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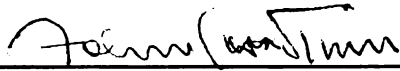
THE EVOLUTION OF KOREAN PRESS WAR COVERAGE
DURING AUTHORITARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC REGIMES:
the Dong-a Ilbo and the Kyunghyang Shinmun

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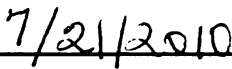
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THE EVOLUTION OF KOREAN PRESS WAR COVERAGE
DURING AUTHORITARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC REGIMES:
the Dong-a Ilbo and the Kyunghyang Shinmun

By

Hyo Joo Lee

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

THE EVOLUTION OF KOREAN PRESS WAR COVERAGE DURING AUTHORITARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC REGIMES: *the Dong-a Ilbo and the Kyunghyang Shinmun*

By

Hyo Joo Lee

Korea changed its political system from authoritarian to a democracy. Under different political regimes, the media role is altered. In other words, ideology level affects the content of media. Also, depending on the regime type, a leader of a country may consider domestic audience costs differently when the leader makes a decision. This study examines how the two Korean newspapers, *the Dong-a Ilbo* and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun*, performed differently under authoritarian and democratic regimes especially during the Vietnam War, the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War using qualitative thematic content analysis. This study shows that the two newspaper changed coverage tendency. Under the authoritarian regime during the Vietnam War period in 1973, the two newspapers hold a more favorable view of the government and its policy and did not pose any negative opinions on government decisions although several articles revealed the critical analysis of the Vietnam War. On the other hand, during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era in 2007, the two newspapers clearly presented what they approved or opposed on government war policy with audiences reactions.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The media in a democracy give people opportunities to make their decisions through information acquired from the media. In contrast, authoritarian governments want to implant their regimes in people, so they use the media for the maintenance of the regime (Gunther & Mughan, 2000). During political transition from dictatorship or totalitarianism to democracy, the media experience new circumstances of media coverage pertaining to government policies. Changes in media performance during periods of political transitions cannot be understood “without reference to the broader socio-political context in which they occur” (Vađić, 2004, p.32). Also, the media can be an important method to reflect socio-political context.

The purpose of this study is to examine how South Korean¹ media war coverage has evolved under different political regimes. Korea was under authoritarian rule during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s and has had democratic regimes since 1987 (Marshall & Jagers, 2008). The study is a qualitative analysis of articles related to war policies and participation from two Korean newspapers, *the Dong-a Ilbo* and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun*, during the Vietnam War era of December 1972 - May 1973 and the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era of July - December 2007.² For this study, the Vietnam War will represent a period when government-press relations were under a non-democratic form of government, in other words, an authoritarian government. The Afghanistan War and the Iraq War period will be used to study government-press relations during a period when

¹ Official name of South Korea is the Republic of Korea (ROK), but ‘South Korea’ and ‘Korea’ are also officially used often in newspapers and books.

² *Shinmun* and *Ilbo* both mean a newspaper in Korean.

Korea was a democracy.

The press freedom status of the Korean media is free, according to the recent findings in 2010 by Freedom House, which is a New York-based nongovernmental organization that has done annual surveys of press freedom since 1980. The results of the Freedom House surveys during last 10 years say that the Korean media enjoy press freedom.³ Also, the annual Press Freedom Index of Reporters Without Borders, which is a Paris-based international nongovernmental organization for freedom of the press founded in 1985, reported in 2009 that press freedom in Korea is satisfactory.⁴

Contemporary Korean history reveals that the Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq Wars were the biggest wars in which Korea participated. For example, the Vietnam War was the first war in which Korea dispatched troops to other countries. As for the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War periods, the Korean government mounted a major public diplomacy campaign to inform the people of the reasons why troops needed to be deployed and redeployed into the wars during 2007. Considering the extensive efforts of the Korean government in promoting the deployment and redeployment of troops into these wars, this suggests that the government may have had to overcome public opposition to the policy. Therefore, it is important to see if the press reflected some of this opposition discourse in its coverage of the wars during the selected period.

However, analyzing the entire period of the selected wars is impossible due to the limitation of time for this study and the absence of a complete index of the newspapers.

³ According to Vultee and the data from Freedom House, economic, political, and legal dimensions of press freedom are important to uphold successful transitions and maintain democracy.

⁴ "The Reporters Without Borders index measures the state of press freedom in the world. It reflects the degree of freedom that journalists and news organisations enjoy in each country, and the efforts made by the authorities to respect and ensure respect for this freedom." http://en.rsfb.org/IMG/pdf/note_methodo_en.pdf

Thus, this study will analyze the six-month period leading to the withdrawal of troops from the wars by the Korean government. When a government makes a decision to withdraw its units from a war, the government seriously considers the exit strategies of its army and how it evaluates achievements and failures. Thus, analyzing press coverage near the end of the country's participation in wars will provide a good picture of how media covered governmental decisions of war and how the government responded to press coverage.

The theoretical conceptual frameworks utilized for this study are the influence of ideology on media content by Shoemaker & Reese and the theory of domestic audience costs, which is mostly used in the field of international relations. According to Shoemaker and Reese, "one of the key functions performed by media is to maintain boundaries in a culture" (1996, p.225). In other words, media content can be affected by regime types and cultural and social atmosphere. Another conceptual framework is domestic audience costs. In the field of international relations, "domestic audience costs" theory is used to make assumptions about interactions among countries (Slantchev, 2006). This theoretical view examines how a government acts in international relations under different regime types (Fearon, 1994).

Analyzing Korean newspaper coverage in the study will provide insight into how media coverage changed under different regime types. By this, we are interested in knowing whether press coverage differed under authoritarian regime types from democratic regimes types. Furthermore, comparing media coverage during periods of different political regimes may reveal how government systems affect the media and how

the media covered government policies and the reaction of audiences to government policies. The result of the study may provide instructive knowledge on how media coverage can be understood under different regime types.

The Dong-a Ilbo and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* will be used to study the evolution of Korean media war coverage during the two eras. *The Chosun Ilbo*, *the JoongAng Ilbo*, and *the Dong-a Ilbo* are the top three newspapers in Korea with high popularity and circulation. Many Koreans call the three newspapers together as “*Cho-Joong-Dong*” because they are major newspapers in Korea and also are similarly conservative in outlook toward the right. *The Chosun Ilbo* and *the Dong-a Ilbo* have been run on a nepotistic system since their establishment in 1920. *The JoongAng Ilbo* was established in 1965 and has been owned by the Samsung Group. *The Dong-a Ilbo* is selected for the study because the Naver digital Archive, which is an online newspaper search index, carries *the Dong-a Ilbo* as the only one of the three newspapers.

*The Hankyoreh Shinmun*⁵ and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun*, which are also major newspapers in Korea, have more progressive ideas toward the left than the other three major newspapers, *the Chosun Ilbo*, *the JoongAng Ilbo*, and *the Dong-a Ilbo*. *The Hankyoreh Shinmun* and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* are owned by public citizens and their own journalists who have company stock (Lee, 2007). *The Hankyoreh Shinmun* was established in 1988, putting itself in editorial opposition to the “*Cho-Joong-Dong*” (Lee, 2007, p.333). However, since *the Hankyoreh Shinmun* was not published during the Vietnam War period in the 1970s, *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* was chosen for the study.

⁵ *The Hankyoreh Shinmun* was the first newspaper in Korea to be printed horizontally with pure Korean characters. For a long time, every newspaper in Korea was printed vertically and used mixed Korean and Chinese characters.

The Kyunghyang Shinmun, founded in 1946 by the Archdiocese of Seoul, initially posed a conservative outlook toward the right. *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* was critical of the dictatorship of President Rhee Syng-man⁶; as a result, it was discontinued. After President Rhee's resignation, the newspaper was reissued in 1960. In 1962, the Archdiocese of Seoul sold *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* to Lee Jun-goo and the newspaper was continuously critical of the government during President Park Chung-hee's dictatorship. Finally, the government forcefully sold *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* to a government-backed foundation, Kia motors, in 1966. The owner changed five times in about 30 years, and since 1998 all employees have been shareholders in the company (Kim, 2005).

⁶ Rhee is the family name. As a family name precedes a given name in Korea, this study follows the Korean name style.

II. THE BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE OF KOREA

1. Modern History

On August 15, 1945, after Japan's 35-year colonial occupation, Korea declared independence. However, right after the end of colonial rule, the Soviet Union occupied the north of Korea and the U.S. military occupied the south (Seth, 2010). Three years later, the Republic of Korea was established in the south and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea was founded in the north with the regime of Kim Il-sung.

As a result of ideological divisions, the Korean peninsula underwent severe ideological strife that caused the Korean War which began on June 25, 1950. The war ended on July 27, 1953, with a truce that resulted in the division of North and South Korea. The Korean peninsula has been divided into two governments ever since. The war left almost three million Koreans dead or wounded and devastated almost every infrastructure in Korea (U.S. Department of State, 2010).

For about 40 years after the Korean War, South Korea experienced autocratic leadership with three authoritarian regimes ruling between 1948 and 1987 (Seth, 2010). The transition to civilian government was initiated in the late 1980s and consolidated by the early 1990s (Marshall & Jagers, 2008). In 1987 with continuous pro-democracy protests by students and citizens, South Korea transformed its political system to a democracy and the constitution was revised. The presidential term was fixed to a five-year single term.

Not more than 40 years ago, South Korea suffered severely from poverty and famine and depended on only the agricultural industry (Seth, 2010). In the 1960s and

1970s, the government directed economic development and took the lead in financial and industrial reform. Manufacturing continued to grow rapidly in the 1980s and early 1990s. In recent years, the economy has been more market-oriented rather than government-directed. Although the Asian financial crisis in 1997 severely hit the Korean economy, the government reformed its financial system and economy with International Monetary Fund (IMF) assistance. The economy is now the 15th-largest economy in the world (U.S. Department of State, 2010).

2. Korean Media

Korea transformed its political system to democracy after the 1987 democratization movement (Marshall & Jaggers, 2008). Korea achieved a successful political transition to democracy and press freedom (Karatnycky & Ackerman, 2005, p. 41). Before the democratic era, the Korean media suffered from government restrictions and censorship for about 40 years. Under the dictatorships, the media did not cover and serve the interests of citizens (Kim, 2003).

President Park Chung-hee held office for 19 years from 1961 to 1979. The Park administration achieved great economic development but President Park was also notorious for human rights abuses. The military government prohibited media from criticizing his government (Kim, 2003). Under Park's regime, "a new Korean concept of responsible press which is claimed to be best suited to the Korean situation was introduced and advocated by the government" (Kang, 1991, p.160). Also, every piece of news coverage was scrutinized and censored under strict guidelines (Kim, 2003). In

addition, one of the most oppressive press laws in modern Korean history was imposed by President Chun Doo-hwan's military government (Nam, 2008). Through the law, the government censored politically oriented and democracy-inspired films and other related content (Nam, 2008).

After the 1987 democratization movement, television and cable became important in the diversity of media coverage (Nam, 2008). The media industry has seen multiple expansion in numbers and the media have been diversifying their form and content as a result of democratic reforms and deregulation policies (Kim, 2003). As public demand for democracy grew, people started to realize the importance of media that is free of the government (Kim, 2001). Korea now has vibrant and diverse media that are both public and private. They include numerous cable, terrestrial, satellite television stations and more than 100 daily newspapers in Korean and English (Freedom House). Recently, Internet media have been thriving, and approximately 37.5 million people access the Internet, according to Internet World Stats (2010). Freedom House states that a significant number of young people get their news exclusively from online sources.

For the past 10 years, Korea has regularly been rated as a country with press freedom, according to the annual report of Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders. However, the recent report of Reporters Without Borders (2010) shows that the press freedom ranking of Korea dropped sharply in 2009. The ranking of 2009 is 69 out of 175 and of 2008 is 47 out of 173. It describes the current Korean media situation:

“The conservative government has stepped up pressure on some TV channels that are seen as over critical and the authorities have also tightened control of the Internet, going so far as to arrest Internet users for

their posts, even though the country is in the forefront of Internet access. While the opposition has condemned it as a return to the authoritarianism of the 1980s, it is more a case of government interventionism in media so as to limit criticism of its actions.” Reporters Without Borders (2010)

3. Korea and three wars in two eras

The Vietnam War, which is known by the Vietnamese as the “American War,” began in 1960 and lasted until North Vietnam occupied South Vietnam in 1975 (Lawrence, 2008). The Vietnam War occurred during the Park administration, a period of bureaucratic authoritarianism (Yoon, 2001). The Kennedy administration decided to send U.S troops to Vietnam in 1961 to help South Vietnam, beginning with the dispatch of troops in 1962. The Korean government under President Park entered the war on the American side and decided to send troops to Vietnam in 1964. President Park sent more combat troops to South Vietnam than any other American ally (Olson, 1988, p.243). The Park administration concentrated heavily on economic development projects (Yoon, 2001), and the Vietnam War represented one element of his economic development plans (Korean Ministry of National Defense).

