

SECURITY SITUATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

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There is a tendency of multipolarity in politics, economy and military in Northeast Asia, where the interests of the main political, economic and military powers in the world gather up. Japan is newly emerging economic superpower. The Soviet Union is still a military superpower. The United States is the only superpower not only in political, economic fields, but also in military field. China is the biggest developing country and socialist country in the world. South Korea is a newly industrialized nation. And North Korea is trying hard to get out of isolated situation. Therefore, the main conflicts in the world today - east-west, south-north and west-west - are sharper than anywhere else. However, there appears a momentum of the end of Cold War, peaceful coexistence, cooperation and development under the detents in the whole world. All of these have laid a good foundation for the 21st century to be the Asian Pacific era.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

A peaceful international environment has been provided for all the nations in Northeast Asia to develop their own economy because of the recession of US and the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Most of them are more pragmatic and pay more attention to the national interests by arms reduction, paying less attention to ideology and enhancing regional economic cooperation. But there doesn't appear a

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New Asian order as in Europe in which the western countries play a leading role. There is multipolarity in politics, economy and military and there are big differences in history, culture, religion and tradition among the nations. Balance of power is still a main character in politics of the Northeast Asia. Only the axis of the balance of power has been diverted from triangle relations among US, the Soviet Union and China to quadrelateral relations among US, Soviet Union, China and Japan.

CHANGING OF THE SOVIET ASIAN POLICY HAS LAID A FOUNDATION FOR NORTHEAST ASIA GET OUT OF THE SHADOW OF COLD WAR

US had taken China as a weight to check the Soviet expansionism in Asia since 1970s. This is the famous triangle relations. The Soviet endless armed races with the US led the Soviet to the verge of economic bankruptcy. (1) The Soviet Union began to make a series adjustments on its Asian policy in 1988 while easing tensions in Europe. It cleared away these big obstacles which had hindered the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations and realized the normalization of the relations between the two countries and parties. The summit between Japan and the Soviet Union has broken a deadlock in the Soviet-Japanese relations. Recently, Russian Republic announced that the issue of its northern territory will be settled within two years. It's trying to reduce its military confrontation in Northeast Asia and seeking for establishment of partner relations between the Soviet Union and US. It has established the diplomatic relations with South Korea, broadened their economic cooperation and supported South Korea to enter into the United Nations. All in all, Northeast Asia has begun to go towards the post Cold War.

US-CHINESE RELATIONS HAVE ENTERED INTO A MORE DIFFICULT PERIOD OF A TIME.

In the Cold War the strategic interests were superior to ideological differences in

America's China policy. It had formed an alliance with China in order to hold down the Soviet expansionism. But China has been losing its strategic value after the Cold War. Thus, the ideological differences in America's China policy have become prominent. US can't tolerate the differences which it paid no attention to during the Cold War. US censures China for human rights, trade deficits, arms selling and embarrasses China with its MFN status every year. Especially after the 8. 19 Event, which earmarks the end of the Cold War and the beginning for the Soviet Union to go towards capitalism, China has risen to the main target of the US beyond Containment Strategy from a sub-main target.

China has made great achievements in its economic reform since it carries out its open door policy. It gets rid of ideological interference in international relations. It is sincere to learn all the advantages from various of social systems in the world, especially learn the advanced technologies and manage experience from the west. It not only improves the living standard of its people, but also improves its relations with the peripheral countries. China is a developing country. The two most important things for China are to feed the people and keep stability. There are 1.1 billion people in which 850 million are peasants and 200 million illiterates. China denies to copy the west culture and value. Otherwise, there will be chaos in China. In that case, millions of refugees would make a big threat not only to the stability in Asia but to the whole world. China will reappear internal chaos and separatist warlord regimes. China wishes to make constructions with its own characteristics. It doesn't want any country, especially US, to press its own culture and value on China, which Chinese government believes the source of chaos. In addition, China is one of the permanent members in the UN Security Council. It has a big say in international affairs. China is a big power in Asia. It can make a significant influence on the hot spots - Korean Peninsula and Cambodia. China is also the biggest third world country which possesses nuclear weapons. Its stability is vital to Asia. China open its door not only to US but also to the other developed countries and the developing countries. Therefore, it is unnecessary for China to follow the steps of any big power. China needs a stable international environment so as to concentrate itself on its economic reform. It is successful in removing ideological factor in dealing its relations with the

