



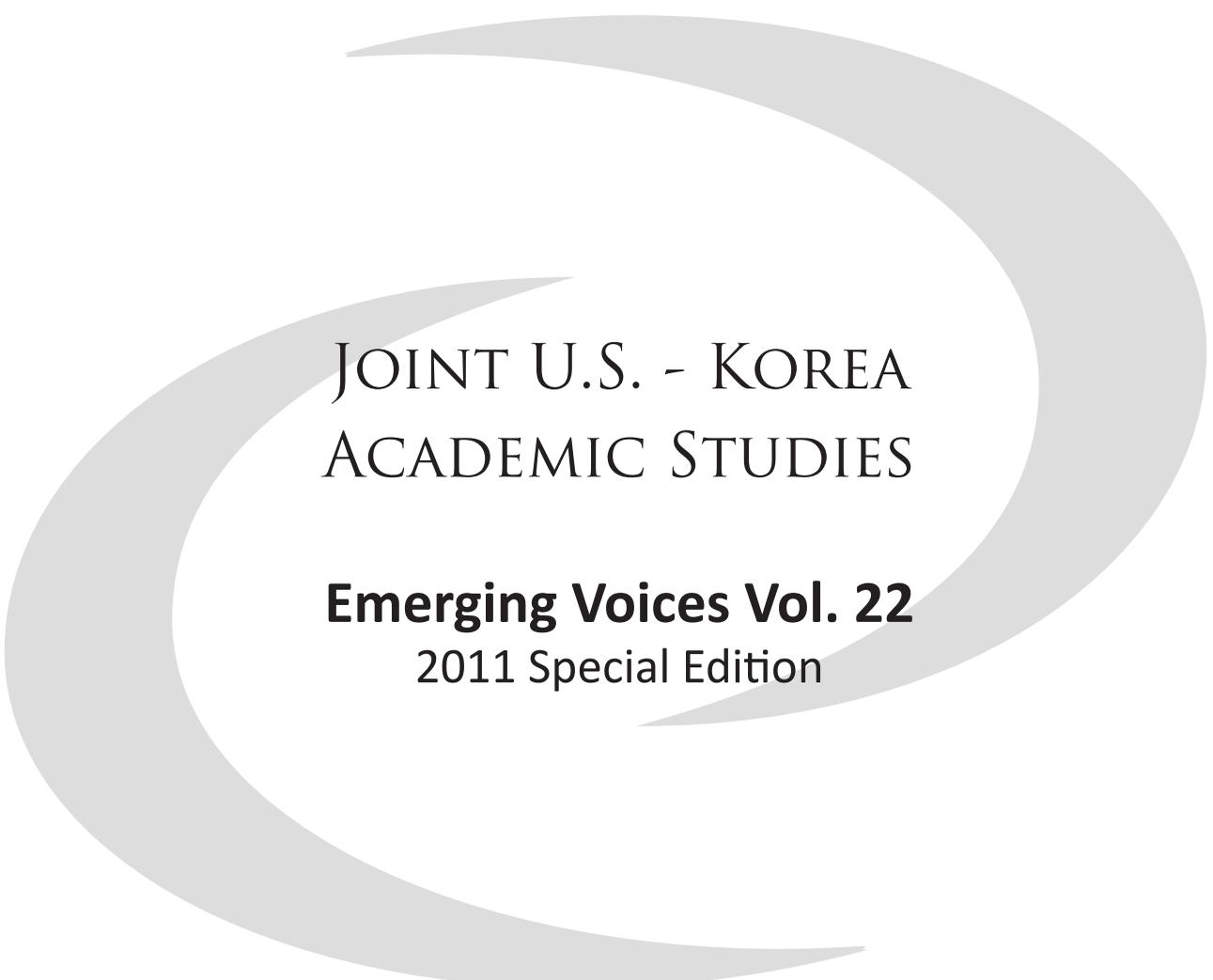
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KOREA'S DOMESTIC
POLICIES AND THEIR
INFLUENCE ON ASIA



Aligned but not Allied: ROK—Japan Bilateral Military Cooperation

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INTRODUCTION

Conflict and cooperation are constants in the discipline of international relations. In the case of the Republic of Korea's (ROK) and Japan's bilateral military relations, the overwhelming interest in what drives conflict has tended to overshadow any analysis of diplomatic cooperation. In fact, many have cited the lingering effects of the Cold War to be one of the key driving forces behind the dynamics surrounding the Korean peninsula,¹ what Victor Cha calls, 'a stickiness of Cold War thinking'² that has perpetuated a discourse mired in the vocabulary of realism. Subsequently, realism has served as the default explanation for the rationale of interaction within the Northeast Asia region, with no rigorous empirical testing of whether those 'truisms' are indeed grounded in facts. Hence, the underlying motivation behind this paper started with questioning whether security, and thus, accordant cooperation in Northeast Asia was really driven by realism. Specifically, how much explanatory power do the various theoretical discourses have in accounting for the instances of bilateral military cooperation between Seoul and Tokyo?

There are several reasons why this topic deserves attention: 1) it may be intuitive and certainly convenient to assume a priori a particular theory (especially realism) has the most currency in Northeast Asia, but there has been no systematic empirical study conducted to positively establish such a relationship; 2) there is an abundance of literature with normative claims for ROK-Japan cooperation, but there is a dearth in empirical literature explaining why this has yet to transpire; 3) the interaction between domestic politics and inter-state relations—a variable identified as being important in this paper—has not been applied to ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation, and; 4) given the salient nature of the topic to current events, there are implications for current and future bilateral policies. In short, the fundamental argument of this paper is that North Korean provocations push the ROK and Japan toward military cooperation, so that their cooperation is threat-driven as opposed to interest-driven. Ironically, when there is less tension, when each country views the other favorably and has confidence in the other's respective leadership, there is also less of a move towards inter-state cooperation. The dampening of cooperation is especially conspicuous when North Korean provocations are either absent or limited to minor skirmishes.

This paper will first describe why ROK-Japan military cooperation is puzzling in the first place, then it will provide a brief historical background of ROK-Japan bilateral security and will finally lay out a literature review of what previous works attribute as being the mechanism for military cooperation. Any definitional issues will be clarified in the subsequent research design and findings portion.



RHETORIC VERSUS OPERATIONALIZATION

In January 2011, an article in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* claimed that Seoul and Tokyo were preparing a joint declaration—focused on improving military cooperation—which would be signed when ROK President Lee Myung-bak visited Tokyo during the first half of 2011.³ The reaction from Seoul ranged from one of mild discomfort to explicit outcry. The former sentiment was embodied by statements released by the Korean leadership, with a Blue House official claiming that “the 90% of those wanting the ROK-Japan joint military exercise is from the Japanese side, while we [Korea] only occupy the remaining 10%”⁴ while the more conservative Chosun Ilbo cited a strongly worded statement from a Korean government official denying even the existence of negotiations, claiming that “enhanced bilateral military cooperation is merely an agenda on Japan’s wish list.”⁵ Meanwhile, civic groups took to the streets in protest by holding a rally at the ROK Defense Ministry in Yongsan, Seoul. Indeed, there were those in Korea who began to suspect that the bilateral pact would represent not only an endorsement of Japan’s past atrocities and an opportunity for Japan to intervene in case of contingencies on the Korean peninsula, but would also serve as political ammunition for North Korea and China. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, on the other hand, published a rather favorable editorial on January 12th, urging both Seoul and Tokyo to proceed with negotiations and conclude the military pact.⁶

Given the visceral reaction that security issues involving Japan can have on the Korean public, it is easy to be lured into thinking that perhaps it all boils down to history. However, 45 years have lapsed since the normalization of relations between Seoul and Tokyo, which begs the question of whether reality is now different from the rhetoric.⁷ Empirically, the lack of bilateral military cooperation becomes more puzzling when one considers that the ROK has already signed significant military pacts with many other countries. For instance, Seoul has signed (or exchanged notes on) a total of 102 military/security related bilateral pacts, of which 65 unsurprisingly involve the U.S.⁸ Table 1 in the appendix outlines the significant bilateral security and military treaties that are currently in effect between South Korea and other countries (excluding mere exchange of notes). It is apparent that there is no discrimination in terms of regions, with South and Central Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East all being represented. Moreover, there was an article in January of 2010 claiming that Seoul was seeking to expand the number of Mutual Logistic Support Agreements (MLSA) to 15 by 2012.⁹ If this is indeed the case and South Korea is actively seeking military cooperation pacts with other countries, it seems even less logical for Seoul to shun Tokyo as a potential military partner. Unfortunately, a comprehensive list of military agreements for Japan was unavailable, but Japan did recently conclude an acquisition and cross-servicing agreement (ACSA) in May of 2010¹⁰ (an agreement was forged with the U.S. back in 1996). Both Seoul and Tokyo have a strong history of military cooperation with the U.S., each hosting U.S. military bases on their respective soil, which makes them essentially allies-by-proxy. Despite the similarities, the two have yet to cozy up to becoming *de jure* allies.

