

인권정보자료실  
G1.134

"Peace, Human Rights, and Co-existence in Asia and the Pacific"

COLAP 4 The 4th Conference of Lawyers in Asia and the Pacific)

SEPTEMBER 2nd-3rd, 2005



제 4회 아시아·태평양 지역 법률가 회의  
아시아·태평양 지역에서의 평화·인권·공존

일시: 2005년 9월 2~3일 / 장소: 건국대학교

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Korean Organizing Committee for COLAP4  
COLAP4 한국조직위원회

The Law Research Institute of Konkuk University  
건국대학교 법학연구소

Korean Law & Society Association  
법과사회이론학회

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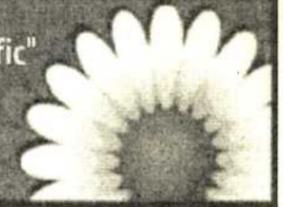
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September 2~3, 2005  
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## Last Gasp of Empire: What Motivates the Bush Administration to Maintain Conflict in Asia?

By Eric Sirotkin

Chair  
Korean Peace Project<sup>1</sup>  
National Lawyers Guild USA

Prepared for the 4<sup>th</sup> Conference of Lawyers in Asia and the Pacific –  
*Peace, Human Rights and Democracy in Asia and the Pacific*

### 1 분과

Fear is driving American foreign policy in Asia and the world today. In 1991, after the first Gulf War, then General Colin Powell, speaking about the U.S. Military's role in the world, uttered the infamous line, "I want to be the bully on the block." The U.S. has become the schoolhouse bully - its resources, and with the physical strength to intimidate others less able to defend themselves. But as in the schoolyard, physical power and brute force fail to bring peace, nor build friendships. The bully grows further isolated from his classmates and the world around him. Thus is the experience of the Bush Administration in its sad effort to maintain its waning power around the world.

But what causes the U.S. to thwart efforts at peace in Korea after more than fifty years? Why does the U.S. continue to hold onto military bases in Okinawa and Korea and elsewhere in the Pacific, decades after World War II and long after the end of the Cold War? Why did the Bush Administration go into Iraq and have North Korea, Iran and other countries in its sights? The answers lie in the various policy statements and philosophical underpinnings of the neo-conservatives that influence and hold important posts of power in the Bush Administration. The struggle is to hold onto the vestiges of empire in a changing world and to use its military power to craft a world in its image. The antithesis of democracy and self-determination.

### The Defense Planning Guide

In 1992, then under secretary for Defense Paul Wolfowitz, now President of the World Bank, drafted the *Defense Planning Guide* for the first Bush Administration. The document is prepared every few years and is intended to give the military guidelines so that they can assess their force size and budget needs. After the confidential document was leaked to *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, the White House ordered then-Defense Secretary Dick Cheney to revise it. However, it spelled out what would become the philosophical basis for the unilateral intervention and militarism of the current Bush Administration.

<sup>1</sup> Contact the Peace Project and Mr. Sirotkin at [Sirotkin@nlg.org](mailto:Sirotkin@nlg.org) or [www.nlg.org/korea](http://www.nlg.org/korea)

**Last Gasps of Empire:  
What Motivates the Bush Administration to Maintain  
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Three main principles were:

**I. The number one objective of U.S. post-Cold War political and military strategy should be preventing the emergence of a rival superpower.**

The goal was stated as "we endeavor to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power. These regions include Western Europe, East Asia, the territory of the former Soviet Union, and Southwest Asia." To achieve this the U.S. would work at "convincing potential competitors that they need not aspire to a to a larger regional or global role" and "discourage them from challenging our leadership."

**II. Another major U.S. objective should be to safeguard U.S. interests and promote American values.**

These interests include protecting "access to vital raw materials, primarily Persian Gulf oil; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, [and] threats to U.S. citizens from terrorism or regional or local conflict." It presents some different scenarios, but the two most talked about are Iraq and North Korea. The U.S. needs to be able to fight two "theatre" wars at the same time.

**III. If necessary, the United States must be prepared to take unilateral action.**

The idea that the U.S. might go it alone, even without the UN or world community support was expressed clearly in the Guide. The document discussed "the sense that the world order is ultimately backed by the U.S." and that "the United States should be postured to act independently when collective action cannot be orchestrated."

These policies did not get to be implemented by the Military as the election of Bill Clinton at the end of 1992 led to eight years of a more conciliatory approach to foreign policy. However, these principles formed the basis of the G.W. Bush administration's approach to the use of military force and worldview

### The Project for a New American Century

In 1997 a group of conservative politicians and defense industry corporate executives created *The Project for a New American Century*. They included the current Vice President Dick Cheney, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, the President's brother Jeb Bush, and President of the World Bank and former under secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. They decided it was necessary to promote "a strategic vision of America's role in the world," asking the question "Does the United States have the resolve to shape a new century favorable to American principles and interests?"

As a precursor for the "preemptive war" doctrine of the Bush Administration, they declared that "is important to shape circumstances before crises emerge, and to meet threats before they become dire." Needed was "a foreign policy that boldly and purposefully promotes American principles abroad." America, according to the Project, needed "to challenge regimes hostile to our interests and values. The United States must, it said, "build on the successes of this past century and ensure our security and our greatness" in the 21st century. The U.S. military was to become the "cavalry of the American Frontier" and must maintain the strongest military in the world.

The Project continues to exert pressure on the politics of the Administration and within days after September 11<sup>th</sup>, they demanded the Bush administration go into Iraq to topple Saddam Hussein. The Iraq war, and the U.S.'s current efforts at building permanent bases in the conquered territory, demonstrates a broader plan to boldly "shape" the world with U.S. or "western" values, and reject the rising power of non-western, and most often non-white, countries. These efforts follow closely the plans to hold onto power and influence through fueling the clash of civilizations.

### The Clash of Civilizations

The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order is a book by Samuel P. Huntington and has been embraced by the neo-conservatives and those in the Bush administration. Originally appearing as an article in the Foreign Affairs Journal in 1993, it is now in book form, praised on the cover by former Secretary of State (and unindicted war criminal) Henry Kissinger as "one of the most important books to have emerged since the end of the Cold War."

The book, now being read by groups of American soldiers as well touted by government officials, reminds us that originally the "West won the world not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion (to which few members of other civilizations were converted) but rather by its superiority in applying organized violence."

It recognizes that the relative power of the United States is "declining at an accelerating pace." In terms of its raw economic capabilities, it says "the position of the United States in relation to Japan and eventually China is likely to erode still further." Even in the military realm, Huntington finds that "the balance of effective capabilities between the United States and a number of growing regional powers (including, perhaps, Iran, India, and China) will shift from the center toward the periphery."

As the West's primacy around the world erodes, "the most significant increases in power are accruing and will accrue to Asian civilizations, with China gradually emerging as the society most likely to challenge the West for global influence." He warns of a danger that "these shifts in power among civilizations are leading and will lead to the revival and increased cultural assertiveness of non-Western societies and to their

increasing rejection of Western culture." Thus the fear arises that the empowerment of one nation must mean the demise of another.

Huntington lays out the model used by the Bush Administration that sees the only route to changing a nation's behavior is "through inducement, coercion, or exhortation, which require the power-wielder to have economic, military, institutional, demographic, political, technological, social, or other resources." Thus, the U.S. heads to the Middle East to grab the resources, and continues to expand its military capabilities, while flexing its muscles at over 800 military bases around the planet.

However, most disturbing are Huntington's assessment of the nature of humanity. Rather than the notion contained in many non-western cultures that view the interconnection of all people, Huntington proclaims, "It is human to hate. For self-definition and motivation people need enemies...they naturally distrust and see as threats those who are different..." He cites Ali Mazrui who said "The 'us' versus 'them' tendency is, in the political arena, almost universal."

This ultimate battle, or *clash* of civilizations will be "the west versus the rest," which he sees as the United States or Europe vs. primarily Islamic and Asian. The war that the U.S. is beginning to wage addresses a key question according to Huntington and the Bush Neoconservatives:

Will the global institutions, the distribution of power, and the politics and economies of nations in the twenty-first century primarily reflect Western values and interests or will they be shaped primarily by those of Islam and China?

In order to preserve Western civilization in the face of declining Western power, Huntington writes it is in the interest of the United States and European countries to:

- 1: to restrain the development of the conventional and unconventional military power of Islamic and Sinic countries;
- 2: to maintain Western technological and military superiority over other civilizations;
- 3: to slow the drift of Japan away from the West and toward accommodation with China;

Therefore the effort is not, as the Administration often says, to spread political democracy, but to press the world into a western capitalist based way of life. For Huntington, "The *new world order* means that Jews and Christians control Muslims and if they can, they will after that dominate Confucianism and other religions in India, China, and Japan..." This new era requires imperialism, because "the West no longer has the economic or demographic dynamism required to impose its will on other societies...."

Huntington's premise is frightening. He adds, "What the Christians and Jews are now saying: We were determined to crush Communism and the West must now crush Islam and Confucianism." This rallying cry around western religious values, that he calls a "societal Cold War with Islam," would serve to strengthen the European identity all round at a crucial time for the process of European union."

The failure of the Bush Administration to articulate a truthful reason for the invasion of Iraq, its expansion of military presence in the Philippines or offshore in Okinawa, along with its failure to seize on the initiatives of North and South Korea to reunify or secure a lasting peace, all point to an underlying motivation or plan. Dangerously, President Bush sincerely believes and has stated, "God has commissioned America to be a model for the rest of the world." His crusade to westernize the world and assure military and cultural superiority must be exposed and rejected. By embracing our differences we embrace our common humanity.

Even Huntington, since he first printed his *Clash of Civilizations* theory, has foreseen: "Western intervention in the affairs of other civilizations is probably the single most dangerous source of instability and potential global conflict in a multicivilizational world." Peace, Human Rights and Co-existence in Asia and the Pacific can only happen from a point of mutual respect and relationship, not through the barrel of a gun.

## 제국의 종말: 부시 정권이 아시아 지역 내 긴장을 조장하는 이유

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全美변호사협회(National Lawyers Guild USA)

제 4 회 아시아태평양변호사회의 발표자료 -  
아시아태평양 지역의 평화, 인권확립 및 상생

미국의 외교정책은 두려움을 축으로 굴러가고 있다. 1991 년 걸프전이 끝난 뒤 당시 합참의장이었던 콜린 파월은 전 세계에서 미군이 담당하고 있는 역할에 대해 역설하며 다음과 같은 끔찍한 말을 남긴 바 있다. “나는 힘없는 동네아이들을 괴롭히는 덩치 큰 강패가 될 용의가 있다.” 미국은 힘은 있으나 정서적으로 불안정하여 스스로를 방어할 능력이 없는 학생들을 압박지르는 학교 강패와 같이 변모하고 있다. 이렇게 완력에만 기대어서는 평화를 이루거나 우정을 쌓기가 불가능하다. 학교 강패는 주변으로부터 자신을 점점 고립시켜나갈 뿐이다. 세계 곳곳에서 국력을 보여주겠다며 안간힘을 써온 부시 행정부의 작태가 이에 다름 아니다.