The Afghanistan War represented in this study refers to the war that began on October 7, 2001, when the United States and an international coalition that included Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany and France went to war in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on the United States by Al Qaeda (GlobalSecurity.org). It was called Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). The Kim Dae-jung administration decided to participate in OEF as an ally of the U.S. at the end of 2001. And President Roh Moo-hyun

continued to dispatch Korean troops into Afghanistan after he took over from President Kim.

The Roh administration withdrew troops from Afghanistan at the end of 2007, but in 2007 President Roh also faced intense debates over a decision to extend the deployment of troops in the Iraq War because many Koreans opposed the government decision. The U.S. and other allies attacked Iraq in 2003 purportedly to remove weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and Saddam Hussein's regime (DeFronzo, 2010, p.130). Also, some U.S. officials suspected that Saddam helped Al Qaeda and was involved in the September 11 attacks toward the U.S. (DeFronzo, 2010, p.130). By this, the U.S. justified the invasion of Iraq (DeFronzo, 2010, p.130). Korea supported the U.S. and sent troops to the Iraq War as one of the countries in the coalition for Operation Iraqi Freedom (DeFronzo, 2010, p.153).

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Ideological Influence on Media Content and Domestic Audiences Costs

The media can depict how a government performs its role in a country and in international relations by covering stories. Even though there are limitations to covering the whole world, the media have played an active role in sketching our daily versions of reality. This is labeled agenda-setting (Weaver et al., 1981). Consequently, media influence people and society through their day-by-day selection of news. People learn factual information from mass media and realize which one is important among various events and issues in a day.

The ideological level of influence on media content and the theory of domestic audience costs are the overarching conceptual theoretical frameworks for this study. According to the theory of influence on media content, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) say that there are five hierarchical levels of influence on media content. The levels exist at the individual, media routine, organizational, extra-media, and ideological levels with the individual level being the lowest level. According to this model, a higher level usually affects a lower level set of factors (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Through the ideological level we can perceive relationships between media and political structures. Shoemaker and Reese (1996, p.221) define ideology as “a symbolic mechanism that serves as a cohesive and integrating force in society.” They add that “ideology is not an individual belief system and represents a societal-level phenomenon” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 222).

Another conceptual framework used for this study is the theory of domestic

audience costs. The domestic audience costs theory indicates that generally domestic audiences in a democracy can be an important factor in making foreign policy and can enhance a leader's credibility to get a better reputation in international relations (Fearon, 1997). In the 1990s, the concept of economics regarding the costly signaling theory was proposed by international political scientists. Scholars sought to explain international conflicts, especially war and the relationship between the establishment of democracy and peace (Jo, 2007). They used costly signaling theory and domestic audience costs theory to explain the phenomena.

Fearon (1994) says that depending on the regime type, a leader may consider audience costs differently. In a democracy, foreign policies are made by "an agent on behalf of voters who have the power to sanction the agent electorally or through the workings of public opinion" (Fearon, 1994, p.581). On the other hand, the leaders in authoritarian regimes often conduct foreign policy themselves without any regard for public opinion (Fearon, 1994). In short, domestic audience costs are higher in democracies than in autocracies. Fearon (1994) says that "domestic political structure may powerfully influence a state's ability to signal its intentions and to make credible commitments regarding foreign policy." Clare (2007) argues that sometimes a leader's action in foreign policy is much like a bluff and does not generate domestic costs. In other words, as the need arises, domestic audiences can agree with a leader's bluff action in a foreign policy. Thus, if domestic audiences in a democracy do not punish their leader for failing to carry out their threats, policies, or promises every time, an adversary may think that threats, policies, or promises do not have "informational value as signals of resolve

because of the lack of credibility” (Clare, 2007). This concept can generate various predictions about crisis behaviors. Thus, to increase accurate predictions about “the conflict behavior of democratic states,” Clare (2007) insists that domestic audience costs and strategic interests should be considered together. And Tomz (2007) states that in some cases a president who issues an empty threat can be significantly less popular than a president who never gets involved. Also, he says that the population, especially politically active citizens, react against empty commitments. He argues that domestic audiences are one of the important factors that “motivate leaders to protect their international reputations, even at great cost to themselves and others” (Tomz, 2007).

Some studies of domestic audience costs show that the media are important mediators that connect the government and citizens and that inform people of government policies. According to Slantchev (2006), audiences need information to assess policies and get information from two potential mechanisms: one is “politically motivated strategic behavior of better-informed actors like the government and the opposition,” and another is “a non-political but potentially biased and exogenously noisy signaling mechanism like the media.” He finds that the later mechanism is more important to audiences in disciplining a leader for unsuccessful bluff and dishonesty.

2. Qualitative Thematic Content Analysis

Any form of communication may be subjected to content analysis for research (Babbie, 1998). It can be books, magazines, poems, newspapers, songs, paintings, speeches, letters, laws or constitutions (Babbie, 1998). One of the definitions of

traditional content analysis is that “content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables” (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994, pp.163-164). However, for this study qualitative thematic content analysis is utilized. Bauer states that “qualitative content analysis is one of the classical procedures for analyzing textual materials no matter where this material comes from” (Flick, 2006, p.312).

The nature of qualitative content analysis differs from traditional content analysis. There are three main differences between qualitative research and quantitative research, according to Wimmer and Dominick (1994, p.140). 1) A qualitative researcher tries to be part of a study because data cannot be yielded without a researcher’s active interpretation and gathers reality through the research process. But reality for a quantitative researcher is objective and wants to be separated from the data. 2) For a qualitative researcher each person has different characteristics and researching each person can generate different results. But a quantitative researcher tries to find general categories which can explain human behaviors, and this concept is derived from that all human beings have similar characteristics and aspects. 3) A qualitative researcher generates unique explanations from individuals and given situations. But the goal of a quantitative researcher is to create general explanations to understand people and society (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994, p. 140).

In qualitative research, analysis depends on stated research questions and stated methods for the purpose of a study (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p.411). According to Hesse-Biber & Leavy, “coding” is “the central part of qualitative data analysis,” and “it

involves extracting meaning from collected textual materials and usually consists of describing “themes” or “ideas” in “chunks” of segments of text in the data and labeling them with a short name or sometimes even a number” (2004, p.411). “Coding is the analytic strategy many qualitative researchers employ in order to locate key themes, patterns, ideas, and concepts within their data” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p.411).

A qualitative thematic content analysis procedure was used for this study to examine the government-press relations under an authoritarian regime and a democratic political system in Korea with *the Dong-a ilbo* and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* as media whose content was observed. Using qualitative content analysis adopts some of the procedure of traditional content analysis in making inferences about the nature of communication content (Holsti, 1969). But the qualitative nature of the study puts emphasis on the interpretive nature of media content focusing on how published media told the story of Korea’s experience under both authoritarian and democratic governments. This is the part of the procedure of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is the medium of finding interactions in text and talk to understand what people do and think (Silverman, 2004, p.203). It focuses “not on language as an abstract entity such as a lexicon and set of grammatical rules, a system of differences, or a set of rules for transforming statements” (Silverman, 2004, p.203) but on details in text and talk to find meaning and clear cognitive reduction (p.216).

IV. RESEARCH METHOD AND DESIGN

1. Research Questions

In line with the theories of agenda setting, ideologic influences on media and the domestic audience cost theory, media coverage will be prominent when a country withdraws the army from the wars in Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq because government and the people will assess their achievements, trials and errors.

This study poses a number of research questions that speak to press coverage of the wars in Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq by two newspapers in Korea. By analyzing the coverage of the policies and war participation in two newspapers that have different political orientations, the study seeks to clarify how the theories of ideological influences on press content and domestic audience cost theory shed light on press coverage and the Korean government's involvement in the wars.

RQ1. Policy coverage: What kind of inferences about Korean policies can be found from observing the coverage of Korea's participation in the wars of Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq?

RQ2. Public opinion about wars in the two newspapers: How prominent is the public's view in press coverage of Korea's involvement in the wars of Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq?

Before moving to the next research questions, the concept of the public should be defined. In the theory of domestic audiences, domestic audiences are defined as "all people in a nation especially among politically active citizens who have the greatest potential to shape government policy" (Fearon, 1994). In this study, the meaning of the

public will be same as the meaning of domestic audiences with following traditional definitions of the public.

In the traditions of democratic theory, the public refers in a broad sense to the people. The public is the electorate and the bearer of public opinion, the ultimate source of legitimate governing power (Mayhew, 1997, p.137).

(In true democratic sense) The public is never the government, although the public does influence, approach, or even control the government, or the makers of decisions. But however close the opinion of the influencing groups may come to controlling the government, it is still not the government. Opinion as a process operating within the public is by definition to be distinguished from those who rule (Wilson, 1962, p.8).

Water Lippmann defined the public as those who are spectators to the context of power and the public has been related to the fact of political participation (Wilson, 1962, p.83).

Political parties or any other form of "self-created societies" come under the heading of faction, and factions prevent the people from direct sovereignty over their government and encourage the capture of that government by groups that represent special rather than truly public interests (Mayhew, 1997, p.137).

With the above traditional definitions of public, in this study the public is domestic audiences in a nation who can affect government policy, but it is different from political parties.

RQ3. Political orientation of coverage: In what ways did press coverage of Korea's participation in the wars of Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq differ when examined in two newspapers with different political orientation?

RQ4. Press performances under different regime types: What differences can be found in press coverage of wars under different regime types in Korea?

2. Sampling

There are two types of samples: a probability sample and a non-probability sample (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994). A random sample which was used for sampling in this study is the basic type of probability sample. Random sampling is “an intelligent sampling strategy enables that researchers to make systematic contact with communicative phenomena with a minimum of wasted effort” (Lindolf & Taylor, 2002). By definition, each random sample in the population has an equal chance of being selected in the sample (Babbie, 1998). Researchers who use a probability sample can calculate sampling errors, but researchers who use a non-probability sample cannot (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994). Even though a random sample was utilized for sampling in this study, selected samples were organized by criteria. Thus, a purposive sample which is a type of non-probability sample was also used. “A purposive sample includes subjects selected on the basis of specific characteristics or qualities and eliminates those who fail to meet specified criteria” (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994). As a result of using a purposive sample for the study, sampling errors cannot be calculated.

The Naver Digital News Archives and the MediaGaon were used to identify media content for the study. The Naver Digital News Archives provides whole articles between 1965 and 1991 from three newspapers; *the Dong-A Ilbo*, *the Kyunghyang Shinmun*, and *the Maeil Business Newspaper*. The entire newspapers in the Naver Digital News

Archives were scanned and digitalized, reproducing them as the actual newspapers. The MediaGaon, which is a kind of Web search engine, provides articles from more than 20 Korean newspapers since 1990.

The Vietnam cease-fire agreement was signed on January 27, 1973. The Korean government officially finished withdrawing troops from the Vietnam war on March 23, 1973. In Afghanistan, Korea withdrew its 200 troops at the end of 2007. In 2007, the Korean government faced intense debate on the redeployment of troops to Iraq, so articles about the redeployment issues from Iraq were also included in the Afghanistan era.

The population for this study consists of entire articles related to troop withdrawal from the Vietnam War, the Afghanistan War, and the Iraq War in *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* and *the Dong-a Ilbo*. Articles for the six-month period prior to the end of Korea's war participation were chosen for the Vietnam War from December 1972 to May 1973, and for the Afghanistan War from July to December 2007. A random week was chosen from each month from these periods. Every article related to the Vietnam War, the Afghanistan War, and the Iraq War published in the selected weeks was analyzed for a thematic frame of how the media covered Korean war policies and participation during the selected periods.

All articles from the selected periods were numbered, and a Random Number Table in *Mass Media Research: an Introduction* (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994) was used to randomly select a total of 30 articles for in-depth thematic and textual analysis. The use of only 30 of the 489 articles was dictated by the limitation of time and cost. But providing in-depth narrative discourse of 30 articles can yield insight about the nature of

press coverage of Korea's involvement in these wars especially regarding its' foreign policy, the pressure endured by the government from the domestic front, and press support to, or opposition to government.

