KOREA-US ALLIANCE TRANSFORMATION

AND

PYEONGTAEK

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★KOREA-US ALLIANCE TRANSFORMATION AND PYEONGTAEK★

1. KOREA EXPERT OPINION Ⅰ

■EAI : *Korean-American Alliance : a Vision and a Road Map* (2006.10)

o Complex Alliance : Multi-Dimensional Comprehensive Cooperation

	Regional Alliance	New Complex Alliance
Reason	o Regional Stability and Peace o Prevent Emergence of Regional Hegemony	o Maintain and Develop Universal Value System o Cooperation against Comprehensive Threat
Target	o Potential Regional Hegemonic Power	o Non-Specific(Comprehensive) Security Threat
Range	o Main Focus on Asia-Pacific Region - Extend to Other Regions, When necessary	o Including Both Asia-Pacific and Other Regions
Scope	o Cooperation against Military Threat	o Comprehensive Cooperation - Military, Economic, Political, Social, Cultural
USFK	o Mainly for Regional Security o Sharp Increase in Case of War o Support Defense of Korean Peninsula	o Appropriate Weight on Outside Korea Peninsula o Need Agreement on the Terms of Regional Role o Support Recovery of Korean Territory and Strategic Location in Case of War or Emergency
Relation with Others	o Consider a Direct or Indirect Link between US-ROK Alliance and US-Japan Alliance	o Basically Independent o Complex Cooperation with Other Bilateral or Multi-Lateral Relation, when Deemed Necessary

2. KOREA EXPERT OPINION II

■ EAI (2006.10) : Common Interests Area Between ROK and the US

	Korean Interests	Common Interests Area	US Interests
Korean Peninsula	o Deterrence and Defense against Use or Threat of Military Power o Relative Aurtonomy o Re-conciliation, Cooperation and Co-prosperity w/ N. Korea	o Prevention of War o Maintenance of Democracy, and Market Economy in Korea o Re-Unification of Korea Under Leadership of ROK	o Stability in Korea o Influence over Korean Peninsula o Maintain Democracy and Market Economy
Regional Cooperation	o Higher Status in North East Asian Region o Prevent Emergence of Regional Hegemony o Oppose Unilateralism of the US	o Maintain Regional Peace o Prevent Emergence of Regional Hegemony o Enhance Economic Cooperation o Safety of Sea Routes o Anti-terrorism, Non-proliferation	o Maintain Regional Peace o Supremacy in the Region o Balance Regional Power (especially China) o Dispersion of Democracy in the Region o Manage Regional Economic Order
Global Cooperation	o Higher Status of Korea in World Order o Complex World Order	o World Peace o Realization of Universal Value of Human Society o Global Cooperation in Politics and Economy	o Against WMD o Maintain Hegemony in World Economic Order o Dispersion of American Value System

3. NEED FOR ALLIANCE TRANSFORMATION

■Rationale behind ROK ? US Alliance Transformation : EAI (2006.10)

▶US :

o Revolution in Military Affairs and Need for Strategic Flexibility

⇒Base Realignment according to Global Defense Posture Review

▶Korea :

o Need for Peaceful Re - Unification of Korean Peninsula

o Need to Build Trust between ROK and US with New Partnership

o Public Opinion in Favor of More Autonomous and Horizontal Relation

o Need to Contribute on Maintenance of World Order as Economy Grows

▶Regional :

o Fear of Rapidly Rising China (Regional Hegemony & Rivalry)

▶Global :

o Increase in Interdependence across Countries

o Comprehensive and Unpredictable Threats (Too Big to Defend Alone)

o Change in Pattern of Diplomacy into 2 - Way (Competition + Cooperation)

4. DEMAND FOR ROK - US ALLIANCE

■Korea and US Need Each Other !

Why Korea?	Why U.S.?
# Successful Model as a U.S. Ally - Industrialization, Democratization - Americanization, Globalization # Just the Right Size for Coalition : - Neither too Big Nor Too Small [William H. Riker (1962)] # Geo-Strategic Location : - More Important with Oil Price ↑ # Maybe Emotional, But Loyal Friend [Pew Global Attitudes Project] # Japan as an Ambivalent Ally : - Article IX as an Escape Clause - Yasukuni Shrine = Remember WW Ⅱ !	# Liberator and Blood Alliance - Trust Built over 50 Years # Need for Balance of Power : - Nuclear Threat from N. Korea - Fear of China [Stephen Walt (1987)] * Legacy of Imperial Past * Northeast Asian Project # Heavy Burden of Unification Expected - Not Much Room for Internal Balancing - Alliance ⇒↑Resource for Development # Post-Unification Concern : China Again # Common Values & Shared Challenges - Stabilize Regional Hegemony & Rivalry

5. MANAGEMENT OF ALLIANCE

■Stronger Bond between US and ROK

o Regional Instability ⇒Stronger Alliance for Deterrence

■Backed by Wider Scope and Range of Cooperation

o FTA, ODA, Anti-Terrorism, Anti-Piracy, Disaster Relief

■Dual Track Strategy : Complement Hedging w/ Engagement (N. Korea, China)

o Incentive for Cooperation by Changing Expected Payoff

o Complex Multiple Layers of Network for Pacification

■US Needs for Strategic Flexibility and Revolution in Military Affairs

⇒ROK Needs Autonomous Internal Balancing (Esp., Upgrade of C^4I)

■But, Too Strong Alliance may Backfire :

o Security Dilemma Dynamics ⇒Eurasian Alliance

* MD, Triangular Alliance (US-Japan-ROK)