Soviet Union although there exist ideological differences between the two countries, China also devotes itself to the stability and reunification of Korean Peninsula. The economic and cultural exchanges between Japan and China have been enhanced. The thinking of some US political VIPs top leaders still remain in the Cold War. They don't know that one of the most important characteristics in the post Cold War era is that national interests are superior to ideology. They still pay more attention to ideology, which leads to the deterioration of the Sino-US relations. US is the only one country in G-7 leading industrial countries which hasn't resume its normal relations with China since June 4th Movement. This attitude is short-sighted. US will be regretful for giving way to the other competitive western countries in China.

JAPAN'S POLITICAL POSITION IS RISING

One of the most important characters in the post Cold War era is that the strength of economy, science and technology instead of military strength will be the main factor of contests among countries. Consequently there has formed quadrilateral relations in Northeast Asia. The situation in Northeast Asia and the world has provided Japan with many reasons to be a political big power. First, among the four big powers in Northeast Asia, the Soviet Union is declining, China is still weak in its economy, Japan and US are strong, but US is declining in its economy. Only Japan is both strong and rising. It has become an economic superpower and is making a threat to the US leading position in technological field. Therefore, Japan is unwilling to establish an East Asian economic group to contend with the other two groups. Third, Japan feels humiliated that while paying money it was blamed in the Gulf War and its oil lifeline is controlled by the other country. Japan has determined to change its strategy from giving up Asia and trying to become one of the European countries to becoming a world political big power by representing Asia. It has begun from Northeast Asia. Japan makes its efforts to improve its relations with China, the Soviet Union and North Korea while keeping its partner relations with US so as to enhance its strategic position in Northeast Asia and even the whole world. It is making preparations for a political big power not only in economic, diplomatic and

military fields but also in enhancing its people's consciousness.

○ Japanese-Soviet relations Japan and the Soviet Union were enemy. Early at the end of 17 century they had disputes on territory. The Japanese - Soviet relations have been improved in recent years, especially after the 8.19 Event, great changes have been taken place in the Soviet Union, which provide Japan with historical opportunity to make radical changes for its relations with the Soviets. Russian Republic announced that the territory disputes will be settled within two years and reduce its arms in a large scale. If so, the biggest military threat has been eliminated. More important is that the exploitation of Tyumen' Oilfield can supply Japan with bumper of oil, save more money for transportation and get Japanese oil lifeline out of hand of US. That will not only bring Japan with huge economic benefits, but also the freedom in ploitics.

○ Japanese-Chiness relations The improvement of Sino-Japanese relations has a strategic significance for Japan to push forward its strategyof Political Big Power.

○ China is a political and military big power in Asia and also one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Nowadays Japan is trying to removing its hat of defeated country by applying for remending the UN Charter. It needs China's vote.

○ The economic rivalry among the western countries will be intensified after the Cold War. They will rely more on the resources and market in south area. China is the largest south nation in the world and also the largest potential trade market in the world. Now US has run many troubles with China. Europe is concentrating itself on the Soviet Union and the East European countries. It's a good opportunity for Japan to occupy China's market before America and Europe and improve Japan's relations with south nations.

○ Japan tries to enhance its political position by playing a role of China's expert in the western countries. It will have a big say as a China's expert and an Asia representative.

○ Japan's consciousness of energy security has become stronger than before the Gulf War (2). It is reported that by year of 2010, Japan's requirement for energy will increase 38% than in 1988. The US transnational oil corporations will enhance its

monopoly on the oil in the Middle East, which will make more threats on Japanese energy supply. Japan has decided to import it soil from multichannel. It has showed its great interests in the oilfields in the west part of China.

