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South Korean State-Building, Nationalism and Christianity: A Case Study of Cold War International Conflict, National Partition and American Hegemony for the Post-Cold War Era

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Abstract

The South Korean ethnic diaspora US lobby shows efficacy as an interest group in generating influence in American foreign and domestic public policy making. The persuasive portrayal of South Korea as a critical Cold War US ally reinforced US amenability to pro-South Korea lobbying. Also, the South Korean US diaspora is a comparatively recent immigrant group, thus its lingering resistance to assimilation facilitates its political mobilization to lobby the US government. One source of this influence includes the foundational legacy of proselytizing Western and particularly American religious social movement representatives in Korean religiosity and society. US protestant Christianity acquired a strong public association with emerging Korean nationalism in response to Japanese imperialism and occupation. Hostility towards Japanese colonialism followed by the threat from Soviet-sponsored, North Korean Communism meant Christianity did not readily become a cultural symbol of excessive external, US interference in South Korean society by South Korean public opinion. The post-Cold War shift in US foreign policy towards targeting so-called rogue state vestiges of the Cold War including North Korea enhanced further South Korea's influence in Washington. Due to essential differences in the perceived historical role of American influence, extrapolation of the South Korean development model is problematic. US hegemony in South Korea indicates that perceived alliance with national self-determination constitutes the core of soft power appeal. Civilizational appeal per se in the form of religious beliefs are not critically significant in promoting American polity influence in target polities in South Korea or, comparatively, in the Middle East. The United States is a perceived opponent of pan-Arab nationalism which has trended towards populist Islamic religious symbolism with the failure of secular nationalism. The pronounced component of evangelical Christianity in American core community nationalism which the Trump campaign exploited is a reflection of this orientation in the US.

Keywords: Christianity, Cold War, Korea, Nationalism, Soft Power, Ukraine

1. INTRODUCTION

The essence of “nationalistic universalism” is cloaking the foreign policy process output of a country in broadly appealing ideological or religious symbols, a tendency particularly pronounced in imperialist foreign policies. As such, Karkour [1,p.357] highlights its likelihood of costly failure of American liberal nationalistic universalism, as displayed in Vietnam: “In depoliticising the nation’s values and interests, nationalistic universalism is incapable of respecting the interests of other nations, particularly on issues of desirable US interest. It leads to the abandonment of normative power and its substitution for empirical power.” To rephrase, soft power through allying with national self-determination is necessary for ultimate success in institutionalizing hegemony. Its attempted substitution with the vast US advantage in hard power capabilities did not prevail in Vietnam nor in Afghanistan almost 50 years later:

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Why does the world's mightiest superpower find it so hard to create self-sustaining armies in other countries? One part of the answer, as South Korea demonstrates, is that it is an inherently difficult, expensive, and time-consuming task. But a more basic reason is that the U.S. military has failed to examine the fundamental assumption on which those efforts are based: that superpower ways of waging war can be transplanted to smaller, poorer countries without factoring in the political or cultural context in which those armies operate or adapting its methods to the means at hand [120,p.110] (emphasis BD).

This paper's qualitative methodological research case study is an analysis of South Korea's particular so-called political or cultural context. It focuses on the religious community identity development trends interacting with Korean nationalism that contributed to the comparative effectiveness of Western-supported state-building in this partitioned nation.

One of the intents behind this paper's survey analysis of the scholarly literature is to contribute to the current discourse regarding the relevance of the Korean case to scenarios for the end of the Russo-Ukrainian war. For example, in one, privately-owned, elite readership-focused Russian newspaper daily, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, one pundit portrayed his own zero-sum understanding of the evolution of the conflict in relation to a prospective partition of Ukraine: "The biggest mistake - and at the same time the biggest crime - for Russia would be to agree to any form of freezing the conflict (ceasefire, Minsk-3, *Korean option*, etc.) without accepting legally binding documents. This will 200 per cent guarantee that we will have a new war in a few years. But under much worse conditions, when the enemy will be much better prepared and will have the initiative from the start" [*sic*] [121,para.21] (emphasis BD).

Conversely, US hegemony has been institutionalized in what is the so-called West, including Japan and South Korea. This study hypothesizes that an essential feature of great power hegemony is the perceived alliance of the great power's influence with the national self-determination aspirations of a target national community. It validates that receptivity to this great power cultural influence within the polity of the dominated nation will tend to be greater in a bifurcated, stabilized national polity as in post ceasefire partitioned Korea and Germany. This receptivity is greater than in a multipolar national polity as exists among the many post-colonial Arab states competing for the mantle of Arab polity leadership. The failure of the US-led state-building project in South Vietnam and Afghanistan also highlights the necessary (but not sufficient) requirement of effective pacification for US cultural hegemony.

This requirement implies that the renewed cold war between Washington and Moscow will manifest itself in competing long term state-building projects among the bifurcated portions of a future post ceasefire Ukraine. Moscow's competitive focus will continue on purported regenerative reintegration of its occupied territories into greater Russia. The US-led state-building project will functionally continue its focus on integration of Kyiv into the so-called West.

2. THEORY

The US government relies upon so called civil society or private sector actors to provide legitimation for the expansion of US nation state influence. US Christian evangelical activity plays an important role in the American foreign policy making process in terms of seeking legitimation from both domestic and international public opinion. US protestant evangelicalism competes with European imperial powers in terms of promotion of the American brand of civilizing mission. Its significance in shaping US foreign policy decisions should not be overstated. Where the US government is able to maintain its hegemony, perhaps as an ally against a shared external threat, then US cultural influence will be more readily accepted. The shared perceived threat from Japanese and even Chinese hegemony promotes the receptivity to American nationalistic universalism in South Korea. It failed in Afghanistan because the US is perceived as threat to national self-determination in this case, while the US has allied with different conflict actors within multinational Iraq, e.g., the Iraqi Kurds. The appeal of the US model for self-determination will include receptivity to its cultural influence. US opposition to pan-Arabism produces polarization and hostility in the Middle East, hence the rejection of so-called Western secular trends. Should pan-Arabism fade, then resistance to so-called secular values will fade as well. Religious values are important for nationalism because they are visible markers of shared cultural community ingroup identity. They can transcend colonial-era legacy state boundary partitions of the subjectively perceived, larger imagined community. They include institutions and authorities that are cultural reproducers, i.e., clergy. Samuel Huntington (1993) forecast these broader so-called civilizational cleavages in his clash of civilizations thesis [2].

The perceived competitive political threats from these soft power appeals of Western Christianity are reflected in authority efforts to counter them in Korea. The Joseon dynasty violently repressed Catholicism as a perceived agent of external imperial threats [3]. After Korea's annexation to the Japanese empire, the Japanese imperial authorities viewed Korean protestant Christian institutions with suspicion. Anderson (2010) highlights the strongly assimilationist component in Japanese Christian evangelism in occupied Korea [4]. Rausch (2011) outlines the ambiguous relationship of Catholic religious institutions in Japanese occupied Korea towards the nascent Korean national self-determination movement [5]. The imperative to cooperate with the Japanese authorities to allow for their evangelical activity constrained Christian institutions in general.