■Enhance Communication, Publicity and Civil ? Military Relation

6. RESOLVING ENTRAPMENT FEAR

■Relative Certainties : NIC (2005), *Mapping the Global Future*

o Rise of Asia, Especially China/India

o But, US will Remain the Single Most Powerful Actor

- Decisive Role Economically, Technologically, Militarily

⇒Likelihood Great Power Conflict Escalating into Total War by 2020

- Lower than at Any Time in the 20th Century

■Relative Uncertainties

o Whether China/India Relate Cooperatively or Competitively to Others

o Taiwan Strait :

- the Only Area for Potential Open Conflict between China and the US

- Recent Development toward Economic Integration and Co-Existence

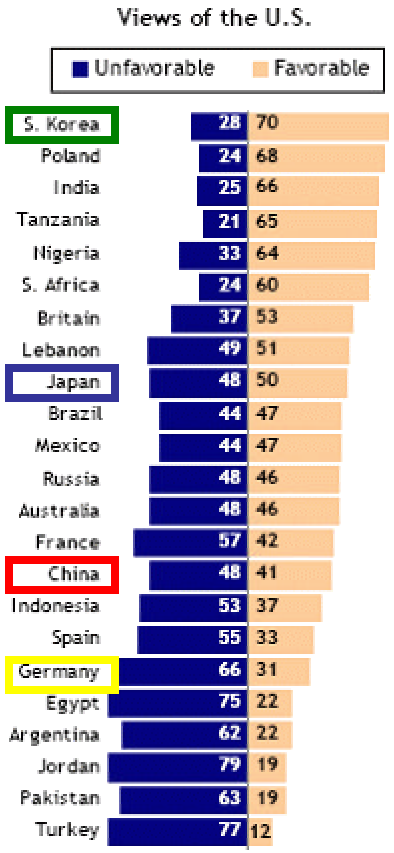
⇒Likelihood of Cross Strait Conflict Sharply Reduced

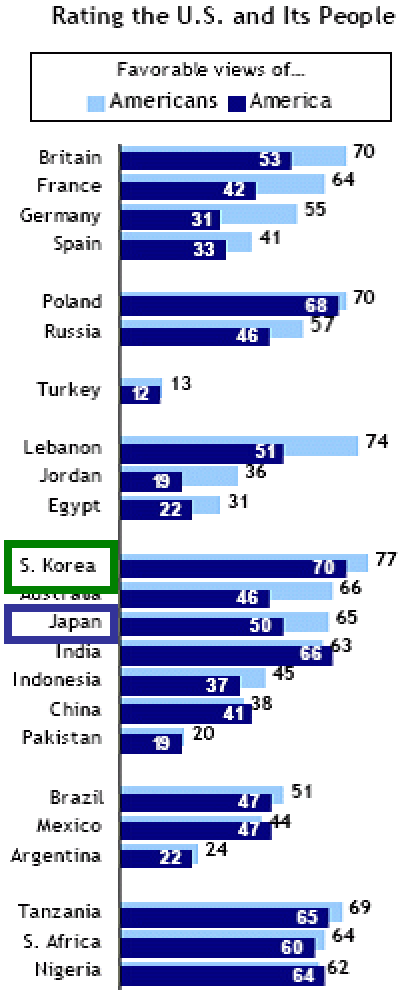
Time to Prepare for Long-term : Pursuit of Cooperative Solution

7. KOREA PUBLIC OPINION I

■Pew Global Attitudes Project I (2008) :

o Very Favorable to the US and Americans





8. KOREA PUBLIC OPINION II

■Pew Global Attitudes Project II (2008) :

o Favorable Views toward US with Fear toward Growing Power of China

Favorable Views of the U.S.

	1999/ 2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Britain	83	75	70	58	55	56	51	53
France	62	62	42	37	43	39	39	42
Spain	50	--	38	--	41	23	34	33
Germany	78	60	45	38	42	37	30	31
Poland	86	79	--	--	62	--	61	68
Russia	37	61	37	46	52	43	41	46
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23	12	9	12
Lebanon	--	36	27	--	42	--	47	51
Egypt	--	--	--	--	--	30	21	22
Jordan	--	25	1	5	21	15	20	19
South Korea	58	52	46	--	--	--	58	70
India	--	66	--	--	71	56	59	66
Japan	77	72	--	--	--	63	61	50
Australia	--	--	59	--	--	--	--	46
China	--	--	--	--	42	47	34	41
Indonesia	75	61	15	--	38	30	29	37
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23	27	15	19
Brazil	56	51	35	--	--	--	44	47
Mexico	68	64	--	--	--	--	56	47
Argentina	50	34	--	--	--	--	16	22
Tanzania	--	53	--	--	--	--	46	65
Nigeria	46	76	61	--	--	62	70	64
South Africa	--	65	--	--	--	--	--	60

1999/2000 survey trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State.

How China's Growing Power Affects Your Country

	Growing military power		Growing economy	
	Good thing	Bad thing	Good thing	Bad thing
	%	%	%	%
U.S.	8	82	35	53
France	12	87	37	63
Britain	9	74	43	44
Germany	8	81	39	56
Spain	7	72	38	45
Russia	11	77	43	34
Poland	9	74	31	46
Turkey	11	52	13	56
Jordan	33	46	52	37
Egypt	30	48	47	33
Lebanon	17	62	65	25
Pakistan	61	9	70	6
Indonesia	27	42	57	31
India	24	62	42	45
Australia	12	75	63	29
S. Korea	9	87	39	54
Japan	5	90	55	37
Brazil	24	54	53	31
Mexico	21	57	36	48
Argentina	10	48	38	25
Nigeria	60	19	87	5
Tanzania	51	39	77	16
S. Africa	24	36	56	25

