Diaspora, Ethnic Internationalism and Higher Education Internationalization: the Korean and Jewish cases as stateless nations in the early 20th century

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Abstract

Universities and internationalization have largely been portrayed in the literature as extensions of state building and ethnic nationalism, focusing on the state as primary actor. This article challenges such presuppositions by separating 'nation' and 'state' and with a critical appropriation of diasporic subjectivity and institutions from a comparative historical perspective. The article has four themes: 'diaspora', 'ethnic internationalism', 'stateless nations' and 'internationalization' in higher education (IHE). It illustrates these themes and their interrelationships by looking at Koreans and Jews in the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) and during the British Mandate of Palestine (1920-1948) respectively and construing them as stateless nations. These two historical cases illustrate how new forms of higher education were linked to a new state-in-the-making. The paradox is that ethnic nationalism was not only compatible with but often overlapped with ethnic internationalism in higher

education. The conclusion of this comparative study suggests the implications for the 21st century and the important role of diaspora in processes of HE internationalization then and now.

Introduction

There is a tendency to see diaspora policies and institutions as an expression of state interests and identity politics within what Gamlen (2019) called the 'human geopolitics of the 21st century'. Diaspora has become a part of policy agendas. For instance, China's 'Thousand Talents Programme' is a state project launched in 2008 to bring home China's overseas researchers (Vision Times, 2018; Leonard, 2019). However, the theme is older than that and visible within the Jewish and Korean diasporas. The two cases highlight the notion and legacy of ethnonational diasporas in terms of 'ethnic nations' rather than States and State actions.

The state is often assumed to be a nation-state, but this is only partly true.[1] National identity and state identity are not the same. There can be many nations or 'national identities' within a state. Examples include the People's Republic of China and the United Kingdom. In contrast, Koreans think of themselves as one nation, but 'Korea' is currently two sovereign states: the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). Both states (ROK and DPRK) have created particular state identities for their populations and have promoted their state sovereignty on the international stage.

Diaspora is a useful term for talking about groups living outside of an ancestral homeland.[2] However, it has also acquired particular meanings about the nature of

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[1] The nation-state embodies the nationalist idea that there should be a complete correspondence between nations and the states that govern them. However, as Bobbitt (2002) illustrates, there are many different kinds of states by means of its formation and transformation since the fifteenth century. Currently there are at least 8000 national identities (actual or potential) in the world, and their postulated "homelands" overlap with distressing frequency. Accordingly, the nationalist ideal of a world of nation-states is unworkable, and potentially the basis for cruelty, persecution, genocide and ethnic cleansing (Rasmussen, 2001) – as we have witnessed in history and contemporaneously. Moreover, the nationalist ideal of the state as the embodiment of a single nation is irrelevant to the nature of the state (Rasmussen, 2001). Nevertheless, the two terms, nation and the state are often used interchangeably, in an indiscriminate fashion such as the "United Nations", which is, in fact, an association of 'states', not of nations. This confusion may be attributed to the "League of Nations" founded in 1919 (the predecessor of UN), following Woodrow Wilson's vision for a new international order after World War I.

[2] The term 'diaspora' has a homongenizing tendency, however, we recognise the plurality of the term and its different organising principles for diverse populations over time and space (e.g. the contemporary Israeli diaspora and the American Jewish diaspora; presumably differences in American vs European Korean diaspora.

dispersion, the orientation of displaced persons to the homeland, and the impact of dislocation and the meanings of connectivity. Hence, it is important to note what *connects* displaced subjectivities to form a diasporic community.

Sheffer (1986, pp. 3-11; 2003, p. 92) proposed an operational definition of modern 'ethnonational diasporas' to refer to ethnic minority groups with migrant origins, residing in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin. Here we take the notion of 'ethnonational diaspora' as a stateless, fluid, dispersed ethnic nation whose members imagine themselves as a community, invoking Anderson (1983). This disturbs traditional ways of thinking about states and higher education (HE) in comparative historical perspective.

We argue that the themes of both nationalism and internationalism can be identified within HE. Universities have evolved as national institutions since the fifteenth century (Rothblatt, 1997; Kim, 2007a, p.320) and formal HE systems have increasingly become a means of international competition by the sovereign states (Kim, 2017; Scott, 1990; Münch, 2014; Lo 2011). However, the relationships between nation and internationalism, state and diaspora are under-theorised especially in the internationalisation of HE studies.

Accordingly, the next section clarifies what we mean by ethnic nationalism, ethnic internationalism, and ethnonational diaspora in comparative perspective. We then consider the Korean and Jewish cases of ethnonational diaspora and IHE in the period of 'stateless nation': the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) and the British Mandate period (1918-1948) respectively. The rationale for comparing the Korean and Jewish diasporas is three-fold: (i) both Koreans and Jews are considered to have had 'ethnonational' diasporas; (ii) both Koreans and Jews have experienced the condition of stateless nation; and (iii) both founded their modern nation-states

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In Hebrew, diaspora initially referred to the settling of Jews outside the ancient borders of the Land of Israel after the Babylonian exile and has assumed a more general connotation of people settled away from their ancestral homelands. In social sciences, the concept of diasporas is more recent. In the 1970s, diasporas generally referred to migrants maintaining their ethnic tradition, a strong feeling of collectiveness; but since the 80s, the meaning of the term started to expand (Shuval, 2000, p. 42; Anteby-Yemini and Berthomière, 2005, p. 262).

after WWII in 1948. We bring these two cases together into a comparison of differing and, at the same time, related realities.

Ethnic nationalism/internationalism and ethnonational diaspora

The formation of nations is a process in which a particular notion of nation and nationhood came to dominate other forms of collective identities which could be either non-national, sub-national, or trans-national (Shin, 2006, pp. 10-11). Modern nationalism originated from Europe since the 18th century and disintegrated the supranational states of the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empires in the second half of the 19th century, both of which were based upon prenational loyalties. The ideology of nationalism as a political movement is aimed at creating a cohesive social group based on (i) a common postulated relationship, often a "blood" bond between members; (ii) a shared cultural heritage; (iii) linguistic coherence in the form of one or more languages identified with the national identity; in anticipation of (iv) a sense of identification by people with the nation (Britannica, n.d.; Rasmussen, 2001; Shin, 2006).

