

STUDY OF NATIONALISM AND CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH KOREA :
1987-1993



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การศึกษาชาตินิยมกับการสร้างความมั่นคงให้ประชาธิปไตยในเกาหลีใต้ : 1987-1993



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นุรอนิช กิจคงพัฒน์ : การศึกษาชาตินิยมกับการสร้างความมั่นคงให้ประชาธิปไตยใน
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การศึกษานี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาปัจจัยที่ส่งผลต่อการสร้างความมั่นคงให้กับ
ประชาธิปไตยในเกาหลีใต้ระหว่างปี 2530-2536 การศึกษานี้ใช้นิยามของคำว่า การสร้างความ
มั่นคงให้กับประชาธิปไตย หมายถึง ประชาธิปไตยเป็นเกมเดียวในเมือง และเสนอว่าความรู้สึก
ชาตินิยมเกาหลีใต้ในช่วงเวลาดังกล่าวมีอิทธิพลต่อการเคลื่อนไหวทั้งในและนอกสมัชชาแห่งชาติ สิ่ง
นี้ช่วยลดความเสี่ยงในการขัดจังหวะระบอบประชาธิปไตยและรักษาเสถียรภาพของรัฐบาล
ประชาธิปไตย จากผลการวิจัย ชาวเกาหลีใต้หันเหความสนใจจากการต่อต้านอเมริกาสู่ความ
ภาคภูมิใจในชาติ ซึ่งเป็นความรู้สึกชาตินิยมรูปแบบหนึ่ง การเป็นเจ้าภาพโอลิมปิกเกมส์ปี 2531
นโยบายทางเหนือ ความสำเร็จทางเศรษฐกิจ และการปกครองระบอบประชาธิปไตยในช่วงปลาย
ของสงครามเย็น ทำให้เกาหลีใต้ก้าวขึ้นสู่เวทีระดับชาติและสร้างตัวตนต่อสายตานานาประเทศได้
สำเร็จ นำความภาคภูมิใจมาสู่สังคมเกาหลี พวกเขายึดถือคุณค่าของความภาคภูมิใจนี้ไว้ ระบบ
คุณค่านี้เชื่อมคนเกาหลีไว้ด้วยกันและส่งเสริมความสามัคคีในสังคม เมื่อพวกเขาตระหนักว่า
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เมือง ความสำเร็จของเกาหลีใต้จึงเปรียบเสมือนกระแสน้ำที่สนับสนุนและเอื้อประโยชน์ให้เกิด
ความมั่นคงแก่ประชาธิปไตย

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This study aimed to examine the factors that contributed to the consolidation of democracy in the Republic of Korea (South Korea) during 1987–1993. The research employed the threshold definition of the consolidation of democracy as the only game in town and focused on South Korean nationalist sentiment that influenced the movement within and outside the National Assembly. It also minimized the risk of democratic interruption and stabilized the democratic government. According to the findings, the South Korean people diverted their focus to the pride of the nation. The Seoul Olympic Games in 1988, Nordpolitik, economic success, and democratization during the end of the Cold War. These aspects evaluated South Korea’s status in the national arena and made it one of the world's leaders. It brought pride to South Korean society. They took this shared value of national pride, and this shared value connected South Korean people and promoted social cohesion. They were aware that democracy was necessary to maintain the country’s status in the world leader community. They tried to maintain and strengthen the democratical governing system. As a result, democracy became the only game in town. South Korean success was an undercurrent that promoted the consolidation of democracy.

Field of Study: Korean Studies

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
.....	iii
ABSTRACT (THAI)	iii
.....	iv
ABSTRACT (ENGLISH).....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
CHAPTER I.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Hypothesis	2
1.3 Objective of Study	2
1.4 Question of the Study.....	3
1.5 Conceptual Framework.....	3
1.6 Methodology	5
CHAPTER II.....	7
LITERATURE REVIEWS	7
2.1 The consolidation of Korean democracy.....	7
2.1.1 Nationalism	7
2.1.2 Political cultural.....	8
2.1.3 Civil Society.....	8

2.1.4 Civilian control of the military	9
2.2 Korean nationalism	11
CHAPTER III	14
NEW STATUS OF SOUTH KOREA BY THE END OF 1980S.....	14
3.1 Political economic background during 1980-1993.....	14
3.1.1 Economic background	14
3.1.1.1 Maintaining Economic Stability (1979-1987)	14
3.1.1.2 Economic Reform (1988-1992).....	16
3.1.2 Politic background	17
3.1.2.1 Transition to democracy	17
3.1.2.2 The Minority Government.....	18
3.2 The end of Cold War and South Korea new status in global arena	19
3.2.1 The end of Cold War	19
3.2.2 The Seoul Olympic games.....	20
3.2.2.1 Olympic bid	21
3.2.2.2 Boycott	22
3.2.2.3 Seoul to the world.....	22
3.2.3 Nordpolik	23
CHAPTER IV	28
NEW FOCUS OF NATIONALISM AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY	28
4.1 New Focus of Nationalism.....	28
4.2 Korean success as the undercurrent.....	32
CHAPTER V	44

CONCLUSION44

REFERENCES46

VITA52



LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Conceptual Research Framework.....	3
Figure 2: Number of individuals participating in protests by year (1970-1992).	36



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The established of democracy in the Republic of Korea (South Korea) has become a case study in which few countries have been able to complete successfully. Although South Korea was established in 1948, it took three decades to complete the transition of democracy process and move toward consolidation. In 1987, the June struggle led to the restoration of democracy in South Korea when the people came out to protest for new elections. Subsequently, the constitution was amended, and a new election was held in the same year. This marked the beginning of the consolidation process (Jonsson, 2014).

The new president, Roh Tae-woo, was unpopular among the Korean people, as he was involved in the 1980 coup d'état and was close to the former president, Chun Doo-hwan. However, he won the election; this led to some people believing that this election was staged for the succession of power. Arguably, Roh Tae-woo's term entailed domestic political chaos and intensive protests. Nevertheless, Roh was able to complete his term without a coup or any suppression, unlike the tragic events of the Gwangju Uprising in 1980 or the June 1987 protests (Jonsson, 2014). Nonetheless, it is interesting how Roh managed to continue his term amidst the ongoing protests demanding his resignation.

Simultaneously, the first year of his presidency coincided with an important year for South Korea, as it was the first time the nation hosted the world-class event of the Olympic Games. Moreover, the country was under global scrutiny, which placed pressure on Roh and the Korean people to maintain a positive national image. Nevertheless, this event provided Roh with an opportunity to showcase his

potential to the people (Bridges, 2008). Moreover, Roh's era became a period that South Korea stepped onto the global arena and attempted to become an ally with various Communist countries and North Korea by continuing his Nordpolitik. As a result, the success of the country gained a new sentiment of nationalism among South Korean society. South Koreans felt proud of their nation (Ceuster, 2005).

Therefore, this study proposed that democracy could survive in the early stages of democratic consolidation due to the pride of the nation that would exist between the people and the leader. This would be because they would share the desire to present the greatness of their nation to the global community and become a part of it.

1.2 Hypothesis

Korean nationalism contributed to consolidation of democracy in 1988-1993. Roh Tae-woo's policy 'Nordpolitik' and successful 24th Olympic Game brought about new era of Korean nationalism. South Korea's nationalism had transformed from antagonist feeling towards to pride of successful Korea and greatness of Korean culture. The nationalism allowed time for Roh Tae-woo administration to continue until the end of its term.