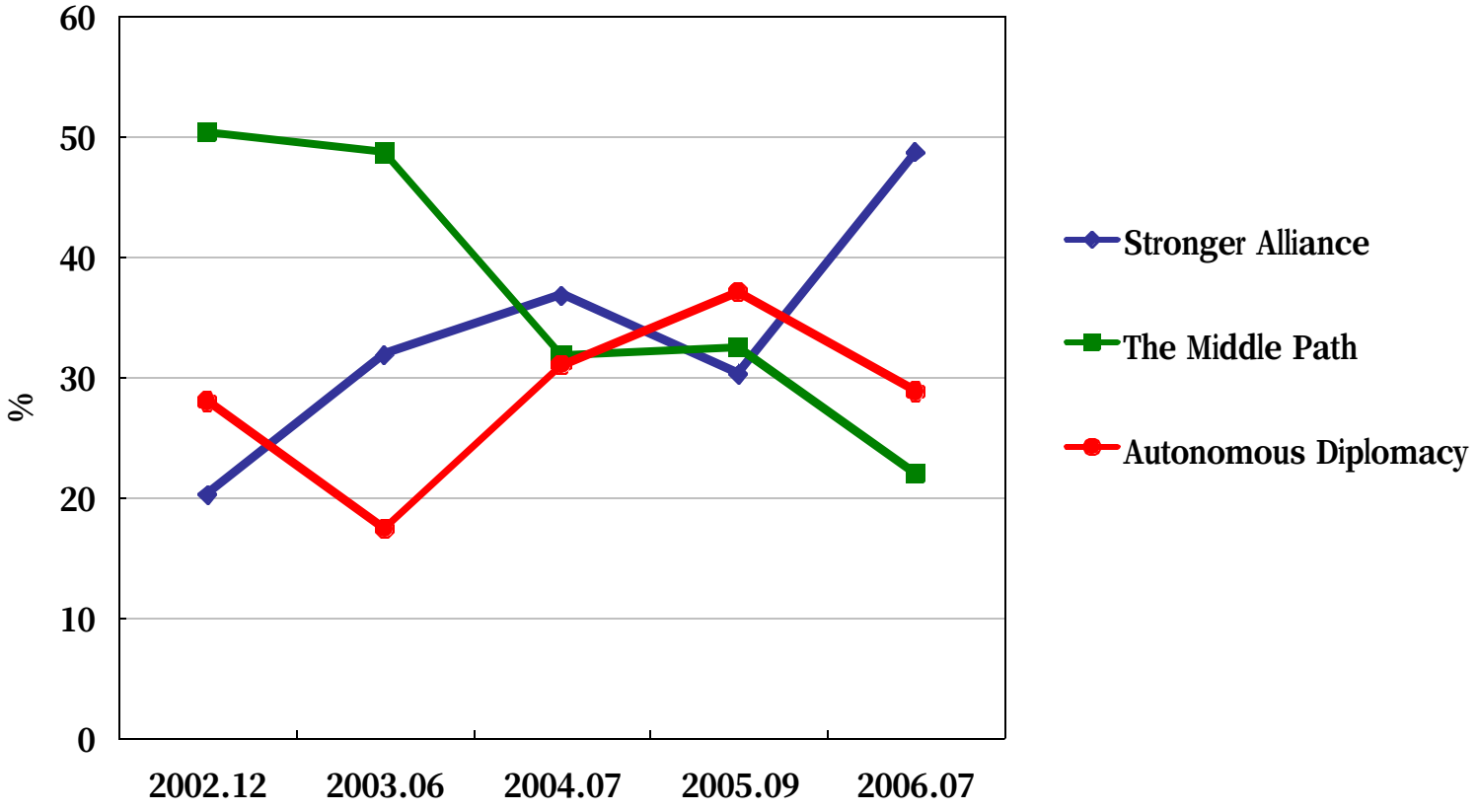
9. KOREA PUBLIC OPINION III

■Desirable Form of ROK ? US Relation : EAI Survey

o Preference for Stronger ROK ? US Alliance : Increasing Trend

- was the Lowest in 2002, after the Schoolgirl Incident

o Demand for More Autonomy ⇒ Need for More Horizontal Relation



1. CHALLENGE OF PYEONGTAEK

■Pyeongtaek as a Symbol of Sustainable ROK ? US Alliance

o 21st Century Model City

■Pyeongtaek : Value Projection Hub

o Project 'Super America'