3. Data Collection

For the Vietnam War, a total of 369 articles related to the war was collected, including cartoons. For the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War, 120 articles were collected, but the sample did not contain pictures and cartoons because the MediaGaon database only provides textual information. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the articles by newspapers and periods of selection.

[Table 1] The Total Number of Articles

The Vietnam War Era (Dec 1972-May 1973)			The Afghanistan War and the Iraq War Era (July 2007-Dec 2007)		
Week	Number of articles		Week	Number of articles	
	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>		<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
Dec 04-09 1972	33	42	July 15- 21 2007	13	10
Jan 22-27 1973	60	76	Aug 19-25 2007	13	10
Feb 05-10 1973	39	43	Sep 02-08 2007	16	10
Mar 12-17 1973	13	15	Oct 21-27 2007	20	13
Apr 02-07 1973	15	18	Nov 11-17 2007	7	3
May 21-26 1973	7	8	Dec 09-15 2007	1	4
	167	202		70	50
Mean	28	34	Mean	12	8
	369			120	
Total	489				

For the two periods, the total number of selected articles is 489. See [Table1]. Although the average pages of newspapers in 1970s were eight and in the 2000s were over 40, the number of articles during the Vietnam War are three times more than the

Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era. During the Vietnam War era, *the Dong-a Ilbo* published 35 articles more than *the Kyunghyang Shinmun*, but in the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era, *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* published 20 articles more than *the Dong-a Ilbo*.

Also, articles from the two newspapers on January 22 to 27 in 1973 during the Vietnam War period and on October 21 to 27 in 2007 during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era were issued more than other selected months. The Vietnam cease-fire agreement was signed on January 23, 1973. Many people expected the Vietnam War would be finished soon thereafter. In October 2007, the Korean government made a decision to withdraw its army from Afghanistan, but the government was unsure about whether to extend the Iraq deployment or withdraw from Iraq as it had planned.

[Table 2] Original Story Sources

	The Vietnam War Era (Dec 1972-May 1973)		The Afghanistan War and the Iraq War Era (July 2007-Dec 2007)	
	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
Cartoon	5	5	-	-
Own Article	50 bylined 8 correspondent 16 No name 26	81 bylined 10 correspondent 51 No name 20	61 bylined 57 correspondent 4 No name NONE	42 bylined 32 correspondent 10 No name NONE
Opinion	3	4	5	4
Opinion from specialists	1	0	2	2
Foreign Press Agencies (AP, AFP, Reuters, UPI)	106	102	0	1
Translated Article	2	10	2	1
Total	167	202	70	50
	369		120	
	489			

For the content analysis, 489 articles were firstly selected, examined, and organized into a number of categories: date, section, length, title, and original story sources. The number of collected articles between the Vietnam War era and the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era is significantly different because of articles from foreign press agencies. Foreign press agencies during the Vietnam War era provided 208 stories, but only one article during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era in the sample. According to the sample, during Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era reporters from the two newspapers use articles written by foreign press agencies as their story sources, but during the Vietnam War era the two newspapers carried many translated articles which were originally written by foreign press agencies. Both newspapers heavily relied on foreign press agencies for their pages in order to describe the status on progress of the Vietnam War during the selected periods.

An article will be included in the study as a sample if an article meets one of following criteria. 1) An article is written by an own correspondent. 2) An article carries opinions and the analysis of wars, war policies, or the Korean relationship with other countries whether it is translated or not. 3) An article carries facts and presents Korean participation in war, war policies or the Korean relationships with other countries. In addition, an article will be excluded as a sample if it only carries fact without any valuable information for the study. Examples of eliminated articles are following.

[Example 1 of eliminated articles. Translated]

AFP. (1973, January 26). The Delegation of the Vietcong in Saigon on the 28th of the month. *The Dong-a Ilbo*, p.1. (Length: 180 characters in Korean)

The military delegation of the Vietcong and the National Liberation Front, which consist of 59 members and whose chief delegate is general-level, will arrive in Saigon on the 28th of the month to have talks about cease-fire application with the Vietnamese government; and the first group of Indonesian members of the ICC (International Cease-fire Council) is known to arrive at Tanson-nute Airport on the 27th or 28th of the month.

END

[Example 2 of eliminated articles. Translated]

Park, Ji-hee. (2007, November 16). Pakistan Dilemma for the United States - Shutout of Supply Routes for the Afghan War or Concern about Nuclear Proliferation. *The Kyunghyang Shinmun*, p.14. (Length: 1347 characters in Korean)

As an incidence of death takes place for the first time since the state of emergency was declared, confusion of political situation deepens worries of the U.S. That is because chaos of political situation in Pakistan, which is a key ally for "War against Terrorism" and a nuclear power, might threaten even the security of the U.S. The U.S. is recently showing various movements including collecting information within Pakistan, reconsideration of military supply routes, etc.

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[Example 3 of eliminated articles. Translated]

Lee, Jung-eun. (2007, July 16). Appearance of a New Video of Bin Laden. *The Dong-a Ilbo*, p.16. (Length: 625 characters in Korean)

A new video was made public where Osama Bin Laden, leader of a terrorist organization Al-Qaeda, appears. According to the Associated Press, this video on the website of Al-Qaeda is part of a 40 minute video which covers Al-Qaeda leaders encouraging their forces working overseas. Bin Laden appears for 50 seconds at the end of this video.

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[Table 3-1] The Number of Articles after Eliminating Articles under the Criteria

The Vietnam War Era (Dec 1972-May 1973)			The Afghanistan War and the Iraq War Era (July 2007-Jan 2008)		
Week	Number of articles		Week	Number of articles	
	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>		<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
Dec 04-09 1972	6	5	July 15- 21 2007	8	7
Jan 22-27 1973	25	32	Aug 19-25 2007	10	9
Feb 05-10 1973	9	17	Sep 02-08 2007	12	7
Mar 12-17 1973	7	9	Oct 21-27 2007	18	13
Apr 02-07 1973	3	2	Nov 11-17 2007	4	3
May 21-26 1973	2	1	Dec 09-15 2007	1	3
Total	52	66		53	42
	118			95	
	213				

[Table 3-2] The Number of Articles after Eliminating Articles under the Criteria

	The Vietnam War Era (Dec 1972-May 1973)		The Afghanistan War and the Iraq War Era (July 2007-Jan 2008)	
	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
Own Article	42 bylined 8 correspondent 11 No name 23	52 bylined 8 correspondent 26 No name 18	44 bylined 40 correspondent 4 No name NONE	36 bylined 26 correspondent 10 No name NONE
Cartoon	5	5	-	-
Opinion	3	4	5	3
Opinion from specialists	1	0	2	2
Foreign Press Agencies (Reuters, AP, AFP, UPI)	0	2	0	0
Translated Article	1	3	2	1
Total	52	66	53	42
	118		95	
	213			

In particular, many articles from foreign press agencies such as Reuters, AP, AFP, and UPI and some of translated articles from *the New York Times*, *the Washington Post*, and *Le Monde* were excluded. Although the process of selecting articles from foreign press agencies can be part of editorial judgement, articles from foreign press agencies carried news that did not have any valuable information for evaluating Korean government-press relations. The themes of excluded articles were usually about the U.S.-Vietnam relations, the U.S.-Vietcong, the U.S.-Afghanistan, the U.S.-Iraq, the war participation of other nations, and the status of wars. However, some articles which provided the analysis of wars were included.

[Table 4] The Number of Sampled Articles

The Vietnam War Era Dec 1972-May 1973		The Afghanistan War and the Iraq War Era July 2007-Jan 2008	
<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
7	10	7	6
30			

V. QUALITATIVE THEMATIC CONTENT ANALYSIS

For the qualitative thematic content analysis, thirty articles were divided into the following four thematic categories to answer research questions: the coverage of 1) war analysis, 2) government policy and statement, 3) public opinions and reactions about wars and government policy, and 4) party's opinions and reactions about wars and government policy. An article which did not directly address any of the themes was identified as "others."

[Table 5] Thematic Categories

	The Vietnam War		The Afghanistan War and the Iraq War		Total
	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	
War Analysis	3 Article #1, #3, #13	2 Article #6, #12	-	1 Article #24	6
Government policy and statement	7 Article #8, #9, #10, #11, #14, #15, #17	4 Article #4, #5, #7, #16	2 Article #18, #23	3 Article #19, #22, #28	16
Public opinions and reactions about wars and government policy	-	-	-	3 Article #21, #27, #29	3
Party' opinions and reactions about wars and government policy	-	-	3 Article #25, #26, #30	-	3
Other	-	1 Article #2	1 Article #20	-	2
Total	10	7	6	7	30

1. War Analysis

Six articles out of thirty were examined in this study. The selected articles provided an analysis of war progress, or the causes and results of war. In this study, there were no articles from *the Dong-a Ilbo* during the Afghanistan War. One article out of six which did not identify the writer was Article #7. It was an editorial article. A writer of an editorial page in Korean newspapers is usually not identified; nevertheless, an editorial article carries the opinion and voice of a newspaper.

1-1) *The Dong-a Ilbo* during the Vietnam War

There were three articles published by *the Dong-a Ilbo* during the Vietnam War era (Article #1, #3, and #13). All three articles had negative nuances about the Vietnam War.

A political cartoon drawn by Paek In-soo was published on December 08, 1972, in the editorial cartoon section on the first page of *the Dong-a Ilbo* (Article #1). The cartoon describes the Paris Peace Accords of 1973. In this cartoon, there are two people who sit across a table from each other on the edge of a cliff which is above the cloud. The two people look precarious. On the table is a flag flying from a small Eiffel Tower which bears a written message: "the Paris Peace Accords." One person represents a Vietnamese and the other one is an American. One person wears a '*non*' which is a Vietnamese traditional hat made of a coconut palm, and the other wears a top hat with stars and stripes which is often called an Uncle Sam hat. The view of the cartoonist was sarcastic about the negotiation. Under the cartoon, the cartoonist commented "went all the way to the end..."

It can be understood that there was no place to step back from the negotiations between North Vietnam and the U.S. during the Vietnam War. Through this cartoon, we can assume how a cartoonist evaluates the Paris Peace Accords. The cartoonist seemed to think that the negotiation was the last chance to make a decision to end the Vietnam War.

[Figure 1] Article #1



On January 23, 1974, Jang Haeng-hoon, the *Dong-a Ilbo* correspondent, reported the pessimistic opinions concerning the result of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement for peace in Vietnam (Article #3). The article was titled "Hectic Night Before Cease-fire in Vietnam." According to the article, the Vietnam cease-fire agreement would be reached soon in Paris although no one was able to predict when the agreement would be signed. The story sources of this article were political observers in Paris and articles from *Le Monde*, and *Le Figaro*. Selected sources in the article provided why the agreement could

not establish peace in Vietnam. In particular, the correspondent largely used a report in *Le Monde* written by Jacques De Corno⁷, who was a Vietnam specialist, as follow:

The Communist Vietcong is expected to avoid disturbances for the time being, urging national reconciliation not to be criticized as a peacebreaker by the Vietnamese people and world opinions, but it is certain that its ultimate goal is to get rid of the Thieu government, anti-communist forces. As president Thieu knows well that what they call national reconciliation is merely reconciliation through removal of the Saigon government, they are arresting potential Vietcong sympathizers indiscriminately, insisting on arresting all communists and even the last one. Coexistence of the Saigon government and the Vietcong under these conditions will be nothing but a myth, forecasts Jacques De Corno (Article #3).

On the whole, the correspondent did not reveal his own analysis about the cease-fire agreement. However, the correspondent used others' opinions for his article and he seemed to agree with the pessimistic opinions on peace in Vietnam. The writer concluded that the Vietnam War would end but still had many unsolved problems after listing the pessimistic opinions.

Park Heung-won, a correspondent, reported the South Vietnam-Vietcong talks for the political stability in South Vietnam on February 08, 1973, on the third page of *the Dong-a Ilbo* (Article #13). The headline of the article was "Political War in Vietnam, Meetings Behind the Scenes." According to the article, the Paris Peace Accords required the South Vietnamese government and the Vietcong to organize a committee together and

⁷ The spelling of this name may not be accurate because it was translated from Korean. In Korean newspapers, foreign language is written in Korean according to the loanword orthography.

join an agreement to stabilize South Vietnam's internal affairs right after signing the Vietnam cease-fire agreement. As a result, South Vietnam and the Vietcong held two meetings and would have plans to hold another meeting. The committee was not a political system but a group to control the general election in South Vietnam. The correspondent explained the importance of preparing the meeting as follows:

It is up to the neutralists participating the National Unity Committee, that is to say, whether neutralists will support the Saigon administration or procommunist faction will have a psychological impact on voters and the outcomes of elections, and accordingly it will be a vital factor which determines the result of political campaigns to seize political power of the Saigon government (Article #13).

