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國際學碩士學位論文

**Changing Paradigm of Anti-
Americanism in South Korea:**
Chronological Analysis of Changing Frame

한국 내 반미주의 패러다임의 변화:
1980년대부터 2000년대까지의 순차적 분석

2013年 8月

서울대학교 國際大學院

國際學科 國際協力 專攻

趙 智 瑛

**Changing Paradigm of Anti-
Americanism in South Korea:
Chronological Analysis of Changing Frame**

Thesis by

Ji Young Cho

Graduate Program in International Cooperation
For the degree of Masters of International Studies

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**Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University**

Seoul, Korea

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指導教授 辛 星 昊

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趙 智 瑛

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委 員 長 朴 喆 熙 (印)

副 委 員 長 鄭 鍾 昊 (印)

指 導 教 授 辛 星 昊 (印)

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

The undersigned, appointed by

The Graduate School of International Studies

Seoul National University

Have examined the thesis entitled

Changing Paradigm of Anti-Americanism in South Korea: Chronological Analysis of Changing Frame

Presented by **Ji Young Cho,**

Candidate for the degree of Masters of International Studies, and hereby certify
that the examined thesis is worthy of acceptance:

Signature

Committee Chair

Park, Cheol-Hee

Signature

Committee Vice Chair

Jeong, Jong-Ho

Signature

Committee Member

Sheen, Seong-Ho

Date: August 2013

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Abstract

Korea's strongest and most important political, economic, and cultural ally is the United States. This provides a certain level of foundation for South Korea generally having a favorable sentiment towards the U.S. Therefore, it is interesting to note that Anti-American sentiments have been detected in Korea as early as the 1920s. As a complex society it is not easy to track a paradigm change of Anti-Americanism in South Korea. Past studies on Anti-Americanism in South Korea have been on a year-by-year basis or have focused on certain group of people in a certain time period. Therefore, this study will examine a comprehensive change and development of ideological and behavioral Anti-Americanism in South Korea according to its regime type (either authoritarian or democratic) and public opinion (either polarized or neutrally unified).

Analysis shows that in the 1980s, during an authoritarian regime, the South Korean society showed contained ideological Anti-Americanism with favorable unified public opinion towards the United States. In the 1990s, as a democratic government stabilized, the civil level of behavioral Anti-Americanism was witnessed with help from radical civic organizations from the economic sector and crimes related to the United States Forces in Korea. The phenomena resulted from a mixture of democratic society and lack of unified identity by South Korean public toward the United States. Since the 2000s the democracy level in South Korea has matured in depth and advanced rapidly with tremendous economic and technological development which allowed for the emergence of mass public level of behavioral Anti-Americanism.

From the perspective of agent constructivism, the development of Anti-

Americanism is the result of the government and the public mutually influencing each other. The structure – government – affects the behavior pattern of the agents – citizens – which, in return, have an impact on the structure that they are affiliated with. Anti-Americanism evolves as society and people advance and change. Therefore, it is not something that can be broken into different time periods. It is essential that we keep track of this sentiment for the United States as it will remain as one of the most important partners of South Korea.

Key Words: *Anti-Americanism, Government Structure, Public Opinion, Contained Ideological Anti-Americanism, Contained Behavioral Anti-Americanism, Mass Behavioral Anti-Americanism, Agent Constructivism*

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Table of Contents	iii
I. Introduction	1
i. Background: Research Question	1
ii. Definition of Anti-Americanism	2
iii. Contribution of This Thesis.....	4
iv. Research Hypothesis.....	5
II. Framework for Analysis	7
i. Separation between “What the United States is” and “What the United States does” 7	
ii. Framework by Regime Type and Level of Autonomy of Public Opinion toward the U.S.	9
III. Empirical Analysis from 1980s to 2000s	14
i. Contained Ideological Anti-Americanism in 1980s.....	14
ii. Civic Organization and Civil level of Contained Behavioral Anti-Americanism in 1990s.....	20
1. Protecting the Right of Personal Security in Economic Aspect.....	22
2. Protecting the Right of Personal Security from Crimes by the United States Military.....	26
i. Mass Public Level of Behavioral Anti-Americanism in 2000s.....	32
IV. Conclusion	40
Bibliography	42
국문초록	44

I. Introduction

i. Background: Research Question

The Republic of Korea (South Korea) has remained as one of the main political and economic allies of the United States since the establishment of the country or since the end of the Korean War. South Korea was tremendously influenced by the United States in numerous aspects of politics, economy and culture. With no doubt, South Korea could attain tremendous economic development in a remarkably short period of time, a feat which ultimately placed South Korea's national status in the 19th rank of the Global Competitiveness Index by the World Economic Forum¹. This achievement would not have been easy if without the wide international market and strong military support from the United States. This exponential growth of economic and cultural power in South Korea has also helped the United States in return with economic trade such as US-ROK Free Trade Agreement as Jeffery J. Schott proclaimed the benefits of this bilateral economic relationship² and stronger political stance as a democratic country in one of the most controversial area in North East Asia surrounded by China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), Russia and Japan. With such various sufficient reasons, US-ROK alliance has been solid and promising.

¹ The Global Competitiveness Report assesses the competitiveness landscape of 144 economies, providing insight into the drivers of their productivity and prosperity. The Report series remains the most comprehensive assessment of nation competitiveness worldwide. Global Competitiveness Report 2012-2013

² The author argues, in his paper, with supportive data showing how both parties would be significantly benefited from the agreement by stating "The FTA outcome on autos makes both sides better off than they would be in the absence of the bilateral deal" and concluded with a statement saying "The states – in terms of both US economic and security interests in East Asia – are too great, and the costs too high, to reject the pact or defer a decision."

However, even with maintenance of close alliance between the United States and South Korea, interestingly, South Korea also has shown strong sense of sporadic, yet widely spread Anti-Americanism among various strata of Korean society. Several research papers that will be referred later in this paper had defined and analyzed the characteristic of Anti-Americanism in South Korea with their own term. However, not much effort has been done in one paper to see through the historical flow of Anti-Americanism in South Korea. Considering that the South Korea has been one of the main allies in Far East Asia, the reason of Anti-American sentiment is needed to be dealt basically yet critically in fundamental and profound level. At the same time, with even more importance, the changing paradigm of this sentiment should also be analyzed to understand how the change of South Korea in domestic policy and external foreign policy has been occurred accordingly and because of what the changing paradigm has resulted. Analytical research on a certain social aspect cannot be separated from various influencing factors originated from inner and outer conditions. Despite this, so far the study on Anti-Americanism in South Korea has more focused on current issues or analyzing through left and right wing side politically which do not show big picture of the Anti-Americanism that has been in South Korea for a long time and that has been changed accordingly with the timeline.

ii. Definition of Anti-Americanism

To understand the origin and development of public sentiment - especially when the sentiment is resentment – of a certain society toward the United States, the

widespread term as Anti-Americanism should be settled at the beginning. This is particularly important in South Korea considering that the United States is most important and powerful ally with which the South Korea keeps comprehensive and profound political, economic and cultural relationship than any other countries.

On their study about Third World, Alvin Z. Rubinstein and Donald Smith³ argue that the “Anti-Americanism can be defined as any hostile action or expression that becomes part and parcel of an undifferentiated attack on the foreign policy, society, culture, and values of the United States.” Authors categorized types of Anti-Americanism into four different types of issue-oriented, instrumental, ideological and revolutionary. Gi-Wook Shin⁴ considers Anti-Americanism composes diverse manner of attitudes, beliefs, and circumstance resulted from nationalism, anti-capitalism representing Western values or even from defense of traditional culture. Shin analyses the Korean version of Anti-Americanism into three aspects: ‘critique of modern, capitalist culture’ that is primarily noticed in Western Europe; ‘resentment against political/economic domination’ which is

³ From the article of “Anti-Americanism in the Third World” in ANNALS, AAPSS, 497, May 1988, they analyzed four types of Anti-Americanism: (1) issue-oriented anti-Americanism, or a pattern of outbursts directed against the policies of the U.S. government with which a Third World country disagree; (2) ideological anti-Americanism, involving a more or less coherent set of ideas, frequently related to nationalism, Marxism, or Islamic fundamentalism, that see the United States as the central villain in the world today; (3) instrumental anti-Americanism, or the manipulation of hostility by a government for ulterior purpose, such as mobilizing domestic support or identifying a plausible scapegoat for governmental failure; and (4) revolutionary anti-Americanism, which arises in opposition groups seeking to overthrow a pro-U.S. government and develops as an important ideological tenet of the new regime building mass support.