NORTH KOREAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS HAS BEEN IMPROVED

○ In recent years, both Japan and North Korea have a desire to improve their relations. They held talks four times and are in the process of establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. Japan's active action in improveing its relations with North Korea has many considerations. But the must important consideration is that Japan intends to draw North Korea into the western system and become an another processing base of Japanese products by taking advantage of Korea's isolated situation in the world. North Korea feels isolated after the Soviet Union established its diplomatic relations with South Korea. China and South Korea set up offices in each other's capitals and South Korea applied for the membership of UN. It tries to get out of the situation. Japan and Koreas are neighbours. Each supplies the other needs. If Korean Peninsula can be united early under the help of Japan, Japan will not only remove an another military threat, but occupy an another market. It was estimated that the intial cost of the Korean unification is about several hundreds of billion dollars. South Korea will shoulder a heavy burdern. If Japan's capital and technology plus the industial bases and labors of South Korea, they can be successful in gobbling up North Korea. By doing so, Japan can lay a solid foundation for establishing the North Korea and has bigger saying in the G-7 leading industrial countries.

Japanese-US relations have gone through a rigorous trial

The Japanese main object of improving its relations with the countries above is to

make preparations for competing with US to play the leading role in Northeast Asia. In the Cold War, US and the Soviet Union were the main rivalry which strove for hegemony by military means. Now US and Japan have become the main rivalry in Northeast Asia which are striving for sphere of influence by economic and technical means. Thus, the Japanese-US relations have been changing from the relations of principal and subordinate in the Cold War to partnership in the transition period to the rivalry in the post Cold War period at last. During the transition period, the development of the Japan's military strength is limited by the post war constitution and not strong enough. It still rely on US in politics and military as well as the US market. Consequently, only keeping partner relations with US can Japan squeeze into the diplomatic arrangements of the world order (3). It is obvious that Japan is trying to compete with US for the leader in the Northeast Asia and even in the world after the Cold War. The only thing left is the time. In the post Cold War era the nation which possesses the strongest economy and most advanced technology, will gain the highest political position and be the world leader. Japan is nibbling at the US political sphere of influence by using its economic and technical advantages until replaces US.

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

There exist many different social systems, different level of economic development, different culture, and religion in Northeast Asia. However, most of the countries in this area have shown their great interests in economic cooperation. There might form different sorts of economic systems. US and Japan are supposed to strive for playing the leading role in economic cooperation in Northeast Asia. It is possible for US to recover its economy from a long recession under the stimulation of the Peace Bonus. It's impossible for it to give up the vested interests in the area. Japan considers Northeast Asia as its own sphere of influence and tries to squeeze US out of the area.

REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION IS THE GENERAL TREND OF EVENTS

The model of economic development in many Asian nations are export orientated. But the world is developing towards economic groups and trade protectionism becomes more and more intensified. Consequently, the regional economic cooperation in Asia has gradually become a common desire of the most nations in Asia. Japan is the most active initiator which intends to play a leading role in Asian economic cooperation. US has adopted more positive attitude to the cooperation than before. It also attempts to play a leading role in order to accept the challenge. The Soviet Union has adjusted its policy towards economic cooperation from resistance to support and seeking for participation. It tries to accelerate the exploitation of its Far East area in order to rejuvenate its economy. China has been taking an active part in various of activities and economic cooperation organized by Conference of Pacific Economic Cooperation, which is one of the important contents in China's economic reform. All in all, the economic cooperation in Asia has entered into a new period, from a few countries' idea to the common desire of most countries, from inquisition made by academic institutes to official coordination. It is impossible for Asia to form a kind of economic group like Europe and North America due to the complicated characters in Asia. But there is a great potentiality and broad prospect to form the sub-regional economic cooperations. The Northeast Asian Economic Rim (Japanese Sea Economic Rim) has many reasons to be successful. The design was made by Japan. The rim is consisted of three provinces in northeast China, Far East of the Soviet Union, Japan and Korean Peninsula. It occupies one fifth of the Asian land. There are 290 million populations which is one tenth of the Asian populations. The GNP of this area is 3000 billion US dollars which is two third of the total Asian GNP. The reasons for its success are :