Theoretically, although it is difficult to fathom whether there is indeed a necessary and sufficient condition to form an alliance, there are various arguments that would dictate closer bilateral military coordination between South Korea and Japan would be beneficial to both. For instance, those seeking credibility would argue that cooperation is enabled by the capability of states to uphold agreements, and democratic dyads are better candidates for dampening the fears of potential defection and abandonment.¹¹ Contrary to the off-handed remarks about Seoul and Tokyo being rivals, of the 355 dyads qualifying as rival candidates in the world system, there are only 23 which all six representative rival datasets agree: the ROK and Japan are not designated as one of those 'consensus rivalries', further puzzling the issue of their lack of bilateral military cooperation.¹²

Alternatively, one could try pattern-matching to select two other countries that exhibit the most similar attributes to that of the ROK and Japan, as well as the dynamics of their dyads, to create a rough baseline for what a 'normal' level of military cooperation should look like. For the purpose of this analysis, one could take a rudimentary look at relationships such as the one between the United Kingdom (UK) and France. The UK and France are not only similar in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita (ranked at 20 and 23, with the ROK and Japan at 25 and 24), but they are also similar in overall military spending as a percentage of their GDP with the UK ranked third (according to overall dollar amount) at 2.5%, France ranked fourth with 2.3% (the ROK is 11th with 2.8% and Japan is seventh with 0.9%).¹³ The UK and France have exhibited close military cooperation, as recent as their November 2010 statement that they will establish a joint rapid deployment force and share laboratories for nuclear warheads.¹⁴ Such institutionalization is certainly not replicated in the case of the ROK and Japan.¹⁵ So what is holding these two states back?

HISTORY OF ROK-JAPAN BILATERAL MILITARY RELATIONS

A flight from South Korea to Japan is typically two hours, while the more affordable option of a ferry takes three hours. The 'stopping power of water'¹⁶ is essentially nullified by the contiguity of the two islands (since the South cannot traverse the Northern territory, it may be considered a virtual island). Intimacy is a necessity, not an option.

Against a general 'crawl-walk-run' yardstick of progress, the earlier period of bilateral military and security cooperation right after the normalization of bilateral relations in 1965 marked the zygote stage. After scanning the electronic archives dating back to the '60s,¹⁷ rhetoric suggests three reasons for the stunted progress: 1) sensitivity of the South Koreans in engaging Japan given their history of annexation; 2) reservations against any indication of Japanese re-militarization (both from the Japanese and the Korean side), and; 3) wariness against unnecessarily stirring North Korea.

To briefly introduce the rationale behind the rhetoric of these three elements, the first grew out of the logic that security was inherently inseparable from sovereignty. Having only regained their sovereignty from Japan in 1945, for the



ROK to then talk about their security with Japan and thus allow Japan to share in the discussion of their sovereignty was unfathomable.¹⁸ As for the second factor of sensitivities on both sides concerning Japanese re-militarization, as if to placate South Korean suspicions, Japan has often stated that ROK-Japan military cooperation would be difficult due to Japan's peaceful constitution.¹⁹ Lastly, in response to vicious vituperations by North Korea on a ROK-Japan 'conspiracy,' the ROK was quick to state that bilateral relations were based on the normalization treaty which does not by default represent a military alliance.²⁰ Moreover, even Japan was cautious to emphasize that it would not participate in any ROK-U.S.-Japan or ROK-Japan joint military exercises, since such exercises as 'Team Spirit' had North Korea as its main target in mind.²¹

In the '80s and beyond, there was a careful balance not to disturb the sentiments outlined in the aforementioned three factors that impeded ROK-Japanese relations, and yet, not to discredit whole-sale the idea of bilateral cooperation. This resulted in a clear duality between military (information) exchange, and military (alliance) cooperation. This diplomatic sound bite was to favor exchange of personnel and information, but flatly deny any intentions resembling systematic bilateral military cooperation or an alliance.²² The chart below highlights some of the first meetings that occurred between major military officials of the two countries:

Table 2. First Encounters between ROK-Japan Military Officials	
Date	Event
June 22, 1965	Normalization of bilateral relations
February 23, 1971	Vice Minister, ROK Ministry of National Defense (MND), visits Japan
July 26, 1979	Head of Japan's Defense Agency (JDA), visits ROK
April 26, 1994	ROK Minister of Defense makes official visit to Japan for first time in history & First ROK-Japan Defense Ministerial Talks

The general consensus is that despite the sporadic meetings between officials of the two nations, military exchange really took off in the '90s, especially after the first ROK-Japan Defense Ministerial Talks and the ROK-Japan working-level security policy consultation and defense policy consultation in 1994.²³ It took almost three decades for high-level meetings to occur.

REALISM, CONSTRUCTIVISM, LIBERALISM, AND ECLECTICISM: LITERATURE REVIEW

Scanning newspapers is one source of gathering information on a subject, but it is only the first step. After all, as with any piece of published work, newspapers play to an audience and trying to discern rhetoric from 'truth' becomes extremely tricky. The second step involves literature review, to see what others posit as the driver(s) or obstacle(s) to security or military cooperation between the ROK and Japan. What makes the relationship tick? People are split into four camps: 1) North Korea; 2) historical animosity; 3) economic trade, and; 4) a hybrid of the above.

The North Korea camp is essentially founded on realism, in that ROK-Japan security cooperation would be based on deterrence of a common enemy. Kim Tae-hyo, the ROK President's Secretary for National Strategy, wrote an article in 1998 where he scripted a simulation to gather the possibilities and limitations of ROK-Japan naval cooperation.²⁴ The hypothetical scenario revolved around North Korean provocation, and the ROK and Japanese military responding in lock-step. The logic here is that closer bilateral ties would be a natural extension of efforts to contain or deter North Korea and maintain peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. The desirability of joint contingency planning in case of an unwanted North Korean 'surprise' has renewed the necessity for ROK-Japan security collaboration.²⁵ Some have gone as far as to state that the growing belligerency of North Korea has resulted in an analgesic effect on the bitter histories of the two countries.²⁶ A new day for collaborative North Korean vigilance has dawned, so the saying goes.

When historical animosity enters the debate, it is as if the entire language shifts from a sterile discourse on containment and deterrence to one that involves intangibles such as feelings, culture, identities, and memories. Loaded words such as 'hatred' are often brought up, and sovereign states are suddenly personified into two sides of an enduring 'love-hate relationship' with the keenest of memories.²⁷ Gilbert Rozman has several works regarding the dynamics of this preoccupation with respect to cultural legacies and diverging historical memories spliced with nationalism, and the ensuing distrust.²⁸ Akira Ogawa is also convinced that the "Koreans are angry against the Japanese for their wrong-doings of the past while the Japanese are ignorant of the current Korean claims against them."²⁹ Cooney and Scarbrough uses the metaphor of driving forward through the rearview mirror by stating that "Japan and Korea's recent relations have been more focused on the past, with one side wanting to forget it and the other refusing to let it go."³⁰ All this is seemingly impeding bilateral security collaboration. Fundamentally, this dialogue of feelings is of a constructivist strand, by reinforcing historical identities.

Conversely, there are others that point to the lighter side of constructivism. In fact, Park relies on the positive aspects of constructivism: habits and norms. He is cautiously optimistic in claiming that despite the peppered record of steady bilateral cooperation, "regional and global agendas are mutually shared [by the ROK and Japan] and commonly pursued. Habits of cooperation have been developed in legitimized institutional contexts."³¹ However, the common theme is that Park also views lingering suspicions and history to be an obstacle, not the glue, in fostering ROK-Japan cooperation.

