

Korea Preparation Reading List: An Unofficial Guide for Planners

LTC Amos Oh

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What should I read to prepare for my assignment to UNC/CFC/USFK? Below are some recommendations to help you get started. This list is oriented towards theater-level planners who work in the realm of plans, policy, and strategy and will be less useful for those working at the operational/component or tactical echelons. Contact me via DoD Enterprise email or amosoh@usc.edu if you need help finding a document or with your own recommendations!

5 Things You Must Read

“Korea is a dagger pointed at the heart of Japan.” – Prussian Major Jacob Meckel

“Korea is a hammer ready to strike at the head of the Kingdom.” – Ming China proverb

Below are five things to read if you’re starting from zero.

1. Study a topographical/political map of the Korean peninsula and Northeast Asia

- Geography Matters: Before reading anything about Korea, get oriented to the *region* and the *peninsula*: spend an hour interacting with any digital or paper political map of the region and topographical map of Korea (you’ll understand why most books about Korea begin with a lesson in geography).
- Note how mountains on the peninsula generally run from north to south, rivers run east to west, and locations of the major roadways and ports. Think through *where the terrain favors the offensive or defense*, where the population centers are located, and axes of advance which are/ are not mutually supportable. Through the lens of North Korea, how would you defend your terrain? What type of force would you need to accomplish your objectives? What are your alternatives?
- Trace the 880 mile border of Korea with China and identify how the terrain changes. Locate the 124 Meridian East in the Yellow Sea, the unofficial maritime boundary between China and Korea.
- Locate the 11 mile border of Korea with Russia (Russia’s shortest border) and notice how this border blocks China from accessing the Sea of Japan. Locate the key Russian port of Vladivostok and think through Russia’s challenges for breaking out to open water.
- **Always have a map with you when discussing plans with senior leaders**
- **Conduct this geopolitical thought exercise to provide context for everything else you’re going to read: How does control over, access to, and/or influence in the Korean peninsula by either China, Russia, or Japan change the balance of power in the region?**

2. Master Narratives Country Report by Open Source Enterprise

- Product available to USG employees (<https://www.opensource.gov>)
- This is the best starting point to orient yourself to the friendly Operating Environment.
- Keep in mind the perspectives of your ROK military counterparts may be very different from South Korean society as a whole.
- **Think through how the South Korean political left and political right are different from the U.S. and understand how these perspectives shape the ROK’s security strategy.**

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3. Theater-level Commands and Alliance Decision-Making Architecture in Korea by COL Shawn Creamer, USA

- Paper available from http://icks.org/n/data/ijks/1498534150_add_file_3.pdf
- This paper is critical to understanding the unique relationship between the four theater commands in Korea.
- You *must* know the history of all four commands to understand authorities, responsibilities, and recommendations on changes to the command structure.
- ***What explains the unique evolution of the command relationships in Korea?***

4. North Korea's Strategy by Stephen Bradner

- Available <http://npolicy.org/userfiles/file/Planning%20for%20a%20Peaceful%20Korea-North%20Koreas%20Strategy.pdf>
- Steve Bradner advised every UNC/CFC/USFK CDRs since 1955, retiring as an SES in 2013 (unfortunately passed away in 2018).
- While he did not write much for release, the North Korea strategy paper is the clearest articulation of what the nK regime wants and how they intend to achieve it.
- ***Despite all the odds, why does North Korea think it can achieve its political objectives? How are its domestic policies and external policies interlinked? What latitude does the Kim regime have to change its domestic or external objectives?***

5. Current Year UNC/CFC/USFK Strategic Digest and UNC/CFC/USFK, Commander's Posture Testimony, and Security Consultative Meeting Joint Communique

- Easy search online
- These are quick reads, but will help get you familiar with the ***key top-level talking points*** of the command and the alliance for external audiences.
- **To consider: what are the key themes and messages of the command? What topics are best left unaddressed for external audiences?**

5 Historical Documents to Read

"The past is never dead. It's not even past." – Faulkner

Below are key historical documents that provide a framework for planning. Don't rely on summaries from others: take the time to ***read these yourself***.

