolic carrier who brings an auspicious message of the impending collapse of the Kim Jong-Il regime to the Korean nation, especially the starving North Koreans exploited by the regime. The sacrificed integrity in the terrifying reality promptly affirms universal redemption for the nation.

Special Report on North Korean Defectors: Kotjebees' Crossing the Dooman [Tumen] River, broadcast on February 20, 1999; *Exclusive, North Korea's Kotjebees: The Record for 300 days in North Korea,* broadcast on October 2, 1999, see Figure 4.1).

(a)

(b)

Figure 4.1. *Kotjebees*, Young North Korean Defectors

(a) A *Kotjebee* suffering from hunger and cold weather
(b) A group of *Kotjebee*s sharing food they earned

Source: Exclusive, North Korea's Kotjebees: The Record for 300 days in North Korea (SBS, 2 October 1999)

More recently, as the presence of North Korean refugees has dramatically increased over the past ten years, most of the South Korean mass media have enthusiastically adopted the visual novelty of documentary based on the genre's successful ability to penetrate South Korean homes in addressing the compelling issue of

North Korean exodus situated in the realistic request for humanitarianism. For example, on November 1, 2003, the SBS broadcast a television documentary entitled *Uri aneui jakeun tongil: Talbookja, geudeuleun youngwonhan iryu kookmin inga?* (*National Unification within Us: North Korean Defectors—Are They Permanently Second-Rate Citizens?*). This documentary was immediately followed by the KBS investigative journalistic report show, *Choojeok 60 bun* (*Chasing for 60 Minutes*) entitled *Talbookja eui Namhan jeongchak gi: Geudeul eun mueot eul kumkuneunga?* (*Notes of North Korean Defectors on Resettlement in South Korea: What Are They Dreaming of?)* on October 13, 2004 and by the Munhwa Broadcasting Company's *MBC Special: Namhaeng hoo, Talbookja neun malhanda* (*MBC Special: After Coming to the South, North Korean Defectors Now Speak*) on February 13, 2005, to name a few.

The subject matter of these newer documentaries has caused much public debate over the North Korean human rights crisis, helping to make the shift of the popular-political discourse from the frightening spectacle of starving North Koreans to the problem of North Korean refugees' social adaptation. The growing concerns about those refugees' social adaptation have led the South Korean media to pay particular attention to how they can transform themselves into successful citizens in a liberal capitalist society.

As discussed above, at a discursive level, this shift of the focal interest, accompanied with the growing concerns about potential social deviance of North Korean settlers, began to highlight their failure in psychological management of social adaptation. More significantly, I want to draw attention to the fact that the discursive shift began to be made along the lines of the psychiatric intervention in their troubled minds. While the issue of human rights abuse was employed by new conservatives as the powerful thrust of circulating anti-North Koreanism, the "popular-scientific force" of psychiatry articulated through the televisual domain of documentary helps render those settlers' life narratives situated within the therapeutic tactics of citizenship politics (Shaffer and Smith 2004).

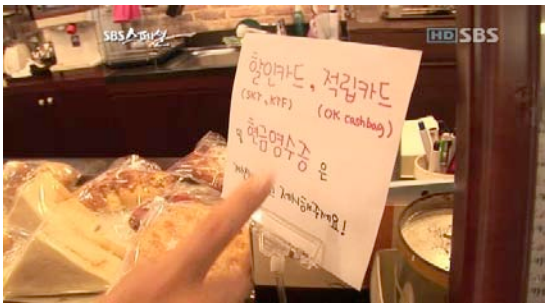
Let me discuss such a citizenship transformation process attached to identity formation, while focusing on the strategies to reconstruct life narratives in the South Korean television documentary program *SBS Special: Dalae eumakdan eui naeiri omyeon* (S*BS Special: Lulling Flower Music Band's If Tomorrow Is Coming,* broadcast on 19 November 2006). This television documentary featured a group of five female North Korean settlers who are working hard to become successful celebrities in the South Korean entertainment market. In doing so, they are resolutely working to demonstrate that they have changed their "North Korean characters of personality and attitudes toward society."

The documentary begins with a scene in which one of the music band members, 23-year-old Lee Yoon-Kyeong, who is in her four-year residence in Seoul, shows the other members how to develop self-management techniques of financial savings by accumulating "credits" in retail shopping when they visit a local bakery shop (see Figure 4.2). Another member, 19-year old Kang Yoo-Eun, says "since her family defected to South Korea they have changed their ways of doing and thinking they did before in North Korea, in order to survive and more importantly be recognized as a member of South Korean society, although they believe some of the things they have in their thought and conduct are still invaluable in their own" (narration by voice-over).

These scenes explicitly conform to the convention of dramatization in documentary in order to attract the audience to participate in the construction of characters of "normal citizens" in a liberal capitalist society. Those settlers' personal behaviors and accounts of the strenuous efforts to join South Korean society are viewed as acknowledgement and validation of the assimilation.

But, in the documentary convention, the acknowledgement and validation should also be put to work in the scheme to avoid rendering the personal behaviors and accounts merely literally personal, because the convention of dramatization must make its narrative reconstruction essentially evaluated as an event in itself as well as acceptable

and accountable for the audience.



(a)

(b)

(c)

Figure 4.2. Developing Self-Management Techniques in Social Adaptation

(a) Lee Yoon-Kyeong points to the instructions of "how to use discount credit cards" in the local bakery shop
(b) The role model of the good citizen
(c) Lee Yoon-Kyeong's verbal instructions

Source: SBS Special: Dalae eumakdan eui naeiri omyeon (SBS, 19 November 2006)

The German film theorist Siegfried Kracauer (1960) explains the intersubjective strategy of narrative reconstruction by claiming that "the form of the matter-of-fact account" of documentaries is invoked as a "truth claim" to the external world, which must be radiated "with an irrepressible sense of participation" that "testifies to a persistent tendency toward dramatization" (p. 203, 213). This thesis of "dramatized truth" in documentary is further articulated by Erik Barnouw's (1993, pp. 254-255) distinction between *direct cinema* as "observational" and *cinéma vérité* as "interventional/interactive." While there is a lot more to be discussed in the "reality-making" of documentary, suffice it to say for my discussion that the thesis stresses the significance of understanding "interactive" modes of "narratives" in a symbolic world (Genette 1983). Seemingly, this discussion is not simply about the dichotomy of the subjectivist and objectivist mode in the production of documentaries. Rather, it illuminates "documentary strategies" of argumentation for the narrative *re*-construction of "truth claims" as ways of presenting "evidence" to the world.