1.3 Objective of Study

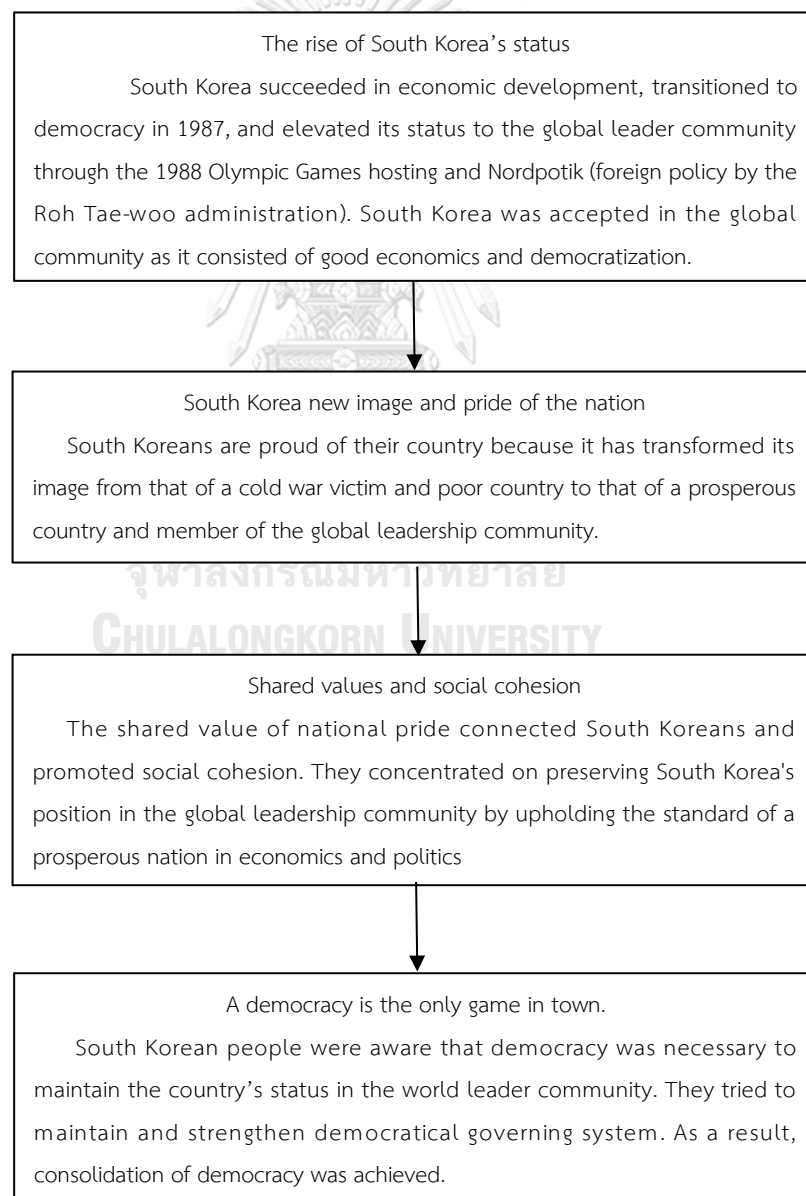
- 1) To explore Global and regional condition during the end of Cold War.
- 2) To study how Olympic Games and Nordpolitik raise South Korea's status at the global level.
- 3) Explain how these events supported Roh Tae-woo administration.

1.4 Question of the Study

- 1) What were the global and regional conditions at the end of the Cold War?
- 2) How did the Olympic Games and Nordpolitik elevate South Korea's global status?
- 3) How did these events support the Roh Tae-woo administration?

1.5 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1: Conceptual Research Framework



This research studied nationalism and democratic consolidation in the Roh Tae-woo era. This work employs a minimal definition of democratic consolidation by Linz and Stepan (1996): a political regime in which democracy as a complex system of institutions, rules, and patterned incentives and disincentives has become, in the phase, the only game in town. And, democracy will become the only game in town when no significant political actors seriously attempt to overthrow democratic regimes and the majority of the public believes, even in the face of several political and economic crises, that the problems should be solved within democratic procedure and constitution.

For nationalism, Anderson (1983) proposed that a nation is a political imaginary community in which the common values connect them together; even though they never talk to each other's, they imagine that they are parts of the same nation. In short, nation is a form of imagined community. Nationalism means sentiment of the love of one nation that require devotion the nation, and an ideology or a movement that promotes the dedication for prosperity (Smith, 2010) and holds that the national interest surpasses other individual or group interests. (Kohn, 2023) And Holtug (2020) suggested that if national identities facilitate social cohesion and national unity and are able to achieve a range of desirable outcomes, the shared values also promote social cohesion due to the nature of the values in question, both direct and indirect. As such, nationalists were united through common values, and shared values promote social cohesion to achieve national interests.

In the case of nationalism and the consolidation of Korean democracy during 1987–1993, shared values and nationalist sentiment promoted social cohesion to maintain democracy. According to South Korea, which hosted the Olympic Games during the end of the Cold War, the nation introduced itself to the global community as a success in economic development and democracy. and Nordpolitik build up international diplomacy relations with communist countries. South Korea was

accepted in the international arena. In consequence, South Korea could evaluate its status in the global community, changing the nation's image. South Koreans had experienced being poor, colonized, and war-ridden. They could experience national pride in a prosperous nation with success in economics and democracy during the Cold War. The national pride is the shared values and nationalist sentiment in South Korean society. It promotes social cohesion, and as the nationalists give priority to the interests of the nation, they may cooperate to maintain the nation's status in the international arena and the prosperity of the nation. They may think that South Korea should be a democracy and try to maintain democracy without any interruption, which will make democracy the only game in town and lead to democratic consolidation during the Roh Tae-woo era.

1.6 Methodology

The research was conducted according to a qualitative methodology and the data collection. The data was collected from primary and secondary sources such as books, news, articles, research papers, and academic work in electronic media.

I would investigate the global and regional conditions during the end of the Cold War through academic work. For analysis, I aimed to analyze academic works, the media, and surveys in the 1980s and 1990s, as the media could show the then-current South Korea's politics, national image, and significant political actors' interviews, such as Roh Tae-woo and Kim Young-sam. Moreover, the media and the survey could show the reporters' and South Korean representatives' perspectives.

For example, the Survey on Tasks and Prospects of Korean Society after the Seoul Olympics, 1988 (Chey, 2005), and The Democratic Politics Desired by Korean Citizens, 1991 (Chey, 2007). The survey was conducted with a random sample of people of various ages from across the country. It only included the result and lacked an analytical explanation. These documents were stored in Korea Social Science Data Achieved by Seoul National University, which established digital databases and shared the data for Korean research through the website.

Therefore, in chapter three, it would be showed the global and regional conditions during the end of the Cold War to understand the then-current South Korean circumstances. I would analyze how the Olympic Games and Nordpolitik facilitated South Korea's status in the global arena during the end of the Cold War. In chapter four, I would present the changing focus of Korean nationalist sentiment. After that, I would analyze how new focus of the nationalist sentiment influenced the significant political actors in South Korean society, such as Roh Tae-woo and Kim Young-sum, the mass, and the military. And, in the final chapter, I would give a summary overview of this research.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEWS

2.1 The consolidation of Korean democracy

To examine the consolidation of democracy in South Korea, it would be beneficial to conduct a comprehensive survey of the research on democratic consolidation in South Korea. Through the literature review, the literature was studied in various ways, showing the relationship with other fields. As I focused on the factors that contributed to South Korean democracy, I could categorize the literature into four groups: nationalism, political culture, civil society and Civilian control of the military.

2.1.1 Nationalism

During the consolidation of democracy, the research rarely focused on the relationship between nationalism and democracy. it may a reason of nationalism concept. Nationalism was often focused national identity such as tradition cultural, religious, language which would be limited full democracy for example, Kwak Jun-Hyeok (2013), *"The Limits of Democratic Nationalism in South Korea"* point out that After the democratic transition in 1987, Koreans focused more on ethnicity than democracy, thus preventing Korean society from becoming a true democracy. Kwak suggests that Koreans should embrace a statist democratic ideology.

Nevertheless, Katherine H. S. Moon (2003), *"Korean Nationalism, Anti-Americanism and Democratic Consolidation,"* studied the role of nationalism and democratic consolidation and pointed out that anti-American sentiment mobilized a mass under nationalist. The issues that the movement addressed were diverse and rather novel in Korean society, such as the environment, human rights, and the rule

of law. And when the Korean government responded to activism's issue, it would indirectly help develop democracy. Hence, nationalism is a motivated sentiment for political movements that promote democracy as a complex system to achieve their interests.

2.1.2 Political cultural

Political culture, such as constant elections and protests that strengthen democracy, was highlighted in this group by the literature. A democratic institution could survive because people could do it indefinitely until it became a culture. As Heo and Hahm (2014), "*Political Culture and Democratic Consolidation in South Korea*" proposed that South Koreans could achieve democratic consolidation if defined it minimum as a free and fair election. South Korean could choose their leaders by holding free and fair elections regularly, and often used protests as a means to express their desires, which contributed the democratic culture in society.

2.1.3 Civil Society

Civil society was often studied and mentioned in the literatures on Korean democracy as the march that move and call for democracy. through reviews the literatures, this group of research point out that number of the protest was declined. the individual group shift to their issue. But even so, the civil society still played a role as pressure to the government in Korean politics. Kim (2006), *Civil society and democratization in South Korea*, insisted that civil society is importance for both transition to democracy and the consolidation.

Whereas the others research mentioned more on institutionization, but in varying levels. As such Aleman (2005), *Protest and Democratic Consolidation: A Korean Perspective* proposed the achievement of the labor party in 2001 which the

labor organization became the strong political institution, shifted labor's role into the National Assembly from striking and calling on the street.

And Seong (2000), *Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation in South Korea: Great Achievements and Remaining Problems* emphasized another level: the organizations that bloomed and increased since the Roh Tae-woo era promoted democracy. The researcher pointed out that democracy gives space for freedom in politics, so individual groups shifted to legitimate organizations under democratic regimes and became representatives of unprivileged people. This strong organization was able to interrupt the coup or any democracy intervention in an early stage of democratic consolidation and play a role in strengthening the democracy.