1. United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 82, 83, 84, and 85.

- These documents are critical to understanding the origins of the international intervention into the Korean War.
- Note how the UNSCRs use the terms "Republic of Korea" and "North Korea" when referencing the two sides.
- **Understand the historical context for *why and how* Korea became a U.S. political priority relatively overnight.**

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2. National Security Council Memorandum 81/1 “United States Courses of Action with Respect to Korea” (September 1950)

- Available at <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116194.pdf>
- The Incheon Landing and Busan Perimeter breakout has been a success; North Korean forces are in retreat. Should the US now go north of the 38th parallel and resolve the “Korea Question?” Containment...or rollback?
- This memo highlights the trepidation and lack of consensus of the NSC on the risks of *exploiting success*. **Under what circumstances would the US and ROK revise their political objectives in the event of crisis or war?**

3. National Security Council Memorandum 147 “Analysis if Possible United States Courses of Action in Korea” (April 1953)

- <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v15p1/d437>
- Drafted long after the Chinese “intervened” in Korea and the fighting has come to a stalemate. Should the U.S. escalate the conflict with China? Should it employ nuclear weapons? How do these COAs impact the European theater?
- This memo highlights the trepidation and lack of consensus of the NSC on *how to avoid failure* in Korea. **Under what circumstances would the US and ROK revise their political objectives in the event of crisis or war?**

4. Korean War Armistice Agreement (KAA, July 27, 1953)

- Officially “Agreement between the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, on the one hand, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's volunteers, on the other hand, concerning a military armistice in Korea.”
- Note how 1) this is an agreement between military commands, not an agreement between states 2) the ROK is not represented as an *official* signatory 3) this was intended to be a temporary agreement.
- **After reading the KAA and its provisions, read this important companion piece which examines the legal status of the KAA: Nautilus Institute Policy Forum 97-02: Ending the Korean Armistice Agreement: The Legal Issues by Patrick Norton, available at: http://oldsite.nautilus.org/archives/DPRKbriefingbook/armistice/2a_armisticelegal_norton.html**

5. Mutual Defense Treaty Between the United States and the Republic of Korea (MDT, 1 October 1953)

- Available at:
https://www.usfk.mil/Portals/105/Documents/SOFA/H_Mutual%20Defense%20Treaty_1953.pdf
- Read the articles and provisions: under what circumstances does the MDT come into effect? Who is the specified enemy? How is it geographically constrained?

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- A reoccurring proposal is the concept of a multilateral defense treaty / alliance network in East Asia. However, why do we have a *bilateral* MDT?

5 People and Places to Follow via E-mail/Social Media

Many people like to comment on Korea security issues, but not all information is equal. Below are a few recommendations that are worth your time. Consider using a non-USG email for these subscriptions so they render properly.

1. COL(R) David Maxwell's Updates (free e-mail subscription)

- Send COL(R) Maxwell an email and introduce yourself and ask to subscribe to IINSTP: david.maxwell161@gmail.com
- COL Maxwell Covers a variety of national security issues, with heavy focus on Korea and SOF. *Take the time to read his commentary on articles, which is often more valuable than the article itself.*
- COL(R) Maxwell served as a planner on the CFC staff: you'd be hard pressed to find a Korea expert who has directly contributed as much to the alliance and is more generous with his time.
- *Current and former Senior Leaders on both sides of the Alliance play close attention to COL(R) Maxwell's advice (so you probably should too).*

2. ROK Drop – Korea from North to South (free e-mail subscription)

- Available online at: <https://www.rokdrop.net> (subscribe to updates)
- A long-running blog which covers Korea security issues, focused on security and US military forces in Korea.
- ROK Drop updates are a good way to gauge what is being captured in the English-language Korean media *and how this reporting is interpreted by those outside the command.*
- Note: English-translations of Korean media coverage plays a significant role in shaping how peninsular policy issues are perceived in the U.S.

3. The Diplomat Magazine

- Online available at: <https://thediplomat.com/>
- This journal appeals to a *semi-expert audience* on Asia-Pacific security affairs and is helpful to understand events happening in the broader region.
- Sign-up for biweekly updates and consider purchasing a subscription

4. 38 North

- Available online at: <https://www.38north.org> (subscribe for updates)
- This journal appeals to a *semi-expert audience* on Korea
- This blog remains influential within the Korea policy community

5. UNC/CFC/USFK Weekly Issues of Interest

- Sign-up by email: jimin.hahm.ln@mail.mil
- Produced by Mr. Jimin Hahm, International Relations Officer and Cultural Advisor to the Commander

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- Mr. Hahm’s analysis provides deep-dive coverage of contemporary Korean security issues to include items which are often overlooked or lost in the noise.