과연 무엇 때문에 미국은 50 년이 넘는 세월 동안 한반도에 평화를 정착시키려는 노력을 억지해온 것일까? 왜 미국은 2 차 세계대전이 종식된 지도 수십 년이 지났으며 냉전체제마저 무너진 지금 오키나와 및 한국에 미군을 주둔시키고 있을까? 왜 부시 행정부는 이라크를 침공했으며 북한 및 이란, 여타 국가의 일거수일투족을 감시하고 있는 것일까? 현재 부시 행정부에서 요직을 장악하고 있는 신보수주의자들의 정책 발언 및 철학적 기반에 그 해답이 숨어있다. 급변하는 정세 속에서 무너져가는 제국의 영화를 되살리기 위함이고, 군사력을 이용하여 자신의 입맛에 맞게 세계를 바꿔놓기 위함이다. 미국이 주창해온 민주주의 및 민족자결주의에 정면으로 위배된다 할 수 있다.

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## 방어계획지침

1992년 당시 국방부 차관이었던 폴 월포워츠(현 세계은행 총재)는 부시 행정부 1기를 위한 “방어계획지침(Defense Planning Guide)” 초안을 내놓았다. 이 지침은 2~3년에 한번씩 발표되고 있으며 병력 규모 및 필요 예산을 가늠할 수 있도록 도와준다. 뉴욕타임스와 워싱턴포스트가 이 기밀문서를 입수하여 대서특필하자 백악관은 당시 국방부 장관이었던 딕 체니에게 명하여 이를 개정하도록 했다. 그러나 이 문서에 오늘날 부시 행정부의 무력 행사 및 군국주의의 기반을 이루게 된 내용이 담겨있었음을 부인할 수 없다.

주요한 내용은 다음과 같다.

- I. 탈냉전시대 미국의 정치적 군사적 전략 수립에 있어 최우선 목표는 또 다른 초강대국의 출현을 막는 것이다.

이 내용은 “통제를 강화할 경우 세계적인 영향력을 발생시킬 수 있을만한 규모의 자원이 분포된 지역을 어떠한 적국도 지배하지 못하도록 전력을 기울인다. 이러한 지역으로는 서유럽, 동아시아, 구소비에트연방, 남서아시아 등을 들 수 있다”고 표현되어 있다. 이 목표를 이루기 위해 미국은 “지역적으로나 세계적으로 스스로의 비중을 키울 필요가 없음을 잠재적 경쟁국에 설득하고 경쟁국으로 하여금 미국의 지도적 위치에 도전하지 못하도록” 해야 한다고 나와 있다.

- II. 또 하나의 주된 목표는 미국의 국익을 수호하고 미국적 가치관을 고취하는 것이다.

국익 수호라 함은 “핵심 원료, 특히 페르시아만에서 생산되는 석유를 획득하고, 대량학살무기와 탄도미사일을 확산시키며, 테러리즘이나 국내외 무력충돌로부터 미국 국민을 보호하는 것”을 뜻한다. 다양한 시나리오를 제시하고 있으나 그 중에서도 이라크와 북한 관련 시나리오가 가장 빈번히 거론된다. 이에 따르면 미국은 두 군데 전역에서 동시에 전투를 벌일 수 있어야 한다.

- III. 미국은 필요하다고 판단될 경우 일방노선을 취할 만반의 준비를 갖추어놓아야 한다.

UN은 물론 전 세계가 등을 돌려도 독자적으로 행동하고 말겠다는 의미가 지침에 명확히 들어가 있다. 이 문서에는 “세계질서가 궁극적으로 미국에 의해 유지되고 있으며”, “각국의 의견이 한데 모이지 않을 경우 미국은 독자적으로 행동할 수 있는 태세를 갖추어야 한다”는 내용이 담겨 있다.

위 원칙들은 1992년 말 빌 클린턴 행정부가 수립되어 이후 8년간 화해무드가 조성되면서 실제 적용되지는 못했다. 그러나 현 조지 W. 부시 행정부의 군사 및 외교정책에 있어 근간이 되었다.

## 신미국 100년사업(Project for a New American Century)

1997년 보수정치인들과 방위산업체 중역들로 구성된 “신미국 100년사업(Project for a New American Century)”이 출범되었다. 여기에는 현 부통령 딕 체니 및 현 국방장관 도널드 럼스펠드, 부시 대통령의 동생 잭 부시, 세계은행 총재이자 전 국방차관인 폴 월포워츠도 참여했다. 이들은 “미국이 미국의 원칙 및 국익에 부합하는 21세기를 만들어갈 결의가 되어있는가”라고 물으면서, “세계를 움직이는 미국의 역할에 대한 전략적 비전”을 제시해야 한다고 주장했다.

이들은 또한 “위기가 닥치기 전에 상황을 정리하고, 위협이 심화되기 전에 정면으로 맞서는 것이 중요하다”고 단언하였고, 이는 부시 행정부의 “선제공격” 원칙의 기초가 되었다. 이에 따라 “단호하고 명확하게 미국의 원칙을 세계 만방에 천명할 수 있는 외교정책”이 필요하다고 진단되었다. 이 프로젝트에 따르면 미국은 “미국의 국익과 가치관에 적대적인 정권에 맞서야 하며”, 21세기에 “20세기에 일궈낸 업적을 이어나가야 하고, 보안과 초강대국으로서의 위치를 지켜내야 한다.” 미군은 “최전방에서 미국을 수호함과 동시에” 세계에서 가장 강력한 군대가 되어야 한다.

911 테러 발생 직후 프로젝트 관련자들은 정부에 계속해서 압력을 넣었다. 이들은 즉각 이라크를 침공하여 사담 후세인 정부를 전복시켜야 한다고 부시 행정부에 강력히 요구했다. 이라크 침공 및 현재 진행 중인 이라크 내 영구 군사기지 구축 등은 모두 미국 혹은 서구의 가치관에 따라 세계질서를 재편하고 비서구 국가(다시 말해 유색인종 국가)가 강대국으로 떠오르는 것을 억지하려는 광범위한 계획의 일환이다. 문명간 충돌을 조장하여 힘과 영향력을 유지하려는 계획을 실행에 옮기고 있는 것이다.

## 문명의 충돌

미국의 정치학자 새뮤얼 헌팅턴이 쓴 “문명의 충돌(The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order)”은 신보수주의자 및 부시행정부로부터 널리 지지를 받았다. 본래 1993년 미국의 시사잡지 “국제관계저널(Foreign Affairs Journal)”에 실렸던 기사였는데 책으로 출간되었고, “냉전시대 종식 이래 가장 중요한 의미를 지닌 서적”이란 전 미국무장관 헨리 키신저(국제전범이나 아직 기소되지 않았다)의 서평이 표지를 장식하고 있다.

대다수 행정관료 및 미군의 필독서가 된 이 책은 “서구는 아이디어나 가치관, 종교가 우월했기 때문이 아니라(특히 서구의 종교로 개종한 사람은 거의

없다) 다만 조직적 폭력을 행사함에 있어 다른 문명보다 탁월했기 때문에 세계를 지배하게 된 것"임을 우리에게 상기시켜주고 있다.

이 책은 또한 미국의 상대적 국력이 점점 빠른 속도로 쇠락하고 있음을 지적하고 있다. 경제력과 관련하여서는 "일본 및 향후 중국과 대비하여 미국의 입지는 점차 좁아지게 될 것"이라 예견하고 있다. 군사력에 있어서도 헌팅턴은 "현재 부상하고 있는 이란, 인도, 중국 등 지역강국과 미국간 힘의 균형이 중심부에서 주변부로 점차 이동하게 될 것"이라 말했다.

서구의 영향력이 점차 약화되고 있는 가운데 "아시아 지역으로 힘이 집중되고 있고, 특히 중국이 서구에 대항할 수 있는 강국으로 부상하고 있기 때문에 앞으로도 그러한 현상이 심화될 것"이라는 의견이다. 헌팅턴은 "이러한 힘의 이동이 앞으로 비서구 문명의 부흥과 그 문화적 독단성의 상승으로 이어질 것이며 비서구 문명이 서구 문화를 더욱 거부하는 결과를 낳을 수 있다"고 경고하고 있다. 즉, 한 국가가 부상하면 또 다른 하나의 국가는 쇠락할 수밖에 없다는 말이 된다.

헌팅턴은 부시 행정부가 사용했던 모델을 내세우고 있는데, 이에 따르면 한 국가의 행태를 바꿀 수 있는 유일한 방법은 "유인, 강압, 혹은 경고로써, 힘을 휘두르는 측이 반드시 경제적, 군사적, 제도적, 인적, 정치적, 기술적, 사회적 자원을 확보하고 있어야 한다." 따라서 미국은 중동지역에서 이러한 자원을 반드시 확보해야 하고, 군사력을 지속적으로 증강하는 한편 전 세계 800 군데 군사기지를 통해 그 힘을 과시해야 하는 것이다.

무엇보다 헌팅턴이 인간을 바라보는 시각이 매우 거슬린다. 사람간 유대와 결속을 중요시하는 비서구 문화의 특징을 외면한 채 헌팅턴은 다음과 같이 단언한다. "증오는 매우 인간적인 감정이다. 정체성 확립 및 동기부여를 위해 사람에게겐 적이 필요하다. 사람은 선천적으로 자신과 다른 사람들을 불신하고 그들로부터 위협을 느끼게 되어있다." 그는 알리 마즈루이를 인용하여 "정계에서 '우리' 대 '그들'은 보편적이고 절대적인 구도이다"라고 말한다.

이 궁극적 전투, 혹은 문명의 충돌은 "서구 대 비서구", 즉 미국 및 유럽 대 이슬람 및 아시아의 양상을 띠게 된다는 것이 헌팅턴의 의견이다. 헌팅턴 및 부시 신보수주의자들에 따르면 미국이 일으키려 하고 있는 전쟁은 다음과 같은 중요한 질문에 대한 해답을 제시해준다.

21 세기를 좌우하는 세계 제도, 힘의 안배, 각국 정치 및 경제의 틀이 서구의 가치관 및 국익을 우선적으로 반영하게 될 것인가? 아니면 이슬람 국가 및 중국의 가치관과 국익을 우선적으로 반영하게 될 것인가?

