China’s Role in Inter-Korean Relations

South Korean Defense Budgets 2017-2019: Paying More Despite a Reduced Threat?

Freeze and Advance: How North Korea Maneuvered to Get the Bomb and Prospects for its Nuclear Future

Can Memories of the Japan-Korea dispute on Comfort Women Resolve the Issue?

The U.S.-ROK Alliance and its Discontents: Investigating the Effects of the Alliance on Civil-Military Relations in South Korea

The 10th Special Measures Agreement between the U.S. and South Korea: Analysis and Implications for Northeast Asia
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
James F. Durand

MANAGING EDITOR
George A. Hutchinson

EDITORS
Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr., Angelo State University
Kwang Soo Cheong, Johns Hopkins University
Nam-Sung Huh, Korea National Defense University
Hyangsoon Yi, University of Georgia
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)

EDITORS
Bruce Cumings, University of Chicago
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
Samuel S. Kim, Columbia University
Chae-Jin Lee, Claremont-McKenna College
Marcus Noland, Peterson Inst. for Intl. Economics
Edward A. Olson, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School
Soon Paik, Washington University of Virginia
Yoon-shik Park, George Washington University
Jong O. Ra, Hollins U. and Virginia Polytech.
Hang Yul Rhee, Shepherd University
Jae Kap Ryoo, Kyonggi University
Jai P. Ryu, Loyola University Maryland
Eui-Hang Shin, University of South Carolina
David I. Steinberg, Georgetown University
Robert G. Sutter, George Washington University
Richard W. Wilson, Rutgers University
Yong Soon Yim, Sungkyunkwan University
Jang H. Yoo, Ehwa Women’s University
Young Kwan Yoon, Seoul National University

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD
Bruce Cumings, University of Chicago
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
Samuel S. Kim, Columbia University
Chae-Jin Lee, Claremont-McKenna College
Marcus Noland, Peterson Inst. for Intl. Economics
Edward A. Olson, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School
Soon Paik, Washington University of Virginia
Yoon-shik Park, George Washington University
Jong O. Ra, Hollins U. and Virginia Polytech.
Hang Yul Rhee, Shepherd University
Jae Kap Ryoo, Kyonggi University
Jai P. Ryu, Loyola University Maryland
Eui-Hang Shin, University of South Carolina
David I. Steinberg, Georgetown University
Robert G. Sutter, George Washington University
Richard W. Wilson, Rutgers University
Yong Soon Yim, Sungkyunkwan University
Jang H. Yoo, Ehwa Women’s University
Young Kwan Yoon, Seoul National University

EDITORIAL INFORMATION
Contributors should submit a manuscript that is 5,000-15,000 words in length (including an abstract, keywords, and endnotes), single space, Times New Roman 11 point font in an electronic file compatible with the current version of MS Word. The abstract should be 80-200 words. A brief biography in MS Word is also required (less than 200 words). Unpublished original articles must provide full documentation in conformance with the standards in the current edition of the Chicago Manual of Style. It is the author’s responsibility to receive permission for any copyright items (charts, graphs) in the manuscript. Charts/graphs must have titles above them and sources noted below. Submit manuscripts along with your biography to James Durand, Editor-in-Chief, at jamesfdurand@gmail.com.

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

China’s Role in Inter-Korean Relations
Gordon G. Chang 1

South Korean Defense Budgets 2017-2019: Paying More Despite a Reduced Threat?
Todd B. Boese 16

Freeze and Advance: How North Korea Maneuvered to Get the Bomb and Prospects for its Nuclear Future
George A. Hutchinson 43

Can Memories of the Japan-Korea dispute on Comfort Women Resolve the Issue?
Gabriel Jonsson 64

The U.S.-ROK Alliance and its Discontents: Investigating the Effects of the Alliance on Civil-Military Relations in South Korea
Trisha Ray 81

The 10th Special Measures Agreement between the U.S. and South Korea: Analysis and Implications for Northeast Asia
Elton J. Chun 120
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@gmail.com
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 and abroad through conferences, publications, and other relevant activities.

EXECUTIVE BOARD
President: Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr.
Vice President: Greg Scarlatoiu
Treasurer: Won Eok Kim
IJKS Editor-in-Chief: James F. Durand

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Chairman: Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr. Vice Chairman: In-hwan Oh

AUDITOR: Yop Pak

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-Chairmen: John H. Tilelli, Jr. and Jae-chang Kim
Directors: Sung-pyo Hong and Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Raymond P. Ayres, Jr., Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr., Nam-sung Huh, Kwang-on Hyun, Il-hwa Jung, Hugo W. Kim, Tae-woo Kim, David S. Maxwell, Patrick M. Morgan, Yong-ok Park, Dae-sung Song, and Yong-soon Yim

AUDITORS: Jae-kap Ryoo, Chang-yeol Jeon, Hugo W. Kim
Gordon G. Chang is the author of the just-released booklet Losing South Korea. His previous books are The Coming Collapse of China and Nuclear Showdown: North Korea Takes On the World, both from Random House. Mr. Chang lived and worked in China and Hong Kong for almost two decades, most recently in Shanghai, as Counsel to the American law firm Paul Weiss, and earlier in Hong Kong as Partner in the international law firm Baker & McKenzie. His writings have appeared in The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, Barron’s, Commentary, The National Interest, and The Weekly Standard, among other publications. Mr. Chang has given numerous briefings to U.S. government agencies, universities, research institutions, and industry and investor groups. He has also appeared before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. He has frequently appeared on CNN, Fox News Channel, Fox Business Network, Bloomberg, CNBC, and MSNBC and is a regular co-host and guest on The John Batchelor Show. He is a columnist at The Daily Beast. He has served two terms as trustee of Cornell University.

