

Security System and Peaceful Structure of Northeast Asia After Cold War: Special Reference to Korean Peninsula

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I.

Order is not always the same as justice. But after radical changes of the Soviet Union and east Europe, most analysts and specialists of international politics are trying to predict new world order after Cold War. Of course order gives us concrete situation for making foreign policies and economic cooperation and pursuing them. And order at least frees us from instability of international politics. But order, at the same time, limits each country's right to take alternatives for her interests. At any rate, we need to analyze the international situation and predict new world order after Cold War.

What will be the shape of the new world order? Some analyst, such as Prof. Paul Kennedy in *the Rise and Fall of Great Powers* describe the change in the world as the decline of the superpowers, including both the Soviet Union and the United States. Other specialists such as Prof. Joseph Nye in *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* describes that while the United States will remain the largest state, the world will see a diffusion of power and a growth of multiple inter-dependencies. I accept the prospects of Prof. Joseph Nye rather than that of Prof. Kennedy on the new world order after Cold War. Especially, regarding economic stagnation of the Soviet Union, abandonment of socialist economic system in Eastern European countries, and leading role of the United States shown in the Gulf War, I can not but agree his predict of new world order.

But I think that concerning new regional order of Northeast Asia, Prof. Nye is only half right. In the view of two superpowers, the Soviet union and the United States, Northeast Asia is a part of World whether it is important or not. But for major powers (China, Japan) and developing and vulnerable countries (South and

North Korea), new regional order of Northeast Asia is absolutely important. If an attempt to change the order of this region is made by United States or the Soviet Union and it encroaches the interest of Japan, China or South and North Korea, these will not accept the attempt of those despite these are inferior to those in national power. Recently, North Korea rejects to open its nuclear facilities to international inspection and sign the safeguards accord of the International Atomic Energy Agency in spite of superpowers' pressure. Therefore we need to remember this point in analyzing and predicting new order of Northeast Asia.

II.

The Cold War order is over, but the shape of a new world order is far from clear. Retrospecting past world history, the shape of world order will depend in large part on the strategic choices made by the world major powers. As the Cold War order was built up and has been maintained by two superpowers since World War II, the new world order after Cold War order will be also built up by world major powers. But it is not so easy to define which country is major power in this radical changing world. In fact, the one superpower, the Soviet Union declines. When Khrushchev visited the United States in 1959, his boast that the Soviet Union would bury the United States was taken seriously. In late as 1976, Leonid Brezhnev told the President of France that Communism would dominate the world by 1995. But nowadays, Soviet Union began to fall further behind the capitalist economies of North America, Europe, and Japan which were pioneering in the third industrial revolution. For radical example, the Soviet Union had only 50,000 personal computer in the whole country, while at that time the United States had some 30 million personal computers. Although we can not ignore the fact that the Soviet Union was strong in the traditional military, the recent change of the foreign policy taken by the Soviet Union in the Gulf War shows that she has no intention to maintain the old lines of foreign policy. The new leaders of the Soviet Union think economic development is more important than military and political power for maintaining influence in the world. Other countries we can regard as major powers still have not enough power resources to shape new world order. China remains a less developed country. Europe has achieved continuous economic development but still lacks unity. Japan (while impressive in its economic growth) has a limited portfolio of power resources. Especially Europe and Japan lack a grand design for shaping new world order. Therefore the United States, has emerged as the only superpower, and the Americans will be able to dominate world politics over coming decade.

Of course no country will be able to create a stable world order. And the world has become economically multipolar. Rising economic inter-dependence, the great role of transnational actors, the strength of nationalism in otherwise

weak states, the spread of technology of weaponry, and increasing number of issues which are both domestic and international will contribute to diffusion of power. But the United States is still the only countries which has grand design, power resources and intention to shaping new world order. Then what new world order will be shaped by the unilateral hegemony, the United States? In the traditional view of international politics, military power is the dominant instrument of power. Although a balance of military power remains important to a stable world order, other instrument such as communications, organizational institutional skills, manipulation of interdependence have become important instrument of power. As we can see, trade, natural resources, money, space, shipping, and airlines have a somewhat different distribution of power.