헌팅턴에 따르면 서구의 힘이 점차 약화되고 있는 이때 미국 및 유럽 각국이 국익을 수호할 수 있는 방법은 다음과 같다:

1: 이슬람 및 유교 국가의 군사력(핵무기 포함)을 억지한다.

2: 타 문명에 대한 서구의 기술적, 군사적 우월성을 유지한다.

3: 일본이 서구로부터 떨어져나가 중국과 손을 잡는 사태가 발생하지 않도록 최대한 막는다.

따라서 목적은 부시 행정부가 이야기하듯 정치적 민주주의를 전파하기 위해서가 아니라 전 세계를 서구 자본주의의 틀에 끼워 맞추기 위함이다. 헌팅턴은 "새로운 세계 질서란 유태인과 기독교인이 이슬람교도를 지배하는 것, 그런 뒤에는 유교 및 인도, 중국, 일본에 산재한 기타 종교를 지배하는 것을 의미한다"고 주장하고 있다. "서구는 자신의 의지를 타 문명에 강요하기 위해 필요한 경제력이라든가 인적 자원이 더 이상 남아있지 않기 때문에" 그렇게 되기 위해서는 제국주의 원리를 동원할 수밖에 없는 것이다.

헌팅턴의 주장은 무시무시하기까지 하다. 그는 "기독교인과 유태인은 '우리는 공산주의를 무찌르기 위해 전력을 다할 것이니 서구는 이슬람교와 유교를 무찔러야 할 것이다'라고 말한다. 기독교적 가치관에 바탕을 둔 이 한 마디는 '이슬람과의 사회적 냉전'을 상징하며, 유럽연합이 형성되고 있는 이 중요한 시점에 유럽의 주체성을 더욱 강화할 수 있도록 도와줄 것이다"라고 덧붙인다.

부시 행정부는 이라크를 침공한 이유, 필리핀 및 일본 오키나와에 주둔하고 있는 미군을 증강한 이유, 한반도의 통일 혹은 지속적 평화를 이끌어낼 수 있는 기회를 날려버린 이유를 명확히 밝히지 않았고, 이는 숨겨진 의도나 계획이 있다는 것을 의미한다. 부시대통령은 "신은 전 세계를 영도할 수 있는 권한을 미국에 부여했다"는 위험한 발언을 한 바 있고, 실제로 이를 굳건히 믿고 있다. 전 세계를 서구화하고 미국의 군사적, 문화적 우월성을 강권하려는 그의 의도는 반드시 만천하에 드러내어 저지시켜야 한다. 남과 나의 다름을 수용할 때 우리는 전 인류를 끌어안을 수 있게 된다.

헌팅턴도 "문명충돌론" 이후 다음과 같은 의견을 내놓은 바 있다. "서구가 다른 나라 내정에 간섭함으로써 다문명 세계의 불안정과 국제적 갈등을 촉진하는 최대 원천이 되고 있다 해도 과언이 아니다." 아태지역에서 평화와 상생을 이루고 인권을 확립하기 위해서는 서로 충돌을 겨룰 것이 아니라 상호존중을 바탕으로 이해관계를 발전시켜나아가야 할 것이다.

# The June 15 Joint Declaration and the Development of the Reunification Movement on the Korean Peninsula

Jae-Whan Shim

## 1. Introduction

The historic South-North summit talks first held in 55 years of the national division and the adoption of the June 15 Joint Declaration in 2000 have served as watershed events to galvanize the national reunification movements on the Korean Peninsula. On the day when the long-cherished dreams of all the fellow countrymen were realized, the historic event moved the entire nation to tears of joy and hope while the international community lavishly congratulated on the beginning of the race for peace and reunification on the peninsula.

In the June 15 Joint Declaration, the South and the North reaffirmed at home and abroad that the country's reunification should be solved independently by the concerted efforts of the Korean nation responsible for it after thoroughly delving causes for national division. The two Koreas, recognizing that a proposal for confederation put forth by the South side for the national reunification and a proposal for federation of lower stage advanced by the North side have elements in common, agreed to work for the reunification in this direction in the future. Such declaration has provided a solid foundation for agreed reunification schemes, accomplishing historic feats in history of division.

As the inter-Korean talks in June 2000 marked an epochal milestone for the self-reliant reunification, the June 15 Joint Declaration has unfolded a new era of the nation-wide reunification movement by which the whole nation gathered under the banner of the Joint Declaration to participate in the grand march for reunification. It gave rise to an amazing phenomenon that Koreans living in the South, the North, and abroad manifested with one voice that they are the very owners of the reunification initiatives and pushed ahead with the country-wide efforts as one nation. Our nation could finally put bitter hostility between the

two Koreas behind and instead work together towards one common goal to reunify the nation with strong conviction that the currently split nation will become one nation and share joy and happiness in the near future.

## **2. The cause and essence of the reunification problems on the Korean Peninsula**

The reunification issue was originally raised not by internal problems but by foreign military forces that stationed in the nation and, subsequently, resulted in national division. For thousands of years, Korea had been one nation which shared one territory, one language, one history and one culture, having no internal reasons for being split. However, the moment Korea was liberated from the Japanese colonial control, foreign military forces started stationing on the peninsula to begin the national division.

After World War II, the US insisted on trusteeship over the Korean Peninsula in addressing the postwar issues. Realizing such intentions could not be fulfilled due to ever-changing regional political circumstances, the US intended to put at least the half of the peninsula under its power after the imperialist Japanese was defeated. In order to accomplish its goal, the US, therefore, proposed to the Soviet Union that the peninsula be split into two with the latitude 38 degrees north as a borderline so that they could occupy each part of the peninsula respectively. For the ostensible purpose of disarming the Japanese imperialist army, the US troops were stationed and established a military government in the south area of the peninsula and started fostering pro-American forces amongst pro-Japanese Koreans, thus aggravating enmities between the two Koreas. Each government being set up in both sides of the peninsula, national division got perpetuated, resulting in continued confrontations on the peninsula. In a nutshell, foreign powers have been behind such developments.

Therefore reunification issues involve securing national autonomy by excluding outside influences and controls. The national reunification can be made possible only when obstructions and interferences committed by the US, which originally caused the national division, are eliminated.

One of the key issues related the national reunification also lies in endeavors to eradicate mutual misunderstanding and distrust due to long-term estrangement and to accomplish national reconciliation and cooperation.

## **3. Inter-Korean agreements reached along the reunification efforts**

Koreans have gained a great deal of invaluable accomplishments in the process of the reunification movements incessantly conducted since the division. Among them, it is most noteworthy that a variety of agreements have been reached between the South and the North. In 1972, the two Koreas agreed to announce the July 4 Joint Declaration; they adopted an agreement on reconciliation and cooperation between the South and the North on Dec 13, 1991; the June 15 Joint Declaration, agreed between the summits of the two, was announced on Jun 15, 2000.

The July 4 Joint Declaration agreed in 1972 spells out three principles for the national reunification: autonomy, peace and national unity. They represent, firstly, the two Koreas should be reunified of their own free will rather than by depending on outside forces or interferences. Secondly, reunification should be realized by using peaceful means rather than armed force. Thirdly, it should be achieved through the national unity transcending all differences in ideology, ideas, or systems. The July 4 Joint Declaration, the first inter-Korean agreement ever since the division, embodies the principles that should be honored faithfully in the future course of the reunification movement.

The agreement on reconciliation and cooperation between the South and the North addresses a variety of inter-Korean matters based on the mutually ascertained fact that relations between the South and the North do not represent those between two countries but those within one country. From such perspectives, both agree to acknowledge and respect mutual regimes to stop slandering each other. Also it declares nonaggression policies to abandon the usage of armed force to each other and deals with gradual arms reduction to guarantee the agreement.

The adoption of the comprehensive agreement, which addresses in a full-fledged manner various issues significant to ensure peace on the peninsula and establish assumptions conducive to peaceful reunification, has marked a historic turning point in the national reunification drive.

The June 15 Joint Declaration, agreeing on concerted efforts to provide reunification principles and methods, has offered historic statements that decisively manifest the national willingness to put an end to hostilities-ridden divisive history and open up a new channel to the era of a reunified nation. The epochal declaration, hailed by the international community, proclaims the national autonomy as well as the national reconciliation, heralding the June 15 Joint Declaration Age in a grandiose manner.

#### **4. Major breakthroughs in the reunification movement following the June 15 Joint Declaration**

##### **(1) New era for the self-reliant reunification efforts**

The June 15 Joint Declaration has ushered in the nation-wide reunification efforts, which are characterized as self-reliant movements that set them apart from the previous ones.

Celebrating the first anniversary of the Joint Declaration in June 2001, the South and the North gathered at Mt. Geumgang for the first time in history of division to hold the Great Forum for the National Reunification. Since then, for the past 5 years, 7 times of massive events for the national reunification have been held in Pyongyang, Mt. Geumgang, Seoul and Incheon with prestigious figures and various organizations from the South, the North and abroad at such commemorative events as the 15th of August (Independence Day) and the 1st of March (Independence Movement Day). In the meantime, a variety of meetings and gatherings have been also conducted among workers, farmers, students, women's groups, scholars, artists, athletes and religious communities.

Last March, the Joint Events Preparation Committee consisting of South and North Koreans and Koreans living abroad, a nation-wide reunification movement organization with both private and public groups participating, was formed to carry out agreed items spelled out in the Joint Declaration, paving the way for more popular and organized reunification movements.

In South Korea, anti-American protests for autonomy have been waged very actively. Since the Declaration, people in the South have become highly aware of the weighty importance of anti-American autonomy, resulting in prevalent anti-American protests. Candle-lit protests publicly widespread across South Korea was a case in point, which have been triggered after two junior high school girls were killed by American soldiers in 2002. People in the South have raised their voice in opposing the Washington authorities' hostility policies toward North Korea and nuclear threats.

To sum up, it is the most invaluable accomplishment our nation has gained for the past 5 years in the process of driving the national reunification that all the fellow countrymen have collectively charted a new course towards self-reliant reunification under the banner of the June 15 Joint Declaration.

##### **(2) Beginning of a genuine reconciliation and cooperation age**

South and North Korea have turned over a new leaf to shift inter-Korean relations from distrust and confrontations to reconciliation and cooperation since the June 15 Joint Declaration.

Above all this, it has given rise to a new history of South-North dialogues. For the past 5 years, there have been numerous talks and contacts happening: 14 times of ministerial-level talks including the first one in June 2000, 42 occasions of economic cooperation committee meetings, and 11 times of South-North general-level military talks.

A wide range of meetings and contacts have also been proceeded in athletic, cultural and scientific fields to conduct joint events and cooperative projects.

Areas considered off-limits for decades have now become accessible to people of all social standings. Dozens of people including the journalist delegations, political party and some organization representatives have visited Pyongyang. In Sep 2000, a historic incident took place when 63 long-term post-war prisoners held in the South on account of having refused to convert their belief in socialism, have been sent back to their homes in the North.