2.1.4 Civilian control of the military

The military, a strong institution and political actor that often do coup data and take over political power. This research group proposed to prevent democratic disruption, the military should be reformed, controlled under civilians to not intervene in politics. As Nuangjamnong (2021) "*Civilian Control of the Military and Democratic Consolidation in South Korea: From Military Professionalism to Civilianization of the Military*", civilian control of the military is the defining factor in consolidating democracy, as it supports stability and prevents the reversal of authoritarianism. The military became a part of the organization under civilian control rather than an independent institution of the country by reforming the army based on the idea of being a people's soldier and the value of human rights and equality.

However, Kim (2014), *The Soldier and the State in South Korea: Crafting Democratic Civilian Control of the Military*, *The Soldier and the State in South Korea: Crafting Democratic Civilian Control of the Military*, added an interesting point, arguing that civilianizing the top leadership of the Ministry of National Defense (MND) would be one of the most important steps toward deepening democratic civil-military

relations and would be a success rather than controlling the army under civilians because the civilian ministry may not have full experience and professional knowledge about the military, and the military was still important in preventing countries from inter-Korean relations, so the military will still be an independent institution. Or Im's (2000) work, "*South Korea Democratic Consolidation in Comparative Perspective*," pointed out that not only one condition but also four—ethnic homogeneity, religious tolerance, an effective state, and civilian control over the military—are all conditions that promote full democracy.

By reviewing the literature, it was demonstrated that South Korea achieved success in consolidating democracy through various factors. However, it is hard to find out what inspires and connects both the elite and civilians, or any groups, to try to maintain or strengthen democracy in South Korea. especially in the early state of democratic consolidation, when the army institution was still independent and it seemed easy to take over power again. Moreover, the factors that were mentioned seem to take some time to adjust the political structure and meet a full democracy, such as military reform to prevent coups, which was a process that spanned several administrations, including those of Roh Tae-woo, Kim Young-Sam, Kim Dae-Jung, and others. (Nuangjamnong, 2021) Hence, the literature was hard to show what inspired South Koreans toward democracy and the reason for maintaining democracy, especially in Roh Tae-woo, a former dictator's successor who changed the attitude toward communist countries and did a northern policy and military reform.

Roh Tae-woo's ability to manage the early consolidation and succeed in his term without external interference and his changing attitude toward both democracy and foreign policy were considered remarkable. As such, this research aimed to identify a condition that influences South Korean society—the elites and civilians—to look forward to democracy or that can preserve democracy in South Korea during the era of Roh Tae-woo.

2.2 Korean nationalism

I focused on nationalism in this research as it may be the condition or sentiment that promote democracy in South Korea, so I did a literature review on nationalism and found out that the nationalist ideology, a bit different over time depending on external factors that stimulate nationalist sentiment which serving their proposed, such as anti-foreigner sentiment, as a work of Kwang-rin (1986), *"The Rise of Nationalism in Korea"*, Due to the coming of foreigners, the sentiment of nationalism contributed to three ideologies that aimed to modernize or strengthen their nation and prevent foreigners' intervention: defending orthodoxy, banning heterodoxy, and embracing enlightenment and Eastern learning. The first ideology, orthodoxy, took root over fourteen centuries as people sought to exclude foreign heterodoxy such as Christianity in order to preserve Confucianism and strengthen the nation. The second, enlightenment, was promoted by liberal intellectuals who accepted foreign power and knowledge, including technology, to develop their own nation. The third ideology, Eastern Learning, emerged from the Tonghak movement in 1860, which established a new religion known as "Eastern Learning" that opposed Christianity and Western learning due to anxiety about foreign penetration at the time. However, while orthodoxy and Eastern learning focused on national identity, the Enlightenment aimed to modernize the country.

Whereas, NAHM (1983), *"Korean Nationalism: The Origins and Transformation,"* mentioned the Sikhak movement as a nationalist movement to sought to establish a Korean identity and origin that was distinct from China, which the Koreans did not want to copy in order to show that Chosun was not China. Nationalism was reformed and strengthened again during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945). The Korean Independent Club incited the commoner class to

preserve their identity, resist Japanese rule, and promote independence. The interesting point was that he pointed out that after liberation in 1945, Koreans once again searching for their identity and founding new forms of nationalism both in North and South Korea. Andrew concluded that Korean nationalism is peaceful, aimed at maintaining the sovereignty and independence of the nation. Koreans have never manifested aggressive intentions toward other nations, except in response to external interventions or interference. Anti-nationalism will only arise when such interventions occur. Nevertheless, South Koreans still took anti-foreigners' sentiment since 1800s.

As Andrew mentioned about Korean nationalism after liberation, I would focus on only South Korean nationalism, as after dividing of Korean peninsula, the research was studied in place separately. And it was found out that South Korean nationalist sentiment different from the North and promote the movement for their South Korea or based on south Korea's interest such as democracy, economy and inter-nation relations. For example, Shorrock (1986), *"The Struggle for Democracy in South Korea in the 1980s and the Rise of Anti-Americanism,"* anti-American sentiment mobilized the mass protests and political change to democracy. However, during the 1980s and 1990s, the pride of the nation sentiment increased in society too. Bridges (2008), *The Seoul Olympics: Economic Miracle Meets the World*, pointed out that South Koreans felt pride after South Korea's success in hosting the 1988 Olympic Games and Ceuster (2005), *Pride and Prejudice in South Korea's Foreign Policy*, addressed the point that the result of South Korean foreign policies gained pride and self-concession in South Korean society, which contribute to open nationalism.

Moreover, the growth of South Korea's economy and politics emphasized the differences between South and North Korea nowadays. Han (2023), *"Calculated Nationalism in Contemporary South Korea"* pointed out that the new nationalism in South Korea is 'calculated nationalism'. Since South Koreans began to question the

cost of reunification, such as North Korea's economic development, if the Koreans would be united, it seems like they did not want to reunify the nation. Similar to the work of Campbell (2016), South Korea's New Nationalism: The End of "One Korea"?, nowadays, Koreans in their twenties take the form of new nationalism based on shared cultural values such as modernity, cosmopolitanism, and status as influenced by globalization and neoliberal values, which may affect the nation's reunification sentiment negatively.

Reviewing literature can show the transformation of Korean and South Korean nationalism, nationalist sentiment, and ideologies, which are all influenced by some condition or connected with some field. Thus, even though South Korean society focused on anti-Americanism and Korea reunification during the 1980s and 1990s, they also felt pride. Thus, studies of democracy and nationalism should not ignore another nationalist sentiment and the global and regional conditions. Moreover, the study should be aware of the global cultural values that can influence South Korean society due to globalization.

CHAPTER III

NEW STATUS OF SOUTH KOREA BY THE END OF 1980S

The study of nationalism and South Korean democratization in 1987-1993 demonstrated that nationalism contributed to consolidation of democracy during Roh Tae-woo's government. Considering overall political atmosphere at that time where the Cold War was concluding, the organization of the 1988 Summer Olympics Games and execution of the Nordpolitik resulted in South Korea could evaluated its status on the global stage, increased national pride to South Koreans. Therefore, this chapter I explored political economic background during 1980-1993, and the rise of South Korea's status as a consequence of the 1988 Olympic games and Nordpolitik during the end of the Cold war which contributed to the nationalist sentiment

3.1 Political economic background during 1980-1993

3.1.1 Economic background

Following a series of economic development plans introduced by Park Chung-hee (1961-1979), Park Chung-hee's government had laid the essential economic foundation during his twenty-year tenure that left behind economic legacies. (Woo, 2010a) South Korea, a developing country at that time, had since become a part of Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs). (Chu, 1989) The period between 1981 and 1993 seemed to be the continuous economic growth, along with the developments of the country and industrial technologies.

