International Journal of Korean Studies

Volume XXVI, Number 1 · Spring/Summer 2025

Reciprocal Defense Procurement: The Missing Element in U.S.-ROK Relations

Ascension of North Korea as a Nuclear State: A Consequence of Childhood Neglect?

"Unitary Social Democracy" and Lyuh Woon-hyung's Relationship with the American Military Government in Korea, 1945-1947

The Case for An Atrocity Determination for North Korea

China's Violation of Sanctions Vis-à-Vis North Korea

The UN ECOSOC NGO Committee and Civil Society Participation in the UN Process

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

International Journal of KOREAN STUDIES

Volume XXVI, Number 1 Spring/Summer 2025

ISSN 1091-2932

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES

Volume XXVI, Number 1 (Spring/Summer 2025)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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 George Hutchinson, Editor-in-Chief, at ghutchin1@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

Spring/Summer 2025

•	٦,	'n	te	n	40
l	ZU.	ш	ue	п	LS

	Contents	
Reciprocal Defense Procuremen	· ·	-ROK Relations
	Hwa Yu and Brian Hobbs	1
Ascension of North Korea as a Neglect?	Nuclear State: A Consequence of	of Childhood
	Nykolus Alvut and	
	Kelvin Mote	17
"Unitary Social Democracy" an American Military Government	• • •	nship with the
	Kyu-hyun Jo	55
The Case for An Atrocity Determ	nination for North Korea Olivia Enos	75
China's Violation of Sanctions V	/is-à-Vis North Korea Gordon G. Chang	100
		100
The UN ECOSOC NGO Commi	ttee and Civil Society Participa	ation in the UN

The International Journal of Korean Studies is copyrighted under U.S. law. © 2025 International Council on Korean Studies

Greg Scarlatoiu

119

ISSN 1091-2932 INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KOREAN STUDIES

The International Journal of Korean Studies (IJKS) is currently published online by the International Council on Korean Studies (ICKS) and the Council on Korea-U.S. Security Studies (COKUSS). All issues of IJKS will be available online.

Contact: International Council on Korean Studies (ICKS) 20407 Cool Fern Square, Ashburn, VA 20147, U.S.A. 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: Greg Scarlatoiu Treasurer: Won Eok Kim IJKS Editor-in-Chief: George A. Hutchinson

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chairman: Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr. Vice Chairman: In-hwan Oh Members: Gordon G. Chang, Hugo W. Kim, Jai Poong Ryu, Troy Stangarone, David S. Maxwell, Greg Scarlatoiu, George A. Hutchinson, and Won E. Kim

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. Ki

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Hwa Yu serves as the Chief Executive Officer of Delta One LLC, a specialized consultancy that advises both U.S. and international clients cooperation, regarding defense industrial offset agreements, Cybersecurity Maturity Model Certification (CMMC), and programs. Her Security Cooperation experience comes from working for fifteen Joint U.S. Military Affairs Group–Korea the (JUSMAG-K). She holds three master's degrees—two in law from Georgetown University and one in defense project management from Korea National Defense University; and two B.A.s, in law, and English language and literature. She is also an author, highlighted by publishing English language articles in Korean news media discussing Reciprocal Defense Procurement Memorandum of Understanding (RDP MOU) status abroad.

Brian Hobbs achieved a PhD at Virginia Tech with a focus on defense industry offsets. He has an M.A. in National Security Affairs, a B.A. with a double major in psychology and East Asian languages & cultures, and proficiency in Japanese, Korean, and Chinese languages. As a U.S. Air Force Foreign Area Officer, he taught at the U.S. Air Force Academy and the Korea Air Force Academy, and managed Foreign Military Sales (FMS) cases at Air Force International Affairs (SAF/IA). Since leaving active duty, Security Cooperation expertise has included work at the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, at the F-35 Joint Program Office, in industry, and as the senior author for Defense Security Cooperation University case studies.

Nykolus Alvut is a Ph.D. Candidate in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University, a former Marine Corps Intelligence/Operations Planner, and fluent Korean linguist. He has served in multiple assignments supporting the National Security Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, U.S. Cyber Command, and currently works for the U.S. Army Headquarters, United States Forces Korea as the Capabilities and Assessments Branch Chief. Mr. Alvut holds a bachelor's degree in Intelligence Studies from the American Military University, and a master's degree in Strategic Intelligence from the National Intelligence University. Mr. Alvut brings over 15 years of

experience to his research, specializing in strategic analysis, national strategy, integrated deterrence, and international relations. He has presented to large-scale audiences in professional and academic forums including the Pacific Operational Science and Technology conference, and the Peace and Conflict Studies Journal Conferences.