5 Books About the Korean War

“The world under heaven, after a long period of division, tends to unite; after a long period of union, tends to divide. This has been so since antiquity.” – Romance of the Three Kingdoms

The Korean War was the first war for the relatively new NSC, DoD, USAF, CIA, NSA, and others. It had regional and global consequences that we still see today, such as forestalling a PRC invasion of Taiwan and enabling Turkey to join NATO. It was arguably the largest war to date by number of participating states, the first war of the newly established PRC, and China’s largest war ever outside its traditional borders.

1. ***Brothers at War: The Unending Conflict in Korea* by Sheila Miyoshi Yeager and *The Coldest Winter: America and the Korean War* by David Halberstam**

- The best contemporary accounts of the Korean War which covers a variety of perspectives.
- Both are excellent storytellers which highlight hubris, miscalculation, and the human costs of war.
- Note: many of the best Cold War-era accounts of the Korean War are written in a tone which may be seemingly biased or off-putting. Starting with a contemporary account helps put the writing of the era into better context.

2. ***The Korean War: An International History* by Haruki Wada**

- A multi-layered book which covers the perspectives and interests of the great powers.
- Not an idea original to the author, but Wada divides the Korean War into two wars: the “Korean Civil War” and the “Sino-American war.” *You should consider adopting this view when you think about the “Korean War.”*
- Which of these “two” wars have most affect the US military’s institutional memory of the Korean War and why?

3. **U.S. Army in the Korean War Series “*South to the Naktong North to the Yalu*” by Roy Appleman and “*Policy and Direction: The First Year*” by James Schnabel**

- These are two companion volumes commissioned by the Army’s Center for Military History and worthy successors to the CMH’s World War II Green Books.
- These books are invaluable in that the authors have a good understanding of military operations and tactics.
- While commissioned by the U.S. Army, these are the closest to official “joint” histories of the Korean War.

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- A note of caution: CMH work is the most objective and self-critical of the era's official histories; unit and other service histories often have a distinct bias you'll quickly recognize.

4. Origins of the Korean War Volumes 1 and 2 by Bruce Cumings

- Cumings is likely considered by academia as the best "Koreanist" on this list. While he is sometimes criticized by those in the policy community of promoting a North Korean narrative of the war (to include war crimes by the U.S.) and painting a sympathetic picture of the Kim regime.
- You should be familiar with the themes in this book because they resonate heavily in the north and with audience segments in the ROK, U.S. and international community.

5. *The Wrong War: American Policy and the Dimensions of the Korean Conflict, 1950-1953* by Rosemary Foot

- The title is based on General Bradley's quote describing the Korean War as "the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy."
- Should the U.S. have become involved in Korea, or was it a distraction from the "strategic prize" of Europe? Should the U.S. have escalated the war? Did the Chinese and the Soviets deter the U.S. and its allies?
- This book is particularly valuable in adding the perspectives of the NSC and State Department.

5 Books to Understand the Sino-American War

"We are now in a whole new war." – Douglas MacArthur

"If the Chinese were tempted to intervene, how could they be deterred from actually doing so? The solution was a policy of reassurance coupled with a demonstration of firmness and force...the uncompromising stand of the United States, of course, had exactly the opposite effect from the one intended. It neither reassured nor deterred the PRC." – from *China Crosses the Yalu*

This list covers the Chinese "intervention" into Korea, or as known in China as the "*War to Resist America and Aid Korea.*" Unfortunately, few Chinese accounts of the Korean War have been translated into English. *Why does China consider the Korean War a victory for the PRC?*

1. U.S. Army in the Korean War Series "*Ebb and Flow: November 1950 to July 1951*" by Billy Mossman

- The third of four official U.S. Army histories of the war, this volume was embargoed for decades after completion for reasons never publicly revealed by CMH, finally released in 1988.
- This book contains one of the few accountings of the often-strained command relationships between the DPRK and PVA (PRC) forces.

