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Master's Thesis

**A study on how modern nationalism can
prevent imperialism from re-emerging**

현대 내셔널리즘의 제국주의 재현 예방 방안에 관한 연구

February 2018

Graduate School of Seoul National University

International Cooperation

Sebastiaan Laurens Metselaar

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Submitting a master's thesis of International Cooperation

February 2018

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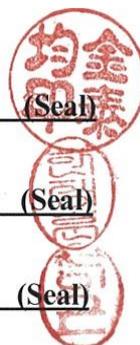
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Abstract

A study on how modern nationalism can prevent imperialism from re-emerging

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The purpose of this thesis is to investigate whether or not a particular form of nationalism, also known as modern nationalism, where the populace of a certain nation claims the property rights of their land with boundaries can prevent or invite the re-emergence of imperialism.

The aggressiveness of nationalism in the past that lead to imperialism are defined by the combination of a presence of nationalism as a push factor and the absence of nationalism as a pull factor. These push factors consist of nations wanting to claim more land, resources, (human) capital, market power, therefore pushing a nation outside their own original territory. The pull factor, no nationalism, attracts a nation to conquer territory and claim its property rights, resources, and (human) capital.

The French revolution embarked the start of nationalism and as European nations started to form, other parts of the world did not, creating an imbalance of nations and non-nations. The

decolonization period marked the turning point toward a balance as nationalism evolved into a modern form of nationalism . The pull factors for imperialism dissolved, as former colonies could claim property rights over their own distinctive territory, implying that the newly established nations have boundaries unrivaled to any previous period in history.

The combination of the push and pull factors will lead to either the re-emergence of imperialism or to the prevention of a re-emergence of imperialism. The proposition of this research claims that because of a well-developed understanding of property rights over the national territory in international relations, it is going to be difficult for imperialism to reoccur as imperialism ignores and violates the property rights of other nations. Therefore, after examining cases on Europe and Japan, the tentative conclusion would be that modern nationalism will hinder the emergence of imperialism in the 21st century.

Keywords: Nationalism, Modern Nationalism, Imperialism, Push-Pull Factors, Property Rights, Imagined Communities

Student ID: 2015-25052

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I. Introduction

1. Purpose of this thesis

There are increasing concerns about a reemergence of imperialism due to a rise in popularity of far-right political movements and historical controversies, such as the ones between Japan and Korea on comfort women and textbook whitewashing. Against this background, this research will examine the plausible worries of the hypotheses.

Despite that we are living in the most peaceful time of human history, a fear of war is always present as tensions between nations are almost everywhere (e.g. Saudi-Arabia and Iran, Russia and the Western nations, North Korea and its surroundings, etc.). The daily headlines in the media keep us aware of what misery is happening in the world. The general fear of the people for a breakout of war is understandable as dangers are more closer than we might think. But will there be a revamping of imperialism? To a phenomenon of nations conquering other nations?

58.1%, that is the percentage of South Koreans who view Japan as a military threat after Prime Minister Abe called for a reform of the constitution, which would allow Japan more military flexibility. This survey, carried out in May 2015 by South Korean thinktank East Asia Institute and the Japanese civic group Genron NPO, reflect the opinions of 1,000 people, in each respective country. Despite that this sample size is not representative enough to give a 95%

confidence level, the number of people fearing Japan's military revision remains exceptionally high, though both nations are highly developed.

It is not a number related to only Prime Minister Abe's announcement. A year earlier, the same survey resulted in 46.4% of the South Koreans perceiving Japan as a military threat. It is a statistic that illuminates the living memory of the past. As mentioned before, the comfort women issue, the textbook issue, even the visits to the Yasukuni shrine, all reasons that to some extent validate the threat perception, as the war took place in a not so distant time from the present. Do the participants of these surveys fear a reoccurrence of the past?

In this research, the likelihood of a return to imperialism will be qualitatively analyzed. This research will shed a light on what factors of nationalism will prevent imperialism from reoccurring through the examination of a change of nationalism to modern nationalism and its collide between the push and pull factors (cost-benefit analysis).

2. Research question

This research presents whether or not imperialism will re-emerge again. It aims to state that imperialism is an occurrence of the past due to a clash of push factors, since pull factors have lost their appeal due to modern nationalism. It presents a cost-benefit analysis on these factors on whether or not it is rational to conquer another nation as the benefits have decreased.

3. Methodology and Literature Review

3-1 Methodology

This research observes the presence and absence of push and pull factors, concepts used from migration studies, that nations face when considering imperialism. Through this, the important elements that create a balance or imbalance for starting or preventing imperialism can be isolated. Push factors that a nation considers for expanding are broadly categorized as industrialization (need for resources), capitalism, (human) capital, benefits. Pull factors are what so to say attracts a nation to conquer new territory. These would be the presence of the resources, (human) capital, weighed with the ease or difficulty of conquering territory, legitimacy, and costs. It is the result of the cost-benefit analysis that makes a nation decide.

This research contains primarily qualitative data based on secondary and tertiary literature sources. By using interpretivism as the approach to answer the research questions, a careful analysis will be conducted on the sources used (cf. literature review). Especially the concepts of push and pull factors, borrowed from migration studies, and the concepts of nation, nationality, and nationalism by Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner allow room for different interpretations.

This research focuses on deriving information from secondary and tertiary literature sources, that asses certain time periods such as the 18th-, 19th-, and early 20th century. A danger to

secondary literature sources is that they might have been interpreted differently than the original author intended.

This research will be based on the theory of Social Constructionism as the social construction of our reality plays an important role during the development of humankind. The developments made in the past form the basis of our shared reality that is today. An important aspect of the theory is that it incorporates the notion of humans acting in rational ways for creating the models of their social world.

Consequently, following the Social Constructionist theory is the Rational Choice theory. The push-pull theory, based on the concept of migration, presents particular challenges, as migration involves the assessment of circumstances that uses the weighing of push and pull factors, making it possible for individuals or groups to make calculated decisions. We assume that an individual or group will always make the most logic decision that yields the most benefit.

Developing a framework and schedule is everything. By confining the boundaries of this research and an approach, the research becomes comprehensive and to the point. For this research, the boundaries have been set to include the important historical events of the French Revolution (birth of nationalism), followed by the rise of imperialistic powers, and then the transformation on a wider scale of nationalism to modern nationalism during the

decolonization period, followed by a series of case studies that portray the collision of push and pull factors. They are analyzed in this chronological sequence.

The essence of this research is about connecting past developments with present concerns. The rise of nationalism and the imperialistic powers connected to the decolonization period and the role of Official Development Aid as supporting evidence will be incorporated. By connecting the information from each chapter, it will be examined what difference between nationalism in relation to imperialism had in the past and applies to the present. By the end of this research, a better understanding on the effect of push and pull factors that come along with nationalism and imperialism, and its implications to today's world, will become clear.

3-2 Literature Review

3-2-1 Castles and Miller: The Age of Migration (push-pull factors)

The concept of the push-pull theory on migration is being used to assess the decision making process of a nation on whether it is beneficial or costly to pursue imperialism. Similar to the migration of individuals and groups, a nation also considers not only economic factors, but also social, political, cultural, environmental, health, education and transportation factors.