However, the European colonization of Asia and Africa in the 19th century and two World Wars in the 20th century undermined the principles established in the Peace of Westphalia signed in 1648 and reconfirmed in the Treaty of Versailles signed in 1919 (Brubaker, 1996; Breuilly, 2013). Accordingly, in Asia and Africa, modern nationalism became an integral principle for national independence and decolonial movements especially after the principles of 'the right of nations to self-determination' was proclaimed by both Lenin and Woodrow Wilson[3] in 1914 and 1919 respectively.

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[3] It is important to understand both Wilson and Lenin's motives behind the doctrine of 'self-determination'. While Lenin's idea of self-determination was directly serving workers' revolution and socialist national liberation movements around the world, Wilson's idea was to create a space for the US in the imperial games to join the scramble for colonies after the WWI, trying to undermine the older imperialist powers such as Britain and France by supporting the self-determination of some occupied nations in Asia and Europe (Wang, 2019).

Internationalism is described as the ideology of international 'bonding' and its ideological point of departure is the existing society of nations (Holbraad, 2003). There are many different forms of 'nationalism' such as ethnic, cultural, multicultural, trans-border, and religious (Campbell, 2015, p. 485), and of internationalism such as liberal internationalism and socialist internationalism. Liberal internationalism derived from the Enlightenment belief in the rationality of men and the harmony of national interests, is sustained by the sanguine assumptions about progress toward increasing levels of harmonious cooperation between political communities in the international society. On the other hand, socialist internationalism developed from the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin who believed that the bonds uniting the working classes of all countries would grow strong enough to enable the world proletariat to overthrow the existing international system of classes and states and replace it with a socialist world order (Holbraad, 2003).

In this article, we consider ethnic nationalism and internationalism in line with the Wilsonian liberal internationalism, which promotes 'international society', following the Grotian rationalist view of international relations – the backbone of much canonical international law and international relations theories today (Wight, 1991; Kim, forthcoming 2021). We attend to the entwined relations of nationalism and internationalism, which are made visible through the 'ethnonational diasporas' of Koreans and Jews as stateless nations.

The conventional Western/European world view and their pejorative understanding of 'ethnic' nation and nationalism have marginalised research on 'ethnic internationalism' in HE studies. Contemporaneously, the increasing emphasis on internationalization policies and practices are often tied with neoliberal marketisation and competition and stratification (Kim, 2009; 2011) framed by the 'international system'. The system is run by zero-sum games in the international HE market in the Hobbesian realist view of international relations (Wight, 1991; Kim, forthcoming 2021). As Kim (2011) suggested a decade ago, Korean HE in the 21st century is at a crossroads between 'ethnocentric' internationalization and global commercialisation.

Ethnic nationalism is often juxtaposed to civic/political nationalism in the literature (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994) and has long been associated with a more menacing form of identity politics and viewed as more divisive and backward by (Western) scholars in the field of nationalism studies. Civic nationalisms are viewed as (nominally) open to all and more cosmopolitan; notwithstanding this view, many such civic nationalisms have been riddled with racism, reluctant to uptake 'foreign' peoples, knowledges, languages, etc. Thus, a simple taxonomy of nationalism in an evolutionary developmental perspective is dangerous, lacks nuance and likely betrays a certain ethnocentrism and xenophobia of (Western) scholars.

We argue that the dichotomous typology of nations proposed by Smith (1991) and Hutchinson & Smith (1994) – i.e. civic vs. ethnic, Western Europe vs. Eastern Europe/Asian model – is intrinsically limited. For instance, the ancient Confucian civilizational world had its own rational cosmopolitanism, within which Joseon (a former name of Korea between 1392-1897) was a thorough-going neo-Confucian ideology-based 'bureaucratic' nation-state (Kim 2009; 2018; Im, Campbell, and Cha, 2013) – which means Joseon [Korea] was an ethnic/civic nation-state. On the other hand, Jews' historical non-territoriality as a stateless nation has made the Jewish Diaspora the embodiment of a post-national cosmopolitan Europe (Sluga, 2013; Sorrels, 2016).

In the early 20th century, the Yiddishland Jewish Diaspora [i.e. Yiddish-speaking left-wing Jews of Eastern Europe] did not divide the universe into Jews and non-Jews (*goyim*), but above all into exploiters and exploited, and all of them waged a bitter struggle against every kind of nationalism: "even those who campaigned for a 'territorial', 'national', or 'nationalitarian' solution to the 'Jewish question' rejected in horror any perspective of colonial conquest under the patronage of some empire or other" (whether Ottoman, British, etc.), "at the expense of another people" (Brossat and Klingberg, 2017, pp. 242-3). Some of the most influential ideas on European culture and on the peaceful reorganization of an interconnected Europe emerged from Jewish milieus and as a result of Jewish predicaments. The pan-European Union was also first envisioned by a Jewish pacifist, Alfred Hermann Fried (1864-1921) in Austria (Sorrels, 2016).

Likewise, Korean ethnonational diasporic elites in the early 20th century were imbued with the ideas of self-determinism, 'pan-nationalism' against imperialism, and some were also sympathetic to 'pan-Asianism'. Seemingly conflicting ideas of anticolonial nationalism and supranational connectedness of countries and people were characteristic of the interwar period in Asia (Neuhaus, 2017).