Cottam and Cottam (2001) [6,p.29] reference Eric Hobsbawm (1990) [7,p.71] in noting that for the student of nationalism, the relationship between religious and national identity remains "extremely opaque." A claim in this study is that in the evolution of national modernity, the perceived historical role of the national origin state for religious movements critically shapes their contemporary respective domestic political strategies. The national origin state's subjectively perceived historical relationship to local national self-determination shapes the current influence capability of legacy mass religious community identities.

"Global religions differ from national governments: they cannot create shared habitats in which people interact regularly [but] [t]hey can draw boundaries between their followers in terms of identity [...]" [8,p.821]. To rephrase, they provide part of the symbol system that conservative and progressive competing national elite factions manipulate to gain national constituency and public support:

Contemporary refigurations of Islam, Hinduism, and Christianity remind us that, contrary to conventional secularization theories, religion in modern times has not everywhere declined as a public force, nor been domiciled within a sphere of interiority. Not a reaction against but a response to the modern world, the most successful religious refigurations thrive by drawing themselves down into mass society and away from exclusive elites, if and when the latter lose their hold on popular allegiances [*sic*] [9,p.97-98].

Demands for radical societal reform via political participation and representation have faced opposition from adversaries defending the traditional, late feudalistic status quo. Contestant appeals for public support include phrasing in terms of religious community ideals reconfigured to reflect addressing new challenges to traditional state authority.

The evolution of the conceptualization of secularization is usefully approached in terms of the competitive political context in which it emerged. "Between 1640 and the early 1800s 'secularization' was a term used in public law and diplomacy to refer to the transfer of ecclesiastical property and jurisdiction to civil ownership and authority" [10,p.2-3]. In his analysis of the concept of secularization in the emergence of the early modern western European state, Hunter critiques the discourse claim of secularization as a transition from tradition to a new, so-called rational order:

If the main philosophical-historical conceptions of secularization conceived a transition to a rational autonomy that had never been thought before, to name a process that had never taken place, this [...] is because they were "combat concepts": concepts that were the instruments of competing cultural-political programs advanced by factions engaged in multisided struggles to determine the shape of the religious and political order [10,p.3-4].

Insofar as the opponents of radical societal reform justify the status quo in traditional religious terms, then their progressive opponents may find the symbolism of traditional status quo religious ideals less appealing. Hunter (2015) notes that "[n]o less remarkable, though, is the degree to which the historiography of secularization failed to confront the brute historical fact of the persistence of confessional religions themselves" [10,p.3].

3. EXPERIMENTS

Religion and nationalism might associate in politically unusual circumstances. As Cottam and Cottam (2001) note, the first case in Europe in which religion did associate with nationalism was the English Puritan revolt against Catholic absolutism [6]. This political value association coincided with the rise in Great Britain of the middle class as expressed in the writings of John Locke [6,p.33]. In early twentieth century Korea under Japanese domination, "many Korean national leaders and modernizing pioneers transvalued Protestant institutions as a non-private but public place to cultivate Korean nationalism" [11,p.104]. The requisites for

public political authority legitimacy of elite political factions competing for primacy depend on the unique historical experiences of the community. This case study analysis shows that the political mobilization of the populace entering national modernity interacts with the international political context to shape the capacities for displaying charismatic political leadership.

Scottish United Presbyterian missionaries John Ross and John McIntyre laid the institutional foundations for Protestantism in Manchuria and Korea in the latter part of the nineteenth century [12]. The thesis of this paper begins with the claim that socio-economic and popular political mobilization trends on the Korean peninsula accelerated in the nineteenth century. This acceleration occurred in regional political circumstances that were conducive to subsequently American--associated protestant Christianity associating with Korean nationalism. The Japanese occupation in 1910-45 intensified this association, while the post 1945 Cold War partition both intensified and directed this association in the South in a conservative direction. The unique features of the Korean historical case make its applicability in a soft power-based formula for stabilizing US client regimes the Middle East problematic [13,p.354]. The paper thereby also aims to make a policy-relevant contribution to the literature exploring the relationship between nationalism and religion.

Religiosity in South Korea has witnessed a rapid growth concomitant with the rise of South Korea economically. According to Baker (2008), in 1964, the South Korean government estimated that only 3.5 million out of a total population of 28.2 million had a specific religious self-identification [14,p.4]. By the end of the twentieth century, both public opinion surveys and government figures showed that more than half of Koreans stated their affiliation with a religious institution [15]. Baker (2008) notes that in 2005, 53 per cent of Koreans asserted that they had a religious affiliation, while only 47 per cent said they did not have a religious affiliation [14]. Out of 46 million South Koreans in 2005, census figures showed that 23 per cent were Buddhists, 8.6 million were Protestants, and 5.3 million were Roman Catholics, with another half million stating membership in various other sects. Baker asserts that these figures almost certainly underestimate the number of Koreans who engage in religious activity [14]. In 1962, the South Korean government counted 10,366 buildings used for religious rituals, overwhelmingly Buddhist or Christian, but not including shaman shrines. (The Korean government does not categorize Shamanism as a religion, but rather as a folk tradition or practice.) The number in 1993 was 58,896, an increase of over 500 per cent [14,p.3-4]. Simultaneously, South Korea was undergoing what has been described as its 'economic miracle' [16,p.3]. Per capita annual income was \$82 in 1961. 40 years later, it surpassed \$15,000 [14,p.2]. As analyzed below, the contextually unique features of the Korean case highlight the complex relationship between sectarianism, on the one hand and rapid industrialization and urbanization, on the other hand. It indicates that universalized generalizations regarding this relationship are unwise. For example, Kim S. (2006) [17] confirms the finding of Martin (1990) [18,p.206] that "evangelical religion and economic advancement often appear in tandem or mutually reinforce each other" because it "describes Korea" [17,p.226].

After an outline of the methodology, this paper begins with a brief elaboration of the theoretical framework in terms of the relationship of the political psychology of nationalism in relation to external intervention. The paper utilizes a qualitative methodological case study approach. It then outlines the relationship of Christian missionary activity to modern political mobilization in Korea under foreign influence and domination. It next presents a conceptualization of the relationship of the transnational Christian community to diaspora formation. It continues with an overview of the implications of this history for South Korean post 1945 political development under US tutelage and the reciprocal diplomatic bargaining leverage South Korea obtained towards the US. Constituency carriers for this bargaining leverage include the Korean-American diaspora. Its current, demonstrated ability to supersede Japanese government lobby preferences in influencing US policy illustrates its relative political efficacy. The post-1945 partition of the Korean nation has facilitated this development. It creates the context for South Korea's soft power capacities towards Washington and the rest of the world. The conclusion highlights the importance of international systemic political factors in conceptualizing the political function of a diaspora as a constituent carrier of soft power bargaining leverage.