3.1.1.1 Maintaining Economic Stability (1979-1987)

Park Chung-hee was assassinated soon after the fourth economic development plan was initiated. Chun Doo-hwan, the new president, had introduced

the fifth and last economic development plan, which would alter the government's practices in place, from business intervention to maintaining economic stability. The move was intended to deal with the country's foreign debts and was based upon recommendations by domestic scholars. Moreover, the government and private sectors also increased their investments in R&D to catalyze domestic technologies and heavy industry to increase the country's competitiveness in global markets (Woo, 2010b). South Korea won the bid for the 1988 Olympic Games in 1981. The OIC determined that South Korea would be able to provide sports equipment and conveniences during the games due to the country's rapid economic growth.(Cho, 2009) Therefore, investments in R&D were to foster technological development to support the games. This move was more evident in the telecommunication industry, which received support to develop systems to provide services and support competition in this event, resulting in the development of hardware and software related to this industry. This benefited in the long run and made the telecommunication industry South Korea's leading export industry by 1988 (Bridges, 2008). Although investments in several fields such as high-speed rail construction and landscape improvements along Han River would require astronomical funding, they yielded favorable returns: modernization of South Korea, developments along the rail lines and the expanding tourism sector.(Bridges, 2008)

During the early 1980-1981, South Korea's economy stalled due to the rising global oil prices and domestic inflation. This time the government had redirected its economic policy to focus on economic balancing. However, the country's exports were seen rising up again due to three conditions: drop of global oil prices, the weakening of the value of U.S. dollar and the decrease of international monetary rates, resulting in the inflation rate dropping to one digit. South Korea's competitiveness in advanced technologies such as automobiles, electronics, and semi-conductors grew and investments in R&D in heavy industry development

brought about significant successes. In 1986, Hyundai Motor's pony cars were the first Korean cars ever to be exported to the United States of America. Under Chun Doo-hwan's government, South Korea achieved GNP per capita at 3000-dollar mark in 1987, doubling that in 1980. It is noteworthy that the policy to maintain economic stability by reducing the government sector's economic roles and increasing those of private sectors also enabled South Korea to achieve fiscal surplus for the first time in 1987 (Woo, 2010b)

3.1.1.2 Economic Reform (1988-1992)

Roh Tae-woo's government emphasized domestic economic reform because economic powers had long been centralized among Chaebol and because laborers' incomes were so low that the people's well-being was affected. Roh Tae-woo's government reconstructed welfare systems through housing policies, constructing rental houses for laborers, preparing national healthcare plans, and proclaiming the law on labor's minimum wage under democracy. (Strnad, 2010) However, in this democratic climate, laborers in the manufacturing sector frequently went on strike and disputed with the government over their wages and welfare. Labor wages in the industrial sector increased by 24% on average between 1988 and 1990, whereas it was different for economic growth due to labor strikes and increased wages, which caused production capacity and competitiveness to drop in the markets. (Strnad, 2010)

However, at that time, free trade was open completely and friendly relations between South Korea and foreign countries were promoted by the 1988 Olympic Games, leading to bilateral trade and the end of the Cold War. While more countries engaged in trade competitions, South Korea was increasingly open to foreign investments in the country and managed to develop economically.(Bridges, 2008) It was at this point where South Korea was declared one of the four Asian tigers, along

with Hong Kong, Macau and Singapore, which referred to the new industrial countries that achieved the fastest growth in Asia during 1950s-1990s. South Korea has been well-known for its steep economic growth, securing its place on the global stage and becoming the role model for other countries to look up to. (Pack, 1993; Snyder, 2018)

South Korea's economy has never ceased to advance. Despite political instability, the country's economy manages to grow consistently, and with this growth could come increased power to negotiate with foreign governments. South Korea's economy would be fundamental to national development in other fields.

3.1.2 Politic background

3.1.2.1 Transition to democracy

After Park Chung Hee's assassination in 1979, Korean society hoped for democracy and the end of the military regime, but Chun Doo-Hwan did a coup d'état and came to power. Chun Doo-hwan restrained human rights until the late 1980s. He began to release some of the incarcerated political activists and allowed some political events. This was a political opportunity for the democratization movement. After that, various social movement groups were mobilized and called for democracy and institution amendments. (Choe & Kim, 2012) Another factor in mobilizing the mass was anti-American sentiment, which is an expression of nationalism. Some believed that the American government supported the military regimes and the Kwangju massacre in 1980. This sentiment encouraged the masses to participate in the democratization movement. (Kwak, 2013; Shin, 1996; Shorrock, 1986) The movement still continued. In 1987, with some factors, Roh Tae-Woo, an aide-de-camp of Chun Doo-Hwan, tried to end the domestic political crisis by declaring support for the protester's proposal (Strnad, 2010) as follows:

(1) rapid constitutional revision for direct presidential election; (2) new presidential election laws guaranteeing fairness; (3) restoration of civil rights for blacklisted political leaders; (4) legal guarantees and protection of human rights; (5) withdrawal of the Press Law, thus creating a free press; (6) restoration of local political autonomy, to include campus autonomy; (7) guarantees of free political party activities; and (8) national campaign against corruption, as well as social reform (Strnad, 2010)

After Roh Tae-woo's declarations, the constitution was amended by the Government and the Opposition party. (Strnad, 2010).

However, it was assumed that the upcoming 1988 Olympic Games was one of the factors of the transition to democracy in South Korea. Since the Olympic Games committee was concerned about the South Korean political crisis, the government compromised with the protesters and met the popular demands for democracy in order to maintain the nation's security and host the 1988 Olympic Games. (Bridges, 2008; Jonsson, 2014) While Roh Tae-woo seemed aware that a democratic regime would be positive for the nation's image in the national community. (Jonsson, 2014)

3.1.2.2 The Minority Government

Roh Tae-Woo won the presidential election, but in the 1988 parliament election, the Government party received 125 of the 299 seats. Kim Dae Jung's Party for Peace and Democracy (DDP) won 70 seats. Kim Young Sam's Reunification and Democracy Party (RDP) won 59 seats and Kim Jung Phil's New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP) won 35 seats at 23.4%, 19.7% and 11.7% respectively. Therefore, the ruling party was the minority government. (Kim, 1989)

Being the minority government, the Roh Tae-woo met obstacles in the National Assembly. The government is unable to control parliament, or even lead the legislative agenda. In 1990, Roh decided to form his party and the two opposition

parties to solve the political deadlock crisis. Roh formed a new governing party, the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP), with the Reunification and Democratic Party of Kim Young-Sum, who was the former leader of the movement for democracy, and Kim Jong-Phil's New Democratic Party. Then, the suffrage government increased by 217 of 299 seats, in consequences that the ruling party became the majority in the National Assembly. Roh succeed his term in 1992, Kim young-Sam won the presidential election and became the next president. (Jonsson, 2014)

3.2 The end of Cold War and South Korea new status in global arena

During Roh Tae-woo's government, South Korea raised its status on the global stage by hosting the Seoul Olympic Games and executing Nordpolitik amid the global political climate in which the Cold War came to an end. By the Seoul Olympic Games, South Korea introduced itself to the outside with the new image of a successful, economically developed country, a democratic government, and an international diplomatic power. In consequence, this South Korea's new image may gain the sentiment of national pride in South Korea's society.

3.2.1 The end of Cold War

The Cold War was a conflict between two ideologies: liberalism and communism. The world was polarized into two ideologies, with one side being led by the pro-democracy United States and another one by the pro-communism Soviet Union. The end of the Cold War, however, was not brought about by a victory of any party in the war but by the collapse of the Soviet Union, which contributed to the power decline of communist countries on the global stage. (McMahon, 2003)

The years 1985-1991 were considered the late period of the Cold War. The Soviet Union suffered severe economic problems due to its political spending and

decreasing income, which largely depended on the trade of national resources such as natural oil and gas. With the oil price dropping and natural resources becoming scarce, the economy of the Soviet Union lacked circulating funds, and industries became outdated. The Soviet Union foresaw the need for a rapid resolution of problems and began opening the country to boost economic circulation through external actors and cordial relations with democratic countries by internal glasnost (openness) and economic perestroika (restructuring) to obtain capital for the country's restoration. (McMahon, 2003) However, economic conditions and the execution of the policies prompted internal changes within communist countries: revolutions and the overthrow of communist regimes, as well as the termination of the Treaty of Warsaw, which marked the end of the Cold War. As the Soviet Union collapsed, they lost the influential powers they had in the war and on the global stage, with the United States remaining in this war. The United States became the one and only superpower, leading to the new world order (Mason, 2002). At this point, the global stage was prepared to welcome the new countries that would become leaders, and the communist countries needed the funds from outside. While South Korea's economy grew and was outstanding, With this atmosphere, it helped support South Korea's foreign policy success.

3.2.2 The Seoul Olympic games

The 24th Olympic Games, also known as the Seoul Olympic Games, were held in Seoul from September 17 to October 2, 1988, lasting for 2 weeks. There was a total of 152 countries that participated, with 8,391 athletes and 237 events in 23 sports categories. The games were organized by 27,221 volunteers and broadcast live worldwide, including in superpowers such as the United States and the Soviet Union (Bridges, 2008).

3.2.2.1 Olympic bid

The Olympic Games were a world-class event that several foreign governments needed to host. This was also the case for South Korea. In 1981, Seoul was chosen to host the 1988 Summer Olympics, beating Nagoya with a score of 52 to 27. This result was unexpected because Japan had better readiness than South Korea. (MYERS, 1981) This win may have brought delight to South Korea. As it seemed, South Korea was accepted by the world organization to sponsor the world-class event.

