

International Journal of Korean Studies

Volume XVIII, Number 2 • Fall/Winter 2014

A Window of Vulnerability: Rethinking the Defense of the
Korean Peninsula

Be Careful What You Wish For – Security and Stability on the
Korean Peninsula

Proliferation and Illegal Foreign Sales: Ensuring Regime Survival

Competition and Countervailing Power in the Imperialist
Marketplace: The Case of Korea

US Strategic Interests and Future Role in the Peaceful Unification
of the Korean Peninsula

North Korea's Revolutionary Unification Policy

Korean Reunification in the Context of Changing Triangular Relations

China's Strategic Interests and Future Role

Dean Acheson's Role in the Sino-U.S. Clash over Korea Revisited:
Mistaken Beliefs and Sinister Purpose

**International Council on Korean Studies
Council on Korea-U.S. Security Studies**

**International Journal of
KOREAN STUDIES**

**Volume XVIII, Number 2
Fall/Winter 2014**

ISSN 1091-2932

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES
Volume XVIII, Number 2 (Fall/Winter 2014)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

David S. Maxwell, *Georgetown University*

MANAGING EDITOR

Jack L. Hammersmith, *West Virginia University*
Editorial Assistant: Donna MacIsaac

EDITORS

Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr. <i>Angelo State University</i>	Young-Key Kim-Renaud, <i>George Wash. U.</i>
Kwang Soo Cheong, <i>Johns Hopkins Univ.</i>	Haeduck Lee, <i>The World Bank</i>
Nam-Sung Huh, <i>Korea National Defense Univ.</i>	Jin Young Park, <i>American University</i>
Hugo W. Kim, <i>Washing Baptist University</i>	Terence J. Roehrig, <i>U.S. Naval War</i>
Jinill Kim, <i>Federal Reserve System</i>	Dennis Roy, <i>East-West Center (Honolulu)</i>

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Yong-Ho Choi, <i>University of Hawaii</i>	Hang Yul Rhee, <i>Shepherd University</i>
Bruce Cumings, <i>University of Chicago</i>	Yoon-shik Park, <i>George Wash. University</i>
Wonmo Dong, <i>University of Washington</i>	Jai P. Ryu, <i>Loyola University Maryland</i>
Carter Eckert, <i>Harvard University</i>	Jong O. Ra, <i>Hollins U. and Virginia</i>
Young Whan Kihl, <i>Iowa State University</i>	Jae Kap Ryoo, <i>Kyonggi University</i>
Hak-joon Kim, <i>The Dong-A Ilbo</i>	Edward A. Olsen, <i>Naval Post Grad. School</i>
Han Kyo Kim, <i>University of Cincinnati</i>	Eui-Hang Shin, <i>University of S. Carolina</i>
Ilpyong J. Kim, <i>University of Connecticut</i>	David I. Steinberg, <i>Georgetown University</i>
Jae-Chang Kim, <i>Korea-U.S. Security Studies</i>	Robert G. Sutter, <i>Georgetown University</i>
Samuel S. Kim, <i>Columbia University</i>	William J. Taylor, Jr., <i>CSIS & Georgetown</i>
Youn-Suk Kim, <i>Kean University</i>	Richard W. Wilson, <i>Rutgers University</i>
Marcus Noland, <i>Inst. for Intl. Economics</i>	Yong Soon Yim, <i>Sungkyunkwan Univ</i>
Soon Paik, <i>U.S. Department of Labor</i>	Young Kwan Yoon, <i>Seoul Natl. University</i>

EDITORIAL INFORMATION

Contributors should submit one copy of the article that is 20 - 35 pages in length, doublespaced, 12 point font with one-inch margins and endnotes accompanied by an electronic file compatible with the current version of MS Word. Unpublished original articles must provide full documentation in conformance with the standards in the current edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Articles are to be submitted to David S. Maxwell, Associate Director, Center for Security Studies, Georgetown University, 3600 N St. NW, Washington, DC 20007. Contact: Tel (202) 687-3834; Tax (202) 687-4303; and E-mail at <david.maxwell@georgetown.edu>.

The International Journal of Korean Studies is indexed and abstracted in the references of major social sciences, and all of its articles are accessible through the Columbia International Affairs Online by the Columbia University Press and Asia-Studies Online.