Keith Beattie (2004) elaborates on this line of argument about the convention of documentary production in order to address the significance of "narrative re-construction" in television documentary. Beattie observes that "dramatic reconstruction of historical and contemporary events and experiences" in television documentary is manifested as the narrative form of "observational-entertainment" (p. 24). This characteristic of television documentary implies that the audience experience of watching "factual details" is never purely observational but deeply embedded in the artificially entertaining practice of enacting certain narratives and characters. For example, the enactment technique of television documentaries can be found in the narrativization of the prominent JFK assassination event through "forensic" examinations involving actors, actresses, and situated scenes (Popp 2006). Such a reconstruction of historical events makes "the wedding of direct cinema conventions and dramatic enactment," which aims not so much to fake or distort facts as to "rework historical and political subject matter

within recognizable frames" (Beattie 2004, p. 157, 159).

The *SBS Special* documentary does not employ, over the entire film, this technique of dramatic enactment to promote audience experience regarding factual details in a historical event, but it utilizes the technique in a different cinematic strategy of documentary. This differentiation takes place not because the documentary assumes that there is no need to involve the audiences in the North Korea refugee problem as a historical event but because the documentary focuses on the refugee problem as an individual issue. This is made explicit when the audiences encounter the multiple scenes of dramatic enactment throughout the film in which the five celebrity wannabes perform with their songs and choreographed dances on stage. Unlike the dramatic enactment technique employed to display factual details particularly embodying tragic and mysterious moments in the JFK assassination, the dramatic enactment scenes, performed by the female settlers themselves in the *SBS Special* documentary, are a symptomatic space in which those settlers are stripped of concrete political and historical meanings of the North Korean refugees in the hyperreal felicity of celebrity performance on stage (see Figure 4.3).

The dramatic enactment technique in this documentary functions to provocatively divide the filmic space into two oppositional terrains of "felicity in the imagination" and "distress in the reality of the assimilation." The enactment scenes of imaginary performance (Figure 4.3 [a] and [b]) appear to invoke a voyeuristic sense of surveillance. This technique brings up some dialectic implications that convey a politics of spectatorial pleasure (Mulvey 1975). The North Korean female performers feel empowered, as they are spotlighted out of the darkened filmic space, insinuating the reality of the assimilation. This feeling of empowerment is validated through the identity marker of *Hanbok* they wear, which articulates and intensifies their strong desire for national identification. (As I discussed in chapter three, one can find here again how the female body is reiterated as a legitimate locus of the identity marker.) In real life, juxtaposed with the imaginary

space, they realize they have to passively adapt themselves to the reality acknowledged as "normal" (especially see Han Ok-Jeong's narration in Figure 4.3 [d]).

(a) (c)

(b) (d)

Figure 4.3. The Hyperreal Felicity of Celebrity Performance Versus the Distress in the Reality of the Assimilation

(a) Imaginary performance of the band members wearing *Hanbok*
(b) Performing the nation's song, *Arirang*
(c) Back to the reality 1 in Heo Su-Hyang's narration: "I can't do anything when I get back home after our rehearsal. I just go to sleep right away."
(d) Back to the reality 2 in Han Ok-Jeong's narration: "[Whenever I dream up how I perform on stage] I just come to imagine what if I were born here in the South. I just envy [everything]…"

Source: SBS Special: Dalae eumakdan eui naeiri omyeon (SBS, 19 November 2006)

Dwelling on this documentary strategy, one can more specifically understand how

the narrative reconstruction, in which those settlers are speaking about distress and felicity in their refugee life and assimilation process, offers the audiences an interpretive moment in which the characters of North Koreans as passive, oppressed, and negligent are continuously reiterated. For example, in the final scene of the documentary, one of the five female celebrity wannabes, Lee Yoon-Kyeong, is tempted to provide a constant self-diagnosis and rehabilitation of her inner traits that she has symptomatically found problematic through her social adaptation.

> I believe we are all equal on this. I mean, for example, imagine that Su-Hyang [another music band member] works hard, while I don't. She thereby deserves a lot more fortunes than me. I would just be becoming a homeless beggar for my negligence. That's how we live in a really equal society. This is what I have dreamed of. But, you know what, it is painful for me to now see that my dream is South Koreans' everyday life. South Koreans generally seem to not appreciate how they live in this society. (Narration by Lee Yoon-Kyeong)

This transformation of the normal citizen suggests that North Korean settlers' "agency" deprived by the communist regime can be restored *only if* they work hard to make their personality, tastes, and desires suited to the most favorable and attractive lifestyles in a liberal capitalist society. It appears that, without this restoration, those North Koreans would still not be properly recognized as persons who can carry within themselves inner traits of self-autonomy and self-promotion. This implies that the agency restoration process should diligently be initiated through constantly testing their determination and willpower, because it would otherwise reveal their unpreparedness for, or even unwillingness to, the assimilation process.

Particularly, as shown above, given the public anxieties about many North Korean settlers' failure in social adaptation, it is publicly acknowledged that they are urged to whip themselves into shaping by making a determined effort to be much more self-reliant and self-responsible than they were before they arrived in the South. This pedagogy of neo-liberal citizenship is tied to what Stefan Collini (1985) calls "politics of character," the promotion of life narratives—but not limited to moral asceticism—encouraging

individuals to have "an expression of a very deeply ingrained perception of the qualities needed to cope with life, *an ethic with strong roots in areas of experience ostensibly remote from politics*" (p. 48, my italics). The dramatization of life narratives uttered by those settlers teaches them how to perform (to be in desperate pursuit of) the characteristics of self-reliance and self-manageability. But it also does so by alienating them from the material reality in which they are substantially stigmatized as incompetent citizens and discriminated against in economic inequalities on an increasing scale.

If there is a significant opportunity for those settlers to actively participate in politics, it is mostly offered through their traumatic testimonies to the painful North Korean and refugee life. For example, Kang Yu-Eun's mother, Kim Nan-Young, still struggles to capture every single moment when she was crossing the North Korea-China border. Her testimonies are enhanced by archival footage that informs the audiences of the terrifying situations. It seems that she cannot even now imagine how she survived the defection. The disturbed and trembling pitch and tone of her voice, frequent pauses and hesitations in the tempo of her voice, and her mournful facial expressions are all "zoomed in," even as she is striving to verbalize her experiences in North Korea and a refugee shelter in Northern China (Figure 4.4).