- The nations in the rim can benefit from each other in their economic cooperation. They are in the different level of the economic development. Every nation has its own superiority either in capital, technology, resources or labors.
- The detente in the area has laid a foundation for economic cooperation and development. China has normalized its relations with the soviet Union. China and South Korea set up their civilian offices in each other's capitals. The top leader of the Soviet Union visited Japan since World War II. The Soviet Union and South Korea

established diplomatic relations. Japan and North Korea try to establish the diplomatic relations. The South and North are seeking for holding a summit. All the political changes create a condition for economic cooperation.

○ All the countries in the rim have showed great interest in their economic cooperation. Japan put forward Northeast Asian Economic Rim. South Korea advorated Yellow Sea Economic Rim. The Soviet Union suggested setting up Japan Sea Community. All the nations sent their observation groups to investigate the possibility of economic cooperation while increasing their trade exchanges. The sub-regional economic cooperation will open up a way to a bright future for the nations in their economic development.

THE PRINCIPLE AND SUBORDINATE RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND JAPAN HAVE CHANGED INTO A RIVAL RELATIONS

From political and military angles, the US-Japanese relations are partners which is before the period of rivalry. But from economic and technical angles, they have entered into the relations of rivalry. The economic and technological frictions between the two countries and their striving for playing the leading role in Asia, have set an example for it. There are more conflicts in economic and technical fields between US and Japan.

The present situation and trend of the US-Japanese economic development - Japan's economy has been rising since the end of 1960s. The annual growth rate of its GNP reached 4.6% between 1970 and 1982(4). It has surpassed 5% for three years running. Japan has exceeded US in its industrial investment in five years in succession. The US economy has gone down hill since 1970s. The annual growth rate of its GNP was 2.7% between 1970 and 1982. It declined to 0.9% in 1990. Its financial deficits reached 220.4 billion US dollars(5). It was estimated by the US Office of Management and Budget and the Congresson August 15 that the financial deficits of the US government in the next fiscal year will reach 362 billion US dollars. It is estimatied that the Jap-

anese economy will surpass that of US by year of 2000 or 2010 if the annual growth rate of the Japanese economy will be 2-3% higher than that of US and the Japanese dollars will be revalued upward to the US dollars every year.

US-Japanese trade frictions - The Japanese investments in US is 30% of its overseas investments. 31% of Japanese products rely on the US market. Japanese exports to US was 89.7 billion US dollars in 1990. It was reported that 50% of the US trade deficits come from Japan. The Japanese favourable balance to US still reached 41.1 billion US dollars although US gave many limitations to the Japanese products. The United States believes that its huge trade deficits are caused by the Japanese unequal trade. It accused that Japan only knows how to compete mercilessly with the other countries for its own national interests, but don't know how to cooperate and forgets it was the main recipient of the US assistance after World War II. It asked Japan to open up its domestic market further and adjust the structure of its products, so as to reduce Japan's trade favourable balance to US. Japan believes that the US trade deficits are caused by its wrong trade policy which leads to the lack of competitiveness of US products. US still puts its stress on the development of military technology, continues to transfer civilian technics into military ones and ask Japan to supply the civilian technics. The Japanese suggested that US adjust the structure of its products, increase the competitiveness of its own products and reduce the trade deficits by its own.

US-Japanese technological frictions - Japan has made great achievements in science and technology since 1979 when Japan adopted the strategy of SET UP JAPAN WITH SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. BY 1979, Japan became the second advanced technological country. It was only next to US in its investments in research and development was 2.9% of its GNP in 1990. But that of US declined to 2.5% of its GNP. Japan had gradually left US behind in the development of its technics by utilizing and improving the America's achievements in its technological research. In June of 1990, the US Commercial Department made a conclusion after investigating 12 sophisticated technics, that there were five items in which America had lagged behind Japan. There are three items they equally matched. There are four items US was superior to Japan(7). Now Japan is trying all its efforts to gain the leading position

in the world technics, US has felt that its technological kingdom position is shaking. It has given many limitations on the Japanese technological development. For example, Japanese blamed that US blockades Japan with the industrial information. The Japanese warned that US should not adopt Technological Containment Strategy towards Japan as US adopted Military Containment Strategy towards the Soviet Union in the Cold War.