Contents

A Window of Vulnerability: Rethinking the Defense of the Korean Peninsula	Patrick M. Cronin and Moon-young Kim Jun	1
Be Careful What You Wish For – Security and Stability on the Korean Peninsula	Major Bernard J. Brister	26
Proliferation and Illegal Foreign Sales: Ensuring Regime Survival	Gordon G. Chang	53
Competition and Countervailing Power in the Imperialist Marketplace: The Case of Korea	C. H. Park	80
US Strategic Interests and Future Role in the Peaceful Unification of the Korean Peninsula	Sue Mi Terry	100
North Korea’s Revolutionary Unification Policy	Sung-Yoon Lee	121
Korean Reunification in the Context of Changing Triangular Relations	Gilbert Rozman	138
China’s Strategic Interests and Future Role	Roy D. Kamphausen	153
Dean Acheson’s Role in the Sino-U.S. Clash over Korea Revisited: Mistaken Beliefs and Sinister Purpose	Taifa Yu	178

ISSN 1091-2932

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES

The *International Journal of Korean Studies* (IJKS) is published twice a year jointly by the International Council on Korean Studies (ICKS) and the Council on Korea-U.S. Security Studies (COKUSS). Annual Subscription Rates: \$35 for individual subscriptions, and \$60 for institutional and international subscriptions. All the members of ICKS are entitled to receive the journal automatically, and all issues of IJKS are posted on the ICKS website at:

<http://www.icks.org/publication/index.html>.

Contact: International Council on Korean Studies (ICKS)
5508 Chestermill Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030-7248, U.S.A.
Tel & Fax (703) 808-7088, E-mail at hugo33kim@verizon.net
ICKS Website Home: <http://www.icks.org>

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON KOREAN STUDIES (ICKS)

ICKS is a non-profit and non-partisan organization dedicated to the advancement of Korean studies and related academic and professional activities in the United States as well as abroad through conferences, publications, and other relevant activities.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

President: Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr.
Vice Presidents: Richard T. Shin and Kwang Soo Cheong
Treasurer: Won Eok Kim
IJKS Editor-in-Chief: David S. Maxwell

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Acting Chairman: Soon Paik

Members: Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr., Kwang Soo Cheong, Young Back Choi, Uk Heo, Dong-Keun Jeong, Jae O. Kang, Young Whan Kihl, Hugo Wheegook Kim, Ilpyong J. Kim, Kinney H. Kim, Robert H. Kim, Ung Soo Kim, Youn-Suk Kim, Haeduck Lee, Woong B. Lee, David S. Maxwell, Hong-Kyu Park, Tae-Jin Park, Yoon-shik Park, Jong O. Ra, Hang Yul Rhee., Terence J. Roehrig, Jai P. Ryu, Grigore Scarlatoiu, Richard T. Shin

AUDITORS: Jaewoo Lee and Seon-Young Ahn

COUNCIL ON KOREA-U.S. SECURITY STUDIES (COKUSS)

The Council on Korea-U.S. Security Studies was established in 1984 as a not-for-profit organization by a group of retired military officers, diplomats, and scholars from the United States and Korea. The Council aims to promote studies on political, economic, and military relations between two countries by exchanges of opinions and ideas among theorists and practitioners through conferences and publications.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Co-Chairman: John H. Tilelli, Jr. and Jae-Chang Kim
Directors: Jae-Kap Ryoo, Hugo Wheegook Kim, and Nam-Sung Huh

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Co-Chairman: John H. Tilelli, Jr. and Jae-Chang Kim, Members: Jong-Chun Baek, Nam-Sung Huh, Kwang-On Hyun, Il Hwa Jung, Hee-Sang Kim, Yong-Ok Park, Jae-Kap Ryoo, Yong Soon Yim, Raymond P. Ayres, Jr., Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr., Hugo Wheegook Kim, Patrick M. Morgan

AUDITORS: Taewoo Kim and Dae-Sung Song

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Major Bernard J. Brister CD, Ph.D. is a serving officer in the Royal Canadian Air Force with a background in army aviation and the naval air service. He obtained his degree in International Relations from the Royal Military College of Canada in 2009. Dr. Brister's research focus is on the increasing relevance of East Asian security issues upon Canadian interests at home and abroad. At present Dr. Brister is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Politics at RMCC, but upon retirement in 2015 year intends to continue to travel throughout the region as well as to conduct research and publish on issues of East Asian security.