Additionally, this win reflected the other dimensions. First of all, it could show the success of economic development. Due to the nation's economics, the committee could be confident that South Korea would be able to provide sports facilities and accommodations. (Black & Bezanson, 2004) Moreover, it may be the first time that South Korea could be equal to or superior to Japan since the Japan Empire colonization era. According to Toru Yano, an Asian affairs specialist at Kyoto University's interviews, the South Koreans had been trying to catch up to Japan ever since the 1960s, and now they believe they have reached their goal. (Dahl, 1981) And it could change South Korea's image from being a poor country to being one of the sponsors of the Olympic Games.

One media reported that South Korea's victory over the bid to host the 1988 Olympic Games would help South Korea get closer to rebuilding global reputation and economic confidence after the former president's assassination and would also bring delight to South Koreans. South Korea was planning to exploit the preparation of the 1988 Olympic Games to stabilize the country, build a good image for the government, and bring about unity among South Koreans through this Olympic bid. This could be regarded as the home run or the beginning of South Korea becoming a big power country. (Dahl, 1981)

3.2.2.2 Boycott

Due to the tension of the Cold War, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) aimed to develop better relationships between the two opposing political ideologies. Previous Olympics had seen boycotts by one bloc or the other, such as in 1980 when Moscow hosted and no Western bloc countries participated, or in 1984 when Los Angeles hosted and no Eastern bloc countries participated. The International Olympic Committee was concerned about the possibility of a boycott in 1988. (Bridges, 2008)

South Korea realized this concern and began international diplomacy to let both the eastern and western blocs join this event. However, in the late 1980s, the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries faced economic crises and needed financial support from outside. They, and also China, realized an increase in economic advantage by building a healthy relationship with South Korea. They decide to join this event (Lho, 1989) Moreover, China was planning to host the 2002 Olympic Games, so it decided to participate in this event in order to facilitate its participation in the Olympic bid. (Bridges, 2008). Therefore, both the Eastern and Western blocs participated in the 1988 Olympic Games. South Korea successfully achieved its goals by bridging connections between the two political ideologies.(Bridges, 2008)

3.2.2.3 Seoul to the world

In order to gain worldwide cultural and economic acceptance, Korea showcased its national identity to the global community by presenting a mix of Korean and foreign elements through the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics, coupled with other related exhibitions and activities held throughout the month. While cultural demonstration was a means to display the nation's identity,

pride, and sovereignty to other countries, blending in with other countries demonstrated one's readiness to join the global community and willingness to work with them on all fronts (Bridges, 2008).

The event this time was organized by the decision-making committee specifically regarding dance, music, and performance. For example, the theme song "Hand in Hand" was a fusion of Korean and English, which focused on the idea of breaking down walls and working hand in hand together, regardless of nationality. More than 12 million CDs were sold across the world.(Moo-jong, 2010) In order to build confidence in the readiness of organizing events, the Korean government invested in collaboration with the private sector for infrastructure development, such as creating the Olympic Stadium and cleaning up the polluted Suyong Bay in Pusan for sailing competitions, and renovated various venues to accommodate the arrival of tourists who came to watch and participate in the competitions. As the competition began, South Korea, with its modern and convenient amenities, opened up to the world, showcasing the city's scenery and amenities, reflecting the prosperous economy of South Korea that could develop the country to be modernized, just like the title 'The Miracle of Han River' (Bridges, 2008).

CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

3.2.3 Nordpolitik

The achievements in foreign interactions did not come to a halt with the conclusion of the Olympic Games. The games had intertwined South Korea's relations with other countries, and the legacies of these interactions were employed by South Korea to pursue diplomatic relations. Even though South Korea's domestic politics seethed, Roh's government was striving for foreign policy, namely, 'Nordpolitik.' (Snyder, 2018)

Nordpolitik was a foreign policy aimed at establishing diplomatic relations with socialist countries or countries ruled by communist regimes, particularly major powers such as the Soviet Union and China, to bring about peace within the Korean Peninsula region. The policy was first mentioned during Park Chung-Hee's era (1961-1979) and again during Chun Doo-Hwan's government (1981-1987). This policy converted anti-communism into allies, holding that the establishment of economic and political relations is possible despite opposing ideologies. Therefore, the 1970s witnessed the indirect restoration of economic relations between South Korea and communist countries, such as the import of natural resources from the Soviet Union and the export of home appliance technologies from South Korea. These trades occurred with each side being a business partner of the other, yet no diplomatic relations were formally established to indicate that South Korea's sovereignty was recognized by communist countries (Lee, 1989)

Nordpolitik was implemented practically for the first time during Roh Tae-woo's government. He officially announced Nordpolitik on July 7, 1988, which included six proposals: (1) active cooperation between North and South Korea and a relaxation of travel restrictions; (2) exchange of letters and visits by separated families; (3) a declaration of intent to expand trade between North and South; (4) balanced, developed, and increased exchange of non-military goods with more nations; (5) cooperation in foreign affairs for the benefit of the nation; and (6) assistance to North Korea in improving its relations with capitalist nations and to South Korea in improving its relations with socialist nations. Roh Tae-woo defined Nordpolitik differently but in a well-defined manner relative to the previous governments; rather than focusing on Korean reunification, the policy concentrated on advancing South Korea's relations with North Korea and communist countries influential in the northern part of the Korean peninsula, aiming to prevent the re-

emergence of war in the Korean peninsula and bring peace to the region as soon as possible (Strnad, 2010). With the Nordpolitik, The diplomatic relations were successfully established between South Korea and the Soviet Union in 1990 (Seung-Ho, 1993) and with China in 1992. (Ye, 2017)

Interactions between South Korea and the Soviet Union were cut short during the early Cold War and restored again in 1970, during which the Soviet Union was prosperous due to oil discovery and the export of natural resources while oil prices were hiking. As the trades went on, 1985 saw the economic decline of the Soviet Union and the rise to power of Gorbachev as the General Secretary of the Soviet Union, leading to the shift of policies to the opening of the country and an externally dependent economy, and rapid development of mutual trading between South Korea and the Soviet Union (Seung-Ho, 1993). It could be argued, however, that economic relations are incomparable with diplomatic relations. The establishment of formal diplomatic relations can be construed as the recognition of sovereignty or freedom of a country. This is where Nordpolitik played a part in pushing forward relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union to become formal diplomatic relations.

The diplomatic relationship between South Korea and the Soviet Union began with economic contacts that led to official diplomatic relations. After the decision by the Soviet Union to participate in the Olympic Games in Seoul. Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev mentioned in a speech in Eastern Siberia that it was possible for South Korea to establish a relationship with the Soviet Union. Following this announcement, Seoul and Moscow had several discussions, developing economic relations concretely. (Seung-Ho, 1993).

Good economic cooperation led to the formalization of diplomatic relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union in September 1990. South Korea and the

Soviet Union mutually signed the "Declaration of General Principles on Relations between the Republic of Korea and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." (Seung-Ho, 1993) South Korea was also encouraged to cooperate in developing Siberia, which was consistent with the Soviet Union's policy at the time, seeking foreign investment to address domestic economic problems. After the meeting in Moscow, high-level government officials from South Korea and the Soviet Union held several economic talks. South Korea agreed to provide three billion dollars in economic assistance to the Soviet Union in the first three years to enhance regional relations between the two countries. Therefore, South Korea had to spend a considerable amount of money (Lee, 1989) Even though South Korea had to invest large financial resources to develop the international relationship, it would be beneficial in gaining official recognition as a sovereign state on the international arena, and it could also be influential in decisions made by them regarding their movements within the Korean Peninsula.

Whereas China had in place a policy to distinctly separate the economy from politics. (Lee, 1989) This led to a two-year delay in the establishment of full diplomatic relations with China relative to the Soviet Union, despite South Korea's urge for Nordpolitik. Initially, China was not much interested in the establishment, but political factors prompted the country to turn allegiance to South Korea and later established diplomatic relations in 1992, leading to the end of political conflicts between the two countries. (Liu, 1993) China and South Korea began improving their bilateral trade relations in 1970, leading to a considerable increase in economic value between Beijing and Seoul. Economic value between the two countries saw the highest growth among South Korea's trading with communist countries, which successfully established South Korea as a significant partner of China even before the 1988 Olympic Games took place. (Ye, 2017) China and South Korea had engaged in

trade negotiations, leading to the establishment of a trade office between China and South Korea, which elevated their trade relationship from the provincial level to the central government level and provided support for the 1990 Beijing Asian Games. (Lee, 1989). Until 1992, in both conditions of economic relations and the China-Taiwan situation, South Korea and China successfully built diplomatic relations (Liu, 1993). Nordpolitik, that was officially set up in the Roh Tae-woo administration and aimed toward communist countries, was majorly completed in his term.