2. *China Crosses the Yalu* by Allen S. Whiting

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- The foundational assessment of the PRC intervention that tries to answer why China entered the conflict; all subsequent analytical works on China's involvement in Korea build off this one.

3. **Mao's Military Romanticism: China and the Korean War 1950-1953 by Shu Guang Zhang**

- Great work which includes a better understanding of the Chinese ORBAT and operational objectives based on archived Chinese documents.

4. **China's Road to the Korean War: the Making of the Sino-American Confrontation by Chen Jian**

- Another great book based on access to previously unreleased Chinese documents.
- Good description of how the Chinese political objectives changed during the war

5. **A Study of Crisis Management on the Korean Peninsula by PLA Military Science Press**

- Contact CFC C-Plans for a copy
- While not about the Korean War, this is an English translation of a 2010 PLA study that outlines contemporary Chinese interests and assessments of ROK, U.S., and regional interests and behavior.

5 Critical References for Operational Planners

Be familiar with the below references which *will help make you a good technician* (these references focus on process and not operational art; contact me for a separate list if you limited planning background and need somewhere to start). While CFC is an integrated command, the processes and culture of the command must arguable remain American for effectiveness and efficiency. You will find your ROK counterparts may be more familiar with these documents than you! All documents below available at the below link (CAC required): <https://jsportal.sp.pentagon.mil/sites/matrix/del/sitepages/home.aspx>

1. **JP 5-0 Joint Planning**

- **Beyond this manual you must understand the JPEC review process and how to staff a JSAP**

2. **JP 3-16 Multinational Operations**

3. **CJCSI 3141.01F Management and Review of Campaign and Contingency Plans**

4. **CJCSM 3130.03A Planning and Execution Planning Formats and Guidance**

5. **CFC Planning Guide** (note: under revision)

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5 Movies Worth Watching (+1 mini-series)

You've done a lot of reading at this point. Unfortunately the Korean War and related themes aren't well documented in Western film, but below are a few items worth watching and commonly found on streaming services:

1. **Ode to My Father (2014, titled “Gukje International Market” in Korean)**

- Considered the “Forest Gump” of Korean film, this epic tale begins with the Hungnam Evacuation and traces the ROK's postwar recovery to the modern day.
- This film is adored by conservatives but criticized by left-of-center Koreans as too pro-U.S. / sympathetic to Americans.

2. **The Bridges at Toko-Ri (1954) and Pork Chop Hill (1959)**

- *Bridges* is a good depiction of Naval Aviation during the Korean War in this excellent film in the spirit of *Twelve O'Clock High*.
- *Pork Chop Hill* is one of the few Korean War movies with an ensemble all-star cast.
- Both these films examine the nature of sacrifice.

3. **The Fortress (2017, released as *Namhans Snsaeng* in Korean)**

- Loosely based on real historical events, the Korean king must decide whether to stay loyal to the declining Chinese Ming dynasty (who saved Korea from the Japanese) or pledge allegiance to the rising Qing Dynasty in lieu of destruction
- **Korea's realignment from the Ming to the Qing is receiving lots of attention amongst Korean historians and strategic thinkers (the allegory to the modern day is obvious).**

4. **The Crime of Korea (1950), US Army Signal Corps**

- Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r8b3IVq2jqU>
- This 15-minute propaganda film is in the spirit of the World War II “Know Your Enemy” and “Why We Fight” videos.
- This is an easy way to understand the desired U.S. narrative during the war and how we wanted the U.S. involvement portrayed to the international community

5. **Taegukgi: The Brotherhood of War (2004)**

- This film is roughly the Korean equivalent of “Saving Private Ryan.”
- At times can be seen as sympathetic to the North Korean view of the war.

6. **Mr. Sunshine (2018)**

- “Strongly recommended” viewing by the CDR UNC/CFC/USFK as of February 2020
- This series revolves around a Korean-American U.S. Marine Corps officer who returns to Korea in the early nineteenth century following the Spanish American War.
- This series is a good lens to understand the complicated and inconsistent relationship between the U.S., Korea, and Japan, both at the cultural and geopolitical levels.

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5 Books Senior Leaders Frequently Recommend

You should be familiar with these books because senior leaders tend to recommend them and/or they are frequently on other Korea reading lists.