Dr. Kelvin Mote (Colonel, U.S. Army), is a practitioner in National Security and International Relations, currently serving as the Deputy Director for the Army Strategic Education Program at the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He has served in multiple assignments as a strategic planner focused on the Indo-Pacific and Southwest Asia. Dr. Mote holds a master's degree in national security from the University of Maryland Global Campus, a master's degree in strategic studies from the US Army War College, and a doctorate in organizational leadership from Creighton University. Colonel Mote's publications include an article in Air and Space Power Journal advocating for revitalization of joint nuclear doctrine. Colonel Mote also presented Multi-Domain Operations at the Indo-Pacific Command Information Operations Symposium. His recent War College publication "The Future of the Joint Warfighting Headquarters: An Alternative Approach to the Joint Task Force," focused on organizing for coalition warfare.

Kyu-hyun Jo received his Ph.D. in Modern Korean and East Asian History from the University of Chicago in June 2019. His research interests are in Korea-U. S. relations, U.S.-East Asia relations, the Cold War, decolonization, and the Korean War. His interests include using social science theories for historical analysis. He is currently a Senior Lecturer in East Asian Studies at the University of Malaya, where he teaches modern Korean history and modern East Asian history. He has published articles in the Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies; Territory, Politics, Governance; The University of Toronto Journal of History; Asia-Pacific Viewpoint; Asian Politics and Policy; The Review of Korean Studies; Korea Journal; Acta Koreana; and Korean Studies (Hawai'i) among others. He is also the author of Japanese Judicial Imperialism and the Origins of the Coercive Illegality of Japan's Annexation of Korea: A Study of Unequal Treaties Between Korea and Japan, 1876-1910 (Palgrave-MacMillan, 2023), published in May 2023: The Dawn of War in South Korea (1947-1950): The South Korean Workers' Party and the April Third Massacre (Springer, 2024); and East Asian International Relations in History: The Long and Stormy 20th Century (Springer, 2024).

Olivia Enos is a senior fellow at Hudson Institute, specializing in human rights and national security in Asia, with a focus on China, North Korea, Hong Kong, Burma, and Cambodia. Her work covers democracy, governance, religious freedom, and refugee issues. She teaches a course on countering authoritarianism in Asia as an adjunct professor in Georgetown University's Democracy and Governance Program and writes a regular Forbes column on human rights and security in Asia. She is also an adjunct fellow at Pacific Forum. Previously, Ms. Enos was Washington director at the Committee for Freedom in Hong Kong Foundation (CFHK) and a senior policy analyst in the Heritage Foundation's Asian Studies Center. She has testified before Congress, including the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, and the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, and has briefed senior U.S. government officials. Her work has appeared in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, Foreign Policy, and she has been featured on CNN, BBC, and Fox News. Ms. Enos holds an MA in Asian studies from Georgetown University and a BA in government from Patrick Henry College. She lives with her husband and son on Capitol Hill.

Gordon G. Chang is the author of the new book *Plan Red: China's Project to Destroy America*. His other works include The *Coming Collapse of China, Nuclear Showdown: North Korea Takes On the World,* and *Losing South Korea*. He is a columnist at *Newsweek* and writes regularly for *The Hill* and other publications. Mr. Chang has given briefings at the National Intelligence Council, Central Intelligence Agency, State Department, and the Pentagon. Chang has appeared before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. He frequently appears on Fox News, Fox Business, Newsmax TV, CNBC, Bloomberg Television, CNN, and MSNBC. He lived and worked in China and Hong Kong for almost two decades practicing law. He served two terms as a trustee of Cornell University.

Greg Scarlatoiu is President and CEO of the Committee for Human Rights in North Korea (HRNK). From 2011 to 2024, he served as Executive Director, overseeing the publication of more than 50 reports on North Korea's prison camps, regime dynamics, vulnerable groups, and

information environment. He is also President of the International Council on Korean Studies (ICKS) and has taught at Yonsei University since 2022, previously serving eight years on the faculty at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. For 22 years, Scarlatoiu authored the Korean-language "Scarlatoiu Column" for Radio Free Asia (RFA). He has held positions at the Korea Economic Institute (KEI) and in international development. He holds an M.A. in Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School at Tufts University and both M.A. and B.A. degrees from Seoul National University. He completed the MIT XXI Seminar for national security leaders (2016–2017) and received multiple honors, including the Global Peace Award (2023), the Korean Unification Contribution Award (2022), and honorary citizenships from Seoul and his hometown, Buzău, Romania. Born and raised in communist Romania, Scarlatoiu is a naturalized U.S. citizen. He is fluent in Korean and French and a native Romanian speaker.