

## REPORT

### Nationalism in China-Japan-South Korea Relations' Development

(late 20th - early 21st centuries).

**Foreword.** The problem of nationalism in Mainland China-Japan-South Korea's (CJK) relations has been studied from many angles: from unilateral/bilateral perspectives (and rarely from a truly trilateral viewpoint, considering unilateral policy, bilateral and trilateral interaction); often framing nationalism as inherently antagonistic vis-à-vis another nation-state (but rarely as nationalism being a rebound from nation-building efforts of another actor).

In my research *I aim to discover how nationalism influences the development of CJK interstate relations*. In order to achieve this goal, I utilise **critical literature analysis/narrative literature review**. Because CJK nation-building models as well as the reasons for nationalism appearance in CJK relations could only be interpreted subjectively, scientific literature on nationalism in Northeast Asia and CJK relations become the primary source to gather qualitative data from. Particular attention is paid to scientific literature originating from CJK nationals.

Simultaneously, **CJK scientific literature becomes one of the two primary sources** to study (the other source being official documents and public official remarks originating from CJK political power players and/or from state institutions) with **the method of narrative analysis**.



*A SITTING COMFORT WOMAN STATUE in Taipei. Author's archive.*

**Initial stage of research in Taiwan.** Through the generous assistance of the MOFA Taiwan Fellowship, and with the eager assistance of Taipei’s National Central Library in particular I registered in the latter, in July 2023, as a visiting scholar to begin my six-months’ research in Taiwan.



**NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY’s visiting scholar badge.**

After being granted a tour through the Library and having briefly familiarised myself with the available resources<sup>1</sup>, I arrived at three conclusions<sup>2</sup>. First, as planned, **I decided to focus primarily on the resources originating from CJK nationals**, while, of course, consulting the other relevant materials when needed. Fortunately, I quickly learned that libraries in Taiwan (not only in Taipei, actually) often have a separate section for publications, primarily books, in CJK languages. This auspicious finding lead to the remaining two takeaways. Secondly, to anticipate the possible limitations of such sections (after all, unlike commonly used Chinese – to some extent Japanese and mostly Korean sources could be considered rarities in Taiwan) I decided to extend my fieldwork geography, so **I became a regular visitor in three more libraries, which are Academia Sinica’s Joint Library of Humanities and Social Sciences (人文社會科學聯合圖書館), National Taiwan University Main Library, and Chengchi**

<sup>1</sup> Unless stated otherwise all the photos from the report are from the author’s archive.

<sup>2</sup> The thorough description of author’s research procedure here and throughout the report (as well as occasional photos) is needed for verifiability and transparency purposes, if anyone would, for example, attempt to replicate a similar research in the future.



**University libraries.** All of them have vast if occasionally overlapping CJK sections. However, for the time being I neglected adding the fifth library, of the National Taiwan Normal University, to the list in fear of time constraints, because my stay in Taiwan is limited to 180 days. Thirdly, for the same reason **I made a decision to concentrate on CJK and CJK-related books mostly rather than scientific journals in particular.** The fact that scientific articles, even those in CJK languages, are often available online, while CJK books as often have to be read physically in libraries or bookshops – supports this decision.



AMA MUSEUM (阿嬤家- 和平與女性人權館) in Taipei  
*dedicated to comfort women.*

**Second stage of research in Taiwan.** Proceeding from my research topic and with objectives in mind, particular attention in the libraries was devoted to categories and subcategories, such as 社會科學類 (Social Sciences) and 社會學 (Sociology), 民族學 (Anthropology) and 民族志 (Ethnography), 政治 (Politics) and 國際關係 (International Relations) etc. Although every libraries' categorization might slightly differ, in general, the aforementioned characters are sufficient for reference purposes.

When searching for the relevant books in these and other sections of the libraries, I especially considered the covers featuring “CJK” (中日韓 and 中日韩 or 日中韓, or 한중일]), “Three states” (三国 or 三國), “nationalism” (民族主义 or 民族主義, ナショナリズム or 내셔널리즘) etc. Other keywords are rather hard to codify and were based on “educated guessing” strengthened by my being physically present in the libraries to immediately check my assumptions.

For example, the topic of nationalism or a nationalist topic is often likely to arise in the books written in CJK languages about the respective CJK-nations (with unilateral, bilateral or trilateral focus). One extreme example is a notorious book about a national character by a PRC-born ethnic Korean author – eponymous “Ugly Korean”. Incidentally he is also the author of quite an informative account of CJK comparative national characters. Another extreme is the book “Ugly Chinese”, in this case written by a Taiwanese author in Mandarin. Finally, no less sensational, is “Ugly Japanese” by a Japanese author based on his extensive travels in South America (written at the time when Brazilian Japanese were welcomed back to Japan but mostly to do “dirty, dangerous and demeaning” work). All the three authors felt connection to CJK societies but detached enough to write about the “ugly” sides. Later there appeared (the first of the authors also ventured to write about “ugly Japanese”) sequels and numerous copy-cats, which also exhibits the commercial part of nationalism which simply ‘sells well’.



NATIONAL TAIWAN UNIVERSITY's library.





***NATIONAL TAIWAN UNIVERSITY'S MAIN LIBRARY (I).***



***NATIONAL CHENGCHI UNIVERSITY'S library.***



**ACADEMIA SINICA**

***JOINT LIBRARY of HUMANITIES and SOCIAL SCIENCES' first floor map, including OVERSIZED and regular EASTERN LANGUAGE BOOK SECTIONS.***

# 日韓文閱覽室

## 服務調整公告

配合本館形象再造及空間優化計畫，  
自112年9月19日起關閉。

### 2樓

圖書調閱 (總服務臺)

新到圖書 (參考室新書展示區)

### 3樓

當期期刊、報紙 (3F期刊室)

過期期刊、報紙 (3F期刊櫃臺調閱)

讀賣新聞資料庫 (3F期刊電腦區)

*FORMER NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY'S JAPANESE-KOREAN  
MATERIALS SECTION (I).*

As for **libraries' specifics** they are the following:

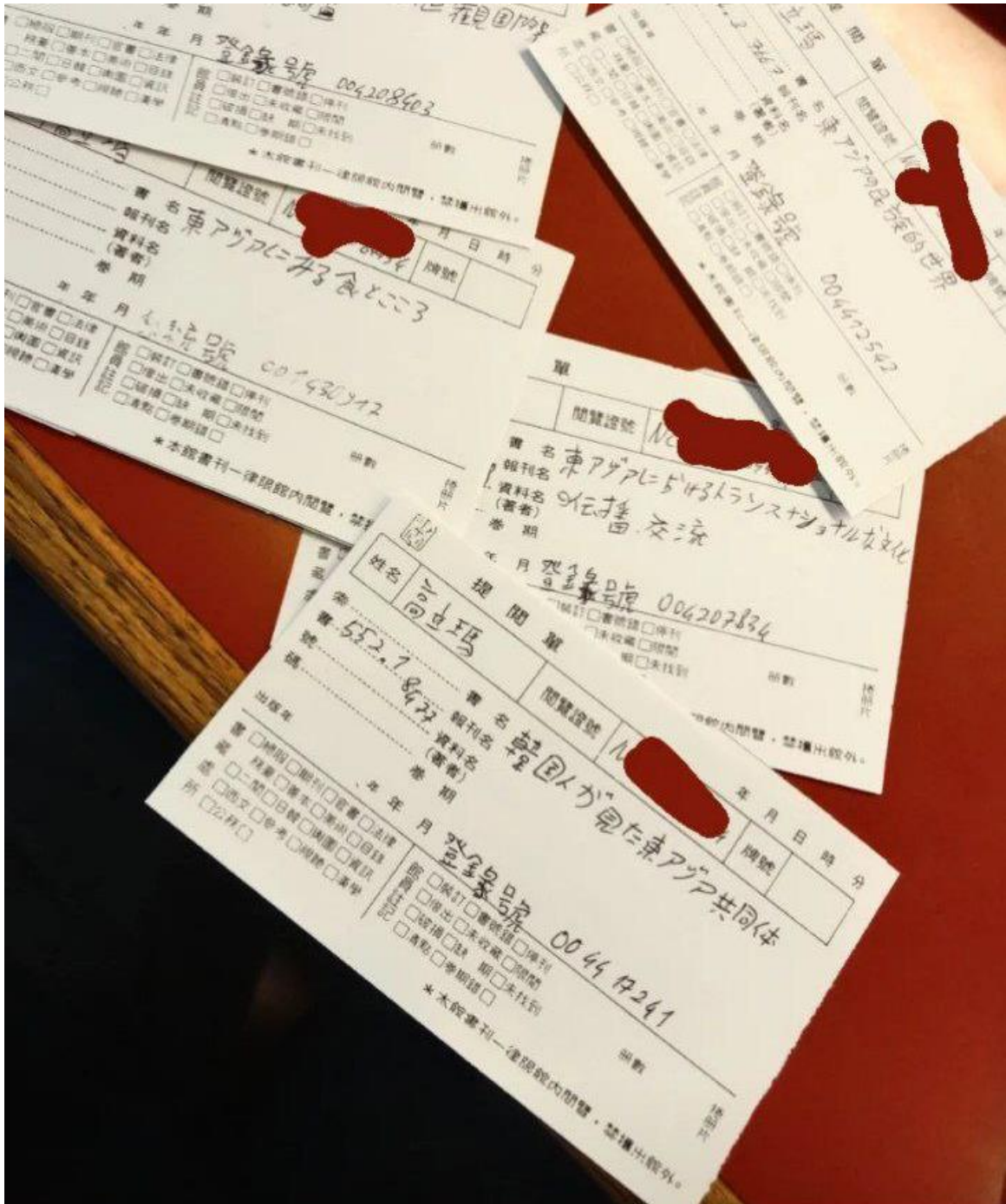
1) As for the Main Library of the Taiwan University, borrowing privileges are limited to the library's grounds, unless one is an NTU alumni. Moreover, physically a closed book section (surprisingly open to all) in CJK languages is only identified by book categories' numbers rather than the names of these categories, so unless one wants to conduct a search through the whole room, shelf by shelf, they need to know the particular categories' number they are interested in (see the photo below). On the side note, if one is not affiliated with the library's institution, they are required to leave their identification document with the librarian to be granted a temporary pass into the facility. They could also ask for a temporary Wi-Fi password at the same time.

2) When working in the National Central Library's library and its branches one cannot take the borrowed materials outside of the facility. In addition, various book sections have different working hours. Finally, specifically for the purposes of this research access to the materials in Japanese and Korean is likely to require the command not only of reading in these languages but also writing in them as well as in traditional Mandarin by hand (the latter could be asked of librarians if the amount of books is negligible but the former are left for the borrower to handle). This appears to be a temporary problem while the Korean-Japanese section is being distributed between other sections of the NCL. For further details, see the photo below.

3) As for Academia Sinica, the same rules as in the NTU are applicable, while book shelf search is comparatively easier, since there are always categories provided in Mandarin.

4) Finally, if being invited by the National Chengchi University (and in the same manner by any other Taiwan's research institution) to conduct research in Taiwan one is allowed to borrow the books for approximately a month and use them outside of the NCU's libraries.





**NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY (II). For librarians' and one's own convenience access to a book in Japanese or Korean is granted only upon filling a card like these, where one states their name (姓名), login (閱覽登號), book name (書名) and two book numbers (登錄號 and 索書號碼), if applicable.**



# 密集書庫平面圖



NATIONAL TAIWAN UNIVERSITY MAIN LIBRARY'S CLOSED SHELF SECTION with CJK books marked in red (II).

**Third stage of research in Taiwan.** While in the four aforementioned libraries numerous books were found which serve the purposes of the research to some extent – be it theoretical findings from CJK unilaterally or even books on general CJK relations – only 12 books would be discussed in these report, some of which might be considered primary sources of the research since they are written in either of CJK and exhibit nationalist tendencies to either of CJK respectively.

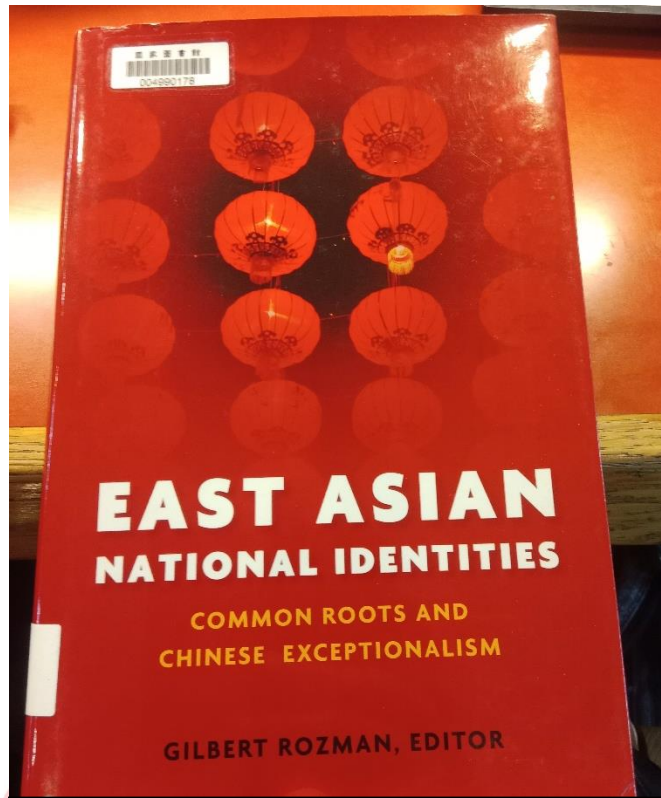
1) “East Asian National Identities: Common Roots and Chinese Exceptionalism” (2012) is the first in the three volumes which were edited by Gilbert Rozman for Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford University Press. The third one covers a topic far removed from our research and the second one is discussed right below.

At first it might appear that the book is rather irrelevant in our case. However, firstly, it focuses on CJK countries (mostly separately). Secondly, it features articles from CJK nationals who test G.Rozman’s ideas (although occasionally they follow his guidelines only loosely). Finally, the theoretical framework of “six dimensions” in CJK cases partly touches upon the ‘nationalism’ topic as well.

