

Study on the Optimal Level of Military Power after Reunification -Focusing on the Size of Military Strength-

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Section 1. Objective

The collapse of the Cold War Era beginning in the late 80s has created a new world order which can be characterized as a multipolarization of world politics and economics.

This multipolarization has contributed to the world peace since the end of World War II on one hand, but also contributed to the spread of racism and nationalism based on each nation's ever-growing national selfishness in such a competitive environment, creating all sorts of conflicts. The importance of Far East for world peace has increased, and there is tremendous effort to find the most effective way to pursue the reunification of Korea in such a fast-changing environment of the region. Moreover, the purpose of this study is, under the hypothesis of reunification of Korea led by South Korea, to identify an optimal level of military power of reunified Korea armed forces in terms of its number of military force to cope with future environments in the region the reunified Korea will face.

(This study consists of the author's personal opinions, and it does not represent the Republic of Korea Army)

Section 2. Subjects and Methods

In order to accomplish the objective of this study, the hypothesis of South Korea—led reunification of Korea has been set, and the intensive analysis on national security environment and national objectives has been conducted. Based on this analysis, the most effective military strategy to meet the situations has been derived, and, with this strategy, the optimal level of military power of reunified Korea armed forces in terms of number of military force could be identified.

This study consists of 5 main chapters.

The first chapter is an introduction, followed by the second chapter which mainly discusses the 'security environment' of reunified Korea. It is most likely that 'security environment' in the 21st century doesn't include nation's qualitative and quantitative military power only, but also political, diplomatic, and economical aspects of neighboring nations. Therefore, in this chapter, each factor of 'security environment' is classified and throughly analyzed.

The third chapter focuses on the trends of military power, in terms of number of military forces, of the four neighboring powers(the U. S., Russia, China, Japan), which influence the stability of Korea the most.

In the fourth chapter, the national objectives of reunified Korea are analyzed and combined with the results of Chapter 2 and 3 to derive the theoretical military strategies of reunified Korea. In addition, from this combined study, the optimal level of military force of reunified Korea in terms of its numbers is identified. The main tool used in this evaluation is 'military force ratio'.

Finally, the fifth chapter concludes with the integration of all the analyses above and their implications.

Chapter 2. The Security Situations of Reunified Korea

The security situations of the reunification of Korea, under the Post Cold War Era, might focus on the economical benefit and mutual cooperation rather than ideology and military conflict. Namely, instead of a security view based in both political and military aspects, the concept of comprehensive security is needed for the maximization of mutual benefit, which emphasizes not only political or military but also economic and technical cooperation.

Section 1. Political, Diplomatic, and Economical Security Environments

Although the 21C is described as the new era of international relations, the new era has not yet been established and there are still a lot of complications to be solved. After all, the future would be more unstable and uncertain than before. Based on above, the perspective of the 21C is as follows.¹⁾

First, the structure of the 21C will be the coexistence of uni-polar and multipolar systems. The U. S. will still be dominant as the world's uni-polar system in the military. Meanwhile, in the political and economical situations, the EC(based on CSCE), CIS, China and Japan will become the core of international society. They will consist of a multi-polar system with G7.

Second, the main discussion of international politics is shifting to 'low politics'. Since the Post-Cold War, the important concerns of most nations have been not military reinforcement but economy and public welfare. So that peaceful international relations are desired and formed.

Third, the latest international relations have two faces. Positive aspects exist such as reconciliation, cooperation and negotiation for establishing firm relations. But there are also negative aspects such as a new crisis resulting from increasing instability and uncertainty. The reasons why instability and uncertainty have increased are, that the pre-existing authorities are being challenged on both individual and national scales, and that the weaker international coordination has brought about the chaos of international relations.

The conflicts between different groups of people, race, religion, resources, territory and technology have been coming to the surface. Also, making own decisions by countries has increased dramatically, and they are increasing their military budgets to become a dominating country. To find out about our country's security we should know the four neighboring powers' strategies and their goals.

First of all, Russia is trying to solve their religious and ethnic conflicts under the somewhat aggressive slogan of 'the great Russian nationalism'. On the other hand, Russia is focusing on economic growth and stability. In the long run, Russia is try-

1) Hyun-gun Yoon, National development strategy and neo-national defense policy of 21st century, 1996, Nanam Publication, p26-32.

ing to grow as a powerful country in politics and armaments. Politically Russia wants to grow as a powerful country in Western Europe as well as in the Far East or Pacific Ocean countries. To understand Russia 'dual purpose'(politically and armamentary) is the key factor to understand Korea's security.

Despite the collapse of communism and demolition of countries like Soviet Union and East Europe, China is still under communism. This is possible because China has built their political and economical independence thanks to the conflicts with the former Soviet Union. It is also possible thanks to Dengxioping's practicalism on economics, which brought in capitalism. Since practicalism was so successful, China has developed chinese nationalism. This nationalism's goal is to unite Taipei and absorb Hongkong. China's national objective is still to accomplish socialism, but they real goal is to grow as a dominating country in Asia under China's nationalism. To establish their tasks politically China is containing the U. S., Japan, Russia while trying to consolidate their economic independence.

There is, in near future, no possibility of China's threatening Asia to show off their supremacy. It is more likely that China will try to stabilize their economical growth, to make changes in political situations and to be diplomatically peaceful. China's diplomatic policy is to establish good relationships with western countries and to keep peace in Korea.²⁾

After 1980, Japan has grown dramatically in economics and obtained world's recognition. But they are not leading the world because they are politically under the U. S.³⁾ Although Japanese represents reproduction of democratic system and market economy on the surface, we can assume that hidden behind this is the nation's long-term strategy of imperialism. Of course, this movement will face the strong opposition from within Japan and restraint from other nations around Japan; however, Japan will continue to try to realize their goal with the help of their powerful economy.