On the other hand, the econophoriacs³² believe that the past is the past, and the future is the future. The common thread driving security cooperation is no longer a negative security threat, but a positive economic interest.³³ Cossa and Khanna are believers.³⁴ They contend that despite the lingering security threats, economic cooperation provides the vehicle in which greater trust and confidence can be generated, to foster overall security cooperation in Northeast Asia. Mike Mochizuki also agrees that despite the complexities of the region, on balance, increasing economic interdependence in Northeast Asia has fostered a more



stable and peaceful regional security environment.³⁵ In 2010, the prospects for a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) to increase ROK-Japan bilateral relations have been suggested.³⁶ This somewhat resembles the liberalist theory of Russett and Oneal, who contend that peace rests on the tripod of democracy, economic interdependence and international organizations.³⁷

Others are more nuanced, and cite a shifting collage of different factors that come into play at certain moments in pushing the ROK-Japan security cooperation forward. Victor Cha contends that while the backdrop or what he calls "ideational templates" for security cooperation is clearly historical antagonism and enmity, "at certain moments compelling material forces can propel outcomes in a direction different from these cultural biases. Moreover, should the material forces be sustained for some time, they can have the effect of positively transforming some of these negative cultural and ideational templates."³⁸ On a broader level of Japanese and Asia-Pacific security, Katzenstein and Okawara advocate 'analytical eclecticism,' as policies that are the result of an amalgamation of power, interest, and identity.³⁹ In the end, they contend that in the trade-off between parsimony and explanatory power, the latter would be more valuable in understanding the region.

To sum up, there are four different camps espousing different motivations that drive or retard ROK-Japan security cooperation: the North Korean factor (realism), historical animosity (constructivism), economic trade (liberalism), and a hybrid of several elements (eclecticism). The task now is to identify which of these actually stand up to empirical testing.

Research Design

Constructs are extremely important. The need for definitional clarity is even more salient given the practice of utilizing diverse concepts interchangeably. The first level of discrimination must be made between the terms 'military' and 'security.' This particular study opts for the former, so as to specifically investigate operational military-to-military activities between military officials and personnel. The more encompassing term 'security' was intentionally avoided, the rationale being that security would suggest the interplay of highly publicized political actors (ministers, vice-ministers etc). Once politics enter the game, rhetoric becomes a tricky element to decipher.

The second level of distinction must be made between 'cooperation' and 'exchange.' Although exchange in the general sense would typically fall under the overarching construct of cooperation, this study viewed exchange to be of a transitory nature, a one-time affair that may not necessarily lead to a type of routine over the long-run. Moreover, exchange has a weak connotation in terms of synergy of efforts or energies. For example, the reciprocal hosting and exchange of naval academy students does not necessarily suggest a synthesis: the nature of coordination here is more functional than substantive.

The third level of distinction is made between bilateral and multilateral. The focus of this study is clearly bilateral. Hence, such multilateral exercises that both the ROK and Japan engage in, such as the Rim of the Pacific Exercise (RIMPAC) or the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), were excluded. The main reason for the distinction is that it was often the leadership of the U.S. that drove the two states to cooperate in these multilateral settings, so trying to isolate the U.S. factor as much as possible meant opting for purely bilateral military activities.

The time period of this study is from 1990-2010. Although documents prior to the 90s were still examined, this was mainly to trace the history of cooperation, and therefore, make a more informed judgment as to when the cut-off year would be appropriate for examination. Since evidence suggests that bilateral military cooperation only really grew legs beginning in the '90s, coupled with the more practical reality that time did not allow for a more expansive collation of data exceeding the 21 year period, 1990-2010 seemed the most important for the purpose of this paper.⁴⁰

In terms of method, a total of four different timelines were compiled to correspond to each of the four various strands of thought introduced in the literature review section.

Table 3. Total Observations Recorded for Each Timeline	
Event	Total Observations (1990-2010)
ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation	35
North Korean provocations	98
ROK-Japan bilateral disputes	104
ROK-Japan bilateral trade	Annual data from 1990-2010

Given the rather small amount of data amassed for bilateral military cooperation (n=35), a nominal non-ranking system was used to code cooperation into five general categories: establishment of hotlines, port calls, joint coastguard exercises, joint naval exercises, and other (see figure 1 & 2 in appendix). A clarification here is in order, given the slightly divergent nature of what is deemed a 'military' action within the Japanese domestic institutional framework. Almost half (16) of the 35 instances of cooperation involved the Japanese Coast Guard (JCG), which may seem inconsequential except that the Japanese Coast Guard is considered to be the de facto fourth branch of the Japanese military. With the revision of the Japan Coast Guard Law in 2001 by the Japanese Diet, outright use of force was authorized in preventing maritime intrusion and safeguarding the homeland. According to Richard Samuels, the JCG has become Japan's 'second navy' with "assigned rules of engagement more relaxed than those of the SDF [Self-Defense Forces]."⁴¹ In describing Japan's efforts at military modernization in the 21st century, Samuels claims that "the China threat was also used to justify off-budget increases in defense spending, much of which was directed toward the Coast Guard and thus did not count against the 1 percent cap [on Japan's defense budget]."⁴² Therefore, a conventional view of the Coast Guard is less applicable in the case of Japan.



To add to the domestic institutional framework, there are five observable cyclical peaks in bilateral military cooperation since 1998 (with peaks in '99, '02, '05, '07, and '09) as opposed to a smooth linear increase. This may be explained not only by a potential maturity level between the two states, but also by the Japanese Diet passing the Law Concerning Measures to Ensure the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan (1999), which increased joint exercises that were once limited. As evidence, within each peak, there is the occurrence of the most institutionalized forms of bilateral military cooperation, such as joint Coast Guard and Naval search-and-rescue exercises.

During this time, there were also five categories of bilateral disputes: fisheries-related, history, territory, Yasukuni Shrine visit-related, and other. In the case of North Korean provocations, one could potentially analyze the data via an ordinal coding system by ranking an event based on its intensity,⁴³ but for the purpose of this paper, this was also categorized on a nominal basis with eight different categories: espionage, artillery fire, skirmishes in the air, sea, and land, respectively, kidnapping or fatal killings, missile tests, and nuclear tests.

In terms of measurement of economic trade, a cue was taken from the liberalist literature, and their notion of 'economic interdependence.' 'Interdependence' as described by Keohane and Nye in its simplest form, refers to "mutual dependence"; with more embellishment, it represents "situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries...[that] often result from international transactions—flows of money, goods, people, and messages across international boundaries."⁴⁴ Typically, the measures of economic interdependence emphasizes one of three facets: openness, vulnerability, or gain—with the first indicator (usually based on some variant of the ratio of trade to total output) being the most employed by those advocating the role of economic interdependence to positive spillover effects.⁴⁵ Specifically, Russett and Oneal opt for the measurement of bilateral trade as a percentage of a state's GDP to capture the concepts of openness, vulnerability, and gain. Given its wide utility and general acceptance, the same measurement was used in the case of tracking bilateral trade between the ROK and Japan.

Preliminary Findings

Three thematic observations may be extracted after plotting the data for each of the timelines discussed (for results, see tables in the appendix).

1. North Korean provocations tend to foster ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation.

One could add that the provocations in question tend to be of the symbolic kind (those that occur on a 'grand' scale) such as missile tests and nuclear weapon tests, or those that lead to human fatalities. Hence, North Korean muscle-flexing tends to be reciprocated by some joint show of force by the ROK and Japan.⁴⁶ 2009 and 2010—the two years with the greatest temporal overlap between provocations and bilateral military cooperation—support this claim (see figure 1 in appendix). In 2009, coincidentally the second highest year for North Korean provocations, there were a total of 11 provocations: seven missile tests, one nuclear test, two kidnappings, and one skirmish at sea. In 2010, the fourth highest year for

cooperation, there were a total of eight provocations: five artillery fire (including the most recent November artillery fire into Yongpyeong Island), two skirmishes at sea (including the highly-publicized incident of the sinking of the Cheonan), and one skirmish on land. Similarly, 1995 and 1996 also showed temporal overlap between provocations (with 15 in all) and instances of cooperation that included the first naval port call by the Japanese since Korean independence. Although the high number of provocations in 2001 did not result in any bilateral military cooperation, North Korean behavior was mainly relegated to minor cases involving intrusions across the Northern Limit Line (NLL) that did not result in casualties.