▶Inside Korea : New Civil-Military Relation Model

▶Into N. Korea : Open Market Economy, Democracy

▶Into China & Japan : Regional Peace & Prosperity

▶into the World : Soft Power USA

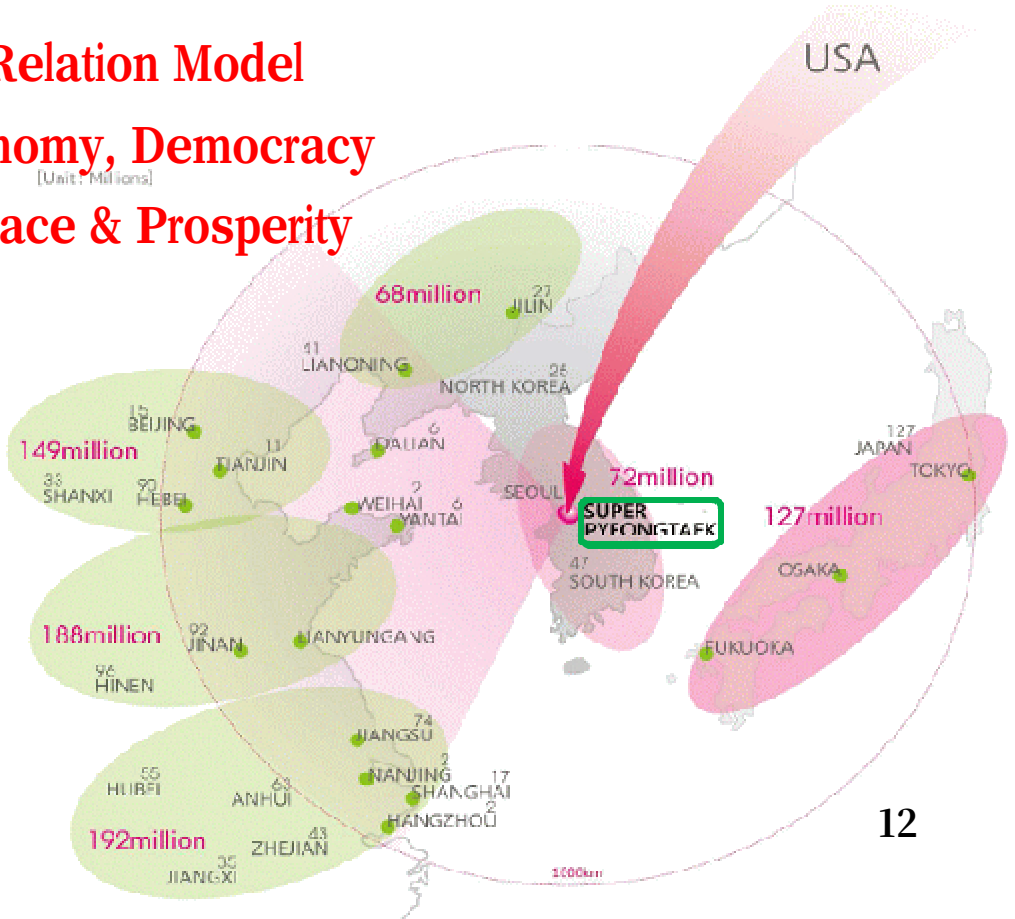
BUILD TRUST

↓

PROJECT VALUE

↓

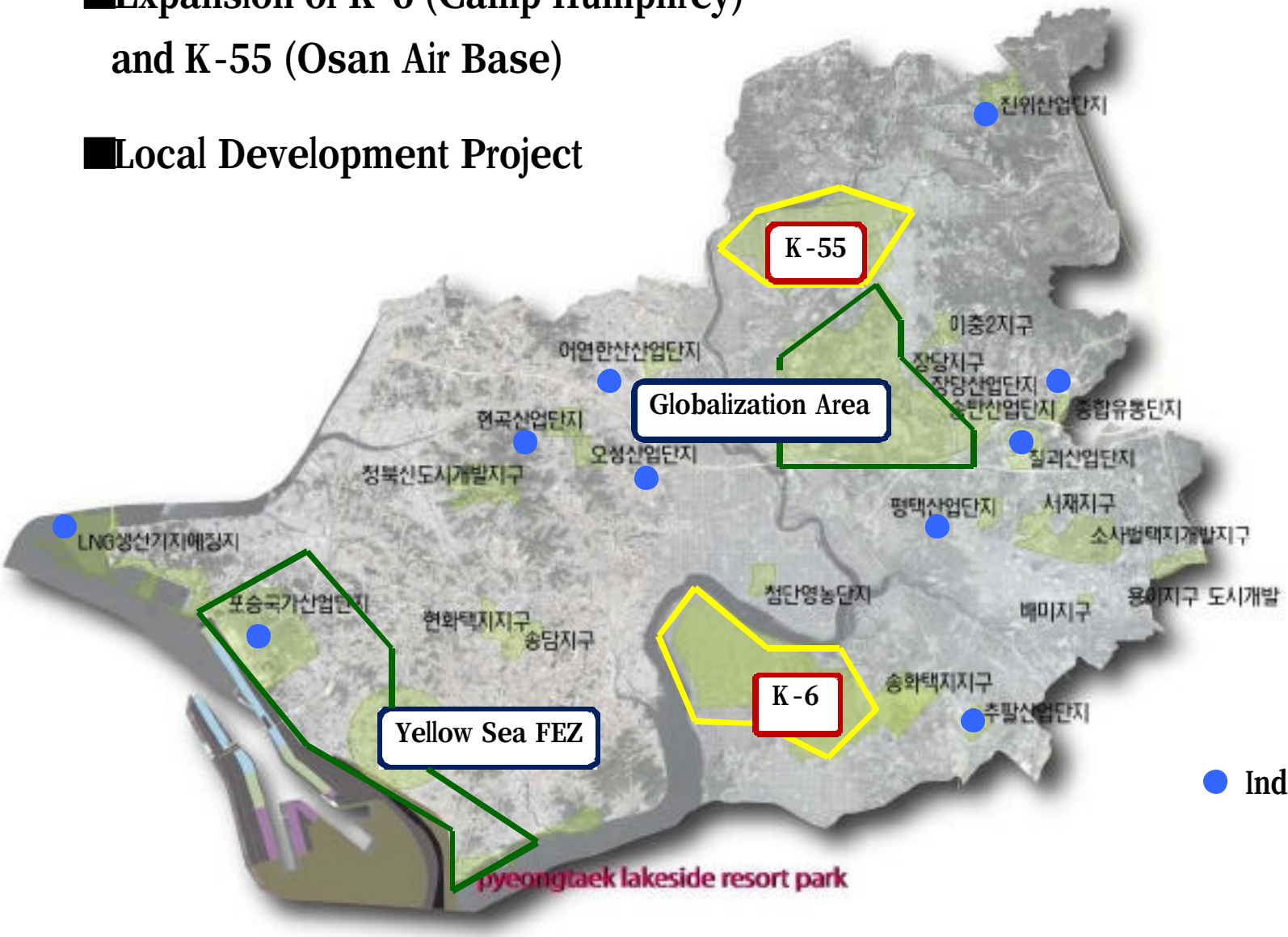
PROSPERITY & PEACE



2. USFK BASE REALIGNMENT

■Expansion of K-6 (Camp Humphrey) and K-55 (Osan Air Base)

