

Anti-Americanism in U.S.-Korean Relations (EASTASN 188K/288K) Spring 2008

Class Hours: Tuesdays, 2:15-4:05 P.M.
Classroom: Bldg 260 007 (Pigott Hall)
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Course Description

How serious a problem is anti-Americanism in South Korea? What are its origins? How can it be addressed? This class will explore these and related issues based on a review and analysis of an anti-American wave that struck South Korea in 1999 and crested with massive nationwide protests in 2002. The instructor, who headed the political section of the American embassy in Seoul during this period, will offer real-world insights into what happened, why, and how the U.S. government sought to deal with it. After introductory lessons on the history of U.S.-Korean relations and Korean politics, the class will focus on case studies of serious incidents and issues in U.S.-Korean relations during the period 1999-2002. Students will learn about the interworking of underlying factors, including national identities, ideologies, media dynamics, and partisan politics.

Grading

Students must read required readings before each class and participate fully in class discussion. The only other requirement is that each student prepare a 15-20 page, double-spaced research paper on one of the major issues or incidents in U.S.-South Korean relations during the period 1999-2002 and present the student's findings in class. Grades will be based on contributions to class discussion (40%) and the research paper (60%).

Required Books

The following five books are available at the Stanford Bookstore and on reserve at the library:

Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes, *America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked*

Chae-Jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace: U.S. Policy and the Two Koreas*

John Kie-chiang Oh, *Korean Politics: The Quest for Democratization and Economic Development*

Gi-Wook Shin and Kyung Moon Hwang, eds., *Contentious Kwangju: The May 18 Uprising in Korea's Past and Present*

David I. Steinberg, ed., *Korean Attitudes Toward the United States: Changing Dynamics*

Course Outline and Reading List

Tuesday, April 1. Session 1: Introduction

An overview of the class.

Required reading: None.

Recommended reading: None.

***Tuesday, April 8. Session 2: Background of U.S.-Korean Relations, Pt. 1**

U.S.-Korean relations from their beginnings through 1992. Focus on differences of interests and perceptions that contributed to later anti-American sentiments.

Required reading: Lee, *A Troubled Peace*, first four chapters, for an overview of U.S.-Korean relations from their beginnings over a century ago through the administration of President George H.W. Bush.

Recommended reading: Oh, *Korean Politics*, pp. 1-119.

*Students chose their research paper topics this week in consultation with instructor.

Tuesday, April 15. Session 3: Case Study: Kwangju

How the events in Kwangju in May 1980 profoundly affected Koreans' views of the United States.

Required reading: the Drennan chapter in the Steinberg book, and the introduction (Shin), afterword (Hwang), and Don Baker chapters in the book *Contentious Kwangju*.

Recommended reading: the rest of the Kwangju book; U.S. Department of State Report, <http://seoul.usembassy.gov/backgroundunder.html>; William Gleysteen, *Massive Entanglement, Marginal Influence: Carter and Korea in Crisis*; John A. Wickham, *Korea on the Brink: A Memoir of Political Intrigue and Military Crisis*. A collection of photographs from the Kwangju events can be found at: <http://www.518.org/main.html?TM18MF=A0303>, and U.S. TV news broadcasts of May 22, 1980, about the then-ongoing events in Kwangju are at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aTcXBGibhhM>. YouTube also has dozens of

other videos on the events in Kwangju in 1980.

Tuesday, April 22. Session 4: Background of U.S.-Korean Relations, Pt. 2

U.S.-Korean relations from 1993-present. Focus on differences of interests and perceptions that contribute to anti-American sentiments in South Korea, especially the “first nuclear crisis” with North Korea (1993-1994) and the financial crisis or “IMF crisis” (1997-1998).

Required reading: Lee, *A Troubled Peace*, pp. 158-295, which cover U.S.-Korean relations during the Clinton and Bush administrations and thus provide the context for the case studies we will do in class of incidents in U.S.-Korean relations during the period 1999-2002, as well as for your research papers.

Recommended reading: Oh, *Korean Politics*, pp. 120-245, especially the section in chapter 8 on the court trials of former Presidents Chun and Roh Tae Woo and the section in chapter 10 on “Kim Dae-jung: The Man and His Ideas,” as well as the concluding chapter of the book.

Tuesday, April 29. Session 5: American Attitudes and Anti-Americanism

How Americans look at themselves and the world; how Americans are different; and how this contributes to misunderstandings and ill feelings abroad, with a focus on Korea.

Required reading: In the Kohut & Stokes book, read the foreword by Madeleine Albright, the introduction, chapter three on “The Rise of Anti-Americanism,” chapter nine on “Use of Force,” and the conclusion; in Loewen’s book *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, read chapters 8-10.

Recommended reading: the remainder of the Kohut & Stokes book.