From this scene, what interests me at this moment is that the instrumental convention of "zooming in" of the filmmaker comes to be neutralized on the cinematic technique of allowing a mixture of feelings and events to unfold through the speaker's self-presentation. According to Beattie (2004), in order for the genre of documentary to be sustainable as a realistic mode of presenting factual evidence to the outer world, the documentary mode of "observational-entertainment" should not invoke a sense of questioning or diminishing the foundation of "truth-claims." This contingency of documentary in turn leads the documentary mode of observational-entertainment to find an adequate means of strengthening the formation of truth claims, so that the audience cannot be confounded with the instrumental role of the filmmaker. To do so, the

filmmaker also consciously invites "participants" in the documentary to play "an active role in the formation of characters and narratives." This is what Beattie calls the "participatory cinema" of television documentary, making "a form of collaboration between the filmmaker and subject, one which replaces a 'speaking for' the subject by the filmmaker with a form of participation in which the filmmaker 'speak[s] with' the subject of the film" (Beattie 2004, p. 54, emphasis in original).

(a)

(b)

Figure 4.4. Living through Remembering the Terrifying Refugee Life

(a) Archival footage linked to Kim Nan-Young's remembering the past
(b) The post-refugee testimony: "I couldn't live a day without crying out in fear of a possibility of a family split over the defection."

Source: SBS Special: Dalae eumakdan eui naeiri omyeon (SBS, 19 November 2006)

In this manner, while the perceived mode of "instrumentality," which is particularly manifested as forms of "narration" and "voice-over," is legitimatized, the "rawness," "unadulteratedness," and "credibility" of participants' speaking up in documentary become "unimpeachable" (Bruzzi 2000). In sum, the narrative reconstruction of observational-entertainment television documentaries helps the genre maintain the legitimacy of truth claims by demonstrating its representational integrity of non-instrumentality. In doing so, the performance of participants' actively speaking up in documentary footage buttresses the concrete factuality of evidence presented to the audiences of the documentary.

Drawing on this discussion of the documentary formation of truth claims, it is frequently observed in the scene of Kim Nan-Young's self-presentation above that the "expository mode" of "emphasiz[ing] verbal commentary and argumentative logic" (Nichols 2001, p. 33, 105) is operated not only by the "voice-of-God commentary (the speaker is heard but never seen)" of the filmmaker but also by the speaking up of the participant herself. This combination of documentary techniques helps the interventional modes of narration and voice-over not to be recognized as instrumental. On the one hand, the expository mode of the voice-over commentary steps in to help display the single mother's emotional distress mixed together with pride (her elite educational background from North Korea) and compromise (the inevitable containment of her musical talents). On the other hand, no voice-over authority other than the act of speaking up by the participant herself appears to be effective enough to testify to the greater impact of defection on the change of her life narratives:

> After my three months at the *Hanawon*, I really did *anything* to make money because I had to pay "brokers" for their helping my children escape from North Korea. I cannot tell any more than this—all I can tell you I have changed *everything from within myself* to survive. *I did in spite of myself*." (Narration by Kim Nan-Young, original emphasis; see also Figure 4.5 [a])

No matter what social status and cultural background they had in North Korea, North

Korean border-crossers are obligated to "make over" their lifestyles for successful social adaptation in South Korea. Kim Nan-Young cannot resist against this rule. Indeed, she was a well-known cellist in North Korea (in her narration), but currently has to remain as none other than a mediocre private cello lesson tutor to support her family.

(a)

(b)

Figure 4.5. The Makeover of the Assimilation

(a) Kim Nan-Young's narration: "I can't think of myself to make money."
(b) From an elite cellist to a low-paid tutor

Source: SBS Special: Dalae eumakdan eui naeiri omyeon (SBS, 19 November 2006)

This is not because she offers lower-price private cello lessons to her South

Korean neighbors of all ages (Figure 4.5 [b]), but because her North Korean professional background and cello playing techniques learned in socialist arts performance are not deemed sufficiently talented compared to South Korean cellists. As stigmatized, her agency set to promote her quasi-bourgeois social status is disallowed and denied. This can be translated into the reality making process of demarcating normal and abnormal inner capacities, in which the range of questions the North Korean settler can take up in speaking about herself is problematically delimited to the extent that she acknowledges her degraded traits and connects them to the validation of the status quo.

In this therapeutic process, the relationship between societal problems and the individual is never at issue (Foucault 1974/2006, pp. 160-161). Instead, the settler is expected to reveal her "inner capacities," as valorized as "troubled mind," that she must identify if she wants to be recognized as a refugee. At this point, the participatory mode of documentary, in which the instrumental role of the filmmaker is ambiguously neutralized, helps to make the therapeutic process as if it functions in an absolutely non-instrumental mode (Foucault 1974/2006, p. 163).

The humiliated acceptance of agency seems to be further confounded, when those settlers are confronted with the principle of national identification that is posited as a legitimate source of exercising humanitarianism for them. Another music band member, 19-year-old Im Yu-Kyeong, is always anxious about her speech styles, which more often than not end up being derided by South Koreans.

She makes her every single speech pronunciation amenable to the South Korean listening schema—what Robert Hopper calls the "shibboleth schema," as I discussed in chapter two—in order to be recognized as South Korean and to avoid any situation of the kind (Figure 4.6).

However, such a strenuous effort seems doomed to be stressful, because the music band member has to be tuned in to consciously remind herself of every single aspect of North Korean ways of life, especially when she markets herself in the South Korean

entertainment industry. As with the reality of her other fellow North Korean settlers in South Korea, the only way for Im to become an autonomous, competent, and responsible citizen is to reveal her irrevocable, innate North Korean tastes and lifestyles which she otherwise presumably wants to conceal.

Figure 4.6. Living through the Shibboleth Schema: "[If I speak like North Koreans] I can be overcharged when I get a taxi. In order to avoid such a situation, I practice and repeat *hundred times* "Seobu [West] Bus Terminal, please" to emulate the same pronunciation most South Koreans make" (narration by Im).

Source: SBS Special: Dalae eumakdan eui naeiri omyeon (SBS, 19 November 2006)

Conclusion

From this scene, one may imagine what compromise the female North Korean settlers have to deal with to better live in a neo-liberal capitalist society. Their own individual aspirations for being South Korean, where citizenship duties should be coordinated with the liberal virtues of individual autonomy and promotion, frequently crash in the public realm because they have to subscribe to the enormously reified activity of the South Korean culture industry, which is only interested in magnifying "the authentic culture of the nation" to promote the music band.

