# International Journal of Korean Studies

# **Volume XVII, Number 1 · Spring/Summer 2013**

Obama's Asia Pivot and the Koreas

China-North Korea Relations after Kim Jong Il

The Right Steps to ROK Defense Reform: How to Overcome Constraints

A Strategy for Dealing with North Korea's Provocations

The Impact of the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement
On Both Economies

The Abductions Issue in Japan and South Korea: Ten Years after Pyongyang's Admission

The Failure of the Bush Administration's North Korea Policy: A Critical Analysis

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

# **International Journal of KOREAN STUDIES**

Volume XVII, Number 1 Spring/Summer 2013

# ISSN 1091-2932

# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES

Volume XVII, Number 1 (Spring/Summer 2013)

# **EDITOR-IN-CHIEF**

Hugo Wheegook Kim, East-West Research Institute

# **MANAGING EDITOR**

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

# **EDITORS**

Kwang Soo Cheong, Johns Hopkins Univ.
Uk Heo, University of Wisconsin- Milw
Nam-Sung Huh, Korea National Defense Univ.
Young Whan Kihl, Iowa State University
Young-Key Kim-Renaud, George Wash. U.
Hong Nack Kim, West Virginia University
Ilpyong J. Kim, University of Connecticut
Jinill Kim, Federal Reserve System

Samuel S. Kim, Columbia University
Haeduck Lee, The World Bank
Jin Young Park, American University
Yoon-shik Park, George Wash. University
Hang Yul Rhee, Shepherd University
Terence J. Roehrig, U.S. Naval War
Dennis Roy, East-West Center (Honolulu)
Jai P. Ryu, Loyola College

# **EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD**

Yong-Ho Choe, University of Hawaii Bruce Cumings, University of Chicago Wonmo Dong, University of Washington Carter Eckert, Harvard University Hak-joon Kim, The Dong-A Ilbo Han Kyo Kim, University of Cincinnati Jae-Chang Kim, Korea-U.S. Security Studies Youn-Suk Kim, Kean University Chae-Jin Lee, Claremont-McKenna College Marcus Noland, Inst. for Intl. Economics Edward A. Olsen, Naval Post Grad. School Soon Paik, U.S. Department of Labor
Jong O. Ra, Hollins U. and Virginia
Jae Kap Ryoo, Kyonggi University
Eui-Hang Shin, University of South Carolina
David I. Steinberg, Georgetown University
Robert G. Sutter, Georgetown University
William J. Taylor, Jr., CSIS & Georgetown Univ.
Richard W. Wilson, Rutgers University
Yong Soon Yim, Sungkyunkwan University
Jang H. Yoo, Ehwa Women's University
Young Kwan Yoon, Seoul Natl. University

# **EDITORIAL INFORMATION**

Contributors should submit one copy of the paper that is 20 - 35 pages in length, double-spaced, 12 point font with one-inch margins and endnotes accompanied by an electronic file compatible with the current version of MS Word. Unpublished original papers must provide full documentation in conformance with the standards in the current edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Papers are to be submitted to Dr. Hugo W. Kim, Editor-in-Chief, *International Journal of Korean Studies*, 5508 Chestermill Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030-7248, U.S.A. Contact: Tel & Fax (703) 803-7088, and Email at hugo33kim@verizon.net.

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.

# ISSN 1091-2932

# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES

Volume XVII, Number 1

Spring/Summer 2013

# **Contents**

Obama's Asia Pivot and the Koreas Richard Weitz	1
China-North Korea Relations after Kim Jong-Il	
Hong Nack Kim	21
The Right Steps to ROK Defense Reform: How to Overcome Constraints	
Bruce Klingner	50
A Strategy for Dealing with North Korea's Prov David S. Maxwe	
David S. Maxwe	09
The Impact of the U.SKorea Free Trade Agree On Both Economies	ement
Yoon-shik Park	95
The Abductions Issue in Japan and South Korea Ten Years after Pyongyang's Admission	a:
Celeste Arringto	n 108
The Failure of the Bush Administration's North A Critical Analysis	n Korea Policy:
James I. Matray	140