In the era of multipolarization, while demonstrating their military and political superiority throughout the world, the U.S. consistently pursue maximization of the nation's economical profit based on their self-interest. The best examples of U. S.'s such policy are Gulf War and the formation of WTO, which is best described as UR.

2) Kyung-soo Noh, 'National security strategy of unification period', the National Security Council, p172.

3) Security treaty of the U.S. and Japan

From the above, we are able to understand that the current situation in Far East is best summarized as multipolarization of politics, economics and others based on the new world order after the Cold War. In other words, we can conclude that security environment of 21st century requires and relies on security cooperation⁴⁾ among nations.

In such an unstable and multipolarized security environment of the 21st century in the region, it is essential for reunified Korea to actively and dominantly participate in the establishment of international security cooperation. And at the same time, reunified Korea should be willing and ready to play a leading role in political and economical development with firm national objectives and strategies for Far East region.

Section 2. Military Security Environment

1. Introduction

Even though Northeast Asia, one of the three major strategic areas inclusive of Europe and Middle East in terms of politics, economy and military, are in the de-tente mood of peace and cooperation, a few countries are increasing their arsenal power thus imposing unstable elements in the international society. Impending conflicts over territory, marine resources and nationalism are still possible threatening elements which highly anticipate a unstability of reunified Korea in the 21st century.

The scope of military security environment should be considered in relation to the strategic scopes of specific countries. While the whole international strategic military security is determined by hegemonic countries, the case of the reunited Korea will be confined to that of the surrounding major four neighboring powers. Korean Peninsula is an intersection of the interests of the U.S., Russia, main land China and Japan and the security circumstance depends on the relations of the four neighboring powers.

Even though the arsenal power of the four neighboring powers are on the de-

4) Although ARF(Asian region forum) is trying to develop as a regional organization, it's feeble to solve those problems.

* Reference : Kyung-soo Noh, 'National security strategy of unification period', The national security council, p180.

crease, they are equipped with high technology, which indicates their real intention not to lessen military forces. Especially the reenforcement of China and Japan is likely to endanger again the future detente mood after by the reunification of Korean peninsula.

2. The U. S.

The U. S. at present, tries not to be deeply involved in the international military conflicts in accordance with the changes of their security and military strategies, in order to solve the serious domestic economic problems and to adapt itself to the new security environment. In other words, a lot of cut-down on defense budget is under way to eliminate trade and financial deficit. The cut-down on the military armament and the reduction of the number of overseas military bases are also being carried out. Based on the facts above, the defense minister Rarry Aspin announced Bottom-up Review : Forces for a New Era. According to the bottom-up review, the overall cut-down in all military forces except Marine corps will continue until 1999 FY. The size of the cut-down is much larger than the previous reduction plan for 1995 FY. Yet, the intent of U. S. to predominate hegemony will maintain its actual military power.

However, the relations between the U. S. and the reunified Korea in the security environment of the 21th century will depend on the two countries' interests. But they share a lot of common interests due to the geological location of Korea among the four neighboring powers. So they will continue their close relationship.

3. Russia

Concerning security strategies, Russia has shifted from the qualitative enlargement of military power into "reasonable defense strategies," emphasizing self-defense and maintaining the control over the Commonwealth Independent States. As a result, Russia is closing overseas military bases and reducing the size of operational exercises. Military exercises are discouraged and gradual curtailment of military armament is also conducted, which indicates the reduction of the Russian military

intervention in international conflicts.⁵⁾ But these gestures of military reduction is to gain an advantageous stance both in the conflicts between Commonwealth Independent States and in international politics.

On the other hand, Russia is trying to build relations with northeast Asian countries to involve itself into Asian and Pacific areas politically and economically. The security strategy of Russia also continue to retain its political, diplomatical and military influence over Northeast, which is based on the principle of national interests. Even though the defense expenditure of Russia is on the decrease, as Table 2-1 shows, the absolute percentage of the whole budget is higher than any other country. After all, Russia in accordance with 'reasonable policies' gives up old military arsenal and ineffective military systems and, instead takes up the high-tech weapon system.

<Table 2-1> Defense expenditure of 4 Countries

COUNTRY CONDITION	JAPAN ('96)	CHINA ('95)	RUSSIA ('96)	U. S. ('96)
Defense Expenses (Unit : Dollar)	50,200 mil.	31,700 mil.	82,100 mil.	277,800 mil.
Defense Budget (Unit: %)	1.1	5.7	7.4	3.8

* Reference : IISS, "The Military Balance '96-'97".

4. Japan

Since the advent of the detente era, the importance of Japan's role, like China's, has grown in new Far East order. Japan has modified its north-oriented strategy to contain the threats of the former Soviet Union in order to satisfy the new standards of multi-defense strategies. At the same time, Japan is trying to reorganize their domestic legal system for stronger coordination with the U.S. and for stronger U.S. military support, which will extend the scope of defense.

Different from U. S. and Russia's overall reduction of military armament, Japan

5) The military power of Russia keeps 30% to 40% of its capability due to the shortage of fuel caused by the downfall of economic situation and its lack of material to maintain and repair armament.*

* Reference : GRIS, Strategy Analysis Nov. 1996.

is consistently magnifying its military power to expose its intention to become a militarily powerful country. Japan increased its defense budget from \$ 46,600 million in 1995 to \$ 50,200 million in 1996, which indicates that Japan is working towards a high-technology without increasing the number of military personnel. On the other hand, Japan provokes a territory dispute against Korea, Russia, the Republic of China and mainland China with its reenforced political and military power. For instance, there are severe diplomatic problems of Dokdo territory dispute with Korea and the northern four area strifes with Russia. These Japan's aggressive intentions are likely to create new tension in Far East, where would be peace otherwise thanks to the reunification of Korea.