It must be striking to those settlers that if they want to become "good citizens," they have to rigorously abandon "every bit of the identity markers from their origin" because those markers are translated into "inner traits" as a fundamental barrier to transforming the "communist-programmed refugees" into autonomous and responsible citizens. The conceptual identity markers of North Korea only help those settlers to end up being stigmatized as "incompetent citizens" or recognized as "inclusively excluded strangers."

In the double discursive exploitation of neo-liberal citizenship and national identification, North Koreans are frequently left vulnerable to the psychiatric diagnosis, in which they are compelled to answer therapeutic questions such as "how have they been traumatized through their refugee life" and "what efforts are to be persistently fulfilled and invested to become ideal citizens."

The therapeutic function of neo-liberal citizenship prescribes the fantasy of an enterprise of free and autonomous selves, painting a rosy picture in which the migrant population is expected to ceaselessly improve its incompetent social skills:

> Although it is not easy for me to do, this job is really fun, especially because I can do whatever I want to. Yeah, it's not easy, though. (Narration by Heo Su-Hyang, 22-year-old, fifth year in South Korea; continued in Figure 4.7)

As such, North Korean settlers in South Korea are expected to emulate the good citizens of "market reasoning." But the surplus human values are doomed to be exploited in the neo-liberal capitalist reality that six in ten North Korean settlers in South Korea are unemployed, and nine in the employed are "legitimately exploited" on the flexible labor marketplace even as they make ends meet with a monthly income under 500,000 won (about 500 US dollars) (Kim Dang 2006).

North Korean settlers are still in desperate pursuit of self-reliance and self-responsibility, alienated from the discursive hierarchy that never substantially speaks to the maintenance of stigmatization and economic inequalities on an increasing scale. At

this point, we should start rethinking the perplexing claim of the so-called "North Korean human rights crisis."

(a)

(b)

(c)

Figure 4.7. The Therapeutic Discourse of (Neo-)Liberal Citizenship: Heo's Testimony

(a) "I thought that we'd get a lot of money and a good house when we come here."
(b) "But upon arriving in the South, I just realized it's not the case."
(c) "[There's nothing we can earn for free.] Nevertheless, I like this way of life."

Source: SBS Special: Dalae eumakdan eui naeiri omyeon (SBS, 19 November 2006)

CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSION: RECASTING THE "INTER-KOREA" IN NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

Introduction

I hope this dissertation has successfully demonstrated some of the ways in which various practices of conventions, styles, and narratives in historical events can produce anomalous subjects within political-popular formation. Specifically, I have attempted to explain some of the ways in which anti-North Koreanism, embodied through and embedded in the politics of national identification, contributes to the formation of claims of the biopolitical Otherization of North Korea in South Korea and to its consistent impact on the unequal formation of national belonging in neo-liberal and new conservative restructuring. My work has also sought to provide a critical view of South Korean intellectuals and unification policy makers who stress the undisputed role of nationalism, across the diverse ideological spectrums, in constructing "inter-Korea" reconciliation in post-(cold) war South Korean society. This investigative survey has sought to genealogically account for the discursive ruptures in which North Korea can only be reconciled with South Korea (no doubt, *vice versa*) to the extent that "inter-Korea" is configured as nothing but a manifestation of the negative erasure of distinctive life forms under the idea of ethnic authenticity. Thus, I have suggested that such a politics of national reconciliation implicitly *justifies the production of disposable bare life* that can legitimately be destroyed and exploited with impunity.

In the early stages of my inquiry, I did not fully imagine what normative dimension should be searched for national reconciliation. This is not because the hitherto democratic challenges to anti-North Korean ideology have totally failed to leave us with such a dimension—which is definitely neither the starting point of my inquiry nor the terminal destination of my inquiry in this project—but because my inquiry schematically drew on a routine conception in which a normative dimension must invariably refer to

national identification. In doing so, on the one hand, my tentative conclusion was that meanings of counter-hegemonic practice against anti-North Koreanism are *already determined* within the politics of national identification. On the other hand, this mode of thinking remained a predicament to my critical engagement in the way in which a moral claim to national identification is conflated with inter-Korea economic collaboration along the lines of neo-liberalism. This is because such reasoning prevents the South Korean public from critically engaging in/with neo-liberalism, insofar as it is justified under the scheme of national collaboration.

The South Korean public has realized and challenged the problems of neo-liberalism in domestic economic reform, especially since the national economic crisis in the late 1990s, but it has also been confounded by the insistence that neo-liberalism-programmed unification policy can be the best means of promoting a sense of inter-Korea sociability in good faith. Under the circumstances, the South Korean public's healthy skepticism toward neo-liberal reform or of claims of transnational globalization is compromised unless the unification policy is substantially challenged. Nevertheless, as critically interrogated in chapter one, some major contributors to South Korean cultural studies scholarship problematically acknowledge that inter-Korea economic collaboration can invariably result in the equal formation of national belonging if the unification policy is legitimized under the premise that the North remain the recipient of knowledge and capital transfers generously made by the South.

In undertaking a critique of the principle of national identification, I was led to the conclusion that the practice of demarcating between positive and negative national identification, on the contrary, substantially helps anti-North Koreanism sustainably operate in popular realms. This is, as discussed in chapter two, because such a demarcating practice problematically relies on the myth that empirically verifiable characteristics of North Korea, made possible within the politics of national identification, come to exist as an untenable source of challenging anti-North Koreanism. This

presumption can prevent critical intellectuals from paying adequate attention to the way in which the empirical verifiability is reified in a conception of ethnic authenticity that not merely forces a cultural integration of the nation-state but also produces a confounding discursive space of cultural Otherization. The contingency of Otherizing North Korea under national identification is more palpable, as unveiled in chapter three, in the visual politics of eyewitnessing occurring in the first post-war inter-Korea talk held in Pyongyang in September 1972. The rhetoric of the gendered nation through the photographical and textual representations of North Korea keeps the North Korean population politically and culturally anomalous, simultaneously reinforcing the hierarchical relationship between the South and the North in socio-economic terms.