⁴ In the article of “South Korean Anti-Americanism: A Comparative Perspective” in Asian Survey, Vol. XXXVI, No.8, August 1996, Gi-Wook Shin argues that all three aspects of anti-Americanism he claims appeared in early 1990s’ Korean anti-Americanism.

resulted from disappointment by the dissonance between official ideology and actual actions by the U.S. around the world; and ‘ideological rejection of the U.S. as the “Great Satan”’ with possibility of instigating revolutionary ideology in general public which, ultimately, can also be the main ideology of a regime. Anti-Americanism should be considered a comprehensive term that contains every part of aspects of each characteristics that have mentioned above. No one single society can show one single aspect of anti-Americanism as South Korean society does.

iii. Contribution of This Thesis

As mentioned above, though every analysis and argument about Korean Anti-Americanism has own strong supportive idea, it is interesting to notice that existing analyses have mostly focused on discrete period of time – even if they dealt 1980s and 1990s – without explaining changing characteristics of existing Anti-Americanism as demonstrated from a paper by Tim Shorrock⁵. Or many main documents about South Korea anti-Americanism have focused on certain group of people of certain period covered by radical ideology opposing American values as can be seen from the paper by Professor Dae-yeop Cho⁶. Not many documents gave an effort to see how the Anti-American sentiment and manner of expression of Anti-Americanism has been altered in South Korean society. Social phenomenon cannot be explained from a single point of view of single categorized class or timeline. This paper will demonstrate how the long-

⁵ Tim Shorrock. "The Struggle for Democracy in South Korea in the 1980s and the Rise of Anti-Americanism," 1986: 1195-1218.

⁶ "Kwangju Struggle and Social Movement Culture of 80s – Focused on Ideology and Values" by Professor Dae-yeop Cho

rooted Anti-Americanism has been changed with the flow and change of social dynamics from 1980s to 2000s in a big picture, what the changing factors were in a relatively simple framework.

iv. Research Hypothesis

Assumptions served this paper comes from an idea that Anti-Americanism has been existed in South Korea society for a long time since the beginning of its establishment. To think one step more, the question whether this Anti-Americanism has stayed consistently as it had started in the first place would come up which, basically, leads to the idea that the characteristic including style and way of approach toward issues related to the United States in Anti-Americanism may have been changed. Apparently, public social behavior toward various social phenomenon changes accordingly along with the transformation of society people engaged in. Moreover, it is important not to ignore the separation between existence of agitator groups reside in South Korea and general public sentiment which may or may not be instigated by the groups. As for the hypothesis, this paper assumes that Anti-American changed along with the structure of regime type. It would be said that the change of Anti-Americanism as development process through positive interaction between the structure – regime type – and the agents – citizens. Therefore, major hypothesis can be named as follows.

H1: From 1980s to 2000s, as representing present, there has been a paradigm change in Anti-American sentiment in South Korea according to the change of government type and public opinion toward the government.

H2: On the process of change, there may be visible rise and fall of certain type of Anti-Americanism: specifically, the radical ideological anti-Americanism would show down trend while civil level or mass gathering toward episodic policies would express rising trend.

II. Framework for Analysis

i. Separation between “What the United States is” and “What the United States does”

Anti-Americanism appears in various countries with a variety of cultural background on several different level of social strata from all over the world. Yet, one sentence can sum up this phenomenon with relatively clear explanation. That is to say that anti-Americanism is basically a certain sense of against toward the United States because either of its existence or its political, economic and social behavioral consequences. As from the most fundamental categorization, these phenomena of Anti-Americanism can be categorized into two big picture; Anti-Americanism as “what America is” and as “what America does”.

Resentment sentiment toward the United States can extend to various parts of country with variety of range of influence with it. Anti-Americanism as “what America is” can be explained in terms of ideological, religious differences between a certain country and the United States or rather fundamentally aggressive attitude against America, whereas Anti-Americanism as “what it does” can be demonstrated with a presumed unfair foreign affair or economic relationship like Free Trade Agreement with the United States or reactive offensive attitude against America. These forms of Anti-Americanism exist simultaneously in various parts of the country. However, with a flow of timeline, one of two characteristics of Anti-Americanism shows stronger impact on public opinion or sentiment than the other. This change of paradigm or paradigm shift in Anti-Americanism can be witnessed in South Korea as well and this is resulted from variables appeared

according to international, regional and domestic situation. In the book of “Anti-Americanism In World Politics”, editor Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane⁷ argues as such for the begin of analyzing resentment toward the United States:

“As a way of distinguishing between fundamental and ephemeral sources of Anti-Americanism, we begin [...] with distinction [...] between disliking “what America is” and “what America does.” The ephemeral parts of Anti-Americanism are linked to what America does, that is, American effects they have on others. The more fundamental sources of Anti-Americanism refer to what it is. They include the fact that since the end of the cold war the United States has attained a position of unchallenged military power. [...] Anti-empirical sentiments recur throughout history, [...]”

It is notable that they categorized the character of Anti-Americanism in a clear and simple way. However, to take clearer view on Anti-American sentiment in Korea, it would not perfect to differentiate these two different characters into fundamental and ephemeral, rather it will be better to take objective view them with full separate potential of its own. This paper tries to show the changing dynamics of anti-Americanism in

⁷ Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane, in their book of “Anti-Americanism In World Politics” published in 2007 and the article of “Varieties of anti-Americanism: A Framework for Analysis”, argued this distinguish more explicitly saying “one way of beginning to think about expressions of negative attitudes is to ask whether they are based on views of “what the United States is” – the fundamental values and attitudes of American society – or “what the United States does” – its policies, particularly its foreign policies”

general in South Korean society. It is to illustrate how the manner of Anti-Americanism in South Korea has changed from Anti-Americanism as “what the United States is” to “what the United States does” – but not excluding one of the other for both aspects remains without disappearing in Korea – and what factors have been influencing powers to brought out such change. This paper will not argue that the paradigm of Anti-Americanism in South Korea has changed from one stance to another discretely. As complicate society it is, the sentiment in Korea never shows one side only, rather it pictures mixtures of various different manner of Anti-Americanism. However, among them, surely there is one strong sentiment that override in a certain period of time than any other sentiments. This paper will explain what has been the strongest manner in what time period and why this type of Anti-Americanism has changed.

ii. Framework by Regime Type and Level of Autonomy of Public Opinion toward the U.S.

This process can get help from the idea of constructivism in terms of structure-agents mutual relationship by William H Sewell who drew comprehensive picture of this relationship in his article “A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation.”