The United States knows this change and its ability is not equal to its ambition although it still wants to control the whole world very well. Since the middle of 1980s, the United States has pursued new strategy in world politics. It did not give up political and military hegemony but takes new notion of world order-interdependence in various dimensions. It knows that it has expended too much economic energy and investment on military strategic sectors in order to maintain its hegemonic status and this cost has eroded its economy. It also knows that although it does not decline in economy absolutely, other countries have achieved economic development continuously, and so it has to deal with important international affairs by relying on its allies more than before. Therefore interdependence is the only way to keep her hegemony in world politics, to overcome impending economic difficulties, and to draw benefits from its investment and aid for taking many less developed countries into capitalistic market since World War II. Interdependence means to the United States the sharing of burden to keep world order under its power umbrella and taking benefits from world order designed and has maintained by itself. Recent arguments on the international trade system (Uruguay Round) and sharing of burden with Japan show the intention of the United States's new strategy-interdependence.

I think this new strategy of the United states will also be applied to shaping new regional order in northeast Asia. But as I mentioned above, it will be adjusted by the interests of major powers and other countries in this region. Being different from the other regions, Northeast Asia is the place where four world major powers confront one another and each major power and other countries have absolute self interests in this region. Therefore, though they can not influence on or shape new world order, they will use all possible measures for their interests in this region.

III.

The Northeast Asia region is brewing some important changes in the upheaval

of international patterns. On the one hand, some countries in the region are making important adjustment in internal as well as external policies and, on the other hand, the old super powers will be more concentrated on the Asia-Pacific and Northeast Asia. There are various factors which catalyze the great shift of pattern in the Northeast Asia such as the new strategy of the United States for new world order after Cold War, Japan's rise and its claim to be a political big power and exacerbation of US-Japan economic contradiction, Soviet's application of "New Thinking" in the Northeast Asia region with new diplomatic steps and new peace offensives, possible improvement of Soviet-Japan relation, the likely breakthrough in normalization of relations between North Korea and Japan in the wake of the establishment of Soviet-South Korea diplomatic ties, the tries for promotion of relation between South and North Korea, China's steady political and economic development and new adjustment of its foreign policy, and so on. Among these factors, the most important factor is new strategy of the United States for new world order in Northeast Asia.

The United States is concentrating itself in establishing a new world order under its leadership. Therefore it will ask its allies to obey its order, give more pressures on socialist states and interfere in the domestic affairs of the Third World nations in various ways. For example, in May this year, the United State hindered the first direct trade between the two Koreans, South Korea's rice exports to North Korea with regulations on the disposal of surplus farm products of FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) and the rules of the GATT. However, the United States's economy is too weak to shoulder all burdens. Even the great success it achieved in the Gulf War can not save its economy from going downhill. The United States relying on its West allies, Soviet Union and Third World nations to strengthen its leading position in the world with notion of interdependence.

In the Northeast Asian area, the United States will keep the strategy of a balance of power and make efforts to break up the small triangle coalition among Soviet Union, China and Japan.

To Japan, the United States will adopt the stick and the carrot policy. It will use the stick, with which Japan has to serve the US world politics with its capitals, has no right to dominate Asia and is refrained from being getting closer to the Soviet Union and China. Continuing to maintain its military existence in Japan, the United States will ask Japan for shouldering more and more burdens on its military expenditures. At least in the near future, Japan is still be used as weight to hold up China and the Soviet Union.

As for the Soviet Union, the United States tries to keep on collaborating with it in international affairs. Suffering from bad economy and political instability, the Soviet needs the capitals and technics from the West badly. The United States will take the opportunity to interfere in the Soviet domestic affairs. Since the

United States is displeased with what has happened in the Soviet Union since the end of the last year, it will be more cautious of supplying capitals and technics to the Soviets.

China's strategic position is supposed to be more important than before the Gulf Crisis. But it could not go back to the situation during the Cold War. The United States needs China to keep a balance of power in Northeast Asian Area. However, the United States has different value with that of China and will emphasize more on human rights in contacts with each other.

Facing these foreign policy of United States after the Gulf War, three major powers of Northeast Asia, Japan, China and the Soviet Union tend to make up the small triangle. They want to control enlargement of the United States's influence in Northeast Asia. They cooperate with one another within the dimension where is no interests conflicts. Some diplomatic tries proved this trend. Chinese Communist Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin visited Moscow and has summit talks with president M. Gorbachev on development of bilateral relations on May, 1991. Both of them agree that ideological differences are no longer considered important to the development of bilateral relations, and pragmatism is at a premium as both sides strive to reach an overall settlement is at a premium as both sides strive to reach an overall settlement on border demarcation and reduce the number of troops along their 7,300 km common frontier President M. Gorbachev visited Japan on mission to normalize Moscow — Tokyo relations frozen by a decades-long territorial dispute in April 1991, and Gorbachev and Kaifu signed more than a dozen agreements on subjects such as technical help for Soviet perestroika, aid for victims of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster, environmental protection, coastal trade and cultural exchanges. The Japanese-Sino relations are getting closer. Japan is going to put third term of Japanese investment into China. Japanese foreign minister concluded a visit to China in April and invited China's deputy minister of foreign affairs to visit Japan. The Japanese premier is scheduled to visit China this year.