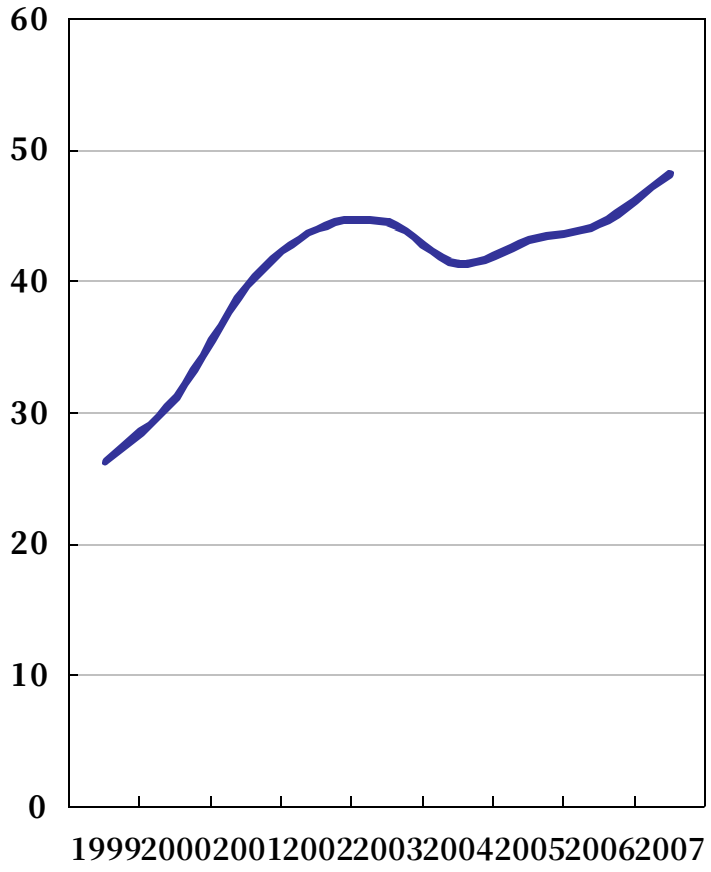
■Local Development Project



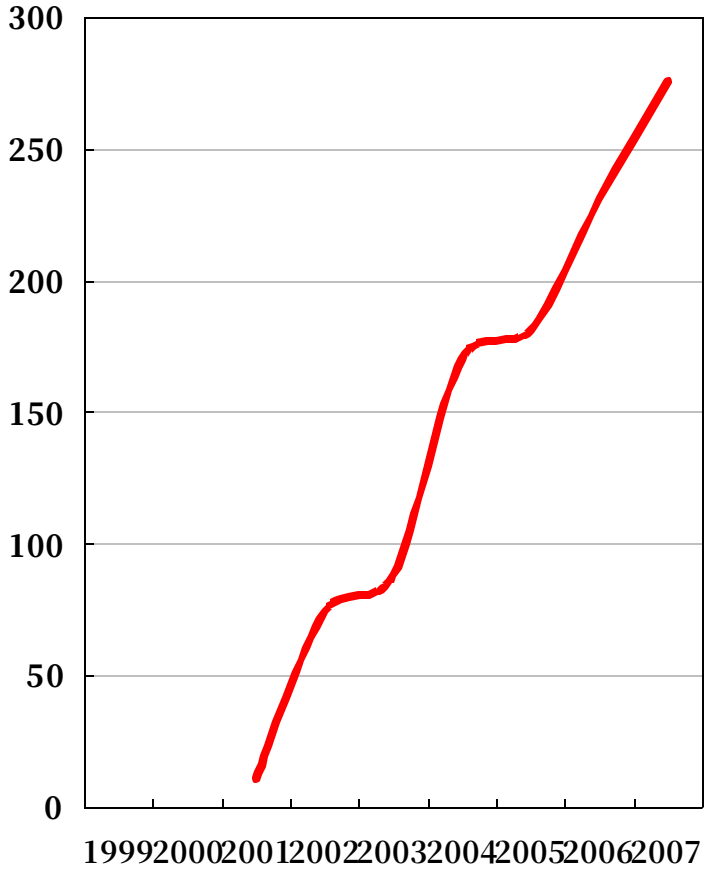
3. STRENGTH OF PYEONGTAEK

■Major Transportation Hub in Pan - Yellow Sea Area and over Peninsula

- o Complex Web of Network : Port, Railroad, Highway, Express Train
- o Also a High Potential as a Tourist Center



Total Cargo (million tons)



Passengers (1000's)

4. SWOT

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National Transportation Network
Location Advantage :
① Close to Seoul
② Close to China
Growth Potential OF Hi-Tech Ind.
Favorable Civil-Military Relation
Korea Wave

W

Human Capital Development
Local Transportation Network
Weak Brand Image of Pyeongtaek

O

Dynamics of Pan-Yellow Sea Area
Positive Impact of Base Expansion :
① Economic Growth
② Globalization
③ Non-Combat Zone ⇒ Dependents
Regulatory Advantage :
① Pyeongtaek Support Special Law
② Yellow Sea Free Economic Zone

T

Negative Impact of Base Expansion :
① Security (International) :
Entrapment (Very Long - Run)
② Safety (Internal) :
Terrorism, Civil-Military Conflict
Work or Pass-by without Residence
Loss of Advantage by Deregulation