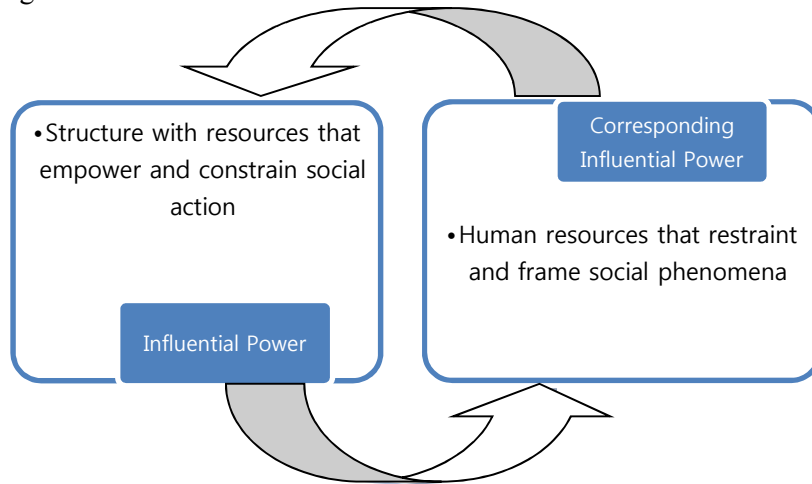
“Structures, I have argued, are constituted by mutually sustaining cultural schemas and sets of resources that empower and constrain social action and tend to be reproduced by that action ... Agents are empowered by structures, both by the knowledge of cultural schemas

that enables them to mobilize resources and by the access to resources that enables them to enact schemas ... it insists that structure is a profoundly cultural phenomenon ... it insists that structure always derives from the character and distribution of resources in everyday world ... Structure [...] is the continually evolving outcome and matrix of a process of social interaction. ”

As William H Sewell stated, with the base and modification of Anthony Giddens' notion of duality, that “human agency and structure, far from being opposed, in fact presuppose each other”, agency and structure works hand by hand as providing impacts each other. To narrow it down in a short summary, Sewell regards structures as systems of mutually sustaining schemas – a comprehensive terminology derived from “rule” by Giddens – and human resources which build up and authorize, yet simultaneously restraint and frame social phenomena. In this certain system of structure, human agency is involved to transpose rules due to ‘transposability of schemas⁸.’ It is to say that structure is a product of environment created mutually by human agency and, in return, the same environment goes through changes due to responsive behavior by the agents that would again brought out a change of structure. This can be simply demonstrated into one picture like diagram1.

⁸ From his article of “A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation” for American Journal of Sociology, William H. Sewell changed the term of “rules” used by Anthony Giddens for explaining the duality of “rules and resources” to “Schemas.” Moreover, he proposes integrated assumptions about the system of structure with multiplicity of structure, transposability of schemas, unpredictability of resource accumulation, polysemy of resources, and intersection of schemas.

Diagram 1.



This dynamic change can also be implemented in South Korean society.

The regime type has been changed in South Korea from dictatorship in 1980s to democracy starting from 1990s which remains and becomes more stable until now. According to the regime type, whether the general public's opinion is polarized between pro- and anti- or it expresses neutrally unified opinion in a stable stage results in a different style as you can see from the figure 1 below. Though it might not easy to picture a clear cut phenomenon of Anti-American sentiment in a complex society, in an authoritarian government, when public opinion is polarized or lacks unified idea toward the United States, ideological Anti-Americanism prevail which is easily manipulated by heavily biased anti-American ideology government or group as can be witnessed in North Korea. Whereas when public opinion stays solid with its unified opinion toward the United States, an existing radical anti-American ideology group would fail to get consenting opinion from general public of an authoritarian society within which results in

contained ideological Anti-Americanism pattern would be observed. On the other hand, in case the government maintains democratic system or pursues liberal democracy, if public does not hold strong sense of certain identity toward the United States – absence of generally united opinion –, certain part of public would be assent to radical ideology agitators showing anti-American behavioral outcomes. This would lead to a behavioral Anti-Americanism from civil level or resentment toward the United States mainly from civic organization. However, if the general public does not go along with those radical groups with solid stance in a democratic society, behavioral Anti-Americanism would be presented through mass public level with issue-oriented version rather than disappearance of anti-American sentiment in any level of society.

Figure 1. Typology of Anti-Americanism

Regime Type Public Opinion	Authoritarian Government	Democratic Government
Polarized Opinion toward the U.S.	Mass Ideological Anti-Americanism	Contained Behavioral Anti-Americanism (Civic Organization/Civil Level)
Unified Neutral Opinion toward the U.S.	Contained Ideological Anti-Americanism	Mass Behavioral Anti-Americanism (Issue Oriented)

This paper is going to empirically analyze how the chronological and typological changes occurred in Anti-American sentiment in South Korea as delineated from the figure 1. Along the process of authoritarian government – military dictatorship –

as a structure influenced the general public working as agent, which, again, with public sentiment not favorable to their own government – or anti-government affects the structure to be changed into democratic government. As of 1992, the South Korea society showed contested ideological hegemony of democracy, which did not bring an elimination of anti-Americanism but rather brought a change in presentation pattern of Anti-American sentiment. Structure of democracy has made fertile environment of social infrastructure such as general education or freedom of speech available to the general public which, again with the influential power working as human agency, affects the structure – government. In this process of mutual interaction, a fall of ideological Anti-Americanism, or also can be deemed as fundamental as “what the United States is”, can be observed while the rise of behavioral Anti-Americanism, which can be related to political or to incidental occasions, will be explained.

III. Empirical Analysis from 1980s to 2000s

i. Contained Ideological Anti-Americanism in 1980s

1980s of South Korea was going through most dynamic period of its modern history with magnificent student-led pro-democracy movement against authoritarian government. Then General Chun Doo Hwan, Commander of the Korean Defense Security Command, took a military step of internal coup that had brought a historical bloody democratic movement in Korea as a result. It was a tragic history began in Kwangju, a traditionally famous region for being resistance to central government. Mass of students and educated citizens came out on the streets and asking for democracy and end of military dictatorship. The situation had been exacerbated as the government military started to use arm forces against civilians and resulted in hundreds of killings and thousands of casualties. This was the time that movement against the United States also started to take aggressive path since the United States was considered to be supportive to the repressive and authoritarian regime. The highly educated and the young generation from 20s to 40s criticized the United States for giving a tacit permission to massacre of the authoritarian regime toward democracy movement. The United States had reason of supporting then Korean government even though it was heavily against the American values of spreading democracy and of against dictatorship. In international political level, the world was in the era of Cold War, the era of containment policy by the United States against Soviet Union socialist expansion desire. Though Japan was certainly ally of the United States, as China was belonging to the Socialism field of regime, the United States was worrying about Korea being included in to Communist part as well. Being

established as democratic country, the United States needed South Korea to remain as one of its democratic allies with huge strategic geo-political importance right next to the Japan – one of the most important allies located in Far East Asia – which, thus, made the United States to support the government not to be collapsed due to students’ movement.

It would have been the critical initiative for the decline of, so far generally pandemic, pro-American sentiment and rise of one that of anti-American. Along with the strong sense of nationalism and struggle for national autonomy, anti-Americanism started to shape solid outline and to take active or, rather aggressive steps. The underground sentiment disappointed by the United States’ stance for the military dictatorship government was burst out in action on 23rd May, 1985⁹. Total 73 students from five universities took over American Culture Center in Seoul by surprise and started hunger strike demanding for private talk with, then, the American Ambassador to Korea, Richard L. Walker. The students maintained unlawful extraterritorial occupation at the Culture Center Library for three days with the catchphrase arguing that “the United States has to feel responsible and apologize for the Kwangju Massacre”, which American Embassy denied. As main group of the movement was composed of the university students and scholars the time has come that the elite class of South Korea was considered to be with notion of against authoritarian dictatorship, against the United States claiming it be hypocritical and opportunist searching for own national interest while, at the same time, supporting democracy and liberal individualism. Showing behavioral patterns against the

⁹ This incident was well explained by ntmnews (linked to: http://www.ntmnews.co.kr/print_paper.php?number=3767) on May 23rd, 2010 to have a chance looking back into a significant historical issues occurred on that certain day.

United States like proclaiming to empty the U.S. troops in Korea or not buying products made in the U.S. whereas desiring for the values that the United States stands for such as liberalism, democracy and fair trade is a typical sign showing people are criticizing the United States not because of what the concepts or ideology it stands for but because of what impacts and political/ social influence the state behavior births. It shows the transition from the Anti-Americanism from “what it is” to “what it does” compare to the 50s of Anti-Americanism. The mingling of groups among who newly got into the Anti-American class and who was already taking a place in the class with ideological background against the United States formed a solid Anti-American ground in Korean society.