Methodology

The paper presents a qualitative methodological case study of the relationship between Christianity and the emergence of patterns of nationalism in Korean political development and internal conflict. The main contribution of the paper consists of the findings that emerge from the application of Cottam and Cottam's theoretical framework of Cottam and Cottam (2001) conceptualizing the political psychology of nationalism and its effects in domestic and international political behavior [6]. As Creswell and Poht (2018) highlight, the case study qualitative methodological approach utilizes triangulation of available data [19]. Specifically, it

relies on published scholarly research on the history of Korean nationalism and Christianity on the Korean peninsula. It utilizes the public record of postwar events, policies and trends surrounding the political bifurcation of the Korean nation and its subsequent political development. It presents cultural data gathered from participant observation by the author, a political scientist at the Catholic University of Korea since 2009 who is a weekly attendee of Somang Presbyterian Church, in Seoul, South Korea since 2010. It infers causal factors from this triangulation to extrapolate has to why American influence is more readily tolerated in South Korea.

Nationalism and Perception

The perception of an external actor’s influence within the internal affairs of the initiator polity as intolerably high constitutes the essence of the perception of imperialism and colonialism. In sum, imperialism and colonialism are subjectively determined. The predisposition to tolerate politically this internal influence of the external, target actor, A, correlates positively with the perception that the external, target actor A is an ally against a greater imperial threat, actor B. The perceived threat from the Soviet Union, for example, was an important factor incentivizing tolerance of American influence within the West German and Italian polities during the Cold War. It characterizes the politically prevailing view in Seoul at present, with the greater threat perceived from North Korea and its perceived patron, the People’s Republic of China.

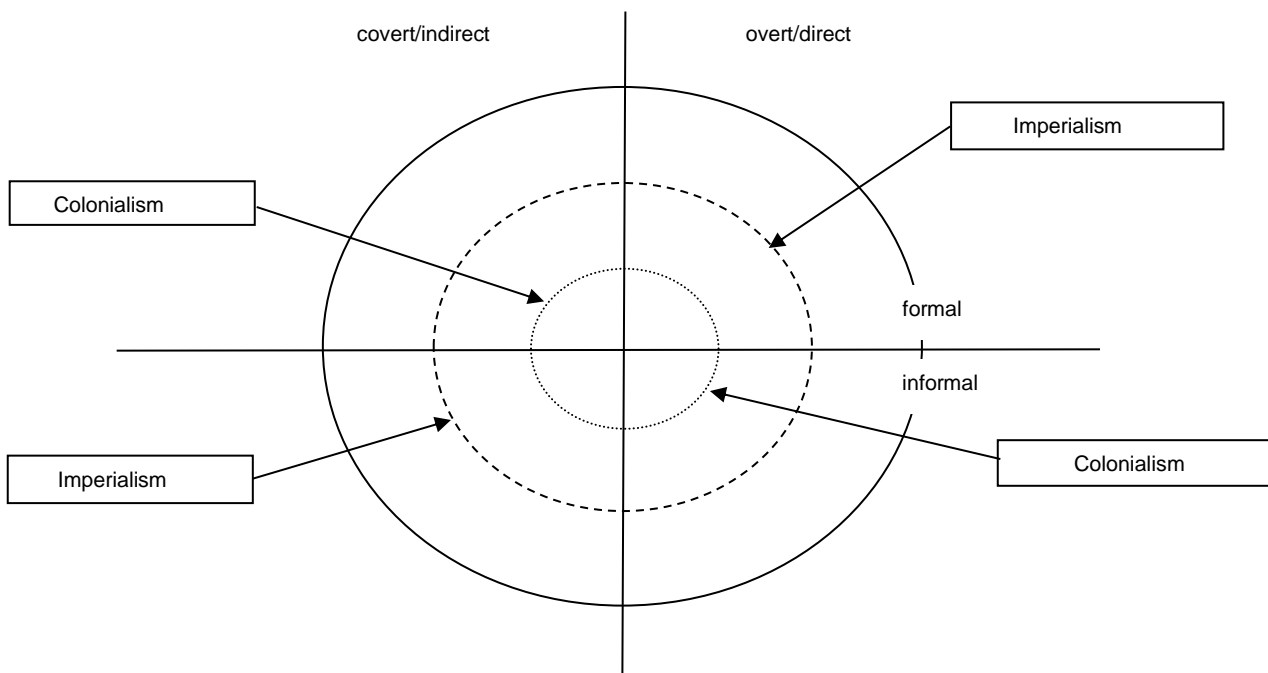


Figure 1: “Variance in Perceptions of Foreign Policy” from *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study*, by Richard W. Cottam, © 1977. Reprinted by permission of the University of Pittsburgh Press [20]

The impact of these imperial experiences shapes the subsequent socio-political mobilizational processes of national identity value formation and behavioral political attitude expression [21]. They include the ethnic, sectarian, racial or territorial identity community foci for nationalism as well as the prevailing ideological self-expression that associates with a particular national case [22]. In direct, formal colonial rule, the imperial power imposes its ultimate control through placement of a supreme political ruler publicly representing the sovereign authority of the imperial state. This type of colonial experience has a greater potential to unify the native pro-reform elite of different constituencies in the community in the development of resistance to this form of imperial control. It is probably the least detrimental in terms of its community polarization legacy for state-society relations; the local population at least can more clearly ‘see’ who the enemy is. Japanese imperialism in Korea may be categorized as such. In contrast, indirect-formal rule is in place when local, traditional elites rule in the community with the ‘advice’ of the imperial power in the form of advisors, security arrangements, etc. Today, it may also be attempted through formal legitimation of an external intervention by

international organizational mandates granted, for example, by NATO, the EU, ECOWAS or the UN Security Council.

Indirect-informal imperial control is maintained without the overt presence of imperial personnel. Local nationalist actors perceive the imperial power exercising ultimate control over the policies of the local ruling elite. During the postwar period, Moscow exercised control through its client elite in local Communist parties and the respective security apparatus in each Warsaw Pact country. If these control mechanisms threatened collapse, the USSR would intervene militarily, as in East Berlin in 1953, Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. In 1989, the USSR had no military bases in Bulgaria and Romania, unlike in Poland, Hungary, East Germany and Czechoslovakia. A current topic of media speculation is whether the People's Republic of China would militarily intervene to prevent the collapse of the DPRK regime so as to prevent reunification with the US-allied South [23]. In this case, the nature of the North Korean regime would change with the overt presence of Chinese soldier supporting the DPRK authorities. Such a scenario would constitute another test of the strength of pan-Korean nationalism today in the DPRK. Finally, in informal, direct imperial control, the imperial power invades and becomes the ruling class (e.g., Arabs into Egypt, Normans into England). In the contemporary era, one case that may plausibly be moving in this direction is the Israeli colonization of Palestine.

