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The Korean conflict is one of most vital conflicts on the agenda of international relations, especially taking into account the nuclear program of the DPRK. To stabilize the situation, it is important to investigate the policy of the two sides towards one another thoroughly. Regarding the inter-Korean relations via Carl Schmitt's theory of the «political», we can conclude that the antagonistic and agonistic types of the political are prevailing on the peninsula, and these types regulate the general policy of the two states. The antagonistic understanding of the political implies definite division of the society into “we” and “they”, thus, the opposite side is perceived as the “hostis”, with whom no one can find a resolution. This perception of the political is more typical to the DPRK, while the agonistic perception, which implies “rival” instead of “hostis” and seeks for negotiations, although it underlines that war may break out if the worst comes to the worst. As a result, all attempts to settle the Korean problem have come to a deadlock.

Key words: mass media, conflicts, Korean peninsula, informational war, international relations.

The Influence of the Informational War between South and North Korea on the Mass Consciousness in These States

Introduction

One of the modern day worldwide trends are the informational wars. Intertwined with the process of globalization, the mass media can form the audience's opinion on different events in the world so that the audience can't feel it is being influenced. It will be remembered how the UNESCO constitution starts: “That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed”¹. This construction if formed mainly by the mass media, but often the opposite idea is imposed upon the audience: for example, that the war is likely to happen, so that everyone should be ready for it, or any other idea, which excludes the

¹ <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=7978>

idea of peaceful settlement. This situation is often resulted from different reasons, like political motives, historical background, controversies over resources and so on.

This article deals with the informational war between South and North Korea. The Korean state was divided in 1945 shortly after liberation from the Japanese colonial rule. Generally, it will be true to say that the division was almost completely externally influenced. And yet 5 years after the division, the deadly civil war broke out. The civil war determined the division, and since 1953 the interkorean relations developed cyclically: thaws in relations were followed by strains of tensions. After the Cold War had ended, the sun policy of South Korean President Kim Dae-jung was the last relatively peaceful period, and since the beginning of XXI century, the interkorean relations are maintained at rather stable, but strained level.

Still, the Korean conflict is now on the agenda of international relations due to several reasons. Undoubtedly, that the main reason is the necessity to find a solution to the nuclear problem of the Korean Peninsula. The second reason is the question of the Korean unification. Third, the stable situation on the peninsula is the basis for secure development of the East Asia region as a whole. The peaceful settlement is tied to many conditions, but one of main conditions is the elimination of informational war which creates the atmosphere of enmity between the two states.

During this investigation, comparative and content analysis of the events on Korean Peninsula and their reflections in the mass media from 2000 to 2016 were carried out. Along with it, the author would like to regard the Korean conflict through the history of this conflict to understand how the past events influence in now.

The purposes of the investigation are to find out the main features of the propaganda of two states, how it influences the society of the two states, and to make a conclusion wheatear the two states' population can still be called one nation. According to Carl Schmitt's theory of the "political", which was added by Chantal Mouffe, the two states can be either "enemies" (the antagonistic view of Carl Schmitt) or "rivals" (the agonistic view of Chantal Mouffe). In the first case the states seem to be almost on the brink of war, dividing the society on "we" and "them". Agonistic view is more smooth, regarding the states rather like rivals, than like enemies. Thus, the purpose of investigation is to define which of this views is more appropriate to the Korean conflict.

Peculiarities of the Korean informational war:

- **The history of the Korean Peninsula.** There were at least two long periods, when the states of the Korean Peninsula were divided – in the 3-6 centuries and in 10 century. Since 935, the united kingdom of Koryo had been founded, and since then up to 1910 there was a unified state (in 1392 the dynasty and the name of the kingdom changed, but the borders of the state remained the same). But in 1910 the Japanese annexation happened, and that was the event that predetermined the future Korean split. The Japanese colonial administration tented to eliminate all traces of the Korean culture, and gradually the Korean society divided into those who collaborated with the Japanese administration and those who lead guerilla war against them. The Japanese policy resulted in a fact, that, by 1945, there were the young Koreans who didn't speak the Korean language. Moreover, during the Japanese rule, the Korean political movement developed beyond the Korean borders, and by 1945 among different forces there were the communists and the liberalists, but there was no one leader, who was supported everywhere in the Korean state, which had just been liberated. That was also one of the main reasons of the split. So, though the decision to divide Korea was made by the US Generals Charles Bonestill and Dean Rusk during one night², the Korean state even by that time had already had some vulnerabilities, which became fatal with the decision to divide Korea.
 - **Political peculiarities.** The Korean conflict is asymmetrical: while the DPRK has no allies (it's difficult to regard China as its' ally), South Korea has the support of the USA and, generally, of the West. Moreover, the DPRK is a completely closed state, so often it is impossible to check whether the new sensations about it are rumors or truth. This situation harms the image of North Korea, as far as, when the audience cannot check the credibility of information, it usually accepts this information, even if the evidences are lame. A lot of sensations about North Korea, that turn out to be preposterous even after superficial analysis, in fact are based on this fact. In addition, some firsthand information about the DPRK comes from the defectors, who a priori cannot be objective to the regime because they had the reasons to flee from this regime. The isolation of the DPRK also prevents the population of the state from any objective information about their compatriots in South Korea.
 - **Psychological factors.** The Korean society is sociocentric (like most of societies who used to be a rice-growing community in ancient times), and the nature of
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sociocentric societies is to divide the social groups into “we” and “them”. Perhaps this can explain why the Korean society so quickly divided into two groups after the liberation from Japan. Kim Hakjoon, an American sociologist, goes on with this idea, explaining that in ancient times the Koreans lived by small communities, and they were divided from one another by the mountains. Thus, the neighbor community was often difficult to reach, and psychologically these communities were isolated from one another, though they belonged to one nation and one state. Now, this historical memory may be a hinder to create a “nation state”.

- **Psycho-linguistic** factors. One of the main points here is the fact, that two Koreas don't have a similar name in the Korean language, the word “Korea” is used only in European languages. In Korean, North Korea is called “Cheoson” and South Korea – “Hanguk”. Historically, in case of state splits the two state usually kept the same names, like it was, for example, in Vietnam, Germany or Yemen. The Korean language itself undergoes significant changes – it becomes divided. By now, more that 70 000 words in South and North Korean are already different.
- **Ideological differences.** The essence of the North Korean ideology – *juche* – is a combination of traditional Korean philosophic ideas and the Marksism-Leninism tradition. *Juche* ideology in North Korea determines the character of propaganda inside the state. Denying the idea of God, *Juche* ideology can't promise any rewards for people in afterlife, but the difficulties of simple people's life shall be justified (as far as people should know what for they have to undergo these difficulties). Thus, the only possible justification of the hardships of life in North Korea is the statement, that in South Korea life is much more difficult, and that, compared to South Korea, the life of people in North Korea is not difficult at all.

The main features of the two states' propaganda

Investigating the propaganda phenomena in South and North Korean media, at first the technology data processing should be taken into account. According to annual global ICT data and ICT Development Index country ranking, which is released by International Telecommunications union, South Korea was ranked the 1st place in 2015³, and it had ranked one of the first 3 places since 2010. Indeed, it is impossible to imagine any South Korean without involving into the world of technology and telecommunications, the life of all people there is

³ <http://www.itu.int/net4/ITU-d/idi/2015/>

closely tied to informational technologies. The DPRK is out of this ranking due to impossibility to investigate it, but the situation there is contrast to South Korean. Though modern PC and smartphones are introduced to North Korea, they are mostly spread only in Pyongyang. The main information sources in North Korea are television and newspapers. The Internet in North Korea is available only for public authorities, embassies and resident foreigners⁴. The North Koreans can use the Internet analogue – the national intranet Kwangmyong. Both states have special state organizations, which control the data processing. In South Korea it is Korea Communications Commission, which was established in 2008 modeled after the Federal Communications Commission of the United States of America. In North Korea it is Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Korean Workers Party⁵. Both states' Constitutions guarantee freedom of speech.