5. China

China is taking advantage of the detente mood to increase power and make national profits, and it is participating eagerly in the remodelling of power structure in Far East. Furthermore, China is strongly reinforcing its military power to secure its international leadership and magnify its political clout. In this context, China understands that it needs to take more active military strategy to actualize the line of Chinese nationalism and pragmatism, which is a good evidence of Chinese involvement in northern and southern parts of China. And China is preparing to develop its high-tech arsenal to face the changing strategies of U. S. and Russia so that it can adapt itself to the high-tech weaponry. It has also increased its military power to restrain Japanese imperialism, which is evident in that the defense expenditure has increased by more than 45% for three years 1992 to 1995 in contrast to its decreasing trend during 1980s. Those actions become manifest when China moves its military emphases from southeastern Asia and middle Asia to eastern Asia.

China gradually covers the power zone of U. S. and Russia through eastern Asia. This trend has increased tensions and defense expenditures in eastern Asia in the middle of international security matter which depends on the line China will assume.

Chapter 3. The Trend of Armaments Changes of the Four Neighboring Powers

In the world-wide trend of reduction of armaments, over 20 countries declare reduction by the end of 1992, and additional 3 million of military strength is expect-

ed to be reduced by the year of 2000.⁶⁾

To begin with, the change of world-wide military strength for 10 years from 1979 will be examined with two categories of developed and developing countries, and the armaments change of four neighboring powers—the U. S., Russia, China, and Japan—which have direct influence on the environment of military security in Korean peninsula will follow.

Section 1. The Change of World-wide Military Strength

As cold war is coming to an end, countries around the world, especially encouraged by two leading powers—the U. S. and Russia—have reduced their military expenditure, and as shown in Table 3-1, the rate of increase of military expenditure has been remarkably declined.

<Table 3-1> Change of World-wide Military Expenditure(1979-1989)

Category	Military Expenditure (unit : hundred million dollars)			Percentage(%)			Increasing Rates(%)	
	1979	1985	1989	1979	1985	1989	79-89	85-89
World-wide	5290	9250	10400	100	100	100	2.2	-0.4
Developed Countries	4290	7590	8670	81.1	82.0	83.8	2.6	0.2
Developing Countries	1000	1660	1680	18.8	18.0	16.2	0.3	-0.3

* Reference : U. S. ACDA, Expenditures and Arms Transfer, 1990, p.2, p. 47-50.

Cut-down of military expenditure results in reduction of military strength; as shown in Table 3-2, the world-wide military strength had increased by leaps and bounds from 26.7 million in 1979 to 28.6 million in 1985, but in 1989 it was reduced to 28.3 million, which shows the trend of gradual reduction of military strength. It is predicted that this trend will continue.

6) Ko, Young-Mong, The trend of world-wide change of military forces and efficiency of standing military power—Thesis for master's degree of military graduate school, p. 30.

<Table 3-2> Change of Military Strength(1979-1989)

Category	Military Strength (unit : million personnel)			Percentage(%)			Increasing Rates(%)	
	1979	1985	1989	1979	1985	1989	79-89	85-89
World-wide	26.7	28.6	28.3	100	100	100	6.0	-1.0
Developed Countries	9.99	10.4	10.1	37.4	36.4	35.5	1.1	-2.9
Developing Countries	16.7	18.2	18.3	62.6	63.6	64.5	9.6	0.5

* Reference : U. S. ACDA, Expenditures and Arms Transfer, 1990, p. 47-50.

For 4 years from 1985 when the trend is believed to have started, the military strength of the developed countries has been reduced by 2.9 percent, and the increasing rate of military strength of the developing countries has been remarkably declined to 0.5 percent.

Section 2. The Change of the U. S. Military Strength

The outbreak of conventional or nuclear war between the U. S. and Russia has become less probable, but the potential of military conflicts between nations in other regions has increased.⁷⁾

Therefore, the military strategy has been changed from confrontation between powers to regional defense through selective intervention, and from pursuing supremacy to maintain influence on military affairs. We can see the reduction of military strength in accordance with this strategy in Table 3-3. The U. S. Forces was reduced from 2.13 million in 1988 during Reagan administration who represented "diplomatic policy based on the forces", to 1.80 million in 1992 when cold war was coming to an end. Moreover, after the former Soviet Union was dissolved in 1992⁸⁾, the military strength was reduced by 17 percents by the year of 1996.

7) Ko, Young-Mong, The trend of world-wide change of military forces and efficiency of standing military power—Thesis for master's degree of military graduate school, p. 41-47.

8) The former Soviet Union was dissolved on January 1, 1992.

<Table 3-3> Change of U. S. Military Strength (unit : ten thousand personnel)

Category	1982	1988	1991	1992	1994	1995	1996
Total	209	213	207	180	166	155	148
Army	78	77	75	61	55	52	50
Navy	54	59	58	54	50	44	43
Air Forces	59	60	54	47	43	41	39
Marine Corps	19	20	20	19	18	17	17

* Reference : Annual Report to the president and the Congress, 1994, Military Balance, 1982-1996.

According to the change of the U. S. Forces, it appears very clear that U. S. administration requests more military expenditure and responsibility from regional counterparts, and that overseas military strength is reduced.

