

International Journal of Korean Studies

Volume XIX, Number 1 · Spring/Summer 2015

The North Korean Military Threat in 2015: The Threat to the
ROK-US Alliance and Peninsula Unification

Understanding the Nature of the North Korean Regime:
A Foundation to Engagement and Coercion Discussions

Regime Leadership and Human Rights in North Korea

China and the Korean Peninsula: Why the Problems?

Japan and Korean Unification: Ambivalence and Pragmatism –
Finding the Least Bad Option

Korean Unification and the Financial System

Anticipating and Preparing for the Potential Assassination of
Kim Jong-Un

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

**International Journal of
KOREAN STUDIES**

**Volume XIX, Number 1
Spring/Summer 2015**

ISSN 1091-2932

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES
Volume XIX, Number 1 (Spring/Summer 2015)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

David S. Maxwell, *Georgetown University*

MANAGING EDITOR

Jack L. Hammersmith, *West Virginia University*

Donna MacIsaac, *Editorial Assistant*

EDITORS

Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr., *Angelo State University*
Kwang Soo Cheong, *Johns Hopkins University*
Nam-Sung Huh, *Korea National Defense University*
Hugo W. Kim, *Washington University of Virginia*
Jinill Kim, *Korea University*

Young-Key Kim-Renaud, *George Washington Univ.*
Haeduck Lee, *The World Bank*
Jin Young Park, *American University*
Terence J. Roehrig, *U.S. Naval War College*
Denny Roy, *East-West Center (Honolulu)*

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

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*
Ilpyong J. Kim, *University of Connecticut*
Jae-Chang Kim, *Korea-U.S. Security Studies*
Samuel S. Kim, *Columbia University*
Youn-Suk Kim, *Kean University*
Chae-Jin Lee, *Claremont-McKenna College*
Marcus Noland, *Peterson Inst. for Intl. Economics*
Edward A. Olson, *U.S. Naval Post Graduate School*
Hang Yul Rhee, *Shepherd University*

Soon Paik, *Washington University of Virginia*
Yoon-shik Park, *George Wash. University*
Jong O. Ra, *Hollins U. and Virginia Polytech.*
Jae Kap Ryoo, *Kyonggi University*
Jai P. Ryu, *Loyola University Maryland*
Eui-Hang Shin, *University of S. Carolina*
David I. Steinberg, *Georgetown University*
Robert G. Sutter, *Georgetown University*
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 article 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 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; Fax (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

The North Korean Military Threat in 2015: The Threat to the ROK-US Alliance and Peninsula Unification	Bruce E. Bechtol	1
Understanding the Nature of the North Korean Regime: A Foundation to Engagement and Coercion Discussions	Tara O	36
Regime Leadership and Human Rights in North Korea	Robert Collins	62
China and the Korean Peninsula: Why the Problems?	Gordon G. Chang	97
Japan and the Korean Unification: Ambivalence and Pragmatism - Finding the Least Bad Option	James R. Kendall	126
Korean Unification and the Financial System	Bradley O. Babson	156
Anticipating and Preparing for the Potential Assassination of Kim Jong-Un	Sungmin Cho	175

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 below:

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
Treasurer: Won Eok Kim
IJKS Editor-in-Chief: David S. Maxwell

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chairman: Soon Paik; Vice Chairman: Jai P. Ryu
Members: Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr., Gordon G. Chang, James F. Durand, George A. Hutchinson, Dong-Keun Jeong, Hugo W. Kim, Won E. Kim, Woong B. Lee, David S. Maxwell, Tara O, InHwan Oh, Hong-Kyu Park, Yoon-shik Park, Jong O. Ra, Hang Yul Rhee, Terence J. Roehrig, Greg Scarlatoiu, and Richard T. Shin,

AUDITOR: Yop Park

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: Sungpyo Hong and Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Sungpyo Hong, Namd-Sung Huh, Kwang-On Hyun, Il Hwa Jung, Taewoo Kim, Yong-Ok Park, Jae-Kap Ryoo, Daesung Song, Yong Soon Yim, Raymond P. Ayres, Jr., Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr., Hugo W. Kim, David S. Maxwell, Patrick M. Morgan