Informal imperial rule typically means that the imperial power does not acknowledge that it has ultimate authority within the country; the embassy of the imperial power works through the local bureaucracy [24]. Chandler (2010) focuses on Africa [24]. David Chandler (2006), focusing on eastern Europe, argues that imperial powers today do not admit that they are hegemonic because it is no longer acceptable to global public opinion [25]. Chandler highlights the greater divide between the state authorities and their European and American international patrons, on the one hand, and the mass public in post-colonial states, on the other hand [25]. The inference is that indirect control aims to reduce the costs of imperial control by lessening resistance to it through attempting to obscure it, e.g., the US client regime in Afghanistan until August 2021. This obfuscation can be promoted through a dependent, compliant local elite that has formal sovereignty. Whether or not the political influence of an external imperial power is intolerably high is a subjective judgment by different interest groups and evolving constituencies within the target community. One unfortunate legacy particularly of informal imperial intervention is a stronger propensity for the emergence and crystallization of local community identity cleavages. Consequent, polarizing stereotypes and intense suspicions are more likely to emerge within the previously subjected community regarding who collaborated with the imperial powers in the past. In political competition, they are more likely to be portrayed as prone conspiratorially to collaborate again in the perceived contemporary machinations of the imperial powers in the area. During intense conflicts, these tendencies may contribute to acts of genocidal violence against suspected so-called traitors.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Christianity and Imperialism in Korea

This section illustrates the impact of foreign political pressure on challenged traditional Korean society in mobilizing Korean mass political consciousness. As in other cases, the initial stages of this mobilization adopted religious symbolism as its form of expression. Historically, protestant Christianity was more successfully suppressed in Japan and China while in Korea it became associated with the resistance struggle against Japanese colonialism in 1910-45 [26]. Scholarship generally recognizes 1784 as the starting date of the Korean Catholic Church [27,p.180]. Koreans who converted to Catholicism in Beijing proselytized in their parent country. Unlike China, Christianity came to modern Korea independent of European government foreign and trade policy interests. It was thus less vulnerable to association with foreign imperialism [27,p.300]. In 1831, the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP) gave the Catholic community in Korea the status of an apostolic vicariate [28,p.99]. Administratively the church began in Korea in 1836 with the arrival of three French bishops and nine French priests [27,p.184]. Repressed by the Yi dynasty, coercion of Roman Catholicism declined in 1867 following French military reprisals for the execution of French missionaries and thousands of Catholic converts. The royal court's persecution of Catholicism continued until 1871 [28,p.100]. The court's toleration of Roman Catholicism increased following Japan's coerced opening of Korea to broader international engagement with the 1876 Kangwha Treaty [3]. Increased religious toleration functionally aimed to boost Seoul's diplomatic influence towards France and other imperial powers to counter the increasing Japanese imperial threat. Cottam and Gallucci (1978) analyze the diplomatic bargaining leverage impact on regional contestants arising from the varying competitive intensity of external great power interest in regional

conflicts [29]. During the Japanese colonial period (1910-45), of direct formal control, the Catholic Church and the imperial Japanese authorities negotiated a concordat that by its nature forbid Catholic Church support for Korean independence [30].

One Korean scholar describes the periods of proselytizing mission within Korea of the various Christian denominations as generally corresponding with “epoch-making political events” [31,p.212]. The Roman Catholic Church institutionally responded to neighboring assimilationist pressures against Korean believers by establishing additional dioceses [31,p.160-64]. Catholic missionaries contributed to the groundwork for the modern national differentiation of Korea from China. Catholics eventually appealed successfully to the Vatican to agree to establish a diocese separate from Beijing. It accommodated the logistical challenges of resisting Korean imperial persecution of the nascent religious community. The Vatican thereby contributed to a national institutional support framework for Korean national identity mobilization [31,p.146-47]. Chung (1993) interprets this event as critical in contributing to the groundwork for a modern, separate Korean national political identity [31]. In the late twentieth century, South Korea’s Roman Catholic Church under Cardinal Stephen Kim Sou-hwan played a leadership role in the democratization movement which saw bloodshed [32,p.230-31] [33].

American missionaries established their first resident Presbyterian and Methodist missions in Korea in the 1880s. Ryu notes that Koreans admired the missionaries for “America’s religion” and the technology, progress and prosperity it and they seemed to represent [34,p.17]. Statistics show that they were comparatively very well-salaried and were of middle-class, educated background. They were also willing to profit by trading in American merchandise [34]. Pentecostalism emerged simultaneously. In 1907, a revival in Pyongyang involved more than a thousand adults and children, fueling nationwide evangelism. By 1910, Korea had more than 150,000 Protestants [35]. The US missionary activity that began in the early 1880s played an important role in establishing institutions of Korean higher education, contributing to Korea’s modernization [36,p.268-69]. The family of anti-Japanese guerrilla partisan figure Kim Il-sung, subsequently North Korea’s leader, included educators and nationalist activists [37,p.403]. They contained devout Presbyterian Christians; his mother was a deacon [38,p.71]. A state-sanctioned church is dedicated to her name, it being one of four in Pyongyang: two Protestant, one Catholic, and one Russian Orthodox [39].

Dynastic Korea’s Sino-centric foreign policy began to change with armed incursions by the Europeans, Americans and Japanese in the mid-19th century [40]. Modern imperial intervention in the Korean peninsula displays patterns of external competitive dynamics among regional actors. Pressure from Japan, Russia or China would incentivize solicitations for an American counterbalancing response. As E. Park (2015) relates, to resist expansionist Japan, the Chinese imperial government urged the Korean tributary imperial court to seek American support, and the US became Korea’s first Western treaty partner in 1882 [41]. Government-authorized South Korean researchers reported in 2010 that seditious Korean aristocratic elites collaborated in Japan’s intervention, including in the 1895 murder of hostile Empress Myeong-seong [42]. The court trusted and granted American missionaries privileges; armed American missionaries served as imperial bedchamber bodyguards immediately following Myeong-seong’s murder [41,p.179-80]. Tokyo claimed no organized Korean government resistance to their occupation and 1910 annexation, a claim disputed in the US by Homer Hulbert, an American missionary [43,p.67-68].

Lee (2009) claims that the American missionary legacy promoted modern Korea’s civil society foundations, facilitating and increasing American influence in South Korea long before Korea’s partition. Western evangelical religious messianism came into conflict first with Japanese colonialism, then later with communism.

[E]vangelicalism has often been identified with anti-colonialism and anti-communism. And after the Korean War (1950-1953), such identification helped evangelicalism become securely legitimated in South Korea, whose own political identity was constructed largely in opposition to these two “isms” [26,p.69].

Domestic mass public opposition to the Japanese occupation emerged not long after the formal Japanese annexation in 1910. The March 1, 1919, Korean independence movement and the Japanese intensely repressive response to these sustained protests starkly demonstrated this intensifying nationalism [44,p.383-84]. The March First, 1919, protest movement was the first expression of nationally organized resistance [45,p.12]. Manela (2009) notes that 33 signatories of the Korean “Declaration of Independence” issued at this time were religious leaders: “16 of the signatories were Christian leaders, 15 belonged to the Ch’ongdogyo,

and two were Buddhists” [45,p.16,fn.13]. Ch’ongdogyo, founded in 1860, is typically translated and described as: “‘Religion of the Heavenly Way’, originally known as Tonghak, (“Eastern Learning”), an indigenous Korean religion that combines elements of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, shamanism, and Roman Catholicism” [...] [46]. The Japanese colonial authorities viewed Christians, accurately or not, as a main driver of Korean nationalist opposition to their rule [4,p.210].