The reason this period had remained as contained ideological Anti-Americanism is that even though the movement against the United States was ignited by the behavior done by the U.S. government, innate ideology of the members – mostly students – of the movement contained radical ideology. Interestingly, these social movements have desired a democratic government system for constitutional amendment in South Korea away from military dictatorship, the student movement started to have radical democratic movement. The most organized and symbolic theoretical group in the middle of 1980s was NLPDR, National Liberation People’s Democratic Revolution. NLPDR was divided into NL (National Liberation) – sector asking for independent state – and PDR (People’s Democracy Revolution) – sector for equality – among which NL, sector gained more popular support, acclaimed for fighting against the United States and imperialism as prior struggle purpose. According to a paper by Dae-yeop Cho early stage of student movement

was “autogenously” anti-Americanism created calling for democracy, but as the movement gathered as organized group of NLPDR faction, it became “doctrinarian” anti-Americanism¹⁰. Considering that the seed of socialism in 1950s as it was stated in former section, the fact that the movement and slogan of this NLPDR movement, especially the NL sector, started to actively accept North Korean ideological guidance leading to a result making NL movement fused into Chuche ideology at the end of 1980s is not a total surprise and, this is the reason why 1980s Anti-Americanism has remained in fairly limited phase.

This radical lefty ideological background can be traced back to 1950s and 1960s when South Korea was having a hard time trying to gather up from debris of Korean War and to make some progress politically and economically. The 38.5th parallel which had divided south and north of Korean Peninsula was not drawn voluntarily by two Koreas but by the China and the United States. The north part of country was heavily influenced by ideological background by China and Russia which were representing socialist field in the Cold War era whereas the south part was under the influence of liberal democratic ideology by the United States. Inevitably, people with socialistic ideology have remained in south without finding way going back to north. This group of people may have formed the fundamental ground of initial Anti-Americanism as a birth place with strong opposing ideological basement against American liberal democracy. This group notably consists of

¹⁰ Dae-yup Cho, a professor of Korea University majoring in Sociology, wrote of paper in 2003 with the title of “광주항쟁과 80년대의 사회운동문화 – 이념 및 가치를 중심으로 – (Kwangju Struggle and Social Movement Culture of 80s – Focused on Ideology and Values)” demonstrates the ‘collective beliefs’ of the student movement at that period of time based on the concept of ‘Minjung(mass of people)’ beyond a social class. He also explained a student movement groups of NLPDR based on the concept of ‘Nationalism, Democracy, and Revolution by the Masses.’

the educated and the elder. Different point of view toward political and social management of a country is such a fundamental and ultimate different way of thought that understanding each difference – which would not be easy in any way – may lessens conflicts between them but would not make one party to accept the other's one. Exclusive attitude against the different idea does not necessarily generate excessive conflict. However, given that socialist idea and democratic idea try to expand its own stance and to deny the other's existence, and if it happens in one same country, conflicts may be inevitable. Socialism is basically against every aspect that the United States pursues including democracy, liberalism and competition. Present North Korean Anti-Americanism demonstrated as Chuch'e (self-reliance) ideology is distorted and extended manner of original socialism with the mixture of nationalism. This kind of Anti-Americanism can get assistance from demonstration of "Radical Anti-Americanism" explained by Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. People who categorized themselves as "Radical Anti-Americanism" identify them though opposing American and American values¹¹. Though it was not as strong as that one in North Korea now, it would have been the main stream of idea for the group of people advocate to Anti-Americanism. Moreover, as socialist group made and expanded hard ground in South Korea, members of that group started to take important seats in government organization and in society which further extended the idea of Anti-Americanism. Even though in 1950s of South

¹¹ Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane, in their book of 'Anti-Americanism in World Politics', categorized Anti-Americanism into four characteristics of Liberalist Anti-Americanism, Social Anti-Americanism, Sovereign-nationalist Anti-Americanism and Radical Anti-Americanism as primary and also, divided into Elite Anti-Americanism and Legacy Anti-Americanism as secondary category.

Korea does not exist strong and sophisticated version of Anti-Americanism, this foundation of socialist ideological group can be said a birth place of Anti-Americanism that would be connected to the one appeared in 1980s.

However, as every organization, radical groups in South Korea also faced crises with disintegration. At the end of the 1980s, even among the groups of radical student movement, different ideological backgrounds were spread which ultimately divided the group at last. NL (National Liberation) group was the main stream claiming for anti-Americanism and anti-imperialism based on Chuche ideology of North Korea while the other sub-factions such as PDR(People's Democracy Revolution) and NDR(National Democratic Revolution) follows Marxism-Leninism arguing against social class discrimination and Trotsky faction based on theory of 'Permanent Revolution' by a Russian communist revolutionary Leon and claimed for socialist revolution by communizing South Korea¹². The inner-circled power struggle between different factions resulted in lack of supportive driving force that ultimately lost sound members which subsequently weakens the legitimacy of a certain organization or group.

These lefty ideology groups could not get the consent of their idea not only because of their inner fragmented idea of organization but also due to strongly pandemic pro-American sentiment among general public in 1980s. Considering survival of a certain organization heavily depends on whether it gets consenting opinion from as many people as possible, public opinion toward the group and idea of that group is essential to be

¹² <http://www.newdaily.co.kr/news/article.html?no=146974>,
http://www.wbctimes.com/sub_read.html?uid=56219

noticed. 1980s' South Korea was very much benefited from the United States economically and politically for its tremendous economic growth and people knew that it was the existence of the U.S. that has brought their country up to the international level. This pro-American sentiment along with striving economy was solid enough not to be agitated by the ideologically radical groups.

ii. Civic Organization and Civil level of Contained Behavioral Anti-Americanism in 1990s

If the radical ideology groups has lost power and was not able to get public sympathy because of the reason mentioned, these groups has to be disappeared or, at least, has lost legitimacy to attract attention from public. To analyze the clear reason why anti-Americanism has not disappeared in South Korea has to be examined. Two factors need to be checked; what kind of change occurred in that groups and how South Korean public has changed.

Among the roles that Anti-Americanism that Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane categorized¹³, 1980s' contained resentment sentiment toward the United can be named as Anti-American sentiment serving as "identity markers." Authors quoted the words of Norbert Elias arguing that "they are "double-edged" in that they "bind people to

¹³ Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane's article of "Types and Sources of Anti-Americanism: A Framework for Analysis," lectured on April 13, 2005 at Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, argued that the Anti-American beliefs functions in three ways: as a schema helping to make sense of the world, as a means to create a collective identity, and as a standard defining normal and appropriate behavior.

each other and at the time turn people so bound against other”.” Referring to the concept of role termed as “identity markers” of Anti-American belief by the authors:

“Identities emerge from interactions. [...] What is true of nationalism is true also of Anti-Americanism as an alternative form of collective identity. [...] In situations where positive identities of “self” are hard to come by, the ready availability of a powerful, prosperous, culturally omnipresent “other” can provide a social glue that has broad appeal. Such situations are frequent, for example, [...] in polities that are in the process constructing a new collective identity. In brief, Anti-Americanism can be a potent and useful stand-in for otherwise missing symbols of collective identity.”

As contained ideological movement began to be divided into several factions within and to compete each other to gain power, and as democracy government has been established which the radical movements claimed for, these radical groups accordingly started to lose driving force. When a certain group loses its motto for what they claim, it naturally loses its main reason of existence. This naturally works as a push power for a group to find another motto or, at least, a target on which a group can depend if they want to maintain its existence. These groups brought out the strong anti-American argument acclaiming for equality in trade and protection of human right from crimes resulted by the United States Forces in Korea.

