

Speech Transcript

A New Security Order in East Asia and the ROK-US Alliance

October 21, 2011

Welcoming Speech

Young-Sun Ha

Keynote Speech

Sung-hwan Kim

Luncheon Speech

General James D. Thurman

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Welcoming Speech*

Young-Sun Ha, Professor of Seoul National University

I would like to extend my warmest welcome to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Sung-hwan Kim, Chairman of the EAI Hong-Koo Lee, Chairman of the Board of Trustees Jin-Hyun Kim, and distinguished guests. We are delighted to have you here at the 5th ROK-U.S. Alliance Conference hosted by the East Asia Institute. A great number of conferences are held and numerous writings are published on the new security order in East Asia that is faced with the relative decline of America and the rise of China, as well as a changing ROK-U.S. alliance. What makes this conference hosted by the EAI different from other conferences on this issue is that its purpose is to produce a substantial discourse rather than just empty talk. There are two ways in which this happens.

First, our primary goal is to produce a new framework that enables a clear observation of the emerging order in East Asia. The existing discourse, both at home and abroad, have been proceeded through narrow views mostly based either on the pessimism with the idea of offensive security or the optimism based on economic interdependence. From our experience throughout the tumultuous history, however, we have witnessed that

progress in the world was achieved by going beyond such narrow viewpoints. In the twenty-first century, U.S.-China relations have also entered into a much more complex transition beyond the simple dichotomy of conflict or cooperation. The United States and China, two great powers and co-actors of the twenty-first century, have started to form a new complex network with other regional leading powers in East Asia while at the same time seeking to resolve the domestic problems they face. Today, the leading international scholars here will take the initiative in shedding light on the issue from a new perspective.

The second goal of this conference is to answer the question of how to transform the ROK-U.S. alliance into a newly-constructed complex network of East Asia. The original meaning of an alliance is an official assurance on mutual security cooperation between countries. In the era of complex networks in the twenty-first century, however, an alliance should have a different shape than it had during the Cold War period when the world was divided into two blocs. Thus the conference today will discuss on a new strategy to bring out progress in East Asia by maximizing the ROK-China network while extending the traditional ROK-U.S.-Japan network.

I hope that the discussions among international experts today would provide some answers to these two vital questions on East Asia in the twenty-first century. Thank you very much.

* This speech was originally in Korean and translated by the EAI.

The EAI has been hosting the Korea-U.S. Alliance conference since 2008 to build a dialogue on the major issues facing the alliance in the 21st Century.

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Keynote Speech

Sung-hwan Kim, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Republic of Korea

I would like to begin by thanking the East Asia Institute for inviting me to the 5th ROK-US Alliance International Conference.

As we reflect on the successful outcomes of the recent ROK-US summit meeting, I believe it is an opportune time for us to give thought to the changes in the international order and Korea's diplomacy.

The international order of the 21st century is undergoing rapid change.

Above all, the so-called 'rise of the rest' such as China and India, is ushering in multi-polarity in the international order.

Thus, we now live in an era of a complex order, where "power is found in many hands and in many places," as stated by Dr. Haas, President of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The emergence of this complex order may mainly be attributed to two factors. One is the redistribution of power as developing countries have risen in status. And the other is the formation of global networks through globalization and the information revolution, which has brought the world closer together, as one village, and has greatly increased the interdependence between countries.

As a result, the international community is no longer zero-sum in nature as it was during the Cold War era.

This is reflected in various forms of multilateral governance regimes coping with such transnational issues as economic crises, terrorism, poverty and climate change. The G20 Summit is a good example. And the concerted efforts by the international community in addressing the European financial crisis is another. In the process of addressing such transnational issues, the complex order of the 21st century will further gain pace.

As the rise of China has greatly contributed to such a transition in the international order, China has set the promotion of peaceful development as one of its diplomatic strategies. It aims to build an "Overall Xiaokang Society"

by 2020 and emphasizes that it is exerting diplomatic efforts to create a peaceful and stable international environment so as to concentrate on its domestic development.