The second important factor influence on emerging new regional order in Northeast Asia is Soviet "New Thinking". Since Gorbachev's assumption of power in March, 1985, the CPUS has taken seeking a peaceful international environment and developing national economy as its long-term strategy. Soviet Far-east policy is an integral part of its whole foreign policy, and its goal is to seek security and development in Northeast Asian region to create a favorable international environment for Soviet Far-east economic development. To change the economic back-wardness in the Far-east so as to strengthen its economic status in Northeast Asia is an important justification for the its readjustment of Far-east policy. Soviet Far-east economy has long lagged behind that of other areas of the Soviet Union. Soviet Far-east area covers 27 percent of the Soviet territory but the industrial output of Far-east was 3 percent of the whole country

in 1986, making up 2.8 percent national income of the country. The Soviet Union faces immense difficulties in production energy and raw materials. Siberian oil field which produce 60 percent of the country's total will be exhausted by 2000. The present situation is that Soviet Union has to introduce a whole range of new technology, increase oil product by exploiting crude oil production under its northern frozen soil before the year 2010, otherwise Soviet oil production will only be able to meet 35 percent of domestic demand. Soviet Union forced to improve relations and cooperation with Northeast Asian countries to develop its Far-eastern area substantially. For achieving this objective the Soviet Union has changed its long-term policy of intransigent and assumed a posture of detent military by taking steps of disarmament. By the end of 1991, the Soviet Union will reduce 200,000 Soviet troops in its Asian area, 74 percent of its troops in Mongolia and with draw all of its airforces there. Soviet and Mongolian government reached agreement in March 1990 which providing that Soviet troops should be pulled out of Mongolia before the end of 1992.

The Soviet Union established diplomatic relations with South Korea last year. The two sides took active attitude towards developing mutual relations. South Korea intends to contain North Korea through the Soviet Union and, at once, convets rich resources of Siberia. Likewise, the Soviet Union wishes to kill two birds with one stone — obtaining South Korean capital and technology to speed up development of Far-east area and, at the same time, using South Korea to put pressure on Japan to show more flexibility in its relation with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has already got a promise from South Korea of \$3 billion loans. President M. Gorbachev visited South Korea on April 19, 1991, and proposed "Korea-Soviet Friendship-Cooperation Treaty."

The third important factor in shaping new regional order in Northeast Asia is Japan's role and its claim to be a political big power. Over the last 40 years since World War II, Japan's economy has gained steady and radical growth. Japan's GNP is about 3 percent of the world total in 1960, 15 percent in 1989, and 20 percent in 1995. Japan's bank assets overseas had reached \$1,430 billion by the end of 1987 surpassed the USA's \$630 billion and account one third of total of developed capitalist countries. Japan's foreign economic aid of \$10 billion in 1989 exceeding that of the United States and become the world no 1 donater of foreign aid. Given the rapid growth of Japan's economic strength and the relative decline of US economic status in the world, economic competetion between the two countries has become intensified. The United States presses Japan from time to time to open its market, transform its economic structure, revises including its economic decrees and share more military expenses including those in the recent Gulf War. In this situation, it is ordinary for Japan to seek for political status parallel to its economic strength. Prime Minister Kaifu proclaimed earlier this year that Japan is going to "play a role in the establishment of a new world

order", economically as well as politically. Japan tries to normalization of relation between the Soviet Union and improves relation with China a step ahead Europe and the United states. On the question of Korea, Japan makes contacts with South and North Korea frequently. During the visit of South Korean President Rho Tae Woo, Japan's Emperor and prime minister had made public apology for wartime injustice to strengthen Japan-South Korean partnership. Besides LDP's Kanemaru visited North Korea in September 1990 and agree to accelerate the normalization of relations between the two countries and three times meetings between them have already held. To strengthen its political power status, Japan is seeking to increase its military strengthen. At any rate, the intention and practice of Japan's big power realization will undoubtedly have strong impact on the transformation of Northeast Asian international pattern.