This implies that the heterogeneous traces of the nation manifested in the politics of national identification are integral to maintaining the territorial boundary through which *North Korea* is undoubtedly yet problematically imagined as a *geo-political space of un-civilization*. More recently, this fetishism of the Orientalist Other is maintained through the neo-liberal arrangements of inter-Korea collaboration, wherein the nation's survival and prosperity is only possibly imaginable when the messianism of liberal capitalism can "modernize" the hermit country (McCarthy 2007). However, as critically examined in chapters one and four, the legitimacy of the civilizing/modernizing force of liberal capitalism is frequently disguised in the contentious claim of humanitarian intervention (Asad 2000; Spivak 2004; Brown 2006; Žižek 2005), in which North Korean settlers in South Korea are exploited in the new conservative mobilization of anti-North Korean ideology as well as in the neo-liberal flexible labor marketplace.

Two Critical Dimensions of "Inter-Korea"

Accordingly, my project has sought to resist the idea of recovering the project of building up a nation-state for the purpose of recasting the meaning of "inter-Korea" in national reconciliation. I want to suggest that if we continue to be obsessed with the idea

of understanding the significance of "inter-Korea," we will confront two critical problems among others.

For one thing, as discussed in chapter two, many South Korean critical (more precisely, liberal left) intellectuals (especially *Boondancheje-ron*) still largely rely on the self-righteous claim that national unification would greatly help the nation successfully sustain itself in an era of globalization. Although they do not explicitly say that national prosperity should be defined as amenable to transnational economic globalization, they do not hesitate to advocate the idea of inter-Korea economic collaboration, which can be compared to the case of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Under the economic scheme of inter-Korea collaboration, national identification tends to only be appreciated when "North Korea" is integrated into part of a cheap "domestic" labor marketplace for the South Korean economy. The meaning of "inter-Korea" then comes to be schematized in economic terms, manifesting itself as the promise of national reconciliation.

Although explicitly this meaning of "inter-Korea" seems not to subscribe to the authoritarian anti-North Korean ideology that prevailed during the cold war decades, its emphasis on the institutionalization of a (neo-)liberal economic regime in a future unified Korean nation-state sidesteps problems fundamentally embedded in, and persistently emerging from, the world-system. For example, the *Boondancheje-ron* definitely insists that the cause of the national division be attributed to the continuation of the world-system under the cold war era, through which South Korea, as a Third World, began to be baptized with the developmentalist ideology of modernization in the post-WWII decades (Wallerstein 2005). That is, the progressive argument of unification attracted critical attention from the South Korean public by engaging with the political economic structure of the national division, in which economic developmentalism along with the obsession with the idea of the nation-state disciplines the public for political mobilization (Radice 2000; Feldman 2006). However, while aspiring to unification as a progressive social drive for the nation, this insistence problematically maintains the ideology of

developmentalism coordinated with neo-liberalism. For instance, Paik Nak-chung (2006), who coined the term "*Boondancheje*" (the regime of the national division), urges the South Korean public to acknowledge the necessity of economic inter-Korea collaboration. Under the scheme, the capital investment of South Korea should be guaranteed so that the benefits from the accumulation of capital can effectively "trickle down" to the North Korean population (as well as the South Korean population).

At this point, one may be left profoundly wondering how such a problematic view can possibly be formulated. More recently, Paik Nak-chung asserts:

> When we say that we should overcome the regime of the national division, it does not necessarily mean that we must get out of the capitalist world-system, [because it is unthinkable that forms of our existence are possible outside the world-system]. (Paik Nak-chung 2008, p. 111)

According to Paik, it is natural that we thus accept "neo-liberalism" as "an inevitable force prevailing in the operation of the world-system…with which we can create a middle-ground revolutionary strategy for political negotiation regarding national unification" (p. 110). Paik's *Boondancheje-ron* recognizes the capitalist world economy not so much as a regime that must be challenged but as a regime to which the nation has no choice but to inevitably adapt itself unless and until the structural collapse of the world-system finally takes place. As a consequence, it is no surprise that this political claim of "inter-Korea" carries with itself a serious problem when the South Korean public engages in the so-called "North Korean human rights crisis." Far from making a progressive agenda of the human rights issue, it would only help to leave little opportunity for the public to critically respond to the neo-liberal reality that North Korean settlers have faced in the flexible labor market in South Korea, as critically evaluated in chapter four. The neo-liberal ideal of the self-promoting/self-responsiblizing citizen, imposed on those settlers who are undoubtedly expected to make it in their social adaptation, is naturalized, so that the public's challenge to the neo-liberal restructuring of South Korean society comes to discursively be made as if it is doomed to be futile. In the

course of doing so, this no-less-than-"the Blairite Third Way" claim also perplexes the public in the ideological mobilization of humanitarian intervention. It seems to me that the claim's ineptitude or inability to question liberal human rights discourse makes the new conservative categorical claim of humanitarian intervention rhetorically appealing to the South Korean public, which has faced the spectacle of the transgression of human dignity in the North. More problematically, this discursive condition confounds how the public engages with "inter-Korea reconciliation" out of the deep-seated political antagonism couched in the politics of national identification which reinforces the biopolitical Otherization of North Korea, genealogically investigated in chapter three. The reification of "inter-Korea" under the economic arrangements of national collaboration risks abstracting the practice of reconciliation within the scope of market reasoning.

That is the second problem that I want to address in particular in the rest of this section. The idea of "reconciliation" cultivated through critically engaging with political violence materially manifested in historical tragedies (Nietzsche 1874/1997; Koselleck 1979/2004; Nora 1989; Ricoeur 2004; Huyseen 1995) helps, as discussed in chapter one, develop historical discussions with respect to various issues ranging from the origin of the Korean War to the reunion of "dispersed family members/wartime border-crossers" (called *isan gajok*) since the war (Cumings 1981, 1990; Park Myung-Lim 1996a, 1996b; Wada 1994/1999; Lee Im-Ha 2000). Recently, South Korean new conservative historians and sociologists have posed challenges to the ways in which those historical tragedies are remembered.[59] For example, Jeon Sang-In (2001) calls such a counter-

[59] At this point, it should be clarified that those liberal leftists who rely on neo-liberal rationality in the implementation of national collaboration are definitely highly critical of those new conservative historical challenge. Again, my intention here is brings into the fore questionable dimensions in their engagements with inter-Korea reconciliation. No hasty ideological connection between those two strands of thought should be made.

challenge "a critique of the (neo-)Marxist revisionist approach to modern and contemporary Korean history." More specifically, Jeon dubs Cumings's historical exploration of the origin of the Korean War, in which the U.S.-led anti-communist containment foreign policy at the time is conceived as a detonator of the outbreak of the war, "conspiracy theory-laden arbitrary subjectivism" (p. 372). More strikingly, Jeon suggests that we pay more careful attention to the way in which the Korean people perceived the historical reality, because, in his view, "the revisionist approach overshadows dynamic interactions among the people who experienced the historical upheavals with the overarching political economic claims" (p. 381). Yet, Jeon's call for scrutiny of the historical dynamic ends up being flawed, as his empirical evidence merely presents the then U.S. Military Government's public opinion survey, whose ideological attributes of propaganda have already been critically investigated (see Cha Jae-Young 1994). Any attempt of this sort significantly reduces our critical abilities to encounter those events in the memories and praxis of the public, problematically turning the memory politics of the historical past into self-denial.