<Table 3-4> Change of U. S. Overseas Military Strength (unit : ten thousand personnel)

Region	1982	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996
Europe	35.6	35.6	32.3	24.3	15.9	12.7
Asia	13.7	14.1	12.6	11.0	15.3	13.6
South America	1.1	1.5	2.4	2.0	-	0.6
Miscellaneous	2.7	2.9	0.3	2.0	1.3	1.1
Total	52.8	54.1	45.2	39.3	32.5	28.0

* Reference : Annual Report to the president and the Congress, 1994, Military Balance, 1982-1996.

Due to the reduction of military strength and cut-down of military expenditure, on 6 May 1994 the Presidential Decision Directive(PDD) declared 'the U. S. cannot be the police of the world any more', and adopted the policy of selective intervention which means they will intervene in the affairs which can bring national interest to the U. S.⁹⁾

But despite the policy, they published the national defense policy '96-2000 in Octobe 1994 which said they should keep the military strength to perform win-win

9) PDD(Presidential Decision Directive), May 1994.

strategy for 2 MRC(Major Regional Conflicts) in new defense plan(BUR).¹⁰⁾

And for the tactical interest they have the strategy to keep 100 thousand of military strength stressed on Air and Naval forces to perform U. S.-oriented Asian-Pacific intervention policy.¹¹⁾

Section 3. The Change of Russian Military Strength

Because offensive military forces of Russia are restricted, they follow the military doctrine¹²⁾ of continent-oriented defensive strategy which emphasizes balancing military powers and defending national boundaries, but they have recognized their desperate need for modernization of military powers and reorganization of the Far-Eastern forces, and are working on this matter.

Due to drastic reduction of armaments affected by retreat of national economy, Russia cut down .5 million of military strength from 4.73 million in 1988—which was the highest level during cold war period. Moreover, because of the transition to Commonwealth of Independent States(CIS) on 1 January 1992 remarkable reduction and reorganization of military forces were made as shown in Table 3-5.

<Table 3-5> Changes of Russian Military Strength
(unit : ten thousand personnel)

Category	1986	1988	1991	1992*	1993*	1994*	1995*	1996*
Total	364	473	423	272	203	171	152	127
Army	199	200	158	140	100	78	67	46
Navy	35	48	43	32	30	30	20	19
Air Forces	45	45	45	30	17	17	13	15
Miscellaneous	85	180	220	70	56	46	52	47

10) Defense Planning Guide '96-2000, Aug. 1994.

11) According to the report of Korean military research center which was published on *Segye Daily* dated January 18, 1997, after reunification of Korea, about 50 thousand of military strength—a half of 100 thousand—will be maintained in this region.

12) Main contents of the defense doctrine:

- ① The most important mission of military forces is to prevent war.
- ② Russia will never take military action against any other countries first.
- ③ Russia will never use nuclear forces first.
- ④ Russia denies the doctrine of qualitative supremacy in military forces.

* Denotes after the Soviet Union was dissolved.

※ Reference : The Military Balance, 1986-1996.

However, Russia is still one of the major military Powers in the world¹³⁾, and its reduction of military strength has been made up by modernization of military system and equipment like new tanks(T-80, T-72) and combat planes(Su-27, Su-30, MIG-29). Therefore, it is known that total military forces in Russia have not been affected so much.

Section 4. The Change of Chinese Military Strength

The table 3-6 reveals that Chinese military strength has started to diminish from up to 4.1million to 3 million in 1984, especially the large cut in the Army more remarkable, at the same time that the strategy of people's war was changed into that of positive protection. On the contrary, the gradual increase of war expenditure, as you see in the table 3-7, indicates that the Chinese military is more trying to seek technology-and-capital-intensive military strength than labor-intensive military strength through the modernization policy of Chinese army that has been selected as part of the strategy of high-technologically restricted war followed by that of restricted war. The prominent reduction of military threat about a full-scale war makes China receive much more time and expense necessary to positively modernize and refine its military strength. Chinese recently purchased a new and powerful fighter Su-24 from the old Soviet Union, and is under construction of the submarine containing modernized ballistic missiles, especially enforcing navy forces.

<Table 3-6> Change trend of Chinese military strength(Unit : million personnel)

year	1980	1984	1988	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
total	4.36	4.10	3.14	3.03	3.03	2.93	2.93	2.93
army	3.60	3.25	2.30	2.30	2.30	2.20	2.20	2.20
navy	0.36	0.36	0.37	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
air forces	0.40	0.49	0.47	0.47	0.47	0.47	0.47	0.47

※ Reference : The Military Balance, 1981-1996.

13) It is because CIS has still strong military forces, especially the strongest nuclear forces in the world.

<Table 3-7> Change trend of Chinese military expenditure(1986-1992)

year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
military expenditure (billion \$)	15.4	16.6	21.7	27.4	28.9	31.7
financial ratio(%)	4.2	4.5	5.0	5.4	5.6	5.7
Military expenditure per one military personnel(\$)	4,900	5,286	7,169	9,040	9,860	10,820

* Reference : The Military Balance, 1990-1995.

This change of Chinese military strength is due to Chinese objectives toward East-Asia policy which has two aspects : security and economy.

In terms of security, the objectives toward east-Asia policy are firstly to make the U. S. and Russia have less military influence than now and realize the reduction of armaments. Secondly to ease the tension in Korea. Lastly to restrain Japanese military and political expansion.

In terms of economy, firstly to improve the cooperation with nations such as Korea, Japan which can provide capital and technology with China. Secondly, to make up the economy block in northeastern Asia which China can lead.