The economic and technic frictions between Japan and US will evolve into battles between them along with the US economic competitive capability getting stronger.

US and Japan make more efforts on scrambling for economic sphere of influence in Asia.

When the United States has an ability to maintain its economic hegemony, it can tolerate the trade superiority over it made by the Asian countries. But when US economy is relatively declining, it will change its "mercy hegemony" into a "pillaging hegemony". It doesn't maintain an open international trade system for its own interest (8). In addition, in face of the Soviet threat, US could tolerate the trade superiority over US made by the Asian countries. The end of the Cold War has robbed US of its patience. It adopts more and more trade protectionism against Asian countries. Japan tries to take the chance to replace US position. The economic development of the Asian countries was formed of one-way cycling system in 1960s and 1970s. Japan supplied mechanic equipment and semi-products. The Four Dragons could take off in their economy and Asian economic development was booming under the one-way cycling system. But US trade with Japan and Four Dragons began to appear unbalanced. Both the financial deficits and trade deficits keep high. The US forces the Asian countries to open their markets by using trade protectionism. Japan and the Four Dragons have to change their economic strategy by adjusting their industrial and trade structures. Meanwhile they open their domestic markets to each other and rely less on the US market. Consequently a two-way cycling system has been formed. Japan is not only the biggest supplier of its capital and technology for the Asian countries, but also opens its domestic market to the letter positively. Four Dragons

transfer their technology and capital to ASEAN countries and also open their domestic markets to the letters(9). Therefore, the two-way cycling system has increased the economic and trade cooperations among Asian countries. They gradually free themselves from relying on the US market, Japan also gained more appreciations from the other Asian countries.

In Northeast Asia, there is an evidence for US and Japan to vie with each other for South Korea. South Korea imports technical equipment, processes semi-products and exports and products to US. South Korea has a larger deficits in its trade with Japan and relies heavily on Japan's investment. The Japanese capitals absorbed by South Korea was 60% of foreign investments in South Korea from 1960 to 1982. South Korea imported technology from Japan, which was 50% of its imported technology from abroad. The trade deficits between Japan and South Korea reached 5 billion US dollars in 1990(10). Only if Japan transfers its technology to South Korea can the latter reduces its deficits. But Japan is unwilling to transfer its advanced technologies to South Korea for fear that the latter will lose its control. The US trade deficits to Japan has reached 41.1 billion US dollars. There is a possibility that the US transfer more technics to South Korea, especially in software and spare parts. Thus US will reduce its deficits with Japan in a large scale while South Korea can also reduce its deficits with Japan. Consequently, US can make more influence on South Korea by replacing Japan. Conversely, Japan has to increase its technical cooperation with South Korea. There appears a situation of mutual competition and mutual restriction among the three countries.

General speaking, Japan keeps sober-minded. As soon as the Cold War is over, Japan takes an active action to occupy a better position to vie with US. It has a strategic view. But US is confused at the changing world.

MILITARY SITUATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

Further reduction of the military forces by the Soviet Union is in the interest of detente in Northeast Asia. US has shifted its attention to the south countries in this

area, while shrinking its military forces. Japan is encouraged to fill the blank left by US. The hot spot - Korean Peninsula - is cooling down.