American Christian missionaries witnessed the intensification of Japanese violent repression against demands for Korean self-determination and reported it in the US. According to R. Kim (2006), many missionaries jettisoned their assertion of their political neutrality which they had adopted immediately following the Japanese occupation in 1910 [43]. Critically, a close connection emerged between Korean diasporic activism and American evangelical Protestant Christianity. The outcome of the 1914-18 Great War included the Wilson administration’s powerful global role in shaping its formal end at the Paris Peace Conference negotiations. Lobbying a now globally extended Washington intensified as a focus of Korean diasporic national autonomy efforts. Wilson’s Fourteen Points, including national self-determination, helped inspire the March 1, 1919, Korean national independence movement [45,p.11]. The Japanese authorities noted the obvious point that the small Christian Korean population (1%) constituted a highly disproportionate segment of the protest movement [43,p.58]. The Japanese authorities targeted Korean Christians for retribution [47].

By virtue of its participation in Korea's struggle for political freedom, evangelicalism acquired nationalist credentials few Koreans could gainsay. During the remainder of the colonial period, the evangelicals underwent further trials; but when liberation finally came, the nationalist credentials they had gained in the Movement stood them in good stead [26,p.86].

American Protestant missionaries emerged as the primary source of information regarding East Asian affairs for US government officials preoccupied with events in Europe, as well as for the wider public [43,p.64-67]. American national community identity formation has roots in congregationalist Protestant sectarianism [48,p.63]. These missionary-lobbyists appealed to US national polity Christian messianic tendencies [43,p.69-70]. R. Kim (2006) highlights that the Korean diaspora in China and revolutionary Russia was much larger than in America. In addition to the perceived capabilities of Washington, US foreign policy aims were primary factors in focusing Korean nationalist diaspora activism. These were assumed to be more or less in tension, if not conflict, with those of Japan [43]. The perceived amenability of the US to lobbying by American missionary and Korean Christian representatives were critical as well [49,p.136]. The self-declared Korean Provisional Government was located in Shanghai. The activism to achieve its goals focused on Washington [43].

According to Keum (2002), Protestant Christianity became a focus of Korean nationalism, concentrating initially in northern Korea due to Japan’s intensive exploitation of the region to prepare for invading Manchuria. After the 1945 partition, the Protestant Christian leadership in the North opposed, among other policies, radical land reform, critically weakening their support among the North Korean mass public [50,p.265-68].

In making his administration’s 1947 request to Congress for supplemental aid to develop the South Korean zone of US occupation, US President Truman (1947) highlighted the long-term American missionary presence supporting Korea’s national development:

The American people have long had sympathetic feelings for the Korean people. American missionaries supported by American churches of all denominations, have brought spiritual guidance, education and medical aid to the Korean people during their forty years of Japanese bondage. All Americans, who have come to know the Korean people, appreciate as perhaps only Americans can, their fierce passion for freedom and their keen desire to become a free and independent nation [51].

Yet, the relationship of Korean nationalism to religion was largely an elite issue until the Korean War. As of 1945, much of the Korean population remained traditionally obedient to the authorities under Japanese imperial rule. Consternation generally characterized Korean working-class mass public reaction to Japan’s 1945 defeat, rather than celebration [52,p.122].

Keum (2002) notes that following 1945 partition, the contribution of evangelical Protestantism to the creation of a separate, distinctive South Korean cultural community underlay to the South Korean state is critical. A significant proportion of North Korean Christians fled to the South by the end of the 1950-53 war and in 1958 the Kim Il-sung regime destroyed what remained of the autonomous Church in the North [50,p.265-68]. In 1950, slightly over 2% of the South Korean population were Protestants [53,p.3].

In the North, the Christian community remains suppressed, labeled an instrument for imperialism, despite the founder Kim Il-sung's own family ties to Presbyterianism. The DPRK regime today utilizes the residual North Korean Christian Association as a transmission belt organization [50,p.265-68]. Yet the symbolic authority of evangelical Protestantism remains significant even in North Korea today. As noted below, Pyongyang agreed to the transnational international evangelical community taking the lead in creating the new Pyongyang University of Science and Technology. It provides Western technocratic content-focused education to selected children of the elite to support controlled modernization of North Korea's economy [54].

South Korean Polity Institutionalization and Christianity

This section highlights the role of Christianity in the post-partition foundation of the South Korean state. American defense and domination of the Republic of Korea against Chinese and Soviet-supported communism intensified those trends in Korean nationalism that assumed expression in Christianity.

The partition of Korea with the defeat of Imperial Japan by the USSR and the USA in 1945 created a new context for the role of religion. It would play a sustaining role for the presence of the USA following the military repulsion of the North Korean invasion. In contrast, in Vietnam imperial Japanese conquest briefly interrupted a much longer period of French imperialism in Southeast Asia. Catholicism had acquired an association with the French political occupier and colonizer [55,p.179] [56,p.159-60]. In Korea during the Japanese colonial period, Christian missionaries and clergymen became targets of persecution. Korean protestant Christians tended to resist Japanese demands that they worship at Shinto shrines [31,p.202]. Cases of capitulation to Japanese coercion demanding inclusion of a Shinto ritual of obeisance to the Emperor in the Korean Presbyterian Church led to a division within it [31,p.193-97].

The North Korean threat to the South precipitated American support of those elements in South Korean society most likely to cooperate closely with the American authorities. Syngman Rhee eliminated his rivals to emerge as the leader of the American-dominated South [57,p.18]. He was a Princeton-educated Methodist [58]. Receiving his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1910, Rhee "reputedly" completed it under the guidance of professor and Princeton University president Woodrow Wilson [43,p.52]. Rhee was the first Korean to receive a US doctoral degree [59].

Christianity was seen as "American/civilized religion" and a symbol of state loyalty [...] Buddhists remained in the majority among South Korea's religious population in the 1950s, but were in a comparatively weaker position due to their relative alienation from state power, relatively weaker economic position vis-à-vis the Christian churches lavishly supported by the Korean state and from abroad, weaker nationalist legitimacy (on account of their full-spectrum collaboration with the colonial powers from 1910 to 1945 and the well-known images of the "Japanized" married monks), and preoccupation with internal affairs from the beginning of the purge against the "Japanized" monks initiated on May 20, 1954 by Syngman Rhee himself with devastating effects on institutional Buddhism [53,p.11-12).

Created under Rhee on the American model in 1951, South Korea's military chaplaincy was under monopoly Christian control until 1968, and military service academy students were very disproportionately Christian into the 1970s [53]. Military service for all males remains mandatory in South Korea.

