THE COMPARATIVE STUDY ON THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF RHEE SYNGMAN AND SUKARNO:
Focusing on Arendtian Theory of Founding

Man is a history-making creature who
can neither repeat his past nor leave it behind.
W. H. Auden, Dyer’s Hand

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I. Introduction: Reflecting on the Past

Since World War Two, we have witnessed the twice upsurges of the nation building. The first came with the independence of the oppressed people from the colonial rule by the imperialist forces. The second came with the disintegration of the USSR in the post-cold war period. By reflecting on the nation building of the oppressed people who confronted with the revolutionary transformation after the middle part of the 20th century, we can have the opportunities to understand how the future-oriented promise of politics can contribute to forming the national identity and to consolidating the national community.

Korea liberated from the thirty-six rule by imperialistic Japan with Japanese surrender to the Allied on 15 August 1945. Regrettably, Korean peninsula came under the military of two super powers – the U.S. and USSR – and then was divided. The nation-building in South Korea had been delayed for three years because of the rule of U.S. Military Government in South Korea. Three days after the Japanese surrender to the Allies, a small group of Indonesians led by Sukarno proclaimed independence and established the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945. Dutch efforts to reestablish complete control met strong resistance, the Dutch transferred sovereignty to a federal Indonesian government after four years of warfare and negotiation.

During the period which stretched from the struggle for liberation to the nation building in Indonesia and South Korea, many political leaders as actors in independence movement or the founding fathers had done the important roles. The spirit and meaning of the historical events along with their great deeds should be represented in the ritual ceremony, political action, and the story-telling, because the political action is thought to be most futile without being remembered by their posterity.

This study aims at illuminating how the first presidents of Korea and Indonesia, Rhee Syngman and Sukarno, respectively acted. Especially, the focus is on their action and political thinking, because their action and speech gave a great influence on forming the national community and national identity.
Thus, I will explain the meaning of the new beginning to understand their action and political thinking in chapter two. In chapter three and four, I will explain how Rhee and Sukarno established their political thought, and applied their political ideas to real politics during the period of struggle for independence and nation building. In chapter five, their tragic life in political career, namely their purge from the power or unwilling resign will be compared.

II. The New Beginning as Political Action: Theoretical Framing

We have witnessed a plurality of the new beginnings. The new beginning in political term is political action. The nation building and revolution are the political new beginning, which can be sought in the historical experiences, while political action as decision-making is the new beginning which can be performed in normal political situations.

The liberation from the colonial rule and the founding mean the shift of people’s life from the dead situation into the living one because the state ruled by foreign state is likely to be in the hell. Indonesia and Korea had the same historical experiences, that is, the rule by foreign states. The Korean people had experienced several new beginning, that is, the founding of the Republic of Korea in 1948, 4.19 Revolution, and Democratization, etc., while Indonesian people did the independence from the Dutch and Japanese rule, the revolution(1945-1949), and the democratization These historical events contributed to develop the democratic politics for both nations.

For Arendt, “the fight for the independence is the condition for freedom”(Arendt 1963, 140). There can exist gap between liberation and the constitution of the state. To bridge between liberation and freedom, the struggle for the liberation should be followed by the effort to get the freedom. In this context, the nation building is the new beginning which makes the people capable of genuine political action. The freedom, which means the ability to do something new, cannot be realized without acting in concert to realize the common purpose.

The colonial powers had deprived the oppressed of their political freedom. Without political freedom, the power as ability to act in common can be hardly realized. In Arendtian sense the freedom can be in line with the power. Even without the public realm, the actors in resistance against the colonial rule have the political wisdom to achieve and realize the freedom, because they had the experience of acting in the concert in the process of liberation movement. The common purpose of struggle for independence gives the oppressed the opportunities to realize the power. Without the ability to act in concert, the political freedom could not be maintained.

In Arendtian terms, the nation building is the great historical event. This event and its spirit give the people the principle to perform the end of national politics. If the spirit of founding would be obscured or lost, the freedom can be hardly guaranteed. Therefore, it should be remembered that “the past, to the extent that it is passed on as tradition, has authority; authority, to the extent that it presents itself as history, becomes tradition”(Arendt 2005, 73).