3-2-2 Benedict Anderson: Imagined Communities (as a push factor)

Anderson's theory of 'imagined communities' provides a better understanding of the concept and coming of nationalism. He marks nations and nationalism as a product of modernity that are used as tools for political and economic trends. It operates from a social constructivist

approach in which people depict a nation as a social community in which they perceive themselves as part of. A nation can be viewed as a community that shares deep and horizontal inclusion.

The literature represents push factors of nationalism, as constructing an imagined community can happen at any place and can therefore also be expanded to other places. It was possible to conquer other territory and imagine the community there, as for example happened with Japan and the abolishment of the Ryukyu kingdom creating the (annexed) Okinawa prefecture.

To simplify the definition of nationalism, Benedict Anderson proposed the following framework for explaining the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson 2006, p.6).

3-2-3 Ernest Gellner: Nation and Nationalism (as a pull factor)

Despite that Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner differ in theory of nationalism, for this research Ernest Gellner does raise interesting and useful points. He defines nationalism as “primarily a political principle that holds that the political and national unite should be congruent” (Gellner, Nations and Nationalism 1983). He presupposes nationalism as primordial, derived from this historical perspective, he observed nationalism as a key factor to modernity.

The absence of modern nationalism marks one of the pull factors. The modernization aspect was linked to the changes in the political and economic system of which education was the

main instigator. He rules that Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist (Gellner, *Thought and Change* 1964, p.6). New nations were therefore constructed throughout the decolonization period, claiming their own territory and creating their own terms of inclusion, protecting this form of togetherness from the imperialistic aggressors.

The education element served as an important part for developing a sense of modern nationalism in the conquered land. It became realized by the colonized populace during the imperial period that modernizing the nation through educational reforms served the development of nationalism.

II. Nationalism in development: distinction between a presence of nations and an absence of nations

1. The realization of nationalism representing the new imagined community standard

The foundation and elements of nationalism have been present since the day we created imagined communities (i.e. fiction) during the transition from the cognitive revolution to the agricultural revolution. We expanded these realities when we transformed from hunters and gatherers to settlers. Before the transformation, amidst the cognitive revolution, we used the land until the resources became exhausted. We would then move on (push factor) to new land that had an abundance of resources (pull factor). Even when we settled down during the agricultural revolution, in the absence of trade, we would have to change location again, however, this could lead to a conflict as other communities could have already settled in the same area. These were part of the basic push-pull factor balance (see figure 1) when determining whether it was rational or not to move or expand to another location.

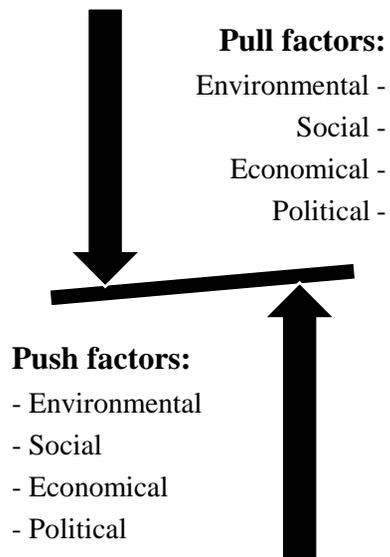


Figure 1: General push-pull factors migration of individuals

The relation between the push-pull factors and nationalism is that nationalism in itself is a push factor, encompassing the claim of land and its resources that includes human capital.

Benedict Anderson introduced the concept of the imagined community where people who do not really know each other, but imagine that they do. Churches, kingdoms, and empires are all imagined and so are the nations. That these imagined communities existed prior to the first nation, does not mean that they were widely accepted and present in the minds of the people. Not everyone in the Roman empire felt part of Rome's greatness, despite that they were living within its borders. Not everyone who lived in kingdoms were (voluntarily) supporting the king. Not everyone within a certain area is religious. The nation on the other hand is a sophisticated imagined community that within its territory, everyone is related to that nation. The nation is the imagined community of the state. It is this factor, this context of the imagined community, that differs from the period before the French Revolution (i.e. start nationalism).

The creation of the nation and nationalism did not happen overnight. It can be derived from the age of enlightenment and the lexicographic revolution, which spread the conviction that languages were the personnel property of very specific groups. These groups of daily speakers and readers had their autonomous place in a fraternity of equals, imagined as communities. The national print languages were of central ideological and political importance. It ignited the gradual breakdown of the legitimacy of the dynastic realms and the divinely-ordained.

The fundamental changes taking place underneath the decline of the sacred communities and dynastic lineages made it possible more than anything else to actually “think” the nation. Visible representations, such as the novel and the newspaper, were key to the development of a consciousness. They provided the instrumental means for representing the kind of imagined community that is the nation.

Print-capitalism, a theory that underlies the concept of a nation generated through the use of the print press, were to become proliferated by the capitalist marketplace and contributed to the formation of nationalism. Under the impact of economic change, discoveries in the social and scientific field contributed to the development of wide spread information and communication. It made it possible for people to widen their perspectives and relate themselves to others in new ways. It became a new way of linking fraternity, power, and time meaningfully together. Through this, communities of the type “horizontal-secular and transverse-time” became possible. The concept of a nation started to become popular. However, this concept became popular in primarily Europe, outside of Europe the concept of a nation was close to non-existent.

At the end of the 18th century, grammars, dictionaries, and histories started to be published. The dissemination of print would help to create popular and language based nationalism, it portrayed the importance of configuring the rise in linguistic nationalism and print capitalism. Capitalism, thus, also contributed to the development of nationalism in Europe. During the

course of 19th century Europe, a rapid increase in the size of state bureaucracies (civil and military) and state expenditure could be observed. In the latter half of the 19th century, a rise of intra-European nationalist movements were causing trouble for many dynasts. As is well known, the legitimacy of most of these dynasties had nothing to do with nationalness. The Romanovs ruled not only over Russians, but also over Finns, Tatars, Armenians, Letts, and even Germans. The Hapsburg monarchy contained many Austro-Germans, Croats, Italians, Magyars, Slovaks, and Ukrainian. Even the House of Hanover presided over the English, Irish, Scots, Welsh, Quebecois, and even Bengalis. Notably, members of the same dynastic families ruled in sometimes different rivalrous states.

To give a better impression of print capitalism, by the year 1500 approximately 20.000.000 books had been printed, whereas in the year 1600, there were indications that around 200.000.000 had been printed (Febvre et Henri-Jean 1976, p. 248). It is no wonder that scientist Francis Bacon believed that print had changed “the appearance and state of the world.” Therefore, prior to the start of the French Revolution in 1789, it was not possible to imagine the nation on a large scale. Nationalism was absent but in development. Tribes, kingdoms, empires, they all owned land but scattered with no clear and ever changing boundaries due to the relation between push-pull factors.

Nationalism on the other hand would claim full sovereignty, authority, and ownership of its territory and others are excluded from it. It is more than just a vast group held together and

which is driven by a common consciousness, it is in search for the sovereign state to act as their main instrument. The French Revolution infused the idea and consciousness of nationalism into the masses making it possible politically and culturally to integrate the nation. The masses were not only in the nation, but also of the nation.

The concept of nationalism in Europe took shape in the form of people from the same ethnicity being in charge. The Roman Empire but also the Spanish Empire were labeled as weak because it was composed of people from different nationalities speaking different languages. Someone of the same nationality should rule the people from the same nationality was the common notion. The populace, as a nation, therefore took ownership of the country and regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation would always be conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible over the past two centuries for so many millions of people not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings (Anderson 2006).