Under the end of the Cold War atmosphere, it seemed that democratical world was winning over communism. South Korea was an example of this case. The Olympic Games was tangible event that showcased the success of South Korea, a democratical country with economic success. With Roh Tae-woo's Nordpolitik, South Korea raised itself to forge direct interaction with Russia and China, the two superpowers of the world.



CHAPTER IV

NEW FOCUS OF NATIONALISM AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY

South Korea introduced itself through the hosting of the 1988 Olympic Games. This is a period of delight in South Korean society, which could sponsor the mega-world-class event and raise awareness of the success of rapid economic growth, industrialization, and the transition to democracy in global and South Korean societies.(Snyder, 2018) South Korea stepped onto the global arena, which brought national pride to South Korea's society. This is a shared value and nationalist sentiment. During this period, South Koreans may take the shared value of national pride. They may be aware of the importance of democracy and the nation's status in the global arena. The shared value promoted social cohesion so, they may cooperate to maintain democracy for the nation's interest and prosperity. They may believe that democracy should be the only game in South Korea. Therefore, national pride as a shared value and nationalist sentiment may influence South Koreans and then promote the consolidation of democracy. In this chapter, it will be presented in two parts: first, the new focus on nationalism as a shared value and a nationalist sentiment that increased during preparation for the Olympic Games and then. And second, the relationship between nationalist sentiment, shared values, and democratic consolidation.

4.1 New Focus of Nationalism

During the 1980s, anti-American sentiment rose in Korean society, which was one of the factors in mobilizing protesters against America and dictatorship.(Lie, 1998) However, within the upcoming of the Olympic Games, the South Korean government tended to focus on the nation's image; they believed that freedom, human right and democracy would be positive to the nation's image in the global community, as well

as Roh Tae-woo. (Black & Bezanson, 2004; Bridges, 2008; Jonsson, 2014) In 1987, the democratically presidential election was held and South Korea became democracy since then. During hosting the Olympic Games, South Korea could evaluate its status in the global arena. Due to the new image of South Korea, which has changed from the past, South Koreans could feel confident and proud of the successful development of their country. Therefore, in this period, South Koreans who could be anti-American sentiment also felt national pride too. This nationalist sentiment was increasing in society.

Nevertheless, South Korea did not only show national identity such as Korean history, culture, and language through the Olympic Games ceremony; it also presented democracy, modernization, and miracle economic growth to the world. This success brought pride to South Korean society, as follows:

Firstly, South Korea success in the rapidly growing economy, the country became one of the newly industrialized countries (NICs) that earned recognition at that time. In 1950 (Korean War), South Korea was the poorest country in the world, but after a short time, the value of its exports was on a steep trend. The country's export value went from 33 million U.S. dollars in 1960 to 10 billion U.S. dollars in 1977 along with economic growth and rising gross national product (GNP); all of which occurred within a period of 20 years (Woo, 2010a). Consequently, South Korea was described as the "Miracle of the Han River" and recognized economically. Moreover, in the 1990s, the World Bank regarded the country as one of the four Asian tigers, the moniker which was used to refer to four Asian areas with swift economic growth that became a model for other countries (Pack, 1993).

Secondly, hosting the Olympic Games that South Korea was chosen to sponsor reflected the readiness of its economy. And setting up a Nordpolitik to tie its relations with the Communist bloc. Through this policy, both the Eastern and

Western blocs participated in this event together after a long boycott. It could show the South Korean government's diplomatic skills in the international community. South Korea would be a rising star in the global arena and admired by the OIC and the international community. (Bridges, 2008) Additionally, the Nordpolitik ties advanced relations with foreign countries through several high-level talks between the South Koreans and communist countries such as Russia and China. This implied that South Korea would be recognized for its sovereignty and independence from other states. This would also influence and secure the country's place on the global stage; the more diplomatic relations established, the more recognition and attraction South Korea would gain on the global stage. Nevertheless, the country's connections to advance relations through Nordpolitik caused North Korea to fret when its allies, i.e., China and Russia, were allies with South Korea, which North Korea had considered a long-time enemy. On the other hand, South Korea had more neighbors, gained more power than North Korea, and was a part of the community of the major powers.

Thirdly, the democratically elected government was another reason that contributed to the image of South Korea in a positive way, as well as the pride of the nation among the Korean people, because the election symbolized that the country could conform to the international standard. From the 1980s onward, the third democratization wave occurred worldwide; several countries strove for a democratic government.(Huntington, 1991) By this time, South Korea had already achieved its goals for democracy, while other countries were still trying to end authoritarianism.

Moreover, during hosting the Olympic Games, South Korean was experienced globalization, they may aware of being global citizenship and the nation's global status.(Cho, 2009) After the Olympic Games had ended, various foreign media discussed South Korea's success. One of these stated that, "It's a dazzling time for

South Korea. Its economy is churning out the world's highest growth rate. The Seoul Olympics won wide applause. And now, most impressive of all, the nation steadily consolidates a new and remarkably supple political democracy. That suppleness now faces its trickiest test. The initial response seems encouraging...," ("Korea's Careful Path to Democracy," 1988). This news reflected the fact that in addition to the praise for South Korea's economy and democracy, other foreign nations had kept their eyes on the preservation and strengthening of democracy.

And, On October 18, 1989, Roh Tae-woo, President of the Republic of Korea (South Korea), visited the United States Congress and talked about the success of economic development and the transition to democracy. He pointed to progress toward full democracy in South Korea since the demonstrations of 1987, with the 1988 Olympics serving as a showcase for the country (C-SPAN, 1989). This showed that the democracy bloomed in South Korea and its economic success were introduced to the rest of the world as the pride of South Korea, and Roh Tae-woo's speech demonstrated the country's pride to the superpower community. And it emphasized the nation's image with democracy and success economic in the global community.

Moreover, South Korea's status was increasingly outstanding and higher in the national arena relative to other countries and comparable to that of the superpower countries, which influenced public sentiment after learning of the favorable facts and prompted the people to reimagine the national narrative. The people took pride in success economy, democracy, and diplomacy. With this value of national pride, they created the new story of their nation. South Koreans may focus on national pride sentiment, took this shared value, then this value connected South Korean society.

4.2 Korean success as the undercurrent

National pride was a nationalist sentiment and a shared value in society, which inspired South Koreans. It may contribute to understanding the importance of democracy, economics, and the nation's image for the nation's status on the global stage. As a result, they may think that democracy should continue, and they may try to maintain democracy or solve any crises under democratic institutions. This shared value promoted social cohesion, meaning that South Koreans cooperated to maintain the nation's status quo.

According to the definition of democratic consolidation by Linz and Stepan (1996), democracy is consolidated when the majority of the public believes that even if there are any political or economic crises, they should be solved under democratic institutions. And no significant political actors attempt to seriously overthrow the democratic regimes that democracy would become, in the phrase, the only game in town. So, the shared values seem to have influenced society and tried to achieve the nation's goal, which led to the democratic consolidation as follows:

First, a group of elites such as the government, Chun Doo-hwan, Roh Tae-woo, and Kim Young-sam It seemed like outside pressure and the nation's image indirectly influenced the elites' political decisions or movements. (Black & Bezanson, 2004; Snyder, 2018) While preparing to host the Olympic Games, Chun's administration realized that democracy was positive for the nation's image. According to the OIC's concerning, South Korea may withdraw the right to host the Olympic Games due to domestic chaos, like the 1976 Asian Games, in which South Korea was forced to give up the right to host because it could not afford to prepare the required facilities. At that time, it affected national pride. (Black & Bezanson, 2004) Therefore, to achieve the goal of hosting the Olympic Games, Roh also decided to support major demands for democracy, while Chun's administration compromised

with the protest. (Strnad, 2010) The Olympic Games, as a national success, may affect their decision.

And during the Roh presidency, after the transition to democracy in 1987, Roh faced political deadlock crises. The ruling party was a minority within the National Assembly, which limited his ability to pass legislation as a result of the big deal. Roh decided to form his party with the two opposite parties of Kim Young-sam and Kim Jung-phil. Roh described how the merger parties would bring stability to the nation and economic growth. (Times, 1990) It showed that the government elites decided to form new parties instead of the president's resignation request, like in the past, and Roh compromised with the others as they tried to resolve economic and political crises under democratic institutions.

Even though it could not be directly mentioned that it is a result of Korea's image, Roh, who introduced 'New Korea with democracy and economic success' in front of the UN (C-SPAN, 1989), may understand the importance of the image. Moreover, in the early 1990s, South Korea was attempting to participate in the UN.(Snyder, 2018) Thus, it would be better to solve domestic crises under democratic institutions, and Kim Young-sam may think so too. South Korea's success in the global arena seemed to promote this solidarity indirectly. The country was moving forward by both former-power and civilian politicians.