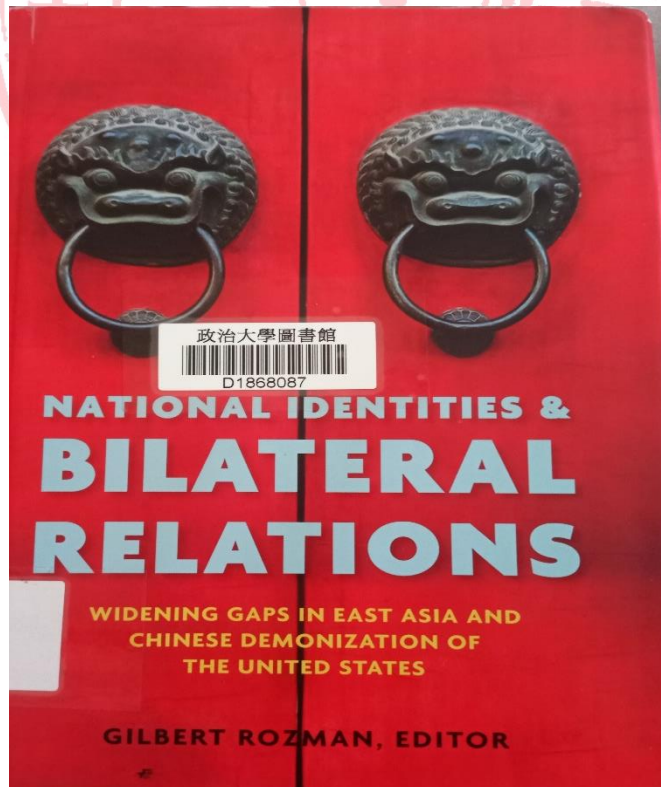
The first dimension, ideological, is concerned with right-left-centrist advocates and history books revisions as well as reactions from the neighbours to them. Then, there is a temporal one, which underscores that CJK do not have a trilaterally shared time period to take pride in – be it prewar, postwar or post-Cold war. Sectoral dimension sheds light on CJK overreliance on either political, economic or cultural basis to their identity. Vertical dimension takes note of the hierarchy-fetishism in CJK, but also briefs on micro- and middle-levels. Besides, a horizontal one is related to CJK reactions to the world, the region, and the US. Finally, intensity, is concerned with emotional outbursts in CJK.

2) “National Identities and Bilateral Relations: Widening Gaps in East Asia and Chinese Demonization of the United States”, 2013. The second book of the series builds upon the ideas from the first one and studies the “gaps”, i.e. six-dimensional differences affecting bilateral relations between CJK in general and vis-à-vis America in particular. As in the previous case due to the book being the result of conference proceedings, at least in terms of theoretical approach, it presents a tumult of ideas rather than appearing as a unified chorus.



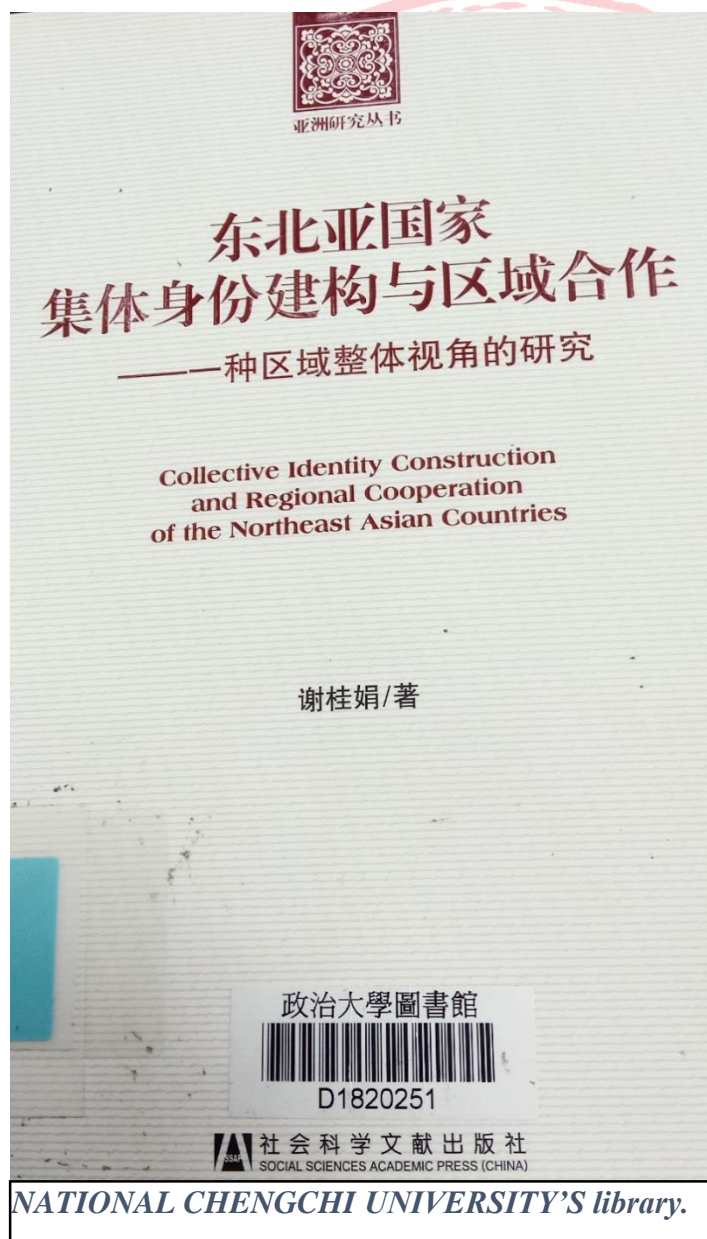


NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY.



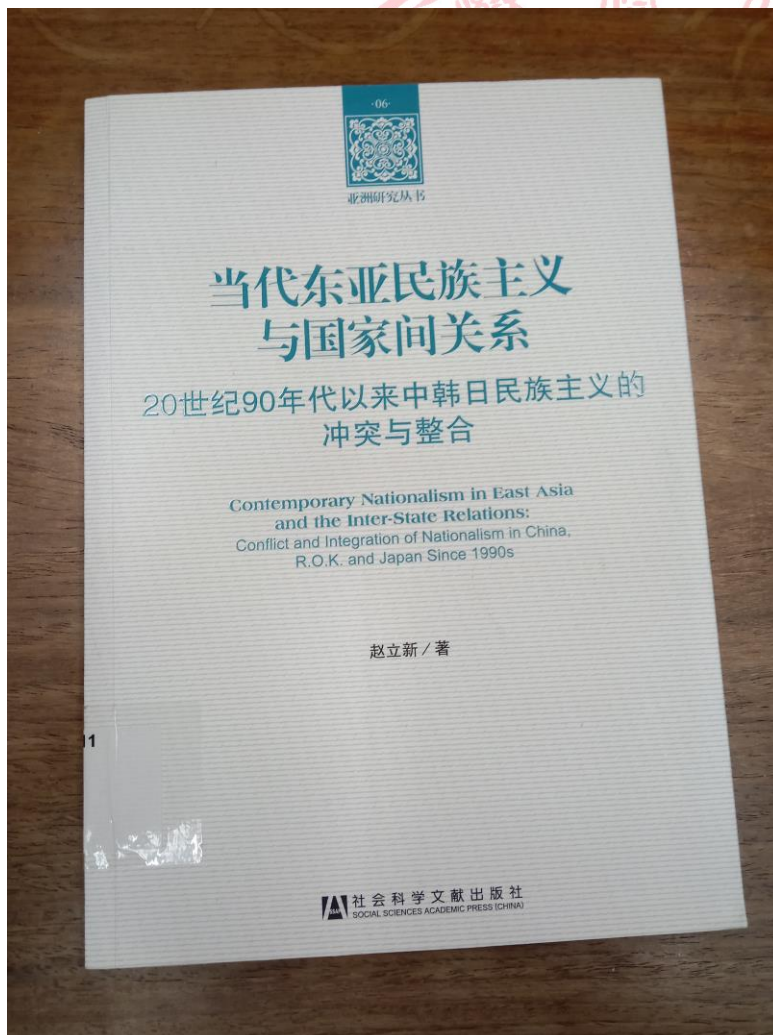
NATIONAL CHENGCHI UNIVERSITY'S  
library. Closed stacks.