Duara (1997) suggests that "rising almost simultaneously with nationalism as a global ideology in the nineteenth century were various transnational ideologies such as pan-Europeanism, pan-Asianism, and later pan-Arabism, pan-Africanism" (p. 1033). For example, Japan also justified its imperial expansion and invasion in a pan-Asian vision of the regional world order by promulgating the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' (大東亜共栄圏) (Ching, 1998, pp. 68-72), preaching a coalition of Asian races, directed by Japan, against Western imperialism (Tanaka, 1993; Shin, 2006). The central trope of pan-Asian nationalism was commonality and solidarity in the face of alien intrusion and domination. However. that did not inhibit its utility in justifying a new form of domination. (Duus, 1996, p. 56), which reminds us of the famous George Orwell (1945)'s *Animal Farm* condition: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others."

The 'Joseon [Korea] question' raised by the Korean diasporic intellectuals in the early 20th century can also be understood in this context of geopolitics. Like the 'Jewish question', the 'Joseon question' dealt with the civil, legal, national, and political status of Koreans within their own country but without sovereignty as Korea became annexed to Japan and Koreans became subjects of Imperial Japan with no equal rights to ethnic Japanese (*Nihonjin*). The Korean national independence movement both inside and outside the country was ignited by the motif of 'the right of nations to self-determination'.

It is within these complexities and contradictions of history and identity that we consider the Korean and Jewish ethnonational diasporas as stateless nations and 'ethnic internationalism' in the early 20th century HE internationalisation. This will

help us to understand the notion of 'ethnocentric' internationalisation in higher education at the beginning of the 21st century.

Korean ethnonational diaspora and internationalisation in HE in the colonial period

Korea has been a stable country with territorial sovereignty since ancient times – except for the 35 years of the Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). The level of Korean ethnic cultural homogeneity is striking. Unlike many other countries, there has been no ethnic or cultural minority in Korea.[4] At the centre of Korean ethnic national identity stands *Tan'gun* – the mythical progenitor of the Korean people (Shin, 2006; Peterson, 2020). In Korea, this notion of Korean nation-ness and Korean ethnic nationalism existed in pre-modern times and was strengthened by the major crises and invasions such as the *Imjin* War (Japanese Invasions of Korea between 1592 and 1598) (Kim Haboush et. al., 2016). However, it can be suggested that it was the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) that shaped modern Korean ethnic nationalism and internationalism and ethnonational diaspora on the international stage.

Modern Korean ethnic nationalism and internationalism were a response to international imperialism and a desire to reform the traditional Confucian political and social order. Christianity played a major role in the formation of modern nationalism and internationalism in Korea at the turn of the last century (Kim, 2007b; Robinson, 1988). Protestantism began in Korea in 1884. The dramatic rise of Christianity and modern knowledge introduced by the Western missionaries coincided with a traumatic political collapse, entwined with the formation of modern nationalism through the "(modern) education for the nation" movement in the late 19th century (Abramson, 2004, p. 28). Christianity, Christian workers (both Western missionaries and enlightened Koreans) and Christian institutions (such as YMCA, YWCA and mission schools) served as catalysts for change and contributed to the rapid

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[4] *Cf.* Japan also has practised ethnonational chauvinism at home, where indigenous ethnic minority groups – e.g. Ainu, Burakumin – have been oppressed.

development of a modern Korean 'nation' (Wells, 1990). Unlike in China and Japan, where Christianity was regarded as part and parcel of Western imperialism, in Korea Christianity became positively associated with the formation of modern Korean ethnic nationalism and internationalism.

The Korean Christian ethnic internationalists looked upon the Western world as the pioneer of liberalism and a new civilisation (Lee, 1963: 277–278) – especially after Joseon, the old Confucian state, failed and eventually became subjugated to Japan. The fact that Korea and Taiwan had become colonised by Japan (the non-Western coloniser) differentiates their colonial subjectivities from the other countries colonised by the Western imperial powers in the early 20th century.

However, the Korean experience of Japanese colonialism (1910-1945) can be further differentiated from that of Taiwan (1895-1945) (Chen, 1970; Abramson, 2004). Korea proved more difficult with its strong ethnic nationalism and resistance. The Korean independence movement evolved into military and diplomatic campaigns overseas throughout the colonial period, led by Korean ethnonational diasporic individuals and institutions to achieve Korea's independence and regain sovereignty from Japan.

Christianity cultivated a national consciousness among Koreans (both elite and commoners alike) – through teaching the Bible in Korean at the grassroot level, involving the Bible Women (Strawn, 2012); transmitting Western knowledge directly to Koreans regardless of social class and gender (Choi, 2009) at private schools founded and taught by both Western missionaries and modern-educated enlightened Korean scholars – along with national socio-economic reconstruction movements (such as *Shinminwhoe* [New Korean Society] founded by Ahn Changho *et. al.* in 1907, supported by the Protestant Methodist Church and the Presbyterian Church for the National Enlightenment Movement). Ham Sok-Hon (1901-1989) – an esteemed Korean Christian ethnonationalist thinker and one of Asia's most important

voices for democracy and non-violence during the 20th century, often called the "Gandhi of Korea") interpreted the sufferings of Korea with the biblical analogies.[5]

The modern press such as *Tongnip Shinmoon* [Independence Newspaper], the first newspaper published in both Korean and English by the Independence Club (1896-1899) contributed to shaping a modern Korean nation as a new 'imagined community' (invoking Anderson (1983)'s phrase especially in regard to the role of print in fuelling the rise of modern nationalism). The first overseas Korean newspaper, *Shinhan Minbo* published in San Francisco since 1909 (Korean history database: http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?itemId=npsh) by the Korean National Association (KNA) – the first Korean ethnonational diasporic political institution – provided a sense of collective unity among Korean diasporic individuals and the wish to fight against Japanese imperialism in the homeland.

