International Journal of Korean Studies

Volume XVII, Number 2 · Fall/Winter 2013

The Sixty Years of the Korea-U.S. Security Alliance: Past, Present, and Future

U.S. and Japan: New Policies toward the Korean Situations

North Korea's Strategic Goals and Policy towards the United States and South Korea

The North Korean Military Under Kim Jong-un: Evolved or Still Following Kim Jong-il Script?

Some "New Wicked Problems" of the Asia-Pacific Regional Maritime Security: Can Solutions be Found?

Prospects of the Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation and North Korean External Trade

The Contextual Model of Electoral Turnout in Emergent Democracies-the Case of the 2004 Korean Legislature Election

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

International Journal of KOREAN STUDIES

Volume XVII, Number 2 Fall/Winter 2013

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES

Volume XVII, Number 2 (Fall/Winter 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 Carol David I. Steinberg, Georgetown University Robert G. Sutter, Georgetown University William J. Taylor, Jr., CSIS & Georgetown Richard W. Wilson, Rutgers University Yong Soon Yim, Sungkyunkwan Univ 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, 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 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) 808-7088, and E-mail 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.

ii

ISSN 1091-2932

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES

| Volume XVII, Number 2 | Fall/Winter 2013 |
|--|------------------|
| Contents | |
| The Sixty Years of the Korea-U.S. Security Alliance: Past, Present, and Future | |
| Bruce Bennett | 1 |
| U.S. and Japan: New Policies toward the Korean Situations | |
| Richard Weitz | 43 |
| North Korea's Strategic Goals and Policy towards the United States and South Korea | |
| Sue Mi Terry | 63 |
| The North Korean Military Under Kim Jong-un: Evolved or Still Following a Kim Jong-il Script | |
| Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr. | 93 |
| Some "New Wicked Problems" of the Asia-Pacific Regional Maritime Security: Can Solutions be Found? | l |
| Captain (Ret.) Sukjoon Yoon | 116 |
| Prospects of the Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation and North Korean External Trade | |
| Eui-Gak Hwang | 153 |
| The Contextual Model of Electoral Turnout in Emergent Democracies-the Case of the 2004 Korean Legislative Elector | ction |
| WooJin Kang | 180 |

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

iii

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: 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

iv

CONTRIBUTORS

Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr. is associate professor of political science at Angelo State University and a retired Marine. He was formerly on the faculty at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College (2005-2010) and the Air Command and Staff College (2003-2005). Dr. Bechtol served as an adjunct visiting professor at the Korea University Graduate School of International Studies (2006-2007). He was an intelligence officer at the Defense Intelligence Agency from 1997 until 2003, eventually serving as the senior analyst for Northeast Asia in the Intelligence Directorate (J2) on the Joint Staff in the Pentagon. He formerly sat on the editorial review board of the East Asian Review from 2005 to 2009 and served as editor of the Defense Intelligence Journal from 2004 to 2005. He is currently on the editorial advisory board of the *Korea* Observer (2011-present). He is the current president of the International Council on Korean Studies, and serves on the board of directors of the Council on U.S.-Korean Security Studies. He is the author of The Last Days of Kim Jong-il: The North Korean Threat in a Changing Era (Potomac Books, 2013), Defiant Failed State: The North Korean Threat to International Security (Potomac Books, 2010), and Red Rogue: The Persistent Challenge of North *Korea* (Potomac Books, 2007), and he is the editor of *Confronting* Security Challenges on the Korean Peninsula (Marine Corps University Press, 2012) and The Quest for a Unified Korea: Strategies for the Cultural and Interagency Process (Marine Corps University Foundation, 2007). He is also the author of more than thirty articles in peer-reviewed journals.

Bruce W. Bennett is a senior defense analyst at The RAND Corporation. He specializes in strategy formulation, force requirements, and responding to "asymmetric threats" such as weapons of mass destruction (WMD). His work applies deterrence-based strategy, competitive strategies, risk management, military simulation and analysis, and war gaming. He is also an expert in Northeast Asian military issues, having

v

visited the region some 90 times and written much about Korean security issues. His regional research has addressed issues such as deterrence of North Korean threats, the North Korean weapons of mass destruction threats (nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons) and how to counter them, future Korean military force requirements, the Korean military balance, and dealing with a North Korean government collapse. He has worked with the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, the U.S. Air Force, the U.S. Pacific Command and Central Command, U.S. Forces Korea and Japan, the South Korean and Japanese militaries, and the South Korean National Assembly. Dr. Bennett received a Ph.D. in policy analysis from the Pardee RAND Graduate School and a B.S. in economics from the California Institute of Technology.