Other breakthrough exchanges are found in athletic and cultural areas as well. North Korean squads of players and supporters took part in the 2002 Busan Fall Asian Games and the 2003 Daegu Summer Universiad. The North Korea's national symphony orchestra performed in Seoul in Aug 2000 while the South Korea's KBS symphony orchestra and the MBC musical company visited Pyongyang to give performances in Sep 2002. South-North artists have also given joint musical performances and joint concerts. The national clothing exhibition was held in June 2001 in Pyongyang. And in September and October 2002, South-North Taekwondo exhibition games were played and historians from both South and North Korea had symposiums, joint research material exhibitions and photo exhibitions in both Seoul and Pyongyang.

The June 15 Joint Declaration allowed once-disconnected railways and roads to be connected between South and North Korea. A groundbreaking ceremony was held in Sep 2002 to build railways such as Donghae Line and Gyungee Line and reconnect discontinued roads. The opening ceremony is just around the corner as the two Koreas have made a great deal of progress in the joint construction endeavors.

The construction of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex has made steady progress while tourism projects for Mt. Geumgang are also well advanced.

The June 15 Joint Declaration has brought hot air into the national reunification efforts to thaw out the once confrontational cold-war rivalry. As people of all social standings in the South and the North meet and contact each other with all the means available, the nation has been able to stand united, cooperate and clearly ascertain South and North Korea are one inseparable nation. At this

juncture, Koreans have reaffirmed that it is imperative to put together the divided nation into one whole nation.

## 5. Conclusion

It is amazing and praiseworthy to see how much progress reunification efforts and inter-Korean relations have made for the last 5 years. Since the June 15 Joint Declaration, Koreans' enthusiasm for the national reunification has remained unabated. It is certain that the nation-wide aspirations will come true in the near future. The reunification movement will continue to develop and evolve further until the national mission is accomplished. Even though there remain a number of challenges and obstacles in our journey to the national reunification, nothing will intimidate or daunt our forward-looking movements.

## 6.15공동선언과 한반도에서의 통일운동의 발전

심재환

### 1. 머리말

분단 55년 만에 열린 역사적인 남북정상회담과 6.15공동선언의 채택을 분수령으로 하여 한반도에서의 통일운동은 급격히 발전하였다. 민족의 염원이 하나로 모아지는 날, 온 나라는 기쁨과 희망의 눈물로 넘쳐 났으며, 전 세계는 우리 민족의 평화와 통일을 향한 힘찬 출발에 축복을 아끼지 않았다.

6.15공동선언은 분단의 원인을 통찰한 기초 위에서 통일문제를 그 주인인 우리 민족끼리 서로 힘을 합쳐 자주적으로 해결해 나가기로 하는 자주원칙을 다시 한 번 내외에 천명하고, 남측의 연합제안과 북측의 낮은 단계의 연방제안 사이의 공통성을 인정하고 그 방향에서 통일을 지향시켜 나가기로 하여 통일방안 합의의 기초를 마련하는 역사적 쾌거를 이루었다.

6.15공동선언이 채택됨으로써 자주통일의 이정표가 세워졌고, 온 겨레는 6.15공동선언의 기치 하에 통일대행진에 나서는 거족적 통일운동의 시대가 새롭게 펼쳐졌다. 남, 북, 해외에서 우리 민족은 더 많은 사람들이 통일의 주인이 되어 한 목소리로 통일을 주장하고 한 몸이 되어 통일로 달려나가는 놀라운 현실이 펼쳐지게 되었다. 우리 민족은 남북으로 갈라져 반목하던 시절을 뒤로 하고 하나의 민족으로 단결하게 되었고 통일이란 하나의 목표를 향하여 함께 나아가는 새로운 시대를 맞이하여 한 겨레로 살아가는 기쁨과 행복의 내일을 현실로 다가올 미래로 확신하게 되었다.

### 2. 한반도에서의 통일문제의 발생과 그 본질

한반도에서 통일문제가 제기된 것은 우리 민족 내부의 요인에 의한 것이 아니다. 그것은 주로 외국군의 주둔과 그로 인한 국토분단에 의하여 제기된 문제이다. 수천년 동안 하나의 강토에서 하나의 말과 역사, 문화를 형성하며 살아온 우리 민족은 분열되어야 할 그 어떤 내적인 요인도 없었다. 그러나 일제의 지배로부터 벗어난 순간 외국군의 주둔과 함께 우리 민족의 분단은 시작되었다.

제2차세계대전 이후 전후처리문제에서 한반도의 신탁통치를 주장하던 미국은 급격한 정세의 변화에 따라 그러한 목표의 관철이 여의치 않자 일제의 패망과 함께 한반도의 절반만이라도 자신의 세력권에 편입시키려고 하였다. 미국은 38선을 경계선으로 한 한반도의 분할점령을 소련에 제안하여 자신의 목표를 관철하였다. 미군은 일제의 무장해제란 명분 하에 한반도 남단에 진주한 뒤 군정을 실시하였으며, 친일세력을 중심으로 친미세력을 육성하고 민족의 분열을 조장하였다. 이어 남북에 각각 정부가 수립되자 민족의 분단은 고착되게 되었고 이후 남북대결의 역사가 계속되었으며 그 배후에는 외세가 있었다고 할 수 있다.

이에 따라 통일문제는 바로 외세의 지배와 간섭을 배제하고 민족자주권을 확립하는 것이라 할 수 있다. 분단의 원인을 제공한 미국의 방해와 간섭을 배제하여야 통일의 길이 열릴 수 있다.

아울러 헤어져 있다보니 생긴 남북 사이의 오해와 불신을 해소하고 민족적 화해와 단합을 이룩하는 문제도 통일문제의 핵심 중 하나라 할 수 있다.

### 3. 통일운동의 전개 속에 이루어진 남북간 합의

우리 민족은 분단된 이래 끊임없이 전개한 통일운동의 과정에서 귀중한 성과를 얻은 일이 있다. 그 중에서도 남북간에 이루어진 통일에 관한 합의는 특기할만한 일이다. 1972년에는 남북이 합의하여 7.4공동성명을 발표하였고, 1991년 12월 13일에는 남북 사이의 화해와 교류, 협력에 관한 합의를 채택하였으며, 2000년 6월 15일 남북 정상 간에 합의한 6.15공동선언이 발표되었다.

7.4공동성명에는 자주, 평화, 민족대단결이란 조국통일 3대원칙이 명기되어 있다. 조국통일 3대원칙은 첫째, 통일을 외세에 의존하거나 간섭을 받지 않고 자주적으로 실현하여야 하며, 둘째, 통일을 무력행사에 의존하지 않고 평화적으로 실현하여야 하며, 셋째, 사상이나 이념, 제도 등의 차이를 뛰어넘어 민족의 대단결을 실현하자는 것이다. 7.4공동성명은 분단 이후 처음으로 이룩된 남북 간 합의이며, 향후 통일을 이룩해가는 과정에서 변함없이 지켜야 할 원칙이라고 할 수 있다.

남북 사이의 화해와 불가침 및 협력, 교류에 관한 합의서에는 남북 사이의 관계가 나라와 나라사이의 관계가 아니라 민족내부관계라는 것을 확인한데 기초하여 상대방의 제도를 인정하고 존중하며 서로 비방중상하지 않는 등 남북화해와 관련한 일련의 문제들과 함께 남과 북이 상대방에 대한 무력사용을 포기하는 불가침을 선언하고 이를 실질적으로 담보하기 위하여 단계적인 군축을 실현하는 문제 등이 담겨져있다.

우리 나라에서 평화를 보장하고 평화통일에 유리한 전제를 마련하는데서 나서는 제반 문제들이 전면적으로 담겨져있는 포괄적인 이 합의서의 채택은 조국통일의 길에서 새로운 이정표를 마련한 역사적 사건이었다.

통일의 원칙과 공동의 통일방도 모색에 합의한 6.15공동선언은 수난에 찬 분열의 역사에 종지부를 찍고 새 세기에 위대한 통일의 시대를 열어나가겠다는 민족의 확고한 의사를 담은 역사적 선언이었다. 6.15공동선언은 민족자주 선언이며 민족화해선언으로서 온 나라는 물론 세계가 지지한 세기적 선언이다. 그것은 이후 펼쳐진 6.15시대를 여는 장엄한 포성이었다.

### 4. 6.15 공동선언 이후 통일운동의 획기적 발전 양상

#### (1) 자주통일의 새시대

우리 민족의 통일운동은 6.15공동선언의 발표로 이전과는 다른 새로운 자주통일운동의 시대에 들어서게 되었다.

2001년 6월 6.15공동선언발표 1돌을 맞으며 분단사상 처음으로 금강산에 모여 민족통일대토론회를 성대히 진행하는 등 지난 5년간 6.15와 8.15, 3.1 등 중요계기들에 남, 북, 해외의 각계각층 단체와 인사들이 평양과 금강산, 서울과 인천 등에서 7차례에 걸쳐 대규모의 민족통일행사를 진행하였으며, 노동자, 농민, 학생, 여성, 학자, 언론인, 예술인, 체육인, 종교인 등이 만남과 회합을 가졌다.

지난 3월에는 각계각층, 민관이 함께 참가하는 전민족적 통일운동기구인 6.15공동선언실천을 위한 남,북,해외공동행사준비위원회를 결성하기도 하였으

며, 그에 따라 통일운동은 보다 대중적이고 조직적인 운동을 펼칠 기반을 확보하였다.

남에서는 반미자주화투쟁이 활발하게 벌어졌다. 6.15공동선언발표후 남쪽 주민들의 반미자주의식이 급격히 높아지고 반미투쟁이 급격히 확대되었다. 지난 2002년 미군의 두 여중생살해사건을 계기로 남 전역에서 일어난 대중적인 촛불시위는 대표적인 실례이다. 남쪽 민중들은 미국의 대북적대정책과 핵 위협에 대해서도 반대의 목소리를 높였다.

온 겨레가 6.15공동선언의 기치를 들고 우리 민족끼리 힘을 합쳐 자주통일의 길로 나아가는 역사의 새 시대를 열어놓은 것, 바로 이것이 지난 5년간 우리 민족이 통일운동에서 이룩한 가장 귀중한 성과이다.

## (2) 진정한 화해협력시대의 개막

6.15공동선언 발표 이후 남북은 불신과 대결에서 화해와 협력의 새 시대로 대전환하였다.

6.15공동선언은 무엇보다 통일대화의 새 역사를 열어놓았다. 2000년 7월 남북 사이에 첫 장관급회담이 개최되는 등 지난 5년간 남북 당국 사이에서는 14차의 장관급회담과 42차의 경제협력추진위원회 회의 및 11차의 남북군장성들 사이의 회담 등 무수한 회담과 접촉이 진행되었다.