Anti-American movement in 1990s was taking active developing path with a tactic support of government. Under the administration by the President Young-Sam Kim and, especially, Dae-Jung Kim, who, as a national leader, shows strongly democratic – or more likely to be acclaimed as lefty – approach to foreign policy toward the United States, the sentiment of Anti-Americanism has taken a sound fundamental ground. This is when the movement against the United States and, more specifically, against United States Forces in Korea has become specifically organized and has started to take root in public opinion in terms of culturally with civil society. Organization with radical idea linked to the radical student movement provided materials and instigated interest take holders who were disadvantaged by economic trade between the United States and South Korea and victims of criminal acts by the United States Forces in Korea or personnel related. Citizens who cooperated to radical organizations formed civic organization against certain issues to protect their right of personal security. When the radical group was purposely picked disadvantaged people to arguing for anti-Americanism as for maintaining the existence of group, citizens fought to survive; they stood up for their right to survive.

1. Protecting the Right of Personal Security in Economic Aspect

The most venerable people were those who engaged in farming and textile industry due to Uruguay Round of Multinational Trade Negotiation (UR), which has concluded in 1993 and which had brought into the establishment of WTO (World Trade

Organization). From the 80s, the United States experienced transition of industrial structure from agriculture industry crisis, decline of manufacturing industry and expansion of service industry and suffered from a deficit of current transactions account. This made the United States try to build new trade order from which the U.S. can restore and reinforce commercial supremacy in the markets of the world by comparative advantage of agriculture and service industry along with high technology¹⁴. As the discussion about agriculture industry became the most controversial issue, for the pertinent main agenda such as alleviation of measurement for border protection, reduction of agricultural subsidies, retrenchment or removal of export subsidies etc., main concern was how much of complimentary measures for developing countries would be reflected. However, a first draft that has addressed mostly a favorable side of the United States was adopted and was agreed to be settled in 1992. It was critical agreement that has much to do with the question of maintenance or abolition of South Korean agriculture industry. Along with opening a door of a domestic market leading to severe competition in world agriculture market, reduction of domestic agriculture subsidies by a government was fatal blow enough against the people engaged in farming industry. 1990's trend of putting importance on heavy industry started from the former President Park, Chung-Hee who strongly followed the industrialization process of the Japan. According to Bruce Cummings¹⁵, in Park's administration, with his announcement of a program "heavy and

¹⁴ The definition and historical background has been referred from <Encyclopedia of Korean Culture>.

¹⁵ In the article of "Korea's Place in the Sun", Bruce Cummings argued that in time of Rhee Syngman administration in South Korea, he called for "import substitution industrialization" while

chemical industrialization” in six great industries – steel, chemicals, automobiles, shipbuilding, machine tools, electronics, and “big push” was created which, in turn, created big firm in Korea, which also can be called ‘Chaebol’ such as Chong Chu-young of ‘Hyundai’, Yi Pyoung-chol of now ‘Samgsung’ and Kim Woo Chung of ‘Daewoo’. The state with its manipulative and exclusive authority derived miracle of ‘Han River’ by controlling money flow through the Bank of Korea which allowed huge amount of government guaranteed subsidy while put the Korea firms in advantageous status in the world market through state planned high tariff rate for the imported goods or heavy industry products. Through this period, Korea’s steel capacity grew fourteen fold and, truly, made great leap development in economic filed. It could be described as a state-led development model of “Korea, Inc.” This state-led economic growth did not and cannot, in fact, disappear even after South Korea became economically competitive in the world market in 1990s. The former President Young-Sam Kim wanted “Uruguay Round” to be a stepping stone for South Korea in 1993 to enter into world market in the era of globalization. Considering that managing the budget of South Korea was, and still is, heavily depended on export, “Uruguay Round” was an unavoidable breakthrough for Korean government to join. Under the policy of the open door, Young-Sam Kim administration aggressively joined multilateral global agreement including “Uruguay Round”, “Green Round” – multilateral environment negotiation, which also called as ‘the second version of Uruguay Round’ – and OECD (Organization for Economic

in time of Park Chung-Hee administration, former president Park borrowed from the Japanese in the Manchuria model of military-backed forced-pace industrialization with five-year plans introduced and manipulated by the Economic Planning Board (EPB).

Cooperation and Development)¹⁶. The Young-Sam Kim administration focused on heavy industry export in which the South Korea achieved great advancement and, thus, had comparative advantage than other industries.

People in agriculture industry, especially rice farmers, and textile industry felt so heavily threatened enough that they became urgent to find an aggressive way to make a government or the United States to hear their voice. Radical national groups like National Alliance for Democracy Reunification of Korea which had included other aggressive leftist groups as members such as Korean Peasants League or Hanchongryun (South Korean Federation of University Students Councils) were actively engaged in street movement to fight against the success of agreement while arguing in surface for protecting the unprotected groups because of the agreement. All these groups can be unified into one term which they claim for 'liberation of a nation' as if South Korea is under unlawful domination by a certain illegitimate power. Taking a close look in these groups can be noticed that the main idea of existence is based on pro-North Korea via supporting unification, anti-American grounded on argument of withdrawal of United States Forces in Korea and anti-government along with basic disagreement on state policy especially related to trade or foreign affairs linked to the United States or North Korea like other radical groups which will be discussed on the following part of this paper.

¹⁶ To grasp simpler and clearer idea about this period of policy, 'Energy Economics' newspaper article published on 6 Oct, 2010 can be referred. Global standard such as relaxation of regulation was policy agenda of Young-Sam Kim administration. The key words that can cover this certain administration are 'globalization' and 'liberalization and Openness.' From Young-Sam Kim administration, South Korea began to be part of a full-fledged open market system in the world.

2. Protecting the Right of Personal Security from Crimes by the United States Military

Striking and horrifying incidents happened since the United States Forces came in Korea. In fact, much more brutal crimes by the U.S Forces have been reported including 1968 case of Nam-suk Son, who was 26 year-old and was employee at a club for U.S Forces only, was murdered and the body that had cruelly cut was found in military backpack¹⁷. However, it was 1990s that general people started to realize the level of severity of those events and to make strong voice against crimes by U.S Forces in Korea. There was a symbolic case that made Korean public do not bear such crimes anymore and led to make first private level of organization that makes voice against crimes related the U.S Forces which was, then, named “Joint Commission for Counter-Measures Regarding Miss Kum-E Yoon Case” by U.S Army; this committee has advanced into an organization called “The National Campaign for Eradication of Crimes by U.S. Troops in Korea.” The ruthless murder of Yoon Kum E in 1992¹⁸ by an U.S.

¹⁷ According to the book “더 이상 우리를 슬프게 하지 마라(Do Not Make Us Sad Anymore)” written by Yeon-ho Oh in 1990, the crimes by U.S Forces in Korea had shown more severe nature of atrocity of crime, if not more number of them, back in 50s to 70s. The author had demonstrated almost every reported crime in details in 90s and among them several cases have led mass movement against the U.S Force crimes and that have resulted in public desire to revise and amend terms and provisions of SOFA later.

¹⁸ According to The National Campaign for Eradication of Crimes by U.S. Troops in Korea, Miss Yoon Kum E, who was a 26 years old employee of U.S. Force- only-club, was murdered by Kenneth Lee Markle III. A quarrel between them started when Kenneth found out that Miss Yoon had spent a night over the day before with another U.S. Military man, James Lambert. Though Miss Yoon’s official cause of death was depressed fracture of skull and hemorrhaging, other wounds remained in her body showed how cruelly she was sexually assaulted.

Army brought out a large scale of street movement that included various sorts of social groups actively gathered against the military crimes with wide social strata including women groups, worker organizations, student groups, religious groups, and human rights organizations. However terrifying they sound, couple of crimes related to the U.S. Forces in Korea mentioned above takes just a little tip of an iceberg. There had been incredible amount of crimes reported in this geographically small country in 1990s up to a thousand cases in a year as following table 1 shows.

Table 1.