2. A large asymmetry between economic trade may hamper bilateral military cooperation.

One of the most discernable findings was the absence of ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation in 2000 and 2001, which coincided with the period when there was greatest asymmetry between trade as a share of ROK's GDP and that of Japan's (see figure 3 in appendix). While ROK's bilateral trade hit its highest, Japan's share plummeted. In other words, South Korea was more vulnerable to bilateral trade than Japan. This feeds back into Keohane and Nye's claim that without a shared vulnerability of costs involved in bilateral trade, what may look like interdependence is in fact, mere interconnectedness. However, further study must be conducted to see whether the trend in rising instances of bilateral military cooperation, despite the economic asymmetry from 2003 and onwards, is perhaps attributable to the maturity in bilateral relations (or the domestic institutional framework), or indeed just to economic factors.

3. Bilateral disputes, on average, have a neutral effect on bilateral military cooperation.

The influence of bilateral disputes seems to be inconclusive (see figure 2 in appendix). The year 2005, which represented the highest year for bilateral disputes, still experienced three instances of bilateral military cooperation. 1999 was the third highest year for cooperation with four instances, but was also the third highest year for bilateral disputes with 12 disputes. However, in 1995 when there was an absence of disputes, bilateral military cooperation did occur. Perhaps the fact that disputes are such a consistent factor throughout the relationship makes it difficult to truly assess its effects. Nevertheless, the visual representation of bilateral disputes against instances of military cooperation suggests that the latter may start outweighing the former. The distinction between correlation and causation will need to be explored further in the case of bilateral disputes and cooperation.

Focused Case Study: 2000 & 2001

It is definitely easier to discern correlation than causation from a collection of raw data. However, a focused case study may add clarity and shed light on the underlying mechanism of causation. Thus, this section will examine specifically the two years of 2000 and 2001. The rationale for this selection is the following: 1) these were the only two years, with the exception of 1998, since the 1994 defense ministerial talks that exhibited no (or even negative) bilateral military cooperation ; 2) 2000 and 2001



also marked the years where bilateral trade as a share of GDP showed the greatest asymmetry, and; 3) these two years showed quite disparate compositions in terms of North Korean provocations and a clustering of bilateral disputes (2000 with two and six, 2001 with 14 and 18, respectively), which means that it is plausible that some outside factor may have been working as a confounding variable for bilateral military cooperation.⁴⁷ The only commonality binding the two years is the economic element, along with the fact that there was no outright muscle-flexing by the North (in missile or nuclear tests). So what was different or the same about the two years that retarded ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation?

In order to identify a potential reason for the lag in bilateral military cooperation between 2000 and 2001, each year was analyzed for significant events both internally within the ROK and Japan, regionally, as well as globally (see table 4,5 & 6 of appendix). Here, it is important to note that there was consideration that events in 1999 could have spill-over effects in 2000, while those in 2000 could impact the dynamics of 2001. Moreover, the assumption was made that states would not be totally immune to external events, which could also impact behavior.. Also, since the objective is to gain insight by conducting a case study, as many events as possible should be accounted for. Hence, notable events that occurred during the years of 1999, 2000 and 2001 were tabulated (see appendix).

There are three observable patterns in the years 1999, 2000 and 2001 that span each level of analysis from the individual to that of the systems-level. Starting with the small and building up, at the individual-actor level, there was confidence attached to the leadership of the ROK and Japan. In the case of South Korea, the year 2000 was when the 'Sunshine Policy' towards the North still garnered faith, resulting in the Nobel Peace Prize for President Kim Dae-Jung. Moreover, the momentum was heightened by the first ever historic North-South Summit, along with joint inter-Korea participation in the Sydney Summer Olympics that same year. 2001 carried a similar momentum, as the 'cash-for-summit' scandal did not surface until 2003. Therefore, 2000 and 2001 was a remarkably strong period in terms of leadership for South Korea. This is also supported by the approval ratings for President Kim Dae-jung from polls taken both during and after his term in office. For instance, a poll released by Monthly Chosun in their December 1999 issue placed President Kim Dae-jung as third in response to the question of who is the best Korean individual of the 21st century with 10.7% of the votes.⁴⁸ In another poll jointly conducted by Shindonga and VoteKorea, asking which Korean president was the most effective in their role, Kim Dae-jung ranked second with 22.9% after Park Chung-hee who garnered 58.4%.⁴⁹ In their March 2002 edition, Monthly Joongang placed President Kim as first in terms of the president that contributed most to inter-Korea relations, as well as being consistently within the top three concerning leadership.⁵⁰ Hence, both during and after his term, the polls indicate that President Kim Dae-jung is relatively popular with the public.

In the case of Japan, although Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori, who assumed office on April 5, 2000 after his predecessor passed away due to a stroke, was not a popular figure,⁵¹ he was quickly replaced by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in April of 2001—

who retrospectively, represents the only Prime Minister to have served more than five years in office since 1972.⁵² As if to reflect Prime Minister Koizumi's self-avowed maxim that "If the people have no faith in their leaders, they cannot stand,"⁵³ there was a great emphasis placed on personal leadership, especially in ways of reforms and change.⁵⁴ Prime Minister Koizumi visited North Korea, which at the time, was viewed as a great success,⁵⁵ and he had an amicable working relationship with the U.S. Bush administration—although, retrospectively, Prime Minister Koizumi was criticized for his excessive 'slavishness' towards the Japan-U.S. alliance, particularly regarding his decision to deploy Japanese Self-Defense Forces to support the U.S.' war in Iraq.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the years from 2000 and 2001 marked a visible period for Japan wherein public confidence and faith in the leadership was high. This is supported by polls conducted by Asahi Shimbun on approval ratings of prime ministers. Both the start and average approval ratings for Prime Minister Koizumi—especially in comparison to previous leadership—is quite high (see table 7 of appendix).

On a state-level, both the ROK and Japan were engaged with the outside world. For instance, not only did Japan host the G-8 summit in Okinawa in July of 2000, its ties with the European Union were quite extensive at the time. In fact, in 1999, Japan's total number of engagements with the EU started with 35, totaled 56 in 2000, and decreased slightly to 51 in 2001.⁵⁷ Although South Korea's interaction with the EU was not as extensive as that of Japan at the time, it did host the third Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in Seoul, in October of 2000, which resulted in the issuing of the Seoul Declaration for the Peace on the Korean Peninsula.⁵⁸ Both states attended the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in 2001, held in Shanghai, China. Perhaps the sense of internal confidence in their leadership was reflected in its external confidence in its respective interactions with other actors.

Lastly, on a systemic-level, perhaps with the exception of 1999, the years 2000 and 2001 may have worked towards mitigating a pervading sense of anarchy and uncertainty in international relations. Paradoxically, there were grave threats that emerged with the 1999 NATO bombings in Yugoslavia and the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States. However, taking solely those years in isolation and without the hindsight of today, it is plausible to claim that these threats coupled with assertive leadership created a place for cooperation and not conflict. In the case of the 1999 bombings, there were admittedly mixed evaluations of the success of the campaign. However, the 2001 attacks resulted in the initial backing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) of the invasion of Afghanistan by the U.S., as well as the general sentiment of the international community in condemning the horrific terrorist attacks. Moreover, on a regional scale, China was finally admitted into the World Trade Organization in 2001, while earlier in 2000, the U.S. had also normalized trade relations with China. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was also officially launched. All of these events created an environment where cooperation suddenly seemed like the norm and not the exception.

To summarize, there were three insights gained from the focused case study of the years of 1999, 2000 and 2001: 1) at the individual-level, there was a high sense of confidence imbued by the leadership of the ROK and Japan; 2) at the state-level,



both the ROK and Japan experienced active engagement with outside powers, and; 3) at the systemic-level, cooperation seemed to outweigh conflict, which mitigated the effects of anarchy and uncertainty associated therein. Of course, these factors are not independent, but rather, interdependent. The internal confidence of leadership had a spill-over effect into the area of foreign policy, while general confidence in the state most likely added to the capacity to better handle outside threats, avoid anarchy and cooperate with other countries. But how can we synthesize these new factors into the initial observations from the coding of chronologies and of realism, constructivism, liberalism, and eclecticism?

Synthesis of Theory and Practice

The take-away point from the focused case study is that general confidence (in leadership and the external environment) actually led to decreased ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation. There are two objectives of this particular section: first, to synthesize the case-study findings with those of the initial findings from chronologies and theoretical templates as provided by the literature review, and second, to pose further theoretical questions that have yet to be discussed in the traditional discourse on ROK-Japan military (or security) cooperation.