The main point about the nowadays propaganda and informational war between the two Koreas is that the kind of informational war has significantly changed since 1990s in South Korea and almost hadn't undergone any changes in North Korea. If the Cold War period could be characterized by prevailing of direct "black" propaganda (falsification of facts), nowadays this policy has undergone several changes, though falsifications are still present.

The basis of the South Korean propaganda against North Korean is the fact, that North Korea is a closed state, thus, the information cannot be checked. It means that the audience is almost likely to believe any fact about North Korea, even if it absolutely absurd. That is the basis the North Korean appearance in South Korea and Western mass media, and there were plenty of such examples in the mass media during last 3-4 years.

As an example, a piece of news about Kim John Un's uncle Jang Song Thaek, who was, according to the world mass media, executed by being eaten alive by 120 starving dogs along with his five closest aides. The source of the news was a Hong Kong newspaper Wen Wei Po, which published it in December 2013⁶. The article described horrific details of the execution: 120 dogs, which hadn't been fed for several days before the execution, 300 officials, who watched it etc. Wen Wei Po newspaper referred to a blogger Trevor Powell – a satiric blogger, who often post some jokes on political themes. However, Wen Wei Po didn't indicate that the blogger was a satirist, and issued the "news" as if he was a responsible source of information. By the end of December, the story was widely accepted by the world's mass media, especially in the Western countries and Russia this news became a sensation.

In this story there is undeniable evidence, that the sensation was fake – the author of the story posted it as a joke. But only few people doubted the plausibility of the story. In Russia,

⁴ <http://www.voanews.com/content/north-korea-cuts-3g-mobile-web-for-foreign-visitors/1630236.html>

⁵ *Shape M.E.*, North Korea Handbook / Yonhap News Agency. - Seoul, 2003. – p. 410

⁶ http://news.wenweipo.com/2013/12/12/IN1312120039_2.htm

mostly, these people were specialists in the Korean studies, in world mass media there were some articles, e.g. in The Washington Post an article by journalist Max Fisher casted doubts on the whole story⁷, but generally the audience remembered the information like it was presented in the majority of the mass media.

This story, along with many others that were issued within last 5 years, creates the demonization of North Korea, it makes the image of North Korea as a country, where anything can happen.

So, the first feature of South Korean, and, generally, Western informational war is the demonization of North Korean government. The second feature of South Korean propaganda is highlighting special details and missing another. For example, the DPRK is usually shown as the only one to blame the reprocessing its nuclear program in 2003 and for the breakdown of the six-party talks, and in the mass media there are often statements that North Korea “pretended to be discussing its termination at six-party talks with America, China, Japan, Russia and South Korea”⁸; “a young despot appears determined to continue his family’s atomic blackmail”⁹ and so on. Really, North Korea broke down the talks by holding a nuclear test in 2006, but the precedent events, which had finally led to this test, are always missed. The brief background of the Six-party talks breakdown in the following. In 1994, a Framework Agreement between the DPRK and the US was signed. The essence of the Agreement was that both sides gave significant concessions to each other; and that the DPRK gave up its nuclear program in exchange for alternative energy sources, which the US and its allies had to provide to the DPRK. At first, the Agreement was implemented: the DPRK stopped its nuclear program, and in 1995 the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization, aimed at the creation of a system of the whole peninsula energy supplement, was founded. KEDO's principal activity is to construct two light water reactor nuclear power plants by 2003. However, after the foundation the realization of the KEDO process was dragged on, it was not provided enough financially, and the construction of the power plant began only in 2002, 8 years after the Agreement had been signed. By that time, the DPRK-US relations had completely deteriorated and the Administration of George W. Bush clearly demonstrated its contempt towards the DPRK and personally towards Kim John Il¹⁰ and included the DPRK to the “axis of evil list”, along with Iraq and Iran. Only

⁷ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/01/03/no-kim-jong-un-probably-didnt-feed-his-uncle-to-120-hungry-dogs/>

⁸ The North Wind and the Scorpion // The Economist, 23 Feb. 2013. [Электронный ресурс] Режим доступа: <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21572196-north-korea-blusters-world-flounders-its-hunt-response-north-wind-and>