체육, 문화, 과학 등 분야에서의 공동행사와 협력사업을 위한 회담과 접촉들도 폭넓게 진행되었다. 남북 사이에 각계각층 인사들이 수십년간 방문하지 못하던 곳을 오고갈 수 있는 큰 길이 열렸다. 언론사대표단, 정당,단체 대표들 등 각계인사 수십명이 평양을 방문하였고, 2000년 9월 남에 있던 63명의 비전향장기수들이 북으로 송환되는 역사적 사건이 있었다.

체육문화분야에서도 큰 길이 열려, 2002년 가을 부산 아시안게임과 2003년 여름 대구 유니버시아드에 북측 선수단과 응원단이 참가하였고, 2000년 8월에 진행된 북측 국립교향악단의 서울에서의 공연, 2002년 9월 KBS교향악단과 MBC공연단의 평양방문공연을 비롯하여 남북예술인들의 합동공연,합동연

주회들, 2001년 6월 평양에서 진행된 민족웃전시회, 2002년 9월과 10월에 서울과 평양에서 진행된 남북태권도시범단의 시범공연 그리고 남북역사학자들의 서울과 평양, 금강산 토론회와 공동자료전시회 및 사진전시회 등이 성사되었다.

6.15공동선언은 끊어진 철도와 도로를 잇게 하였고, 지난 2002년 9월 착공식을 가진 동해선, 서해선 철도와 도로 연결공사는 그사이 남북의 공동노력으로 적극 진척되어 개통식을 앞두고있다.

또한 개성공단 건설에 많은 진척이 있었고 금강산관광사업도 더 활발하게 진행되고 있다.

이와 같이 6.15가 가져온 통일의 뜨거운 열풍속에서 남북 사이의 침예한 대결의 얼음장이 녹아내리고 있다. 남과 북의 각계각층이 갖가지 방법으로 만나는 과정에서 남북은 둘이 될 수 없는 한 민족임을 확인하고 하나의 겨레로 화합하고 단결하게 되었다. 갈라진 민족이 하나로 합치는 것이 민족사의 필연임을 거듭 확인하였다.

## 5. 결론

6.15공동선언 발표후 지난 5년간 통일운동과 남북관계에서 이룩된 성과는 참으로 크고 자랑스러운 것이다. 6.15공동선언 이후 이 땅에서 민족통일의 기운은 나날이 드높아가고 통일실현의 전망이 바로 가까운 앞날의 것으로 확고해졌다. 6.15공동선언의 발표로 이루어진 통일운동의 발전은 종국적 목적을 달성할 때까지 계속 이어질 것이며 그 전진도상에서 여전히 숭한 도전에 직면할 것이지만 그 어떤 힘으로도 저지시키거나 후퇴시키지 못할 것이다.

## **Building an East-Asian Peace Community and the Role of Korea - A Vision of Mezzo Integration or Hub Bridge Country**

**Park, Myung Lim (Yonsei University)**

### **1. Global and Regional Nature of the Korean Problem; The Need for Global-Regional Governance and its Understanding**

In order to understand the correlation between the formation of East Asian peace community and the Korean problem, the nature and the structure of the latter must be perceived beforehand. The Korean peninsula's problem, hence, cannot be resolved without having a critical mind towards global-regional peace governance and its strategies. From geopolitical and geoeconomical viewpoints, the Korean peninsula historically has been the strategic zone determining the character and the course of East Asia's global order. This has been more so since East Asia has encountered the world order after the modern age.

After seceding from the Chinese World Order, the very first international order surrounding the Korean problem, the problem could not remain as an internal one since any attempts to change its political dominance and influence largely would entail reformation of global order and relation within the area. During the Cold War period, as the Korean War demonstrates, it was clear that neither the South Korea-Japan-U.S. alliance nor the North Korea-China-Soviet alliance wanted the other party to dominate the Korean peninsula. The Korean War has vividly revealed the global-regional status and characteristics of the modern Korea. This has been directly linked to the special position of the Korean peninsula bearing international relations and geopolitics of the region. The following summary summarizes how the transformation of global order and global governance have restricted and changed the Korean problem.

Korea under the traditional Chinese World Order had been regarded as a tributary country. However, after the destruction of the Chinese World Order,

Korea changed into a vortex of the empires and played a role of an unstable balancing point. While the 'unstable balance of power system in East Asia' comprised of the U.S., the United Kingdom, China, Russia and Japan as a substitution of the Chinese World Order, Korea has maintained its unstable independence as a meeting point of these aforementioned tense powers.

As the U.S. and the United Kingdom have supported Japan as a means to restrain China, and as Japan has seized the regional hegemony overcoming China and Russia, the unstable independence of Korea came to an end, and Korea degraded into a colony of Japan as Japan constructs an imperialistic system. In the transformation of East Asia's regional order, from the Chinese World Order to the Japanese Empire, the transformation plan of the regional hegemony of the U.S. and the United Kingdom played a pivotal role. However, as Japan with the construction of regional empire outplays East Asian hegemony countries and challenges the world domination by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the World Wars with these countries were inevitable, and Japan was defeated.

Japan's defeat led the way to the advent of the U.S. and the Soviet Union as the world's great two powers, the foundation on which the old imperialism was able to collapse, and the Cold War system was led by these two countries. Korea, as a former colony of Japan, changed into an occupied territory of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and lined up as a divided country under strong influence of the two. Throughout the Cold War period in Northeast Asia, what made the U.S. and the Soviet Union to form a condition to maintain Northeast Asian three dimensional global order, the U.S.-Japan-South Korea v. North Korea-China-the Soviet Union order as South and North Korea as 'the front line guard posts', and China and Japan as intermediaries, was the Korean war. The division of Korea was the exact epitome of the world and the Cold War. Northeast Asia maintained the three dimensional structure all through the Cold War period, and the Korean peninsula was literally the pointed end. (refer to diagram)

In the late 20th century, the dismantlement of East Asian Cold War

meant that this symmetrical three dimensional structure was to be dissolved. In other words, bisymmetrical structure of capitalism and socialism was to be shifted into an asymmetrical slope towards capitalist bloc. The structure of China and Japan competing again for the Northeast Asian hegemony brought about by the downgraded transformation of the Soviet Union into Russia is also a representation of the late 19th century situation. However, the biggest difference from the past is the sustenance of the influence and the role of the only hegemony country, the United States, and the development of Korea. As the regional hegemony competition which has been lurking under the strong conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union reappeared, the Korean division-reunification problem that has been quite stable during the Cold War period began to rise above as the core of Northeast Asia's security issue.

## **2. The Ceasefire Structure and the Regionalization-Globalization of the Korean Problem**

Now then, what is the nature of the 1953 ceasefire structure, the ongoing Korean peninsula's Cold War structure which lies at the center of the Peninsula's problem? The peace and reunification problem of Korea has been discussed with no telling of the nature and characteristics of the ceasefire structure. One astonishing fact is that the nature of the Peninsula's division is a division of the regional as well as global arena, not a division of the Korean people. In other words, regionalism and globalism are the fundamental aspects of the nature in which the present Korean problem of ceasefire structure bears. Without even emphasizing the redivision resulted by the ceasefire agreement, it was a division of the world generated by an international compromise, the United States and the Soviet Union at the center.

The Korean peninsula's division retained a three faceted structure. If the expression is changed into the Korean peninsula's ceasefire line and its ceasefire as a condensation of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet

Union, China and Japan, and South Korea and North Korea respectively, the global and regional Cold War corresponds with the division of Korea. The nature of 1953's ceasefire as Northeast Asia's Cold War system, brought about by accommodating the coexistence of the Soviet Union-China-North Korea alliance and the United States-Japan-South Korea alliance, was the result of a three level compromise between capitalism and socialism at the global-regional-national level. In encompassing national-regional-global level of divisions, the Korean problem began to regionalize as well as globalize, and the three-levelled confrontation structure sustained throughout the Cold War period. Accordingly, the dismantlement of the Cold War within this discussion only means that the Cold War at the global level have only dissolved in the Korean peninsula, and what makes the Cold War at national level difficult is the continuation of the regional Cold War. The North-South relations is not the only one under the Cold War.

Next, it is necessary to point out the general characteristics of Northeast Asia. The biggest characteristic of global politics and governance in the Northeast Asian region which penetrates the Cold War and post Cold War period is the total absence of regional collective security organization or multilateral security organization, completely different from other regions including Europe. The absence of multilateralism, multilateral organization, and multilateral governance structure is what Northeast Asia can be described at most. Northeast Asia is still the only region without these organizations in post Cold War period. To stress this point again, this can be said to be the biggest characteristic of (North)east Asia in the Cold War and post Cold War period which differentiates it from all other regions.

Along with the absence of multilateralism, another interesting point is that this absence of Northeast Asian regional collectivism and multilateralism directly correlates with two characteristics of this region, namely the scarcity of performers in global politics and the immense difference in the power of these performers. In the United States, Russia, China, North Korea, Taiwan, South

Korea, Mongolia, etc., the total number of people acting is only 8. Nonetheless, the fact that 4 out of these 8 performers are the four big powers of the world shows an extensive concentration and unbalance of power.

Every region except Northeast Asia, such as Europe, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, America, Oceania, Africa, etc., is bound by a collective security organization. This region remains as the only exception. Still today, we observe the reality of Northeast Asia's total absence of regional multilateral organization or governance designed for discussing regional issues pending upon us. The NATO(North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Established in 1949. Participated by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, Norway, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, and Luxembourg. Greece and Turkey joined in 1952. West Germany in 1955.) in Europe, the SEATO(South East Asian Treaty Organization, Established in 1954. Participated by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan.) in Southeast Asia, the ANZUS(Australia, New Zealand and the U.S., Established in 1951. Participated by the United States, Australia, and New Zealand) in Oceania, the OAS(Organization of American States, Established in 1951. Participated by every American countries except Canada) in the American continent, the OAU(Organization of African Unity, Established in 1963. Regional independent organization participated by 38 independent countries.) in Africa, the METO(Middle East Treaty Organization, Established in 1955. Participated by Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom.) and the CENTO(Central Treaty Organization, Established in 1959. Participated by the United Kingdom, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. The United States led the formation and operation of METO and CENTO but did not participate as a full party member) in the Middle East, etc, were all collective security organizations or multilateral security organizations. The whole world has been bound by several distinct collective security organizations.