3) In the similar vein is the book “东北亚国家集体身份结构与区域合作” (“Collective Identity Construction and Regional Cooperation of the Northeast Asian Countries”) , written by Yanbian University’s 謝桂娟 (Xie Guijuan) and published in 2012 by Beijing’s 社會科學文獻出版社 (Social Sciences Literature Press). This comprehensive work which reads more as a doctoral dissertation than a separate book the author writes not as much about nationalism but rather on the national identity of the Northeast Asian region, thus, she also includes Russia and DPRK in the equation, which is much appreciated. Especially helpful for our purposes was Chapter 4 on the bilateral interactions of these identities, which allows to compare her findings with the aforementioned books by G.Rozman and et al.





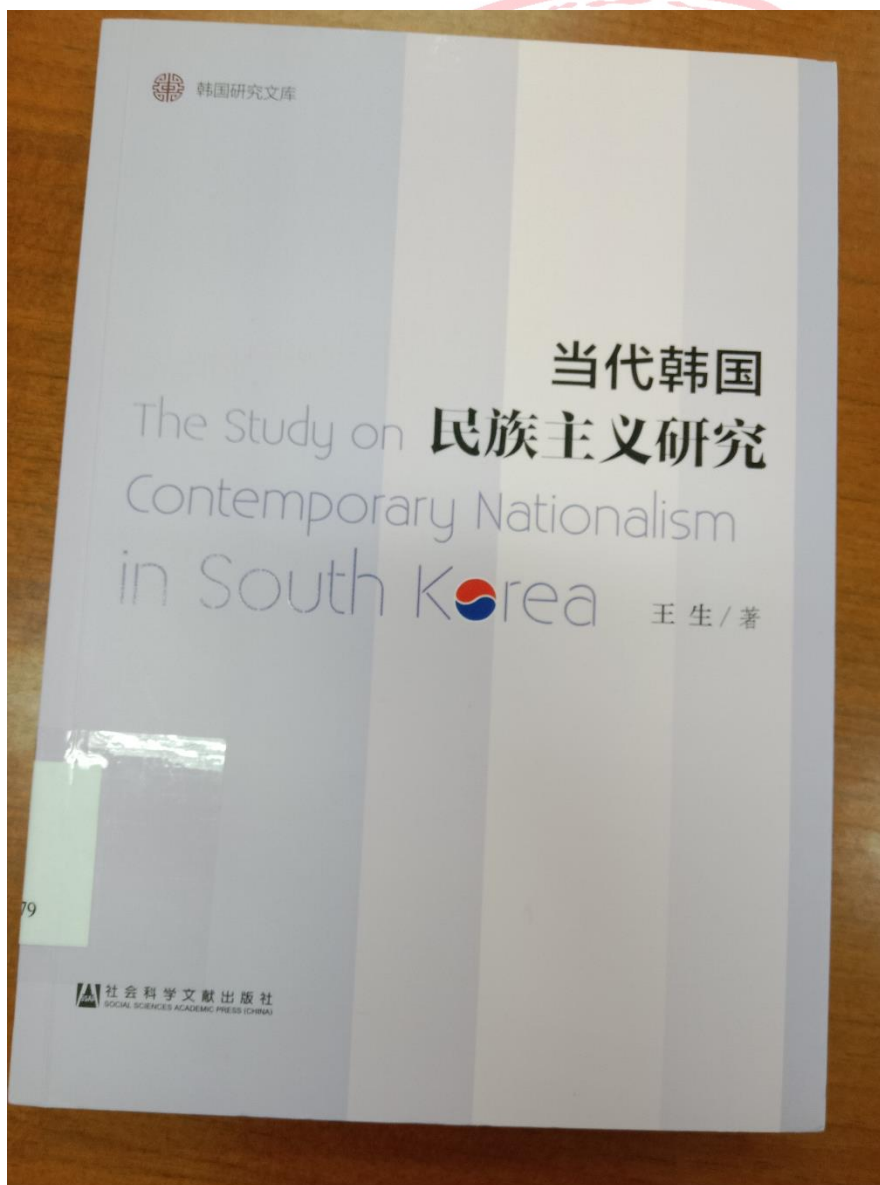
4) “当代东亚民族主义与国家关系。。。 ” ( “Contemporary Nationalism in East Asia and the Inter-State Relations” ) , by the openly<sup>3</sup> Manchu professor of the Yanbian University – 赵立新 (Zhao Lixin). He also authored several books on a similar topic. Especially noteworthy is that in his doctoral-like account he covers our timeline (if missing a further decade or so since being published only in 2012); often considers DPRK as part of the problem (while Japanese-Korean authors tend to exclude it altogether if the topic is not about the missile program or kidnappings by the DPRK regime etc); takes a very theory-oriented approach choosing to focus on abstract concepts rather than definite happenings. Also, his work is rare in sense that it attempts to offer a solution to the problem under study. He sees the possibility of CJK nationalisms’ integration to develop a common national identity.



***NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY.***

<sup>3</sup> Which might be personally important for the author for ethnic or historical reasons.

5) “当代韩国民族主义研究” (“The Study on Contemporary Nationalism in South Korea”) is published in 2015 by the same publishing house as the previous two books. Written by a Korea-taught 王生 (Wan Sheng) who, as the previous two authors, comes from an academia in PRC’s Jilin region. This fact comes as no surprise as this area is where most of ethnic Koreans are found in the PRC. Continuing to put things in a comparative perspective the author devotes a subchapter of the book to the notable nationalistic outbursts from China, Japan, South Korea as well as Russian Federation. Here another significant feature of Chinese authors, who tackle our topic, comes in light: they often, if briefly, would add several more neighbouring countries into consideration which rather benefits the overall study.