5. STRATEGIC ANALYSIS Ⅰ

■MIN Threat (Negative Impact) / MAX Opportunity (Positive Impact)

o By Strength Enhancement and Weakness Supplementation

SO	Strength ↑ ⇒Opportunity ↑	# Expansion of Logistics Infrastructure - Port, Storage, Highway, KTX # Enhancement of Information Network # Convention, Conference, Exchange - Business, Scholarly, Cultural …
ST	Strength ↑ ⇒Threat ↓	# Defense Industry : Multi-Use - Robotics, Security, Bio Tech. # Tourist Attraction & Quality of Life - Sports? Leisure Facilities, Parks
WO	Weakness ↓ ⇒Opportunity ↑	# *Enhancement of Residency Factors* (WT) ① Education System for Global Leadership ② Global Health Care Center (Medical Tour) # *Pyeongtaek Consensus* : - Universal Value System for Global Citizenship - Cross ? National Joint Studies for Better World # Cooperative Innovation Network and Clustering
WT	Weakness ↓ ⇒Threat ↓	# *New Model of Civil-Military Relation* (ST) # Value Projection Hub (SO, ST, WO)

6. STRATEGIC ANALYSIS II

■Toward a Win-Win Solution I : ↓Safety Risk (Incl. Terrorism)

o NOT Sustainable in the Long-Run w/o Civil-Military Relation Enhancement

o Accidents (eg., Hyosoon-Misun) WILL Occur ! ⇒ Need for Robust System

Ex ? Ante Measures	Ex ? Post Measures
#Improve 'Good Neighbor Program' - Disaster Relief (eg., Tsunami) #Better Quality of Life : - Residential Factor Enhancement - Employment Opportunities (Spouse) # Cultural Exchange ⇒Understanding - English as an Official Language - Language, History, Culture Centers # High - Tech Surveillance System	# SOFA # Conflict Resolution Procedure - Democratic - Transparent ▶Accidents as an Opportunity - to Build Trust and Reputation - Foundation of American Soft Power ▶New Model of 'Super America' - Pyeongtaek : Value Projection Platform

? Investment In Social Capital ⇒Trust ⇒Robust against Accidents

7. STRATEGIC ANALYSIS III

■Toward a Win-Win Solution II : ↓Security Risk

★Global Communication Network (Hard & Soft)

- Economy & Finance, Technology, Human Resources,
- Education, Medical Care, Culture, Art, Welfare, Peace

↓

★Bridge between G2 : Pyeongtaek between US & China

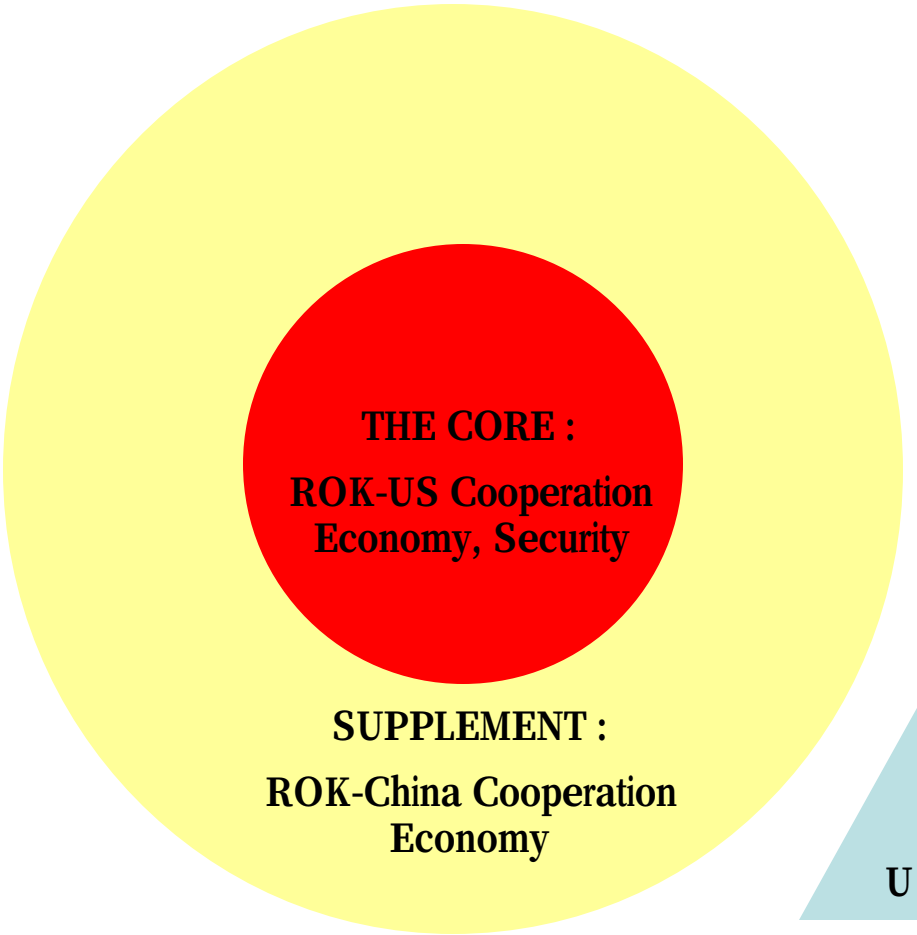
- Synergy and Consensus ⇒Fill in the Gap between G2