To refresh our memories of the first and third observations from the initial coding:

- North Korean provocations tend to foster ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation
- Bilateral disputes, on average, have a neutral effect on bilateral military cooperation

These two observations, in light of the case study, suggest that perhaps ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation is indeed, threat-driven and not interest-driven—harking back to the realist assumption of collaboration in the face of immediate threats. In fact, without a sense of urgency either attributable to North Korean provocations in ways of missile or nuclear tests, or an internal or external necessity from lack of leadership or public confidence, it may be that cooperation between the two states may not typically occur. To put simply, cooperation emerges in times of relative turbulence (or uncertainty), and less in times of peace (or certainty). This is consistent with the reality that the ROK and Japan does not have an official security alliance: the two are essentially aligned, but not allied.

It seems that in the end, eclecticism may have won out in the debate concerning what makes ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation tick. In incorporating the findings from the chronologies to the case study, it is evident that it was a combination of North Korean provocations (realism), asymmetry in bilateral economic trade (liberalism), and the level of confidence in leadership as well as in the state capacity to engage with the external environment (psychological constructivism) that either propelled or retarded ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation.

However, the findings from this case study does open up a whole new area for study that has yet to be covered by contemporary literature—including

the explanatory powers of analytical eclecticism—on ROK-Japan bilateral military or security relations. The constructivists have traditionally focused on historical animosity and identities, which at least from the findings from the initial chronologies, suggest an overall neutral effect on bilateral relations. However, this case study points to the significance of confidence or self-esteem and their role in security cooperation. Although Lebow has applied the concept of self-esteem in talking about psychological constructivism,⁵⁹ there is a lack of literature on how it relates to cooperation and specifically to military or security relations. There have been studies conducted in the realm of sociology regarding self-esteem and its influence on cooperation in general,⁶⁰ and self-esteem in specific cultural contexts.⁶¹ The possibilities of transplanting such psychological literature to interstate relations and to the realm of security and military developments should certainly be explored further. In conjunction, the confidence in the leadership and its effects on inter-state relations suggest a further examination of the interplay of domestic politics on bilateral relations. Certainly, not enough study has been given to understanding the black box of states when looking at the incidence of ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation.

Future studies of this nature may improve areas of pattern-matching (for creating a baseline for judgment on levels of military cooperation), could consider the role of the U.S. as an independent variable, could include multilateral exercises as opposed to limiting the research to purely bilateral actions, and could further explicate the domestic institutional structures of the respective countries. Lastly, the concept of non-linearity may be explored further. In other words, contrary to the ‘action-reaction’ assumption underlying this paper, especially in regards to North Korea, policies in reaction to North Korea may not be a direct outgrowth attributable to North Korean actions. In fact, there may be an internal momentum at play in the cyclical nature of the policies (ranging from engagement to sanctions) which develop due to other factors related to domestic politics (other than just confidence in the leadership). Methodologically, if one can reformulate the bilateral cooperation variable as a continuous one to show intensity, one could either adopt Vector Auto-regression analysis (VAR) to specify the more nuanced slope in the trend in cooperation, or even employ survival analysis to pinpoint the duration of cooperation.

Implications for the Future

If it is indeed, the combination of realism, liberalism, and psychological constructivism that influences ROK-Japan bilateral military relations, what does this mean for future relations?

On the North Korean front, there have been many speculations that have claimed a correlation between the purportedly ongoing regime transition/succession in North Korea to the state’s belligerency—especially the latest November artillery fire against South Korea in 2010.⁶² The logic is that the current North Korean leader Kim Jong-il is aiming to strengthen his regime’s power and create internal unity before the succession of his son. If this is true, we should be able to observe greater provocations from North Korea, which may fortuitously, mean greater instances of bilateral military cooperation between the ROK and Japan.



In terms of economic bilateral trade, one may cautiously expect bilateral trade as a percentage of GDP to not fluctuate too much. Since 2003, trade relations have been positive, with no polarizing discrepancy between the ROK and Japan. Although ROK-Japan bilateral trade as a share of Japan's GDP has not been as high as that of South Korea's, the cumulative dollar amount of imports and exports has only increased. Given the tragic tsunami that hit Japan in March 2011, there is the possibility that Japan will devote most of its resources to recovery and reconstruction, leaving less for intra-state investment and trade. However, given the advanced state of Japan's economy, a repeat of the large discrepancies in ROK-Japan bilateral trade in 2000 and 2001 does not seem likely. Hence, the chances for ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation to improve are positive. In fact, the natural disaster and subsequent cooperation should propel enhanced efforts at search-and-rescue and related activities.

The most disconcerting element may be how confidence and self-esteem can impact bilateral relations. This element is the most troubling, because while we are most uncertain about its effects, we are most certain about the dynamism in which this concept is ever-evolving throughout the region. For example, South Korea has been riding a wave of confidence since its admittance into the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in November of 2009, and its recent hosting of the G-20 summit in November 2010. It was a great source of pride for a former recipient of aid to have attained the status of an emerging donor, as well as becoming the chair and host of G-20 meetings—the first non-G-8 country to hold such responsibilities. When South Korea 'out-dueled' Japan in both the Vancouver Winter Olympics in February 2010,⁶³ and then came in second after China to host the 16th Asian Games in Shanghai in November 2010,⁶⁴ the general atmosphere was one of extreme confidence and high self-esteem. The positive momentum has led to talks about a concept of 'Gukwoon,' translated to roughly 'national luck.'⁶⁵ In other words, Koreans are feeling lucky.

Japan on the other hand, experienced more than five successive recalls of various Toyota vehicles since 2009, which has even been equated to having had a "sickening effect on the national psyche in Japan."⁶⁶ One of the most significant problems lies in leadership. The lack of stability surrounding the governance of the nation has raised global spectators to equate the continual reshuffling as a 'Leadership Merry-go-around' with "revolving-door leaders with constantly shifting agendas,"⁶⁷ and sum up the situation in the following: "the world moves on and Japan is stuck in mud."⁶⁸ Of course, only time will tell whether Japan's new Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda will lead the nation out of the memories of Japan's 'lost decade' and to the renaissance of the Koizumi era. We know what tends to happen in cases of asymmetry in bilateral trade, but what about in confidence? How would China gaining self-esteem factor into the equation? Ironically, the greater confidence of South Korea and the lack thereof by Japan may increase the tendency for enhanced bilateral cooperation.

Dispensing policy recommendations are always a risky business. Since the objective of this paper was not so much to create ways forward, but to analyze the root cause of a situation, there will be no grand attempt made at trying to formulate anything resembling a practical pillar for policy-making. However, if the theory that a boost in

self-esteem and confidence actually retards bilateral cooperation (at least for the ROK and Japan) is correct, we should do our best to reformulate our thinking. Instead of passively taking for granted that self-esteem retards cooperation, we should actively use cooperation as a mechanism to boost self-esteem. Hopefully, a closer study at the correlation or causation between confidence/self-esteem and bilateral cooperation will point to a more informed and constructive path towards improved bilateral military cooperation between the ROK and Japan.

CONCLUSION

Since the normalization of ROK-Japan bilateral relations in 1965, it took almost three decades for high-level security meetings to occur, with only 35 instances of bilateral military cooperation since the 1990s. Meanwhile, South Korea has concluded agreements on security and military cooperation with 17 different states and organizations, but not Japan. Despite the allies-by-proxy status of the two countries, the reality does not match the rhetoric. While the literature review pointed to different explanatory scenarios for the lack of bilateral military cooperation, ranging from the factor of North Korea (realism), historical animosity (constructivism), economic trade (liberalism), and a hybrid (eclecticism), this paper has, to an extent, empirically confirmed the realist account. With that said, since North Korean provocation has been a constant, the lack of accordant military cooperation for every clustering of North Korean saber-rattling may not provide the complete picture. Hence, a supplemental case study of the two years of 2000 and 2001 uncovered a second dynamic: an increase in confidence in leadership and the capacity of the state to engage with its external environment tends to lead to a decrease in bilateral military cooperation. When approval ratings of the respective leadership were high and the state was playing an active role in the international community, there was apparently less rationale for ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation. Although historical animosity had an overall neutral effect, confidence when matched with low instances of North Korean provocations reinforced the lack of initiative by Seoul and Tokyo to engage in military cooperation. With the future outlook pointing to an increase in confidence in South Korea and a decrease in Japan, in conjunction with an increase in the intensity of each provocation by North Korea, the irony is that perhaps bilateral military cooperation will increase. The theoretical contribution of this paper is to provide momentum for the study into domestic politics in inter-state behavior; and policy-wise, to provide a more nuanced understanding of how the conviction in leadership and state capacity can drive bilateral military cooperation. Hopefully, this will renew interest in how to promote cooperation in a region that has its share of insecurity.