However, collective security organizations established during early Cold

War period, excluding the OAU, have a common feature in that the United States plays a leading part. They are also all established during the early Cold War period. Nevertheless, Northeast Asia is the only one region which the United States has not attempted to pursue any collective security organization or multilateral security organization, and on top of that, it has even strongly impeded and opposed to efforts of countries and leaders such as Rhee Syngman in forming such organizations. The United States was very firm on its opposition. This is the decisive key in understanding Northeast Asia's Cold War and post Cold War order and the problem of reunification in the Korean peninsula. Northeast Asia was the single region without a collective-multilateral security organization and governance. Including the division of China and Korea, this region bears only bilateral or mutual relations. This was due to American policies at large. As a consequence, the United States existed as a patron and only American-led bilateral relations, either directly controlled or antagonized such as North-South Korea, South Korea-China, the U.S.-South Korea, the U.S.-North Korea, the U.S.-China, the U.S.-Taiwan, China-Taiwan, Japan-China, North Korea-China, North Korea-Japan, remained.

The problem as to why an EATO(East Asian Treaty Organization), NEATO(North East Asian Treaty Organization), or an OEAS(Organization of East Asian States) could not be formed represents the central issue in understanding Northeast Asian regional order and Korea's division and reunification in Cold War as well as post Cold War periods. In scrutinizing Asia in particular, it is an irony that only the SEATO exists, not a NEATO. This does not mean in any way that Northeast Asia was more stable than Southeast Asia. This study attempts to present theoretical and policy-oriented solutions in correlating and resolving the two problems, Korean reunification problem and its policies, and formulation of global and regional multilateralism, multilateral organizations and governance.

### 3. The Formation of Northeast Asian Peace Governance and the Solution to the Korean Peninsula's Problem

First of all, the most crucial factor is to overcome nation-state identity and consciousness and cultivate regional and global identity and consciousness. The special effort in forming regional identity on top of nation-state identity can never be over-emphasized. Northeast Asia, as a historic state, has been an exceptional region enjoying homogeneity with ethnicity as the pivot for a long time. However in order to combine and coordinate with a wider unit, perhaps, heterogeneity or hybridity may work better. At this point, it is necessary to prepare ourselves for cultural unity and integration, heterogenization, and hybridization, not homogenization in a narrow sense. Furthermore, separation of Koreans which even was called the Korea Diaspora due to its wide distribution could act as a foundation for the coming unification. The sudden shift of population including migrant workers shows clearly the necessity to prepare for this unity and integration even in Northeast Asian region.

Second, from a South Korean point of view, it is necessary to combine autonomy and globalization, autonomy as the standard basis of 6.15 Joint Declaration and globalization as the standard basis of six-party talks. A recent desirable attempt to connect global and regional peace governance with Korea's peace and unification problem is the six-party talks. This has been the determinate opportunity to globalize and multilateralize the Korean problem. Through the attempt of Northeast Asian multilateral cooperation, initiated by an unintended Beijing six-party talks brought about by second North Korean nuclear crisis, it is inevitable to devise a Beijing Declaration which could outplay the Helsinki Declaration of 1975. As the Helsinki Declaration formulated the CSCE(Conference on Security and Cooperation) and paved the way for construction and cooperation for multilateral governance in problems such as security, human rights, and construction of mutual trust, during the Cold War period in Europe, the six-party talks should also produce a corresponding visions

and plans for Northeast Asian multilateral community in post Cold War period. It may be that multilateralization and global-regionalization of the Korean problem act as a step towards solving unification problem. If the stability of North Korean regime is to be secured institutionally through Northeast Asian multilateral security system, not only will denuclearization of North Korea be achieved, but also will lead to a wider formation of Northeast Asian peace system.

Third, a concrete basis for multilateral governance needs to be formulated substantially. The six-party talks is the very first occasion since the end of the World War in Northeast Asia where South and North Korea as the key point of Northeast Asia's conflict and the U.S.-China-Japan-Russia as the world powers in need to participate directly in formulating Northeast Asian peace system could meet, and this will be an important opportunity to discuss security-peace issues. In essence, whether the six-party talks be called CSCEA(Conference on Security and Cooperation in (North) East Asia) or SCEA(Security and Peace Community in (North) East Asia), the initiative towards it is what counts regardless of its name. As a result of this, not only North Korea but also Japan, China, South Korea, the United States and Russia will be under certain restrictions and influence of Northeast Asian security-peace community.

Next, the six-party talks should lead to the formulation of Northeast Asian economy-energy community. The present North Korean nuclear crisis is partly generated by North Korea's economic and energy problems to a large extent. It is now upon us to conceive a consortium for resolving this problem beyond the scope of just settling North Korean problems. By doing this, the line of division and confrontation in Northeast Asia will be re-aligned. One good start is to convert the KEDO into NEACO.

North Korea and Russia as well as Japan, China, South Korea and the United States will benefit immensely from the formation of Northeast Asian energy community. It is needless to underline the importance of the ECSC(European Coal & Steel Community) in its initial role during the

macroscopic process of uniting Europe. Then, forming Northeast Asian energy community for the purpose of establishing support system of international society to prepare compensation for North Korea giving up nuclear weapons will be a prior start towards integration of Northeast Asia.

Considering historical and structural characteristics of Northeast Asian and Korean problems, there is no way but to integrate new global-regional governance with unification strategies and policies of Korea. To reveal one of the conclusions in advance, visions for mezzo integration of governance/double governance and hub bridge state or a federation can be proposed. If the former relates to plans for Northeast Asian unity and community governance and architecture, the latter relates to reunification visions, road map, and policies of Korea under such governance structure and architecture. It is necessary to open our eyes to the historical fact that no Northeast Asia's peace without Korean Peninsula's peace and no Korean Peninsula's peace without Northeast Asia's peace, and present a new vision for global-regional governance designed only for Northeast Asia which will outplay the existing channel of regional governance formation and cooperation, the experience of EU or the U.S. Simultaneously, overcoming Northeast Asia's exceptional experience of regional empire(the Chinese World Order and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere) history is also required.

Northeast Asia under dual conditions, where it has to outdo a contradicting structure between an unattainable condition of constructing Europe's Union or North America's United States and a history of strong nation-state and regional empire, nevertheless, is in need to propose a new global-regional governance model. As a matter of fact, the concept of dual governance is a strategy to form a stable regional community and prevent armament race, nationalism and distortions of history which continue to occur notwithstanding numerous nongovernmental talks and exchanges of cooperation, and at the same time, it is a plan for South Korea and North Korea to be incorporated as a part of dual global-regional governance and to solve reunification problem.

Firstly, regarding procedural standards, a simultaneous establishment of talks at nongovernmental level and cooperations at governmental level is required. It should be an interactive approach. In a situation where cooperations at governmental and national level are being delayed, in spite of diverse talks and cooperations at nongovernmental-civil level, the latter is certainly necessary. Integration and cooperation of companies, economies and market sectors are being progressed at a high speed. This is also the case for cooperation at nongovernmental and civil level. However, considering the fact that statements, policies, decisions and actions of central and local governments are causing continuous conflicts and hostility, efforts towards interactive approach is essential.

The other problem concerns formalities. Between these two cases, the case of Europe and North America in establishing the Union and the United States, and the case of Northeast Asia where only individual nation-states exist without any regional organizations, an integration at a medium level is required. This is the so-called mezzo integration. Taking into account various particularities of Northeast Asia as described before, there is no possibility of establishing a union or united states. This, however, does not mean at all that the present state of Northeast Asian global-regional governance with no collective security organization or regional multilateral security organization is normal. There are numerous problems which cannot be solved through individual approach at nation-state level, such as Taiwan problem, North Korean nuclear problem, human rights problem within the region, territorial disputes, liquidation of past affairs, migrant workers, energy cooperation, environmental problems, non-proliferation of terrorism, etc. These problems, instead, have worsened because only bilateral approach at nation-state level was adopted. Consequently, new form of regional governance, a form between a union or united states, and a nation-state, is to be established.

Accordingly, the first step is to differentiate between sectors, security, human rights, economy, and history, respectively, and organize a regional

cooperative organization or regional community in which every nation-state can participate according to each sector. Northeast Asian Multilateral Security Organization, Northeast Asian Economic Cooperation Organization, Northeast Asian Human Rights Convention, Northeast Asian History Foundation, etc. are some of them. This can be described as vertical integration. Of course, these organizations have to be supported by definite participations and enforcement responsibility at governmental level of an individual nation-state. Participation from nongovernmental level alone does not retain sense of responsibility, ability to enforce, and internal compelling force within individual nation-state.

There is a perception that too much weight has been put on political integration and economical integration in Northeast Asian region. European experiences have acted to a large extent, but this is because we have learned the European experiences improperly. It is necessary to recollect that, in Europe, through cooperation, exchanges, solidarity, and integration of these four sectors, political integration was, then, possible. As a consequence, deviation from the present approach which focuses on the two sectors is inevitable. Then, simultaneous efforts for the resolutions of the following shall be possible; promotion of security cooperation and establishment of peace in Northeast Asian Multilateral Security Organization; solution, promotion and cooperation of human rights problem in Regional Human Rights Organization; talks on history, solution of historical problems, textbooks, liquidation of past affairs, and communal teaching in Regional Multilateral History Organization; and promotional plan for economical integration, energy cooperation, elimination of poverty, and trading problems in Regional Economy Cooperation Organization.

Thirdly, in regard to sectors, the following branches can be set out. a) economy-trade sector: increase competitiveness in market and economical integration through FTA between countries within the region, and in the long term, aim for establishment of Northeast Asia free trade area and single currency b) security-peace sector: formation of joint security and joint defense governance structure, and regional-based composition and distribution of defense budget and

military force c) democracy and human rights sector: formulation of regional level of common standards and settlement mechanism of human rights and democracy through adoption of regional human rights convention and establishment of human rights court absent only in Northeast Asian region d) reconciliation and teaching of history sector: proliferation of regional identity and mixed identity through establishment of global-regional history foundation, publishing of joint textbook, and joint teaching for reconciling history

The formation of dual governance is, first, the establishment of integrated organizations within these four sectors respectively, then, these sectors are to be horizontally united by single organization integrating them. In other words, the establishment of regional multilateral organizations by each sector will first accelerate regional integration and cooperation to a great extent in a situation where integration through forms such as union or united states is not possible. Afterwards, a solidary organization or a peak organization integrating Northeast Asian security-economy-human rights-history organizations is to be constructed ultimately. This can be described as horizontal integration. This is, so to speak, formulating tentatively named NEACC(North East Asian Community Council). At this present stage, this form of regional community is quite feasible. Hence, the first task is to form multilateral organizations in each sector accordingly. From thenceforth, representatives of these multilateral organizations will compose a unified solidary organization.