The forth factor which will influence on new regional order of the Northeast Asia is the changing situation in Korean peninsula. South and North Korea have had three times prime minister talks. The joint team of two Koreas participated in the 41st World Table Tennis Championships held in Japan, in May 1991 and got gold medal by defeating China in the women's team even final. South and North Korea will also participate in the 6th World Youth Soccer Championship slated for June, this year in Portugal as joint team and had two times soccer match in Pyongyang and Seoul in May this year. And North Korea allowed the South Korean Delegation to pass through the Panmunjom for participating in the 85th conference of the IPU in Pyongyang in May this year. Despite of recent frequent contacts between the two Koreas, there is no visible results and important agreements because the positions of the sides are far apart. But those higher level talks and frequent exchanges in various fields themselves have great importance. In fact, Korean peninsula still remains in Cold War order and influence on the foreign policy of one superpower (the United States), three major powers (the Soviet Union, Japan, and China). Therefore the Korean peninsula can be the most important and delicate factor in building peace and cooperation structure in Northeast Asia.

The last important factor in new regional order of Northeast Asia is China's steady development of its politics and economy and the new adjustment of its foreign policy. China is still less developed country but China's national economic strength had been greatly strengthened in the last decade, during which, the GNP had increased from 447 billion RMB to 1.74 trillion which averaged 9 percent per year. Based on the political and economic stability, China seems to adapt itself to the changing international situation of the premise of adherence to the foreign policy of interdependence and handle foreign relations and various international issues more pragmatically and flexibly. China will maintain and develop the relation with Japan, the Soviet Union and North Korea. China also hopes the normalization of relationship between North Korea and Japan which

will build up the favorable environment for their economic development. South Korea and China have opened unofficial trade offices in each other's capital. In fact, China has no power resources to influence on international politics. It only hopes that long-term stability will be realized in the Northeast Asia for its economic development. But, at any rate, China's pragmatic and flexible foreign policy will undoubtedly affect the changes of Northeast Asia to some extent.

What will be the new order of Northeast Asia in this radical changing situation? Regarding about factors, the new order of Northeast Asia is *multiple interdependence without no unipolarity*. One country of this region, including the United States, can not influence on another country one-sidedly, even if one is super power and the other is developing country. Every country of this region is unequal to one another in military, political and economic power, but it can use *the particular balance of powers*. The balance of power of this region comes from three facts as I mentioned above. First is that one super power and three major powers confront one another in one region. Second is that there still remains Cold War order in this region, and, therefore possibility of war. Third is that there is great potentiality of economic development in this region.

It is too evident that the only way to prosperity is mutual cooperation in this region where is balance of power. And despite it is not easy to adjust each country's self interest especially between sovereign states, there is mutual agreement on the precondition for mutual cooperation. It is reducing tension and building stability and peace structure in this region.

IV.

The deeper interdependence is among countries, the closer relations are among them, and problems among them could be handled without resorting to military force. For its prosperity, each country of Northeast Asia tries to reduce tension and build peaceful structure. There has been significant progress since detente and in arms control and disarmament in and over Europe, and between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, we do not see the parallel development in the Asian and Pacific regions. No matter how there is a time lag between Europe and Asia and Pacific regions, we could see a hopeful sign in changing the diplomatic and strategic environment into a more secure international regime if we could have a shared political will and a decision to enhance international security in this region.

Before analyzing military situation and seeking for possible way to build peaceful structure, I will describe briefly diplomatic and strategic characteristic in this region from the 1980s to the present.

First, the diplomatic and strategic environment is as we see it, increasingly complex in the late 1980s. The Cold War order still remains in this region today.

Such systemic characteristics as the determinations between friends and foes in diplomatic terms have long continued as a reflection of the United States and the Soviet Union confrontational politics. This is, in part, well illustrated by military alliance system in which countries allied with the United States are against countries allied with the Soviet Union. For instance, we have seen a series of bilateral alliance in the U.S.-Japan, the U.S.-South Korea, the U.S.-Philippines security arrangements; and also a series of bilateral alliances in the Soviet-Vietnam, the Soviet-North Korea security arrangements. Such alliance networks are not as symmetric as those found in Europe. However, the Cold War type of military alliance is still functioning in the Northeast Asia and Pacific Region; that is exemplified by the livefire exercises with the U.S. and the South Korea, the U.S. and Japan-Team Spirit in form of joint operation.

Another important point in characterizing the Cold War diplomatic and strategic structure may be the pattern of arms transfers from each military super power to its allied countries. According to the data in *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1989*, there is an interesting pattern in these region. For the period of 1984-1988, Japan imported 99.1 percent of its military weapons from the U.S., and South Korea imported 71.4 percent. On the other hand, North Korea bought 95.7 percent of its military weapons from the Soviet Union, 2.1 percent from China, and Mongolia bought 100 percent of its major weapon from the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Cold War system is still operating in the pattern of arms transfers among major countries in these region.