SHARP DECLINE OF SOVIET THREAT CONTRIBUTES TO STABILITY AND SECURITY

The Soviet Union is going towards capitalism after the 8.19 Event. Mr.Cheny, the secretary of the US Department of Defense said on September 6, "the Soviet Union is no longer a threat". The Soviet military planners are trained by US to reorganize the Soviet military forces. Four million Soviet armed forces may cut down to two million, even less in the next few years(13). Mr.Lopatin, the vice president of that the Russian Defense Committee revealed the Russian Republic will set up a defense community with NATO as an example and plan to cut down its nuclear and conventional weapons sharply(14). Russian Republic which is the successor of the Soviet nuclear weapons advocated to reduce military forces in alarge scale. Russian officials said the Soviet-Japanese disputes on territory will be settled within two years (15). There is few possibility for the military conservatives to come back into power although the Soviet situation is still unstable. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has given the republics more power. The west is reluctant to contact with Yeltsin. But his radical reform is a match for the west requirement. His country is running into a great trouble in economy, which needs capitals and technics from the west badly. It is unnecessary for the west to be kept in suspense.

US REDUCES ITS FORCES RELATIVELY IN NORTHEAST ASIA AND FOCUS ITS MILITARY ATTENTION ON THE SOUTH

The shrinking of the Soviet threat, the recession of the US economy heavy military burdern overseas give the US government no reason to maintain a strong military

forces abroad. Therefore, It has to withdraw its forces from the Northeast Asia while urging its allies in the area - Japan and South Korea - to share more burden with it. The US Department of Defense has worked out a plan to reduce the military forces in Asia in three phases in the next ten years.

In the first phase (at the end of 1992) the US troops in Japan will be reduced to 12000 or 13000. In the second phase (in 1993) the US forces in Asia will be cut down in a large scale after the rejudgement of the Northeast Asian security. In the third phase (1995-2000), the US troops in Asia will be further reduced. And US will maintain a lower level of its military forces.

But there is a limitation for the reduction because the US troops deployed in Asia not only aim at the Soviet Union but at China and North Korea, and in some degree at checking Japan.

In addition, US has important economic and security interests in Northeast Asia. It's impossible for it to give them up. The trade volume of US with the countries in Asia has surpassed that with the countries in Europe in the 15 years and increases rapidly. The US trade volume with Europe was 25% of its total volume with foreign countries last year, and the volume with Asia was one third of it(12). It has defense cooperative agreements with Japan and South Korea respectively. The threat has changed, however, US has to adjust its military strategy. The new military strategy centers on the regional conflicts in south area and, the south military powers with destructive weapons. The Korean Peninsula is a hot spot in Northeast Asia. The nuclear weapons on the peninsula are one of the sources with cause the instability of the region. China and North Korea are the south countries with destructive weapons. They might be the targets of the US new military strategy. The United States will readjust its forces' structure and weapon in the region and set up a fast-deployed troops which will be sent to the site of a conflict in emergency along with the changing of its military strategy.

JAPAN ATTEMPTS TO FILL MILITARY VACUUM LEFT BY US, BUT CAN'T EXCEED US-JAPANESE SECURITY SAFEGUARD SYSTEM

There is a prevailing saying that Japan is only interested in being a political big power instead of military big power. In my view point, Japan is on a quiet to build up a military forces matched with the big political power. The growth rate of its defense budget maintains around 6%. The Japanese military budget is 27 billion US dollars in 1991. It has become the No. 1 military budgetter in the world. It sent sweeper to the Gulf in April and prepares to take part in the peace keeping actions by sending its self-defense forces. Although the total number of the self-defense forces is only 0.3 million, there is a great potentiality in its military personnel with advanced weapons and equipments. The forces can be enlarged as quick as possible if necessary. It has revised its five-year-plan of military build-up. It is going to be a military big power with high-technic weapons. Japan is a big arms-imported nation which is keeping purchasing advanced weapons abroad. It imported weapons worth 11 billion US dollars from 1986 to 1990. It has become the second largest arms-imported country. It also put stress on enhancing the research and development of defense forces and tries to develop high-technic weapons by its own. The funds for research and development in 1991 FY reaches 113.9 billion Japanese yuan which is 2.6% of the self-defense budget. It will increase into at least 5% by 1995.