1. This Kind of War: A Study in Unpreparedness by T.R. Fehrenbach

- Considered the “classic” book about the Korean war, this book is also worth reading to understand how it has impacted the psyche of the US Army in particular and its emphasis on “readiness.”
- If you find Fehrenbach’s prose difficult to follow, you’re not alone.
- Keep in mind this book is often criticized by historians for lack of citation and Fehrenbach liberally interjecting his own opinions of events.
- The portions covering the UN Security Council and international dynamics are quite good.

2. How Communists Negotiate by C. Turner Joy

- Admiral Joy had the difficult task of leading UNC negotiations during the Armistice
- This book is worth reading today to identify both continuity and change in the North Korean and Chinese approaches to negotiation.

3. The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History by Don Oberdorfer

- This is an excellent book by veteran journalist Don Oberdorfer who passed away in 2015, but this is a difficult starting point: come back to this book once you have read some of the other items on this list.

4. The Koreans: Who They Are, What They Want, and Where Their Future Lies by Michael Breen

- This is a good introduction to Korea in travelogue form and helps interpret Koreans through a Western lens (Breen is British, so he offers a different perspective than the typical American narrative).
- Due to rapid changes in Korean society, this book may seem dated but it’s still a good reference point.
- Koreans may not agree with many of these characterizations (even if they’re true), so remain self-aware.

5. The Hundred Year Marathon: China’s Secret Strategy to Replace America as the Global Superpower by Michael Pillsbury

- As the title suggests, this book is extremely provocative; the author is extremely knowledgeable and self-professed conversion from his former sympathetic views of a “peaceful rise” resonates with many.
- Pillsbury is criticized by some China experts as being “conspiratorial;” nonetheless, you should read this book as it has gained traction not only in the U.S. but also across Asia and Oceania.

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Works to Understand North Korea

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When starting your study of “North Korea” it’s best to distinguish between the *regime*, the *military*, and the *population*. Note: our North Korea experts tend to be the C/J-2...the onus is on you as a planner to ask for the knowledge you need. The below reading list will help you provide context.

You should easily be able to pass this test: **name three North Koreans (other than KJU), name five North Korean cities (other than Pyongyang), and identify the locations of at least four KPA corps-sized elements.**

1. The Guerilla Dynasty: Politics and Leadership in North Korea by Adrian Buzo and Under the Loving Care of the Fatherly Leader: North Korea and the Kim Dynasty by Bradley Martin

- Both these works are great place to begin your understanding of the regime.
- Kim Il-song 1941-1948: The Creation of a Legend, the Building of a Regime by Sydney A. Seiler (1994) is also an excellent work which is a quicker read but unfortunately difficult to find.
- The translation of Yu Sung-Chul’s Testimony provides an unvarnished account into the KIS’s activities during the Japanese occupation and North Korean operational art in the opening days of the Korean War

2. North Korean Populace and Operating Forces in North Korea During Crisis by Robert Collins

- Unclassified work available on Sharepoint
- An excellent primer written with US and ROK forces in mind, based on extensive interviews with north Korean escapees and input from US and ROK experts.

3. North of the DMZ by Andrei Lankov

- This book also frequently makes an appearance on senior leader reading lists.
- Lankov is a first-rate historian on North Korea who studied in Pyongyang and who has frequently briefed senior leaders
- This book is a compilation of articles which makes this easy to digest in small pieces.
- **This is a good starting point, but keep in mind North Korean society is changing too even if not always apparent to outsiders.**

4. Marked for Life: Songbun, North Korea’s Social Classification System by Robert Collins

- Available at: https://www.hrnk.org/uploads/pdfs/HRNK_Songbun_Web.pdf
- A good read to understand North Korea’s social stratification system.
- Worth thinking through: **what are the implications of regime collapse or war for each class?**

5. Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea by Barbara Demick

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- A very accessible book you can finish on a domestic flight.
- This book is important in humanizing the North Korean populace; you will be impressed by their resilience.

5 Perspectives of Senior Leaders

All of the below are excellent and are generally quick reads. Great insights into how senior leaders processed information and attempted to translate political guidance into military objectives. As you read these accounts, it's helpful to think of your role as a member of the staff in anticipating some of these issues.