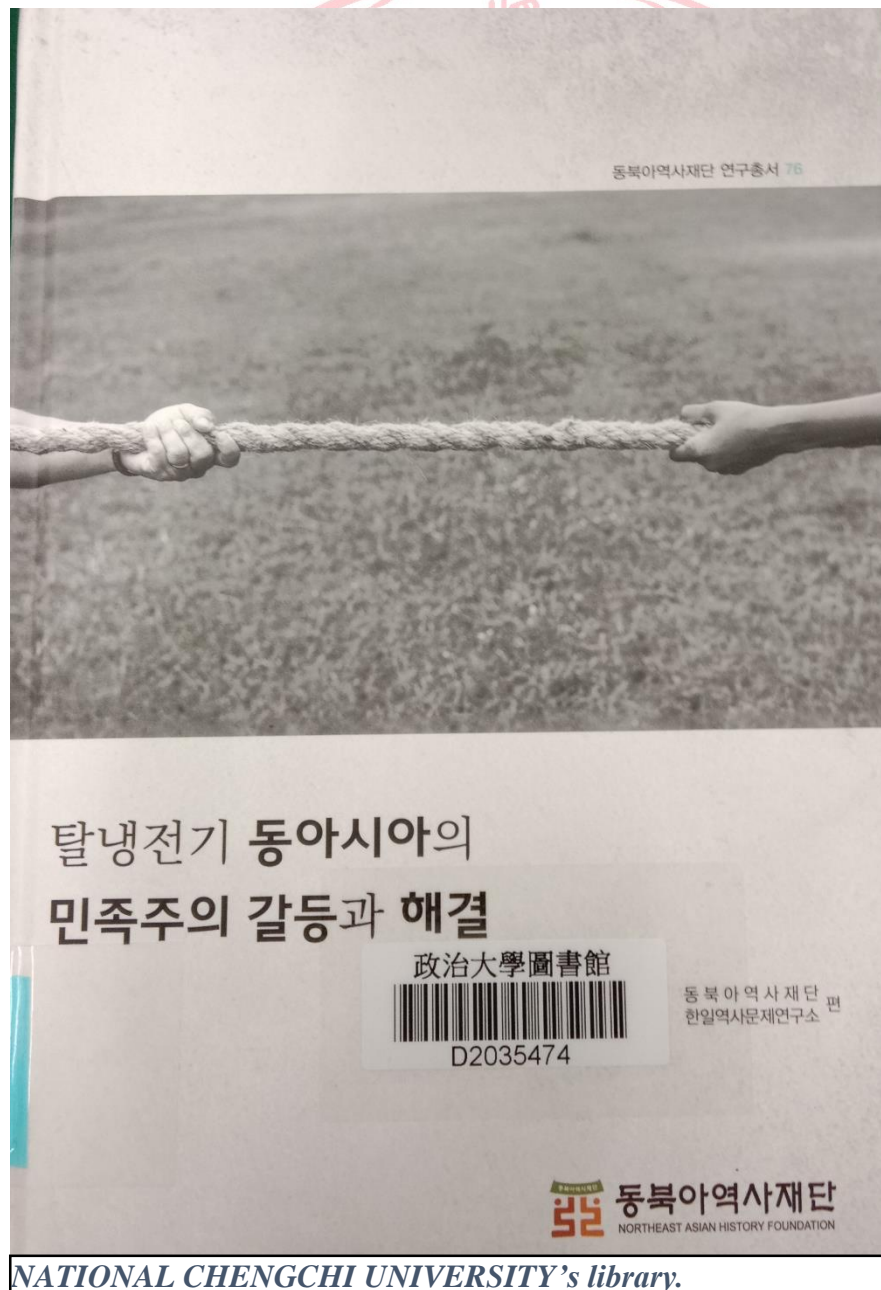


**NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY.**



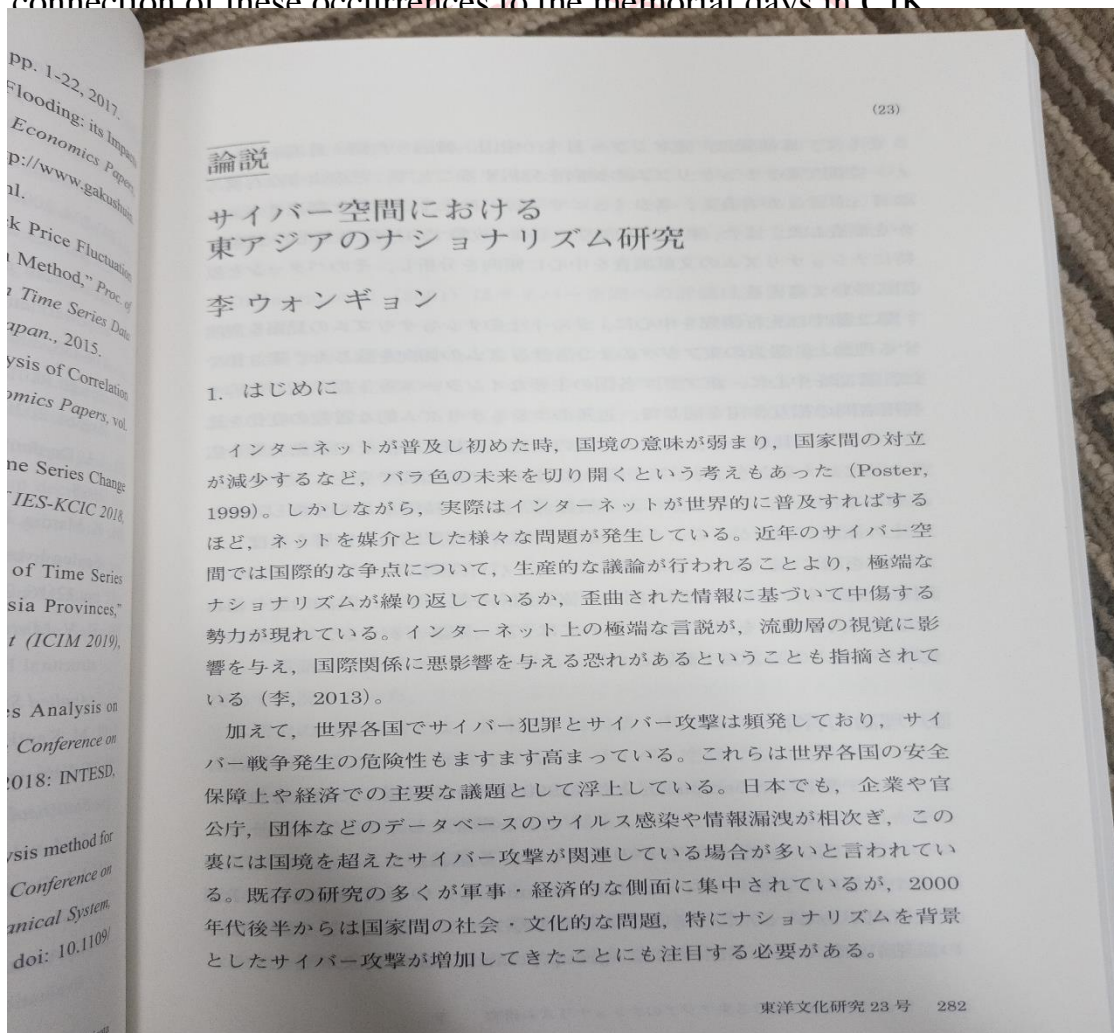
6) The book “탈냉전기 동아시아의 민족주의 갈등과 해결” (“Post-Cold War Nationalist Conflict and Resolution in East Asia”) by the 동북아역사재단 한일역사문제연구소 (Institute for Korea-Japan Historical Studies, Northeast Asian History Foundation) is authored by a collective either affiliated with Sogang University or other academic institutions in South Korea.

This is a comprehensive analysis of nationalism in each of CJK and its implications vis-à-vis as well as bilateral nationalist conflict between China-South Korea and South Korea-Japan, while missing entirely the China-Japan bilateral grouping. Also, they ponder online nationalism between the three countries under study. In the end, they even propose tentative solutions to each of the problems discussed, chapter by chapter.



7) The only article in the present grouping is “サイバー空間における東アジアのナショナリズム研究” (“Studies of East Asian Nationalism in Cyberspace”) written in 2022 by a 李 ウォンギョン (Rhee Wonkyung) and published in the 東洋文化研究 (Studies of Oriental Cultures journal). It can already be found in open excess<sup>4</sup>.