1. The freedom as ability to do something new is different from the liberation from the exterior constrain.
The tradition as political action, therefore, is connected with the new beginning in political terms. The word ‘tradition’ is derived from the Latin ‘traditio’, which means handing-down or the inheritance. “As long as this tradition was uninterrupted, authority was inviolate”(Arendt 1961, 124). The tradition can be presented in the remembrance and the story-telling about the political event connected with the tradition. We should remember and represent the meaning of the constitution of the state, because “the great political action is likely to be most futile without remembering the great deed of one people.”

Political action means a series of process in which one person initiate the public problem and many people participate in concert to solve it. The founding is the product of spontaneous and collective activities. Founding as the great political action is the new beginning. The new beginning has both the principle and the telos because the Latin principium means originally the beginning which includes the end. The spirit of founding, therefore, should be remembered and represented in the future politics.

Only when the spirit of founding can be persistently maintained, namely, supplemented and enlarged by posterity’s political action, any people of nation can hold its national identity and be given the opportunity to guarantee their humane life. Unfortunately, its spirit is likely to be obscured or forgot in the process of history. The politics of remembrance by the telling about the past and its representation in this time should be always required. This kind of politics is not past-oriented activity but future-oriented one.

III. The Struggle for Independence and Nation-Building

How did Rhee Syngman(1875-1965) act and move in the world during the colonial period and the one of nation-building. Rhee was “a quintessential Oriental, a product of deep-rooted Confucian culture, but became a strong exponent of Western liberal principles”(Lee 2001, xv). He was arrested and then put in prison in 1899 for being involved in the intrigue affair of the coup d’etat, and was released from the prison on 1904, the year of Russo-Japanese war. In prison, Rhee organized a school for the prisoners and wrote a book, The Spirit of Independence, which became the bible of Korean modernist movement(Oliver 1978, 4). He went to the America on the same year, and obtained Ph.D. under mentorship of the Woodrow Wilson from Princeton University.2

In 1910, Korea had been annexed by Japan. He returned to homeland. But his political activism attracted unwelcome attention from Japanese army. In 1912 He went to Hawaii. After the Marh First Movement of 1919, all of the major pro-independence factions formed the Provincial Government of Republic of Korea in Shanghai. He was elected the president for six years. “During the next twenty-five years he pursued two major goals – to win diplomatic support for the exiled government and to build popular understanding and sympathy for Korea among the American public”(Oliver 1978, 5).

Korea liberated from Japanese rule on the Japanese Emperor’s address on the surrender to the Allied on 15 August 1945. Lyuh Woon Heung, one of actors of

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2. The title is “Neutrality as influenced by the United State. It was published by Princeton University Press (1912).
Independence movement, who acted in Korea after the release from the Japanese prison, proclaimed the Committee of Nation-Building on 28 August 1945. But the U. S. Military Government did not recognize the existence of the Committee.

When Rhee finally did arrive in Seoul on 16 October 1945, the People’s Republic headed by a revolutionist proclaimed itself the legal government. Kim Koo issued a similar claim for Provisional Government. By this time fifty-four political parties (Left, Right and the Middle-of-the-Road) were registered with the U. S. Military Government headquarters. Under the three-year rule of Military Government, many eminent political leaders including Rhee had played the role in the dialogue on the establishment of the Unified Korea in the situation where the South was reigned under the U. S. military, and the North was done under the USSR military.

On 14 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution providing for appointment of a Temporary Commission to oversee the election in Korea that would lead to the establishment of an independent Korea Government. Following the North-South conference at Pyongyang, the U. N. Commission members met and voted unanimously to go ahead with May 10 election. The May 10 election was held, and had brought in a Constituent Assembly.

On 31 May 1948, the Assembly met and proceeded to elect a chairman. Rhee was elected chairman by a vote of 189 to 8. During the next several weeks the Assembly worked on the draft of a constitution. With the constitution adopted, Rhee was elected the first president of the Republic of Korea by a vote 180, with 16 of members voting for Kim Koo. The date for the formal inauguration ceremonies was set for August 15, notable as the anniversary of the defeat of Japan and the liberation of Korea.

In the inaugural address Rhee emphasized the importance of democracy and the need for protecting civil rights and individual liberties, and said as follows: “We await with hope and determination the missing third of our representatives from the north. The 38th parallel division is no part of our choice and is wholly foreign to our destiny. Nothing must be neglected to keep wide open to reunion of the whole nation.”