To reduce tension and build up peaceful structure in this diplomatic and strategic situation of Northeast Asia, we need to consider two ways. One is regional security organization. U.S. military presence is indispensable in this region because East Asia is quite different from Europe in that there is no regional security organization such as NATO and no strong leadership among democracies in this region. but because of the tremendous cost, it may be difficult for the United States to continue to maintain a large number of troops, though Japan will increase its share of expenses for U.S. armed forces stationed in Japan up to 60 percent in the near future. The United States has already disclosed a plan to cut 15,000 military personnel from South Korea, Japan and the Philippines over next two years. Taking all this into consideration, Japan and the United States must continue to maintain its security treaty, and it will become necessary for the United States, South Korea and Japan to organize a consulting body which will hold policy meetings on a regular basis to discuss political and security affairs.

These bilateral talks by two of the three, as has been practiced in the past, will no doubt continue to work, but a triangular agreement will be required to promote security. Surely these three countries have some frictions among them, but it should be emphasized that they share the principle of preserving and promoting democracy. This should not be misunderstood as a plan to develop an exclusive

military club against communist adversaries. Rather, this should be the first step to broaden security measures in this region.

As a second step, I would like to propose to the organization of a regular governmental level conference represented by six parties; the United States, South Korea, Japan, the Soviet Union, China, and North Korea. As Helsinki accord was adopted in the middle of 1970s, Northeast Asian countries should consider the importance of establishing *CBMs* (*Confidence Building Measures*). *CBMs* are very important in transforming the Cold War system into real detente and a true international system. To establish *CBMs*, institutionalize international security conference and arms control talks should be made as soon as possible.

The other is development of transnational, non-governmental relationships between countries. Of course, government-to-government diplomacy is crucial in creating peace and prosperity in this region. However non-governmental transnational links- for instance, city-to-city, economic, social, cultural, educational and media transnational links are becoming increasingly important in establishing the new international security regime. Transnational actors in non-governmental areas are likely to pursue other than national interests by which governmental actors's policy motivations are often exclusively motivated.

If these two way are pursued, the peaceful structure including disarmament of Northeast Asia will be realized in the near future. But, there still remains very important and delicate problem in establishing peaceful structure. It is Korean peninsula. At present, the Korean peninsula may be the only place in the world where the Cold War in the old form persists with few signs of significant detente.

V.

With the great transformation of the world and regional orders, individual countries including South and North Korea cannot help being effected. Over the past few years, favorable environments have been made to materialize arms control negotiations in the Korean peninsula. At least four broad trends are currently discernible in the international and regional political spectrum. First is the thawing of the Cold War was exemplified by the new U.S.-Soviet detente in recent years. The U.S. and the Soviet Union have begun to discuss ideas for reducing tensions and settling peacefully the situation of the peninsula. There is a growing possibility for cooperation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union on the Korean question.

Secondly, with the new emergence of East-West detente at global level, the reduction of the U.S. forces in the Korean peninsula seems to be unavoidable and it should be linked to arms control on the peninsula. The United States has begun to draw down the ground troop presence and modify command structures so as to transition form a leading to a supporting role for its forces for deterrence of

war on the peninsula. The military preparedness of the U.S. in the Northeast Asia region will be eventually transformed into principally, a substantial air and naval presence.

Thirdly, both South and North Korea recognize the necessity of arms control on the peninsula. In September 1989, South Korea unveiled the "Korean National Community Unification formula", which entails the creation of the "Korean Commonwealth" as a transitional system leading to ultimate unification of the peninsula. In accordance with this new unification formula, the South Korean Government has taken more progressive stance toward the North Korea. For instance, President Roh Tae Woo announced at his Liberation Day address on August 15, 1990 that his government was "fully prepared to discuss with the North without limitation all issues, including political and military question." He also expressed a willingness" to discuss in earnest the issue of arms control".

The security implications for North Korea is obvious. The North has to spend an increasing percentage of its national income on defense merely to keep up with the South. It is reported that the South currently spends 5-6% of GNP on defense, while North spends 20-30%. Spending even more on the military cannot seem a very attractive proposition for Pyongyang. North Korean political leaders should increasingly realize that the dynamic economy of South can far more easily afford the costs of a conventional arms race than can the stagnant economy of the North.