Koreans under Japanese colonial rule had no freedom of assembly or media to convey the will of the people. However, stirred up by Woodrow Wilson's principle of self-determination, Koreans rose *en masse* in March 1919. The movement was begun by 33 Korean cultural and religious leaders (16 Christian[6], 2 Buddhist, and 15 *Cheondokyo*[7] leaders) who drew up a Korean "Proclamation of Independence". Mass demonstrations were organised as national independence movement in Seoul and throughout the country. An estimated 2 million people (10 percent of the entire population at the time) took part in 1,542 demonstrations across Korea over a three-month period (Masayuki 2007). Despite peaceful demonstrations, the Japanese

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[5] See 뜻으로 본 한국 역사 [*Korean History Seen through a Will*] published in Korean, 1934; 1965; and *Queen of Suffering: A Spiritual History of Korea* published in English in 1985. Ham Sok-Hon's Christian hermeneutical oeuvre produced a legendary Korean historiography in which the horizon of east-west thought fused by showing a spiral development history that encompassed Oriental and Christian thoughts.

[6] However, Yun Ch'iho (a distinguished Korean Christian nationalist intellectual) was not one of them. Yun understood the international power relations of the given epoch and warned that Wilson's intended audience were those affected by the Great War and thus Korea and other nations unaffected by the war would not be considered (Suh, 2017: 68; Yun, 2001).

[7] 천도교; 天道教 originated from the *Donghak* ("Eastern Learning"), a religious movement that arose in 19th-century Korea and adapted indigenous Korean spiritual traditions and modern ethnic nationalism.

colonial state brutally suppressed it.[8] However, it drew worldwide attention and further influenced China in their May Fourth movement and India's non-violence movement (ibid).

Forming Korean ethnonational diasporic institutions

Thereafter, some of Korean nationalist leaders went into exile with the purpose of setting up institutions of resistance – what are called here Korean ethnonational diasporic institutions. First of all, they set up a provisional independent government in Shanghai. The formation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (KPG) on 11 April 1919, shortly after the March First Movement, attracted major Korean nationalist leaders to continue the national independence movement from abroad (Wells, 1990).

In addition – indeed prior to the Shanghai-based KPG – a group of Korean ethnic internationalists founded the Korean National Association (KNA; 대한인국민회; 大 人國民會) in San Francisco on February 1, 1909 and set up regional and international branches in the United States, Hawaii, Manchuria and Siberia (KNA: https://mehansa.com/p205/1242) to connect Koreans abroad. KNA was thus the first 'international Korean diasporic institution' and began the collection of finance to support independence. Money from Korean migrants (immigrants to the USA) supported the KPG and anti-Japanese activities – including national education and training for young adults at the Young Korean Academy (YKA; *Heung Sa Dan* in Korean) founded in San Francisco in 1913.[9]

The first President of KNA Central Headquarter in San Francisco was Choy Jung Ik – a former Confucian scholar mandarin as Governor in the period Joseon Dynasty and the Mayor of Suncheon in the period of Korean Empire (대한제국; 大韓帝國, 1896-1910), who moved to San Francisco in 1903, foreseeing the Japanese political

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[8] "About 7,000 people were killed by the Japanese police and soldiers, and 16,000 were wounded; 715 private houses, 47 churches, and 2 school buildings were destroyed by fire. Approximately 46,000 people were arrested, of whom some 10,000 were tried and convicted" (Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/event/March-First-Movement).

[9] The YKA is still robustly functioning as civic organisation with over ten thousand members in Korea, America and elsewhere (YKA: http://www.yka.or.kr/html/about_dosan/life_achievement.asp).

machinations to annex Korea. Choy was also the Editor and Publisher of *Shinhan Minbo* [*the New Korea*] weekly newspaper, promoting the independence movement and advocating the interests of the Korean people (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture; Yonsei University College of Medicine Research Centre for Medical History, 2017, pp. 122-123).

Choy worked closely with Ahn Changho, a founding member of the KPG in Shanghai in 1919 – who also established *Shinminhoe* [New Korean Society] in 1907 and the *Heung Sa Dan* [Young Korean Academy (YKA)] in San Francisco in 1913. They not only worked for Korea's independence movement but also wanted to reform the Korean people's character and the entire social system of Korea. Choy Jung Ik also founded the first Korean Methodist Church in San Francisco (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture; Korea Wikipedia on KNA). The diasporic Korean elites were also actively engaged in international diplomatic lobbying and both ethnonational and international HE.

Korean ethnic internationalism shaped by international knowledge and the internationalisation of higher education

After Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, Koreans were forced to assimilate and to subsume Korean national identity within the transnational notion of Imperial Japan. The Japanese colonial state in Korea repressed Christianity to foster the loyalty of Koreans to the Japanese Emperor, inhibited Korean freedom of expressions and academic autonomy, and banned all political activities by Koreans. Speaking Korean was forbidden, and it also became a crime to teach Korean Geography and Korean History from non-approved texts (Kim, 2001/2018, pp. 55-72; Blakemore, 2018).

The Japanese colonial state tightly controlled public schools focusing on basic education in Japanese and vocational technical education for selected Koreans. Throughout the colonial period, no institution in Korea was given a university degree granting status – except Kyung Sung Imperial University [Seoul National University after independence]. Founded by Imperial Japan in 1926, it was the only university in the Korean peninsula throughout the colonial period, hiring only Japanese

academics and catering mainly for the Japanese residents in Korea. Only a third of the highly selected students were from a Korean background (Kim, 2001/2018; 2007b, p. 42). The Japanese imperial university education (through the Faculty of Law and Literature and Faculty of Medicine, and later Faculty of Engineering added in 1938) provided an *in*direct channel for transferring Western knowledge, taught by the Japanese academics in Japanese, following the Japanese version of internationalisation and stressing Japanese culture and obligations to the Japanese colonial state (Kim, 2001/2018, p. 71).

In contrast, Christian private colleges (such as Yonsei and Ewha founded by Christian missionaries in 1885 and 1886 respectively) opened a direct channel to Western liberal knowledge. The Japanese colonial assimilation policy aimed at blocking anything related to Korean national identities (including the Korean language and names). However, the Christian private colleges taught in both Korean ("secretly") and English. The classes were for Koreans (including women for the first time). Unlike Kyung Sung Imperial University where only Japanese academics were employed, Christian private colleges opened the academic profession to both Korean and Western missionary scholars who taught Korean history, literature and language as part of Oriental History classes up. However, the Japanese colonial state developed an extreme version of the colonial assimilation project in Korea. During the Pacific War with the United States, the Japanese colonial state banned teaching in English in private Christian colleges and censored texts of English writers in Korea (Kim, 2001/2018, pp. 64–72; 85–89).