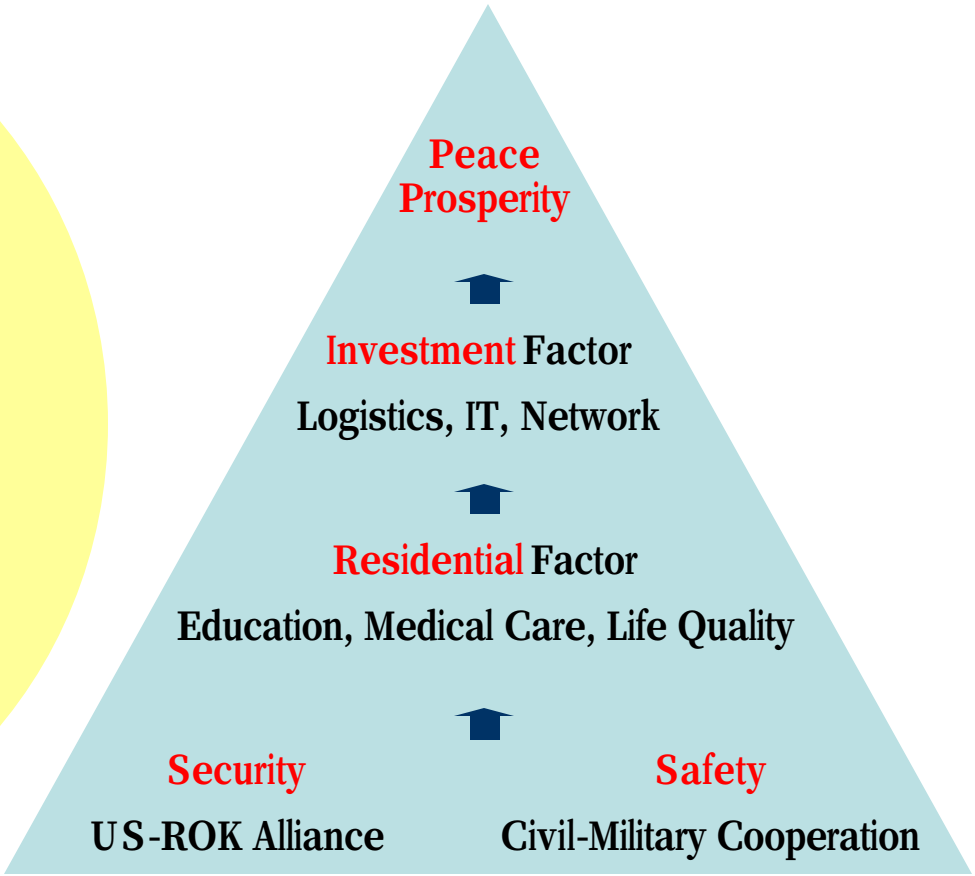
↓

Peace and Prosperity : Korea, Pyeongtaek, and the US

(and Hopefully for China and Japan as Well)

■Priority and Sequence : ROK-US Cooperation as Foundation

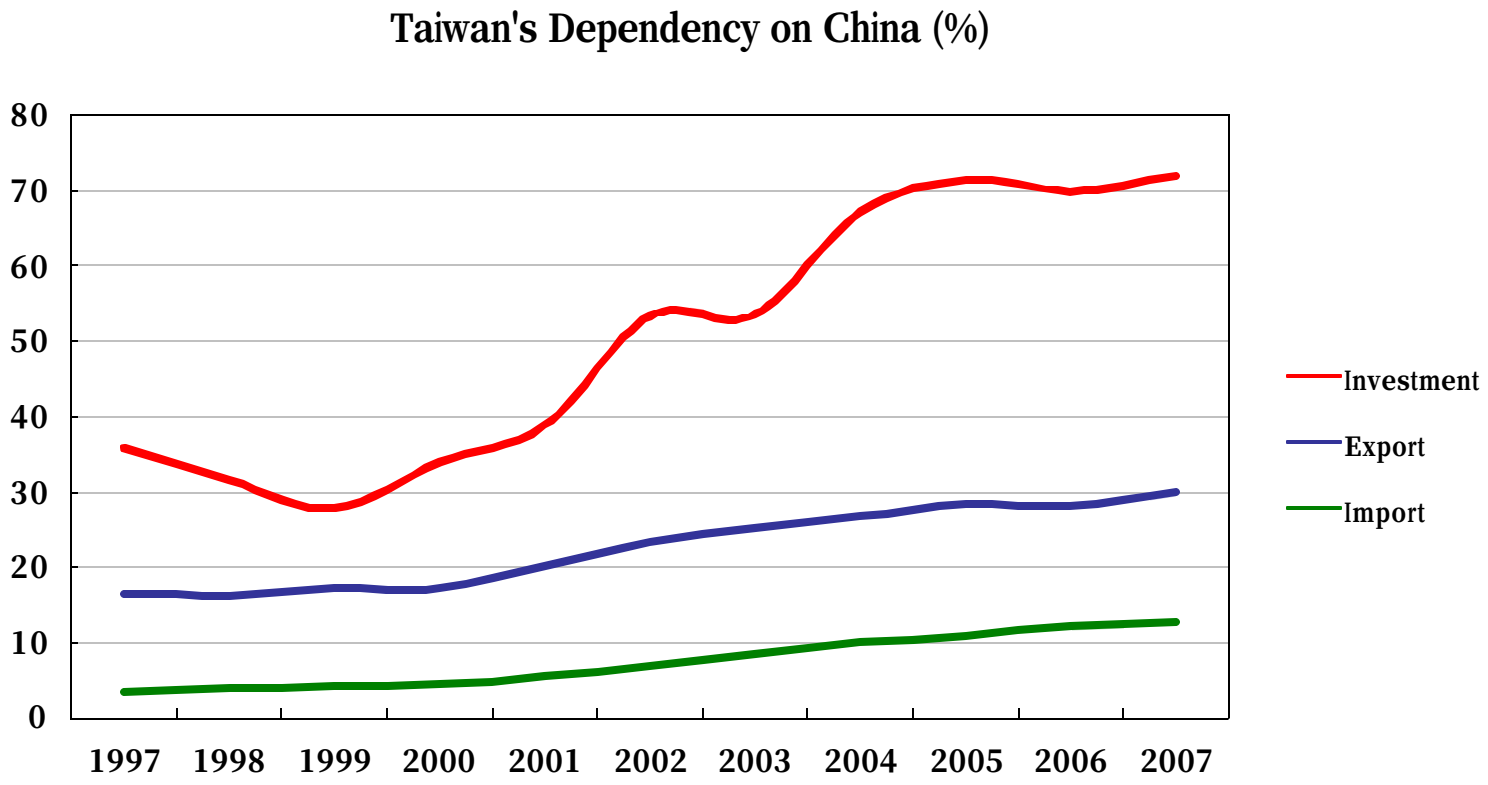




■Need for KORUS FTA I

o Controversial Case of Taiwan : Success or Failure ?