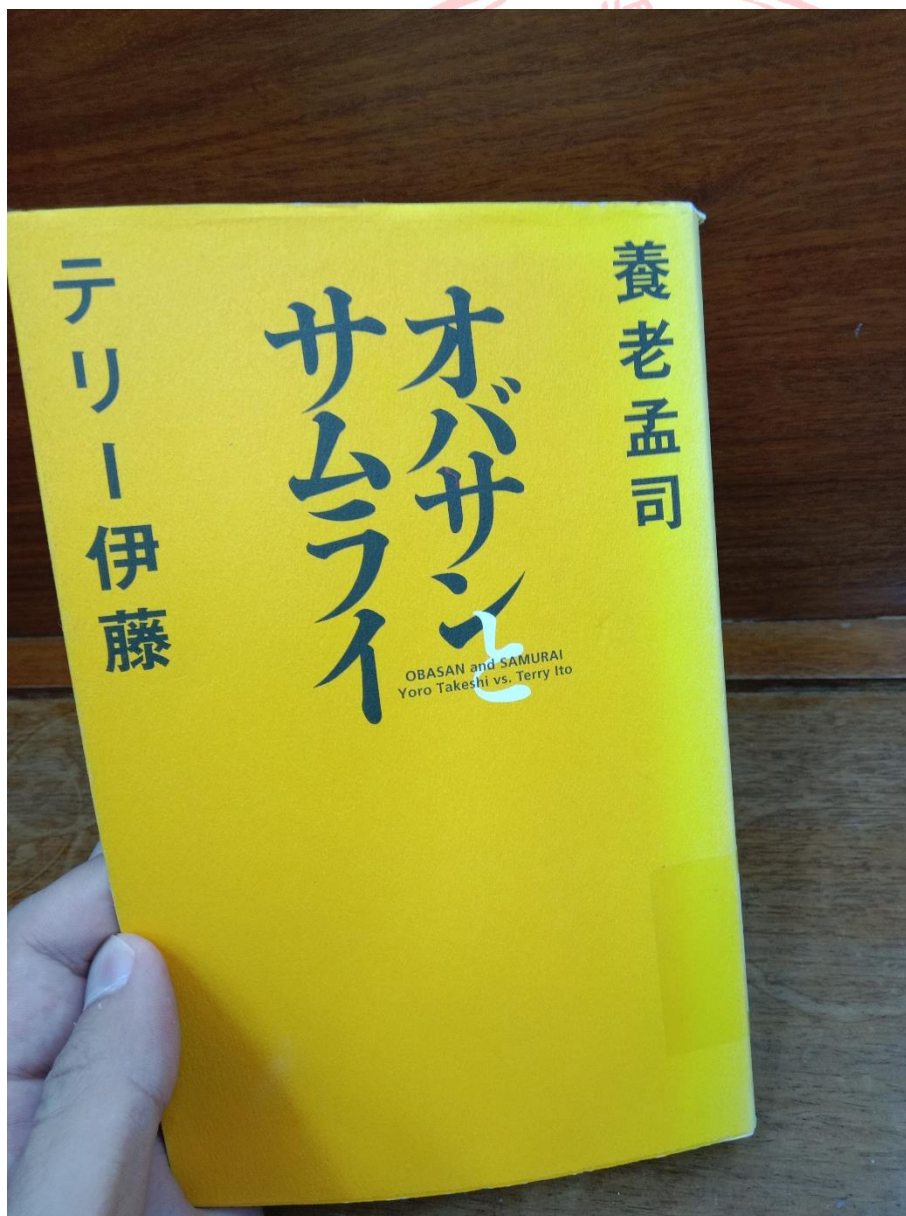
He analyses web right-wingers from Japan (especially those targeting Zainichi, i.e. ethnic Koreans and Chinese, Korean visitors in Japan; occasionally engaged in offline demonstrations), South Korea (especially targeting Japanese, but also Chinese and America; unlike in Japan the perpetrators are primarily youngsters, rather than middle-aged), and only briefly from China. The author notes DDOS-attacks in 2000-s and early 2010-s between CJK bulletin boards and the connection of these occurrences to the memorial days in CIK



**ACADEMIA SINICA's JOINT LIBRARY of HUMANITIES and SOCIAL SCIENCES**

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewih7O3ij-OCaxXZMHAKHbjKANEQFnoECAoQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fglim-re.repo.nii.ac.jp%2Frecord%2F5277%2Ffiles%2Ftoyobunka\\_23\\_256\\_282.pdf&usg=AOvVaw1Z9QzyMicXnKavDgOCPjto&opi=89978449](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewih7O3ij-OCaxXZMHAKHbjKANEQFnoECAoQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fglim-re.repo.nii.ac.jp%2Frecord%2F5277%2Ffiles%2Ftoyobunka_23_256_282.pdf&usg=AOvVaw1Z9QzyMicXnKavDgOCPjto&opi=89978449)

8) The next book “オバサンとサムライ” (“OBASAN and SAMURAI”) authored by a professor of medical sciences 養老 孟司 (Yoro Takeshi) and a TV-programmes’ director テリー伊藤 (Terry Ito), and published in 2004 by 宝島社 (Takarajimasha), a publishing house in Tokyo. The narration is presented as a dialogue about Japan and “how to live happily” in it can and as such it does not actually meet scientific criteria. However, in passing they come to an interesting conclusion (pp.146-149) which correlates with the ones found in the books above: since, genetically speaking, Japanese have a significant portion of Chinese and Korean DNA present, when/if this will be underscored in Japanese public discussions more prominently “the national boundaries will become meaningless”.