Eui-Gak Hwang studied economics (B.A. and M.A) at Korea University. He earned his Ph.D. in economics from the University of Oregon in 1976. He worked at USAID/Seoul, University of Chicago Department of Economics, The Brookings Institution Foreign Policy Studies, and several leading universities in Germany, New Zealand, South Africa, and China. Professor Hwang is currently a professor emeritus of economics of Korea University. He was Dean of Graduate School of International Studies, Korea University (2002-2004), after serving as a Member of the Monetary Policy Board of the Bank of Korea (1999-2002). After his retirement from Korea University in 2005, he was invited by ICSEAD, Japan to serve as head of research division, where he published his book entitled The Search for a Unified Korea: Political and Economic Implications (Springer, New York, 2010). Hwang is the author of 16 books including "The Korean Economies: A Comparison of North and South" (Clarendon Press, Oxford University, 1993). He has written more than 200 academic papers and book contributions, both in English and Korean. He is currently an advisor and regular contributor of current topics to the Future Korea (weekly journal in Korean).

vi

WooJin Kang, studied political science at Korea University where he earned his BA and MA. He earned his MS and Ph.D. from Florida State University and is currently an Assistant Professor at Angelo State University, Texas. Before he joined Angelo State University, he was a faculty member at Kent State University, York College of Pennsylvania, the University of Mount Union and Gannon University. His research focuses on comparative political economy, political economy of democratization, and electoral behavior. His recent research was published in the International Political Science Review ("Regional Party System, Attribution, and Economic Voting in New Democracies-The case of Korean 2007 Presidential Election"), Korea & World Politics ("The Political Consequence of Citizens' Perceptions of Economic Inequality in Korea-Focusing on Its Effect on the Efficacy of Democracy,") and Korean Party Studies Review ("A Study on the Effects of Perception of Economic Policy and Household Ownership on the Voter's Abstention in Korean Elections-the Case of the 2008 National Assembly Election"). His other manuscripts will be forthcoming in the International Political Science Review and Issues and Studies. He was the recipients of several grants and fellowships such as the POSCO visiting Fellowship of the University of Hawaii (the East-West Center), the Academy of Korean Studies and the Asiatic Research Center of Korea University. He was a visiting professor (residential scholar) at Research Institute of Korean Studies of Korea University in 2013.

Sue Mi Terry is a Senior Research Scholar at the Columbia University Weatherhead East Asian Institute. Her research focus is on the Korean peninsula and the East Asian region, particularly Northeast Asia security and U.S.-Northeast Asia relations. She is also a Senior Managing Director and Head of the Gerson Global Advisors ("GGA"), where she oversees Global Research and Government Relations. Previously, she was the National Intelligence Fellow in the David Rockefeller Studies Program at the Council on Foreign Relations ("CFR") in New York (2010-2011). Before the CFR, she served as the National Intelligence

vii

Officer for East Asia at the National Intelligence Council ("NIC") in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (2009-1010). She also served as the Director for Korea, Japan, and Oceanic Affairs at the National Security Council ("NSC") under both Presidents George W. Bush and Barak Obama (2008-2009), where she played an integral role in the White House's formulation and implementation of U.S. policy towards Northeast Asian countries as well as Australia and New Zealand. Prior to joining the NSC, she served as a Senior Analyst on Korean peninsula issues at the Directorate of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency (2001-2008), providing intelligence analysis to the President, Cabinet, and senior policymakers in the US government. She holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and a B.A. in Political Science and East Asian Studies from the New York University.

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 the Hudson Institute in 2003, Dr. Weitz worked for the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and the U.S. Department of Defense. Dr.

viii

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.

Yoon, Sukjoon is a retired Captain, Senior Research Fellow of the Korea Institute for Maritime Strategy and a Visiting Professor at Sejong University. He is also a research member for the Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC) Study Group-Korea. Before retiring from the ROK Navy in December 2011, Dr. YOON served for over 30 years of commissioned service, thirteen of which had been at sea as a Surface Warfare Officer. He also served as the Director of maritime strategy studies at the Naval War College, a Senior Lecturer at the Naval Academy, a Commanding Officer, Captain, for the Republic of Korea Ship (ROKS) WONSAN station, and a director of policy division for the Republic of Korea Navy (ROKN) headquarters. He graduated from the Naval Academy in 1976 and completed the commander's course from the Naval War College in Korea. He holds a Ph.D. for International Politics from Bristol University in the United Kingdom where he was a Navy Oversea Student-Officer. He has written on a broad range of Asian maritime security issues. His recent works include "Feasible Cooperation between the Chinese Navy and the Republic of Korea Navy on SLOC Security," IFANS Review (June 2011); "A Conceptual Development of Trilateral Military Cooperation among China, Japan and Korea in Containing Rise of China," Journal of Foreign Affairs and National Security 7, no. 1 (2011); North Korea's Military Threats in 2010 and Its Implications for the Sino-Korean Relationship (2011). His most recent books are Maritime Strategy and Development of the Nation-State (2010) and Korean Maritime Strategy: Issues and Challenges, co-edited with Geoffrey Till (2011).

ix