As Andreas Huyssen (1995) aptly points out, a critical memory politics thus needs to be a claim to "*Selbsterfahrung* (self-experience) rather than self-denial" about historical events (p. 165). As such, the practice of national reconciliation as an act of "reclaiming self-experience" about "inter-Korea" historical events can be initiated by "staking out" all three subjects of memory politics including "historians, disputants, and commentators" in constructing different and shared narratives, claims, and tropes of these events (Gronbeck 1998; Zarefsky 1998; Clark and McKerrow 1998; Nelson 1998). Symptomatically, the rise of new conservatism in South Korea is an attempt to re-interpret the history of contemporary Korea under this ideological closure, in which all democratic challenges to the South Korean political dictatorships are not entitled to claim historical accuracy due to this ideological (i.e. allegedly pro-communist/pro-North Korean) prejudice. The problem with this new conservative approach lies not in whether

or not the ideological prejudice can be hypothetically or actually demonstrated—because the new conservative pedagogy in question is also highly ideological in nature—but in whether or not it is legitimate to insist the monopoly of historical memories. Thus, against this backdrop, the advocacy of persistently reclaiming self-experience should resist any ideological foreclosure or narcissistic celebration of immature and vulnerable ideas and claims about historical events.

Walter Benjamin (1930/1979) was one of the critical thinkers theorizing the enactment of self-experience, posing the idea of "*more sober children*, who possess in technology [of war] not a fetish of doom but a key to happiness" (p. 128, my italics). Out of devastating material and moral havoc, such as the cult of war from the First World War, Benjamin was calling for, as an ethical attitude toward post-war life, "the great opportunity of the loser…to shift the fight to another sphere" (p. 124). For Benjamin, "another sphere" does not suggest an idyllic terrain in which the distinction between the past and the present as the act of reflecting on the pain of war is dissolved, but it would be rather a distinctive place of hope for historical redemption to intransigently resist a mystified reconciliation between the past and the present. As Martin Jay (2003) puts it, Benjamin "wanted to compel his readers to face squarely what had happened and confront its deepest sources rather than let the wounds [of war] scar over" (p. 14, and see also pp. 23-24). In reference to Benjamin's deliberate resistance to the symbolic celebration and narcissistic cult of a historical tragedy, Agamben seeks to conceptualize an enunciative space in which one can vocalize his/her own values about "happy life" by "playing with" the sovereign command of destroying the anomaly of the non-being existence (Mills 2008). The act of appropriating the meaning of politicized beings is significant, because it helps us imagine how the practice of national reconciliation can be articulated as a claim to "inter-Korea sociability" through expanding the scope of self-experience about historical events without being enmeshed within the obsession with North Korea, the biopolitical being of the Other.

Toward a Possibility of Inter-Korea Sociability

My challenge to the neo-liberal and new conservative politics with respect to the historical tragedy and political violence is concerned with the reclaiming of inter-Korea sociability through which the Korean public can be discursively engaged in a politics of reconciliation. I argue with Benjamin, as discussed above, that this politics of reconciliation involve a deliberate discursive space in which the public can effectively enact and expand the practice of self-experience about historical claims by tracing historical events. However, this practice of self-experience does not pursue any transcendental entity or force, out of which the public identifies authentic characteristics of "ideal depth" for inter-Korea reconciliation (Foucault 1977/1984). In this section, while more specifically addressing this significant dimension of inter-Korea sociability, I also critically discuss a politics of liberal humanitarianism, because claims in liberal human rights discourse, as examined in chapters one and four, have been gaining moral power in programming inter-Korea sociability.

First of all, I would like to elaborate on the notion of "self-experience" in terms of how it can be used to articulate "a claim to inter-Korea sociability" resisting biopolitical Otherization. I have attempted to show how the preoccupation with ethnic authenticity intrinsically implicates a strong presumption that the recovery of ethnic authenticity is the unitary precondition for inter-Korea reconciliation. As uncovered through chapter three in particular, the greater motivation for ethnic authenticity in the photographical and textual representation of North Koreans in the 1972 inter-Korea talk events in Pyongyang provides the South Korean narrator with exclusive purview over the alterity of North Koreans. This is because the politics of national identification, made in the visualization of ethnic characters, inversely operates deep anxieties and fears about the very essence of the nation that the narrator willfully pursues. The desire for national identification, *a priori* predicated on the essentialized conception of ethnic authenticity,

fails to achieve its goal, forbidding the alterity from being near to the possessor of authorial power regarding ethnic authenticity. This is an act of "closure" in which such an exclusive desire prevents other parameters of national reconciliation from enacting themselves to play off of one another. Challenging this arbitrary and self-contained act, reclaiming self-experience aims to maintain discursive realms of inter-Korea sociability so that they can be opened up to contingent strategies, gaps, failures of voices and memories in order to better facilitate reconciliation. I want to call this act of self-experience "freeing up possibilities of inter-Korea sociability," in which one can be left with a discursive event that enables him/her to remain concerned with, but not obsessed with, the alterity, adamantly resisting any subjugation to the biopolitical Otherization.