In order to achieve these objectives, China will be stronger and play more important roles in this area.

Section 5. The Change of Japanese Military Strength

The world focuses its attention on how Japan will subsequently develop its military or political policy. Because Japan has both economy and technology that can have a huge influence on the world's political and military systems not only northeastern Asia's according to goals set by Japan.

<Table 3-8> Change Trend of Japanese Military Strength

(Unit : ten thousand personnel)

year	1980	1984	1988	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
total	24.5	24.5	24.5	24.6	23.7	23.7	24.0	23.5
army	15.5	15.5	15.6	15.6	15.0	15.0	15.1	14.8
navy	4.5	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.3
air force	4.5	4.6	4.5	4.6	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.4

* Reference : The Military Balance, 1981 - 1996.

The self-defense forces of Japan, as revealed in the Table 3-8, have their legal capacity, below 273,801 persons, but it's difficult to measure the real number of armed forces in wartime because of the deformation in the military system that the proportion of special officer is higher than that of enlisted man. Especially Japan retains the latest military equipments for which Japan could be considered as a potentially strong nation in quality. It may consequently be predicted that if the role of America in northeast Asia for security would be reduced, Japan could relatively have more military influence on this region. However, Such a possibility is rarely likely to happen under the circumstances that America could not easily give up its current functions in northeast Asia. In addition, Japan is also restricted by several elements such as the strong protest in its neighborhoods, the risk of an armament race and the social and political opposition in the nation.

Japan is trying to work out many restricted situations by strengthening the cooperation with the U. S. and is considered to improve its military strength consistently through the economic advantage that it has achieved. Therefore, ROK army under unification of North and South should provide against it and be well prepared to take advantage of the military system and latest equipment of Japan.

Section 6. Summary

In the era of reunification of Korea, the new security order of northeastern Asia will be based on the economic utilitarianism of each nation with the natures of the complexity and flexibility. And, there will be an invisible competition with the peace for obtaining regional advantages among nations. It has so far been proved that the military strengths of four strong powers—America, Russia, China and Japan—are being reduced in quantity, and that they hold each other trying to become the strongest one in far-eastern Asia with their enforced military powers under the changed security circumstances of the post cold war. In this situation, the unified Korea should quickly make its armed forces modernized and move into the center of northeastern Asia through the geopolitical advantages. It is expected that during this period Japan, China and Russia would compete for dominance in northeastern Asia, including America trying to keep its current status in the area. Their struggle for power could also be expected to provide the unified Korea with higher strategical

and geopolitical values in which the unified Korea ensuring its national and independent power can play the role of 'power balancer'.

It is clear that the unified Korea is about to face the security circumstances of 21th century that would give the chance to make a leap to become 'power balancer' in politics and to play the important role in the community even in the fields of economy, society and culture etc. And it should become the leading actor in the following Pacific era of stability and harmony, gaining ground and positively controlling the security circumstances in northeastern Asia with its stern nation—competitive power.

Chapter 4. The Strategy of the Unified Korea and the Maintenance of Reasonable Military Strength

Section 1. The National Objective and Military Budget of the Unified Korea

1. The National Objective and Military Strategy of the Unified Korea

Before the military strategy is mentioned as the subject that we're going to discuss, the higher concept, the national objective and national strategy, should be firstly defined. The national objective of the unified Korea is based on 'keeping the nation under the theory of democracy, enhancing its international status and helping provide the eternal world peace.'¹⁴⁾

The national objective would not be changed if the nature of the nation could not be changeable. However, the national strategy as the means to achieve the national objective can vary according to the various situation in the world. The change of the situation can be divided into four phases as revealed in the Table 4-1.

<Table 4-1> Phases of Reunification¹⁵⁾

split period	transition period	reunification period	
dispute period	integration period	unstable period	stable period

14) Ministry of National Defense, The National Defense White Paper, 1996-1997.

15) designed by reunification of Germany

In the unification period Korea would need one national objective containing two national strategies preparing for at least two predicted situations. The unstable period is defined as a time when the national unification is made but it's difficult to set a national strategy yet because of inside problems. The diplomatic and military strategy of this period should be subject to the political and economic stability which would be a key point to the national strategy. It means not to abandon the military strategy but to consider it defensively in response to the military security circumstances.

Therefore, the objective of the unified Korea Army is to remove the hazard factor around the surroundings against the national peace and safety. And more, now that the high diplomatic ability is required, we should intensify the diplomatic military force, which is supposed to play an important part of diplomacy. In order to get an advantage among four strong countries as a balance maker, we should head for the army policy that makes other countries that want the balanced power to be employed for themselves recognize that it will be more needed to have a good relationship with the unified Korea. In other words, our objective is to improve and maintain the cooperation with foreign armies.

'Stable pace' is when, through the active diplomatic strategy, national safety surroundings get more profitable to the achievement. At this pace, to play a good role of power balancer of 4 forces in northeastern Asia, we should select the active defensive strategy. In other words, even though a complete confrontation is not expected, when the adjacent country attacks us it should give them the sufficient revenge and the unexpected damage. To make it happen, in terms of system, the unified Korea army should focus on the construction of small, but strong forces that take advantage of the updated technology. But, this kind of military strategy and maintenance should come true within the limit of budget which doesn't block economy growth.

2. Estimated Expenditure for National Defense of Unified Korea.

There are no general formula to indicate how much amount of available revenue allotted to national defence part. Generally, adequate scale of national defence is determined by relationship among purpose of force construction to cope with exterior violence and expenditure for national defence about this and state economy ability.