Somang Presbyterian Church: An Institutionalized Transnational, Pan-Korean and Diaspora South Korean National Civil Society Actor

The strong American Protestant cultural influence is evident to anyone who attends a large, established Protestant church in Seoul, as this writer has since spring 2010. One such church is *Somang* [Hope] Presbyterian Church, founded in 1977 (www.somang.net). Its public profile increased during the South Korean presidency of Mr. Lee Myung-bak, a long-time member and supporter of this church. This writer witnessed Lee Myung-bak attend the same Sunday morning service not long after the end of his presidency, accompanied by a security detail, during which the minister and congregation applauded him. Fellow congregation members informed this writer that while Mr. Lee had been an executive in Hyundai corporation's construction division before entering politics, he had overseen the construction of the church's current building facilities.

This writer attended the Sunday 9:30 AM November 2, 2014, service attended by 3-4 thousand at this small megachurch in the wealthy Gangnam district of Seoul. For this particular service, the choir performed the traditional American Christian hymn, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," lyrics translated into Korean. The

organ processional at the service conclusion was an instrumental version of “Onward Christian Soldiers.” The November 2017 Thanksgiving service provided paper offertory envelopes for enclosing monetary contributions that include an illustration of a cornucopia with the English word, “Thanksgiving.” The lunar calendar national holiday *Chuseok* [Thanksgiving] is the traditional Korean harvest festival held around the autumnal equinox. Somang Church organizes its own Thanksgiving celebrations in mid-November.

News reports from the February 2018 Olympic winter games in Pyeongchang, South Korea highlighted Somang Presbyterian Church’s institutional presence among the other approximately 3,000 Christian missionaries active at Olympic sites, by far the most missionaries ever present at the Olympic Games [60,para.7]. Christmas is a South Korean national holiday as is Buddha’s birthday.

Somang Presbyterian Church membership includes the 2008-13 president of South Korea, Lee Myung-bak, of the conservative, Saenuri Party (constitutionally limited to one term). Mr. Lee immediately preceded his party colleague, President Park Guen-hye, daughter of Korean military dictator President Park Chung-hee, in office until she was impeached, removed and arrested on corruption charges in early 2017. President Park Chung-hee’s 1961-79 rule corresponds with the most rapid period of the South Korea’s economic growth. In March 2018, Mr. Lee Myung-bak was indicted, arrested, convicted and pardoned on corruption charges alleged to have occurred during his presidency [61]. He was the fourth living South Korean former president to be charged with crimes during his or her presidency [62].

Somang Church is actively promoting civil society initiatives in North Korea and in China. Somang is a founder of the Pyongyang University of Science and Technology (PUST) in the North Korean capital.

On May 2, 2001, an agreement was signed on the establishment of Pyongyang University of Science and Technology (PUST) between the Northeast Asia Foundation for Education and Culture (president Kwak Sunhee, founder of the Somang Presbyterian Church) and the education ministry of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea) [63,para.2].

Subsequently, one South Korean English-language report noted that in 2015, Dr. Moses Kang, a Korean-American doctor providing humanitarian relief in the DPRK,

was speaking at a seminar on helping the North in the area of public health held at Seoul’s Somang Presbyterian Church earlier this month. The quarterly event hosted by the One Peninsula Medical Union was attended by PUST president Kim Jin-kyung and other faculty members visiting Seoul, refugees from the North in the medical profession and people “with compassion for the North Korean people” [64,para.2].

This writer interviewed one CUK academic colleague and Somang Church member and activist in spring 2010, who noted that Somang also supported PUST’s 1992 predecessor, the Yanbian University of Science and Technology in China’s Jilin Province where China’s Korean minority is concentrated. This interviewee said that clergy at the Chinese university preach. The only restriction that they observe is that they may not use the words ‘God’ and ‘Jesus.’ The strong Christian evangelical presence at PUST has attracted international media attention [65].

The agreement to establish PUST emerged in 2001. It is described as the first privately funded university to be established in North Korea, beginning operations in October 2010 [66] and it has a website: <http://pust.co/>. According to an October 2010 report, the US State Department reviewed the curriculum in order to ensure that the new university did not violate UN Security Council sanctions imposed on North Korea [66]. Yet, individual Korean Christian evangelist missionaries in North Korea risk prosecution and even execution by the North Korean regime [67]. James Kim, a Korean-American entrepreneur, took the initiative to organize and fundraise for the new university [68]. James Kim appeared on the US Christian Broadcasting Corporation’s *700 Club* with Pat Robertson to publicize the new university [69]. PUST has hosted an international academic conference including faculty participants from Johns Hopkins University [70]. In 2010, this writer attended a special Korean-language address at another large Seoul Presbyterian church, *Sarang* [Love], at which Mr. Kim promoted PUST. The large service assembly hall during this weekday evening event was full. In an interview immediately before this *Sarang* event, Mr. Kim told this writer that the Catholic Church has “unofficial representation” at PUST. Two interlocutors at Somang Church informed this writer that Somang Presbyterian Church has hosted North Korean Presbyterian church representatives to speak to the congregation in Seoul.

Postwar Korean-American Relations and Transnational Religious Social Movements

130 years of American missionary activity, together with 70 years of American tutelage, has encouraged the development of a shared, national identity component in South Korea and the US. This section highlights the political factors generating a shared core national community Christian identity component in South Korea and the US contributing to political interdependency and reciprocal sensitivity. This shared identity component has mutually reinforced US government and broader, American polity influence in the South Korea political system and also South Korean government and polity lobby influence in the US political system. Demonstrating this relationship is a challenge because of this mutual interdependence. Schmitter (2016) evaluates the significance of such increasing, global “complex interdependence” for political analysis. Making the distinction between comparative politics and international relations is progressively problematic. Focusing on description of linear causation among identified independent and dependent variables is less useful than highlighting the context which created these variables and within which these variables have institutionalized interdependency [71,p.408]. Historical and contemporary international political systemic and state-level factors have created this shared national identity component identity today between South Korea and the US. This shared identity component can be evaluated at least to indicate its influence generation capacity. Inferential supporting evidence is offered below in the description of the rising influence of the US Korean lobby in the US polity. It has overcome Japanese government resistance to side with Korean arguments of Japanese failure to accept full responsibility for wartime sexual enslavement of Korean women.

Cottam and Cottam (2001) note that “diasporas comprise members of minority communities who have emigrated to one or several host states for commercial or political reasons but who continue to grant a first-intensity loyalty to the parent community” [6,p.23]. They are somewhat resistant to full integration within the host territorial community because they wish to share a common life with the other members of their parent community. A mobilization political dynamic may result from a motivation to participate politically to reconcile and protect these dual national self-identities whose political interests may otherwise appear at risk. Working to shape US host state foreign policy to promote origin state policy objectives may be a consequence. Diaspora members will tend to see a situation, as a result of the cognitive balancing process, in which the interests of the two communities are reconcilable [72].

A diaspora is a transnational community of political action as evidenced through patterns of transnational, shared identity community-based behavior:

[...] we should think of diaspora not in substantialist terms as a bounded entity, but rather as an idiom, a stance, a claim. We should think of diaspora in the first instance as a category of practice, and only then ask whether, and how, it can fruitfully be used as a category of analysis. As a category of practice, ‘diaspora’ is used to make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations, to mobilize energies, to appeal to loyalties. It is often a category with a strong normative charge. It does not so much describe the world as seek to remake it.