Despite Japanese colonial oppression, both Severance Medical College and Yonhi College [Yonsei University after their merger in 1957] produced Korean leaders and were closely involved in Korean independence movements. Christian Korean academic intellectuals at Yonhi College led the foundation of the Joseon Language Society (now The Korean Language Society) for Korean language research and attempted to publish a Korean language dictionary in 1942 (Kim, I.W., 2015; Yonsei University, 2015, p. 183).

Christian private HEIs played a key role in shaping and strengthening Korean ethnic nationalism and internationalism simultaneously to contribute to the IHE – with the support of Korean ethnonational diasporic institutions and networks overseas.

Korean diasporic subjectivity formation by international HE
The Christian private HEIs in Korea produced distinguished Korean elites who moved abroad to study in major Western universities – e.g. Yun Ch'iho (1865-1945) studied theology, humanities and social and natural sciences at Vanderbilt and Emory Universities; Dr. Syng Man Rhee (1875-1965) – later the first President of the Republic of Korea (ROK, founded in 1948) studied international politics and international law at George Washington, Harvard and Princeton Universities; President Yun Poson (1896-1990) – the fourth President of ROK – studied archaeology at Edinburgh University; Dr. Paul D. Choy (1896-1973) studied politics and economics, medicine and medical jurisprudence at UC Berkeley and University of Toronto, Peking Union Medical College, and Tohoku Imperial University; Dr. Nak-chun Paik [George Paik] (1895-1985) studied history and theology at Princeton University; Young Sook Choi (1906-1932) the first Korean woman studied economics at Stockholm University in Sweden; Dr. Kim Whal Ran (1899-1970) studied philosophy at Wesleyan, Boston and Columbia University; and many more.

Through their biographies, it is clear that they had strong Korean ethnic national consciousness but they were the advocates of international higher education. They themselves had studied at major universities abroad after graduating from the mission schools (such as Paichai (1885-) and Ewha (1886-)) and private Christian HEIs (Severance and Yonhi (Yonsei) (1885-) in Korea. Many of them devoted themselves to the internationalisation and advancement of Korea and Korean HE. Reformers included Paul D. Choy at Severance, Nak-chun Paik at Yonhi/ Yonsei, Kim Whal Ran at Ewha.

For example, Dr. Paul D. Choy (최동(崔棟: 1896-1973), the first son of Choy Jung Ik (the first President of KNA Headquarter in San Francisco and the Editor and publisher of *Shinhan Minbo*) spent his childhood in Japan, educated at Gyosei Junior and Senior High School (French Catholic boarding school) in Tokyo since the age of

7. He went to San Francisco in 1914 to reunite with his father and studied at UC Berkeley; but two years later, after meeting Dr. Oliver R. Avison (Canadian medical doctor, humanitarian, missionary, professor and Principal of Severance Union Medical College who was then on sabbatical at Berkeley) and having learnt from Dr. Avison about the medical condition in Korea, he decided to go back to his homeland Korea in 1917 to study medicine at Severance and serve his nation. Paul D. Choy also participated in the March First Independence Movement in 1919 and got imprisoned for three months. After graduating from Severance in 1921, he studied parasitology and pathology at Peking Union Medical College in China and the University of Toronto in Canada respectively, and gained his doctorate in medical jurisprudence at Tohoku Imperial University in Japan. He was the first Korean specialist in medical jurisprudence and also served on the board of trustees of Severance Medical College. After national independence, Dr. Paul D. Choy became the first Korean President of Severance Medical College (1945-48), prior to the merger with Yonhi College/University to make Yonsei University (Lee, et. al., 2004; Kim, I. W., 2005).

His field of study, however, was not confined to medicine. He devoted himself to the study of Korean national history and made extensive studies on the origins of the Korean people for 30 years. He published in 1966 a major work on this history and received a D.Litt. at Yonsei University as well as publishing major books on history in English and Japanese (Lee, et. al., 2004; Kim, I.W., 2005; Yonsei University, 2015).

Overall, the first generation of Korean diasporic elites who received international HE at Christian private HEIs in colonial Korea and at major universities in the USA and Europe has made a direct contribution to, and a *longue durée* impact on shaping modern Korean ethnic nationalism and internationalism and contributed to the IHE (especially in medical science and liberal arts) in Korea (as stateless nation) and subsequently in South Korea (ROK) after independence. The Republic of Korea (ROK) (1948-present) and the Shanghai-based provisional government of ROK (KPG) (1919-1948) were directly linked to the Korean diasporic institutions (such as KNA) and diasporic national leaders.

Jewish ethnonational diaspora and internationalisation in HE in British Mandatory Palestine: 1920-48

Jewish history is replete with cycles of expulsion, exile, persecution – and connection, prosperity, integration and assimilation (Sheffer, 2003). Since the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD by the Romans (until the founding of the nation-State of Israel in 1948), Jews have been a stateless nation, dispersed (willingly and forcefully) from their perceived homeland.[10] While there is considerable variation over space in time in Jewish diaspora experiences, particularly between Ashkenazi, Sephardi and Mizrahi communities, throughout history, Jews maintained an ethnonational identity, in part, with the aid of different institutions (e.g. synagogues; religious courts; Yeshivas; Shlichim d'arbanon (שַׁדַ"רים, שְׁלִיחֵי דְרַבָּנֶן) (Carlebach, 2017).