<Table 4-2> Factor of Expenditure for National Defense

Exterior factor	Interior factor
• International preservation of peace condition	• Administrative Policy
• Relationship of peace condition	• Administrator disposition
• Force activity of Enemy	• Relationship with Domestic Economy
• Activity of around country	• Relationship with Expenditure for Welfare

※ Reference : Ministry of National Defense—Korean National Defense for 21st Century.

Outstanding factors consisted of exterior factors are International Preservation of Peace Condition and Activity of Around Country. The U. S., Russia, Japan and China leading the International preservation of peace condition have an effect on Unified Korea. Especially, We should attend to increasing force and force activity of China and Japan. Also have to obtain cognition conversion of the people and policy agreement as interior factor. In 1996 present, Expenditure for national defence are 12 trillion and 5 hundred billion, this 3.21 percent of total GNP. If you want a specific information look at the Table 4-3.

<Table 4-3> Distribution of Military Expenditure (Unit : hundred million won)

Invest for Force Construction		Maintenance part	
Army	13,500	Maintain Force	56,600
Navy	7,600	Maintain Unit	5,900
Air Forces	8,700	Military Equipment	14,400
Common Forces	1,500	Facilities	6,100
Investigation	3,400	Education	1,800
General Expenses	2,400	Information	600
		Local Defence	2,500
Total	37,100	Total	87,900

※ Reference : Ministry of National Defense—Korean National Defense for 21st Century.

At present 30% of total Expenditure for national defence is spent as investment for force construction, 70% as maintenance. The ratio distribution by function of Army, Navy, Air Forces are 45: 25: 30. This information, as you see, show the distribution of first consideration to Army. Especially, investigation for development is

0.03% of total. This figure is a few amount and lower percentage compared with developed nations. Table 4-4 show the this fact.

<Table 4-4> Distribution Trend of Developed Nations (Unit: %)

Nation	Year	Investigation	Acquisition	Construction	Management	Misc
USA	93	14.5	20.3	2.3	28.8	34.1
Japan	92	2.5	25.1	3.2	41.3	27.5
England	91	13.0	31.9	3.5	31.9	19.7
Germany	92	15.0	32.8	4.9	34.0	13.3
France	91	5.5	18.0	2.3	48.4	25.8
Italy	91	2.0	24.9	2.5	51.4	19.2
Korea	93	0.03	30.97	3.7	45.0	19.7

* Reference : The National Defense White Paper of Each Country

To consider the East-North Asia's preservation of peace, we need reorganization to be advanced art technique part and make point of investigation and acquisition part.

Achieving united Korea's purpose and making an estimate adequate scale of Expenditure for national defense in settled time after confusion time according to united state, confusion time need highly disbursement on reorganization of military and still have high rate of maintain part. At this time, the rate of Expenditure for national defence is about 4% of the total GNP.

When it is settled time, a lot of change will be needed on distribution of resource. We will cut down expenses of maintain part. But investigation and acquired part will get more investment. At this time, international preservation of peace condition will be fine, so military force need cut down. Also, more Expenditure for national defence used for Army will be spent on Air force and Navy. Of course, scale or business direction can't change on a sudden. A long term guarantee of Expenditure for national defence is very important to achieve defence policy for purpose of nation. Adequate military force also ensured to accomplish proper power of political and diplomacy according to national power prepared for the threat in precarious future.

Section 2. Adequate Military Forces Level of Unified Korea

When we estimate the scale of Military Force on the basis of quantity than quali-

ty, the scale of Military Forces is indicated generally by well-equipped Forces. But at this section, we just consider quantity scale of military forces excepting capacity level or a sort of equipment.

<Table 4-5> International the Present Condition of Military Forces Rate¹⁶⁾ (unit : %)

Category	Rate of Military Forces
Standing against Country	1.74
Peaceful Country	0.60
Geopolitic similar Country	1.07
Inland Country	1.05
Ocean Country	0.70
Population similar Country	0.70
GNP similar Country	1.42
Democratic Country	0.83
Communist Country	1.35
Average	0.95

※ Reference : Adequate Military Forces Level and Type of Forces Structure, 1. Oct. 1994, Jang, Hong-Ki.

The rate of standing against country¹⁷⁾ is about three times than peaceful country¹⁸⁾ and the rate of inland country is higher than ocean country because inland country needs more power of the army. Also, the rate of communist country communizing the world is higher than democratic country.

The Table 4-6 shows the structure of military power in each country.

16) As of the year of 1997.

17) We can take Korean peninsula, Europe(NATO and WTO), and North America, for examples.

18) We can take Africa, Oceania, and South-Asian countries for examples.

<Table 4-6> International the present condition of Military Power Structure¹⁹⁾

(Unit: %)

	Army	Navy	Air Forces
Standing against Country	77	8	15
Peaceful Country	71	14	15
Geopolitically similar Country	74	11	15
Inland Country	68	11	21
Ocean Country	50	24	26
Population similar Country	73	13	14
GNP similar Country	75	9	16
Democratic Country	71	13	16
Communist Country	79	6	15

* Reference : Adequate Military Forces Level and Type of Forces Structure, 1. Oct. 1994, Jang, Hong-Ki.

According to the above mark, the Inland Country make main effort on the Army, and the Ocean Country on the Navy and Air Force to defend their territory, territorial waters and territorial air. To consider geographical position surrounded by ocean on three sides and located between China and Russia of two continent strength, this is the best way to be in the middle position between the inland country and ocean country.