1. **From Pusan to Panmunjom by General Paik Sun Yup**

- GEN Paik (and his brother) has made incredible contributions during the Korean War and the Alliance.
- GEN Paik is held in great esteem by the US and conservative Koreans to this day; his perspectives are important in helping to understand tensions between the alliance and allegiance to one's nation.

2. **From the Danube to the Yalu by General Mark W. Clark**

- GEN Clark is unfairly criticized as a combat leader for his performance at Anzio and never became as famous as many of his contemporaries from WW II and Korea, but this book makes it clear he was a brilliant strategic thinker.

3. **Korea on the Brink: A Memoir of Political Intrigue and Military Crisis by General John A. Wickham**

- An excellent account of a critical period in the history of the Alliance and (unfortunately) the only book written by a former USFK CDR.
- **The description of the Combined Forces Command and the struggle to articulate "OPCON" to the Korean public in the annex are worth reviewing. These are the same challenges we face today...you could use many of the talking points verbatim.**

4. **The Korean War by General Matthew B. Ridgway**

- Ridgway receives high praise from historians and has been profiled as a "savior general." He deserves the acclaim and praise; however, he and his successor (GEN Van Fleet) remain under-recognized for their contributions.

5. **The General vs. the President: MacArthur and Truman at the Brink of Nuclear War by H.W. Brands**

- While not a primary source senior leader account, Brands corrects the historical record and cuts through the mythology of why Truman fired MacArthur; an accessible work on policy and strategy and civ-mil relations.

5 Items to be Familiar With When Engaging Scholars

It's helpful to be *generally* familiar with the below concepts, theories, and historical events when dealing with academia and those in the think tank community.

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1. Nicholas John Spykman and “Rimland Theory”

2. Holford Mackinder and “Heartland” Theory”

3. John King Fairbank and theory of the Imperial Chinese Tributary System

- *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* by David Kang is the best and most accessible contemporary work on the Tribute System
- Understanding the Tribute System is useful in visualizing a regional order where China is a hegemonic power and the compromises surrounding states must make.

4. The Imjin War / Great East Asian War

- While generally unfamiliar in the West, this war in the late sixteenth century receiving greater attention and can easily be categorized as one of the most consequential wars in history.
- There are only two major English-language works on the Imjin War: *Japan’s Sixteenth-Century Invasion of Korea and Attempt to Conquer China* by Samuel Hawley is slightly better and the more accessible work.

5. Alliance Theory

- Be generally familiar with the top scholars in this field such as Glenn Snyder and Stephen Walt regarding balance of power, bandwagoning, etc.

Things to Read to Understand the ROK-U.S. Alliance

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Unfortunately, the ROK/US Alliance is poorly understood by those who have never served in the ROK. The good news is the broad outlines of the history of the alliance have been captured fairly well (although a lot of stories remain to be told).

1. The History of the ROK-US Alliance 1953-2013 by ROK Ministry of National Defense Institute for Military History

- Published by ROK Ministry of National Defense (contact me for an English-language copy)
- This is a comprehensive and well-documented *ROK-perspective* on how the alliance has evolved in its first six decades.

2. The US Military Experience in Korea 1871-1982 published by the UNC/CFC/USFK Command Historian (1982)

- **Difficult to find, but an excellent reference work that badly requires an update and distribution throughout the command.**

3. The United Nations Command and the ROK/U.S. Military Relationship 1950 – 2016 by COL Shawn Creamer

- Available on C5 Sharepoint
- An unpublished work which is the best treatment of the UNC: **you must trace the path of the UNC following the Korean War to fully understand the alliance today.**

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4. **The US-ROK Alliance, 1953-2004: Alliance Institutionalization by CAPT Kwang Subkwak, ROKN (2006)**

- Submitted by CAPT Kwak as his PhD dissertation at Southern Illinois University (SIU), this work covers the evolution of the ROK-US Alliance following the Korean War.
- Available through most academic databases.

5. **Persuading a President: Jimmy Carter and American Troops in Korea by Joe Wood**

- Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0005825978.pdf
- The history surrounding Carter's desire to withdraw land forces from Korea isn't fully addressed in this paper, but you should generally be familiar with this event as it still resonates with some in the ROK today.
- *Worth thinking through: what role should UNC/CFC/USFK play in Korea policy making?*