Now, I will take into consideration the struggle for independence and political idea by Sukarno. The shared goals of the men who led Indonesia’s Revolution of 1945-1949 were first formulated in the late 1920’s and early 1930’s. Sukarno (1901-1970) became a leader of a pro-independence party (Partai Nasional Indonesia; PNI). He was arrested in 1929 by Dutch colonial authorities. Sukarno’s introductory statement comes from a speech of 1930. He delivered the long speech which made in his own defense when on trial before the Bandung District Court in 1930 as follows.

This nationalism makes our people see the future as a sunrise bright and glimmering. … In short, with this nationalism our people will have a soul, will live, will no longer be corpses as they are now! … In other words, the PNI arouses and brings to life the people’s awareness of their ‘glorious past,’ their ‘dark ages,’ and the ‘promise of a brightly beckoning future.’

In this speech Sukarno opposed imperialism and capitalism because he thought both systems worsened the life of Indonesian people. Against imperialistic
methods which were ruining Indonesian society, he had effort to promote a national spirit, and aimed at awakening consciousness of the past and the present. In this dark time, he asserted the promise of independent movement. He said as follows: “Only the faint glow of Indonesia’s future is discernible today, like the beautiful rays of dawn.” (Feith, ed., 1970)

Sukarno was arrested several times during the 1930s. In February 1942, Imperial Japan invaded the Dutch East Indies. Dutch forces intended keeping him prisoner, abruptly abandoned him. The Japanese approached him with respect wanting to use him to organize and pacify the Indonesians. Sukarno became head of the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Independence (BPUPKI), and delivered a speech on June 1, 1945. The Panchasila, or Five Principles, were subsequently written into the Preamble to the Constitution and accepted as the philosophical foundations of the Indonesian state.

Sukarno proclaimed independence and established the Republic of Indonesia. The Constitution was adopted on 18 August 1945, the day after the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed. The Constitution begins with words as follow: “Independence being in truth the right of all peoples, colonialism, which does not accord with humanity and justice, must be abolished throughout the world.”

When the Republic of Indonesia had been proclaimed, “such a unilateral declaration would still need to be negotiated with the former colonial power” (Kingsbury 2002, 36). The British troops had begun to land in Java, and Dutch troops began to return, assuming the role they had occupied role before the war. As pre-war administrative power, Netherlands held legal claim to sovereignty over the archipelago. But the republic proclaimed its sovereignty. A major attack by Dutch, which began in December 1948, resulted to military success but also in increasing pressure from the United Nations, to resolve the dispute. In December 1949, the Netherlands agreed to a settlement, in which Dutch-created states would come together with Java and Sumatra in a federated Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI). On 27 December 1949, Sukarno was sworn in as president of the RUSI, while Hatta was chosen as prime minister.

The period of 1945-1949 was revolutionary when many participants in the revolutionary movement had a very clear sense of purpose. According to Feith (1962, 1), “the process of Independence certainly involved a deeper shattering of social foundations than occurred in the independence struggling of any other new nation of the postwar period.”

As mentioned above, we can find out several characteristic results. First, after the liberation from the colonial power, Indonesia and Korea should struggle for full independence for three or four years. Second, Sukarno and Rhee as nationalist had important role in achieving the independence and the founding, and was elected the first president.

IV. Political Ideas in Founding Constitution:

Samkyun (Three Equalities) and Panchasila (Five Principles)

The founding fathers, who participated in constituting the nation-state, would have the strong passion to design the future feature of their country. They had effort to respond to the enlarged horizon of experiences which the event itself had opened
up to them. This public passion is closely connected with their love of the nation or community.

First let us take into consideration the political idea in the Korean Founding Constitution. The political idea in the preamble of Korean Founding Constitution traces back to the Doctrine on the Founding of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea on 1941. We need know the establishment of the Provisional Government before analyzing the political ideas included in Doctrine of the Founding.

Rightly after 3.1 Independence Movement on 1919, the Korean Provisional Government (KPG) was established in Shanghai on 13 April. The Provisional Government itself was established as a result of many preceding overseas independence movement. Its overseas movement is divided into three different periods (Kim 2010). The first period is Shanghai period (1919~1932). Rhee had haven his role as the first president for six years. The KPG tried to establish administration lines to take control over Korean people in homeland. The second period is the fleeing period (1932~1940). After the successful bombing deed of Yoon Bong-gil, KPG had to undergo extremely difficult situation as the government started fleeing from the Japanese. In a letter to Rhee, Kim Koo want that Rhee help the independent organizations in America participate in the unified party (3).