APPENDIX

Table 1. Bilateral Security and Military Treaties between South Korea and Third Parties		
<i>Parties</i>		
Country	Official Title	Effective Date & Treaty Code
Australia	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of Australia on the Protection of Classified Military Information	2010.12.09 No. 2030
Bangladesh	Memorandum of Understanding on Co-operation in Logistics and Defense Industry between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh	2004.01.13 No. 1653
Brazil	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Federative Republic of Brazil on Defense Cooperation	2008.11.05 No. 1911
Bulgaria	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria on the Exchange and Protection of Classified Military Information	2010.02.11 No. 1994
Canada	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of Canada on the Exchange and Protection of Classified Military Information	1999.08.11 No. 1490
England	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the Protection of Classified Military Information	2010.06.21 No. 2011
France	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of France on the Exchange and Protection of Classified Military Information	2000.07.20 No. 1534
Jordan	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on Cooperation in the Field of Defense	2009.10.20 No. 1974
NATO	Memorandum of Understanding on the Security of Information between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization	2009.12.07 No. 1980
Philippines	Memorandum of Understanding on Logistics and Defense Industry Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines	1994.06.23 No. 1233
Poland	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Poland on the Protection of Classified Military Information	2010.03.05 No. 1998

Qatar	Arrangement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the State of Qatar on the Status of the Republic of Korea Armed Forces and its Equipment in the State of Qatar	2006.02.26 No. 1768
Russia	Agreement on Cooperation in the Military-Technical Sphere, Defense Industry and Logistics between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Russian Federation	1997.11.20 No. 1435
	Agreement between Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Russian Federation on the Mutual Protection of Classified Military Information	2002.10.31 No. 1611
	Agreement between Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Russian Federation on the Prevention of Dangerous Military Activities	2003.03.18 No. 1627
	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation on the Program of the Medium Range Surface-to-air Missile System	2005.10.19 No. 1750
Spain	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Kingdom of Spain on the Protection of Defense Classified Information	2010.01.05 No. 1987
Sweden	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Kingdom of Sweden on the Protection of Classified Military Information	2009.07.23 No. 1963
UAE	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the United Arab Emirates on Military Cooperation	2007.05.13 No. 1848
Ukraine	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on the Protection of Classified Military Information	2005.10.25 No. 1752
	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on Cooperation in the Field of the Defense Industry and Logistics	2007.08.29 No. 1865



Figure 1) ROK-Japan Bilateral Military Cooperation against Instances of North Korean Provocations from January 1990- December 2010

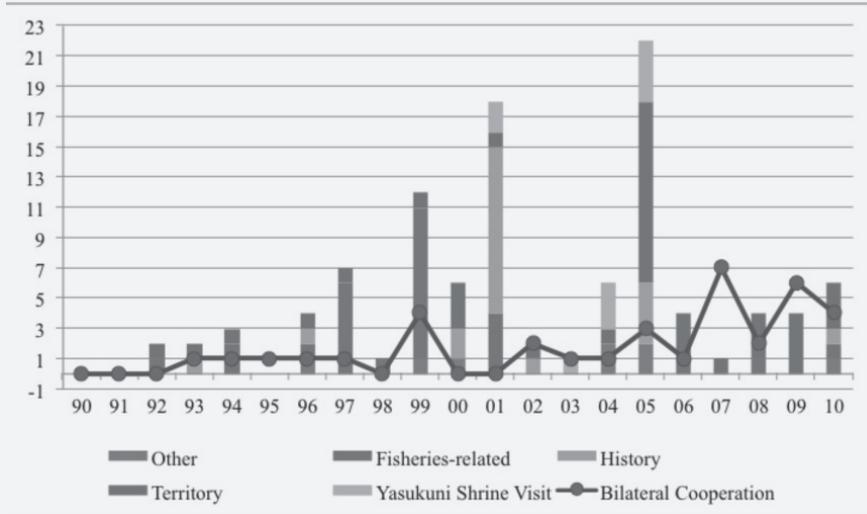


Figure 2) ROK-Japan Bilateral Military Cooperation against Instances of ROK-Japan Bilateral Disputes from January 1990- December 2010

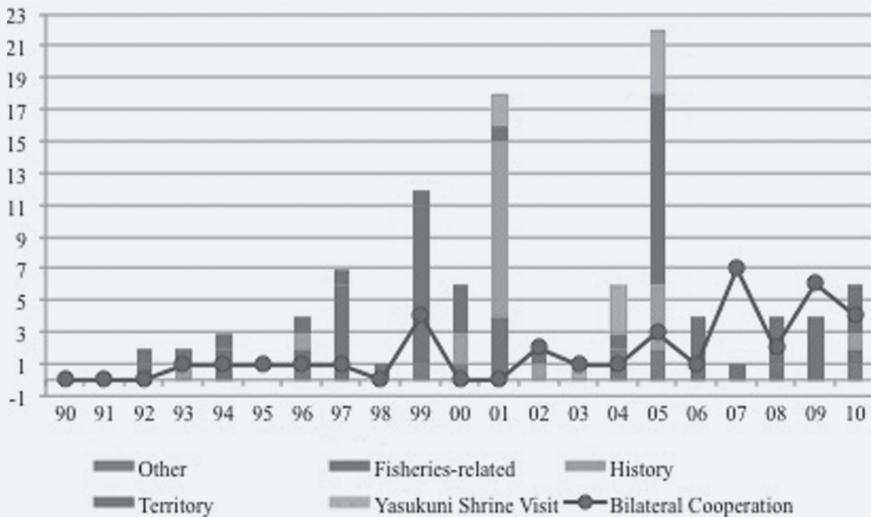


Figure 3) ROK-Japan Bilateral Economic Trade

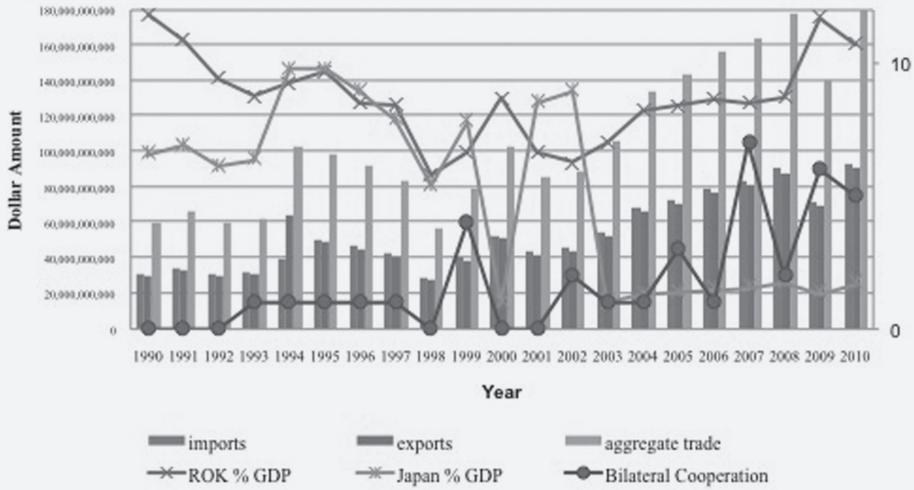




Table 4. Notable Events of Year 1999		
Internal (to ROK, Japan)		
Time	Events	Impact
1999.02.25	South Korea granted amnesty to 1,508 people including a convicted North Korean spy jailed for 41 years. Civil rights were also to be restored to 7,304 people out on parole.	+
1999.04.27	Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi announced that Okinawa Prefecture will host the G-8 Summit in July of the year 2000.	+
1999.05.24	The famous "Guidelines"—a term referring to the law that set the stage for a new form of cooperation between the Japanese Self-Defense Forces and the U.S. Military, was approved.	+
1999.09.30	A nuclear accident occurred at one uranium-processing plant in Tokai Village, Ibaragi Prefecture.	-
1999	South Korea received a record \$15.5 billion in foreign investment.	+
External (Regional)		
Time	Events	Impact
1999.01.01	The EURO (the single currency for the European Union) was launched.	+
1999.04.30	Cambodia joins Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)	+
1999.05	Japan signed an agreement with the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) on the provision of financial assistance for the light-water reactor project. At the end of June, the conclusion of this agreement was approved by the Diet.	+
1999.11.21	China launched its first unmanned test spacecraft.	+
1999.10	Violence in East Timor led to the administration of East Timor by the UN through the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).	
1999.12	A mission of Japanese parliamentarians headed by former Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama visited North Korea for the purpose of "creating an environment for smoothly facilitating inter-governmental negotiations for the normalization of Japan-North Korea relations through consultation among political parties." ⁶⁹	+
External (Global)		
Time	Events	Impact
1999.03.24-06.11	The NATO bombing of Yugoslavia attracted wide-spread media attention. The bombings led to the withdrawal of Yugoslav forces from Kosovo, establishment of UNMIK, a UN mission in Kosovo and put an end to the Yugoslav Wars of the '90s. The bombing campaign was also widely criticized, especially for the large number of civilian casualties.	-