Division Year		Occurrence		
		Number	U.S. Force	Related to U.S. Force
'92	Case	754	642	112
	People	849	725	124
'93	Case	802	624	178
	People	927	721	206
'94	Case	896	711	185
	People	1,025	812	213
'95	Case	903	694	209
	People	999	775	224
'96	Case	702	526	176
	People	767	578	189
'97	Case	689	543	146
	People	743	577	166
'98	Case	660	518	142
	People	734	576	158
'99	Case	761	562	199
	People	824	612	212

Source: Ministry of Justice

As South Korea become more democratic and become more economically strong, civil society has developed and, this civil society had advanced democracy more in depth. Various level and forms of non-state organizations have been created which had intelligence to address their voice effectively without hesitation of blaming the crimes by U.S. Forces. Not only unified but also powerfully organized voice started make strong step forward to make public these crimes and to reduce a total amount of the incidents ultimately. Beside The National Campaign for Eradication of Crimes by U.S. Troops in Korea, another huge and strong group called Hanchongryun, known as the South Korean Federation of University Students Councils, has been organized in 1993 as it mainly condemns the continued presence of the United States Forces Korea. Another union is Korean Confederation of Trade Unions that was established in 1995 with 42,000 members at the beginning and that was legalized in 1997 as main group of representing anti-Americanism and pro-North Korea¹⁹. These groups were composing majority part of anti-American movement whenever there was such criminal case by U.S. military forces occurred. Crimes related to U.S. Forces in Korea did not limit its impact to criminal offense but extended to civil affairs in daily life including environment issues. For instance, the group named Solidarity for Peace and Reunification of Korea, established in 1994, participated aggressively to address the environmental containment and sound

¹⁹ The information from Joongang Daily Newspaper in August 14, 2012 evidences pro-North Korea characteristic of the Korean Federation of Trade Union. They distributed pro-North Korea educational materials to the members for preparation of their upcoming quiz event, named 'Ring the Unification Golden Bell.'; Contents of the quiz composed a question such as "who is an entrepreneur said the real kind of general is Kim Jung-un" and "what is a political line that Kim Jung-un emphasized for state dignity and autonomy which our union has to maintain as well" – with the answer of Autonomy Line.

noise occurred in and by U.S. Forces base camp. Representative critical sound noise damage occurred at Mae-Hyang Ri which the U.S. Forces in Korea used base camp for bombardment training. According to the Institute for Occupational and Environmental Health, people living in Mae-Hyang Ri suffered 24% of severe depression, 7% of anxiety and seven times higher percentage of committing suicide²⁰.

What made the civil organizations more upset about these problems related to U.S. Forces including violence, murder, environment containment and human right issues comes from the fact that the actual number of verdict was much lower than the actual number of reported and prosecuted crimes considering the huge amount of crime cases. In fact, when the actual ratio of practice of jurisdiction (per the crimes occurred) toward the crimes by U.S. Forces or related to U.S. Military in South Korea is examined, the fact that 1991 was the first time to reach 1% of actual practicing of jurisdiction is surprising²¹. This trend, along with the tragic accident occurred in early 2000s that will be explained in detail later this paper, led to the strong demanding voice for modification of terms and

²⁰ In September 8th, 2008, Institute for Occupational and Environmental Health held a press interview and open discussion. It was to arouse attentions about incidents occurred in Mae-Hyang Ri. They disclosed data expressing critically negative effects including sever posttraumatic stress disorder by sound noise originated from military base camp and suggested recommendations for other village people near other camps including 'Camp Page' in Chuncheon, 'Wolf-Pack' in Kunsan and 'Camp Walker' in Daegu.

²¹ According to The National Campaign for Eradication of Crimes by U.S. Troops in Korea, the ration of actual practicing of jurisdiction toward the occurred crimes by U.S. Forces in Korea did not reach 1% in 1990 (0.8%). Then, the ratio had gradually increased to reach 5% in the middle of 1990s. Counting 2000s' 7% actual practicing of jurisdiction, though it is true that there is sound trend of rise of power for jurisdiction on U.S. Forces in South Korea, it can be safely deemed that the ratio remains absolutely low. Moreover, considering that from the 2000, car crash misdemeanor has been excluded to be count in total crime, the actual jurisdiction practice by South Korea government stays low.

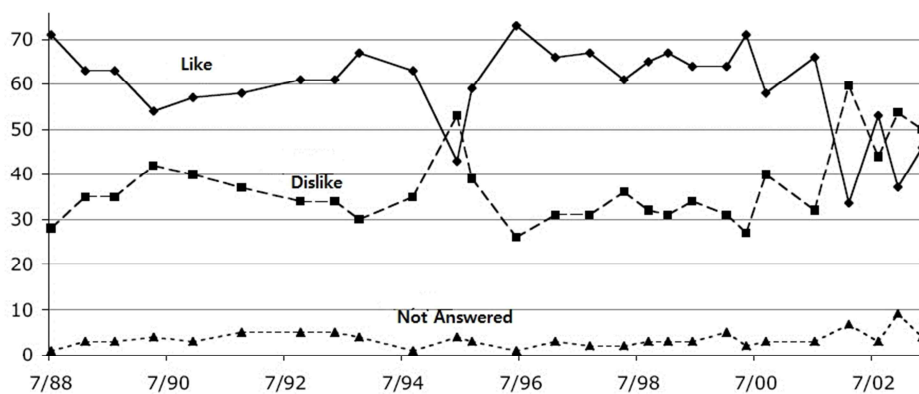
conditions of SOFA (Status of Forces Agreement) as shorten term of “Agreement under Article 4 of the Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America, Regarding Facilities and Areas and the Status of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Korea.” It demonstrates that the sentiment of Anti-Americanism has taken step forward from civil/ regional level to the state policy level that would highly probable to catch public attention.

Basically, it is behavioral anti-Americanism that has appeared in 1990s from a limited groups of stake holders who tried to keep their personal security and from a radical movement group as agitator based on ideological anti-American background. As stated in former part of this paper, these ideologically biased groups have been existed in South Korean society even hardening their supporting ground. It is interesting yet important not to neglect that Korean Confederation of Trade Unions is composed mainly by two streams originated from 1980s of NL and PD. Two factions are competing for power in the union, but with superiority of NL faction – pro-North Korea and pro-unification – represented most well by Jeon Gyojo, or the Korean Teachers and Education Workers’ Union²². General public’s sentiment toward the general image of the United States remained uncertain as can be recognized from the graph 1 showing favorability of South Korean people toward the United States. This is a typical graph showing that the

²² The Korean Teachers and Education Workers’ Union was established in 1989 and was legalized in 1999. It would not be correct to address that all members of this union and every mission they aiming for is with pro-North Korea and anti-American purpose. However, considering that members of the union was prosecuted on February 21st, 2013 for forming sub-organization working benefits of the enemy, thus against the National Security Law, the solid maintenance and influence of radical ideology groups cannot be ignored. Further information can be checked in <http://news.kukinews.com/article/view.asp?page=1&gCode=kmi&arcid=0006922660&cp=nv> from Kukmin Ilbo.

general public was not in the main stream of anti-American phenomena, but it neither represents that average opinion is total pro-American. It rather demonstrates mixed picture of up and down of favorability toward the United States. Though majority seemed remain favorable toward the United States, it can be recognized that parts of the society was not much favorable showing fragmented or not unified national identity for relationship with the United States. Public opinion toward the United States seemed polarized. This unsettled thought of people of Korean society to be easy targets for ideology groups to entice for hardening their footage. Consequently, desperate people were encouraged to act with radical ideology groups. That is, this led to a limited behavioral express by certain interest-related groups of people while many of their aggressive actions, or reactions toward the government or the United State Forces were influenced by ideologically radical lefty unions.

Graph 1. Favorability toward the U.S.