Even with the rise of Chinese influence, many experts expect that the US and China will by and large maintain the course of cooperative engagement.

The reason is that the interests of the US and China are so deeply intertwined that there is considerable resilience in their relations.

Furthermore, it is impossible to resolve global issues such as the stabilization of international finance or tackling climate change and terrorism without cooperation between the US and China.

In the same vein, US State Secretary Hillary Clinton clearly underlined this when she stated in Hawaii, prior to her visit to Asia last October, that it is not in anyone's interest for the US and China to see each other as adversaries from a zero-sum perspective.

This new security environment prompts Korea to embrace a proactive diplomatic strategy. That is why we seek to develop the traditional ROK-US alliance into a multi-dimensional alliance, while deepening the strategic cooperative partnership with China. This is based on our belief that our multi-dimensional alliance with the US and strategic cooperative partnership with China can both thrive.

As for Korea's relations with the US, President Lee's recent state visit was an excellent testimony to the achievements in the ROK-US alliance, which is believed to be at their best level ever, and laid a pivotal cornerstone for the multi-dimensional strategic alliance.

The US Congress approved the KOR-US FTA during President Lee's state visit and President Obama offered exceptional protocol and hospitality as demonstrated by the phenomenal private dinner for President Lee and the joint visit to Detroit.

Another notable event was the situation briefing on North Korea that President Lee received at the Pentagon, with the Secretary of Defense, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and heads of each branch of the military in attendance.

As has been the case so far, the ROK-US Alliance con-

tinues to serve as a vital pillar to deter North Korea and to lay a foundation for unification. With the adoption of the 'Joint Vision for the ROK-U.S. Alliance' in June, 2009, both countries have proactively responded to the changing security environment in Northeast Asia.

The two countries have diligently taken actions for a new military command structure by adjusting the date of the transfer of wartime Operational Control (OPCON) to December 2015 and adopting the 'Strategic Alliance 2015'.

The first ROK-U.S. Foreign and Defense Ministers' Meeting, which was held in July 2010, affirmed the US's full commitment to the security of the Republic of Korea and a strong joint defense posture.

And both countries share the basic values of freedom, human rights, democracy, and the market economy and work together for the development of those values. The ROK and US have been playing a leading role in promoting democracy in such forums as the Community of Democracies.

Moreover, the ROK-US alliance shares strategic interests all over the world and we are working together to address challenges at the national, regional, and global levels. Our two countries are working together in various places around the globe, such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, and Haiti. The US's full support for the hosting of the 2012 Nuclear Summit in Seoul also serves as a demonstration of the depth of the strategic cooperation between the two countries.

And, with the approval of the KOR-US FTA in the US, both countries have added an "economic alliance" to the existing ROK-US security alliance. Thus, successfully elevating this alliance to a multi-dimensional one.

With regard to China, Korea's diplomacy aims to develop Korea-China relations in harmony with the ROK-US alliance because Korea-China relations are important not only for the achievement of peace, stability and prosperity in Northeast Asia, but also for the unification of the Korean Peninsula.

As such, the Lee Myung-bak administration has stepped up engagement in high-level meetings with China. Cooperation in the defense field is gaining momentum, as

shown with the holding of the 8th Defense Ministerial Talks last July.

In 2008, Korea and China upgraded their relations to a 'Strategic Cooperative Partnership'. Since then the two countries have engaged in discussions and cooperation not only on bilateral matters, but also on regional and international issues, working together to contribute to world peace and development.

In particular, we have been able to engage in more open discussions on North Korean issues with China. This marks a stark departure from the past, when China had been reluctant to discuss such issues with the ROK.

Next year, we will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties with China. Building upon the friendly relations that Korea and China have fostered, we will continually strive to further our Strategic and Cooperative Partnership.

Concerning the North Korean nuclear issue, North Korea has yet to implement the agreements reached through the Six-Party Talks. Rather, last November, North Korea revealed its uranium enrichment facility which constitutes an alternate route to developing nuclear weapons. Regarding the nuclear issue, many years of experience with North Korea tells us that it is imperative to set the right conditions before resuming negotiations. On this point, there is no daylight between Seoul and Washington. And in this light, the ROK-US alliance is at the center of our efforts.