Table 5. Notable Events of Year 2000		
Internal (to ROK, Japan)		
Time	Events	Impact
2000.06.15	The first ever North-South Korean summit was held after 55 years of separation, resulting in North-South Joint Declaration; The historic summit was followed by a series of ministerial-level meetings, reunions of separated families, and the appearance of athletes of the two countries in the Sydney Olympic Games as a single team.	+
2000.07.21	The G-8 Summit was held in Okinawa, Japan	+
2000.10.19-21	The third Asia-Europe Meeting Summit Meeting (ASEM III) was held in Seoul, South Korea.	+
2000.12.10	ROK President Kim Dae-Jung was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000, for his efforts on the 'Sunshine Policy'	+
2000.12.11-12	Japan- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) conference was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, Japan: "Comprehensive Security in Central Asia: Sharing OSCE and Asian Experiences"	+
External (Regional)		
Time	Events	Impact
2000.10.10	The U.S. President Bill Clinton signed into law a bill on permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) with China after the House of Representatives and the Senate approved the bill in May and September, respectively. The historic legislation ended Washington's practice since 1974 of annually reviewing normal trade relations with China.	+
External (Global)		
Time	Events	Impact
2000.09.15-10.1	The Sydney Summer Olympics were held (North and South Korea entered as one team)	+
2000.09.06-08	Millennium Summit of Global Leaders convened, where more than 150 heads of state and government gathered in the UN headquarters in New York to discuss the UN's role in the 21st century	+
2000.10.12	Unrest in the Middle East sparked crude oil prices to skyrocket, reaching near the highest levels since the Gulf War. ⁷⁰	-



Table 6. Notable Events of Year 2001		
Internal (to ROK, Japan)		
Time	Events	Impact
2001.04.01	The Framework Agreement on Trade and Cooperation—the main agreement between the ROK and the EU—entered into force.	+
2001.04.26	Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi was sworn into office	+
2001.06.30	A Japan-U.S. Summit Meeting was held at Camp David	+
2001.09.25	A Japan-U.S. Summit Meeting was held between Prime Minister Koizumi and President Bush at the White House. The two leaders confirmed that they would cooperate in various areas, including diplomacy, military affairs and economics, and Prime Minister Koizumi reaffirmed their alliance and promised cooperation and utmost assistance to the U.S. in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks.	+
2001.12.08	The 10th EU-Japan Summit was held in Brussels, Belgium	+
External (Regional)		
Time	Events	Impact
2001.01.26	20,000 people died in an India earthquake. This marked the strongest quake in India since the 8-magnitude earthquake in 1950.	-
2001.06.15	The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was officially founded in Shanghai by six countries: China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.	+
2001.10.15-21	The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit was successfully held in Shanghai, China. Chinese President Jiang Zemin chaired the meeting, delivered an important speech and had meetings with leaders present at the conference. A declaration and the Shanghai Accord were issued.	+
External (Global)		
Time	Events	Impact
2001.09.11	The 9/11 terrorist attacks hit the U.S.	-
2001.10.02	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) backed U.S. military strikes against Afghanistan.	-/+
2001.10.07	The war in Afghanistan began	-/+
2001.12.11	The legal document on China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) was unanimously adopted on November 10 during the fourth WTO ministerial meeting in Doha, Qatar. On December 11, China officially became the 143rd full member of the organization	+
2001.12.13	U.S. President George W. Bush announced the decision to withdraw from the 1972 Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which immediately met strong criticism from the international community	-

Prime Minister	Start Date	Term in Office	Party	Elec. P.M.	Start Rate	End Rate	Avg. Rate	Elec. Rate
Hatoyama	Dec. 1954	24 months	LDP	Yes	-	-	-	-
Ishibashi	Dec. 1956	2 months	LDP	No	-	-	-	-
Kishi	Feb. 1957	41 months	LDP	Yes	-	-	-	-
Ikeda	July 1960	51 months	LDP	Yes	33.8	46.5	40.5	41.6
Sato	Nov. 1964	92 months	LDP	Yes	41.7	17.3	34.9	38.6*
Tanaka	Jul. 1972	29 months	LDP	Yes	56.0	10.6	28.6	50.9
Miki	Dec. 1974	24 months	LDP	Yes	41.9	19.4	30.4	19.4
Fukuda	Dec. 1976	23 months	LDP	No	29.6	34.3	27.4	-
Ohira	Dec. 1978	19 months	LDP	Yes	35.0	43.1	30.1	20.9*
Suzuki	Jul. 1980	29 months	LDP	No	41.6	21.5	30.7	-
Nakasone	Nov. 1982	59 months	LDP	Yes	34.5	40.6	40.7	34.7*
Takeshita	Nov. 1987	19 months	LDP	No	37.5	4.4	30.4	-
Uno	Jun. 1989	2 months	LDP	No	19.5	10.1	14.8	-
Kaifu	Aug. 1989	27 months	LDP	Yes	27.5	44.2	43.1	33.6
Miyazawa	Nov. 1991	21 months	LDP	Yes	47.6	10.3	25.6	10.3
Hosokawa	Aug. 1993	8 months	JNP	No	62.9	49.7	60.6	-
Hata	Apr. 1994	2 months	JRP	No	46.2	40.9	43.6	-
Murayama	Jun. 1994	30 months	JSP	No	40.7	28.9	35.2	-
Hashimoto	Jan. 1996	30 months	LDP	Yes	46.8	23.4	36.5	37.7
Obuchi	Jul. 1998	21 months	LDP	No	24.8	33.3	33.2	-
Mori	Apr. 2000	13 months	LDP	Yes	30.4	9.6	19.6	18.2
Koizumi	Apr. 2001	65 months	LDP	Yes	72.8	50.0	44.0	43.7*

LDP= Liberal Democratic Party; JNP= Japan New Party; JRP= Japan Renewal Party;
JSP= Japan Socialist Party
*these prime ministers headed governments in multiple elections; Sato, 1967 (29.2) and 1969 (40.1); Ohira, passed away during the 1980 election (27.3); Nakasone, 1986 (43.4); and Koizumi, 2005 (53.5)