Finally, in term of a military strategy, it is argued that arms control is desirable to prevent a war and enhances security and stability. It is well known that there exists a destabilizing asymmetries in military capabilities between North and South Korea. Accordingly the most imminent task in the Korea peninsula is to reduce tensions between the North and the South, thereby enhancing military security and stability. In this situation, what kind of approach the two Korea have taken and should take for establishing security system and disarmament?

1. South Korea's Approach

South Korea has been pursuing an intra-Korea policy based upon a concept of national community in which the two sides not merely coexist but also co-prosper by helping each other. This forms the keynote of the "Korean National Community Unification Formula" which President Roh announced as Seoul's unification policy in September 1989. It is in this spirit that South Korea has regarded arms control and confidence building measures as a process of building peace and a national partnership with North Korea in the question for unification. At the heart of South Korea's approach is the proposition that arms control and unification can not be achieved without going through a certain process of sequential stages. With this in mind, Prime Minister Kang Young Hoon presented

a three stages at the first meeting of the prime minister talks: political CBMs, military CBMs, and arms reduction.

In an attempt to build political confidence, Prime Minister Kang proposed the following measures: suspension of mutual slandering on the basis of recognizing the existence of two different political entities on the peninsula, opening of news media to each other, and establishment of liaison offices in Seoul and Pyongyang.

As for military CBMs, Seoul listed such measures as exchange of military personnel and data, advance notification of exercises, invitation of observers, hot line between defense ministers, and conversion of DMZ into real non-militarized zone. These are operational arms control measure largely based on the recent European experiences, particularly adopted at the 1986 Stockholm document.

South Korea believes that the third stage for effective arms control on Korean peninsula is to control the structure of military forces. Seoul emphasized the importance of transforming offensive force structure into defensive ones, reduction of offensive equipments and forces to parity, elimination of other military asymmetries.

To summarize, South Korea sees arms control as a set of process — a continuing process of political and military confidence — building and finally arms reduction.

2. North Korea's Approach

Since its establishment of the communist regime in 1948, North Korea presented more than 230 proposal on political and military issues. At the heart of North Korea's proposals have been: (1) the heavy stress on the idea of a three as four year mutual phase-down of troop level, first to 300,000, then 200,000 and finally 100,000; (2) the removal of U.S. forces together with the cancellation of the annual U.S.-South Korea Team Spirit exercise; (3) the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula through the establishment of nuclear-free zone.

Recently North Korea made a comprehensive proposal for arms control in May 1990 and Prime Minister Yon reiterated that gist of this in his speech at the first meeting of the Prime Minister talks in September. There are some changes in the North's official stand on political-military issues, as compared to previous ones.

First, he delineated for the first time "confidence building measures" such as prior notification of military exercises, conversion of DMZ into a peace zone and so on. Second, he placed reduction of armed forces between the North and the south before withdrawal of American forces. third, Yon mentioned such operational measures as suspension of joint military exercises and constraints on training by divisional or units above that level, and used the term "arm control" for the first time. Finally, he suggested possibilities of bilateral talks on arms control issues with Seoul instead of tripartite talks.

In spite of these new elements, there are number of problems in North Korea's arms control proposal. The most important among them are lack of the explicit recognition of the South as legitimate partner for negotiation and cooperation. Secondly, Pyongyang's proposals do not contain transparency measures on opening and exchanging the data on the development and structure of forces and equipments, the important components for military confidence building. Thirdly, North Korea says nothing about restructuring its forces in a more defensive direction, which crucial to ensuring security and stability, two commonly accepted goals of arms control. Finally, Pyongyang is consistently seeking the conclusion of peace treaty with Washington, while preferring the adoption of a non-aggression declaration with Seoul.

The inter-Korean negotiations for arms control reached a deadlock after three meetings of Prime Minister. And, there is no concrete vision of reholding meeting for arms control. But it seems that both Koreas will try to improve the diplomatic and strategic environment more toward the detents model, namely toward the security community in which preparation for war is quite unnecessary.

VI.

Cold War order will be over, and it is the same as in Northeast Asia. But it will not be achieved spontaneously. It needs all possible tries and measures of Northeast Asian countries as well as all countries of the world. Northeast Asia becomes more important because of its economic potentiality and military confrontation. Therefore One super power, three major powers, and other countries should recognize that the stability and prosperity of Northeast Asia is bound up with their security an development.

Nowadays, internal and external democratization are needed at the same rate. Including South and North Korea, every country which wants prosperity should keep this common sense in its mind.