The French Revolution ignited the national manifestation, spreading itself across the European continent on a political, economic, and intellectual level. No longer were the elites but the ordinary people in control. Nations were being forged, claiming property rights over their territory and everything within it, new dimensions of the push-pull factors would be established. The position of the social orders had to be reconstructed, that included the relation between ruler and ruled, of the holy divine and follower, and of the classes and castes systems.

The aspect of the universe and of the society had to be secularized. Increasing the support for nationalism depends on the integration of the masses into a common political form. Not many nations were established at first, meaning areas and territory were easily and legally (both pull factors) for the taking, which would open the door for imperialism.

In case of the French Revolution, the French people inherited and continued the ways of the kings, but at the same time filled the central organization with a new national spirit and gave it a power of cohesion that was unprecedented. A common language and a feeling of habitude (belonging) would reinforce the development of the nation corresponding to common descent and territory. Also in the Americas, they were able to work from visible successful models as the French Revolution. This means that the "nation" could be consciously aspired. Moreover, due to the discovering of other civilizations and new continents, it was realized that these civilizations have developed in their own and non-European way. This made it possible to think for Europeans as one of many civilizations.

Thus, nationalism is not a natural phenomenon, it is not a product of "eternal" or "natural" laws, it is a product of growth of social and intellectual factors at a certain stage in history (Karolewski and Suszycji 2011). During ancient times, the masses were rarely aware of the fact that the same language was being spoken spread over a large area or territory. These languages probably consisted of many dialects that had developed over the centuries making it sometimes even incomprehensible for a neighboring province to understand each other

though they in fact speak a language that has the same origin. It still applies today, where certain provinces within a nation speak a somewhat incomprehensible dialect, such a Jeju dialect in Korea and Frysian in the Netherlands.

Nationalism as a state of mind, an idea, would fill man's brain and heart with new thoughts and new sentiments, and drives him to translate his consciousness into deeds of organized action (Kohn 1944). Their life and survival became aligned with the life and survival of the nation. If there was a push factor related need for resources or capital, it would seek where the pull factors, the presence of those needed resources and capital, were most beneficial. This would especially be the case during the industrial revolution where the need for more resources were present and the abundance in resources were elsewhere.

2. Imperialism: presence of push and pull factors

Nations in Europe were starting to solidify in what would become their home ground territory. They further exerted their power and authority by legitimizing the use force, both against its own citizens and to other states. The sovereign states were born. With the forthcoming of the industrial revolution, the economic root of imperialism became more apparent. It was one of the push factors for nations to conquer territory, in order for it to secure the resources it needed. The relatively more advanced and industrializing European nations indeed started to take over weaker controlled territories where, serving as a pull factor, no nationalism was present. No nationalism meant that there is no nation that had claimed property rights over a certain distinct territory.

Since Western nations were still in development at that time, they were also fragile. If rival nations were expanding their territory, it was key to keep up in order to maintain the balance of power. They were competing, trying to become the greatest nation, a hegemon. The nations were not held

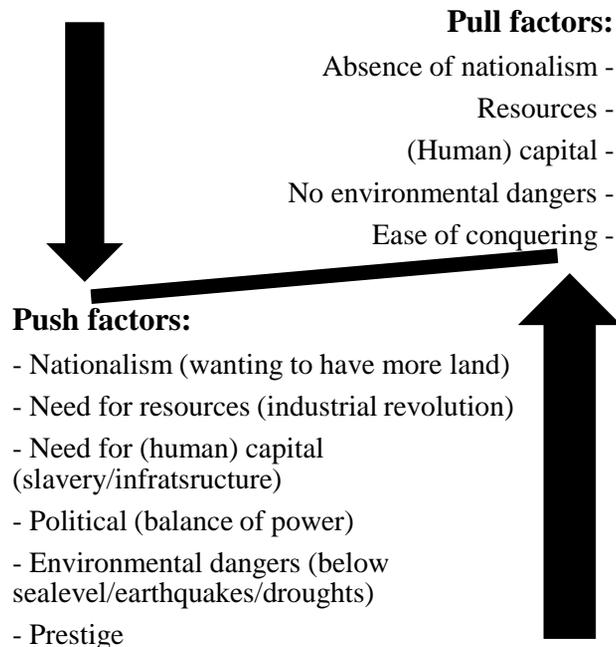


Figure 2: Push-pull factors prior to modern nationalism

accountable for their expansive conquests, it showed that what they did was legal and accepted among the other nations and they were therefore not being hindered for their action, representing another sign of a pull factor.

The ease of conquering can be observed by England's imperial campaign. Professor Seeley, known for his book "the expansion of England", stated: "we seem, as it were, to have conquered half the world in a fit of absence of mind". The expansion of England appeared at an opportune time (1883) and did much to make Englishmen regard the colonies not as mere appendages but as an expansion of the British state as well as of British nationality and remind them of the value of the empire in the East. His book was reprinted ten times in the year in which it was published and many more times in later years.

Professor Seeley also profoundly marked the weakness (i.e. cost) of imperialism. "When a State advances beyond the limits of nationality its power becomes precarious and artificial. This is the condition of most empires, and it is the condition of our own. When a nation extends itself into other territories the chances are that it cannot destroy or completely drive out, even if it succeeds in conquering them. When this happens it has a great and permanent difficulty to contend with, for the subject or rival nationalities cannot be properly assimilated, and remain as a permanent cause of weakness and danger."

The reasoning and perspective of an imperialist is well described by Edward W. Said, founder of the academic field postcolonial studies and a former professor of literature at Columbia

University. He described that every empire tells itself and the world that it is unlike all other empires, that its mission is not to plunder and control but to educate and liberate. This liberation aspect would mean joining the (great) empire and the education part would later ironically become one of the factors contributing to the diminishing of the pull factors and the downfall of imperialism.

In 1813, British parliament had designated 100,000 Indian rupees a year for the advancement of native education. This allocation provided education in both oriental and western learnings. Then, in 1823, a Committee of Public Instruction was set up in Bengal of which in 1834, Thomas Babington Macaulay became president. He published his notorious 'Minute on Education' book the year after he took office. Macaulay's intention was to create a class of persons, who would be Indian of blood and color, but English in taste, opinion, morals and in intellect (Spear 1949, p.339). In 1836 he wrote that:

No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. It is my firm belief [so they always were] that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence.

To a certain extent, the logic in his plan carried naïve optimism. What is of interesting importance is that he looked at the long run, this was to become a 30 years policy. It can be interpreted that this policy was consciously formulated to turn the people into culturally English

though they are different in color and blood. This shows a nuanced difference in the definition of colonialism and imperialism. These definitions are often being used interchangeably, but there are differences to highlight. Both words underline the suppression of another country through political and economic means. However, whereas in colonialism the conquering country exploits the resources of the conquered country, in imperialism it is more an expansion in the sense of creating an empire, an expansion of nationalism.

Imperialism made enormous progress in daintiness, which could be seen as part of the modernization theory. A form of Macaulayism was to be observed, perhaps at different speed, taking place all across the expanding empire, even to Asia. Nevertheless, theory varies from practice and the consequences of this policy were well illustrated by the bitter recollections of Bipin Chandra Pal in 1932. A century after Macaulay first published his notorious book, he wrote down his frustration (Pal 1973, p.332):

In mind and manners, he was as much an Englishman as any Englishman. It was no small sacrifice for him, because in this way he completely estranged himself from the society of his own people and became socially and morally a pariah among them... He was as much a stranger in his own native land as the European residents in the country.