Like the above explanation, seizing power in South Vietnam might depend on who would be on the committee according to the reporter. Thus, the reporter said that the South Vietnamese government and the Vietcong thought carefully to choose committee members. However, some Vietnam specialists doubted Vietcong's victory in the general election in South Vietnam based on their long time observations. Also, the reporter was skeptical about ideological issues in the general election.

Ideology is now no more than rusty tools to Vietnamese people and farmers, so the elections will depend upon which is the stronger of the two, the Saigon government and the Vietcong. Meanwhile, the Vietcong is expected to make use of tactics like propaganda and terrorist assassinations in order to expand their influence and forces (Article #13).

The above paragraph can be interpreted as meaning that although there were many issues to select a committee for the meeting, only one who had strongest power could win

the election. Through this article, we know that there were many unsolved problems in Vietnam after the Vietnam cease-fire agreement.

1-2) The *Kyunghyang Shinmun* during the Vietnam War

There were two articles (Article #6 and #12) that covered the analysis of the Vietnam War in *the Kyunghyang Shinmun*. Article #6 provided not only an analysis of the war but also the assessment of the Korean government's deployment plan to Vietnam. This article could be part of the coverage of 'Government Policy and Statement' category, but overall the article explained the origin of the Vietnam War and the possible results of the end of the war. Thus, the article was identified in the 'War Analysis' category. Two articles showed that there were many problems and unsolved issues in Vietnam after the cessation of the war.

On January 25, 1973, an article was written by *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* in the editorial section on the second page (Article #6). It was titled "Oh that War disasters would not take place again - the Vietnam War end report." As the United States, North and South Vietnam, and the Vietcong would officially sign an armistice on January 27, 1973, the writer analyzed the Vietnam War and the armistice with three main points: 1) ideology and the politics of strong states, 2) peace guarantee in South Vietnam, and 3) Korean troop withdrawal and participation into the Vietnam recovery plan after the war.

At first, the writer explained why the Vietnam War occurred as follows:

The national tragedy in Vietnam is attributed to aftermath of colonialism, ideological conflict and political power struggle. Vietnam which had suffered under the colonial rule of France since 1884 became

the scene of ideological confrontation and cold war between Communism and Democracy after the second World War. The Vietnam War was essentially characteristic of ideological war and came to an end under the influence of changes in international circumstances entering into a post-ideological era. However, it is regrettable that cease-fire was declared with its territory divided into two as a result of big deals by super powers (Article #6).

In the above paragraph, he said that because major global powers wanted to colonize and extend their powers and ideologies to small and weak countries, the Vietnam War occurred. The writer sympathized with the Vietnamese that the Vietnam War ended with political horse-trading and resulted in the division of Vietnam: North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

Secondly, the writer pointed that an armistice could not guarantee the endless peace in Vietnam as follows:

Though Article 1 of Truce Agreement recognizes the sovereignty of the Saigon government, the sovereignty will be faltering if the government does not secure political stability. The Vietnamese government will undergo another trials especially because the agreement stipulates the withdrawal of the United States forces no later than 60 days, but it does not stipulate specifically regarding the Vietcong troops. The war came to an end, but it is no doubt that the National Liberation Front will stimulate another political struggle (Article #6).

In the above paragraph, the writer demanded from South Vietnam that a stable political system in South Vietnam be settled in order to prevent another war. However, he added that the International Control Commission (ICC) would not function well after the

Vietnam cease-fire agreement because North Vietnam and the Vietcong might ignore the agreement. By this, South Vietnam could be affected in bad ways. Also, he stated that the unstable political situations in South Vietnam could cause political collapse when North Vietnam and the Vietcong attack. The writer's opinion strongly doubted that North Vietnam and the Vietcong would maintain the agreement for peace.

Lastly, the reporter stated that although there was no reason for Korean troops to stay in Vietnam as an armistice was signed, the Korean government should maintain strong and amicable relations with South Vietnam after the troops withdrawal from Vietnam. See the below.

As a truce agreement was signed in Vietnam, Korean military forces have no reason to stay in Vietnam. They are expected to withdraw immediately under the order of President Park. Korean military forces will return home with honor after participating in the Vietnam War in order to maintain the independence and peace of Vietnam. The government is considered to fully review the withdrawal of Korean military forces dispatched to Vietnam. Although the government pulls out our troops, we should continue to maintain blood alliance with Vietnam. The bond between two countries will become stronger as Korea will participate in postwar restoration and economic revival projects of Vietnam. We will strengthen the meaning of the Vietnam War the way we continue to contribute to economic reconstruction projects in Vietnam which is shifting from war state to peace regime (Article #6).

Like the above, the writer explained that the Korean troops deployment in Vietnam was successful and South Vietnam achieved the return of peace. Also, he emphasized Korea should join the Vietnam recovery plan because participation in postwar

reconstruction would affect Korea-South Vietnam relations. Thus, the writer said that the Korean government should use intense diplomacy to strengthen Korea-South Vietnam relations.

In this article, the writer seemed to analyze that the end of war meant the restoration of peace and Korean troops contributed to peace in Vietnam. Thus, he concluded that the government's troops deployment was successful. However, the writer mentioned several issues in Vietnam that the Vietnam War resulted in the division of two Vietnams and there were many unsolved political problems. In other words, the Paris Peace Accords did not bring complete peace in Vietnam. Although Korea troops achieved brilliant success on the battlefields, the military gains did not have the same meaning of the restoration of peace in Vietnam.

On February 07, 1973, *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* provided a translated and edited article which was originally written by Jack Anderson, who was an American newspaper columnist (Article #12). The title of an article was "The Future of Thieu Government based on Confidential Documents of the U.S. JCS." Jack Anderson exposed a secret document written by the Joint Chiefs of Staff as follows.

Though truce agreement was signed, a confidential assessment of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff forecasts that the communist forces will hold control of the entire vietnamese territory in the long run. If this assessment is right, there is nothing that the United States obtains from the Vietnam War during which a large number of American young soldiers have been sacrificed for the past ten years. The United States sacrificed 56,000 young people and spent more than 150 billion dollars of resources to prevent communization of Vietnam. An information analysis forecasts that partial

warfares will continue for several months. This analysis shows that there is sufficient evidence that the Hanoi side is preparing political struggle to collapse the Saigon government by obtaining support of Vietnamese people (Article #12).

Like the above excerpt, Anderson revealed that all of the U.S. efforts in the Vietnam War to prevent North Vietnam from establishing communism in South Vietnam would end in vain. According to this article, although the Vietnam cease-fire agreement joined in Paris, the JCS were skeptical about maintaining the peace agreement as follow:

It seems that to postpone the signing of truce agreement by three months not only provided the Thieu government with enough time to fully prepare for communist attacks but also allowed drastic measures to maintain the Saigon regime. However, it is strange that the US Joint Chiefs of Staff is skeptical of the possibility that the Thieu government will continue to subsist (Article #12).

The above excerpt was the last paragraph in this article. The excerpt shows that there was an ironic situation that the U.S. had doubts about the retention of the Thieu administration in South Vietnam even though the U.S. helped and supported the Thieu administration. This article presented a brief idea about the result of the Vietnam War, that the end of the Vietnam War would not bring political stability in South Vietnam and there were intense conflicts which were not physically visible in Vietnam.

1-3) the *Kyunghyang Shinmun* during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War

There was one article, Article #24, published by the *Kyunghyang Shinmun*. It did not have any negative or positive tone about an issue.

According to an article written by Kim Ju-hyun, *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* reporter, on October 23, 2007, many countries which sent troops to Iraq were planning to withdraw troops, and the number of countries to deploy troops to Iraq was decreasing (Article #24). This article was titled “Withdrawal Dominoes, countries sending troops decreased from 34 to 21.” The reporter stated that British Prime Minister Gordon Brown took the leading role to withdraw troops from Iraq although in 2003 the U.K. had the second-largest contingent in Iraq after the United States. This article discussed other countries’ withdrawal plan. See below.

Denmark pulled out 460 troops stationed in Basra and replaced them with a small scale helicopter unit. 125 troops of Latvia left Iraq with only 15 troops deployed there. Lithuania decided to stay till next March. El Salvador reduced corps stationed in Iraq from 360 troops to 300 troops and mentioned the possibility of additional reduction according to the conditions in Iraq. Georgia is planning to downsize 2,000 troops to 300 by next summer. The Czech Republic announced a plan of reducing the present 100 troops deployed in Iraq step by step. Japan pulled out ground self-defence forces completely, and only 200 maritime self-defence troops are currently stationed in Iraq. It is known that Australia is reviewing the existing plan of maintaining 1,500 troops till 2008 and is preparing a withdrawal plan confidentially. Thus, multinational coalition forces except American military forces will be decrease drastically to 7,000 troops by next year (Article #24).

In this article, the writer did not pose any opinion about the government policy, the extension of troops deployment to Iraq. However, this article can make a reader question why other countries withdrew troops from Iraq while Korea was deploying.

2. Government Policy and Statement

There were sixteen articles in this category. Those articles provided the president's statement, the report of government policy, the analysis of the president's statement or government policy, and the political development about government policy.

2-1) *The Dong-a Ilbo* during the Vietnam War

There were seven articles published by *the Dong-a Ilbo* during the Vietnam War era (Article #8, #9, #10, #11, #14, #15, and #17). Six articles were related to the return of Korean troops from Vietnam, and it said that troop deployment was successful. One article was about the Korean reconstruction plan in Vietnam. Five articles out of seven were written anonymously.

An article, by an unnamed writer, titled "Government, active participation in restoration projects of Vietnam," was published on January 25, 1973, on the front page of *the Dong-a Ilbo* (Article #8). According to the article, as the Vietnam War ended, the Korean government changed its foreign policies toward South Vietnam from diplomatic and military aspects to economic cooperations. The Korean government was formulating comprehensive plans to participate in the South Vietnam recovery project. The writer used government sources for the article. An anonymous official in the article emphasized that the U.S. would be a key country to help in the reconstruction of South Vietnam, and Korea should have priority to participate into the recovery project of South Vietnam over other countries which had not deployed troops to the Vietnam War. The reporter described brief plans for the Vietnam reconstruction from the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of

Commerce and Industry, the Korea Trade Promotion Corporation, and the construction industry. See below:

The government foresees that dynamics of drastic reduction of foreign currency revenue arising from Vietnam will become intensified further, and it is planning to accomplish more foreign currency revenue than planned through active participation in restoration projects. The ministry of commerce and industry is trying to turn military supplies companies into exporting companies as a part of preparing for decrease in military supplies, whereas it is planning to develop providing military supplies to the US military forces in Guam and Micronesia. Construction companies are reviewing plans of participating in restoration projects in Vietnam and are requesting active measures and support of the government. The Korea Trade Promotion Corporation has also made a research report called "Advance Conditions and Participation Plans for Postwar Restoration Projects of Vietnam" (Article #8).

Like the above excerpt, the article provided what the government would do for the postwar reconstruction effort in Vietnam. According to the article, the purpose of the Korean government's participation in the Vietnam recovery plan was to increase foreign currency earnings. Thus, the government made an effort to support Korean industrial engagement in Vietnam in order to achieve its plan. Through this article, we see that economic aspects were important factors in government policy in Korea-South Vietnam relations.

On January 26, 1973, *the Dong-a Ilbo* reported Korean troops in Vietnam would be discharged from their military service in Vietnam (Article #9). The headline of an article was "After the withdrawal from Vietnam an excessive number of soldiers will be

discharged.” The newspaper did not identify the writer of the article. The article delivered the summary of the press interview with Yoo Jae-heung, the Minister of National Defense. The article only presented what the Minister of National Defense had said during his press interview. It offered an idea that Korea-the U.S. relations were significant for Korean national security.

The Dong-a Ilbo published an editorial article titled “Withdrawal of ROK Troops dispatched to Vietnam” on January 26, 1973 (Article #10). The writer emphasized the great achievements of Korean troops and hoped their participation in the Vietnam War could strengthen national defenses as follows:

We believe that the national history will remember forever that Korean military forces completed their duties and missions successfully in limited conditions and circumstances and attained illustrious accomplishments in the foreign battle fields far away from home. We cannot control tears in recalling many heroic soldiers sacrificed during battles far away from home. However, at the same time we cannot but believe that our military forces surviving the war will make great contributions to national defense by using their sufficient battle experiences (Article #10).