The idea of a Jewish university was proposed as early as 1466 in Sicily, however this never materialised (Klausner, 1950). The reasons for the revival of the idea, in the 19th century, were twofold: the rise of national self-determination (nationalism) in Europe – as explained earlier, proceeding the establishment of Zionism, the movement for the reestablishment of the Jewish nation in Eretz Israel (the Land of Israel); and the widespread institutionalised antisemitism in Europe which was systematically excluding Jewish youth from HE (Bamberger, 2020). A Jewish university was envisioned as important by factions within the Diaspora and Zionist movement for different reasons: for cultivating, reviving and modernising national culture; for alleviating Jewish discrimination and providing opportunity to Jewish

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[10] The Septuagint, the earliest extant Greek translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew, translated Deuteronomy 28:25 as "Thou shalt be a diaspora in all kingdoms of the earth". The Greeks understood the term, diaspora, to mean migration and colonisation (Shuval, 2000, p. 42).

"Around the 1st century CE an estimated 5,000,000 Jews lived outside Palestine, about four-fifths of them within the Roman Empire, but they looked to Palestine as the centre of their religious and cultural life. Diaspora Jews thus far outnumbered the Jews in Palestine even before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. Thereafter, the chief centres of Judaism shifted from country to country (e.g., Babylonia, Persia, Spain, France, Germany, Poland, Russia, and the United States), and Jewish communities gradually adopted distinctive languages, rituals, and cultures, some submerging themselves in non-Jewish environments more completely than others"
(Britannica, last updated: 18 May 2020: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Diaspora-Judaism)

youth for HE; as an apex institution to a HE system in the homeland; and as part of the scientific infrastructure for facilitating increased settlement of the homeland (ibid).

Geopolitics of Jewish Diaspora and the idea of a Jewish university in the making

Whilst the Zionist Organisation (ZO), the umbrella organisation for re-establishing a Jewish homeland, did approve (in 1913) and take the early steps to establish a Jewish university in Palestine, such a university was not necessarily viewed as a precursor to a nation-state and Zionist aims in the early years were more modest. Indeed, when the land for the university on Mount Scopus was purchased by the ZO in 1916, before the Balfour Declaration (1917) and when Palestine was firmly in the hands of the Ottomans, it was not at all certain that the university would be part of a Jewish nation-state (Weizmann, 1966). It was likewise not at all sure that the University would be created in a land under European rule. The impetus for its establishment was for the revival of the Jewish nation in its ancestral homeland, which was considered a worthwhile project even in the absence of a Jewish nation-state, or sponsoring European power (Bamberger, 2020).

The shape of the university – what would be its primary purposes – and whom it would serve was the subject of considerable struggle between different factions of Zionists and of Diaspora Jewry. These struggles are described by Cohen (2003) as between the idea of a 'University for the Jews' which would essentially represent a teaching university and aim to alleviate the issues of quotas and institutionalised antisemitism, providing HE access to local Palestinian Jews; or a 'Jewish University,' which would represent a research university and serve the whole of the Jewish nation (in Palestine and around the world) as a 'spiritual centre' for the revival of national culture. What was clear in these debates was that the university was viewed as reflecting the national identity – as a closely guarded self-identity – of Jews worldwide as a learned and cultured people. In line with this self-perception, a Jewish University would have to embrace excellence and '…shed lustre on the Jewish People…' (Klausner, 1950, p. 38). Ideas of 'Jewish genius' and 'People of the Book' were repeatedly expressed at the time. There was likewise a significant amount of self-consciousness about the status of Jews in these discussions, which

reflected the insecurity and marginalised status of Jews in diaspora lands (Bamberger, 2020).

The university could only have been created with Diaspora support – and this dictated the eventual form and purposes of the university: much of the elite Diaspora supporters were *not* aligned with the political aims or ideological claims of the Zionist project. Many of them involved in the formation and support of the university in its earliest years, were not advocates of a *Jewish* nation-state, or at least were at odds with the Zionist ideology of 'negation of the exile,' which espoused the idea that Jewish life in the Diaspora was a sort of half-existence and Jews could not lead fulfilled lives as a stateless minority (Schweid, 1984). This fundamental tenet of Zionism undermined thousands of years of Jewish Diaspora existence – and the very prosperity, affluence and identities of its Diaspora supporters. The ZO attempted to fundraise in the Diaspora and struggles ensued as wealthy individuals and communities were only willing to contribute to the project on condition that some level of control over their investment would be guaranteed (e.g. representation on the Board of Governors). It was in this fashion that the Diaspora was able to play an active role in shaping and reviving Jewish ethnonational identity through the university, while keeping its horizons broader than the practical needs of the Zionist political project. Thus, Zionist factions, which promoted a 'teaching university' to train settlers, were marginalised (Cohen 2006).

Eventually, through a drawn-out negotiation, a research university (Hebrew University), was established in 1918 as a 'University for the Jewish People.' It was intended to serve the whole of the Jewish People, not solely those inside the homeland. It would be funded primarily by Diaspora supporters, in exchange for a considerable amount of control over the university. This formation informed the language of instruction (i.e. Hebrew); its initial formation as research institutes with organised instruction only opened several years later; and its areas of engagement: natural sciences (Chemistry and Biology) and Jewish Studies. Eventually the Diaspora perspective controlled the socio-political process of creating the university, its trans/ethno/national character and moderated (and often marginalised) the Zionist, nation-state building project. However, Zionist aims were not neglected, they

were rather fostered through the research agenda of the university, which provided significant service to the emerging nation-state project (Bamberger, 2020).

Hebrew University (HU) was thus created and governed by a myriad of international networks (e.g. international committees located in London, New York and Jerusalem; international academic council) with one of the most important – in financial and identity terms – being the Friends of Hebrew University Societies established throughout the Diaspora. Notably, while there were 'centres' of finance and influence (e.g. USA, UK), donations were forthcoming from across the Diaspora (Cohen, 2006); this indicates the importance for Diaspora communities – including 'rank and file' Diaspora - to be linked to such an institution – and HU to link itself to such communities. This network of 'Friends' associations represented the institutionalisation of Diaspora Jewry and homeland ties through HU, in what Cohen (2006) dubs a 'Jewish Commonwealth.' The Diaspora was thus highly organised for and through the HU project. Indeed, Diaspora representatives, in conjunction with academics, came to dominate the governance of HU and at times dismissed the requests of local Zionists and the ruling state (i.e. British Mandate) (Cohen and Sapir, 2016). This was evident in the reluctance of the Diaspora-Academic coalition to undertake undergraduate teaching or teaching in areas which would develop a civil service for the state (e.g. Law, Social Sciences, see Gross, 2005).