When European nations were expanding their territory, they noticed that the conquered territory was too large of size and nearly impossible to control by a handful of nationals. It

would rapidly need more workers, as the state and corporations were multiplying its functions. The setup of school systems made it possible to produce the required subordinates, although at a costly price, as it would enable the natives to aspire their own nation.

As the European nations continued their expansion in Asia, their pursuit of new territory would lead them to Japan. Confronted by the West, Japan, unlike China and India, took a different approach. Instead of falling to the dominance of the European world powers, Japan would rapidly master the national customs and would therefore be treated as an equal.

3. The adaptation to the international system:

Japan's transformation from isolation to domination

The opening of Japan to the West did not go voluntarily. It was Commodore Perry who navigated his black ships into Tokyo Bay in 1853. He symbolically battered down the walls that had kept Japan safe from foreign influence. Their self-imposed isolation, with the Bakufu (Tokugawa Shogunate regime) as the confident and legitimate ruler, were completely overwhelmed by the arrival of the West. The West was far more advanced in arms technology and shipbuilding that there was no other way than to comply with their demands.

One of the U.S.'s demands was to open a consul, a trading post. This first U.S. consul would be assigned to Townsend Harris. He was, like many other consuls in Asia, a New York merchant specialized in dealing with Chinese imports. The goal of Harris was to convince Japan of signing an extended treaty that would give more privileges to the United States. It took however longer to get this treaty signed as Harris was stationed in Shimoda (since 1856) and did not possess a navy squadron that Commodore Perry used to strengthen his bargaining position. It was the observation of Japanese officials who learned of how the British had used military force to open up the borders of China to get what they desired, that left them to believe that it is better to open its doors willingly rather than waiting for it to be opened by force.

Therefore, in 1858, the United States and Japan signed the Harris Treaty, which became the first true commercial treaty between both states (U.S. Department of State sd). This triggered

the European powers to follow the U.S. in signing their own treaties with Japan. Japan's opening was out of fear. Japan decided to go with the flow and sent their first mission to the United States in 1860. The Japanese delegates made their way to the United States to exchange the ratified Harris Treaty. It shows Japan's adaption to the Western customs, being treated as an equal.

As Japan opened up to trade with the West, it took advantage of the access to modern technological advancements. It enabled Japan to rapidly modernize its military and take its position of a formidable power in the Asian Pacific. At the same time, this development led to the disruption of power within Japan as the position of the Tokugawa Shogunate became weakened. *Sonno Joi*, meaning revere the sovereign and expel the barbarians, became the slogan under which eventually in 1868 several samurai from the Satsuma and Choshu Han clan overthrew the Tokugawa Shogunate. This was made possible due to the Western advancements in technology, causing the power balance within Japan to become disrupted. These samurai took advantage of the Western military science and made effective use of the 7,300 modern weaponries, purchased from a British merchant (Graig 2000, p.202-204, 267-280). The old slash and cut methods were no match for the superiority of Western weaponry (Norman 1943, p.31).

However, once the samurai took power, it did not automatically guarantee political legitimacy as the people were not integrated into a nation. The only one person that could consolidate

power and return balance to Japan after the abolition and power vacuum of the Tokugawa Shogunate was the Tenno (Emperor). “Official nationalism”, a governmental policy imposing national sentiment on its population based on the Hohenzollern Prussia-German model, was introduced. All residual local and feudal military unities dissolved, giving Tokyo a central monopoly of power. This moment in Japanese history is called the Meiji Restoration, meaning that the Emperor restored formal control over Japan, enabling it to modernize.

The Meiji Restoration campaign became successful through three somewhat coincidental factors. First of all, due to two and a half century of self-isolation and internal pacification mainly for Japan being an island, it had a relatively high degree of ethno-cultural homogeneity. There was a time where communication between Edo Tokyo and Kyoto-Osaka were incomprehensible. Even the people in Kyushu could barely understand the people in Honshu. Therefore in a not so distant past, a half-Sinified reading-system was created, enabling the Japanese during the Meiji Restoration to spread mass literacy through schools and in print in an easy and uncontroversial way (Anderson 2006, p.95).

Secondly, whereas royalty in Europe intermingled with other different royalty in Europe, the Japanese imperial house contained one bloodline. It was and continued to be a pure Japanese dynastic line, making the use of the Emperor for dynastic purposes rather simple. Though there is reason to believe that the original bloodline of the Emperor is actually Korean (Anderson 2006, p.96).

Thirdly, the sudden penetration of foreign influence was so abrupt that mobilizing the population to rise up against it through a national self-defense program became easy. With these factors in mind, Japan could quickly transform and catch-up with the West, creating a strong military power, but most importantly it created a nation.

Japan was at that time known for having a lack of natural resources. In order for it to keep up with the rapid development it made, they had to search beyond their own border. Japan became more confident in its cunning through its military success against China in 1894-1895 and its naval success against the Czardom in 1905. It managed to annex Taiwan in 1895 and later on Korea in 1910.

Korea's case depicts the example of how non-considered nations (no nationalism), according to the international system, were treated. In 1907 King Gojong from Korea foresaw Japan's intentions to annex Korea step by step and therefore send three confidential Korean emissaries to The Hague in the Netherlands where the 2nd Peace Conference was going to be held. They wanted to assert Korean independence from Japan, claiming it to be an unlawful and illegal act, but the nations in The Hague did not allow these three to take part in the conference. It did not acknowledge Korea as a sovereign nation. After the failed attempt, one of the three emissaries, Yi Jun, allegedly committed suicide in his hotel. This hotel has later been transformed into the Yi Jun Peace Museum.

Lee Kwang-rin, Korean modern history academic, described nationalism as a state of mind in which the individual feels that everyone owes his or her supreme loyalty to the nation state, notes that nationalism can only exist if in fact the nation exists and if there is a strong will for modernization in order to assure the autonomy of that nation. This state of mind was absent in Korea. Before Korea got annexed by Japan, they were loyal to the Ming Dynasty in China. There was an admiration of the Chinese and their culture and the Koreans even saw themselves as the eastern ward of the Ming Empire or as "Little China" (Sochunghwa) (Lee 1986, p.3). They identified the traditional Chinese culture with the Ming dynasty and were wary about the Qing Empire.

But what made Japan take on such an aggressive imperialistic character? There are two factors that can be attributed to this development. First is the legacy of Japan's long isolation from the outside world. Second is the power that the official national model mandates. The renowned Japanese scholar Maruyama Masao points out that all of Europe's nationalistic developments took place within the context of traditional pluralism of interacting dynastic states (Maruyama 1963, p.138):

National consciousness in Europe therefore bore from its inception the imprint of a consciousness of international society. It was a self-evident premise that disputes among sovereign states were conflicts among independent members of this

international society. Precisely for this reason war, since Grotius, has come to occupy an important and systematic place in international law.