As part of such efforts, two rounds of inter-Korean talks and one round of US-DPRK talks have been held. The second round of US-DPRK talks are to be held in Geneva next week. Seoul and Washington will keep urging North Korea to demonstrate through specific actions that it has true intentions to abandon its nuclear program. In the process, we are pursuing a comprehensive and fundamental solution based on the Grand Bargain Initiative, which encompasses irreversible denuclearization measures by North Korea for the complete dismantlement of its nuclear program and corresponding measures by the other five parties.

At the same time, it is clear that unless the North Ko-

rean nuclear issue is completely resolved, it is impossible to establish true peace and stability in the region. As such, Beijing is actively making efforts to resolve the issue together with Seoul and Washington.

And as Korea and China intimately engage in strategic communications on key security issues like the North Korean nuclear issue through exchanges of visits by high-level officials, our Strategic Partnership will grow deeper and deeper.

In the current international landscape, non-government actors such as business, civil society and individuals are assuming greater importance on the global stage. And the agenda is diversifying to encompass such issues as terrorism, environment, and climate change, among others.

Accordingly, there is a need for fundamental change in how we conduct diplomacy. It is in this light that we envision a new over-arching diplomatic strategy for the 21st century, as the US has introduced the QDDR.

With this new strategy, we will be able to expand our diplomatic horizons to go one step closer to realizing our vision of a "Global Korea".

I would like to bring my remarks to a close by saying that networks are emerging as a key element in the diplomacy of the 21st century. Achieving the goal of a global Korea will also depend on how effectively we can build networks of cooperation with countries around the world.

In this regard, I believe that this meeting is indeed of great value. I hope that the 'ROK-U.S. Alliance International Conference' will continue to play a valuable role in fostering deeper ties of friendship between the participants and, more broadly, in contributing to peace and stability in East Asia.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Luncheon Speech

General James D. Thurman, Commander of the ROK-U.S. Combined Forces Command

Ambassador Jong (former ROK Ambassador to Japan and England), Professor Ha, Professor Chun, members of the East Asia Institute and Distinguished guests, thank you for your participation in this great event.

Professor Chun, thank you for your kind introduction and for inviting me to speak today. I am honored and privileged to speak to this distinguished group. Your work in expanding the dialogue about Northeast Asian affairs and the importance of the ROK-U.S. Alliance provides a great service to both of our nations, thank you.

As the Commander of United Nations Command, Combined Forces Command, and United States Forces Korea, I am honored to have the privilege of leading the outstanding Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, Marines, and civilians of this command, which stands by with the great ROK military, the military element of the greatest alliance in the world, the ROK-U.S. Alliance, which only gets stronger every day. The theme of this conference, "A New Security Order in East Asia and the ROK-U.S. Alliance," is relevant as we look both at the dynamics of the Northeast Asia region and the future of the ROK-U.S. Alliance.

Northeast Asia is an important region for the greater global community. This region is home to some of the largest and fastest growing economies and militaries in the world. The countries of Northeast Asia produce one fifth of the world economic output and is responsible for 19% of world trade. Most notably, Northeast Asia continues to be a global economic engine despite current global financial challenges that we see around the globe.

This region is also home to 4 of the 6 largest militaries in the world. 3 countries in the region possess nuclear capabilities and all the countries in this region continue to modernize their armed forces to meet current and perceived future security threats. We are seeing countries in the region embracing efforts to attain and develop new and asymmetric technologies as alternatives to maintaining large standing militaries.

Regrettably, North Korea continues to lead this effort. North Korea has turned to ballistic missile technology, weapons of mass destruction, and other asymmetric capabilities to meet its perceived security needs. The United Nations Security Council and responsible nations in the region have called on the north to abandon these weapons programs. I again call on North Korea to cease its development and testing of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery and fulfill its existing commitments to denuclearize. I believe North Korea's growing asymmetric capabilities increasingly threaten peninsular and regional stability. We must remain prepared and ready to defend against and deter these capabilities.