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10. The full text of the agreement is available on the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) site at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/australia/pdfs/agree1005.pdf>
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15. An alternative could be to examine India's bilateral military cooperation with the UK. India ranks 10th in absolute military expenditure, with that spending representing 2.6% of its GDP. Moreover, India has a history of violence and rebellion against its imperial authority of the UK, which may resemble more the historical relationship of South Korea and Japan.
16. Mearsheimer contends that when "great powers are separated by large bodies of water, they usually do not have much offensive capability against each other, regardless of the relative size of their armies." Water is obviously a formidable obstacle in the mind of Mearsheimer. Mearsheimer (2001), p. 44.
17. Thousands of old Korean newspaper articles on the Naver electronic archive database dating back to the 1960 were scoped. Due to linguistic barriers, it was unfortunate that the same method could not be applied for Japanese sources.
18. After a visit by the Japanese Army Chief of Staff to the ROK on June 1, 1971, the question of whether the ROK would be willing to discuss ROK-Japan security issues after the reduction of U.S. troops on the Korean peninsula was posed, to which both the Minister of National Defense, Jong Nae-Hyuck and Vice-Minister Yu Geun-Chang responded by saying that "It is not the time to discuss our security with Japan," and emphasized the "exceptional" nature of the visit. *Gyonghang Shinmun*, June 19, 1971, Naver e-archives database.
19. After a six-day visit to South Korea by a 14-persons delegation of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), leader of the LDP Abe Shintaro remarked that although ROK-Japan military cooperation would be difficult given Japan's peaceful constitution, Japan would think hard about how to contribute to South Korea's security. *Dong-A Ilbo*, June 19, 1981, Naver e-archives database.
20. *Dong-A Ilbo*, September 27, 1971, Naver e-archives database.
21. Japan specified that it would be against its own laws to participate in any exercise that would operate under a scenario of an attack from a specifically designated enemy of North Korea. *Dong-A Ilbo*, December 3, 1979, Naver e-archives database.
22. Japanese Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi stated that although it would be legal for Japan to participate in a joint military exercise with South Korea if it did not presuppose collective self-defense, there were no specific plans to partake in such exercise at that moment. *Dong-A Ilbo*, March 26, 1980. Naver e-archives database. Also, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lee Won-Kyung, in a press conference with Japanese journalists remarked that although ROK-U.S.-Japan trilateral cooperation was necessary, there would be no need to forge a military alliance with Japan. *Dong-A Ilbo*, October 29, 1985. Naver e-archives database.
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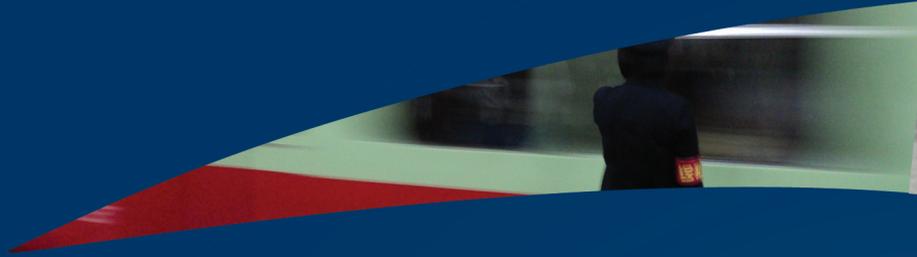


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32. These people espouse peace through trade. For more, see Brendan Howe, "Peace through trade? Econophilia in Northeast Asia," in Professor Manas Chatterji (ed.) *Economics of War and Peace: Economic, Legal, and Political Perspectives (Contributions to Conflict Management, Peace Economics and Development, Volume 14)*, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp.169-184.
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40. Sources used were mainly Korean. These ranged from the Naver electronic archives, various Korean newspapers, foreign newspapers, Defense White Papers, and official websites of ministries. Roughly 10,000-15,000 articles were scanned for the project. Again, it was regrettable that Japanese sources could not be incorporated due to language barriers.
41. Richard J. Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007), pp. 78 & 172.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
43. An ordinal coding system could be based on the combination of three factors: 1) general international consensus on intensity or severity of an incident, e.g) a nuclear test trumps a non-fatal skirmish at sea; 2) general ROK-Japan consensus on the intensity or severity of an incident, e.g) a joint naval exercise represents a greater amount of collaboration than an exchange of naval academy students, and; 3) a personal judgment call as a South Korean citizen viewing the situation from the inside out.
44. Furthermore, a situation that precludes costly effects of transactions is not interdependence, but rather, 'interconnectedness.' Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence (Second Edition)*, (New York: Harpercollins, 1989), pp. 8-9. Also, it is important to note that interdependence emphasizes shared 'costs' (rather than solely mutual benefits) and hence, does not necessitate the exclusion of conflict (Keohane & Nye, p.10). For a discussion on the wide-range of economic interdependence, see Robert D. Tollison and Thomas D. Willett, "Power, Politics, and Prosperity: Alternative Views of Economic Interdependence," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 460 (March, 1982), The Internationalization of the American Economy, pp. 21-28.

45. Mansfield and Pollins adroitly points out the existence of a strong correlation between the selection of interdependence measurement and the position on the strength and nature of the relationship: "...supporters of liberal claims tend to employ indicators emphasizing the themes of openness and absolute gain, whereas supporters of realist and neomercantilist arguments tend to highlight the themes of vulnerability and relative gain." See, Edward D. Mansfield and Brian M. Pollins, "The Study of Interdependence and Conflict: Recent Advances, Open Questions, and Directions for Future Research, Source," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 45, No. 6 (Dec., 2001), pp. 847 & 851.
46. However, it must be noted that the long-term trend in ROK-Japan bilateral military cooperation has been to increase steadily during the last decade. Thus, a more nuanced analysis may be needed to see whether this is due to an exogenous variable (i.e. maturity of relationship) or provocations by North Korea, or both.
47. In fact, in July of 2001, due to increased ROK national sentiments against Japan over the ROK-Japan textbook debate concerning the dispute over history, both joint search-and-rescue exercises (scheduled for June) and the visit by the ROK Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) (scheduled for July) had been cancelled. Furthermore, the ROK cancelled the visit by the Japanese Air Force Chief of Staff, and the joint search and rescue exercise (SAREX) between the two navies which was set for early June. Moreover, in August of 2001, the ROK Navy refused the JMSDF's call at port at Incheon due to the textbook row concerning the dispute over history.
48. Park Chung-hee (ROK president from 1963-79) was ranked first with 52.1%, while Kim Gu (last president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea and a leader of the Korean independence movement) was second with 16.6%. The top three individuals were the only ones to receive figures in the double digits. The results are available online at Monthly Chosun (Korean), <http://monthly.chosun.com/client/news/viw.asp?nNewsNumb=199912100026&ctcd=&cpage=1>
49. Third was President Kim Yong-sam with 7.2%. The results are available online at Shindonga (Korean), http://shindonga.donga.com/docs/magazine/shin/2005/04/06/200504060500023/200504060500023_1.html
50. The results are available online at Monthly Joongang (Korean) http://magazine.joinsmsn.com/monthly/article_view.asp?aid=210495
51. Despite his internal unpopularity, in the framework of ROK-Japan relations, his overall impact was not so negative. He first met with ROK President Kim soon after his inauguration on May 29, 2000. See "Summary of Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori's Visit to the Republic of Korea," *Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs* (MOFA), May 29, 2000, available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/korea/meet0005.html> accessed December 1, 2010.
52. See the official website of the Japanese Prime Minister and his cabinet, available at http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/archives_e.html accessed December 1, 2010.
53. See Japanese MOFA archives, available at http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumiprofile/1_ideals.html accessed December 1, 2010.
54. For example, see "The man who remade Japan," *The Economist*, September 14, 2006, available online at <http://www.economist.com/node/7916942> accessed December 1, 2010.
55. For example, see SOEYA Yoshihide, "A Time for Patient Diplomacy - Thoughts on Prime Minister Koizumi's Visit to North Korea," Column for *The Research Institute of Economy, Trade, & Industry (RIETI)*, September 24, 2002, available online at http://www.rieti.go.jp/en/columns/a01_0056.html, accessed December 1, 2010.
56. For example, see MATSUMOTO, Kazuya, "From the abyss of the Iraq War (4): Is a good friend one who always says yes?" *Asahi Shimbun*, November 25, 2010, available online at <http://www.asahi.com/english/TKY201011240262.html> accessed December 1, 2010.
57. See annual archives of Japan-EU engagements at the official website of the Japanese Delegation to the European Union, available at http://www.deljpn.ec.europa.eu/home/event_archive_1999_en.php http://www.deljpn.ec.europa.eu/home/event_archive_2000_en.php and http://www.deljpn.ec.europa.eu/home/event_archive_2001_en.php accessed December 1, 2010.
58. See the section on ASEM on the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT) official website, available at <http://www.mofat.go.kr/english/regions/intorganization/asem/index.jsp> accessed December 1, 2010.



59. See Richard Ned Lebow, *A Cultural Theory of International Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
60. For example, see Spencer Kagan and George P. Knight, "Cooperation-Competition and Self-Esteem: A Case of Cultural Relativism," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (December, 1979), pp. 457-467.
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62. "Artillery Attack Likely Linked to N. Korea's Power Succession: Analysts," North Korea Newsletter, No. 133 (November 25, 2010), *Yonhap News Agency*, available online at <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/northkorea/2010/11/24/40/0401000000AEN2010112408000325F.HTML> accessed on December 3, 2010. Also, see Sam Kim, "Succession scheme, brinkmanship likely behind N. Korea's shelling," *Yonhap News Agency*, November 24, 2010, available online at <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/northkorea/2010/11/24/93/0401000000AEN20101124006100315F.HTML> accessed December 3, 2010.
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