Centuries of Japanese isolation, however, meant that:

An awareness of equality in international affairs was totally absent. The advocates of expulsion [of the barbarians] viewed international relations from positions within the national hierarchy based on the supremacy of superior over inferiors. Consequently, when the premises of the national hierarchy were transferred horizontally into the international sphere, international problems were reduced to a single alternative: conquer or to be conquered. In the absence of any higher normative standards with which to gauge international relations, power politics is bound to be the rule and yesterday's timid defensiveness will become today's unrestrained expansionism.

Regarding the second factor of Japanese aggressiveness and imperialistic character, the European dynasties were more and more defining themselves in imperial (national) terms, as this was considered to be the only way for survival. Because the European model contained expansionist push factors, it was not surprising that the national model should have been understood by Japan in an imperial way.

This can be best described through the scramble of Africa at the Congress of Berlin in 1885. It was the occupation, division, and colonization of territory in Africa. This event portrays the push-pull factor combination perfectly as there is a distinction made between superior

developed nations and inferior undeveloped nations. It also portrayed the ease and legitimacy of conquering territory (pull factors). Great nations were labeled as legal global conquerors. It is therefore plausible for Japan to argue that if it wants to be accepted as 'great', they too will had to launch overseas expeditions, despite their late entry to the field.

With their quick adaption, the economic and political roots of imperialism became leading. To give a more apprehensive idea on how this affected the consciousness of the reading population, a passage from the radical-nationalist Kita Ikki (1884 – 1937), in his highly influential *Nihon Kaizo Taiko*, which translates into the *Outline for the reconstruction of Japan*, published in 1924 reads as follows (Storry 1957, p.38):

As the class struggle within a nation is waged for the readjustment of unequal distinctions, so war between nations for an honorable cause will reform the present unjust distinctions. The British Empire is a millionaire possessing wealth all over the world; and Russia is a great landowner in occupation of the northern half of the globe. Japan with her scattered fringe (sic) of islands is one of the proletariat, and she has the right to declare war on the big monopoly powers. The socialists of the West contradict themselves when they admit the right of class struggle to the proletariat at home and at the same time condemn war, waged by a proletariat among nations, as militarism and aggression... if it is permissible for the working class to unite to overthrow unjust authority by bloodshed, then unconditional approval should be

given to Japan to perfect her army and navy and make war for the rectification of unjust international frontiers. In the name of rational social democracy Japan claims possession of Australia and Eastern Siberia.

Strikingly, as Japan started its expansion, Japanification took shape in a Macaulay way that was pursued as state policy. All the Japanese actions were consciously used for propaganda in schools and through print, creating the strong legitimate image that is the nation Japan. All subjected countries such as Korea and Taiwan, but also countries in South East Asia were similarly treated according to the European model. Even though they may speak Japanese perfectly, they would never be treated like native Japanese. The roads to the metropole were completely barred and even being posted outside their zones of origin was unlikely.

These obstructions could be observed in nearly all imperialistic policies. Since Indians were to be Anglicized and Koreans to be Japanified, they would however never be permitted to hold a place in the upper scale of the hierarchy ladder, nor would be seen as equals. It would be too shortsighted to state that this all had to do with racism. Deep down, at the core of these English and Japanese empires, nations were emerging as well. The English and Japanese too were instinctively resistant to foreign rule, therefore nullifying the pull factor for other nations to claim their territory. This pull-factor of being resistant toward foreign rule, portrays Ernest Gellner's definition of nationalism.

III. Modern nationalism in development: co-existence with newly established nations

1. The impact of education during the colonial period

The distribution of the modern-style education continued in Asia, as the expansion of growing acceptance of modern knowledge became more important, even for the colonized population. In for example the Netherlands Indies, the number of natives receiving a primary Western-style education grew from an average of 2.987 in 1904 to 74.696 in 1928, while those receiving a Western-style secondary education increased in the same timespan from 25 to 6.468 (Kahin 1952, p.31). The intelligentsias in the colonial territories are in general recognized as a central factor to the development of their own nationalism. They were during the colonial period quietly protesting against the economic power that was monopolized by the imperialists or unevenly shared among non-native businessmen.

The imperial system did not allow the ascension of newly recruited local subordinates. These workers and these educated minds were invited to the offices and schools but were excluded from the boardrooms. Therefore, most bilingual intelligentsias felt treated like second hand citizens. They, and especially the early twentieth century intelligentsias, had access to models of nations, nation-ness, and nationalism from the experience of more than a century worth of American and European history. It shaped their dreams of having their own nationalism. These models were copied, adapted, and improved and with the help of the increasing speed in which capitalism transformed the means of physical and intellectual communication, it

could easily be spread to both the illiterate and literate masses. The process by which the nation came to be imagined was concerned primarily with social change and different forms of consciousness.

When it comes down to the policies of nation-building, instilling the national ideology through the educational system, administrative regulations, and mass media had to be systematically used. Additionally, there were three important instruments that would assist colonials and their ambition to form their own independent nation: the census, the map, and the museum. These instruments profoundly shaped the colonial state as it could observe the nature of human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry (Anderson 2006, p.163). Japan suppressed these forms of expressions in the colonies it ruled. They even went to the extreme of trying to assimilate a culture (e.g. Korea).

2. Transformation of the international system and decolonization

The judicial system is rooted in beliefs. Lawyers can defend a complete stranger because they believe in the existence of laws, human rights, justice, and in the money they get paid. Churches are rooted in religious beliefs. Catholics who have never met can cooperate together and go on a crusade even if they have never met. Nations are also rooted in beliefs. Two South-Koreans, who have never met, can fight together and would die for each other because they believe in the existence of the South-Korean country, its culture, and taegukgi. A nation's property rights are so inviolably accepted that for example Julian Assange, founder of Wikileaks, can ask for diplomatic asylum at the Ecuadorian embassy in England to avoid being deported to Sweden (and the United States). These imagined realities are respected in the international system, that despite having a warrant and he is actually there for the taking, he cannot be arrested as long as he is inside the embassy building. Due to this international accepted system of rights, the pull factor that would attract another nation to enter another nation's territory becomes obsolete.

Yet none of these things exist outside the stories that people invent and tell one another. There are no gods in the universe, no nations, no money, no human rights, no laws and no justice outside the common imagination of human beings (Harari 2011). These "fictions, "social constructs", "imagined realities" are things everyone can believe in, and as long as this communal belief persists, the imagined reality exerts force in the world. In the past we have

seen the transformation of dynasticism evolving into nationalism starting with the French Revolution. By the year 1922, the Romanovs, Habsburgs, Ottomans, and Hohenzollerns were all dissolved. Even the Congress of Berlin, succeeded by the League of Nations, would in time be the forerunner of the United Nations.

After Germany lost World War I, the League of Nations facilitated the division and transfer of German colonies to England, France, Belgium, and Japan. At the heydays of the League of Nations, 58 members were included (U.S. did not ratify the League of Nations mandate). Unfortunately, the League of Nations was not powerful enough to prevent war from happening again as the majority of the permanent members violated the rules and were either blocked from the organization or left on their own initiative, i.e. Japan invading Manchuria, Italy under reign of Benito Mussolini annexed what is now known as Ethiopia, Hitler's Germany opposed to the military limitations.

What is interesting and already notable about the League of Nations was the explicit focus on the term nation. Only the nation-state was allowed to take place in the organization. It was therefore a club primarily ruled by Western nations, where no colonies were allowed. The imperial powers would arrive in their national uniforms rather than in imperial costume.