Here, the politics of national identification, viewed from its conceptual predicaments as described so far, tends to weigh the recovery of ethnic authenticity along with procedural political consensus toward reconciliation. For example, *Boondanchejeron* resolutely delivers the idea of the nation's survival (*minjok saenjon*) in the face of transnational political economic forces in global politics. This rhetorical claim of national reconciliation that "we can survive only when we are formed into a unified nation-state *under* ethnic authenticity" is strikingly ambivalent, as critically interrogated in the previous section, because simultaneously it must ideologically prioritize the (neo-)liberal capitalist institutionalization of political consensus over cultural assimilation. In doing so, the ambivalent characterization of reconciliation crystallizes the discursive realm of inter-Korea relations at the institutional level, in which economic arrangements in inter-Korea relations are incontrovertibly conceived as a more progressive force in challenging deep-seated anti-North Korean sentiments among the South Korean public than any other arrangement.[60]

[60] One might say that cultural arrangements have been pursued on national reconciliation policies, having effectively challenged anti-North Korean ideology. I do not simply render futile the meaningful practice of the South Korean public in making reconciliation claims through activities of cultural exchange. Nevertheless,

This valorization of reconciliation discourse hampers an adequate understanding of creating a possibility of inter-Korea sociability. First, although as Darrel Moellendorf (2007, p. 207) succinctly puts it, "Reconciliation requires general acceptance for the institutional order," the valorization of reconciliation discourse at the institutional level subjugates alternative voices of reconciliation to the government unification policies defining inter-Korea collaboration as a top-down process. I have attempted to demonstrate how the economic dimension of inter-Korea collaboration has been privileged, as suited to post-cold war transnational capitalist arrangements, as an integral part of national reconciliation. Many of the *Minjung* movement groups that significantly contributed to the political democratization of South Korean society in the 1980s came to power later in the Kim Dae-Jung (1997-2002) and Roh Moo-Hyun (2003-2008) governments, adopting neo-liberal schemes of economic development and social welfare. Although South Korean new conservatives blamed the Sunshine Policy as a bailout scheme for the Kim Jong Il regime, the policy came to be portrayed as the most normative ideal for alleviating inter-Korea ideological antagonism. Indeed, as critically interrogated under the heading of "*Boondancheje-ron*'s Countering the Post-Colonial Criticism" in chapter two, any skepticism of the Sunshine Policy was regarded as ideological submission to an anachronism or even new conservatism. Although my study definitely challenges such new conservative claims, as critically evaluated under the heading of "The Contentious Space of the Biopolitical Otherization of North Korea" in chapter one, nevertheless I am strongly compelled to suggest that the preoccupation with institutional resolutions for reconciliation tends to presume cultural and social

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first of all, as I attempted to critically analyze in chapter two in particular, I suggest that the institutionalization of national reconciliation on economic and cultural policies be scrutinized in terms of adequately locating the process in the post-cold war transition of transnational capitalism and international diplomatic relations from the late-1980s. Second, most of the cultural exchange events between the two Koreas have highly been predicated on the way in which ethnic authenticity can be recovered.

apparatuses such as the media and unification policy to be highly immune from political antagonism. The discursive space of inter-Korea sociability should seriously call into question such apparatuses in order to challenge the biopolitical Otherization of North Korea, in which they are constantly utilized to expose the South Korean public to North Korea as a threat to the nation under the fetishistic identification politics of the nation.

Second, this reified identity politics of national reconciliation is vulnerable to the "de-politicization of humanitarianism," wherein civic virtues of humanitarianism are merely reduced to a major site of neo-liberal market reasoning to cure the lack of self-autonomy and self-promotion in individuals. As critically investigated in chapter four, such a therapeutic discourse about North Korean settlers in South Korea silences those settlers about their forced assimilation into a neo-liberal capitalist society. The politics of national identification appears to be seen as if it welcomes them without condition, but once it finds the lack of ethnic authenticity suffered by those settlers who are supposed to be classified as part of the Korean nation, it relegates such cultural traits to the source of conflicts in their social adaptation. The discursive nexus of liberal human rights and national identification offers moral universalism for accommodating those banished people, but the ambivalent claim of the right-holding individual and the duties of cultural membership in collectivist terms reduce the question of alterity to a "particularity" that should "be disciplined and constrained by moral universals [that are manifested as the right-holding person]" (Ignatieff 2001, p. 9).

At this point, it is worth referring to what Slavoj Žižek (2005) poses to challenge the liberal human rights discourse. Žižek uses the example of Muslim women in the U.K, pointing to the fundamental limitations of the liberal attitude of tolerance predicated on the conceptions of freedom and choice:

> Muslim women who wear the veil [are] acceptable if it is their own free choice rather than imposed on them by husbands or family. However, the moment a woman dons the veil as the result of personal choice, its meaning changes completely: it is no longer a sign of belonging to the Muslim community, but an expression of

> idiosyncratic individuality. In other words, a choice is always a meta-choice, a choice of the modality of the choice itself: it is only the woman who does not choose to wear a veil that effectively chooses a choice (p. 118)

As Hannah Arendt (1958/1998) puts it, "Human plurality, the basic condition of both action and speech, has the twofold character of equality and distinction" (p. 175). Those strangers' equality and distinction are viciously depoliticized only to be valorized as self-promotion and discrimination. Similarly, as discussed in chapter four, North Korean settlers in South Korea are exploited in the human rights discourse to implicitly bolster the South Korean political and ideological position by reframing those "defectors" who are not simply "victims" of North Korea's totalitarian regime but also "citizens" who must develop (neo-)liberal individual autonomy and self-responsibility in order to be accepted as legitimate "South" Koreans.

Many scholars have cast serious doubts upon what is considered liberal human rights discourse. For example, Jacques Rancière (2004) draws our attention to the idea of the human rights-holding subject, suggesting that to negotiate consensus through human rights without scrutinizing the question of the subject of human rights is nothing other than "vicious depolitization" of the democratic polity:

> This process is what is known by the name of *consensus*. *Consensus* means much more than the reasonable idea and practice of settling political conflicts by forms of negotiation and agreement, and by allotting to each party the best share compatible with the interests of other parties. It means the attempt to get rid of politics by ousting the surplus subjects and replacing them with real partners, social groups, identity groups, and so on. Correspondingly, conflicts are turned into problems that have to be sorted out by learned expertise and a negotiated adjustment of interests. *Consensus* means closing the spaces of dissensus by plugging the intervals and patching over the possible gaps between appearance and reality or law and fact. (p. 306, original italics)

The idea of human rights consensus is bound to explicitly make its own claim on a universal status self-contradictory, especially in that human rights in this formulation end up being "boiled down to a distribution within which each part of the social body would obtain the best share that it can obtain" (p. 306). The attempt to predicate human

rights on consensus reinforces a process of social differentiation, by which human rights are politically reconfigured into the claim of "those who cannot enact them" (p. 307). In other words, the political claim of human rights consensus inscribes the body politics of mutual recognition through the primacy of the rights-holding individual. As Étienne Balibar (2004, pp. 316-318) also argues, such a human rights consensus claim fails to inform the public that human rights indeed are the "effect of consensus."

