

# International Journal of Korean Studies

**Volume XXIV, Number 1 • Spring/Summer 2022**

China's Role in Korean Security Issues

North Korea's Plan for Unification by Federation:  
What it Really Means

Getting North Korean Human Rights Right, Now and for the Future

Sweden's Peacekeeping Contributions through the  
Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission

Korean Newspapers, Korean Sovereignty over  
Dokdo and Ulleungdo, and Early Japanese Intrusions

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

**International Journal of  
KOREAN STUDIES**

**Volume XXIV, Number 1  
Spring/Summer 2022**

ISSN 1091-2932

## INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES

Volume XXIV, Number 1 (Spring/Summer 2022)

### 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)*

### 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*  
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 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, *Georgetown 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 Korean Security Issues Gordon G. Chang	1
North Korea's Plan for Unification by Federation: What it Really Means Tara O	21
Getting North Korean Human Rights Right, Now and for the Future George A. Hutchinson	48
Tying Human Rights to U.S.-DPRK-ROK Negotiations Greg Scarlatoiu	82
Sweden's Peacekeeping Contributions through the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission Gabriel Jonsson	99
Korean Newspapers, Korean Sovereignty over Dokdo and Ulleungdo, and Early Japanese Intrusions Kyu-hyun Jo	111

The International Journal of Korean Studies is copyrighted under U.S. law.  
© 2022 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 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  
Members: Gordon G. Chang, James F. Durand, George A. Hutchinson, Dong-keun Jeong, Hugo W. Kim, Won E. Kim, David C. Lee, Woong B. Lee, David S. Maxwell, Tara O, Soon Paik, Hong-kyu Park, Yoon-shik Park, Jong O. Ra, Hang-yul Rhee, Terence Roehrig, Greg Scarlatoiu, Andrew C. Scobell, Richard T. Shin and Troy Stangarone

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

## AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

**Gordon G. Chang** is the author of booklets *The Great U.S.-China Tech War* and *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 *Newsweek*, 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 John Batchelor's CBS Eye on the World. He has served two terms as trustee of Cornell University.

**Tara O**, Ph.D., is the author of *The Collapse of North Korea: Challenges, Planning and Geopolitics of Unification*. She is a Fellow at the East Asia Research Center and the Institute for Corean-American Studies. Dr. O is also an Adjunct Fellow at the Hudson Institute. She serves on the board of directors of the International Council on Korean Studies. Her research areas include South Korea's political and economic system, the Korean contingency and unification, U.S. alliance relationships in Asia, human rights in North Korea, and the social integration of North Korean defectors. A U.S. Air Force veteran, Dr. O worked on national security, intelligence, alliance, and political-military issues at the Pentagon, the United Nations Command/Combined Forces Command/U.S. Forces Korea, and the U.S. European Command. She holds a BA in International Relations from the University of California at Davis, an MPA in Public Policy and International Affairs from Princeton University, and a Ph.D. in Public Policy from the University of Texas at Austin.

**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 Ph.D. candidate at George Mason University's Schar School of Policy and Government and a Senior Regional Planner at SecuriFense Inc. advising on military basing issues in the Republic of Korea. 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.

**Greg Scarlatoiu** is the Executive Director of the Committee for Human Rights in North Korea (HRNK) in Washington, D.C. Since he joined HRNK in July 2011, he has coordinated 43 HRNK publications addressing North Korea's human rights situation and the operation of its regime. Mr. Scarlatoiu is vice president of the International Council on Korean Studies and co-director of the Korea Club in Washington, D.C. Prior to HRNK, Mr. Scarlatoiu was with the Korea Economic Institute. He has over six years of experience in international development on projects funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank. For 18 years, he has authored and broadcast the weekly Korean language "Scarlatoiu Column" to North Korea for Radio Free Asia. A seasoned lecturer on Korean issues, Mr. Scarlatoiu has appeared as an expert witness at several Congressional hearings on North Korean human rights. He is a visiting professor at the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul as well as instructor and coordinator of the Japan and Korea seminar at the U.S. State Department's Foreign Service Institute. He holds a M.A. in Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School, Tufts University, and a B.A. and M.A. from Seoul National University. He completed MIT Seminar XXI in April 2017. Mr. Scarlatoiu was awarded the titles "Citizen of Honor, City of Seoul" and "Citizen of Honor, City of Buzau" (his hometown). He is fluent in Korean, French, and Romanian. A native of Romania born and raised under that country's communist regime, Mr. Scarlatoiu is a naturalized U.S. citizen.

**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.

**Kyu-hyun Jo** is a Lecturer in Political Science, Department of International Studies at Yonsei University. He earned his Ph.D. in Modern Korean and East Asian History from the University of Chicago, completing his dissertation, "The Rise of the South Korean Left, the Death of Unitary Socialism, and the Origins of the Korean War, 1945-1947" under the supervision of Professor Bruce Cumings. He also earned a BA and MA in History from University of Chicago. Dr. Jo's research areas include modern Korean history, modern East Asian history, the South Korean Left, and the origins of colonialism in Korea. He has published articles in the *UCLA Journal of History*, *University of Virginia Essays in History*, *Makom: The University of Chicago Undergraduate Journal of Jewish Thought*, and the *Chicago Journal of History*. Dr. Jo served as an Advisory Editor at the University of Chicago's *Chicago Journal of History* from 2016 to 2019.





**Discover our online  
master's degree in  
Global Security Studies.**

**Flexible and Cost-Competitive Programs**

- 8-week courses
- Totally online degrees
- Worldwide accessibility
- Experienced and expert faculty

We employ world-class faculty to educate military and civilian students using cutting-edge, culturally based curriculum.

We also have partnership agreements with the U.S. Air Force, U.S. Army and National Security Agency that grant credit for specific training and can shorten the time it takes to earn a degree.

**FMI: [angelo.edu/kbh-css](http://angelo.edu/kbh-css)**