Jewish diasporic subjectivity and ethnic internationalisation in the university
In the absence of a Jewish nation-state and a strong and involved Britain, HU was an institution controlled by a Diaspora-Academic coalition (Cohen and Sapir, 2016). The many organisational constructs for creating, promoting, and governing the university included a mix of Diaspora (elite) donors; academics; and local and international Zionist figures. Local Zionists were also board members and thus, HU served as a bridging institution, in which the Diaspora and local Jews/Zionists interacted – and particularly those with different political views, citizenships, religiosity, etc. interacted. This form of governance and partnership resulted in the university mission expanding beyond the political nation-state building enterprise (Cohen, 2006). However, it also had an ethnonationalist mission, which at times

connected with, but not exclusively so, the (Zionist) nation-state project (Bamberger, 2020).

A prominent figure in the establishment of HU was Rabbi Dr. Judah Magnes (1877-1948), an American-born Reform rabbi with a PhD from Heidelberg who in 1922 moved to the British Mandate of Palestine and in 1925 became the first Chancellor of HU (Kotzin, 2010). He was connected to the prosperous and influential New York Jewish community and through his personal networks, solicited the support of wealthy Diaspora individuals for HU – and represented their interests as the university Chancellor. Personally, he ascribed to cultural Zionism, aligned with Ahad Ha'am (1856-1927), and the rebuilding of a Jewish national culture in the homeland for the entirety of the Jewish people – those within and outside the borders of Eretz Israel; in this view, the establishment of a political nation-state was marginalised to the aim of reviving Jewish nationhood and culture and Jewish life in the Diaspora was of equal significance to that of Jewish life in the homeland (ibid). Magnes was a pacifist and was politically devoted to a bi-national state which would embrace Arabs and Jews. Thus, he made a distinction between the national identity (of the Jewish people as a whole) and the identity of the state which would rise in Palestine. While Magnes was in the minority, and was eventually ousted from the Chancellery, and demoted to the Presidency, this example illustrates how the university was viewed as a way to revive, shape and perpetuate ethnonationalist sentiments; however, it was not necessarily connected to the political notion of a nation-state, or certainly not exclusively and unanimously so. Importantly, Magnes' views were echoed by many renowned Jewish academics of the period, who had strong (if not conflicted) Jewish identities, and were supporters of the university but were not committed to the political Zionist project (e.g. Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud and Martin Buber, who all served on the first Board of Governors of HU, were opposed to the mainstream political Zionist project (Rolnik, 2012; Rowe & Schulmann, 2013; Schaeder, 1973).

In this period a pattern of internationalisation materialised at HU. Academic staff were Jewish intellectuals (from the Diaspora) and were overwhelmingly educated and born in the academic (and Jewish) centre of the world at the time – Europe (Bamberger, 2020), particularly Eastern Europe. Academics were expected to teach

in Hebrew, however, they continued to publish in international (European) languages, particularly German, and maintained connections to international scholarly societies (ibid; Bentwich, 1961). The administrative form of the university was based on the German model, of combining research and teaching in which the latter would stem from and advance the former. This form was based on the Enlightenment ideas of applying scientific methods to societal improvement and progress. However, in an important departure from the German model which was transplanted (particularly in German colonies, by force (Miller, 1974) and adapted in other locations, in this case, it was adapted to the nation-building project – not only in its efforts to categorise/exploit local resources (i.e. utilitarian and instrumental aspects) but also in its identity aspects.

Research projects in the university applied Western science to facilitate settlement (e.g. irrigation studies; eradication of local diseases); revive and develop Jewish identity and culture (e.g. Hebrew language; Jewish history); and to assert Jewish connections to the land (Bamberger, 2020; Troen, 1992). There was a considerable repertoire of historical social artefacts of the Jewish people (e.g. language; law; texts; symbols; customs) and the university was intimately involved in reviving and developing these historical artefacts, renewing (and re-shaping) Jewish national identity. Thus, the university, drawing on Enlightenment scientific models (e.g. applying critical theories to religious texts) aimed to secularise and modernise Jewish ethnonational identity. This drive to study – and preserve – Jewish cultural practices and knowledge of communities became particularly acute as European Jewry was decimated in the Holocaust and whole communities and traditional centres of Jewish learning (i.e. Yeshivas) were wiped out. In these aims, science was to be infused with Jewish values and focus, in a strident (ethnic) nation-building project. In this way, new disciplines were founded which were largely outside of the European university canon (e.g. Palestinology, Talmud) (Bamberger, 2020).

While ostensibly open to all, the 'international' students at HU were overwhelmingly Jewish and the shifting population of the students was considerably linked with antisemitic persecution in Europe (Benavot, 2009). Reflecting its Jewish ethnonational raison d'etre, the first Arab Palestinian students were only enrolled in

1939 (Bamberger, 2020) and remained a significant minority.; International students, while requiring visas from the British, were more apt to *feel* as an indigenous people returning to their homeland (see Troen, 2013) and thus, qualitatively distinct from other forms of student mobility and HU played an important socialisation role for new (international student) immigrants into the Yishuv.[11]

Overall, HU was founded by and for Jewish ethnonational diaspora in a period of a stateless nation. Created outside a state apparatus, the university played a decisive role in cultivating and promoting a Jewish ethnonational identity, which was shaped and controlled in large part by diasporic individuals and organisations (Bamberger, 2020). HU was thus a Jewish ethnonational institution, in that its primary aim was to cultivate and promote the Jewish national project, through the use of Enlightenment science, including its physical reestablishment in the homeland [the British Mandate of Palestine then]; and its cultural revival. While HU owed its establishment in no small part to the rise of nationalism of the time, it was not dominated by the political aim to create a Jewish sovereign nation-state.[12] While it provided significant service to the Zionist enterprise, it was not subordinate to this political movement for a nation-state in the making (Cohen & Sapir, 2015; Gross, 2005). Thus, the origins, purposes and governing mechanisms of the university had significant impact on its internationalisation.