This organization, in short, is a compound body of the legislature, the judicature, and the executive in a single nation-state level, and holds regulating and integrating functions as an executive organ would, not meaning authority at governmental level. However, this unified solidary organization is to be formed with dual representation. In other words, participation by each individual nation-state representing the nation itself, and each regional multilateral organization of the foresaid sectors representing the organization itself is to be institutionalized as dual participation or dual representation. The dual representation of nation-state and multilateral organization will prevent decision

procedures of community committees being dominated by the will of two specific big powers and nations, and thus, be democratic. This is rather an important problem.

In arriving at this stage, the initial form of mezzo integration is achieved. The reason is that, under a situation where single politically integrated organization is unattainable, it shall be possible to obtain a unified solidary organization which can frequently cross the borders of three different levels; active integration and exchange of cooperations at civil level; formation of regional multilateral cooperative organization in the four sectors of security-economy-history-human rights at governmental level; and establishment of a single unified organization which extends over these four sectors. Here, issues which individual organization in these sectors cannot solve by itself, such as responsibility problem of the participating nation-state and the regional multilateral organization, problem of regional citizenship and national citizenship, problem of contributions, problem of forming a regional representative organ which retains characters of the parliament(composed of representatives from nation-states), etc. can be discussed. The NEACC as the Executive organ can organize a representative organ, a new form of the parliament comprised of representatives from individual sectors and nation-states respectively. This can be named as NEAP(North East Asian Parliament), so to speak.

Hence, in combining vertical representation and horizontal representation, sub committees under NEACC and NEAP can be formed to come up with solutions and plans for cooperation. This will in fact enable NEACC to function as a new dimension of regional governance, and to manage and process problems within Northeast Asia with certain executive power, and the Parliament to equip itself as a regional parliament to discuss these problems through cooperation with NEACC. Accordingly, the following committees will be set up under NEACC and NEAP under the same name, but their function and role will be quite different. 1) politics-diplomatic relations sub committee 2) military affairs-security sub committee 3) economy-trade-energy cooperation sub committee

- 4) IT-scientific technology sub committee 5) transportation-aviation sub committee  
 6) water resources-environment sub committee 7) culture-education-academics sub committee  
 8) food-agriculture sub committee 9) human rights-law sub committee

The conclusion of this study is that Korea shall take the initiative in forming every Northeast Asian multilateral organization mentioned above, and at the same time, attract these global, regional, and multilateral organizations into Korea. As a consequence, Korea will become the symbol and central dispatching point of Northeast Asian peace and integration in the 21st century, the direct opposite situation of the 20th century, and simultaneously solve reunification problem by constructing such organizations. Korea, acting as a hub for peace, human rights, and reconciliation, will be able to support integration of Northeast Asia in peace, human rights, and reconciliation areas, and attract global and regional organizations for peace, human rights, and reconciliation in Seoul and other district regions. By this, the process of becoming the global hub and the regional hub in areas like 'peace', 'human rights', and 'reconciliation' of Seoul, and furthermore, Korea, inversely, will be achieved naturally. If worldwide and Northeast Asian global organizations of these areas are actually established on streets of Seoul, international status and dignity, index of peace and human rights, cultural standard, and public awareness will improve beyond conception. Taking lead in forming Northeast Asian multilateral security organization, peace organization, and human rights organizations, which are currently nonexistent entirely as mentioned before, attracting them in Seoul, and taking an active part will guide us to our dream of achieving the hub of peace.

It is necessary that we construct Belgium and Switzerland, full of numerous global organizations amounting to about 200, of Northeast Asia. If the results of this study is to be actually reflected into practice, at least the following organizations should be situated in Seoul or district cities of Korea extending over wide area.

East Asian Treaty Organization (EATO) / North East Asian Treaty

Organization(NEATO)

North East Asian Executive Organ/North East Asian Community Committee and its affiliated bodies

North East Asian Parliament

Office of North East Asian High Commissioner for Refugees

North East Asian Trade Organization, or Economy Cooperation Organization

North East Asian Energy Development Organization / North East Asian Energy Community

North East Asian Human Rights Court

North East Asian Human Rights Commissions

North East Asian Peace Center

North East Asian Disarmament Center

North East Asian Migrant Workers Center

North East Asian Women's Human Rights Center

North East Asian History Foundation

North East Asian Nuclear-Free Zone Organization

North East Asian Environment Organization

North East Asian Council of the NGO

Not only the above mentioned global, regional, and multilateral governance organization, but also numerous other regional, global, and transnational NGO can be attracted. It will be possible for us to invite, and hence, form many solidary organizations of international NGOs and regional NGOs. Considering the fact that Korea is one of the leading countries in Northeast Asia and even internationally where NGOs operate actively, it will be able to come first in these operations whether it be a regional NGO or a regional solidarity of national NGOs.

For example, in case of North East Asian Peace Center, the headquarter could be situated in Seoul, the branches in symbolic cities of Northeast Asia such as Tokyo, Osaka, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Okinawa, Taiwan, Nanjing, Beijing,

Shanghai, Dalian, Vladivostak, Pyongyang, the ceasefire line(Panmunjeom), Jeju, Gwangju, Incheon, etc., and this will constitute peace network and peace belt in terms of a huge regional nongovernmental peace governance. As South Korea and North Korea come together under such plan of Northeast Asian peace zone, the division and the confrontation of the South and the North will weaken.

In case of North East Asian History Foundation, it should be organized as semi-governmental(semi-civil) so that autonomy and responsibility can be achieved at the same time. Of course, branches should be set up in each country and by cities. The semi-governmental form is to supply financial resources and responsibility, and the semi-civil form is to retain autonomy and solidarity. The establishment of History Foundation will be a copernican organization for talks on history and reconciliation of history. If North East Asian Council of the NGO is organized, NGOs in environment, peace, human rights, history, women, labor, anti-corruption, and government monitoring sectors can form a single joint conference to draw out common agendas, and eventually assemble regional agendas and search for solutions. The plan itself will mark an epoch. For Example, given that NGOs in environment, peace, women, history, and human rights area form a solidary organization, problems will be solved beyond interests of nation-state level, reaching as far as regional dimension.

Recent solidary actions from NGOs of individual country, especially NGOs from the history section taking the initiative in searching for joint countermeasures for textbook problem, is a meaningful turning point. The borderline between solidarity and integration, and competition is to be situated between groups pursuing transnational interests which seek for common regional interests regardless of boundary, and groups pursuing conventional national interests, not between countries. Furthermore, if the fact that national interest is less than common interest is to be verified eventually, the width and depth of regional solidarity will rapidly expand and deepen. When a NGO from a certain country join with a NGO from another country, and actions aimed at

criticizing one country's policies and searching for solutions in terms of regional universal views repeat in situations where national interest run against regional common interest, national politics will naturally be influenced by strong criticisms from regional-global politics.

The ceasefire line and DMZ, the source of global tragedy of the Cold War period, will also turn into a genuine demilitarized zone through institutionalization of global governance. Presently, the place is now striving to become an iron lane of transfer for solidarity and reconciliation, not a lane for severance and war, linking the silk road of massive lump of iron and TSR-TCR by connecting the sea and the continents. The DMZ could be founded as UN designated world peace zone or world DMZ, like UN designated world cultural heritage, and this could serve as a starting line of the most globalized peace governance structure.

In such global-regional governance formation process, South Korea shall take the initiative to establish Northeast Asian multilateral organization, and South Korea and North Korea shall jointly participate to share and solve the problems together under such governance structure.

## **Strife for Self-Reliance and Peace in the Korean Peninsula: Movement against US Military Base Expansion in Pyeongtaek**

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### 1. US Military Hegemony and Strategic Transformations

#### 1) Asia-Centered Strategy and 1-4-2-1 Strategy

The US Armed Forces after the Cold War made a transition from its Europe-centered military strategy to an Asia-centered one, which defined China as a new threat to the US. Accordingly, the US has been trying to dissuade Chinese ambitions from threatening the US position as the sole world power, while conceding the latter's role in the region as long as it does not harm the US interests.

Awaken by the September 11 terrorist attacks to the new global security environment, the US adopted the 1-4-2-1 strategy as a new framework of the 21st century. Replacing the Two Major Theater War Doctrine of the Post-Cold War regime, the 1-4-2-1 strategy aims to swiftly defeat adversaries in two overlapping campaigns with the capability of winning decisively in one of them for an enduring result. The strategy calls for defense of the homeland while deterring forward in and from four regions: Europe, Northeast Asia, the East Asian littoral, and Middle East/Southwest Asia.

Northeast Asia is included in the four regions for forward deployment of the US Armed Forces in order for deterrance and in the two overlapping campaigns for swift defeat.<sup>3</sup> It can be concluded that the US military strategies after the Cold War target Asia and especially Northeast Asia.

#### 2) Armed Forces Transformation

The US Armed Forces are also undergoing a military transformation to equip themselves with strategies for the 21st century as well as to increase efficiency in

<sup>1</sup> PKC (Pan-Korean Committee against US Base Extension to Pyong-Taek)

<sup>2</sup> SPARK (Solidarity for Peace and Reunification of Korea)

<sup>3</sup> Seo, Jaejung, "Tallaengjeonggi Miguggui Singunsajeollyak [US New Military Strategy in Post-Cold War Era]," *Jeonhwangi Hanmigwangye-ui Saepanjjagi [New Framework for ROK-US Relationship in Transition]*, Han-ul, 2005, p.48.

operating the 1-4-2-1 Strategy. According to the transformation plan, the US Armed Forces reorganize its units into a modular unit able to control up to five brigade combat teams in case of emergencies. Such a design was developed to transform the US forces into rapid reaction forces equipped with advanced weapons and capacity to handle network wars of the 21st century and continue the US military hegemony in the future.<sup>4</sup>

### 3) Military Base Relocation

The current locations of the US forces, which had been designed to serve the objectives of the Cold War, cannot cope with the challenges to come and fully realize the 1-4-2-1 Strategy. According to the Global Posture Review (GPR), the US military plans to strategically relocate its overseas bases that are concentrated in Europe and Northeast Asia.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. US Military Relocation in the Asia-Pacific Region

With the planned relocation, the ultimate reason for the US Armed Forces stationed in Korea is officially changing from defending South Korea against North Korea to rapid mobility for the defense of the Asia-Pacific region. The US Forces Korea, with their improved capacity for rapid mobility and surgical strike, will be promptly dispatched to everywhere in the Asia-Pacific region in case of emergency. Under the deceptive concept of strategic flexibility, the Korean Peninsula is becoming a US outpost.

Table 1. Changes with US Forces Korea

	Present	Future
Range of activity	Republic of Korea	Asia-Pacific
Objective	Defensive	Aggressive
Characteristic	Fixed-post ground forces	Navy/air mobile forces

### 1) Relocation and Reduction

In accordance to the GPR, the US Forces Korea is scheduled for relocation to Pyeongtaek, Daejeon and Busan by the year 2008. Accordingly, the Yongsan Army

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.48.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p.49.