Second, the public, 'New Korea', a new image of South Korea among the global and national society, reimagined the national narrative for South Koreans from a poor, colonized country and also a war victim to become modern countries and success in economy and democracy, which would bring pride to society. As national pride is a shared value in society, based on this shared value, the public would pay attention to the nation's success, image, and status in the international community, especially during hosting the Olympic Games.

Since preparing for the 1988 Olympic Games, the public, as well as the government, seemed to pay attention to the event and the nation's images in order that the event went smoothly, as one media outlet reported that the South Koreans were enthusiastic over the 1988 Olympic Games despite their concern that they would have to return to the reality of South Korea's politics after the end of the Games (Sneider, 1988). Koreans had their eyes on the Olympic Games and regarded them as their priority, the inquiry which would take place after the end of the Olympic Games was like a ticking time bomb, thereby reflecting how the South Koreans realized that the country's politics had been unstable, and that the inquiry would become another major event of the year. Nevertheless, what the South Korean people might do was to conquer their feelings before they went too far and cooperate to make the 1988 Olympic Games a flawless event. Therefore, it should be noted that this sentiment was what the South Koreans had been longing and reaching for, as they hoped to see their country's progress and felt the pride of being a citizen, the desire of which was eventually satisfied by the 1988 Olympic Games.

According to the survey's public opinion after the event, the success of being the Olympic Games host affected Roh Tae-woo's public image in a positive way. Referring to the respondents who were asked, "With the result of the Olympics, what do you expect the political assessment of the president to be in the future? The results showed that 59% thought Roh Tae-woo would achieve a better result in the upcoming assessment of the president (Chey, 2005). A survey on the success of Roh Tae-woo's government in opening to the outside world showed that the majority of the public were satisfied with Roh Tae-woo's administration: 54% believed that Roh's government was doing well, 26% believed they were doing well, and 16.8% believed they were doing very well. These results reflected the fact that Roh's government was perceived by the majority of the public as doing well in their jobs. (Chey, 2005)

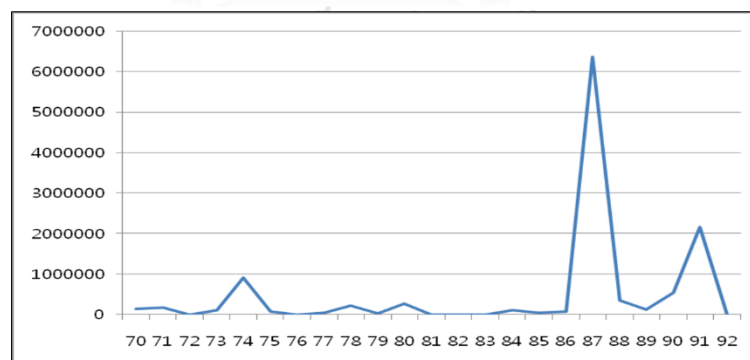
Moreover, the Olympic Games widened the South Koreans' views of the outside world by giving them more insights into the globalization of their country. The welcoming of the athletes and tourists from around the world changed the attitudes of the South Koreans from excluding themselves to being a member of the world. This aspect also changed the people's sentiment on foreign countries (Cho, 2009). Instead of being hostile toward foreign countries, they acknowledged the state of having allegiance with comparable powers while refraining from intervention. In addition, the successful foreign policies, which began since the Olympic Games, catapulted South Korea onto the global stage and prompted the fresh feeling of pride and contributed to the country's self-efficacy that they were as competent as other countries in the international environment and cooperated with their neighbors (Ceuster, 2005). Moreover, the people believed that their economic development played a crucial role in establishing this relationship with several Eastern European countries and benefited the improvement of South Korea's status on the international level (J. Kim, 2015). These indicated that the society understood the importance of economy and international relationships and desired that their country would advance their relations with foreign countries to secure their existence in the global community and show more in-depth that they had realized that the nation should maintain a relationship with its neighbors.

The public also gained more awareness of the benefits generated by foreign policy and the government's practices that corresponded to their wishes; for example, the country's advancing relations with Russia, China, and other communist countries, and its capability to equal the U.S. This would be correspond to the domestic hostility against the U.S., which had been attempting to dominate over and intervene in South Korea internally, which made South Koreans feel inferior to the U.S. (Ceuster, 2005; J. W. Kim, 2015) Additionally, the move to advance relations with

North Korea and assist North Korea in advancing its relations with diplomatic countries reflected how South Korea had become diplomatically influential enough on the global stage to successfully persuade the diplomatic world to take a look at North Korea. Considering these factors, the general public was satisfied by Roh Tae-woo's administration, and Roh Tae-woo image was developed in society.

Roh Tae-woo's administration corresponded to the desires held by the South Koreans, as well as the image of Roh Tae-woo in the South Korean national narrative, which improved after the event to be a good character who took the country to the global arena. As such, the personal hostility against Roh Tae-woo may decline, and stay calmer, thus making the people look forward to how his government would perform in the long run instead of coming out to protest or interrupting his term. Considering the nature of the protests during the administrative change under Roh Tae-woo's government, it would be noticed that the number and nature of protests had changed after 1987. (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Number of individuals participating in protests by year (1970-1992).



Note: From "South Korea's democracy movement (1970-1993)" by G.-W., Chang, P. Y., Lee, J.-E., & Kim, S., Shin et al. (2007), Stanford Korea democracy project report.

As shown in Figure 1, the number of protestors plummeted in 1988 and decreased even further in 1989. Hence, it could be argued that despite more protests taking place in the following years, they were not essentially a mass protest that was aimed for democracy like the one in 1987; several organizations began to split and protest for their own needs. It should also be noted that the protests that took place after the transition of the government were aimed for the need of a particular group, and that their sentiment was not shared by the whole country but rather their fellow members (Shin et al., 2007), such as the university students protest calls for Korean reunification and democracy. This occurred as the students still held that Roh Tae-woo's elected government was nothing more than a conspired plot intended for inherited dictatorship. However, it was found that the university students protested more frequently and violently, and that they were more likely to resort to violence and weapons (Aleman, 2005). Disruption to the government and suicide were an extreme act of protest with the aim to attract powerful individuals' attention. This reflected how a protest failed to draw together enough participants to attract the government to the extent that some protestors resorted to violence and noticeable signs, as they intended to attract enough attention to establish the shared sentiment, which could lead to achieving their agenda.

While the labor protests continued due to the demands for the reform of the economic structure, although South Korea was enjoying immense economic growth and success, it only exacerbated economic structural problems, such as inequality and labor problems, which were caused by the policies of the former government that was in favor of an investment fund for the Chaebol entities. This paralyzed small businesses while South Korean employees were subjected to work for 51-56 hours per week, which was much more than that of any other industrial countries between

1960-1987 (Dornbusch et al., 1987). Insufficient wages for their living prompted several labor movements since the 1960s. However, the movements had called for the presidents to resign, as they were convinced that the presidents were in favor of the capitalists, and that the movements needed to begin with the administration before restructuring the economy. To strengthen their movement and negotiation, they collaborated with university students and other groups of people (Aleman, 2005; Song et al., 1999)

However, after changing the administration in 1987, groups of movements separated and called for different issues. The labor group then went on strike and called for labor law and minimum wage, which Roh Tae-woo's government acknowledged and amended the labor law on issues, such as the minimum wage. The average income of labor workers grew by 10% in 1987, 15.5% in 1988, and 21.1% in 1989, respectively (Heo, 2008; Strnad, 2010). This left the Chaebols unimpressed and eventually Hyundai President Chung Ju-yong formed the Unification of People's Party and campaigned for the presidential election in 1992 (Strnad, 2010). This indicated that the Chaebols had to also learn to change their ways when it came to negotiation with the government. Rather than approaching the government directly and favoring one another as they did in the past, Hyundai's president decided to join and resolve the situation under the National Assembly. Simultaneously, this showed how the government's administration was increasingly transparent. These were the results of effective democratic processes within the National Assembly, as the government and the opposition party cooperated with one another to meet the employees' needs, instead of resorting to authoritative power as they did in the past. However, it could be seen that after changing the administration, the labor movement clearly shifted its focus. They still demonstrated but shifted their demand from democratization to the labor rights, such as welfare benefits. This showed that

they believed in solving the problem under the form of democracy instead of using other regimes. Furthermore, this supported democracy indirectly and became a part of maintaining democracy due to showing that all domestic crises should be solved under democratic institutions only. As such, this was a participatory democracy. For the majority of the public, it seemed like they did not participate in the protests as much as before. Nevertheless, even though they were not participating in a protest, the public did not believe that the group of students or employees should be boycotted; therefore, they acknowledged that a protest was an act of freedom and a democratic right. According to the Survey on Values and Attitudes in Transitional Korea 4, 1988 (Kwon, 2005), the results showed that the majority of the respondents understood the students' protest goals of democratization, and the majority wanted the government and students to resolve the situation together through dialogue. In addition, the survey of the Gallup Korea poll in 1992 showed that the majority of respondents felt the student protests had a positive effect on the country's political climate (Aleman, 2005). South Koreans could feel the freedom of protest and expression under a democratic regime. And even if, they did not participate in the protests, they were still aware and looked forward to democracy.