Also, the article stated that reasons for sending troops to Vietnam as an ally of the U.S. was not only to find peace in South Vietnam again but also to repay the U.S. efforts during the Korean War in 1950s. The writer was pleased that Korean troops was able to help the U.S. in the Vietnam War. See below.

We should not forget that the cause of our participation in Vietnam war is to repay the United States for participation in the Korean War. Of course, As we know, the Vietnam government made an earnest request

earlier, and the United States expected assistance of Korean military forces, but we believe it a consolation that Korean people repaid some of the big assistance from our ally, the United States during the Korean War through our participation in the Vietnam War (Article #10).

The writer said that it was important not to assess the Vietnam War and the Vietnam cease-fire agreement but to celebrate the glorious return of Korean troops to their home country from Vietnam as follows:

Now that we mention glorious withdrawal of our military forces dispatched to Vietnam, we think it meaningful to refer to traces and military achievements our troops left and attained in the foreign land far away from the nation before talking about the current situations of the Vietnam War and justification of truce agreement (Article #10).

The above paragraph shows that the writer dissociated two results, the Korean troop deployment to Vietnam and the result of the Vietnam War. The overall theme of this article was that the government policy of troop deployment to Vietnam was successful. However, the writer hesitated to say that the end result of the Vietnam War and the Vietnam cease-fire agreement were honorable.

On February 5, 1973, *the Dong-a Ilbo* published an editorial cartoon on the first page of the newspaper (Article #11). Peak In-soo, a cartoonist, commented on the cartoon as “a triumphal return.” A tiger wears a cap with a written message translating as “a fierce tiger.” A fierce tiger is one of Korean division names, and it is called “the Tiger Division.” The Tiger Division was one of the divisions that was sent to the Vietnam War. The tiger in the cartoon is smiling and watching a flying bird which has just broken an egg named

“peace.” The cartoonist tries to present that Korean troops contributed to peace in Vietnam. This editorial cartoon is favorable to the result of troops deployment to Vietnam.

[Figure 2] Article #11



On March 13, 1973, Park In-sup and Song Ho-chang wrote “8 Years of Humanitarian Medical Service Given to Vietnam” featured on page 6 of *the Dong-a Ilbo* (Article #14). Correspondents reported the achievement of government projects of sending the 201 Korean medical unit to South Vietnam. According to the article, the 201 shifting surgical hospital was to provide free medical treatment to the general population in South Vietnam. The shifting surgical hospital unit was sent to South Vietnam as the first expeditionary force in Korea. The writers stated the medical team felt a sense of satisfaction and pride in their services in South Vietnam. Also, the reporters presented several cases which the units had saved South Vietnamese. There were cases as follow:

As Vietnamese people have great trust in Korean medical doctors, citizens in Bounghau think that critical patients should be taken to Korean doctors in order to survive. An old man with brain tumor, for instance, wrote a letter to the mobile surgery hospital that it was his last dream to be treated by Korean medical doctors after consulting many famous Vietnamese doctors. Finally the old man gained a complete recovery under the treatment of Korean doctors and was discharged from hospital. As the Vietcong might know that the Korean mobile surgery hospital were giving medical service to Vietnamese civilians, they did not attack the mobile hospital and the staff for eight years and four months of station in Bounghau (Article #14).

In the above paragraph, reporters were proud that South Vietnamese trusted the Korean medical unit and doctors. However, it seemed like they relied heavily on the Korean medical staffs for story sources. Patients and South Vietnamese as story sources were nameless, and reporters did not verify the sources of some stories in the article. This could question the validity of the story. On the whole, the writers reported that the military medical project was successfully concluded.

A short article titled “Glorious Military Achievements and Promotion of the National prestige” was published on March 15, 1973, on the first page of *the Dong-a Ilbo*. (Article #15). The writer of this article was not identified. This article described a welcoming speech from President Park during the triumphal celebration of Korean troops from Vietnam. See below.

President Park Chung-hee participated in the welcoming ceremony for returning triumphant ROK military headquarters to Vietnam held here at the air force base on the 14th day, 3 p.m. and said in a speech that I,

with all the people, warm-heartedly welcome all of you who have returned heroically, praising that you, ROK troops dispatched to Vietnam completed holy and vital duties in helping our ally, and promoted the national prestige through glorious military achievements (Article #15).

According to President Park, Korean troops achieved the goal of deployment to Vietnam to help allies on the battlefields for 8 years with their bravery, and this boosted national prestige.

Lee Se-ho, the commander of the Republic of Korea troops in Vietnam, gave a homecoming report to the Assembly plenary session on May 21, 1973 (Article #17). This was reported on May 21, 1973, on the first page of *the Dong-a Ilbo*. The article was titled “Shooting about forty thousand enemies dead for 8 years.” According to the commander’s report, Korean troops killed 41,462 enemies, 3,844 Korean soldiers were dead on the battlefields, and 8,344 Korean soldiers were injured. The commander said that Korean troops achieved brilliant success in their battles, but he mourned the war victims of Korean military. The commander added that the U.S. had withdrawn from Vietnam but still supported South Vietnam.

2-2) *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* during the Vietnam War

There were four articles in *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* (Article #4, #5, #7, and #16). Only one article, Article #6, identified a reporter. Article #4 reported the President Park’s statement, Article #5 and #16 were related to a troop returning issue, and Article #6 provided the prediction of government policy after the end of war.

An article headlined “President Park’s special statement: Immediate Start of ROK

Troops' Withdrawal" was published on the first page of *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* on January 24, 1973 (Article #4). The writer was not identified. This article just delivered what President Park said in the official statement about the Vietnam armistice. See below.

President Park said afternoon of the 24th in a special statement on cease-fire of the Vietnam War that I welcome the recovery of peace in the region from the heart and that I decided to immediately start honorable withdrawal of all the remaining troops, now that the objectives of sending ROK troops to Vietnam have been accomplished.

President Park said, "I hope that true peace will be established permanently in Vietnam and the region after this cease-fire. We will continue to promote deep friendly relations and carry on our possible assistance to help peace reconstruction of the Vietnam government.

In a special statement, President Park recalled that the Korean government decided to send Korean military forces by the request of the Vietnamese government to help Vietnamese people protect their liberty and independence and decide their own fate for themselves, and added that distinguished merits of our peace crusaders will be shining in the name of peace and justice forever in world history (Article #4).

According to President Park's statement, the South Vietnamese government asked the Korean government to send troops in 1965 and Korea sent troops to help South Vietnamese for peace and independence. He added that the purpose of ROK troops deployment was fulfilled when the Vietnam War ended and Vietnam regained peace. Therefore, he decided to withdraw troops soon and help the recovery projects of South Vietnam. President Park proudly stated what troops had achieved in the Vietnam War.

An editorial cartoon commented "do you guys take off your clothes? (leave the army?)" was published on January 24, 1973, in the *Kyunghyang Shinmun* (Article #5). In

the cartoon, there are three people wearing military uniforms. The tallest character resembling President Nixon had already undressed his top with a written message “U.S.” He has also taken off his military helmet on which there is a written message “the Vietnam War” with a smile. The smallest man who is wearing the ROK military helmet is pointing at himself in front a man who looks like Henry Kissinger. It seems that he is asking Kissinger what he could do while the U.S. is evacuating from the Vietnam War. The U.S. tries to finish up the war participation in Vietnam, but Korea did not yet have any plans for withdrawing. This cartoon satirizes the current troop withdrawal situation in Korea. Also, this cartoon provided a brief idea that Korea relied on the U.S. when they made a war policy.

[Figure 3] Article #5



Hwang Byung-ryul reported possible Korean government’s diplomatic policies toward South Vietnam after the end of the Vietnam War on page 4 of the *Kyunghyang Shinmun* on January 25, 1973 (Article #7). The article was titled “End of the War and

Korean Diplomacy.” The reporter’s predictions about government policies were based on opinions of officers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is as follows:

"Though the Vietnam war came to an end, the honeymoon period of the two countries, Korea and Vietnam, did not come to an end." The opinion of our government officials is considered to result from a long-term analysis under the following prospect: "In time cease-fire will come true in Vietnam." That's why rumors about cease-fire of the Vietnam War have been going around since last October, and the government officials might have earnestly discussed countermeasures on bilateral relations between Korea and Vietnam after the end of the war. At the present stage, there are no detailed implications other than what high officials at the ministry of foreign affairs expressed. However, from the short phrase "the honeymoon period of the two countries did not come to an end." we can fully foresee the direction of the diplomacy toward Vietnam the government will employ in the future (Article #7).

The reporter said that the opinions of officers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were derived from the belief that Korea and South Vietnam had been strong allies. However, the U.S. had an important role in shaping the strong relationship between Korea and South Vietnam. Therefore, relations with the U.S. and South Vietnam would affect Korean government diplomatic policies toward Vietnam. The cornerstones of Korean policy on South Vietnam were that 1) South Vietnam was the only legitimate government in Vietnam; 2) Korea would support South Vietnam under a cease-fire agreement; 3) Korea strived for everlasting peace in South Vietnam. The reporter said that based on the above three points the Korean government would participate in the recovery plan of Vietnam and they had already made organizations for these plans. He added that

Korean's recovery participation in Vietnam would be differentiated from other countries which did not join the Vietnam War because Korea played an important role during the Vietnam War. Korea and the U.S. stayed in Vietnam until the very end of the battle when other participating countries left. He expected that Korean government policy on Vietnam would be considered as the extension of the strong Korea-South Vietnam relationship.

In this article, the Korean government seemed to emphasize the close relation with South Vietnam because it wanted to have a significant role in the Vietnam reconstruction plan. However, the Korean government did not propose any plans for the peace efforts in Vietnam. Although the Korean government would help South Vietnam to settle peace in Vietnam, the government policies in this article were focused on economic aspects.

On March 16, 1973, an article on page 7 of *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* covered a welcome-home press conference of Yoo, Jae-heung, the Minister of National Defense. (Article #16). The article was titled "remaining ROK troops in Vietnam will be discharged soon." According to the Minister of National Defense, he was proud of their achievements in Vietnam. He said that the troop withdrawal from Vietnam was apparently finished, and about 120 people remaining in Vietnam would return home shortly. He added that adversaries were afraid of Korean troops, so there was not any Korean military prisoner.

2-3) *The Dong-a Ilbo* during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War

There were two articles, Article #18 and #23, in this study. Article #18 reported that the Koreans kidnapped by the Taliban could affect the Korean government troop

deployment plan to Afghanistan. Article #23 described the government policy that the Korean government would extend troop deployment to Iraq.

On July 21, 2007, on the third page of *the Dong-a Ilbo*, titled “Government is embarrassed by the threat for withdrawal though humanitarian activities are recognized” was reported by Lee Sang-rok and Yoon Sang-ho, who were *the Dong-a Ilbo* reporters (Article #18). According to a telephone interview of Taliban’s spokesman Kari Yusuf Ahmadi with the AP in this article, the Taliban threatened that if the Korean government did not withdraw the Da-san division and the Dong-eui division that were deployed in Afghanistan, the Taliban would kill eighteen Korean hostages. According to the reporters, because suicide bombing and kidnapping of foreigners by Islamic militant groups randomly occurred often in Afghanistan for political purposes, the Taliban’s kidnapping seemed not on purpose to target Korean people. The government tried to find that the Taliban’ threat was true and to develop measures. The reporter added that the officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was verifying the truth of the Taliban’s threat reported by foreign news, and the government was embarrassed by the Taliban’s enforcement because they sent divisions for reconstruction projects in Afghanistan and medical treatment support.

As it became known that Afghan rebel forces demanded the withdrawal of the Dong-eui Division and the Da-san Division within 24 hours, the ministry of national defense could not hide embarrassment. Military chief officials including national defense minister Kim Jang-soo held emergent countermeasure conferences and devoted themselves to figuring out exact requirements of the armed forces and current local conditions with the help of a task force team. The Korean military is

reported to be preparing various countermeasures in case the requirements of Afghan armed forces might include the withdrawal of ROK military forces. That is why in this case, some of the political community is feared to ignite public opinion about earlier withdrawal of the Dong-eui and the Da-san Divisions (Article #18).