The third period is the Chungching period (1940~1945). The KPG tried to restart its combining work of independence. As a response to such efforts, three right-winged parties were consolidated to form the Korea Independence Party. The KPG formed the United Korean Committee in America, and established the Office of Representative in US. Rhee was elected as a chairman. And then the KPG proclaimed the Doctrine on the Nation-building of ROK on 28 November 1941.

The Provisional Government asserted as follows: “the spirit of the nation-building is historically based on the institution of three equalities, as shown in our ancestors’ old utterance that the state will fully develop and be at full peace if the beginning is equalized with the end.” (4) The spirit of nation-building is based on the Samkyunjueui (三均主義), which advocated the realization of abolishing revolutionarily the inequality brought out by the rule of domestic and foreign tyranny (5).

The institution of three equalities in the narrow sense is composed of three kinds of equality, that is, equality of political power, equality of economic power, and the equality of education. Political equality could be realized by the introduction of common vote, economic equality could be done by the national ownership, and the educational equality could be done by the compulsory education. This realization of equality system can bring out the equality among individuals. Thus, the privileged class should be eliminated. The democratic state can have the capability to realize

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3. The relation between Rhee and the Provisional Government of Korea is divided the three periods: the conflict period (1919~1925), rupture period (1925~1941), and cooperation period (1941~1945), See Ko(2004, 213-266).


5. So-ang asserted that the two kind of tyranny was the objects of the revolution, See Hong (2005).
the national independence, and the full realization of this institution will be capable of the democratic state.

In a large sense, the institution of three equalities is composed of the equality between individuals, equality among nations, and equality among states. The individual equality can be realized in domestic society. The equality among nations, and state should be realized the global context. Thus, the ideas of this institution are based on the nationalism and cosmopolitanism. These ideas were introduced in the preamble of the Founding Constitution of 1948 as follows.

We, the people of Korea, proud of a resplendent history and traditions from time immemorial, upholding the cause of the Provisional Republic of Korean Government born of the March First Independence Movement .... Having determined to consolidate national unity with justice, humanitarianism and brotherly love’ abolishing all social vices and injustice; equalizing opportunities of individuals in all areas of politics, economics, society, and culture ...

As shown above, the spirit of the Founding is derived from the March First Independence Movement and cause of the Provisional Republic of Korean Government. And the justice, humanitarianism, and the equalizing of individuals are also emphasized.

Now, let us take into consideration the political idea in The Birth of Pancasila. On 1 June 1945, The Pancasila (Five Principles), first set out in a speech delivered before BPUPKI, were subsequently written into the Preamble to the Constitution and accepted as the philosophical foundations of the Indonesian state. According to The Birth of Pancasila, five principles is ordered as follows.

As Sukarno says “we will establish an Indonesian national state, the first principle(Sila) expresses the commitment to Indonesian nationalism. Internationalism is the second philosophical principle. “But when I say internationalism, I do not cosmopolitanism.” Thus, Sukarno links nationalism with internationalism. “Internationalism cannot flourish if it is not rooted in the soil of nationalism.”

The third principle emphasizes the unanimity (mufakat), representation (perwakilan), and deliberation (perusjawaratan), that is, “the idea of a people led or governed by wise policies arrived at through a process of consultation and consensus”. Sukarno says as follows: “We shall set up a state of ‘all for all,’ ‘one for all,’ ‘all for one.’ I am convinced that an absolute condition for the strength of the Indonesian state is permusjawaratan-perwakilan.”

The fourth principle expresses a commitment to social justice for all Indonesian people. “If we truly understand, remember, and love the people of Indonesia, let us accept this principle of social justice.”

The fifth principle is a belief in the One, namely, supreme God. “The Indonesian state shall be a state where every person can worship his God as he likes. The whole of the people should worship in a cultured way, that is, without religious egoism.”

6. “In the preamble and article 6 of the Founding Constitution, international pacifism are also asserted”(Lee 2009, 46).
Sukarno gave the priority to the political feature of five principles, but the priority of five principles was given to the religious features through the deliberation by the Committee (Yang 2003, 52). The meaning of the Pancasila has changed since it was originally enunciated (Kingsbury 2002, 35). However, a state ideology, the Pancasila was created, and there remains an adherence to the 1945 Constitution, albeit with late amendments. According to Morfit (1981, 942), “Pancasila is not only merely a crystallization of past experience and an expression of present perception. It is also an aspiration for the future.”