⁹ North Korea’s Nuclear Test // The Economist, 16 Feb., 2013. [Электронный ресурс] Режим доступа: <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21571938-chagrin-his-neighbours-young-despot-appears-determined-continue-his-family-atomic>

¹⁰ http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/06/world/asia/06cnd-korea.html?_r=0

after direct threats from the US the DPRK reprocessed its nuclear program. Then, the Six-party talks, aimed at the stop of North Korean Nuclear problem started. The parties to the talks were North Korea, South Korea, the US, Japan, Russia and China. But soon the talks were brought to a stalemate due to different reasons: the US refused to regard an opportunity to ease or lift the sanctions; Japan refused to make concessions due to the revealed story of the abducted Japanese citizens, which seemed to be the matter for procrastination of the talks. Finally, in 2006 the DPRK held its first nuclear test. Sig Hecher, former director of Los Alamos National Laboratory, said that, before the first nuclear test, the DPRK seemed to be willing to talk seriously about denuclearization¹¹. But after the first nuclear test the DPRK had nothing to do but to create an image of a nuclear state.

By this brief story it is possible to conclude that the DPRK, at least, is not the only one to blame for the present nuclear crises of the peninsula. At least in 1994 there was a solution for the nuclear problem, but finally this opportunity was lost, and the DPRK is not the only one responsible for it. However, the audience doesn't know the details of this whole story, and the image of North Korea in its eyes is that of a military state, obsessed with nuclear weapon. These details can't serve as the justification for the DPRK who violated the Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaty, but at least they signify that the US, along with Japan and South Korea, also bear responsibility for the breakdown of the Framework Agreement and the Six-party talks.

It is also important that all facts, which speak for the fact that it was not only North Korea was the one who brought the idea of denuclearization to a deadlock, have never been secret. In the Internet there is a lot of information, for example, about the realization of the KEDO program, about the process of the Six-party talks etc, thus, anyone can read this information and make an analysis. But it is reasonable to conclude, that an average representative of foreign audience would not spend time on learning about these details, he would just believe the mass media reports. But the mass media omits all these facts, highlighting another, finally creating an image that the DPRK has never been willing to come to a compromise.

That is the most important feature of South Korean and Western propaganda against North Korea. The facts are not falsified, or are not necessary falsifies, but they are presented in a special way, and thus the necessary effect is achieved. The story of the Framework Agreement and the Six-party talks was taken as an example, there were many examples of such coverage of events afterwards – the sinking of South Korean “Cheonan” corvette, the bombardment of Yeonpyeongdo island in 2010 etc.

North Korean propaganda against South Korea and the western world is different. First of all, the line of North Korean propaganda against South Korea hasn't undergone significant

¹¹ <https://www.llnl.gov/news/sig-hecker-north-koreas-nuclear-program>

changes since the fall of the bipolar world. North Korean propaganda and rhetoric is often compared to one of the Soviet Union of 1930-s, and indeed they have a lot of common. North Korean propaganda is controlled by Propaganda and Agitation Department of KWP, which has numerous subordinate offices and bureaus. It controls all media of the state inside it, and it is closely linked to the State Security Department and Ministry of Public Security. The PAD is responsible to implement control over the information which flows from abroad as well as propagate the ideas of *juche* inside the state.

As it has been mentioned above, the basis of North Korean propaganda against the South is that South Korea is a poverty-stricken country, and a lot of news is about, e.g., millions of unemployed, starving children, American soldiers, who control the streets etc. Like it was during the Cold War, the USA is still regarded as the “State of Evil”, and North Korean news also tend to demonize the USA. It is important, that generally the North Korean negative propaganda is directed against the US, and South Korea is often shown as a victim of the US’ imperialistic policy.

Among the North Korean the following features can be highlighted. The general falsifies about South Korea can be compared to those in South Korea about the North, but the main difference is that this information is prepared only to North Korean population, which is isolated from the world media and thus has no alternative information. It is impossible to speak about communication management in North Korea, because the technologies of North Korean information policy are based on this isolation – and if the information barrier falls, the situation may get out of control. For now, the government controls the situation, though if one compare the propaganda of 1980-s to nowadays propaganda, there is one tendency. The character of this propaganda has become more smooth; the scale of poverty, subscribed to South Korea, has reduced. There may be many explanations, but perhaps one of most possible is the following: the North Korean government realizes, that it cannot completely control all the information which flows into the DPRK, and too strong exaggerations would look improbable.