Over the last 60 years the ROK-U.S. Alliance has grown into one of the strongest alliances in the world. It has grown from one singularly focused on the defense of a valued ally, to one of shared intrinsic values like democracy, free-market economics, and human rights. Last week, our tremendous Alliance became more multi-faceted through the U.S. Senate ratification of the Korea-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Today, this Alliance stands very strong and it's ready to deter aggression on the Korean peninsula and defend these values. As always, our Alliance is prepared to fight and win if deterrence should fail.

That said, the ROK-U.S. Alliance is about much more than North Korea. As a result of our enduring commitment to our South Korean allies and the unparalleled strategic importance of the Northeast Asia, I want to emphasize that the U.S. remains committed in the region both now and in the future. The United States is and always will be a strategic partner with its allies and friends in this region. The ROK-U.S. alliance is one example and a pillar of this commitment.

While our alliance is meeting the security challenges that it faces today, it is evolving to ensure that it can meet any potential security challenges in the future. Looking ahead, we must continue strengthening and transforming our Alliance in response to current and future security challenges. The United States fully supports our South Korean ally's increasing initiatives to maintain international peace and stability. We are grateful for ROK military con-

tributions in Iraq, Afghanistan, and off the Horn of Africa. We are also grateful for the hard-work the Republic of Korea does world-wide to eliminate poverty and disease. We look forward to even greater cooperation on these international issues in the future.

In fact, our governments have already developed a plan to prepare for this future of greater bilateral partnership. In June 2009, president Obama and President Lee signed and issued the Joint Vision Statement. This statement affirms our shared common values and asserts that these shared values transcend the Korean peninsula and the region. The Joint Vision Statement commits our countries to building a comprehensive strategic alliance of bilateral, regional, and global scope to meet this reality.

In order to implement the Joint Vision Statement, we have developed and implemented Strategic Alliance 2015. This is a comprehensive plan that allows the Alliance to synchronize multiple key initiatives to successfully transfer wartime operational control of South Korean military forces to the chairman of the Republic of Korea Joints Chiefs of Staff. It also synchronizes on-going initiatives using a whole of government approach to propel the Alliance into the future.

We can never overlook that in the whole of government, the military is just one piece.

Strategic Alliance 2015 includes four major components that I will highlight. First, we continue to refine and develop realistic plans and execute exercises based on the full range of possible North Korean actions including provocations, instability, and direct attack. Second, we are changing our ROK-U.S. organizational structures and command and control relationships by 2015. Third, the ROK military is developing additional capabilities that will allow them to be ready for OPCON transition. Finally, we are realizing greater efficiencies by consolidation of U.S. forces into two enduring hubs around Pyeongtaek and Daegu.

The Alliance is moving forward with the implementation of this plan. We are well into executing the Land Partnership Plan and look forward to gaining momentum in executing the Yongsan Relocation Plan. We continue to

review these plans and all of our transformation initiatives that are currently ongoing to ensure that we are positioning capabilities in the proper location and gaining desired efficiencies. We are ensuring that these initiatives meet the current and future needs of the Alliance.

Our exercise program is in full implementation. We are using our exercises to confirm that our plans are valid and the proper organizational structures with proper command and control relationships are in place. Our exercise program is of particular importance as it enables us to identify and refine capabilities, both military and civilian, which I believe is required by our great Alliance.

It is of vital importance that both of our countries invest in necessary military capabilities to be best prepared for an uncertain future. There's one thing I've learned when we try to predict the future, we get it wrong. Under Strategic Alliance 2015, there will be no loss of any capability currently available to the Alliance. However, as we move beyond transfer of wartime operational control of South Korean forces and look at global security cooperation, it is important that both partners have a shared commitment to building these capabilities so that we complement one another. It is of critical importance that the ROK military have the equipment, organization, and training in place to lead the joint-combined fight. It is imperative that the ROK possess persistent surveillance; interoperable joint command, control, communications, computers, and intelligence systems; anti-submarine and counter-mine warfare naval capabilities, and capabilities to offset asymmetric threats to ensure the ROK Joint Chiefs of Staff have all the tools in their kit bag they need to lead the defense of this great nation.