In sum, Two Founding Constitutions of Korea and Indonesia have common ideas, national unity (or nationalism), socio-political justice, internationalism, and democratic ideal except one, that is, the belief in God.

V. Divergence between Thinking and Practice: Ilmin Democracy and Guided Democracy

The political leaders always expose their political ability and the consciousness on the history by their action and speech. Their political action and speech is generally based on their political thinking, which can be applied to the current situation. Their political thinking is deserved to be articulated into practical or political ideology. But their political ideologies can be either well practiced or wrongly done in the process of realization.

Rightly after return to Korea, Rhee gave the radio address to the Korean people as follows: “I hope that the Korean independence could be fully realized if all people become en masse through cooperation beyond the difference of political parties and faction.” He emphasized the need of the national unity.

Rhee once asserted his view on futility of political party, and tried to have the supra partisan attitude in press interview rightly after the May tenth election. But Rhee emphasized the realization of Ilminjueui before National Convention of Association of Korean People on January 1949. He said that “I advocate Ilminjueui. I specify this as the national policy of new nation. The nation should become One.”(Rhee 1949, 3)

The elements of Ilminjueui consist in the politics of equality (democratic politics), same education (national education) and unified economy (economy for people’s lives). But it is asserted that these elements should contribute to establish same blood and fate. “We are Ilmin(One People). Ilmin is same blood and fate. And the ism also should be one”(Ahn 1950, 7). It seems that these ideas are analogous to the ones of Samkyunjueui. The difference is that the former advocates the absolute sameness, while the latter recognizes the plurality.

In spite that Ilminjueui advocate the equality in political, economic and educational areas, and is defined as a kind of democracy, Ilminjueui had inherently the qualities which are dangerous to democratic politics. Ilminjueui had become the tool to legitimize Rhee’s passion for the unification of North-South. In the name of

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7. The Preamble to the 1945 Constitution ends with the words as follows:….. the Independence of the Indonesian People shall be ordered in a Constitution of the Indonesian State, in the form of a Republic of Indonesia which is based on the sovereignty of the people and on the pillars of the One Deity, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian Unity, and People’s rule guided wisely through consultation and representation, in order to achieve Social Justice for the whole Indonesian people.”
one nation the democratic ideal was disregarded or shattered during the period under Rhee’s regime.

The intention to transform a plurality of human life into the absolutely same one according to the regulative idea, that is, Ilmin resulted in the loss of the democratic politics, namely the authoritative rule. The politics, which is based on the principle of the new beginning and the freedom, was deformed into the means to realize the ends, the formation of the unified nation. According to Arendt, this kind of politics, which is based on the model of work(fabrication; making), bring out only the violence in the public realm. On March Fifteenth Election in 1960, the attempt to maintain the personalization of power by the violence and illegal method brought out the resistance from the students and citizen. This historical event to rehabilitate the spirit of nation-building is April Nineteenth Revolution(Hong 2010, 38), which ended the old order, the authoritative political system and started the new political order.

In this context, Ilminjueui, which Rhee defined as a democracy, depreciated the spirit of nation-building rather than enlarged and improved the spirit of nation-building (political, economic and educational equality, the democratic ideal). Rhee’s political passion for establishing the Unified Korea resulted in undemocratic Ilminjueui as the tool against the communism because he thought that Ilminjueui had the priority over the democracy in the spiritual struggle(Suh 2005, 71).

Now let us reflect the guided democracy by Sukarno. On 27 December 1949, Sukarno was sworn in as president of the RUSI, while Hatta was chosen as prime minister. While the commitment to liberal democracy in the years from 1949 until late 1950s was less than total, there was a practical adherence to pluralist democratic forms. Powers was in the hands of the parties, and the president Sukarno and the army were effectively limited. In this period(1950~1957), Indonesian people could certainly attempt to contain political life within the body of rules laid down the existing constitution.

When the Sastroamidjojo Cabinet resigned in March 1957, parliamentary democracy was finally abandoned and Sukarno’s Guided Democracy was adopted in modified form (Kingsbury 2002, 42-3). Sukarno attempted to instill a similar ideological commitment in the Indonesian nation. In the address ‘Let Us Bury the Parties,’ given go a meeting of youth delegates from all parties on 28 October 1956, Sukarno first suggested that the way out of the country’s current instability and demoralization should be sought through ‘guided democracy.’