The above article showed that the officer of the Ministry of National Defense was worried that many other politicians and NGOs would ask them to withdraw troops earlier than their expected deployment plan. In other words, the government considered the public's reaction and opinions when it made a policy.

On October 22, 2007, an article titled "Reducing the number of soldiers in the Zaytun Division to 600 and extend Dispatching Troops to Iraq to next year" was published in *the Dong-a Ilbo* (Article #23). The reporter of this article was Yoon Sang-ho. According to a well-informed military source in the article, the Roh government would extend the troop deployment to Iraq but reduce the number of soldiers from about 1,200 to about 600. The reporter said that the government made this decision with a view to Korea-U.S relations. The spokesman for President Roh said in the article that when the extension plan of troops deployment to Iraq was settled, President Roh would release the President's statement to explain his plan to the public.

2-4) *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War

There were three articles, Article #19, #22, and #28. Article #19 described the government's plan to deal with the Korean kidnapping situation in Afghanistan which occurred due to the troop deployment, according to the reporter. Article #22 and #28 were

about a troop deployment issue to Iraq, and two articles presented negative opinions on the government decision.

Park Ji-hee, reporter of *the Kyunghyang Shinmun*, wrote an article headlined “the Purpose of Kidnapping is Extreme Hostility against 200 Dispatched Troops” on July 21, 2007 (Article #19). According to the reporter, Taliban's spokesman Kari Yusuf Ahmadi called the AP to explain their purpose of kidnapping. Kari Yusuf Ahmadi said that unless the Korean government withdrew its troops from Afghanistan, the Taliban would kill eighteen Korean hostages, and if the German government withdrew its troops, the Taliban would release two Germans. The reporter believed that the Taliban intended to kill hostages because Taliban's spokesman Kari Yusuf Ahmadi directly called the AP.

The reporter stated that the Taliban's kidnapping was happened because the Taliban had an aversion to Korean deployment. According to the article, even though Korea did not send combat troops to Afghanistan, still it sent about 200 soldiers of the military engineer unit and the medical treatment unit. However, the reporter added that because the Taliban did not give enough time to withdraw troops from Afghanistan to the Korean government, it could be explained that there was the intention of having an advantage over negotiating with the Korean government to release members captured by the Afghanistan government. The reporter described various kidnapping cases which occurred in Afghanistan and how other countries handled the crisis. See below.

The Taliban kidnapped Daniel Mastrojacom, an Italian reporter to Afghanistan of 'the Daily La Lepublika' last March and demanded the withdrawal of Italian troops stationed there. Afghan President Hamid

Karzai succeeded in a deal of setting Daniel Mastrojacombo free in return for releasing five Taliban prisoners.

There is an incidence where a foreign government announced the will of withdrawal and hostages were released. Last April, two French members of a civilian relief organization with thirteen Afghans were abducted by Talibans, but they were set free one after another. At that moment the Taliban announced that they decided to release hostages because President Nicolas Sarkozy said he would consider the withdrawal of French troops.

However, as there are previous incidents where hostages were executed when negotiations were not satisfactory to them, prudent approaches are required. Talibans kidnapped and executed two Indians last April of this year and in November, 2005. Talibans demanded that 200 Indians participating in Afghan reconstruction projects be pulled out home, but India rejected the demand and they did an extreme choice. On the 11th, March, last year four Albanians were kidnapped and executed while moving in a car in the Helmand Province in southern Afghanistan (Article #19).

Like the above excerpt, the reporter showed various kidnapping cases. Based on past cases, the reporter asked about the Korean government's wise decision and expected that the Korean government would decide and solve this issue carefully.

On September 08, 2007, an article titled "Bush, requesting the extension of Troop Dispatch; President Roh, expressing the will of consideration - Zaytun Dispatch into another controversy" was written by Park Sung-jin, the *Kyunghyang Shinmun* reporter (Article #22). The article stated that President Roh would positively consider a request from President Bush to extend the Korean troop deployment to Iraq at the Korea-U.S.

summit talks in Sydney, Australia, President Roh's decision to send troops to Iraq would be controversial, according to Park. As other countries already had left Iraq and Great Britain, which led the Iraq War with the U.S., was planning to leave Iraq, Korean troops and civilians could be targets of terror if they still remained in Iraq. It seems that many Koreans were anxious that the kidnapping and other crisis that could occur to Koreans. They clearly remembered that 23 Koreans who were captured by the Taliban and two people out of 23 were killed in Afghanistan due to the troop deployment to Afghanistan.

Also, when the government had extended the troop deployment to Iraq in 2006, it said that troops would return home in 2007. Thus, the reporter said that many citizens might intensely resist the extension of troop deployment to Iraq because President Roh did not keep the promise. He foresaw that this issue would affect the 2007 presidential election. According to the article, the government insisted that the extension of the troop deployment was necessary to support Korean companies in Iraq and to help the U.S., which would not change their Iraq War policy shortly. However, the reporter described a press interview which was held by the Korean Action against Dispatch of Troops to Iraq in front of the American Embassy in Seoul and ended the article with a sentence that "*It is the same as they foretell how civic societies will respond when the government decides to extend dispatching troops to Iraq.*" In other words, the reporter thought that the issue would cause intense debates within society if President Roh decided to send troops to Iraq again. In this article, he offered not only a new government troop deployment plan and but also a possible reaction to the plan from the public.

On October 24, 2007, an article on the editorial page was titled “Is Progress in Inter-Korean Relations attributed to Dispatching Troops to Iraq?” in 31 page of *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* (Article #28). The main point of this article was that the government decision on the extension of troop deployment to Iraq should be retracted as follows:

President Roh argued that progress in Inter-Korean relations and nuclear negotiations was attributable to dispatching troops to Iraq. It is an excessive logical leap and self-justification. Progress in Inter-Korean relations these days is the outcome of the changing circumstance on the Korean peninsula and efforts of the South and the North. In fact, the change of United States policy toward North Korea contributed to progress in nuclear talks, but that is because the Bush administration is hungry for diplomatic achievements to make up for mistakes in the Gulf War.

The president pointed to political stability in the Middle East. However, unlike his explanation, political circumstances in the Middle East including Iraq are never stable. He mentioned economic effects but the government bans businessmen from entering Iraq. His logic is self-contradictory. While closing the special statement, President Roh requested the people to support the extension of sending troops to Iraq in order to open a peaceful and prosperous era in Northeast Asia, which seems even weird.

President Roh argued that if we decide to pull out the troops from Iraq at the moment, it might make the efforts of Korean troops in Iraq so far fruitless. I am not sure what fruits the president is thinking of, but according to the statement, fruits seem to have already been obtained. What the president should do right now is to tell to the United States what we want to say and to pull out our troops from Iraq (Article #28).

The above excerpt shows that the writer of the article made sharp criticisms of President Roh's decision. The writer said that the progress in the relationship between South Korea and North Korea was not derived from the U.S. Thus, he said that South Korea's relationship with North Korea could not be a supporting argument to send troops again to Iraq in order to help the U.S. The newspaper wanted President Roh to speak out toward the U.S. regarding what he really wanted and what Korea really needed. This can be interpreted as the newspaper's demands that President Roh and the government would not be pulled by the U.S.

3. Public Opinions and Reactions about War and Government Policy

In this category, there were three articles which were published by *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era (Article #21, #27, and #29). No article was found in *the Dong-a Ilbo* during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era in both newspapers, *the Dong-a Ilbo* and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun*, during the Vietnam War era.

An article was written by Jang Kwang-soon, *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* reporter, on September 03, 2007 (Article #21). It was titled "Inundated Cause and Guilt Theories; Reckless Missionary Work Guilt Theories; Man-made Disaster caused by Reckless Dispatching Troops." Jang reported many opinions about why the kidnapping occurred and who would take responsibility of this issue. See below.

On the 2nd of the month, the Religion Criticism Civic Solidarity announced a statement entitled "For true cure of the Afghan Incident" and charged the missionary delegation with a man-made disaster caused by

reckless missionary work disregarding safety. They argued that the government should thoroughly clarify cause and blame of this incident which resulted in falling national prestige and divided public opinions; and denounced that it was an indirect assistance to Taliban's terrorism if the government paid ransom.

Liberalism Solidarity, a conservative civic group, said in a statement, "It is illogical to place blame on the government, not on the Taliban who are essentially to blame." and "as liberty is accompanied by a degree of responsibility, it is required to ask the church for right to indemnity."

On the other hand, progressive groups like 'Korean Action against Dispatch of Troops to Iraq' and 'Peace and Disarmament Center' affiliated by 'People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy', urged a complete reconsideration over the policy of dispatching troops, saying that the fundamental blame is on the government which decided to dispatch troops on the request of the United States.

Mr. Chung Dae-yeon, chairman of Policy at 'Korean Action against Dispatch of Troops to Iraq', said, "It is problematic to propaganda Christianity aggressively disregarding other religions and cultures. However, an underlying cause of this incident is in "War against Terrorism" which does not recognize the sovereignty and invades foreign countries. He expressed his views about alleged ransom, "Even if it is found to be true, it is just that an abnormal cause resulted in an abnormal outcome. We should denounce the policy of the government that participated in an unjustified war rather than negotiations surrounding ransom (Article #21).

Like the above excerpt, each organization indicated different positions. It shows that there were various debates about government policy on this issue.

On October 24, 2007, “DJ ‘well... Extend Dispatching?’” was written by Lee Young-wook, a reporter of *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* (Article #27). According to the article, Son Hak-kyu, the former governor of Gyeonggi-do, made an official call on former President Kim Dae-jung. The writer reported what they discussed at the meeting. In particular, the article provided former President Kim Dae-jung’s opinion about President Roh’s deployment policy on Iraq. Former President Kim said in this article that he would judge after listening to President Roh’s statement and arguments. The reporter analyzed and assumed that former President Kim Dae-jung took a prudent attitude to reveal his opinion. This article presented former President Kim Dae-jung’s thoughts about government’s troop deployment plan to Iraq not as a policymaker.

Park Tae-kyun, who is a professor at Seoul National University, wrote a column in *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* on October 26, 2007 (Article #29). This column was titled “Regretful Decision to Extend Dispatching Troops to Iraq.” The column was Professor Park’s opinion about government policy. Professor Park criticized President Roh’s statement to extend troop deployment to Iraq with three arguments. First, Arville became the most dangerous place in Iraq. According to the professor, the Roh government sent troops to Arville because they thought Arville was the safest place in Iraq and they would only participate in reconstruction projects. Second, the right to various privileges in Iraq cannot be the reason for deployment to Iraq. See below.

China and Japan, which fought each other to seize hegemony on the Korean peninsula in the 19th century, intended to grow imperialist countries by holding rights and interests on the peninsula by force. Some people at that time and at present say that it was an inevitable choice to

colonize Korea so that they might not be colonized. How about us? Do we intend to grow a small but strong country by obtaining rights and interests? Many independentistas and intellectuals criticized Japan that it managed to become an imperialist nation through occupying the Korean peninsula, and succeeded in economic revival by accumulating immense economic wealth from the Korean War. Were their efforts and cause meaningless? (Article #29).

Like the above reasons in the excerpt, he criticized economic benefits which was one reason for the troop deployment extension proposed by President Roh. Lastly, he stated that considering the current situation that nobody could predict the future of Iraq, and the U.S. did not have any clear ideas to solve problems in Iraq. Thus, he said that ‘our young men’ would be in danger. In this column, our young men refers to the Korean soldiers who were sent to Iraq. The column provided an opinion posed by one member of the public in Korean society.

4. Party’s Opinions and Reactions about War and Government Policy

There were three articles, Article #25, #26 and #30, published by *the Dong-a Ilbo* during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era. No article was found in *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era in both newspapers during the Vietnam War era. Article #26 provided President Roh’s statement about the troop deployment issue with political parties’ opinion. Two articles, Article #25 and #30, reported the United New Democracy Party’s platform and Chung Dong-young’s opinion about government policy.

An article titled “Zaytun Division is not a political football” was published in the editorial page of *the Dong-a Ilbo* on October 23, 2007 (Article #25). The editorial article criticized the party platform of the United New Democratic Party, which posed an opposite opinion toward President Roh’s decision about the extension of deployment to Iraq. See the below excerpt.

President Roh is said to plan to appeal to the people that it is inevitable to extend dispatching the Zaytun Division. However, upon hearing the news of extension, the floor leader of the United New Democratic Party asserted; "It is difficult to accept it." Presidential candidate Chung Dong-young and the supreme council of the party decided to object to the planned bill even before hearing the government's explanation. The government is said to have decided the extension in consideration of persisting favorable Korea-United States relations, earnest requests of local residents and the Iraqi government and future advance of domestic companies into Iraq and investment prospect. ... This issue must not be a political football in any case. Political community should help the Zaytun Division called "Gift from God" by local residents to complete their duties (article #25).