Gordon G. Chang author of *The Nuclear Showdown: North Korea Takes On the World*, has lived and worked in China and Hong Kong for almost two decades. Most recently he acted as Counsel to the American law firm Paul Weiss in Shanghai, and earlier was Partner at the international law firm Baker & McKenzie. His writings have appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, among other publications and Gordon has appeared around the world speaking on China and North Korea.

Patrick M. Cronin is a Senior Advisor and the Senior Director of the Asia-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). He is a widely published author on Asian security issues and previously served as the Senior Director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University, the Director of Studies at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and the third-ranking position at the U.S. Agency for International Development. He has served as a U.S. Naval Reserve Intelligence officer and has taught at Georgetown University, the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and the University of Virginia. He earned his doctorate at the University of Oxford.

Roy Kamphausen is an Associate Professor of East Asian Security at Columbia University's School of International Public Affairs and is a Senior Advisor of Political and Security Affairs at The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). Prior to this role he was Senior Vice President of Political and Security Affairs and Director of the Washington, DC Office. A career US Army China specialist, he has edited the last seven volumes of the Carlisle PLA conference and numerous articles on China's security situation.

Sung-Yoon Lee is the Kim Koo-Korea Foundation Professor of Korean Studies and an Assistant Professor at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Lee is a former Research Fellow with the National Asia Research Program and Associate of Harvard University's Korea Institute. His writings have been featured in publications such as the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Asia Times*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, and he is a frequent commentator on Korean affairs for distinguished news outlets.

Moon-young Kim Jun is an Adjunct Fellow in the Asia-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). She previously served as a research associate for the Stimson Center's East Asia Program. Prior to joining Stimson, she was a graduate student associate with the Korea Institute. She also served as a Teaching Fellow for Harvard University. She earned her A.M. in East Asian Languages & Civilizations from Harvard University, where she concentrated in Modern Korean History, and received a B.A. with *summa cum laude* distinction in Diplomatic History from the University of Pennsylvania.

C.H. Pak is a Teaching Fellow at The Catholic University of America School of Business and Economics and a PhD student in Religion and Culture at CUA's School of Theology and Religious Studies. Her research interests include business strategy, trade, and the intersection(s) of religion, culture, and ethics in the context of peacemaking and US policies on war. She also has an interest in studying how American service members integrate their military, religious, and ethnic identities, particularly in settings where

peacemaking (or intervention) between conflicting groups abroad is a goal. Her professional experience spans 20 years, having worked for such firms as the Center for Molecular Biology and Pathology in Research Triangle Park, Deloitte Services LP in Boston, Blue Cross Blue Shield of MA, Catholic Leadership Institute, and the Diocese of St. Augustine. Cabrini earned her MBA from The George Washington University on a Global Manager's Fellowship Award, her MA in Theology from Villanova University as a Tuition Scholar, and a BS in Biology from The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Gilbert Rozman is an Associate Faculty member in the East Asian Studies department. Rozman, Musgrave Professor of Sociology, specializes in Northeast Asian societies: China, Japan, Korea, and Russia. He has compared them, most recently concentrating on national identities. In addition, Rozman works on sociological factors in international relations, emphasizing mutual perceptions and barriers to regionalism. His recent books include: *Chinese Strategic Thought toward Asia, U.S. Leadership, History and Bilateral Relations in Northeast Asia, Northeast Asia's Stunted Regionalism: Bilateral Distrust in the Shadow of Globalization* and *East Asian National Identities: Common Roots and Chinese Exceptionalism* (to be released March 2012).

Sue Mi Terry is a Senior Research Scholar at the Columbia University Weatherhead East Asian Institute, a position she has held since 2011. Her research focus on East Asia, particularly Northeast Asia security and U.S.-Northeast Asia relations, North Korea's evolving nuclear strategy and potential for instability, politics and foreign policy of South Korea. She is also the founder of Peninsula Strategies Inc., an advisory firm specializing in Korean issues with both government and corporate clients. In 2010-2011, she served as the National Intelligence Fellow in the David Rockefeller Studies Program at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

Taifa Yu is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Northern Iowa. His publications have appeared in *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Global Affairs*,

Asian Perspectives, and Issues and Studies; he is currently working on a manuscript entitled "Shapers of the Korean War: Conspiracy, Prospect, and Personalities." He holds a PhD from the University of South Carolina. Memphis.