Tuesday, May 6. Session 6: Korean Anti-Americanism; Case Study: Nogun-ri Incident

We will begin a series of case studies from 1999-2002 that illuminate how South Koreans feel about the United States. The first is the Nogun-ri incident, which actually occurred in 1950 and yet became a major issue in U.S.-Korean relations in the fall of 2000, when Associated Press began a series of reports on the killing of South Korean civilians near the village of Nogun-ri by American soldiers in the opening weeks of the Korean War in 1950.

Required reading:

Nine articles by AP, for which it won a Pulitzer Prize:

<http://www.pulitzer.org/year/2000/investigative-reporting/works/index.html>

The executive summary of the study of the incident conducted by the U.S. Department of the Army from 1999-2001:

<http://www.army.mil/nogunri/BookCoverJan01Summary.pdf>

An article on why Nogun-ri matters: <http://www.iacenter.org/Koreafiles/ktpark.htm>

The transcript of a PBS NewsHour discussion after AP won its Pulitzer Prize for reporting on the incident: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/media/jan-june00/nogunri_5-31.html

Recommend reading:

Skim customer reviews of the book that AP subsequently published on Nogun-ri:

http://www.amazon.com/Bridge-No-Gun-Ri-Nightmare/dp/B000HWYX68/ref=sr_1_2?ie=UTF8&s=books&qid=1209576277&sr=1-2 END

Tuesday, May 13. Session 7: Korean Anti-Americanism; Case Study: The SOFA

The AP reports from September 29, 1999, on the Nogun-ri incident, to be discussed in the previous class, lit a fuse on South Korean negative sentiments about the United States, especially U.S. Forces Korea. These exploded finally in the massive protests in late 2002 that followed the acquittal by a U.S. court-martial of USFK personnel for the deaths of two Korean schoolgirls in a traffic accident. In this session, we will examine the U.S.-ROK Status of Forces Agreement, which Koreans almost universally believe is unfair. We will discuss what a SOFA is, whether the U.S.-ROK SOFA is unfair, and, if so, how, and, if not unfair, why is it so regarded? This session examines these questions by focusing on the SOFA revision negotiations that took place in 2000.

Required reading:

For basic information on what a SOFA is, read <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/sofa.htm> and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Status_of_Forces_Agreement

A PowerPoint presentation prepared by USFK on the U.S.-ROK SOFA: www.mfp.usmc.mil/teamapp/s3/Topics/15_sofa.ppt

A paper by a Korean diplomat on the U.S.-ROK SOFA: www.uskoreainstitute.org/pdf/chap-2.pdf

For a private American perspective on the U.S.-ROK SOFA, read chapter 12 in the Steinberg book; a Korean journalist's views on Korean attitudes about U.S. bases in Korea are reflected in chapter 18 of the Steinberg book.

For critical South Korean perspectives, read the statement by a coalition of NGOs at http://www1.korea-np.co.jp/pk/140th_issue/2000052403.htm and a study by the leading South Korean NGO People's Solidarity for Participatory

Democracy at <http://blog.peoplepower21.org/English/8503>

Recommended reading: scan the text of the U.S.-ROK SOFA for a more concrete sense of its organization, content, and style, at http://www.shaps.hawaii.edu/security/us/sofa1966_1991.html

Tuesday, May 20. Session 8: Korean Anti-Americanism; Case Studies: Formaldehyde, Short-track Racing, and Maehyang-ri

Two incidents involving U.S. Forces Korea and one involving a short-track racing match in the 1999-2002 roiled U.S.-Korean relations like few others.

Required reading:

Unpublished research papers on the formaldehyde incident by Young Jin Chun and the short-track racing incident by John Slack, to be provided.

Recommended reading: watch *The Host*, a Korean movie based on the formaldehyde incident.

Tuesday, May 27. Session 9: Korean Anti-Americanism; Case Study: The USFK Traffic Accident

Required reading: chapters III, IV, V, VI, and IX in <http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/0406mitchell.pdf>.

For progressive South Korean NGOs' views on the traffic accident, read their statement at:

http://www.yonip.com/main/articles/declaration_on_current_situation.html

For American "anti-Korean" views on the traffic accident, read:

<http://usinkorea.org/1st/TRAGEDY/index.html> and

<http://mikemcstay.blogspot.com/2007/06/june-13-2002-today-is-5th-anniversary.html>

Recommended reading: none.

***Tuesday, June 3. Session 10: Korean Anti-Americanism; Case Study: North Korean Nuclear Crises**

How differences of interests, perceptions, politics, and national identity over North Korea policy severely tested the U.S.-ROK alliance.

Required reading: chapter 11 in Steinberg, *Korean Attitudes*.

Recommended reading: Charles L. Pritchard, *Failed Diplomacy: The Tragic Story of How North Korea Got the Bomb*

*Research papers due today.