The above article presented favorable opinions about troops dispatched to Iraq. However, this article seemed to focus more on criticism of UNDP and presidential candidate Chung Dong-young instead of informing party’s platform about government policy.

An article titled “President Roh, Extend Dispatching Zaytun Division one more year” was written by *the Dong-a Ilbo* reporter Cho Soo-jin on October 24, 2007 (Article #26). This article reported President Roh’s statement on deployment plan to Iraq, parties

platforms and politicians' opinions about the deployment plan. According to the article, President Roh apologized to the citizens for his decision to break the promise of troop withdrawal from Iraq in the end of 2007 and asked the public and politicians to understand his decision on the extension of deployment to Iraq in order to cooperate with the U.S. for the six-party talks.

The Grand National Party (Pronounced Hannara-dang in Korean) and the Democratic Party (Minjoo-dang) supported the president's decision, but the United New Democratic Party (Daetonghap-minjoo-sindang) and the Democratic Labor Party (Minjoo-nodong-dang) opposed the deployment to Iraq. Also, other politicians' opinions were mentioned in this article. As each politician had a different opinion about President Roh's decision, the reporter said that this issue would be controversial, especially during the presidential race.

Bang Hyung-nam, an editorial writer, wrote a column titled "Young Blood Mercenaries" on October 26, 2007, in *the Dong-a Ilbo* (Article #30). See the below excerpt.

The view on the Zaytun Division of former minister Chung Dong-young, nominated as presidential candidate by the Democratic Party, became completely different from 2 years and eight months ago. At a general meeting of the Assembly members the other day, he argued while expressing his opposition view against the extension bill, "We must not pursue the values of living better-off by selling overseas blood of young Koreans." He asked presidential candidate of the GNP Lee Myoung-bak to answer his question, "May Korean Troops become supply sources of foreign mercenaries in the world?" Two years ago, presidential candidate Chung praised the Zaytun Division as substance of patriotism overcoming

challenges, whereas he is now condemning it as mercenaries selling young blood, which is a thoughtless remark (Article #30).

Overall opinion of this article was critical of presidential candidate Chung Dong-young, who was the former Unification Minister and opposed the government policy.

5. Other Articles

There were two article, Article #2 and #20, which did not fit any theme in the pre-selected categories.

5-1) *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* during the Vietnam War

On December 9, 1972, an article titled “Limitations of Kissinger's all-round Diplomacy” was written by Seo Dong-gu, *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* correspondent (Article #2). The reporter stated that the diplomatic situation of the U.S. in the Vietnam War was under unforeseeable circumstances and this was related to the diplomatic ability of Henry Kissinger, who was the U.S. National Security advisor during the Vietnam War. The correspondent explained that according to officials and newspapers in Washington D.C., Kissinger had an important role during the Vietnam War period. However, during the bargaining process in Paris for the Vietnam cease-fire agreement, Kissinger seemed to have problems with President Nixon. See the below excerpts.

Dark clouds surrounding Kissinger diplomacy also cast the relationship between Nixon and Kissinger. A political analyst explained the relation in an amusing manner, "There is a river flowing in the relationship of the two on the final stage of Paris negotiations. As Thieu continues to oppose Final Vietnamese Peace Agreement, and attitudes of the United

States to conclude negotiations hastily result in dissatisfaction, Nixon gives full authority concerning negotiations intentionally to Kissinger, and he himself is stressing that he will never give up Thieu to hasten peace agreement or will never accept dishonorable solutions.

In a press conference on the 26th of October, Kissinger said, "Peace is around the corner. Peace agreement will be signed upon meeting the delegates of the VietCong again." However Kissinger's view proved to be much too optimistic, and he showed impatient attitudes. Rumors are going around that when an aftermath of peace agreement develops into political dispute, Nixon might sacrifice Kissinger as a scapegoat (Article #2).

The correspondent added that Kissinger's diplomatic achievements during the Vietnam War were not able to guarantee that he could obtain other diplomatic achievements for the next several years among other strong power countries. He thought that Nixon-Kissinger relations would affect the Vietnam War and negotiations with the Vietminh. This article described that the U.S. had diplomatic problems internally.

5-2) the Dong-a Ilbo during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War

The article, headlined "Bush mentioned again Korea while stressing justification of the Iraq War" was written by Lee Ki-hong, *the Dong-a Ilbo* correspondent, on August 24, 2007 (Article #20). The reporter summarized President Bush's speech at the Veterans of Foreign Wars annual conference in Kansas City, Missouri. According to the article, President Bush defended his policies on the Iraq War, claiming the experiences in the Korean War, the Pacific War, and the Vietnam War. However, Democrats and some political specialists criticized Bush's speech as follow:

"Look at South Korea" is a figure of speech which President George W. Bush and high administrative officials often cite since the middle of last year. It is the following logic: Just as the sacrifice of the U.S. troops became the foundation of the development of democracy and economy in Korea, blood which the U.S. troops shed in Iraq will bring fruits in the long run. The citation was nothing more than accidentally mentioned phrases in the recent past. However, it looks like it is one of core logic weapons of the Bush administration which is developing ideological campaigns against withdrawal movements from Iraq.

The Experience in Korea - "When the United States decided to participate in the Korean War, opponents denounced that the government should not send troops to a useless war as they do now regarding the Gulf War." However, we can see a resulting product in marked contrast to one side of the Korean peninsula which the sacrifice of US troops brought about. But for participation of US troops in the Korean War, and if the United States had not maintained a close relations with South Korea, Korean people might be living under an oppressive system. South Korea is a strong democratic ally of the United States and is cooperating with the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Response of the Opposition Parties and the Press - Democratic Senate John Kerry noted, "More than casualties in the Vietnam War died after American politicians realized that the strategies of the United States were not working properly. A lesson we must learn from history is not to change rhetoric but to change strategies." A researcher at a think tank noted, "It is difficult even to compare participation in the Korean War with invasion into Iraq in terms of cause and morality.

In this article, the writer did not give his analysis of Bush's speech and did not provide any opinions of supporters of the speech, but did provide the opinions of

opponents. He mentioned Bush's arguments of using several wars as "fundamental theoretical weapons." Thus, from this article it can be assumed that the correspondent has a critical attitude of using the Korean War as means to justify the Iraq War. However, there was not any clue to how Lee thought about the Iraq War and the U.S.

VI. RESULTS

This study examined thirty articles broken into four categories using the qualitative thematic analysis procedure. The results of the study show several differences between two eras in the two newspapers selected for the study. The differences will be highlighted in the context of the four research questions.

RQ1. What kind of inferences about Korean policies can be found from observing the coverage of Korea's participation in the wars of Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq?

According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), ideology affects media content. RQ1 asked how the two newspapers presented Korea's war participation and its policy under different political regimes. The articles from the Vietnam War era provided two main themes concerning government policy. The first theme concerned Korean troop withdrawal from Vietnam (Article #4, #5, #9, #10, #11, #14, #15, #16, and #17). The other theme involved postwar reconstruction plans (Article #4, #6, #7, and #8). Twelve articles out of seventeen carried the two main themes, and the remaining five articles showed the progress of preparing for the cease-fire agreement as well as an evaluation of the Vietnam War. In the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era, the coverage of the government's deployment policy was prominent in the two newspapers. Although only five articles, Article #18, #19, #22, #23, and #28, covered government war policy directly, twelve articles out of thirteen were related to the issue of government's troop deployment from Afghanistan and Iraq.

There were two similarities in the two eras that the articles provided which

indicated that the relationship with the U.S. and economic benefits were important factors for sending troops to Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq. Several articles such as Article #10, #22, #23, and #28, show that Korea sent troops to Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq as an ally of the U.S. in support of U.S. policy. This is related to the national security issues in Korea, according to government sources in the articles. In Article #9, the Minister of National Defense said that *“regardless of the ROK troop withdrawal from Vietnam, the U.S. forces would stay in Korea for peace on the Korean peninsula.”* This can be interpreted as Korea relying on the U.S. forces for national security. In Article #28, President Roh thought that as Korea sent troops to Iraq to help the U.S., the U.S. would try to better support the South and North Korea relationships. Also, Article #5 shows that the U.S. was an important factor when the Korean government determined its war policy.

In the Vietnam War, the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War, economic benefits were critical issues for making war policy. During the Vietnam War era, the two newspapers focused on the postwar economic recovery plan in Vietnam, and the government also mentioned the reconstruction issue actively (Article #4 and #8). Also, according to Article #28, President Roh said that the extension of troop deployment to Iraq could provide economic benefits to Korea.

There were two differences in the coverage of the government withdrawal plan. First, in the Vietnam War era, the two newspapers presented many articles related to the deployment and withdrawal issues after the end of the Vietnam War; whereas, in the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era there were no articles after the two divisions came

back to Korea from Afghanistan in December 2007.⁸ The two newspapers during the Vietnam War era presented what President Park said in a statement in the troop welcoming speech, and what the government said about results of troop deployment on Korean society. Overall newspapers conveyed that the troop deployment was successful based on government sources. On the other hand, although the government withdrew Korean troops from Afghanistan in December 2007, there were no articles found in this study to illustrate the context of their development.

Second, two newspapers in the Vietnam War era were passive in asking the government when Korean troops could withdraw from Vietnam, but the newspapers actively provided ample space to the withdrawal issues during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era. After the Vietnam cease-fire agreement was signed in January 1973, only one cartoon, Article#5, out of seventeen raised an issue when the government would withdraw troops from Vietnam. However, in the cartoon, Korean troops asked the U.S. when they could go home from Vietnam. Even though the cartoonist raised an evacuation issue of the troops, he posed this issue to the U.S. not to the government. On the other hand, there were intense debates about the government's deployment plan during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era.

The differences observed in coverage by the two newspapers during the Vietnam War period as opposed to the Afghanistan War and Iraq War period show the likely impact of government influence on press coverage. During the Vietnam war period, the newspapers were more cooperative with the state in delivering government war policy

⁸ To increase the validity of this study, 120 articles which were not selected in the sample were looked through but only one editorial article in *the Dong-a Ilbo* covered the troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in December.

and government achievements on the battlefields. This was a period when Korea was under authoritarian government leadership. During the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era, the newspapers were operating under democratic regimes, allowing them greater freedom to express themselves in either supporting government policy or opposing it. This finding is in line with observations made by Kang (1991) who said that Park's regime in the 1970s emphasized "a heavy social responsibility policy toward the press and called for strong cooperation between government and the press." The finding about the greater freedom enjoyed by Korean media after 1987 is supported by studies that show the press as able to criticize the government and present their opinions without any restraint (Heuvel & Dennis, 1994).

RQ2. How prominent is the public's view in press coverage of Korea's involvement in the wars of Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq?

RQ2 asks how public opinion about Korea's involvement in wars was shown and how the public exercised its influence on the government. There were three articles, Article #21, #27 and #29, that present the public's view. Article #27 showed former President Kim's thoughts about the government's redeployment plan to Iraq. In this article, former President Kim revealed his political opinion about government policy not as a policymaker but as an influence on public opinion. Article #21 provided how civil groups analyzed the government troop deployment policy and why they opposed or applauded the policy. This article shows that civil groups tried to make an effort to deliver their opinion to government by having their views publicized by newspapers. Professor

Park criticized the government's war participation and its policy in Article #29.

Furthermore, many other articles show that the government considered the public when making its decision on various aspects of war policy during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War period. In Article #18, the Korean government was worried about public opposition about the deployment issue, especially the occurrence of the kidnapping crisis in Afghanistan. Article #23 said that President Roh would release a statement to explain the reason for the extension of troop deployment to the public. Article #22 showed that the people would open intense debates about the deployment issue. In Article #26, President Roh apologized to the citizens about extending troop deployment to Iraq.

All articles mentioned above were published during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era. Of the 17 sampled articles, none were from the Vietnam War era.⁹ This probably shows that public opinion did not have any power to influence the government and its policy during the 1970s. This can be explained by the theory of domestic audience costs. According to this theory domestic audiences can be a significant variable in making government foreign policy but domestic audiences are not influential on leaders and governments of authoritarian regimes (Fearon, 1994). The articles during the Vietnam War period concentrated more on what President Park said instead of covering what people said about the war and its policy. However, the articles during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War show that the Korean government considered public opinion in the formulation of war policy.