Todd B. Boese is a Northeast Asia Foreign Area Officer and a Communications Officer in the United States Marine Corps. Major Boese has served on the staffs of U.S. Marine Corps Forces Korea and the Joint U.S. Military Affairs Group-Korea supporting security cooperation activities between the United States and the Republic of Korea. He has also served with operational units ashore and afloat throughout the U.S. Marine Corps. Major Boese has earned a B.A. in Economics from Cornell University, a M.A. in Security Studies (Northeast Asia) from the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, and a Master of Military Art and Science from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. He is also a graduate of the Korean language program at the Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center. Major Boese completed the research and analysis presented in this article while participating in the Art of War Scholars Program at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.
George A. Hutchinson is Managing Editor of the *International Journal of Korean Studies* and a board member of the International Council on Korean Studies. He is also a Fellow at the Center for Security Policy Studies at the Schar School of Policy Government and a Senior Regional Planner at SecuriFense Inc. Before joining SecuriFense, Mr. Hutchinson was Senior Director for Power and Energy at Concurrent Technologies Corporation, supporting the development and execution of the Air Force Synthetic Fuels program. He previously served as an officer in the U.S. Air Force, specializing as a Northeast Asia Foreign Area Officer, Logistics Readiness Officer, and Korean linguist. Mr. Hutchinson’s writings have been published in the *International Journal of Korean Studies*, *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, and the *Air Force Journal of Logistics*, as well as reports by the Korea Economic Institute of America and Marine Corps University Press. Mr. Hutchinson holds a master’s in logistics management from the U.S. Air Force Institute of Technology and is pursuing a Ph.D. in Public Policy at George Mason University’s Schar School of Policy and Government.

Gabriel Jonsson is Associate Professor in Korean Studies at Stockholm University, Department of Asian, Middle East and Turkish Studies. He received his B.A. in East Asian Studies in 1987, and his Ph.D. in Korean Studies in 1996, both from Stockholm University. He graduated from the Korean Language Institute at Yonsei University in 1986. Professor Jonsson’s teachings include Korean language, history, politics, economics and inter-Korean relations. His research focuses on inter-Korean relations, South Korean domestic politics and the two Koreas’ relations with the UN. His latest publications include, *Towards Korean Reconciliation: Socio-Cultural Exchanges and Cooperation* (Ashgate Publishing, 2006); *Peacekeeping in the Korean Peninsula* (Korea Institute for National Unification, 2009); *Consolidation of Democracy in South Korea?* (Stockholm University, 2014) and *South Korea in the United Nations: Global Governance, Inter-Korean Relations and Peace Building* (World Scientific, 2017). Professor Jonsson is a regular visitor to South Korea.
Trisha Ray is a Junior Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation’s Technology Initiative. Her research focuses on the security implications of emerging technologies, the geopolitics of technology, as well as Artificial Intelligence norms. Prior to this, she was a Program Assistant at the Asia Society Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. She speaks five languages, including Hindi, Bengali, English, Spanish and Korean. She was an Asia columnist for the Georgetown Security Studies Review for two years, writing on energy, security, maritime security and defense policy. Ms. Ray has published articles with The Diplomat, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Hudson Institute, Asia Society as well as prominent Indian news publications like Indian Express, The Hindu, Wire and The Print. She completed a B.A. in journalism from Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi University. Ms. Ray earned her M.A. in Security Studies and a graduate certificate in Asian Studies from the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

Elton J. Chun is an intelligence in the United States Air Force. Born in Guam and raised in Hawaii, Captain Chun received a full scholarship from the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps to attend the University of Hawaii at Manoa. During his studies, he attended Korea University for several summer programs and a capstone year through the Department of Defense-funded Flagship Language Program; He earned a B.A. in Korean for Professionals and was the first Korean Flagship-ROTC graduate in the U.S. Captain Chun is currently assigned as a science and technology analyst at the Air Force Research Lab at Kirtland Air Force Base, New Mexico. He deployed to Djibouti for service with the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, where he supported the command’s counterterrorism and embassy response mission. He is completing an M.A. in Global Security Studies from Angelo State University; his article was adapted from a paper prepared for Professor Bruce Bechtol, President of the International Council on Korea Studies. Captain Chun’s research interests include U.S.-South Korean relations. In the future, he hopes to return to Korea as a Foreign Area Officer.