Strategic Alliance 2015 is about much more than the transition of wartime operational control. It synchronizes ongoing initiatives using a whole of government approach to propel the Alliance into the future. Our countries need to develop and resource our whole of government capabilities. I'm specifically talking about diplomatic, informational, and economic tools are just as important as military tools in dealing with security challenges. It is important that investment is made in the resourcing and training of

these elements of national power. They are important shaping activities, which when used concurrently, can mitigate the need for military force. Recent North Korean provocations and attacks only serve to highlight the importance of increased capabilities across the whole of government, not just the military. As we face challenges we should always focus on Alliance based solutions for Alliance problems.

Strategic Alliance 2015 builds upon the already unbreakable foundation of our great Alliance. It enables our Alliance to realize the full extent of capabilities to deter or defeat North Korean aggression. It also enables the Alliance to provide a greater contribution to peace and stability in the region and around the globe. I think that's critical.

This conference shows you are as committed to peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and the region as the governments of our two countries. The ROK-U.S. Alliance is the strongest in the world and as long as I'm the UNC/CFC/USCK commander, I will do all that I can to strengthen the alliance. Regrettably, my schedule does not allow me to stay and participate in a question and answer session. Thank you for participating in this great event.

Gamsahamnida. Gachi Gapsida. ■

Biographies of Speakers

Young-Sun Ha

Young-Sun Ha is a professor of the department of political science and international relations at Seoul National University and Chairman of Global Net 21 at East Asian Institute. Professor Ha received both his B.A. and M.A. from Seoul National University, and received his Ph.D. in international politics from University of Washington. He served as Director of Center for International Studies, Seoul National University, Director of American Studies Institute, Seoul National University, President of Korea Peace Studies Association, and research fellow at Center for International Studies in Princeton University and Center for International Peace in Stockholm. His recent publications include *Crisis and Complexity: Changing World Order after the Financial Crisis* (2011) *Future of North Korea: 2032: Coevolutionary Strategy for the Advancement* (2010) *The Emergence of Complex Alliances in the 21st Century* (2010) *East Asian Community: Myth and Reality* (2008), *Transformation of World Politics* (2007), *Network Knowledge State* (2006), *North Korean Nuclear Crisis and Peace on the Korean Peninsula* (2006), *Korean-American Alliance: A Vision and a Roadmap* (2006), *Korea's Grand Strategy for a New Century: Weaving a Network State* (2006), *Korean Diplomatic History and the Study of International Politics* (2005), *New Perspective of Changing World* (2004), *100 Years Plan for the Korean Peninsula in the 21st Century* (2004), and *World Politics of Cyberspace* (2001).

Sung-hwan Kim

Sung-hwan Kim is the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea. He received his B.A in the Department of Economics from Seoul National University, and studied Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London. He served as a Director-general at MOFAT, Deputy Minister for Planning and Management at MOFAT, Permanent Representative to the International Organizations in Vienna, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senior Secretary to the President for Foreign Affairs and National Security. He was sent to the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Austria as an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. He is author of *Russian Politics in Turbulence* (1994).

James D. Thurman

General James D. Thurman is the Commander for UNC, CFC, and USFK. General Thurman has extensive Army and Joint staff experience and operational combat experience. He commanded troops in Kosovo and Iraq, and also was the Multi-National Division Commander responsible for all coalition operations in Baghdad. He was the Chief, J5 for Allied Forces Southern Europe in Italy; the Deputy Chief of Staff, G-3 for Headquarters, Department of the Army; the Chief of Operations, C3 for Coalition Forces Land Component Command in Kuwait. General Thurman has attended numerous military schools and is a graduate of the Command and General Staff College and the Army War College. His awards include the Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal, Bronze Star Medal, and the Meritorious Service Medal.