Source: The United State Department of Defense

The contained behavioral anti-Americanism represented as active, or sometimes

aggressive, street demonstration by limited group of people maintained emotional attachment as can be said resentment. Venerable people who were threatened their means of living due to Uruguay Round and frustrated people who were directly damaged by criminal behaviors by the U.S. military were easy targets for radical groups to entice to be emotional toward the issues related to the United States. This provides main reason for anti-Americanism in 1990s to be remained as contained behavioral anti-Americanism. It was 'contained' for it was not able to attain general consent and to spread their idea and share with general public. Though with favorable in majority parts of Korean society, polarized opinion emerged from the society due to those people who is threatened by American policy and USFK crimes. It was 'behavioral' because of active engagement into a street movement to specific accidents that is closely related to their personal or gathered interest. However, this phenomenon altered as democracy matures in depth domestically along with special external international condition surrounding South Korea which, in turn, altered public characteristic to differentiate unqualified blame from a sound criticism.

iii. Mass Public Level of Behavioral Anti-Americanism in 2000s

In a democratic society, it is thinkable that ideologically radical groups would strive with the freedom of speech. However, several domestic and external factors that will be explained in this section, general public gets to be able to have discretion or mature judgment unlike imprudent or ill-advised one. Among a flood of tons of voices with each supportive idea, people absorb a certain argument after examining various

related for and against idea. This period of Anti-Americanism showed interesting picture that has mixed with “Anti-Americanism” and “Anti-Government”, meaning not anarchism but more about against government policy. Public started not to remain merely as civil level and hesitate to make voice up to state policies regarding the issues related to U.S. Military or government. After decades of endurance about the U.S. Military crimes, Korean public began to approach the source of problem at the state policy level; amendment of SOFA (Status of Forces Agreement) between the United States and Republic of Korea. The Status of Forces Agreement is an agreement that determines lawful status of the U.S. Armed Forces in Korea, which is considered an unequal agreement limiting the rights of Korean government’s jurisdiction even after the initial try for revisions of SOFA in 1991. Under the agreement of ROK-U.S. SOFA, “Korea is permanently leasing U.S. military bases for free, the criminal jurisdiction of the U.S. servicemen committing crimes against Koreans falls under the U.S. armed forces, Korea cannot place a restriction on environmental problems in the U.S. military bases and Korea cannot protect an invasion of private property that is occupied by U.S. military.²³” Revision provisions included various field of society from criminal activities and environmental issues for the first time. Despite this alteration of provisions, general opinion remains skeptical about its authentic intentions since it stays a symbolic and partial change. As long as incidents related the USFK does not disappear, it is highly

²³ According to People’s Action for Reform Unjust ROK-US SOFA agreement, these provisions of unfair agreement in SOFA support indulgences of all crimes committed by the U.S. servicemen. This group argues that an institutionalized system of SOFA legalizes inequality between countries and that, therefore, this agreement must be completely revised.

probable that this issue would be come up later again.

A symbolic accident happened in 2002 when two middle school girls, on the way to their friend's birthday party, were run over by a U.S. Force military vehicle and died on the spot. It was an unintended accident for both the U.S. Forces and two girls. It was an accident that none of both parties did not want or did not expect to be occurred. The U.S. government denied Korean government acquisition for relinquishment of jurisdiction over a sergeant Fernando Nino and a sergeant Mark Walker and sentenced not guilty over them according to U.S. Military Court. This resulted in a mass uprising deeply disappointed about the attitude of the U.S. Military department and final settlement of the accident. This was a symbolic accident because it had triggered almost first mass civil movement against the United States and it was a representative case because it had contributed to advancement from merely organized civil level of movement in 1990s to systematically united voice of whole country toward state policies related to the United States issues including wide range from environment, human right issues to foreign policies like dispatch of Korean troops to Iraq or Free Trade Agreement. Considering that general public opinion remained rather favorable to the United States up to 1990s, the first candlelight movement by general mass public against the United States is meaningful. General public in South Korea do not stand circumstances any more that they considered to be unfair in the U.S.-ROK relationship and started to take active response to the national policy rapidly. It is significant signaling issue that has lifted up the anti-American movement from contained behavioral pattern by group of people to spread sense of behavioral anti-Americanism in general public. This phenomenon was not

triggered by some radical ideological groups although they did actively participate in the candlelight movement. Rather, as Korean society acquired remarkable economic and political improvement along with strong general education system, South Korean public became less vulnerable to the biased ideological influence and more inclined to participate state policy issues either domestic or foreign policies.

Another striking massive and active involvement of general public was witnessed in 2011 against US-ROK Free Trade Agreement, which officially named as KORUS FTA. It was anti-government and, at the same time, anti-American movement brought out by mass number of public composed of astonishingly variety of social strata from unions of parents to intelligent people from media and professors. Mingled with president impeachment movement, people of South Korean society deemed the former president Myung-bak Lee, the struggle between the advocate and people against the agreement were severe. However, this time was different from the one witnessed in 1990s' Uruguay round. Hundreds of research papers and newspaper articles were published trying to analyze what the South Korean government can gain and lose. National campaign to understand KORUS FTA straight²⁴ with fact was emerged. Though public sympathized certain level of street movement for making voice out loud, when an unnecessarily severe and aggressive actions were aired via news media, public did not hesitate to blame particular radical reactions – beating up an unprotected policeman till to unconscious or unnecessarily destroying public structures – claiming those behaviors

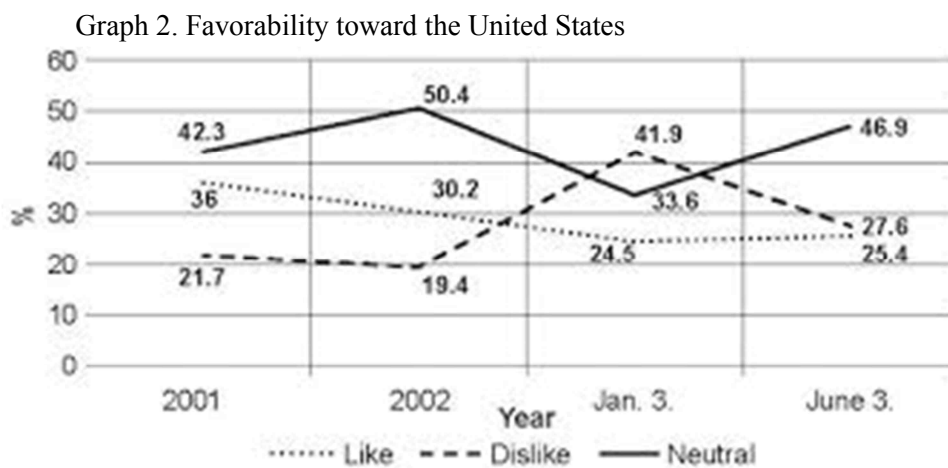
²⁴ This campaign got help from information dealt with series of issues publicized by Korean Institute for International Economic Policy.

would taint sound intention of whole public asking for transparency and having chance to analyze gains and losses from the agreement. Most controversial issue was about beef import from the United States. When a media²⁵ the old and sick beef – called ‘mad cow’ or bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy as mad cow disease – from the United States that even Americans would not eat will ‘dump’ into South Korea through KORUS FTA, public was shocked for a while and huge anti-government - for letting this agreement happened - and anti-American - for selling ‘mad cow’ - sentiment arose. However, not long after, the government papers and other media news arguing that South Korean government would not accept the beef by ‘mad cow’ and beef that will be imported are the same kind of beef were released. Public got back into track again to see the situation clearly in objective perspective; and soon, one of the most controversial happenings in recent Korean society has calmed down.

Starting from the amendment of SOFA in 2002 that has been mentioned above, in 2003, when the United States asked for help of dispatching ROK troops in Iraq and Pakistan, although remained Anti-American groups led the van to oppose for sending Korean troops, people all over a country made a strong discussion over sending troops is necessary foreign policy for South Korea. People critically analyzed why it is unnecessary or why it is unavoidable step for South Korean national interest to take.