After World War II ended, decolonization started and new nations were being established. It tremendously lowered the attractiveness of the pull factor for when a nation wants to expand into new territory as mostly all territory would be claimed by new nations. It is almost

unimaginable that after handing over Macau in 1999 to the Chinese, the Portuguese Empire became a thing of the past.

Certain characteristic that reminds us from the imperial past is that a large number of the formal colonies maintained a European language-of-State. These new nations are struggling and searching for finding their own identity and in their efforts, conflict and violence are no exception. Third World state building is not much different from European state building. The conflicts in the third world are internal (intra-state), they are still weak states of which the worst form is a failed state. For example, Nigeria alone has 2000 different languages and dialects and suffers from civil conflicts. The Hutu's and Tutsi's conflicts have even led to genocide. Though states have such a status and is basically for the taking, instead, those nations are internationally acknowledged and peacekeeping operations were carried out for the preservation and de-escalation of these conflicts.

The pull factors that were once so inviting during imperialism have dissolved, leaving behind only, to a certain extent, push factors for nations to claim more territory, resources, and capital like any other nation. The absence of inviting pull factors would lead to a collide of push factors between nations. The new nation states are still developing their self-identity for nationalism. In the middle east, religion weighs more than the power of dynasts or the political elite. We can see that in Iran, where the Ayatollah has more power than the president. The people might feel more connected to religion than to the nation. We see that with IS, who

based on their religion tried to establish their own nation. Kurds are also still fighting for an autonomous region or territory for their nationless people. There is no land territory left unclaimed, therefore their ways of claiming territory can only be done by claiming territory from other nations, which is illegal. This would mean that any claim by them will not be accepted by the international community. The expenses for illegally claiming property rights are too costly, but as can be seen, there is the willingness to fight and die for their imagined community.

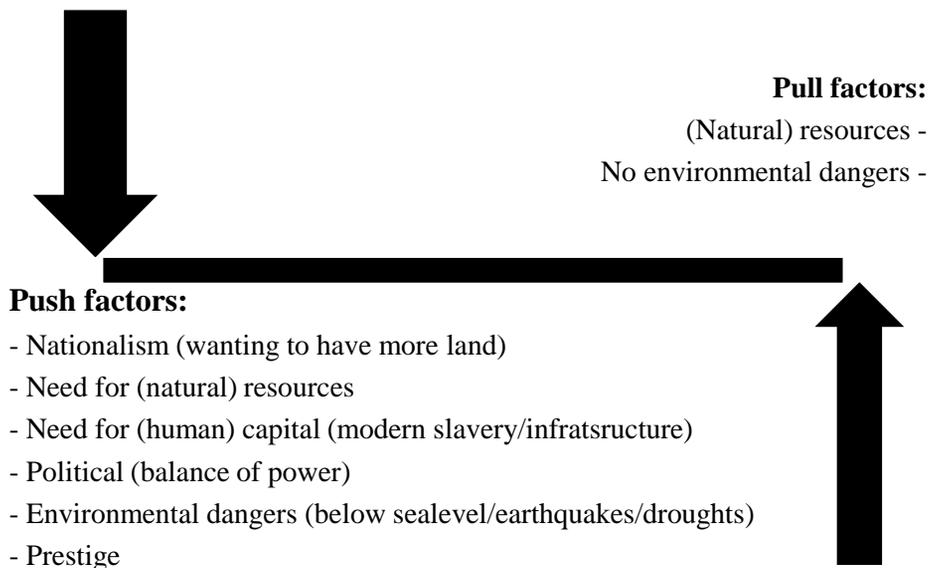


Figure 3: Push-pull factors modern nationalism

Nation building has come a long way. Consider a resident of Berlin, born in 1900 and living to the ripe age of one hundred. She spent her childhood in the Hohenzollern Empire of Wilhelm II, her adult years in the Weimar Republic, followed by the Nazi Third Reich, in Communist East-Germany, and would die as a citizen of a democratic and reunified Germany.

She had managed to be a part of five very different sociopolitical systems of which the nation state is the last and most sustainable one.

The nation-state is reasserting itself as the primary vehicle of political life. The current rise of nationalism in Europe is the result of European institutions' failure to function effectively. Nine years after 2008, Europe still has not solved its economic problems. A year after the massive influx of refugees in Europe due to Europe's migratory pull factors, there is still no coherent and effective policy to address the issue (Friedman 2015). A setback for European regional development.

3. Official Development Aid (ODA) and Peacekeeping Operations: supporting evidence

The phenomena of ODA and peacekeeping operations serve as supporting evidence in this research. Rather than giving ODA or engaging into peacekeeping operations, you conquer the land. Because of the understanding of a nation's property rights, these actions are considered illegal and therefore also costly.

After world war II ended and the decolonization period started. As one of the losing parties, Japan committed itself to paying the reparation costs based on the damage inflicted to its former colonies. Colonies which mostly have been taken from Western countries. Japan continued to live by the rules of the international system.

Article 14 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty signed by Japan in 1951 states that: "Japan should pay reparations to the Allied Powers for the damage and suffering caused by it during the war. Japan will promptly enter into negotiations with Allied Powers". Japan signed the peace treaty with 49 nations and concluded 54 bilateral agreements. The payments for reparations started in 1955 and ended 23 years later in 1977. Japan has paid, a.o. 550 million dollar to the Philippines, 300 million dollar to Korea, and 223 million dollar to Indonesia. Even the Netherlands and other former imperialist nations were compensated. It does not include all other forms of technical and economic cooperation or soft loan programs Japan committed itself to.

Some countries waived and denounced any war reparations from Japan. It is a complex process and whether or not Japan has fulfilled its debt obligations in an amount comparable to what damage it has inflicted remains disputable. But the reparations and its Official Development Aid (ODA) program would benefit the effort in normalizing relations, enhancing Japan's own security and prosperity. Introduced in 1954, Japan engaged actively in providing ODA, with a focus on its former colonies. ODA played a significant role in Japan's efforts to reconstruct friendly relations with the Asian countries, but it would also serve as a tool to promote Japanese export products and knowledge (push factor).

Japan has contributed to the "Miracle of East Asia" and it has been the largest and second largest aid provider for many years. In table 1, a track record of Japan's recent Net ODA disbursements reveal that Japan commits more aid to Asia and in particular South-East Asia than for example Africa or other developing regions. (OECD 2017) In some cases, Japan's net ODA reimbursements to Asia gets close to twice as much than Africa. Track records of the years 1991 till 1997 draw an even bigger gap between the net ODA disbursement toward Asia and Africa. As shown in table 2 below, the net disbursement goes up to four or even