However, the Japanese military build-up can't go beyond the limitation of the US-Japanese Security Safeguard Agreement. The FIRST REASON is that US doesn't hope to see that Japan replaces its position in Northeast Asia by being a military big power. It encourages Japan to assume defense on air and sea Lines about 1000 nautical miles, but doesn't hope that Japan develops an aircraft carrier and plays a military role in South China Sea. US encourages Japan to send its self-defense forces abroad under the flag of UN. But it doesn't hope that Japan sends troops to fight in war. US also encourages Japan to demand for eliminating the items for Enemy Nation in the UN Charter. But it doesn't wish to revise the UN Charter. After the Gulf War, the US DoD and the Department of Trade and Industry deliberate on a new agreement on arms technological cooperation. The US arms producer can get Japanese high technics both for civilian and military uses and get hold of the development of Japanese military high technics. The SECOND REASON is that many Asian nations are on analert to the Japanese military expansion. China and Korean Peninsula, which

suffered a lot when they were occupied by Japan, pay a close attention to it. The THIRD REASON is that most of Japanese oppose the military expansion of their own country. There is a poll made by Japan's Kyodo News Service that 83% of Japanese opposes sending self-defense forces abroad and 87% of Japanese resists to revise their Constitution.

HOT SPOT IN NORTHEAST ASIA-KOREA PENINSULA-IS COOLING DOWN

Korean Peninsula is a hot spot both in Northeast Asia and Asia. There appears a detente on the peninsula in recent years. South and North Korea have held premier-level talks three times and prepare to hold fourth talk in Pyongyang in October. South Korea took an active action to make a suggestion that the summit between the two sides of Korea be held and the building up of the political and military confidences be established. The minister of the Defense Department in South Korea announced on September 6 that its military forces will be cut down from 830000 to 660000 in two years. The detente in Northeast Asia make a great pressure on North Korea. The military budget of North Korea is 25% of its GNP which raises 980000 active forces and 4.5 million reserve forces. It is urgent for it to rejuvenate its economy by cutting down its military budget, absorbing foreign investments and technologies. North Korea suggested that the military personnel of both sides be reduced to 100000 respectively and demanded that 43000 US forces be with drawn from South Korea. It announced that it would join the UN in May and agreed to return there mains of the US soldiers in Korean War etc.

But the peace process on Korean Peninsula is going on slowly. One of the main obstacles is nuclear weapons. US believes that the most important factor to maintain peace and stability on Korean Peninsula is to settle the issue on nuclear weapons of North Korea and ease tensions on peninsula(16). South Korea also believes that it is the nuclear weapons in North Korea that leads to tensions on the peninsula. Japan considers that a precondition for Japan to establish diplomatic relations with North

Korea is that the latter should receive investigation on its nuclear facilities by the UN. North Korea refutes that the nuclear threat on the peninsula comes from US which has deployed 1000 more nuclear weapons on the territory of South Korea (17). It believes that US must remove its nuclear weapons from South Korea. Not long ago North Korea appealed to a non-nuclear zone on Korean Peninsula once again and agreed to receive nuclear investigation meanwhile the US bases in South Korea should receive nuclear investigation also.

I rather prefer Mr. William Taylor's viewpoints. Mr. Taylor is a vice president for international Studies in Washington. He contributed his comments to Washington Post on June 27 this year. He raised seven reasons for US to remove its nuclear weapons out of South Korea.

- They are unnecessary for deterring Soviet or Chinese aggression via North Korea. Obviously, the threat in Northeast Asia has changed.

- They are redundant. As the Gulf War demonstrated, the United States has many alternative precision-guided systems for delivering nuclear weapons—by strategic bombers, fighter-bombers, and air- or sea-launched cruise missiles.

- The North Korea assumption that there are US nuclear weapons on the ground in South Korea is one major factor spurring the North to develop its own nuclear arsenal.

- This North Korea belief serves as a major barrier to North-South Korea mutual confidence building and arms control negotiations.

- The South Korean public believes there are US nuclear weapons based on their soil. This contributes to anti-American sentiment among some elements of South Korean society.

- If US nuclear weapons for either ground or air delivery are stored in South Korea, they probably have been there for many years. Old nuclear weapons are both expensive to maintain and dangerous to handle.

- Despite extraordinary security measures that would be in place around special weapons storage sites in South Korea, simulations have shown terrorist seizures are possible.