When the period of parliamentary democracy had come to an end, the symbol of Guided Development was predominant. The government decided to press for a return to the constitution of 1945. President Sukarno dissolved the Assembly and reintroduced the old revolutionary constitution. The three addresses, ‘Returning to the Rails of the Revolution’(1959), ‘the Political Manifesto as a General Program of the Revolution’(1959), ‘the Dynamics of Revolution’(1960) show the development of the President’s thinking in the years after 1959.

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8. The model of work is based on the means-ends. In this sense the politics is only the tool to accomplish the ends, the social justice, the ideal state. To the contrary to this, the purpose of political action have a purpose in itself.
As said in the address, “The Political Manifesto is of the utmost importance to the struggle of the Indonesian people in completing its revolution which has a national and democratic character.” The five principles of the Political Manifesto included a return to 1945 constitution, socialism à la Indonesia, guided democracy, guided economy and Indonesian national identity. The guided democracy was defended as necessary to the realization of the aspirations of Pancasila.

“Sukarno was first and foremost a charismatic leader” (McIntyre 2005, 29). He was able to concentrate decision making in his own hands with the help of the army and the Communist Party (after mid-1963). First, he proclaimed the return to the 1945 constitution, and then issued the edict to limiting the degree of regional autonomy. In March 1960, he dissolved the elected parliament. He also appointed a new legislature and an Interim People’s Consultative Assembly. In 1963, Sukarno denounced the principle of the separation of powers by making the chairman of the Supreme Court a cabinet member.

During the period of the Guided Democracy, President Sukarno had the close relationship with Asian communist states and increasingly tilted toward the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). In place of the Soviet, the PKI substituted emphasis on the acquisition of national strength. “This evolution coincided with the increasing reliance placed by both Sukarno and the PKI” (Mortimer 1974, 407). On 30 September 1965, the PKI allegedly attempted to stage a coup in which six generals were killed. The army executed the coup plotters. In the aftermath, President Sukarno vainly attempted to restore his political position. In March 1966, Sukarno had to transfer key political and military powers to General Suharto.

According to Hughes, “Sukarno claimed that he was not a Communist but a Marxist, favored and protected the Communist throughout his reign. For Indonesia nationalism proved stronger than Sukarnoism or Communism. Basically the reason for the younger generation’s revolt against Sukarno was that he had betrayed the revolution.” (2002, 295)

VI. Conclusion: the Importance of the Spirit of Nation Building

The particular events of the past and their political meanings are likely to be obscured or forgotten by the posterity. Heroic actions, which are followed by tragic result, should be honored. Thus, the deeds of actors in these events can be the standard of judgment for the action of the posterity. The meaning or principle in these individual deeds can have the universal connotation.

With the expectation to get the characteristically important qualities hidden in the politics of foundation by performing a series of the following study on the nation-building of many states, this preliminary study aims at illuminating how the first presidents of ROK and Indonesia act from the revolutionary transition period through the presidency to its resign. In the process of nation-building, they had done their important roles in struggling for the imperialistic forces and achieving the national independence, and also in establishing the political ideas to signify the future ends which should by pursued by the nation and in unifying the national society, which had been shattered by the divide and rule of the colonial forces.

In this study, I can find out several interesting results. First, the struggle for the liberation succeeds into leading to establish the nation building. In this process
Rhee and Sukarno as a nationalist had the role important roles, especially to transform the shattered society into the unified society, That is, into the national community.

Second, the struggle for the liberation is closely connected with formation of the spirit or idea of the nation-building. Rhee and Sukarno contributed to do this. For Korea, the ideas of the nation building are established by the common efforts of the political leaders. And Rhee replaced Samkyunjueui for Ilminjueui. For Indonesia, Sukarno had the critical role in forming the Pancasila. Thus, the difference is that the spirit or principles of the former had been disregarded, while those of the latter have been inherited even though partly devised.

Third, the political ideas or principles had been misused in the application to the real politics or decision-making. Thus, their political career was disdained by the citizens. The personalization of political power brought out the change of presidency or the regime. But the principle or cause of political action should not be equalized with the results of political action. Thus, the spirit of the new beginning initiated by political leaders, especially the spirit in the Founding Constitution should be deemed, enlarged, supplemented by the posterity.

In sum, the spirit of the nation building should be handed down as the political tradition from one generation into next one. When this tradition can be maintained and persistently honored, the spirit of the nation building as political action works persistently as the authority, that is, the guideline, which gives the light on the posterity.

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