As idiom, stance, and claim, diaspora is a way of formulating the identities and loyalties of a population [73,p.12].

In sum, diasporas exist insofar as the collective pattern behavior of an internationally dispersed group of people shows some degree of political cohesion in the political participation process. A diaspora, by definition, is an internationally dispersed group whose members display behavior that reveals two significant national loyalties. Nationalism is behavior that demonstrates intense political self-identification with a national community, i.e., a member of a nation demonstrates that self-identity value by “thinking, feeling and acting in that capacity” [74,p.117].

Cottam and Cottam (2001) note that “diasporas comprise members of minority communities who have emigrated to one or several host states for commercial or political reasons but who continue to grant a first-intensity loyalty to the parent community” [6,p.23]. A mobilization political dynamic may result from a motivation to participate politically to reconcile and protect these dual national self-identities whose political interests may otherwise appear at risk. Working to shape US host state foreign policy to promote origin state policy objectives may be a consequence. Intra and inter-diaspora variations exist regarding the intensity of these dual national loyalties. Political behavior will seek to reconcile the interests of these two different national communities. This behavior takes the form both in terms of lobbying in both the host and origin states for the pursuit of dual national foreign policy aims that the actor views are in harmony with each other.

This paper’s analysis fits within the neoclassical realism theoretical framework to explore the role of diasporas in international relations. This study adopts a political sociological approach that neoclassical realist

analyses highlight. Cottam and Cottam's political psychological conceptualization of nationalism corresponds with the neoclassical focus on internal polity characteristics shaping a polity's international political strategic behavior. Political strategic behavior describes foreign policy behavioral tendencies of a polity, i.e., it is not limited to the thinking and choices of individual decision makers. It rather highlights behavioral patterns and trends. The Korean diaspora, because of its strong self-identification with Korea as the origin state while politically active in the host state, is an extraterritorial part of the South Korean polity. Today, Asian-Americans are the fastest growing, highest income racial minority group in the US, and sixty-one percent of Korean-Americans are Protestants [75,p.2209,2011]. This shared national self-identity component among South Korean and American protestant diaspora Christians emphasizes fellowship as a transnational community of believers. American and South Korean Christian diasporas are institutional conduits facilitating the mediation of polity influence generation between South Korea and America. These influence generation efforts may be more direct, e.g., lobbying US government officials, or more indirect, e.g., media campaigns of various types such as humanitarian relief fundraising drives [76]. These diasporas utilize in part the transnational institutions of the Christian church to facilitate communication and cooperation. In sum, this shared national community identity component supports significant soft power influence generation capability by these two polities towards each other. The US promotes South Korea to showcase the benefits from close collaboration with the US that continues during the global war on terror. The Republic of Korea (ROK) development model is one that the US President George W. Bush juxtaposed to the "axis of evil" states [77,para.27]. These states slated for regime change included the DPRK, Baathist Iraq, the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, and the Islamic Republic of Iran, as part of the global war on terror:

We're still in the early hours of the current ideological struggle, but we do know how the others ended – and that knowledge helps guide our efforts today. The ideals and interests that led America to help the Japanese turn defeat into democracy are the same that lead us to remain engaged in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The defense strategy that refused to hand the South Koreans over to a totalitarian neighbor helped raise up a Asian Tiger that is the model for developing countries across the world, including the Middle East. The result of American sacrifice and perseverance in Asia is a freer, more prosperous and stable continent whose people want to live in peace with America, not attack America [sic] [78,para.22-23] (emphasis BD).

South Korea has gone from being poorer per capita in comparison with North Korea until surpassing North Korea in the 1970s. South Korea is now a global economic power with the 'Miracle on the Han River' [79,para.29]. North Korea meanwhile has fallen into poverty and rogue state status, to such an extent that the media reports estimates that up to a million died of starvation in the early 1990s [80]. Malnourishment in the DPRK especially among children and nursing mothers is today widespread [81]. Korean nationalism in South Korea has come to side with the US because of these historical factors. One aim of North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile weapons programs is to compensate for these mass economic welfare deficiencies in terms of the DPRK's diplomatic bargaining leverage [82] [29].

Korean-American Diaspora Integration, Assimilation and Lobbying

Sheffer (2014) distinguishes ethno-national diasporas from "transnational communities" due to the former's more cohesive, persistent, identifiable political behavior. A shared religious community component often undergirds the ethno-national diaspora self-identification, e.g., Jewish-Israeli, Palestinian and Irish, but not always [83,p.35-37]. Sheffer's distinction between ethno-national diasporas and transnational communities implies that a relationship exists between the two, with the former a subcategory of the latter. This relationship manifests in terms of the greater political leverage that the Korean ethno-national diaspora may seek to employ to shape South Korean and US policy. Christian evangelicals in the US and South Korea enhance each polity's collective awareness of their cultural affiliation. Cold War-era politically conscious evangelical religious revivalism in the US and South Korea expanded concomitantly, with mutual reinforcement. In 1973 Rev. Billy Graham, an increasingly influential figure in American conservative social movements since the late 1940s, spoke to 500,000 attendees at his Seoul Crusade meeting, an unprecedented event [84,p.8][85]. Graham's collaborator, Bill Bright, founder in 1951 of US Campus Crusade for Christ, in 1974 praised the authoritarian regime of South Korean President Park Chung-hee for allowing Christianity to be taught in schools [84,p.9]. Park himself was nominally a Buddhist. As Hummel (2016) summarizes,

Graham and Bright, both international revivalists, were able to translate their revivalist individualism into a universal call for spiritual salvation largely by framing it in the context of the Cold War confrontation. They both remained American exceptionalists and regarded democracy, capitalism, and religious freedom as God-ordained norms [84,p.8,fn.43].

Suh adds that in South Korea, a “neo-evangelical” church focus intensified in the 1970s on “Christian social responsibility.” The latter is traditionally an American conservative Protestant social activism theme. It emerged in South Korea following Graham’s 1973 Crusade and the 1974 International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne, Switzerland. The latter affirmed evangelical church social activism, irrespective of ideological bent [86,p.1392,fn.1,2][87,sec.5]. In sum, Christian evangelical leaders appeal to an emotive, shared self-identity community in the form of the transnational Christian social movement. It is emotive significantly because congregational sectarian Christianity is at the core of the cultural community underpinning the American and the South Korean polities.

Ethnic lobby groups have a long history of engagement in US politics, and the Korean lobby reflects this pattern [88][89]. Cohesive, politically active South Korean Presbyterian Protestants have been observed in American politics [90]. South Korean Christian evangelicals have played a prominent role in leading this political participation, e.g., Worldwide Kingdom/Revival 2004 [91]. As one December 2008 Pew Forum US post-election participant, Prof. John Green, noted, ethno-religious groups have been an important part of US politics since its founding. New groups on the scene include Korean Presbyterians. In the last 30 years, religious institutions, e.g., churches, have become important in the “structure of faith-based politics in the United States” [90,para.10-11]. The church-centered, Korean-American diaspora reinforces South Korea’s soft power diplomatic bargaining leverage vis-a-vis Washington [29].