- Heavy Dependency on China ⇒ Lost Taiwan ?



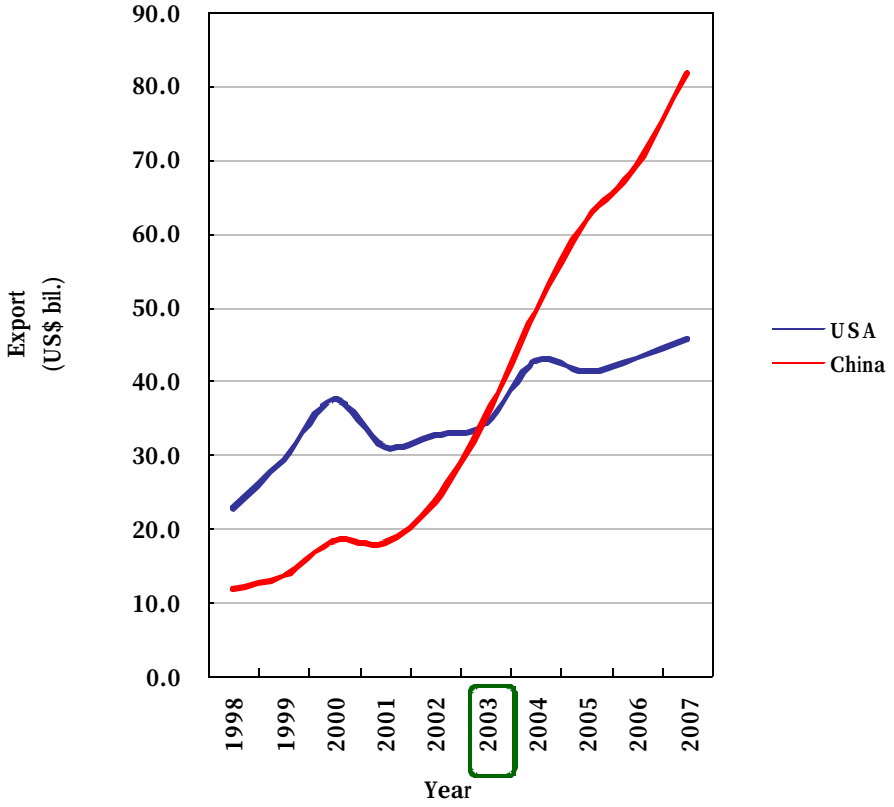
10. STRATEGIC ANALYSIS VI

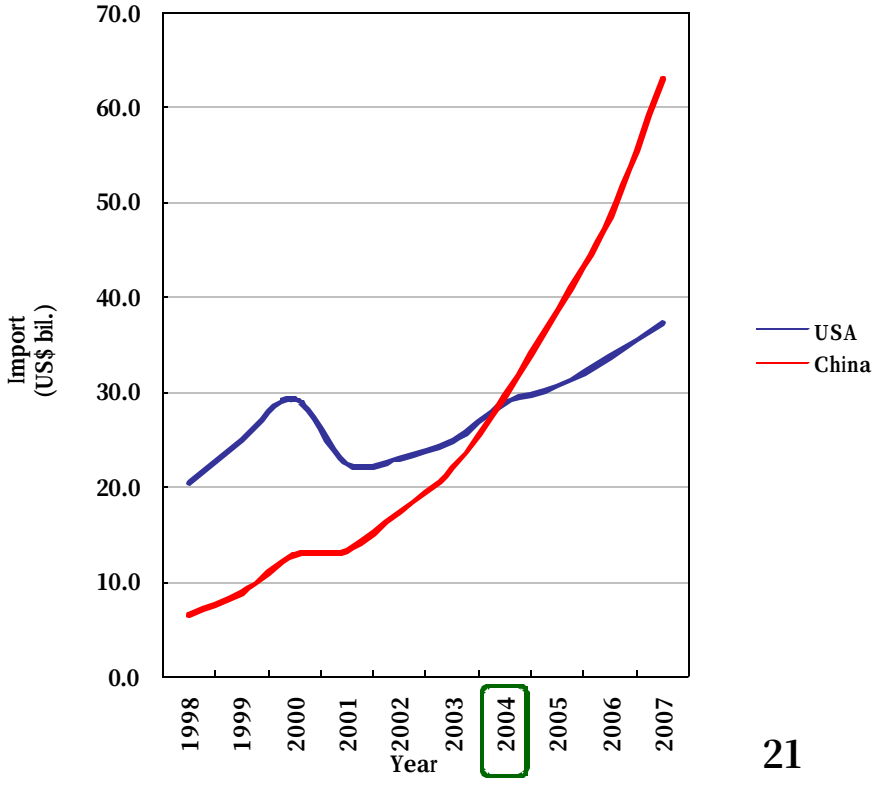
■Need for KORUS FTA II

o Economic Relation as a Security Factor

- Asymmetric Dependence as a Source of Power

➡ **Urgent Need for KORUS FTA to Restore Balance (US as the CORE)**





THANK YOU