1. The Method of Calculating Adequate Military Force

The ratio of the military force to the population of a nation is the useful indicator to evaluate the military burden and the degree of the concentration on the military aspect in a nation. We will make this indicator—Force Ratio—the means of this analysis. The definition of Force Ratio is the number of the military force for the population of one thousand people in a nation. The force ratio, as you see, shows the direction of the change of world trend as like this. Regionally in 1994 present, the

19) The military power structure of south and north Korea shows exceeding dependence on the army which constitutes over 90% of total military forces. This percentage is much higher than that of 7:1:2 model of the inland democratic country, and 70:10:15 model of the country in geopolitically similar situation.

force ratio for Mideast is 11.3, the highest, in descending order, for Eastern Europe 9.0 for Western Europe 7.4, for Northern Africa 6.2 for Northern America 5.2. Nationally, for North Korea 52, the highest, in descending order, for Israel 37, for Jordan 25, for UAE, Syria, Iraq 21, for Taiwan, Singapore 20. Generally in Disputing Area, we can see the Force Ratio is more than 11, on the contrary in Peaceful Area, less than 4. And we can divide the Middle Area, which lies between them, into Semi-Disputing Area and Mediate Area (Semi-Peaceful Area). The Force Ratio for Semi-Disputing Area is 8-10 and for Mediate Area 5-7. We can conclude our discussion as follows by analyzing "The Military Balance '96-'97" and "The World Armaments and Ordnance Export, 1995".

<Table 4-7> The World Average Force Ratio (Unit: %)

Classification	Disputing Area	Semi-Disputing Area	Mediate Area	Peaceful Area
Force Ratio	Above 11	10-8(avg : 9)	7-5(avg : 6)	Below 4

This analysis tool can be used to calculate the adequate military force in Unified Korea. Above all, the Korean peninsula is considered Disputing Area when in the period of Separation and Transition. In the period of Separation, the Force Ratio is 17 for South Korean Peninsula should be considered Disputing Area because of the combined social and political unstableness. Therefore, military force scale should be at the degree of strength of Essential Operating Personnel of North Korea Strategic Weapon System added by South Korea military force. Estimating the total population is 70 million ²⁰⁾, the Force Ratio is 11, which is regarded as the effective degree for maintenance and decrease in the next period.

20) Kyung-soo Noh, 'National security strategy of unification period', The national security council, p204.

<Table 4-8> The Military Force Scale of North and South Korea

	South Korea(A) '94	North Korea (B) '94	A+B	Transitional Period Korea
Army	548,000	923,000	1,471,000	600,000
Navy	60,000	46,000	106,000	90,000
Air Forces	52,000	85,000	137,000	80,000
Total	660,000	1,054,000	1,714,000	770,000*

* Reference : IISS, 「The Military Balance '96-'97」

*Kyung-soo Noh, 'National security strategy of unification period', The national security council, p180.

2. Size of Military Forces during "Unstable Period"

The Unified Korea during "Unstable Period" is "an area of potential conflicts". As the population of the Unified Korea would be slightly over 70 million, about 600 thousand seems to be the appropriate size of military forces during this period. We should maintain "the defensive military strategies" during this period, so military restructuring is inevitably restricted. The force ratio during this transition period would be Army:Navy:Air Force=6:1:1, not quite different from today's 7:1:1.

"The Unstable Period", compared to "the transition period", has an external characteristic that there would be no change in sizes of the Navy and the Air Force but the size of the Army would be decreased. It reflects the fact that the military strength of the Army should be decreased and those of the Navy and the Air Force should be enforced due to the geographical situations and national strategies.

3. Size of Military Forces during "Stable Period"

"The Unified Korea" during stable period is "a Transitional Area". The population at this point would be about 75 million, so the appropriate size of military forces would be 450 thousand. Such size is larger than 270 thousand of Japan and 300 thousand of Russian Far East Troops, but still less than 1.5 million of China. In order to compensate this, first of all, we should augment military strength by increasing the military expenditure per soldier, and secondly should improve the Reserved Strength such as Reserve Force revolutionarily.

The geographical feature of the Unified Korea is that the ground border is emi-

nently reduced, but the sea border becomes enlarged and the Navy and the Air Force become more essential. So according to the active military strategies during stable period, the ability for long range operation should be strengthened.

In short, the Unified Korea will pursue "active" military strategies which are based on the appropriate strength, on hi-tech arms and on independent operation capability. And the summary of our discussion is that the force ratio of Army : Navy : Air Force is 5 : 2 : 2 as we see in Table 4-9.

<Table 4-9> Military Strength of the Unified Korea during Stable Period

	total	Army	Navy	Air Force
Strength	450,000	250,000	100,000 (30,000)	100,000
Changing Rate(%)	-25	-42	+10 (+50)	+13

* Above table is inferred from the previous data

The Air Force will be divided into 3 Corps, which was the same in the past. "Troops for National Boundary", who defends the Northern border, should not merely face the Far-Eastern Corps of Russia and China, but also perform the border admission administration. "Reserve strength" positioned in the Middle and Southern area will defend the Capital and the rear, and perform mobile operations with a special strike force in case of emergency. "Special troops" will settle regional conflicts during peace time, but perform middle- or long-range attack operation during war-time.

<Table 4-10> Deployment of the Army during Stable Period

	Total	Troops for National Boundary (Northern Area)	Reserve Strength (Central & Southern Area)	Special Troops (Overall Area)
Strength	250,000	120,000	80,000	50,000
Changing rate(%)	-42	-40	-48	-33

* Above table is inferred from the previous data

The Navy should consider the Russian Pacific Fleet and the Japanese Marine Self-Defense with the Eastern Strength and Chinese East-Northern Fleet with the

Western strength. And part of Southern strength will perform marine patrolling operation, and marine patrolling strength of Cheju Island will play a central part in the "Oceanic Navy Strategy". Landing operation strength will be divided into coast guard troops and mobile attack troops in Cheju Island, deployed in Central or Southern part.