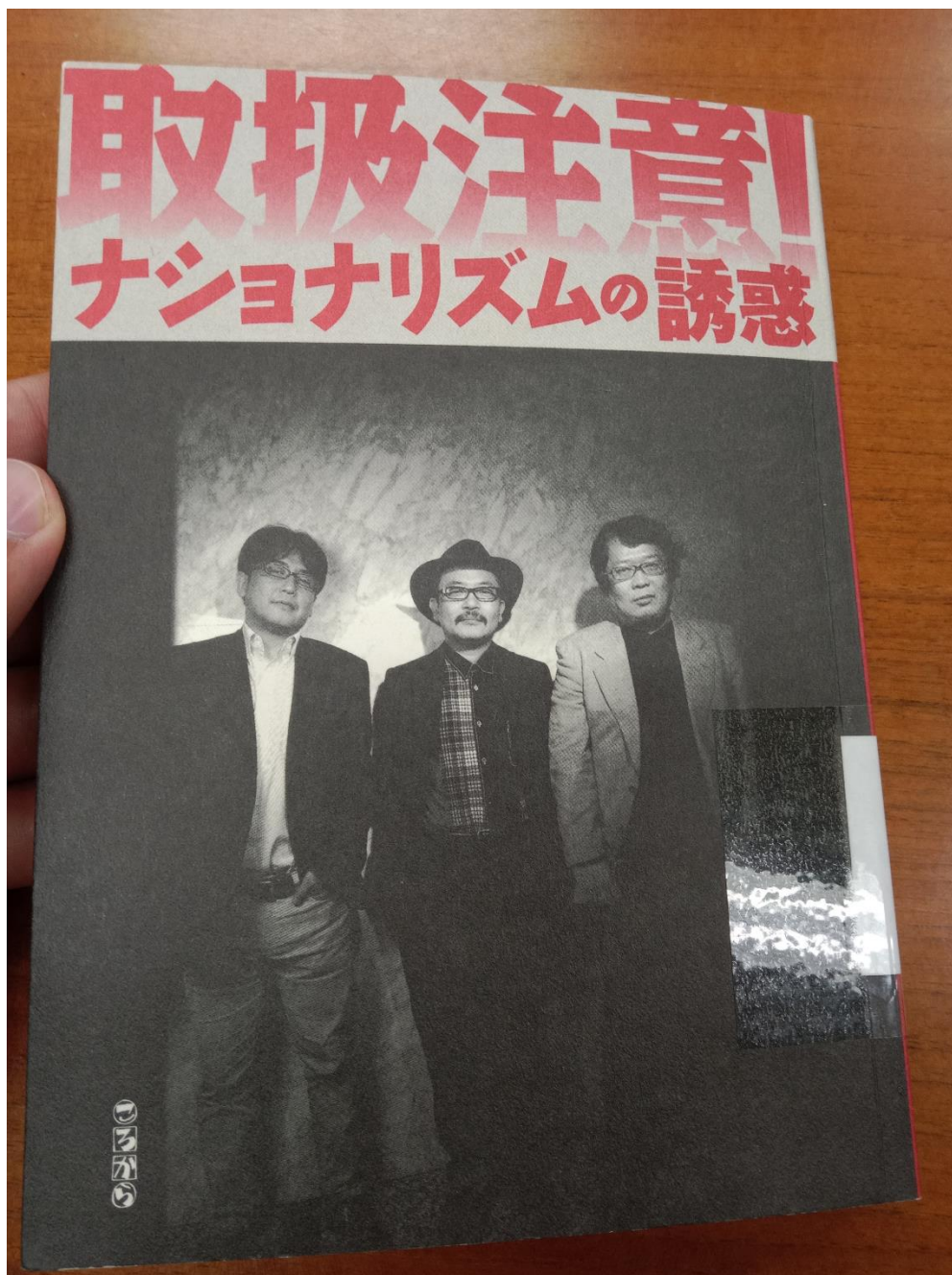


*NATIONAL TAIWAN UNIVERSITY's library.*



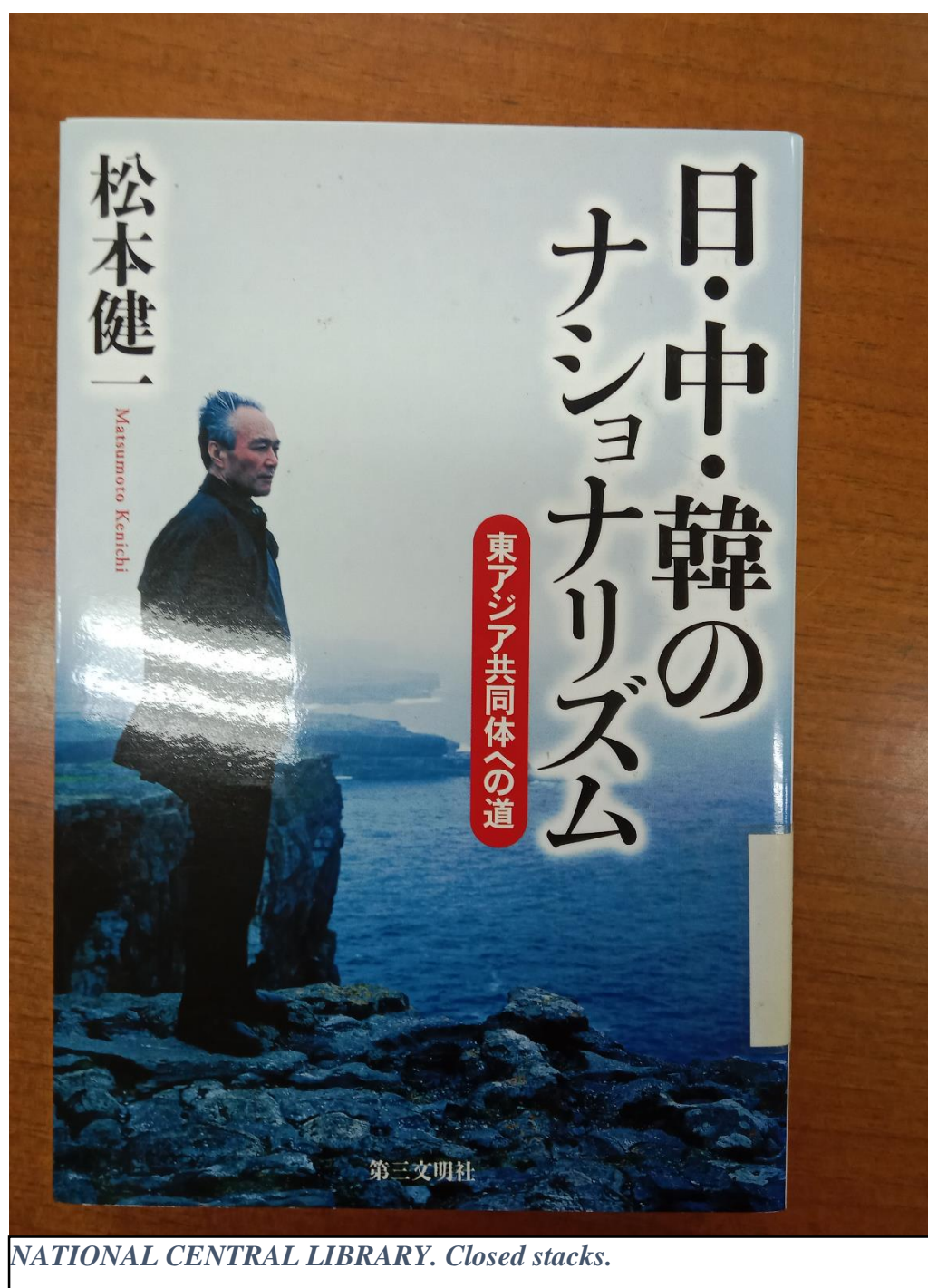
9) The “ナショナリズムの誘惑 取扱注意!” (“The Temptation of Nationalism: Handle with care!”) by a journalist 木村 元彦 (Motohiko Kimura), a professional writer 園 子温 (Koon Sono), and a film-maker 安田 浩一 (Koichi Yasuda). Published in 2013 by ころから (KOROKARA).

The authors explore the state of societies which produce hatred and especially nationalism. In one chapter one of the three gives a personal account (but not an interview) of his meetings with nationalistic demonstration leaders in CJK.



NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY. Closed stacks.