Sound national security strategy demands tailored planning for multiple

contingencies. The next US move in the Korean contingency as it stands today is to work decisively with South Korea allies to remove ground-based nuclear weapons-if they are there.

Both South and North Koreas hope to lower their military level because the Soviet Union is no longer a threat and China devotes itself to its economic reform. We hope that Korean Peninsula will be a non-nuclear zone and make a great contribution to the stability and prosperous in Northeast Asia.

There is a factor which makes the people worry a lot that many Asian countries increase their military budgets universally. Some of them are afraid that the vacuum left by US and the Soviet Union will be filled by some regional hegemonism. Some of them try to defend their given overseas interests. And some of them fear that they are once again ruled by the old enemy. Therefore, we hope that the major military big powers in the world take the lead in cutting down their military forces in a larger scale. The developed countries help the developing countries for their economic construction by using the funds reduced from military budgets. It's impossible for the developed countries to become stronger without prosperous of the developing countries. The developing countries are shifting more military funds to their domestic construction. Let's unite as one and create a peaceful prosperous Northeast Asia in order to welcome the coming of 21th century.

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최근 동북아의 정치, 경제, 군사상황은 급격히 변화하고 있다. 종래 냉전구조하의 정직된 역내안보질서가 서서히 와해되고 있으며 평화공존과 공영의 새로운 가능성이 증가되고 있다. 그러나 이러한 새로운 사태발전에도 불구하고 일방적낙관론에 안주할 수 없다. 아직도 불확실성의 기운이 짙게 감돌고 있다. 동북아 안보환경을 정리해 보면 다음과 같은 흐름을 파악할 수 있다.

첫째, 1991년 8월 군부쿠데타미수들 계기로 소련은 더이상 동북아 지역내 큰 위협 세력으로 등장하지 않을 것 같다. 특히 최근 중소간의 관계 개선, 미소간의 대화, 그리고 소련의 대한반도정책을 감안할 때 과거 냉전체제하에서 처럼 소련이 "destabilizer"로서 역할을 수행하지는 않을 것이다.

둘째, 미국-중국관계의 약화는 역내질서와 안정을 해칠 수 있다. 소련의 팽창주의를 견제하기 위해 미국과 중국은 일종의 동맹관계를 유지해 왔다. 그러나 천안문사태를 계기로 미국은 중국에 대한 각양의 압력을 가하고 있다. 인권문제, 무역역조, 그리고 군수물자 판매 등을 빌미로 중국에 대한 압력을 가하고 있는데, 이는 미국의 가치와 문화를 중국에 이식시키려는 패권주의적 움직임으로 받아들여질 수 있다. 중국에는 11억의 인구가 있고 이중 8억 5천만이 소작농들이고, 2억이 문맹자들이다. 이러한 상황에서 미국식 가치와 문화를 받아들이면 안정을 해친다. 중국이 불안해지면 수백만의 중국난민들이 주변국가들로 몰려들어갈 것이고 이는 동북아질서를 심각하게 해칠 것이다.

세번째, 일본과 중국관계는 1970년대이후 점진적으로 개선되어 왔다. 그러나 일본은 그 경제력에 비추어 중국을 포함한 인근국가들에 대해 편협한 태도를 취해왔다. 특히 경제대국으로 일본의 정치, 군사적 위상 향상은 동북아지역에서 일본과 미국간에 새로운 형태의 패권적 경쟁을 촉발할 수 있고, 이는 역내안정과 질서를 해할 수 있다.

마지막으로 탈냉전의 기류에 맞추어 한반도의 평화가능성도 증가하고 있다. 그러나 아직도 주한미군문제와 전술핵문제가 남북한 평화협상에 장애가 되고 있다. 특히 이중에서도 주한미군의 전술핵은 아주 결정적 장애라고 할 것이다. 따라서 전술핵 문제의 선결은 북한의 핵무기보유를 방지하고 한반도에 평화와 안정을 가져오게 하는 중요한 정책이슈라 하겠다.