JAPAN

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
FAR EAST ASIA							
Brunei	3.0	4.4	4.5	4.8	4.1	-	-
Cambodia	0.5	4.7	61.3	64.5	152.0	71.3	61.6
China	585.3	1050.8	1350.7	1479.4	1380.2	861.7	576.9
Chinese Taipei	-	-	-0.6	-	-	15.2	-
Hong Kong, China	6.7	6.4	6.2	4.9	5.8	5.9	-
Indonesia	1065.5	1366.7	1148.9	886.2	892.4	965.5	496.9
Korea, Dem.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Korea, Rep.	-40.4	17.6	-14.4	-95.2	64.2	-127.9	-140.6
Laos	20.6	24.8	40.4	80.7	97.6	57.4	78.6
Macao	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Malaysia	199.8	157.1	-22.2	5.3	64.8	-482.5	-258.9
Mongolia	48.7	43.7	57.5	71.1	99.9	103.8	78.0
Philippines	458.9	1030.7	758.4	501.6	416.1	414.5	319.0
Singapore	16.0	15.5	18.2	13.6	13.5	-	-
Thailand	406.2	414.0	350.2	382.8	667.4	664.0	468.3
Timor	0.3	-	-	0.1	-	-	-
Viet Nam	7.1	281.2	11.5	79.5	170.2	120.9	232.5
Far East Asia Unall.	35.7	47.2	47.1	44.4	56.6	10.2	14.0
TOTAL	2894.8	4454.8	3917.8	3593.4	4085.0	2680.0	1926.4
Asia Unspecified	2.3	8.6	13.2	9.3	43.7	17.5	9.2
ASIA TOTAL	5184.2	5697.1	5039.4	6023.0	6150.4	4423.4	3441.7
AFRICA TOTAL	1639.5	1032.9	1296.7	1406.8	1615.4	1331.2	965.9

Table 2: Japan's ODA to Asia compared to Africa

Through grants, soft loans, and other forms of technical and economic cooperation, Japan enhanced its image in the Asian countries. Though some of the Asian countries developed, such as the Asian five tigers, Japan continued to provide ODA. Japan is therefore highly appreciated by the recipient countries and the international community at large. Providing ODA support has a two-fold advantage. Japan, by providing ODA, not only supports the development but also the stability of a recipient country, which would contribute to the security and prosperity of Japan. Having worked intensively on normalizing relations, Japan enjoys a high sense of security. These are the costs of having an imperialist past. Other than financial costs, it only experienced several domestic terrorist attacks, such as the Tokyo Subway sarin attack in 1995.

Though, with all these investments over the past decades, it would have been less costlier to conquer the territory once more. Rather than engaging in peacekeeping missions, it would probably be easier to send military to conquer the land. Instead, it shows a deep and well developed understanding of the property rights of other nations, that are also protected by the international system in international relations.

4. Clash of push factors: Russia and China case studies

4-1 Russia and the Ukraine

There are substantial forms of criticism on how the decolonization has been carried out and how the borders of the new nations have been drawn. There are even in the current age more recent forms of ‘colonial nationalism’ present as we can observe with the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. At a first glance it has an imperial character, depending from which angle you look at the situation. Looking more closely into the territory, the majority of Ukrainian living in the eastern region have historic and cultural ties to Russia, moreover, they speak primarily Russian. This is even said to be 70%. In the past, Crimea has been in the hands of many different empires of which Russia (former Soviet Union) holds the longest and most recent record. Aside from this, and most importantly, Ukraine was formed as a nation owning property rights, sovereignty and independence. Russia’s annexation is therefore condemned as illegal and costly (considering the economic sanctions), despite its historical ties to its former land.

The historical ties and the major concerns about how these borders are drawn after the decolonization or after the fall of the communist block leave room for arguments. We derive from especially the Western media that Russia annexed Crimea. Viewing it from another perspective, Ukraine contained Russian nationals on former Russian territory. It by no means defends the process in which Russia reclaimed/annexed the Crimea area. Undeniably, Crimea

is of strategic importance for the Russian naval fleet, natural resources, and tourism, but the fact that the majority of the people is Russian or identifies that way, makes this a legal action from Russian perspective (push for action and pull for estimating it as legal).

Assessing the value of these push-pull factor relation, it could have been a miscalculation as Prime Minister Dmitri A. Medvedev said that sanctions imposed on Russia over its annexation of the Crimean Peninsula had done “meaningful” harm to the economy, but that it was a price worth paying. In an annual statement to Parliament, Mr. Medvedev estimated that Russia’s economy had lost \$26.8 billion because of low oil prices and sanctions introduced by the European Union and the United States last year. In his speech, Mr. Medvedev said that Russia’s economy had shrunk by 2 percent in the first quarter of 2015. (Roth 2015) Russian markets and the ruble have been shaken, resulting in massive capital outflows, now estimated by the Economy Ministry at up to \$70 billion in the first quarter alone compared with \$63 billion in the whole of last year (2014). Russia’s finance minister has said Russia is preparing to spend up to 243 billion rubles (\$6.8 billion) to support Crimea in 2014, including both recurring expenditure on higher pensions and wages, and one-off infrastructure spending.

Ukraine has threatened Russia with lawsuits worth “hundreds of billions of dollars” in response to Russia’s occupation of Crimea. The lawsuits will cover both the seizure of Ukrainian state property in Crimea, and also Russia’s breaches of international and bilateral

agreements. The resulting legal battles could last decades, leading to huge uncertainty over the final bill and the fate of Russian property in Ukraine, which could be impounded. The risk of Ukrainian lawsuits also means that most foreign investors are likely to shun Crimea, increasing the economic burden on Russia. In Russia's case, the cost-benefit analysis determined a positive outcome, though the pull factors might have been underestimated. This case portrays a clash of push factors, both Russia and Ukraine want to claim a certain territory, though it is not possible as the property rights of that territory were in the hands of the Ukrainian nation. Russia miscalculated the minimal pull factor that was present and therefore pays a high price.

4-2 China and Tibet

In the historical and political memory of the Chinese, imperial ruling was the period where China experienced its golden age. After the Chinese humiliation and fragmentation of its territory, China was in pain. Whereas Western nations view most of their imperial past both bringing about good things, they also brought about many bad things. For China, in their memories the empire only gave them good things. For China to desire back its territory as it was under their imperial ruling is not strange in their minds.

China has trouble in controlling the rebellious provinces of for example Tibet. The Tibetans heavily resist China's influence despite that it already has some form of autonomy. Thus far, China has invested over \$21.4 billion in Tibet in the form of infrastructure and construction

projects between 2012 to 2016 (Wee 2011). However, it still did not win the hearts and loyalty of the Tibetans. Even a large portion of the people in Taiwan do not want to identify with China and resist the influence that China wants. Major protests or even terrorist attacks make this a highly costly (and illegal) conquest. China is military wise far more powerful and could take over the autonomous regions easily, it is this presence of nationalism that holds a strength over imperialism in present time.

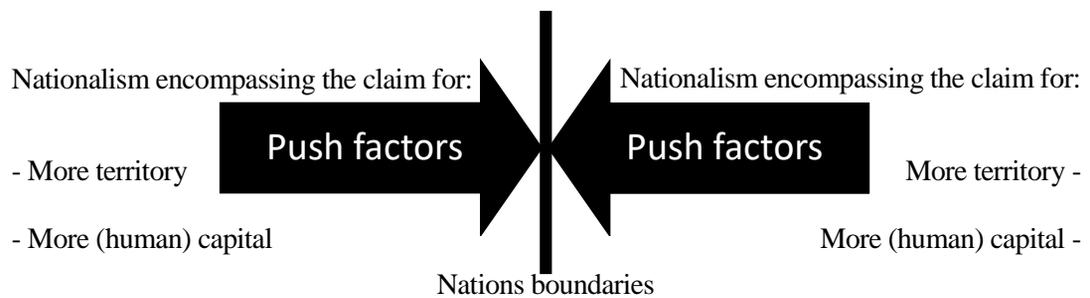


Figure 4: Collide of push factors in the absence of attractive pull factors

IV. Conclusion

The nation currently has its limitations. To break down this limitation aspect, we can take any nation for our example as all of them, even the ones encompassing millions or even over a billion people has to deal with finite or to some extent elastic boundaries. Beyond these boundaries lie other nations. These boundaries represent the well-developed understanding in international relations on a nation's legal property rights. These inviolable rights were absent prior to the establishment of the nation and were only to be acknowledged worldwide by the international community starting from the decolonization period, marking modern nationalism. Now that basically all land is claimed by a nation and that globalization has led to a world market where goods, services, and (human) resources can be exchanged with ease, it has drastically reduced the attractiveness of pull factors. Plus, no nation imagines itself as one with mankind, not a single nationalist dreams of a day where all human beings will join their nation as for say Christians dream of a wholly Christian planet.