Still, some tendencies are left unchanged. North Korea pays a lot of attention to the post-war history of the Korean peninsula, and thus the historical factor is one of the leading in its propaganda. For example, Park Chung Hee, the military general and South Korean President from 1962 to 1979, who played a pivotal role in turning South Korea to one of “Asian tigers”, is regarded in the DPRK completely negatively because it was he who revived South Korean relations in Japan. Indeed, Park Chung Hee is a controversial figure in South Korean history as well because of his tough policy and repressions, but North Korean propaganda has turned him to a national traitor, and this has predetermined the interkorean relations when Park Chung Hee’s daughter, Park Geun-hye, became the President of South Korea in 2012. From the very

beginning the image of Park Geyn-hye in North Korea was as of a politician whom it is impossible to find a compromise with because she was a daughter of a traitor.

The next important feature of North Korean propaganda are threats to South Korea and its allies, often these threats are reaction to some events¹². The expressive words, used in this news items or official statements, are usually so vivid that they shade the main subject of the news, and it results in the following situation: the audience, for example, remembers, that Pyongyang promised to turn Seoul into the “sea of fire”, but no one remembers, why the issued this piece of news. Thus the image of North Korea as of a state, which always threatens to South Korea, appears, even without DPRK’s opponents.

Generally, the methods of the DPRK propaganda are outdated and based on the state’s isolation. For now, this policy provides the security to the regime, but the technological progress perhaps, will threaten this system, because it becomes more and more difficult to hold the informational flows in check.

Conclusion

Investigating the informational war between South and North Korea on the mass consciousness of population in these states, the following aspects must be taken into account: the history of the Korean states, the political situation in these states, the linguistic changes, the ideology of the states and the psychological factors. It is necessary, because all this factors are deeply intertwined in the information war and they contribute to further division of the nation. The details of historic events are interpreted differently and used in propaganda as accusations; the linguistic changes cause confusions even during high-level talks, the North Korean ideology grounds the character of its propaganda and so on. Thus, a comprehensive analysis of all this factors is necessary to understand the specifics of the Korean informational war.

Altogether, these factors create in the mass consciousness the atmosphere of disbelief. Nowadays only few people in two Koreas remember these states being one. The sociological investigations show that the young generation either cannot say anything about the possibility of reunification; either have apprehensions about it or think that the unification is not possible at all. Of course, other opinions exist but the general trend is not optimistic. The gap between the two populations has increasing and it is increasing while the informational war is going on.

We see the elaborate communication management in South Korea and outdated informational technologies in the North, but there are a lot of common in there two states propaganda. Both of states use black propaganda and falsifies, both of them conceal the facts which seem to be inappropriate and in fact the censorship exists in both states, even in

¹² <http://ru.journal-neo.org/2016/04/24/severokorejskoj-kontrpropagande-pora-menyat-sya/>

democratic South Korea. The censorship is implemented by different systems and organs, but it exists in both states.

The isolation of North Korea gives its opponents advantages, because the information about North Korea cannot be checked. Thus, the image of North Korea is demonized, and a lot of news about it is strongly exaggerated. North Korea, in turn, produces resembling information about South Korea, but this information is believed (as we can assume) only by the population of North Korea.

Finally, we can conclude, that the propaganda of North Korea fits to the Cart Schmitt's theory of the "political", as the expressive words and general tone of the propaganda clearly divides the society to North Korean and the hostile West, while the South Korean propaganda more fits to the concept of agonism – when the possibility of war is still high, but the diplomatic way is more preferable. But this statement can vary from one situation to another. For example, during the Six-party talks it was North Korea who, up to the first nuclear test, had tried to offer diplomatic methods, but after 2006 it changed its tactics. At the same time, South Korea could also shift to the antagonistic positions, like it was in 2010, when the DPRK was blamed for the sinking of Cheonan corvette.

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