AUDITORS: Jae Kap Ryoo, Chang-yeol Jeon, Hugo W. Kim

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Bradley O. Babson is a consultant on Asian affairs with a present concentration on North Korea. He worked for the World Bank for 26 years before retiring in 2000. Most of his World Bank career was spent working on East Asia and Southeast Asia, where he led a regional office based in Bangkok and opened the resident office in Hanoi Vietnam in the early 1990's. Since 2000 he has consulted for the World Bank and United Nations and been involved in projects sponsored by various institutes, foundations and universities. He presently is Chair of the DPRK Economic Forum at the U.S.-Korea Institute, John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and serves on the Advisory Council of the Korea Economic Institute of America and Steering Committee of the National Committee for North Korea. He has written widely on the North Korean economy, most recently as a contributor to 38 North. In Maine, he is President of the Brunswick-Topsham Land Trust. Mr. Babson received his BA degree from Williams College in 1972, and MPA degree from the Woodrow Wilson School of International and Public Affairs at Princeton University in 1974. He lives in Brunswick, Maine.

Bruce E. Bechtol Jr. is 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, the Air Command and Staff College, and was an adjunct visiting professor at Korea University's School of International Studies. Prior to this, Bechtol was an intelligence officer with the Defense Intelligence Agency, eventually serving as the senior analyst for Northeast Asia in the Intelligence Directorate (J2) on the Joint Staff in the Pentagon.

Gordon 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.

Sungmin Cho is a PhD candidate of the Department of Government at Georgetown University. He holds a B.A. in Political Science from Korea University and M.A. in International Relations at Peking University. Prior to his graduate studies, Sungmin served in the Republic of Korea Army as an intelligence officer for three years including a seven-month tour to Iraq, and worked at the Beijing office of the UNHCR. As a recipient of the James Kelly Fellowship, Sungmin has also worked for the Pacific Forum CSIS in 2011. His research interests include diffusion of democracy and the international context of democratization process, with focus on China's domestic politics and Sino-US relationships.

Robert M. Collins is a 37-year veteran employee of the U.S. Department of the Army and served 31 years in various positions with the U.S. military in Korea, including several liaison positions with the Republic of Korea military. He finished his career in June 2009 as Chief of Strategy, ROK-US Combined Forces Command, Seoul, Korea. Mr. Collins served the 4-star U.S. commander as a political analyst for planning on Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asian security issues. In that capacity he developed strategies and policy and planning concepts in pursuit of U.S. and ROK-US Alliance security interests relative to the North Korean threat and regional security challenges. Mr. Collins holds a B.A. in Asian History, University of Maryland, 1977, and a M.A. in International Politics (focus in N. Korean Politics) from Dankook University, 1988, with Ph.D. work at Hanyang University 1993-1996 (no degree). He was an adjunct professor of political science at the University of Maryland – University College from 1995 to 1999. Received the Republic of Korea Sam-il Medal (South Korean Order of National Security Merit, Fourth Class) from President Lee Myung-bak and the U.S. Army Decoration for Exceptional Civilian Service by the Secretary of the Army. Mr. Collins is currently a freelance writer focusing on Korean security issues and US interests in Northeast Asia. He is the author of “Marked For Life: Songbun – North Korea’s Social Classification System,” Committee on Human Rights in North Korea, Washington, DC, 2012 and Strategic Assessment of North Korean Human Environment During Crisis, Korea Battle Simulation Center and Cubic Corporation, 2014. Mr. Collins is a non-resident fellow at

Committee on Human Rights in North Korea, Washington, DC, 2012, (see hrnk.org).

James R. Kendall is a fellow at the Sasakawa Peace Foundation USA. Prior to this, Kendall founded Red Fox Consulting, LLC, providing analysis and insights on Asia to clients across private, government and not-for-profit industries. Kendall is a career Marine Corps officer who has held several roles related to Asia-Pacific, including acting as Senior Japan Program Analyst at the U.S. Marine Corps Headquarters, East Asia & Pacific Affairs Bureau Military Advisor at the State Department, Strategic Analyst with the Marine Corps' Strategic Initiatives Group (SIG) at the Pentagon and exchange officer at the Japan Defense Agency, Tokyo.

Dr. Tara O is an Asia policy specialist at the Pacific Forum with the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Previously, she was a Faculty Researcher with the Institute for National Security Studies, focusing on Korean contingency and unification, U.S. alliance relationships in Asia and social integration of North Korean defectors. She has served in a variety of defense and security-related roles at the Pentagon, the Combined Forces Command/U.S. Forces Korea, and the U.S. European Command