The International Journal of Korean Studies is copyrighted under U.S. law. © 2013 International Council on Korean Studies

#### 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) 803-7088, 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: Hugo Wheegook Kim

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chairman: Hong Nack Kim, Vice 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, Ung Soo Kim, Youn-Suk
Kim, Haeduck Lee, Woong B. Lee, Hong-Kyu 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

# **CONTRIBUTORS**

Celeste Arrington is Korea Foundation Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, Washington University. She specializes in comparative politics with a regional focus on the Koreas and Japan. Her research interests include civil society, social movements, democratic governance, law and society, policy-making processes, the media and politics, and qualitative methods. She is also interested in the international relations and security of Northeast Asia and transnational activism. She is currently completing a book manuscript on victim redress movements and governmental accountability in South Korea and Japan. Professor Arrington earned a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, an M.Phil. from the University of Cambridge, and a A.B. from Princeton University. She was an advanced research fellow in the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations at Harvard University in 2010-2011. In 2012, she became a member of the Mansfield Foundation's U.S.-Japan Network for the Future. During the 2011-2012 year, she was a member of the School of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey.

Hong Nack Kim (Ph.D., Georgetown University) is Professor of Political Science at West Virginia University. Dr. Kim was a visiting Fulbright professor at Keio University (1979, 1982) and Fulbright Professor of Political Science at Seoul National University during the academic year 1990-1991. After graduating from Seoul National University (B.A. in political science), he received M.A. and Ph.D. degrees (political science) from Georgetown University (1960, 1965). From 1983 to 1985, he served as the president of the Association of Korean Political Scientists in North America. He also served as president of the International Council on Korean Studies (2004-2008), and is currently chairman of the board of directors of the International Council on Korean Studies. Formerly editor-in-chief of the International Journal of Korean Studies, he has written widely on

East Asian affairs, contributing over 130 articles to such journals as Asian Survey, Pacific Affairs, Current History, World Politics, Keio Journal of Politics, International Journal of Korean Studies, Asia Quarterly, Asia Pacific Community, Asian Affairs: An American Review, Journal of East Asian Affairs, World Affairs, Journal of Northeast Asian Studies, North Korean Review, Korea and World Affairs, Korea Observer, and Problems of Communism. He has also contributed several articles to Colliers Encyclopedia Yearbook (1978, 1979, 1988, 1989, 1990) and the 1981 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs (Hoover Institution Press). In addition, he has authored or edited seven books, including North Korea: The Politics of Regime Survival (M.E. Sharpe, 2006). In the fall semester of 2005, he was a Visiting POSCO Fellow at the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. His paper entitled "The Koizumi Government and the Politics of Japanese-North Korean Relations" was published in the East-West Center Working Papers, Politics, Governance and Security Series (2006). He is a recipient of the outstanding research award from the Eberly College of Arts and Sciences, West Virginia University (1985).

**Bruce Klingner** is a Senior Research Fellow for Northeast Asia at The Heritage Foundation. Klingner joined Heritage in 2007 after 20 years in the intelligence community working at the CIA and Defense Intelligence Agency. In 1993, he was the selected as Chief of CIA's Korea Branch which provided analytic reports on military developments during the nuclear crisis with North Korea. From 1996-2001, Klingner was the Deputy Division Chief for Korea in the CIA's Directorate of Intelligence where he was responsible for analyzing Korean political, military, economic, and leadership issues for the president and other senior policymakers. Mr. Klingner is a frequent guest in U.S. and foreign TV, radio, and print media. His articles have appeared in such media as The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, Financial Times, and The Los Angeles Times. Mr. Klingner has testified before the U.S. Congress, including the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Klingner is a distinguished graduate of the National War College

where he earned a master's degree in national security strategy in 2002. He also earned a master's degree in strategic intelligence from the Defense Intelligence College and has a bachelor's degree in political science from Middlebury College in Vermont.