<Table 4-11> Deployment of the Navy during Stable Period

	Total	Marine Operation Troops			Landing Operation Troops
		East Sea	West Sea	South Sea (Cheju Island)	
Strength	100,000	20,000	20,000	30,000 (20,000)	30,000
Changing rate(%)	+11	0	0	0 (0)	+50

* Above table is inferred from the previous data.

The Air Force can be divided as follows:

<Table 4-12> Deployment of the Air Force during Stable Period

	Total	Aerial operation troops		Air defense troops
		Information troops	Battle troops	
Strength	100,000	20,000	50,000	30,000
Changing rate(%)	+25	+33	+20	+20

* Above table is inferred from the previous data.

As the Korean Peninsula is too small and narrow to be divided into many areas in detail, the Air Force will be placed in the Middle of the Korean Peninsula. And it will be organized as one range and regional troops in a balanced fashion under one Air Force Command Group.

Section 3. Summary

The Korea of the 21st century will turn out to have "Unstable Period" and "Stable Period" after overcoming unstable one. Shortly after the Reunification, Korea seems to have hard time in many areas such as politics, economy, society and cul-

ture due to the internal chaos coming from enormous Reunification expenditure and conflicts of different ideologies. Nevertheless, our potentials from the Reunification and the Armed forces of the Unified Korea will perform the solid national defense actions with the support of the Korean people.

In order to overcome the internal conflicts and chaotic situation and to ensure the survival of the country, there must be a support of the appropriate military strength. Although the basic structure of military structuring lies in the minimum self-defense power by which the country can be stand alone, the emphasis should be placed on obtaining the potential for active military operations as the power balancer among the Four North-Eastern Powers. In addition, during this period, peace keeping operations should be strengthened as the power of the country is growing stronger and plans for effective and efficient use of the established military strength should be prepared.

Based on these discussions, when the Four Powers' force ratios, defense expenditure and military strategies, and the budget constraints of the Unified Korea are considered, the appropriate strength is 600 thousand with the ratio of Army: Navy: Air Force=6:1:1 during the "Unstable Period" shortly after the Reunification. And 450 thousand with the ratio of 5:2:2 will be appropriate during the "stable period".

Chapter 5. Conclusion

This article examined the military-related problem, especially the appropriate strength sustainment among a series of procedures pertinent to the reunification of Korea. Below are the factors which determine the military strategies and appropriate strength level of the Unified Korea.

1. National goal and budget constraints of the Unified Korea
2. Characteristics of the Reunification process
3. Political, diplomatic and economic relationships around the Korean Peninsula
4. Military strategies of Four Neighboring Powers

The national goal of the Unified Korea will "to defend the country under the democracy, to realize a welfare country by guaranteeing liberty, rights and improvement in life of everyone, to exalt the national prestige by leveling up its international position, and finally to contribute to the permanent world peace. To achieve these, the Unified Korea must establish "the minimum military strength for self-defense

and retaliation against the outward invasion" and "the national strategies" by means of both 'economic growth policies based on welfare' and 'diplomatic policies and military strategies for peace keeping'. Moreover, the Unified Korea will confront budget problems caused by "Reunification Expenditure", and a serious financial deficit is predicted, which can be inferred from the case of the Reunification of Germany. No active military secure environment can be achieved in such a situation, so we must ensure stable long-term defense budget in order to achieve the goal.

We can draw another conclusion related to the second factor, the reunification process. In this process, "imbalance" and "instability" are inevitable due to the characteristics of political, economic, social, cultural and military integrations. We must try our utmost to minimize the anxiety and disorder resulting from the reunification process in order that the Unified Korean Forces may overcome the heterogeneity and disorder in the military owing to the military integration. It is the key to keeping stable strength.

Thirdly, diplomatic capability is needed to make the Four Powers aware that peaceful reunification is beneficial to their security because one of their major strategic lines is the formation of peaceful "security environment" surrounding political and diplomatic relationships around the Korean Peninsula. Multipolarized "political and economic Union" is the world-wide tendency in the 21st century, so efforts must be made to actively propose and produce "North-Eastern Economy Union" or "Pacific Economy Union". Moreover, multi-party regional security committee or union should be proposed, and Korea should play a leading role of the era of the Pacific in the 21st century as "the power balancer" among the Four Powers.

Lastly, considering the military strategies of the Four Powers we can reach the following conclusion. The core of "new military strategies" of the Four Powers is hi-tech-arms-centered strength enforcement based on appropriate "force ratio". In case of the U. S. as well as Japan, China and Russia, Armed Forces are steadily being decreased in number of soldiers with reorganization using hi-tech arms. The Unified Korea should keep pace with this tendency and maintain the appropriate strength with rational troops organization and management by establishing long-term strategies and appropriate budget plan. As the Unified Korea is a geographical strategic point, there is great possibility that major developed countries around it will try to rule over this area to make it a starting point. As a result, this article focused on the appropriate military strength with which the Unified Korea can overcome the outside pressure and perform military operations against local dispute.

And a conclusion can be reached that 450 thousand would be appropriate with the force ratio of Army: Navy: Air Force=5:2:2 under the environments and geographical and strategic conditions.

Although this result can be different under a variety of conditions and is not an absolute value, it can be thought of as proper one considering security environments after the Reunification.