²⁵ The Korean broadcast program “In-depth 60 Minutes” dealt the ‘mad cow disease’ issue really in depth for several series of episodes which caught public attention and triggered mass anti-KORUS FTA movement. The program connected this ‘mad cow disease’ to the beef that will be imported into South Korea through KORUS FTA. However, as the kind of beef that will be imported to South Korea was not ‘mad cow’, the program director was accused and prosecuted for this.

Radical ideology group has been remained in South Korean society with solid foundation that cannot easily be tumbled down. However, unlike previous years, general public of Korean society became more neutral. It has become that the sentiment against American has been solidified with maturity aspects. People are not easily dazzled by unconditional accusation toward the United States and are not easily follow the propaganda of the groups based on radical Anti-American attitude. Even if some parts of public express one-side-tilted opinion about a certain incident, majority of public remains neutral to analyze situation with objective point of view which helps maintenance of solid and sound public sentiment toward any sorts of social phenomenon. This can be inferred from the graph 2 showing how the general public in 2000s reacted to the United States. As stated, people became more neutral meaning they see circumstantial situations in the relationship between the United States and the South Korea from more objective point of view.



Sources: The United States Department of Defense

As mentioned, economic prosperity which ultimately brought increased standard and widely spread education and stability of advanced-level democratization might have brought this neutral sentiment in general public. These factors can be categorized into domestic conditions. External factor would include South Korea relationship with North Korea. Especially compare to 2000s, South Korea in 1990s maintained relatively favorable relationship with North Korea under the former President Kim Dae-Jung. This former president is famous with his “Sunshine Policy” toward North Korea, meaning maintaining favorable relationship with North Korea through extensive range of financial and food aid than take aggressive line. North Korea did not take severe offensive political or, even more importantly, military action in response, people in South Korea did not have to feel in danger for real coming from the existence of North Korea. Even if South Korea and the United States stayed as strong alliance partnership, as common bad or enemy – North Korea – “disappeared”, South Korea public started to think that Korean society does not have to be dependent on U.S. for security umbrella and tried to become independent with strong autonomous sovereignty. However, from the middle of 2000s, South Korea government tilted toward right-sided policy with a transition of administration, meaning it began to would not be an unconditionally favorable friend for North Korea like a precedent administrations were. Expectably, North Korean attitude toward the South became aggressive and provocative to, ultimately, brought out a Cheonan vessel and Yeonpyeong Island attack as a response to annual exercise of joint land and air operation that has been practiced for over three decades²⁶. Public opinion has

²⁶ Joint military exercise that has triggered the tragic incident was called ‘Key Resolve’ that has

reversed. People vividly realized the danger of uncontrollable outcome in the relationship with North Korea and, accordingly, started to recognize inevitable necessity of help from the United States. Like it or not and how much level of economic and political advancement established, South Korea needed the United States as the most closest and powerful ally. The common enemy has emerged up above the surface again. These domestic and international factors surrounding South Korea are not exclusive but mutually reinforcing each other that would finally results in change or solidification of public sentiment.

These internal and external factors have created solid and sound stance in South Korea general public to be neutral. Spread and unified voice for objective stance toward social and political phenomena suffices clear separation between ideologically biased radical groups and objectified public opinion

begun since March 2008 as originated from RSOI (Reception, Staging, Onward movement and Integration of Forces). Except this particular practice, there have been several joint military practice since 1976 of 'Team Spirit' and 'Focus Retina' which has expired in present. Currently, beside 'Key Resolve', 'Ulchi-Freedom Guardian' is under operation which is for preparation of concurrent execution of a command post exercise during joint military practice.

IV. Conclusion

This paper has its implication not in arguing that South Korea is in an unfair political and economic trade relationship with the United States which arguably generated anti-Americanism, but in claiming for a fair and equal level of U.S.-ROK relationship. Rather it is to demonstrate the existential fact of anti-American sentiment in South Korea for better understanding and preparation of prospective U.S.-ROK political alliance and strong economic partnership. Anti-Americanism in South Korea has been deeply imbedded for a long period of time and simultaneously has been transformed into an advanced version. Even a little biased point of view would easily lead to another biased conclusion, and thus, biased attitude toward circumstantial incidents. To prevent this undesired result, democracy has to be advanced deeper and public ought to maintain neutral, objective and independent point of view to social phenomenon.

It is comforting to find out that South Korean society became more stabled with neutral sentiment toward the foreign relationship in general. This also can mean that Korean society would be more critical to issues related to their personal and national interests. They have advanced notion toward international status of own government and they know the give-and-take rules. This concludes to a possible expectation that anti-American sentiment would not disappear but would rather become more solid and concrete.

As a structure South Korean government and its foreign relationship with the United States would certainly results in public reactions to each issue. Public behavioral reactions would again influence South Korean policy with the United States as human

agency. Korean government has to be more transparent for publishing papers related to state policy that will help the public remain as neutral and maintain sound opinion. It is also important for the United States' government not to underestimate the significance of public opinion toward it. It takes reasonable behavior and reactions from all three bodies of South Korea government, Korean public and the United States to improve mutual relationship between U.S.-ROK.

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국문초록

Changing Paradigm of Anti-Americanism in South Korea: Chronological Analysis of Changing Frame

한국 내 반미주의 패러다임의 변화:
1980년대부터 2000년대까지의 순차적 분석

서울대학교 국제대학원

국제협력 전공

조지영

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대한민국에게 정치, 경제, 문화적으로 가장 중요한 동맹국은 미국이라고 할 수 있다. 이와 같은 사실은 대한민국이 미국에게 대개 호의적인 자세를 지니고 있을 것이라는 일정 수준 근거 있는 결론으로 이르게 한다. 따라서, 한국 내 미국에 대한 반감이 최고 1920년까지 거슬러 올라가 발견된다는 것은 재미있는 사실이다. 사회가 복잡한 만큼 한국의 반미주의 패러다임의 변화를 하나하나 따라가기란 쉽지 않다. 한국 내 반미주의에 관한 과거 연구들은 특

정 연도에 기초하거나 당 시대의 특정 집단 계층에 초점이 맞추어진 경향이 있다. 이에 본 연구는 정부 형태와 - 독재정권 혹은 민주정권 - 여론의 분화 정도에 따라 한국 내 이념적 그리고 행동적 반미주의의 변화와 발전에 관해 총체적으로 바라보고자 한다.

분석의 결과, 1980년의 한국 사회는 독재 정부와 미국에 대하여 호의적으로 단결된 여론이 합쳐져 제한적인 이념적 반미주의를 보임을 알 수 있었다. 1990년의 경우, 민주 정부가 자리를 잡아가면서 경제 부문과 주한 미군관련 범죄 부문에서 급진적 좌파 이념 집단에 선동된 시민적 수준의 행동적 반미주의가 나타난다. 이는 민주주의 사회와 여론 내에서 미국에의 단결되지 않고 분화된 목소리의 결합체라고 할 수 있다. 마지막 2000년대 이후부터는 한국의 급격한 경제 성장, 기술 발전과 더불어 민주주의가 성장기에 접어들면서 대중적인 행동적 민주주의가 등장하였다.

행위자 구성주의 이론을 빌린다면 한국의 반미주의는 정부와 대중 간 상호 영향을 주고받는 관계를 통한 결과라고 할 수 있다. 구성체의 구조인 정부가 행위자인 시민 혹은 대중의 행동패턴에 영향을 주고, 이들의 행동은 다

시 그들이 속한 구조의 변화에 영향을 준다는 것이다. 반미주의는 사회와 구성원이 발전하고 변화는 과정에 따라 진화한다고 할 수 있다. 그러므로, 하나의 분절된 시간대로 나뉘어져 설명될 수 없다. 미국이 앞으로도 한국의 가장 중요한 파트너 국가로 남아있을 것이기에 이와 같은 한국의 대미 감정에 대한 지속적인 연구가 필요할 것이다.

주제어: 반미주의, 정부형태, 여론, 제한된 이념적 반미주의, 제한된 행동적 반미주의, 대중 행동적 반미주의, 행위자 구성주의

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