Moreover, the Korean people were still ready for the pro-democracy movement on the streets if democracy was disrupted. According to the Survey on the Democratic Politics Desired by Korean Citizens in 1991, half of the respondents answered that they would participate in the movement if democratization failed due to the abuse of power by the ruling party or political intervention by the military to save democracy. 19.5% answered they would definitely participate, and 43.5% would probably participate (Chey, 2007). The public's readiness to participate in street protests in case of the disruption to democracy reflected their needs for democracy and their beliefs that democracy would persist in the context of South Korea's

government. They were prepared to deviate from their sentiment if the democracy and freedom were to be hindered even though they disagreed with the protest group's action. For example, there was one incident in which a South Korean student and missionaries visited North Korea without the government's approval to push forward Korean reunification, which was an action that the majority of public disagreed. The majority believed that this action should have been done through the government (Kwon, 2005), thus indicating that South Koreans remained confident in their government. However, the death of a university student as a result of a government official's action during the protest in 1991 led to public outcry. The people went out to protest to call for justice by decrying the excessive use of violence to suppress the protesters (Aleman, 2005). As can also be seen in Figure 1, the number of individuals participating in the protest was the second highest in 1991 during Roh Tae-woo's era. In other words, this reawakened the same shared sentiment as the people believed their rights and freedom were being violated by the government. In addition, for South Koreans, they would definitely gather again if they believed that the government was abusing the democracy and freedom of the public, and it was being hindered.

In conclusion, South Koreans no longer engaged themselves emotionally in protests, as they did during the dictatorship. They may pay attention to national pride. Instead of being against Roh Tae-woo and his government, the shared values promoted trust and solidarity in society to maintain democracy. As they may believe that democracy will be continued and Roh may not interrupt the democracy, South Koreans still trusted that his administration remained democratic. Moreover, the majority of the public acknowledged that it would take some time, be it full democracy or reunification of the nation; therefore, none of these issues should be disrupted. Additionally, Roh Tae-woo did not appear to impede democracy or

conduct Korean reunification as other leaders did. As such, in taking these factors into account, the majority of the public showed no interest and deemed protest participation unnecessary, letting democratization follow the status quo. The South Korean success was similar to the undercurrent, which supported society softly.

Third, the military. The shared value seemed not to promote or be connected with the military, but it may allow time to reform the military. As a shared value of democracy, society may support military reform, which benefits the stability of democracy. In Roh's era, there was a triangular relationship: the military, Roh Tae-woo, and the people. The military was not popularized by the people as mentioned above, while Roh Tae-woo was not favored by the military; the military was displeased and disagreed with Roh Tae-woo executing the Nordpolitik, as the military has been a crucial force in defending the country's security since the Korean War. Hostility among the military against this president significantly grew, as they had been instilled with the belief that considered communism an enemy. For example, the Commander of the Third Army, Gen. Koh Myung Seung, voiced his concern over national security as the monitoring of communism was eased in favor of the Nordpolitik (Yoon, 1999), while Lt. Gen. Min Byong Don, Superintendent of South Korea's military academy, reacted similarly with his opposition of the policy (HN, 1989). This poor relationship between the military and Roh Tae-woo suggests the fact that they could care less about Roh Tae-woo if they were to resort to a coup. Nevertheless, personal displeasure could never overthrow the government's power, and the military would face strong opposition if their action could not be justified. Therefore, Roh Tae-woo who needed to maintain his position and the military who was not favored by the people would need to convince the people to side with them for their goals to succeed.

However, at that time, the military would never be able to find any justifiable reason for a coup and convince the people for the following reasons: Firstly, the people may no longer accepted the idea that a coup was meant to sustain democracy. Since the current government was elected by virtue of the constitution being amended for fairness and democratic administration, which were what the people had been calling for and believed would help the country to progress. With a coup, they might believe that the democracy and progress of the country would be hindered. Secondly, a coup could no longer be justified in terms of the economy and development of South Korea, as the country had been performing smoothly on the global stage. South Korea managed to achieve equality like that of the big powers, the economy was growing, and the country was gradually being democratized.

Moreover, the military's image was increasingly ruined. For instance, in October 1990, the Defense Security Command (DSC), an army intelligence unit, was revealed to have spied on approximately 1,300 politicians and prominent religious figures. Reporters, labor leaders, activists, and university students kept the voice recordings as evidence. This spying scandal stemmed from the surveillance program introduced in 1979, which was claimed by the DSC to be intended for maintaining public security. (Maass, 1990) The public, however, argued that the program was a political agenda for political intervention. Roh Tae-woo fired his defense minister and army intelligence chief (Maass, 1990) despite criticism against Roh Tae-woo as a former military officer involved in dictatorship and speculation that he was associated with the surveillance program, the ousting of his defense minister and army intelligence chief helped promote his image as a supporter of rights, freedom, and democracy, whereas the military's image may be increasingly criticized as a body

of people that hindered democracy, who attempted to remain in power and violated the rights and freedom of the people.

Roh Tae-woo still tried to build up a positive image to the people as someone who put the country before himself. He also proposed the military reform plan and separated from the military and Chun Doo-hwan, thus leading to military reconfiguration. In addition, it should be noted that some of the ousted military officers were openly against his Nordpolitik, and some were appointed under Chun Doo-hwan's government. While it seemed like he was attempting to reform the military, most of the officers appointed by Roh Tae-woo were from North Gyeongsang Province, also his hometown (Strnad, 2010). These position transfers stabilized his standing, mitigated military hostility against him, and benefited his image, which may be the hidden agenda rather than the genuine move to military reform.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Since early 1980s, anti-Americanism has been mentioned as a nationalist sentiment that mobilized the masses to achieve a transition to democracy. The upcoming of Olympic Games brought up the concern of democratical government system to the new president. The pride of nation beginning from economic success was heightened by Roh's Nordpolitik and the Olympic Games, this pride was fostered a new focus of nationalism.

After Seoul bid to host the Olympic Games in 1981, the South Korean government was determined to build the nation's good image by investing in townscapes and infrastructure such as the subway. And even though domestic politics were still chaotic, they realized that the upcoming Olympics were near. In this atmosphere, the pride sentiment may be sparking slowly in their minds. Until the Olympic Games were held in 1988, the success of sponsoring games and Nordpolitik that the South Korean government could solve the Olympic boycott through it. South Korea introduced itself with the 'New Korea', the successful nation in economy, democracy, and foreign policy, as the host country that could negotiate and convince the Eastern blocs to participate in the Games. This period, South Korea stepped onto the world leader community. They may understand the importance of the nation's status in the global arena and ally with the foreign rather than being anti-foreign like in the past. When they felt pride in the nation, they took this shared value, which connected and promoted social cohesion. They concentrated on preserving South Korea's position in the global leadership community by upholding the standard of a prosperous nation in economy and politics. South Korean people were aware that democracy was necessary to maintain the country's status in the world leader community. So, they tried to maintain and strengthen democratical governing system.

It could be seen that during Roh's term, South Korea domestic politics was still in chaos and had reached a deadlock. Kim Young-sam and Kim Jung-phil decided to solve the political crisis by forming a new party with Roh. Roh also shifted his focus toward democracy and the communist country. He compromised with the others and continued the foreign policy, even though the military disagreed with Nordpolitik concerning the nation's security. It seemed like both Roh and the opposite parties valued the nation's image, status, and role in the global community more than other things. It would influence their decision to collude to solve political crises under democratic institutions instead of interrupting the president's term as before. Whereas, the general populace, which once was an important force in calling for democracy, no longer engaged themselves emotionally in protests. However, they did not resist protest; they were aware of freedom and human rights, which are parts of democracy. They still took a look at the protest and needed the government to solve the political crisis through soft negotiation and democratic institutions. It could be assumed that South Korea's success may soften the anti-dictatorship sentiment toward Roh.

This would be a result of a shared value, as the nationalist sentiment of national pride rose during the Olympic games and then. The society took the value of national pride with success in the economy and democracy. This is similar to South Korean nationalism nowadays; in the twentieth century, South Koreans adopted shared cultural values such as modernity, cosmopolitanism, and status as influenced by globalization and neoliberal values. (Campbell, 2016) Therefore, in addition to Korean cultural tradition, the shared value of national pride that promoted trust and solidarity in society helped support democratical system.

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