The nationalistic behavior of members of national communities who have no strongly competing identity attachments will differ sharply from the behavior of a minority diaspora member having a dual loyalty both to the host and origin state. Consequent minority diaspora behavior risks an interpretation or construal by the host majority suggesting disloyalty on the part of the minority community [6,p.23-24]. These dual allegiances will become controversial to the extent that public discourse highlights perceived conflicting foreign policy interests of the host and home states. Dual loyalties among members of the Italian-American diaspora, for example, are less controversial because Italian and American state foreign policy objectives rarely are a topic of public dispute. In contrast, Palestinian-American diaspora representatives engage in sharp public disputes with Jewish-American diaspora activists lobbying the US polity on behalf of Israel [92]. The Trump administration initially adopted policies towards North Korea’s nuclear program threatening military force that publicly and persistently conflict with Seoul’s aims and policies.

Assimilation negatively associates with the intensity of diaspora activism. I.e., the intensity of self-identification with the origin community tends to fade over generations, lessening the intensity of diaspora concern for its perceived well-being. Diaspora members become less motivated to lobby on its behalf over the long term. Second and younger generation Korean-Americans generally indeed demonstrate less concern with US foreign policy than their elders [93,p.13]. Since 1950, the ROK and the US shared a perceived, intense challenge from North Korea. This Cold War context institutionalized and reinforced the perceived security interdependency between the US the ROK. It also supported the mutual diaspora formation in both the US and the ROK. Korean immigrants in the US number approximately 1 million, with 61% naturalized citizens, constituting the largest Korean immigrant community [94]. The total Korean-American population is over 1.7 million, increasing by 41% since 2000, with 62% being “foreign born” [95]. 96% live in US metropolitan areas [75,p.2210]. Self-identified Christians are approximately 29% of the ROK population (Connor 2014). “Korean immigrants in the United States ... are predominantly Christian” [75,p.2222]. “61 percent of U.S. Koreans are Protestants” [75,p.2211]. 10% are Catholic, 6% are Buddhist, and 23% are unaffiliated [96].

Implications for the “Global War on Terror”

The case of Korean nationalism provides insight into the role of transnational social movements, including religious movements, in American cultural globalization. It illustrates the complex negative and positive interdependencies between nationalism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. American cultural influence in South Korea does not generate, for example, the intensity of resistance that it did in Iran following the 1953 CIA-led imposition of the Shah’s regime and its subsequent overthrow in 1978-79 [98]. The difference in response is due to the differences in the historical experiences of the Korean and Iranian national communities.

Iran was not partitioned during the Cold War following a brief, immediate postwar episode in which Soviet forces intervened to support Iranian Azeri and Iranian Kurdish separatism [99]. Korea's partition, with the North evolving into a highly coercive, totalitarian regime incentivized the South Koreans to look upon their own regime more benignly. South Korea's rapid development compensated for the regime's legitimacy weakness. This weakness had its foundations in the Japanese control bureaucracy that the US inherited and continued to rely upon in Korea upon occupying the South [100,p.9-10].

These circumstances make US neo-conservative references to South Korea as a model for US policy in Iraq and Afghanistan problematic [101][102][103][104][105][106][107][108]. Intra-state sectarian violence within post-colonial Iraq and Syria emphasizes the impact of perceived collaboration with external actors perceived as colonialist threats exacerbating these conflicts [109][110]. The US 2003 occupation of Iraq de facto initiated the transformation of formerly secular Baathist, Sunni Arab-dominated Iraq. The non-Kurdish, Arab community manifests an Shia Arab core culture component, resistant to pan-Sunni Arab nationalist aspirations [111][112][113][114][115,p.73]. The Islamic State militant transnational movement declared the end of the Sykes-Picot/British-French post First World War partition of upper Mesopotamia and the Levant into Syria and Iraq [116]. The Christian minorities in this region are diminishing as they flee violence and persecution [117,p.68]. The region's ancient Jewish diaspora communities fled in the years following Israel's establishment and the consequent intensification of stereotyping and suspicion of their local political allegiance and loyalty [118,p.511,525].

Explanations for growing transnational religiosity highlighting theoretically framed factors at individual and state levels of analysis are incomplete without the historical, dynamic, global context [97][71][147,p.1159]. The United States and South Korea share a core national component community complementarity based in Christianity. Protestant Christianity flourished in Korea amidst American missionary activity. The confluence of state and individual-level factors with the identification of North Korea as a Cold War and post-Cold War enemy intensified and facilitated Korean diaspora lobbying in the US.

As a consequence of the 1910-45 Japanese occupation and US-Soviet partition in 1945, Christianity has grown in South Korea to include at least one-third of the population. Following large refugee movements during the Korean War, conversions to Christianity skyrocketed along with the rapid phase of South Korean industrialization. Meanwhile, the North Korean economic and political model faded in its soft power attraction culminating in the famine of the early 1990s after the disintegration of the USSR and China's economic liberalization.

The international systemic-level contextual factor has played an essential role in the promotion of Christian sectarian identity as a component identity in the Korean national community self-determination movement. American political, economic and cultural influence came to be seen at incipient points in Korea's modern development as an ally of Korean national self-determination. Thereby, the US and South Korea acquired soft power advantage over their North Korean adversary that the US has sought to convert into a post-Cold War/post-9/11 political strategic asset. The case of Korean nationalism provides insight into the role of the intersection of nationalism, transnational movements including Christian religious movements, and diaspora politics in American-led globalization. It illustrates the complex, political contextual-dependent developmental interdependencies between nationalism, transnational religious movements and diaspora identity politics.

Iran is a nation state in which US influence came to be seen as hostile to Iranian national self-determination aspirations through US installation and support for the Shah's 1953-79 authoritarian secular regime. Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan are post-colonial multinational and multiethnic states encompassing hostile ethno-sectarian groups intensely opposed to being controlled by their internal and external adversaries. Among these ethno-sectarian groups are those that perceive the US as an enemy hostile to pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism and congruently view collaboration with the US by their adversaries as capital treason. American hegemony in South Korea is not a model whose political strategic lessons may be readily transplanted for winning the so-called global war on terror.

5. CONCLUSION

A so-called Korean scenario referencing the de facto partition of Ukraine through a hostile but effective long-term armistice has been referenced in the elite discourse. The relative effectiveness of the US and its allies in state-building in South Korea, in contrast to its failure in South Vietnam and Afghanistan, imply that effective implementation of ceasefire is a prerequisite. Kyiv's commitment to alliance and integration with the West is evident in its response to the existential crisis which Russia's full-scale invasion of February 24, 2022,

has posed. These responses include, moving the celebration of Christmas from January 7, according to the Orthodox calendar, to the “Revised Julian calendar” on December 25 as of 1 September 2023 [122,para.4]. Earlier, the Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Lviv on 1-2 February 2023 approved the same calendar change “at believers’ numerous requests” [123,para.3]. The South Korean case illustrate this process by which national reform of religious practice can serve as a consecrating function for the institutionalization of a new state to claim to represent the bifurcated nation.

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