Before the French Revolution started, both push and pull factors were present that would attract a tribe, kingdom, or empire to conquer territory without being held accountable for their actions. The development of the nation and the industrialization, created a larger gap between the developed areas and undeveloped areas (i.e. Europe and basically the rest of the world). Imperialism was a logical consequence as a distinction between nations, those who have nationalism, and non-nations, areas that do not have nationalism, became clear. No nationalism meant that no nation had claimed property rights over a certain territory. Thus,

prior to the decolonization period and the development of the international system, there were no resisting forces that strong ever in the history of humankind that could oppose imperialism.

Important for the understanding of these distinctions, it has to be emphasized that the world is divided per area and that each area was in a different stage of development. When in Europe the nations started to form, in other parts of the world the areas would be controlled by tribes, kingdoms, or empires. In the past, the West became more advanced than we could have seen for example in Asia in the 18th century. Even in present day the West takes the lead in technological, military, and economic development, despite Asia is catching up in some cases or even went beyond the level of certain Western developments. Africa however is still lacking behind and there will most probably be never a point in time where all areas in the world reach the same level of development.

If indeed the process of nation building follows similar paths as it did in Europe, then Africa could be in the phase of enlightenment as efforts are being made to modernize and to search for a solid national identity. As mentioned earlier, most developing countries are weak states. The Hutu's and Tutsi's were enforced to live within borders they have not chosen themselves but were enforced with by the end of the colonial period. On a world map, the boundaries of the nations are clear, but it does not show the nationalness of the citizens within those boundaries. It is a painful inheritance of the colonial era. By for example establishing a common language and modernizing education like the Europeans did during the transition

from dynasticism to nationalism and imperialism, it will help to strengthen the imagined community that is the nation, further decreasing the pull factors.

Obvious mistakes have been made throughout the decolonization period that are still having disastrous consequences today. Also nations like Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon had their borders drawn in the sand by England and France without them taking into account how local history, religion, geography, and economy had influenced the citizens. The people would not identify themselves with one another, they were descendants from the Abbasid Caliphate or the Babylonian or Ottoman Empire, all who had different cultures. Nonetheless, these nations were (forcefully or without much effort) created, and the problems for creating them created the many civil wars we see in the Middle East today. Nevertheless, these newly established nations had claimed full sovereignty and independence over their distinct territory, that any attempt of conquering would be illegal and costly as witnessed with IS and the Kurds, even here a re-emergence of imperialism will be prevented.

The imagined community feature was most important for the understanding of the roots of nationalism as it contains the element of belonging to something bigger than the individual. Explaining that it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their community (Anderson 2006). It is the limitation and sovereignty

aspect of nationalism that marked these new nations' their property rights (disappearing of pull factors).

Though we do live in the most peaceful era of our time, we tend to forget how much more violent the world has used to be. These days, more people die of car crashes than being killed by wars or terrorism. We commemorate the wars and celebrate our independence, to continue the realization of what happened and to what extent we are capable of committing inhumane crimes. Whether internal state conflicts have been decreased since the end of World War II is debatable, but that clashes between states have decreased is undeniable. The succession of the League of Nations by the United Nations, provides one of the most powerful resistance to pull factors in keeping nations in check with regards to imperial ambitions. Obviously there were tensions during for example the Cold War and conflicts did break out between states, but in light of the historic time frame, it has never been this peaceful as it is today. No Roman or Ottoman empire can start a conquest, in fact, ever since the end of the last great war no country recognized by the United Nations has been conquered or wiped of the map. Even the superpowers today who have all the means for starting their imperial conquest have to take into account that such conquest are too costly to undertake (e.g. Russia and Crimea, China and Tibet). And despite that conflicts are still present; the United Nations does not only have the tools to interfere military wise (i.e. peacekeeping operations), but also the capabilities to sanction perpetrators. The United Nations might be far from perfect as power struggles within

the system exist, causing nations among each other to differentiate in meaning and action. However, as long as it is in place, nations will rethink once more their behavior.

Thus, no country has attempted to conquer another nation ever since the end of the decolonization period. The rise of the nation has a causal relationship to the decline in interstate violence. Moreover, the nationalists in a country do not want to start an imperial conquest and make colonies, instead, they want the colonials out of their country. The nation-state as we know it today is deeper rooted in the emotions of the masses than any other previous political organization has achieved before. In order for nationalism to develop and for sovereignty to be claimed by the populace, a complete revision of the status quo was required.

As for Korea, the foundation of nationalism developed during the annexation by Japan and it was not strong enough to prevent the separation between the North and South. These days, South-Korea has probably one of the strongest forms of nationalism. The love for the flag and the (popular) culture, the remembrance of its past, all contribute to strong sense of horizontal connection. The best and most recent display of Korea's nationalism were the regular massive protests, by the millions, opposed to the Korean president. The fear of the Korean people in the survey stated in the introduction are therefore overrated.

Not only have the costs of imperial warfare gone up, its profits also declined. Looking into the history of empires, the mere reason for expanding was to search for resources that could still the economic hunger for growth. Thus, most conquests were focusing on securing material wealth such as gold, silver, spices, cattle, but also slaves. These days, we all have access to a global market and as our traditional resources are getting exhausted, there is a shift in focus to for example renewable energy sources. So, not only war did war became less profitable, peace became more lucrative than ever.

Additionally, when we examine the historical developments starting from the cognitive revolution till present day, we can observe that we are moving toward unity. The reason for this observation is that we moved throughout history from many separate tribes and communities into the large nations covering territories today. We now share a mostly similar geopolitical system as the world has been divided into internationally recognized nations, we share a similar economic system (i.e. capitalist open market place), a similar legal system (i.e. international and human rights), and we use the same scientific system (scientist from all over the world share the same view about the structure of atoms or the treatment of tuberculosis).

This applied to the transformation of nationalism too, it did not spread evenly across the globe.

It was a phenomenon that slowly spread itself. Notably, nationalism is not the end station.

After the dynasties transformed into what we call nations, we are now at the brink of a breakthrough of a new transformation, regionalism. Europe is ahead of this transformation,

with the establishment of the European Union and its Schengen treaty of free movement. There are more regional blocks rising in the world, even within Africa. Though regionalism is experiencing some setbacks as we have seen with the Brexit and the rise of nationalistic movements, this form will at some point in time succeed nationalism and its pre-predecessor dynasticism. Whereas with nationalism we feel this horizontal comradeship with our own nationals, in regionalism we feel connected in a similar way with other nationals.

V. References

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