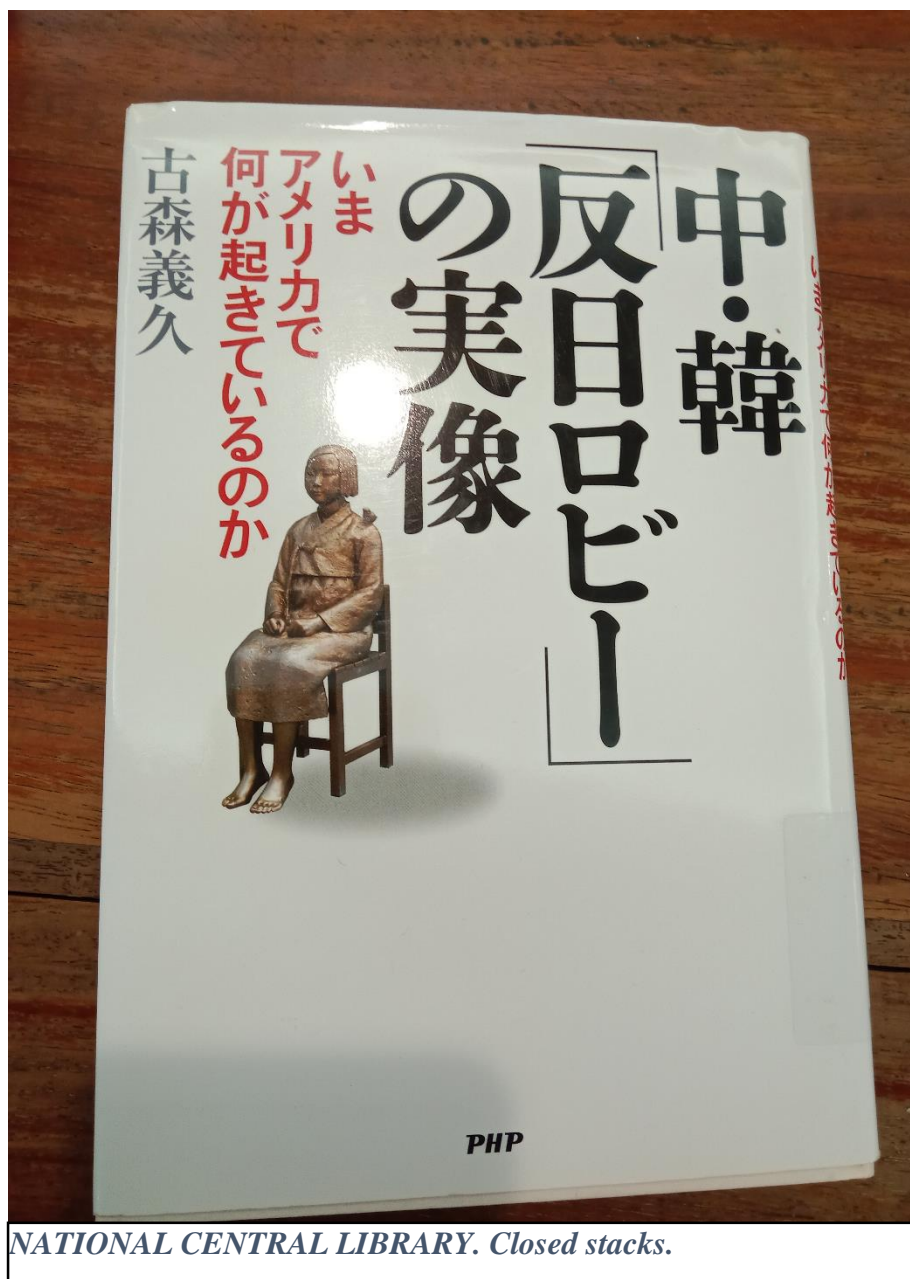
10) “日・中・韓のナショナリズム—東アジア共同体への道” (“Nationalism in Japan, China, and Korea: The Road to an East Asian Community”) by a prolific writer 松本 健一 (Matsumoto Kenichi) . Published in 2006 by 第三文明社 (Third Civilization Society) 。 He describes how nationalism is “seen”, i.e. found in Japan-related cases, such as Yasukuni shrine (visits), history textbooks (revisions), territorial disputes, constitutional revision, and that, except for a short period of post-war occupation, Japan has continuously acted as a nation. Thus, he considers denial of the existence of nationalism in Japan as something of a “self-deception” (pp. 174-178).



NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY. Closed stacks.



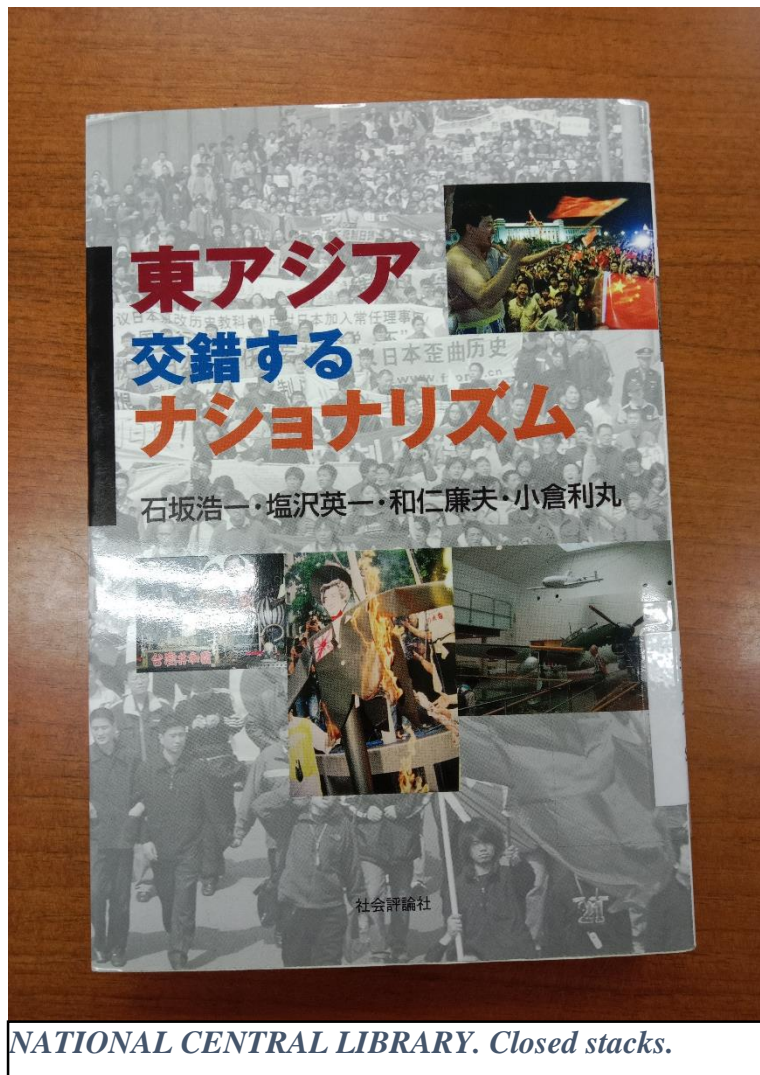
11) “中・韓「反日ロビー」の実像” (“The Real Image of the Sino-Korean "Anti-Japan Lobby") by 古森 義久 (Yoshihisa Komori) was published in 2013 by a PHP 研究所 (PHP Institute). The book takes an intriguing approach and examines Chinese-South Korean nationalistic behavior towards Japan through the prism of American lobbying. However, exactly due to its focus the book fails to examine Japanese counter-efforts (if any), thus, painting a rather one-sided picture.



NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY. Closed stacks.



12) “東アジア・交錯するナショナリズム” (“”) by a professor 石坂 浩一 (Koichi Ichizaka), two journalists 和仁 廉夫 (Eichi Shiozawa) and 塩沢 英一 (Yukio Wani), and a professor 小倉 利丸 (Tochimaruru Ogura). Published in 2005 by 社会評論社 (Social Review). The book makes an impressive effort to account for nationalisms in CJK and even in bilateral interactions (but not trilaterally). However, somehow the aspect of China-Korean relations and nationalism in them got left out altogether.



NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY. Closed stacks.