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[11] 'Yishuv' is the Hebrew term for the Jewish settlement in Palestine before the founding of the State of Israel. Notably, many local Zionists (i.e. 'Palestinian Jews') were much more circumspect about higher education. The dominant Kibbutz movement associated with Labour Zionism, emphasised redemption of the homeland through physical labour and settlement. At the time, Yishuv elites were more likely to hail from the Jewish militias and the Kibbutz movement than universities. See Timor and Cohen (2015).

[12] However, the State of Israel has officially become an exclusive ethno-religious state under the "nation-state law" (הַיְּהוּדִי הָעַם שֶׁל הַלְאֹם מְדִינַת—יִשְׂרָאֵל :יְסוֹד חֹק) enacted on 19 July 2018, which declares that Israel is "the national home of the Jewish people." According to the new law, only Jews have a right to national self-determination in Israel, Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and Hebrew is the only official language, downgrading the official status of Arabic. Palestinians in Israel have become "native aliens" or foreigners in their own homeland (Waxmann, 23 July 2018; Eid, 22 July 2018).

Conclusion

The conventional approaches to ethnonational diaspora and the IHE are often premised on diasporic subjectivity as a loyal extension of the state (Welch & Hao, 2016; Welch & Jie, 2013). The bulk of IHE research focuses on the state as primary actor. Such presuppositions were put into question in this article by separating 'nation' and 'state' and with a critical appropriation of diasporic subjectivity and institutions from a comparative historical perspective.

The article began by providing the conceptual apparatus of ethnonational diaspora, ethnic nationalism and ethnic internationalism in line with the geopolitics of the early 20th century and Wilsonian-Leninist 'right of nations to self-determination'. We then illustrated the Korean and Jewish cases in the period of stateless nation. The Korean and Jewish cases demonstrated that the ethnonational diasporic individuals and diasporic institutions contributed to the IHE, but were not beholden to the ruling states then. Both the Korean and Jewish diasporas in the period of stateless nation imagined themselves as ethnic 'nations' without sovereignty. Both cases showed that diasporic subjectivity and institutions can be independent and subversive of the ruling state's agenda – in the Korean case against the Japanese colonial state's assimilation project and in the Jewish case ambivalent to the state or a nation-state in the making.

Our cases illustrate how ethnic internationalism (imagined in the Grotian rationalist framework of international relations) led the IHE – in the absence of a supportive (and particularly in the Korean case, actively hostile) state apparatus. Yonsei (originally Severance Medical College and Yonhi College) founded as private Christian HEI in 1885) contributed to modernising and enlightening Koreans regardless of gender and class since the late 19th century and supported the independence and modernization of Korea in spite of the oppressive Japanese colonial State in the early 20th century. HU was founded as 'a living symbol of the cultural rebirth of the Jewish nation in its ancestral homeland' (Troen, 1992, p. 50). In both Korean and Jewish cases, these HEIs relied on sources outside the ruling

States and directly engaged in the process of imagined nation-building long before the actual establishment of their nation-states in 1948.

Diasporic individuals and institutions/organisations (such as KNA and ZO, Friends Societies) were influential in governing, funding and shaping HE (private HEIs in Korea and HU and other HEIs in Israel) and played a significant role in the IHE. Private HEIs in the Korean case then were subversive to the Japanese colonial state and HU in the Jewish case was not wholly embedded with the Zionist project of creating a Jewish nation-state per se. HE served as a counterweight to it with modern cosmopolitan ideas. However, there were many nuances – not simply contradictions – e.g. between Jewish Zionist nationalism, Jewish cosmopolitanism and Jewish universalism (Miller and Ury 2010, p. 339).

In Korea, ethnic nationalism and internationalism were entwined in private Christian HEIs and have been evolving with geopolitics and dominant ideology of the time – notably Wilsonian liberal internationalism, imbued with the principle of the right of peoples and nations to self-determination against imperialism. (Such Korean ethnic internationalist world views in the early 20th century, however, have shifted over the last 60 years taking on more 'ethnocentric' chauvinistic approaches.)

Overall, the Korean and Jewish historical cases suggest the close relationship between ethnonational diaspora, ethnic internationalism and the IHE in history – illuminating the overlooked and neglected aspects of these connections. Furthermore, our research focus on ethnonational diasporic subjectivity and diaspora institutions complements the limits of methodological nationalism and recovers parts of its history thereby obscured.

Turning to the contemporary period, we consider the implications of these historical case studies for the notion of 'human geopolitics of the 21st century' (Gamlen, 2019). While the world is becoming more globalized and traditional countries of emigration develop economically, they are becoming more and more interested in their diasporas. This process signals the dawn of a new era in 'diaspora management' policies (Maylonas, 2013).

Many national governments are actively reaching out to their diasporas and seeking to influence the ways in which their diasporas are imagined as a part of internationalization and national branding strategies – e.g. Vision Ethiopia (Ethiopia), Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas (PBD) (India), Thousand Talents Program (China). Moreover, countries with a developed diaspora management policy are likely to end up with a more restrictive migration policy for foreigners (Maylonas, 2013) – and with more 'ethnocentric' approaches to the IHE (Kim, 2011). Despite their very different diaspora histories, the Korean and Israeli cases are no exceptions (Kim, 2011; Bamberger 2020).

Contemporaneously, however, in the shifting relations between the state, market and society, it is important to explore mutations of diaspora in the ways in which localised political and social organisations set the terms of boundaries, while diasporic individuals seek to refine their subjectivity. In the shadow of COVID-19 pandemic, a strong backlash against '(academic) migration' and the emerging post-neoliberal mercantilist world, these issues are likely to become more salient.

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