This is a very important questioning of the liberal authorization of human rights as consensus, first of all, in the light of articulating the crisis of human rights as a citizenship politics but not without leaving a solution in the realm of institutions that limits the problem of displacing human rights to a formal process of legislation. The view of human rights as the source of consensus for the democratic polity imposes a moral command of human rights as the common ground of democratic process on which criteria of human dignity must be agreed upon and stipulated in accordance with the premise that the sacredness of the human cannot be possible without recognizing the significance of the rights-holding individual (Dalacoura 2007, pp. 17-18). This inscription of human dignity in the rights-holding individual can then become the precondition by which individual liberty can be borne out. That is, the liberal "rights talk" politicizes the act of "freedom" in favor of individual autonomy, which must be protected from any collective will formation. As such, "human rights" in liberal discourse becomes the "source" of effectuating the moral universalism of "individual autonomy," which initiates and guarantees "equality" among rights-holding individuals.

In sum, freeing up possibilities of inter-Korea sociability would rely on how we challenge the persistent reduction of an intolerably threatening political and culturing being to the ambivalent zone of inclusion and exclusion of the bare life of others. As Rancière (2004) writes, those who are forced to live in an "intolerable" situation should be treated as the category of "absolute victim" whose loss of human rights should be enacted by "infinite justice" (pp. 308-309). As inter-Korea relations have been shaped in

the authoritarian dichotomy between tolerable/civilized/Western and intolerable/barbarian/non-Western, one of the meaningful inter-Korea tasks is an effort to reveal an irresistible desire to trickle down rights and responsibility of the former in a manner which turns the latter into a genuine recipient:

> A desire to redistribute [rights and responsibility] is not the unproblematic consequence of a well-fed society. In order to get that desire moving by the cultural imperative of education, you have to fix the possibility of putting not just *wrong* over against *rights*, with all the genealogical lines compressed within it, but also to suggest that another antonym of rights is responsibility, and further, that the possibility of such responsibility is underived from rights. (Spivak 2004, p. 534, original italics)

Conclusion

In a landmark study of the origin of totalitarianism, Hannah Arendt (1951/1973) demonstrates the fundamental crisis of the modern nation-state. Along with World War I, she argues, the ideal of modern Western democracy began to hopelessly collapse and even turn out to be hypocritical, as minorities who were displaced outside aspects of identity within the nation-state became "unwanted" in the purview of the nation. The establishment of the peace treaties after the end of World War I dismantled the Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and Turkish empires, resulting in dispersing millions of denationalized minorities throughout Europe in the 1930s (Benhabib 2004, pp. 52-54; Agamben 2000, pp. 16-18). Inalienable rights to social status, work, property, and political participation as the outcome and requirement of building up a modern nation-state were no longer guaranteed to those denationalized people. As Arendt (1951/1973, p. 269) laments it, this "end of Rights of Man" implies that:

> no such thing as inalienable human rights existed and that the affirmations of the democracies to the contrary were mere prejudice, hypocrisy, and cowardice in the face of the cruel majesty of a new world. The very phrase "human rights" became for all concerned—victims, persecutors, and onlookers alike—the evidence of hopeless idealism or fumbling feeble-minded hypocrisy.

Such a vivid illustration of the crisis of the modern nation-state can also be terrifying to entitled citizens themselves in the nation-state, because the crisis, as Agamben (2000, p. 19) puts it, is no other than "the obsolescence of [the Rights of Man]," under the condition of which the citizens can no longer be legitimately protected. For the disquieting fact that denationalized minorities were forced to the "conditions of absolute lawlessness" (Arendt 1951/1973, p. 269) amounts not just to the loss of organized community but also to the destruction of life itself in any given sense. The crisis of the modern nation-state reaches the point of extreme cruelty, as the rightless innocents "are deprived, not of the right to freedom, but of the right to action; not of the right to think whatever they please, but of the right to opinion" (Arendt 1951/1973, p. 296). As the rightless become inhuman, those who are entitled to the rights are inscribed in the permanent space of political exception.

Agamben (2000) translates this radical deprivation into the separation of "naked life from its form" (p. 11). In the crisis of the modern nation-state, not only are the rightless minorities propelled to the status of exclusive alienation outside the nation-state, but they are also discursively exploited within the nation-state for an impending scene in which anybody, no matter to what category they may be attributed, can be rendered vulnerable under the disguising banner of the Other. The crisis of the modern nation-state magnifies the ominous categorization of unwanted minorities such as refugees, the stateless, and the rightless, imploding the dichotomy of "wanted and unwanted" into the single category of "life threat" under the utilitarian gesture of tolerance.

If we understand the crisis of the modern nation-state in this ontological trap of the Right of Man, how can we encounter, but not flee from, this radically suspending political space? For Agamben, the crisis is understood as an overarching manifestation of the absolute function of state sovereignty, in which the separation of bare life from its form naturalizes the premise that bare life cannot have the right to claim the Right of Man. Agamben calls this vicious politics "the state of exception," implying that the

nation-state outstrips its people of the political space of defining their rights to life itself. This imagination of the nation-state, in which the "bare life" (*zoe*) of the human being vanishes in the purview of intensifying "political life" (*bio*), becomes possible because of the immanent formulation of the nation-state that "makes nativity or birth [*nascita*] (that is, naked human life) the foundation of its own sovereignty" (p. 21). In this formulation, bare life is, as Agamben also writes, illusively imagined as the *raison d'être* of the nation-state. But state sovereignty's rationale of protecting the people is viable to the extent that it justifies the politicization of their lives. Many historical moments of civil and international wars testify to the mobilization of people in the nation-state under the banner of patriotism. More recently, "governing through the post-9/11 collective memory politics" in the U.S. displays this sort of body politic unveiling the ultimate locus of the *raison d'être* of the nation-state. The state power's invasion of privacy in the case of the National Security Agency's wiretapping without warrant displaces the politics of U.S. citizenship onto the militant mobilization of sublime sacrifice to the country on the home front of digital communications (Hay 2006; Andrejevic 2006).

The "North Korean human rights crisis" calls for a critical challenge to such a regime of power strikingly reiterating the biopolitical normality in inter-Korea relations, resisting the romanticization of our own normative commitments to it.

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