⁹ In order to increase the validity, 369 articles which were not selected in the sample during the Vietnam War era were looked again but still any article which contained public's view and their activities was not found.

RQ3. In what ways did press coverage of Korea's participation in the wars of Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq differ when examined in two newspapers with different political orientation?

According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), the characteristics of newspapers affect media content. RQ3 asked whether newspaper's political orientation affected content. During the Vietnam War era, *the Dong-a Ilbo* and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* had a similar war coverage tendency. The two newspapers reflected their satisfaction of troop deployment to Vietnam, especially in Article #6 and #10. It was the same as President Park's statement on January 24, 1973 (Article #4). There were no articles which showed a political party's platform or public's reactions about government policy in this period. Although it is impossible to know with precision what guided the internal newsmaking decisions at the two newspapers in the absence of field interviews, or what the political orientations of the newspapers were at the time, it appears nevertheless that relations between government and press were close during President Park's dictatorship.

However, *the Dong-a Ilbo* and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* revealed their different political orientation clearly during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era. *The Dong-a Ilbo* concurred with the government's troop deployment to Iraq and was favorable to the relations with the U.S. *The Dong-a Ilbo* in Article #25 put high valuation on government flexibility that the government considered in relations with the U.S. and the economic benefits in Iraq when it made a decision to extend troop deployment to Iraq. In the same article and Article #30, *the Dong-a Ilbo* sharply criticized UNDP and presidential candidate Chung Dong-young, who opposed the government's war policy.

On the other hand, *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* opposed the government's war participation and its policy and showed negative opinions of the U.S. In Article #28, the writer defined the Iraq War as the mistaken and failed war created by the U.S. and stated that the Korean government should withdraw troops as soon as possible. The writer made harsh criticism of President Roh's arguments and government policy.

According to their political orientation, the characteristics of coverage tendency were different between the two newspapers. For example, on July 21, 2007, two newspapers covered the same topic, which was the kidnapping by the Taliban, but they presented differing reports. *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* concluded in Article #19 that the Taliban's purpose in kidnapping was because of hostility to Korean troops deployment in Afghanistan. This article focused on the purpose of kidnapping and the importance of the government's measures. However, *the Dong-a Ilbo* thought in Article #18 that kidnapping might occur accidentally. This article focused on the fact that the government was embarrassed because it sent troops for humanitarian reasons. Based on the same sources, the Taliban spokesman interview with the AP, they approached the issue differently.

The two newspapers during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War showed different political orientations. Each newspaper followed its own belief when reporting government issues. This indicates that the two newspapers had freedom to choose and develop their own political orientation, and the press did not experience strong restrictions in criticizing government policy during this period.

RQ4. What differences can be found in the press coverage of wars under different regime types in Korea?

RQ4 asked whether Korean newspapers' coverage have changed and evolved after the political transition from authoritarianism to democracy, especially in war periods. Also, the answer of RQ4 will sum up the previous three research questions. There were two findings in this study.

First, the war coverage in the two newspapers during the Vietnam War was ironic because the articles carried contradicted facts about peace in Vietnam. When articles reported on Korean troops, these articles stated that Korean soldiers contributed to peace in Vietnam and troop deployment was proudly successful. As a result of their successful deployment, the government would actively participate in the postwar recovery project. The two newspapers largely provided articles related to the dispatch of troops, their achievements, and the post-war reconstruction plan, using government sources for a story. These articles offered similar opinions with regards to the government and President Park's statement. It seems that the newspapers just followed government policy. However, the two newspapers conveyed negative analysis articles about the Vietnam War and the Vietnam cease-fire agreement. The war analysis based on foreign news showed that after the Vietnam cease-fire agreement there were many unsolved political issues in Vietnam. And this would affect the South Vietnamese government in negative ways. In other words, peace was not settled in South Vietnam.¹⁰

Second, the newspapers in the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era presented

¹⁰ South Vietnam lost U.S. support after President Nixon's resignation in 1974. One year later, Saigon fell to the communists and the U.S. totally withdrew its troops from South Vietnam (Lawrence, 2008).

their own opinions, political parties' and public's views toward the government. There was not any coverage about the public's reactions about the war and war policy during the Vietnam War period. However, during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era, the two newspapers presented opinions from a society with their own voices. *The Dong-a Ilbo* and *the Kyunghyang shinmun* provided their arguments why they agreed with Korean government's war policies or why they opposed and criticized it. In other words, when they agreed with the government war policy, they supported it, but when they opposed government war policy, they argued why the policy was inappropriate and published harsh criticism of the government.

In this study, the articles under Park's authoritarian regime did not present any criticism about its war policy although the two newspapers carried negative news reports on the Vietnam War. During this period, President Park tried to censor all media and to "exclude people's criticism toward the political system" (Chung, 1994, p.305). This study seems to reveal one part of media control by President Park. However, the press role in Korea changed during the democratic period when the wars of Afghanistan and Iraq were taking place. The two newspapers showed more active coverage of government issues and carried several opinions by members of Korean society. Shoemaker and Reese say that "ideology happens as a natural outgrowth of the way the system operates" (1996, p.251). The findings in this study would seem to point out ways by which the two newspapers studied operated differently under two types of political regimes – a dictatorship and a democracy.

VII. CONCLUSION

Under the theory of domestic audience costs, the media is an important medium for the dissemination of government policy to audiences for self-governing. Thus, the agenda-setting function of the media can be significant to audiences for the gathering of information. However, ideology affects media content. Consequently, the media function differently under different regimes.

Through thematic qualitative research, this study examined *the Dong-a Ilbo* and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun* under different regime types in Korea, a dictatorship and a democracy, in order to determine whether Korean press coverage evolved or not. In particular, this study focused on the war periods of the Vietnam War in 1973, and the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War in 2007.

The study revealed one big difference between these two eras. According to the study, most articles in the two newspapers in the Vietnam War period just delivered Korean government's war policies without criticism or critical evaluations of government war policy. However, during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War era, the newspapers seemed to provide a place for debates about government policy to the public and political parties.

During the Vietnam War era, the two newspapers did not display any negative attitudes toward the government and its war policy. They waited for the government's decision concerning the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam and the start of governmental participation in the reconstruction plan. The articles in this era focused on the troop withdrawal plan and their achievements and heavily used government sources. This was

as expected for a newspaper operating under authoritarian constraints.

However, during the Afghan War and the Iraq War, the articles from the two newspapers presented active public opinions and their own opinions toward the government policy on whether the government withdrew troops or redeployed them. These articles show that the Korean government was also concerned about the public's opinion about its decision. In the Afghan War and the Iraq War, an article which offered the views of those who opposed or consented to the government's war participation and its policies was also discussed. It can be interpreted that the two newspapers functioned not only to provide information regarding government policies but also to discuss and analyze policies. Through the political transition from a dictatorship to a democracy, the ideology level in Korea also changed. The two newspapers in a democracy did not ignore public opinions about government policy, and this means audiences may be able to affect government decisions as the theory of domestic audience costs suggests.

This study has two limitations. First, the sampling size is small. This study presented thirty articles during the selected periods. If the sample size were bigger than the study, it may generate different results or the result will be more accurate. Second, this study could not examine the government-press relations directly. The study, however, shows that the press coverage of war and government policy under different regime types changed from focusing on government and its achievements to the effect of government policy on a society and its people. However, the study cannot show how the authoritarian Korean government affected media coverage directly. Further research about the Korean government's media policy will provide other results that could add to the knowledge of

how different regime types affect media coverage.

This study examined the two Korean newspapers, *the Dong-a Ilbo* and *the Kyunghyang Shinmun*. I experienced many trials and errors in learning how to collect reliable samples of data for the study and redid the same research procedure several times with the guidance of my supervisor. Like other research studies, the research procedure was painstaking. However, after collecting and analyzing data, I have learned what qualitative research is all about. In the process, I now know what it means to model a research study, collect the data, examine it, make sense of it, and fulfill the purpose of research. The result of the study in many ways bears testimony to many other research studies that I read in preparing to do work on my own study. As for the outcome of the research itself, the study shows that the two Korean newspapers that I examined changed their coverage tendency in relation to changes that took place in the politics of Korea, with Korea moving from an authoritarian dictatorship to an open democratic regime. This by itself offers tentative proof for the view that government systems can affect the content of newspaper publications in important ways. I hope that this research will give some knowledge to other people who seek to understand the Korean media or media operating under different political regimes.

APPENDIX

[Table 6] The List of 30 Selected Articles¹¹

#	Date	Title	Page/ Length	Reporter	Newspaper
1	12 08 1972	Went all the way of the end..	p.1	Cartoonist Paek In-soo	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
2	12 09 1972	Limitations of Kissinger's all-round Diplomacy	p.3 1834 characters in Korean	Correspondent Seo Dong-gu	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
3	01 23 1973	Hectic Night Before Ceasefire in Vietnam	p.3 2219	Correspondent Jang Haeng-hoon	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
4	01 24 1973	President Park's special statement: Immediate Start of ROK Troops' Withdrawal	p.1 607	-	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
5	01 24 1973	Do you guys take off your clothes (leave the army)?	p.1	Cartoon	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
6	01 25 1973	Oh that War disasters would not take place again - the Vietnam War end report	p.2 2975	Editorial	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
7	01 25 1973	End of the War and Korean Diplomacy	p.4 1323	Hwang Byung-ryul	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
8	01 25 1973	Government, active participation in restoration projects of Vietnam	p.1 1146	-	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
9	01 26 1973	After the withdrawal from Vietnam an excessive number of soldiers will be discharged	p.1 820	-	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
10	01 26 1973	Withdrawal of ROK Troops dispatched to Vietnam	p.3 1820	Editorial	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
11	02 05 1973	A triumphal return	p.1	Cartoonist Paek In-soo	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
12	02 07 1973	The Future of Thieu Government based on Confidential Documents of the US JCS	p.3 1732	Jack Anderson	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
13	02 08 1973	Political War in Vietnam, Meetings Behind the Scenes	p.3 about 3000	Correspondent Park Heung-won	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
14	03 13 1973	8 Years of Humanitarian Medical Service Given to Vietnam	p.6 1804	Correspondent Park In-sup Song Ho-chang	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>

¹¹ The titles were translated from Korean to English.

15	03 15 1973	Glorious Military Achievements and promotion of the national prestige	p.1 350	-	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
16	03 16 1973	Remaining ROK troops in Vietnam will be discharged soon	p.1 543	-	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
17	05 21 1973	Shooting about forty thousand enemies dead for 8 years	p.1 694	-	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
18	07 21 2007	Government is embarrassed by the threat for withdrawal though humanitarian activities are recognized	p.3 1986	Lee Sang-rok Yoon Sang-ho	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
19	07 21 2007	The Purpose of Kidnapping is Extreme Hostility against 200 Dispatched Troops	p.3 1579	Park Ji-hee	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
20	08 24 2007	Bush mentioned again Korea while stressing justification of the Iraq War	p.18 2174	Correspondent Lee Ki-hong	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
21	09 03 2007	Inundated Cause and Guilt Theories; Reckless Missionary Work Guilt Theories; Man-made Disaster caused by Reckless Dispatching Troops	p.10 997	Jang Kwang-soon	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
22	09 08 2007	Bush, requesting the extension of Troop Dispatch; President Roh, expressing the will of consideration - Zaytun Dispatch into another controversy	p.3 1364	Park Sung-jin	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
23	10 22 2007	Reducing the number of soldiers in Zaytun Division to 600 and extend Dispatching Troops to Iraq	p.2 410	Yoon Sang-ho	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
24	10 23 2007	Withdrawal Dominoes, countries sending troops decreased from 34 to 21	p.3 933	Kim Ju-hyun	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
25	10 23 2007	Zaytun Division is not a political football	p.35 1021	Editorial	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
26	10 24 2007	President Roh, Extend Dispatching Zaytun Division one more year	p.1 1131	Cho Soo-Jin	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>
27	10 24 2007	DJ, Well...Extend Dispatching?	p.4 629	Lee Young-wook	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
28	10 24 2007	Is Progress in Inter-korean Relations attributed to Dispatching Troops to Iraq	p.31 981	Editorial	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
29	10 26 2007	Column: Regretful Decision to Extend Dispatching Troops to Iraq	p.31 1705	Professor Park Tae-kyun	<i>the Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>
30	10 26 2007	Column: Young Blood Mercenaries	p.34 1023	Editorial writer Bang Hyung-nam	<i>the Dong-a Ilbo</i>

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