James I. Matray is professor of history at California State University, Chico. He earned his doctoral degree at the University of Virginia in American history in 1977. Matray has published more than forty articles, book chapters, and essays on U.S.-Korean relations during and after World War II. He is the editor of the forthcoming Northeast Asia and the Legacy of Harry S. Truman. Author of The Reluctant Crusade: American Foreign Policy in Korea, 1941-1950, recipient of the Phi Alpha Theta book prize in 1986, and Japan's Emergence as a Global Power. His most recent books are Korea Divided: The 38th Parallel and the Demilitarized Zone and East Asia and the United States: An Encyclopedia of Relations Since 1784. In addition to editing two other books, Matray has published more than ninety book reviews in leading journals and fifty encyclopedia entries. In 1986, he was a recipient of the Donald C. Roush Award for Excellence in Teaching at New Mexico State University, where he taught for twenty-two years. During 2003 and 2004, Matray was an international columnist for the Donga Ilbo in South Korea. From 2005 to 2007, he served on the Board of Editors for *Diplomatic History* and since 2007, on the Editorial Board for ABC-CLIO's American Military History Series. His current research projects are an Ashgate research guide for the Korean War and a monograph on the Battles of Pork Chop under contract with Indiana University Press.

**David S. Maxwell** is the Associate Director of the Center for Security Studies and the Security Studies Program in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. He is a 30-year veteran of the US Army retiring as a Special Forces Colonel, with his final assignment serving on the military faculty teaching national security strategy at the National War College. He spent the majority of his military service overseas with nearly

25 years in Asia, primarily in Korea, Japan, and the Philippines, leading organizations from the A-Team to the Joint Special Operations Task Force level as well as staff positions at the US Army Special Operations Command and the Combined Forces Command in Korea. He holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, Masters of Military Arts and Science degrees from the US Army Command and General Staff College and the School of Advanced Military Studies and a Master of Science degree in National Security Studies from the National War College of the National Defense University. He is the author of numerous works on Korea, Special Operations, Foreign Internal Defense, Unconventional Warfare and National Security. He and his family reside in Northern Virginia.

Yoon-shik Park is Professor of International Finance at the School of Business of The George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Previously, he also taught at Georgetown University and Columbia University. Along with his M.B.A. in finance and M.A. in economics, Professor Park has received two doctorate degrees: Doctor of Business Administration (D.B.A.) in international finance from Harvard University Business School and Ph.D. in economics from The George Washington University. He has written numerous books including: The Korean Bond Market: Crisis and Beyond; Project Financing and Post Asian International Financial Markets; International Banking in Theory and Practice; Oil Money and the World Economy; and The Eurobond Market: Function and Structure, as well as many articles and reports in the fields of international banking and finance. Prior to joining academia, he worked at the World Bank as a Senior Economist and then served as a member of the Board of Directors of Samsung Corporation, a Korean chaebol company. Dr. Park has been a consultant to Asian Development Bank, International Finance Corporation (IFC), Inter-American Development Bank, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and other private and public institutions around the world.

**Richard Weitz** is Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Political-Military Analysis at Hudson Institute. His current research includes regional security developments relating to Europe, Eurasia, and East Asia as well as U.S. foreign, defense, and homeland security policies. Dr. Weitz is also an Expert at Wikistrat and a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security, where he contributes to various defense projects. Dr. Weitz has published or edited several books and monographs, including Global Security Watch-China, National Security Case Studies, War and Governance: International Security in a Changing World Order, The Russian Military Today and Tomorrow, Global Security Watch-Russia, China-Russia Security Relations Kazakhstan and the New International Politics of Eurasia, Mismanaging Mayhem: How Washington Responds to Crisis, The Reserve Policies of Nations: A Comparative Analysis, and Revitalising US-Russian Security Cooperation: Practical Measure. Before joining Hudson in 2003, Dr. Weitz worked for the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and the U.S. Department of Defense. Dr. Weitz is a graduate of Harvard College (B.A. with Highest Honors in Government), the London School of Economics (M.Sc. in International Relations), Oxford University (M.Phil. in Politics), and Harvard University (Ph.D. in Political Science), where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He is proficient in Russian, French, and German.