Garrison and the 2nd Infantry Division are moving to Pyeongtaek, where they have an air base and a naval port to serve a good military post for rapid reaction forces. In the process, the 37,000 US Forces Korea will be reduced to 25,000.<sup>6</sup>

### 2) Reorganization

Last June, the US 2nd Infantry Division has completed its transformation into a Unit of Employment X (UEX), a unit sized between a corps and a division. The transformation gave the 2nd Infantry Division greater flexibility and fire power, equipped with state-of-art weapons systems centered on C4I, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV), Abrams (AIM) tanks, and M270A1 Multiple Launch Rocket System.

Under its broader military transformation plan, the US military is creating three new echelons—the unit of action (UA), unit of employment X (UEX) and unit of employment Y (UEY)—to replace the current four—the brigade, division, corps and army. The 1st Brigade under the Division was transformed into a Unit of Action (UA), which became two to three times more powerful than before. The 8th Army will be also transformed into a Unit of Employment Y (UEY), a higher level unit than UEX, by the end of this year.

Besides, the US is planning to establish the first overseas air combat command in the Asia-Pacific region, Northeast Asian Air combat Command, by transforming the 7th Air Force based in the K-55 Airstrip in January next year. This series of changes will bring rapid mobility and greater agility to the US Armed Forces.

### 3) Duty Share between US and Korea

The transformation is also rearranging duties of the US Armed Forces Korea and the South Korean forces. While South Korea takes charges of defence against North Korea, the US forces will cover the Asia-Pacific region. According to the plan, the US forces are transferring to South Korea ten defence missions against North Korea including guarding the joint security area at Panmunjeom and counter-fire battles. It is estimated to cost South Korea 118.7 billion won to take over the missions.

<sup>6</sup> Ministry of National Defense, Icheonsa Gukbangbaekseo [2004 Defense White Paper], 2005, pp.92-96.

#### 4) Aggressive Operation Plans

It is reported that the Operation Plan (OPLAN) 5027-04, a plan designed for an all-out war, excluded the Time-phased Force and Deployment Data (TPFDD) that was adopted in 2000 for time-phased deployment of the forces. It implies that the state-of-art weapons that were tested in the Iraq War are enough to meet the agility required in the future wars.

According to the OPLAN 5027-04, around 700 targets in North Korea are on the target list for the bombers such as F-15E, F-117, B-1B, B-2 and B-52H that can throw down guided missiles and the Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM). It also has detailed description of operation plans for carrier battle groups such as Kitty Hawk and Carl Vinson and warships and submarines firing Tomahawk missiles. The target list covers both small-scale attacks only aiming for WMD and expanded attacks including surface-to-air missiles, defence radars and military headquarters.

Concept Plan (CONPLAN) 5029-05 has more serious problems. It allows the ROK-US Combined Forces Command to hold the operational control authority in case of emergencies and opens the possibility for military interventions to North Korea. Such plans can be all the more dangerous when considered along with the series of destructive attempts against North Korea including the North Korea Human Rights Act, the North Korea Freedom Bill, the Multi-National Planning Augmentation Team (MPAT) in preparation for massive refugee flows and the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI).

#### 5) Capacity Building of the Combined Forces

By 2006 the US is spending 11 billion dollars to improve 150 parts of the ROK-US Combined Forces. This money, which is about seven to eight times of North Korea's military budget for a year, will either maintain or buy new Apache Longbow helicopters, Patriot missiles (PAC-3), M1 tanks and improve C4I (Consultation, Command, Control, Communications, and Intelligence) systems.

The US has also arranged for immediate take-off within 24 hours with the Theater Support Vessel (TSV), which can carry a striker brigade and fly from Okinawa to the peninsula within one day, and the C-17 Globemaster, the most essential carrier for striker brigade, which can fly from the US to the peninsula in 11 hours without any additional oil supply on the way.

In accordance, the US expects South Korea to increase its military expenditure and buy

their weapons. Cooperative self-reliant national defence is the way South Korea complies with the US request, buying new weapons apt for the new strategies.

#### 6) Combined Military Exercises

In last March, the ROK-US Combined Forces Command mobilized a great size of US troops and conducted a joint military training of Foal Eagle (FE) and RSOI (Reception, Staging, Onward Movement and Integration) exercises all around the peninsula. The aircraft carrier USS Kitty Hawk, which is the first to response to any emergencies in the peninsula, participated in the week-long exercises, loaded with sixty-some fighters such as F-18 Super Hornet. About 17,000 U.S. troops, including a heavy-armored striker troop sent from the US mainland and the US Forces in Korea and in Okinawa, took part in the exercise. Among all, a large-scale joint landing exercise was conducted with intensity at seashores of Pohang. The exercise was staged under the simulated conditions of a surprise landing in the rear of the enemy with the naval and air support in the event of contingency.

Though it was named the annual defence exercise, it must have been a drill for a war of aggression against North Korea. Besides, the UEX had its first joint exercises with the Korean Armed Forces in May and June, which marked another drill for a war of aggression.

#### 7) Legal Aspects of US Forces Korea's Expansion

##### a. Joint Legislation Efforts

Taking advantage of high-level meetings between governments, ROK-US Security Policy Initiative (SPI) meetings and strategic flexibility meetings, South Korea and the US are putting efforts to discuss legislation regarding the ongoing changes. It is to gain legitimacy and justification for the expansion of the Combined Forces' duties. By giving new interpretation of the SOFA, the two countries are up to make a joint security declaration that will allow expanding the role of the Combined Forces and changing the operational control authority as well.

##### b. Domestic Aspects

The ruling party is pursuing for the overseas dispatch bill, which allows overseas dispatch of the Korean forces in case of the UN peace keeping operations (PKO) and emergency relief without the national assembly's consent. The bill, however, does not

comply with the five principles of the PKO—agreement among the parties to armed conflict, impartiality, limited use of weapons and others—and not does it have any persuasive reasons for leaving out the assembly's consent. The bill is only believed to support the expansion of the Combined Forces and the transition to an aggressive alliance.

Another bill pursued by the government is called the national mobilization bill. With the excuse of efficiency, the bill aims to integrate the wartime mobilization act with the non-wartime mobilization act. Presently, mobilization can be ordered in state of hostilities that affect the national security. If the conditions are weakened by the bill, manpower and resources can be coercively mobilized in threats to limited areas, terrorist attacks, disasters and many more. It will, along with the dispatch bill, serve the US aims for military expansion and alliance for war of aggression.

### 3. Problems with US Base Expansion in Pyeongtaek

#### 1) Threat to Peace of the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia

When based in Pyeongtaek, the US Forces can escape from North Korea's shooting range, which, combined with its advanced weaponry and increased mobility taking advantage of the K-55 Airstrip (Songtan) and the naval port, makes it easier for the US to attack North Korea and contain China. It becomes also able to dispatch forces out of Korea in the Asia-Pacific region, making Korea a US outpost ready for aggressive wars. Such US intention is found proven in ample evidences including the statement from the US delegation at the first meeting of the South Korea-US Future of the Alliance (FOTA) in April 2003 that the current disposition of the 2nd Infantry Division is not suitable for war execution; the Korean delegation's preparation materials for the third FOTA meeting, which refer to the chances of US intervention in China-Taiwan conflict or conflicts between potential regional hegemonies such as China and other countries in the region; and the statement by William Fallon, US Pacific Commander, at the US Senate Armed Services Committee on March 8, 2005 that the US Forces will increase mobility in the Asia-Pacific region in the near term.

Military tension and conflicts will be increased around the Peninsula, accordingly, which may put Korea right in the middle of a war the US wages and its consequences in the worst case.

#### 2) Move for Long-Term Stability

The relocation is also an effort to seek for a stable post where the US Forces can be stationed as long as they wish. The Yongsan Base, located right in the middle of Seoul, is considered to encourage anti-American sentiment among people in Korea. Naturally, a new base in Pyeongtaek would enhance stability in the eyes of the US Forces.

Building environment of long-term stability for the US Forces has been on the agenda for the relocation negotiation. The Yongsan Relocation Agreement also states that a timely relocation would contribute to an enduring structure of the US Forces Korea. The US Forces made it included in the Agreement that the new base would be equipped with enhanced facilities, based on which they are now demanding the most advanced facilities.

#### 3) Residents' Right to Live Threatened

Under the redeployment plans, a total of 3.49 million pyeong (about 7.68 million square meters) is needed for the new bases in Pyeongtaek—close to three times the area U.S. bases currently occupy there. After decades deprived of land of their own, the Pyeongtaek residents are now once again on the verge of losing their ground for life and the tax-collecting government is calling it national defense.

Most of the residents in Pyeongtaek are farmers in their 60s or 70s and it is too hard a choice to leave the place and start a new life. The beautiful field of Pyeongtaek is very arable with its rich soil and preferable irrigation system. Its rice is rated top in Korea. Now the US military base and a golf course will replace the paddy fields. On top of it, the military base will increase crimes and pollution and cultivate a very undesirable environment for education and economic development.

#### 4) Unfair Cost Sharing

While the military relocation is executed in accordance to the military transformation represented by the GPR, most of the cost occurred from the relocation will be covered by the Korean government. According to the agreement made between the two governments, Korea is responsible for all the costs occurred in purchasing land requirements, designing, construction and equipments. It is also responsible for the cost of moving, and the forces' lodging and allowances during the period.

The relocation plan in the 90s required \$1.7 billion for moving and 268,000 pyeong of

land. This is changed to an amount of \$3 to 4 billion and 520 pyeong in the Yongsan Relocation Agreement, which was signed in late 2004. In addition, it is required to equip the bases with facilities advanced suitable for new missions and functions of the forces.

Compared to the case of Reinmein Air Force Base relocation, the Yongsan agreement is incredibly unfair. The Reinmein Base relocation was in the first place required by the German government and still the US government shared the cost. The agreement clearly described the total amount of moving cost and detailed budget. As for the construction, it stated that German standards would be applied and Germany would exercise full authority over the project. The Yongsan agreement, on the contrary, is full of articles favorable to the US. In the Yongsan case, the umbrella agreement did not even state the total amount for the Korean government to share and subsidiary agreements detailing those duties were exempted from acquiring approval of Korea's National Assembly. This is against Article 60 (1) of the Constitution that requires any pact to acquire the Assembly's approval if it lays financial burdens to the country or its people. Besides, the SOFA Joint Committee, whose operation is not disclosed to the public, exercises the full authority over the project, leaving much room for the US discretion.

The revised Land Partnership Plan (LPP) requires the US government to cover the 2nd Infantry Division's cost of moving. Precedents and the US documents predict, however, the opposite.

Overall, the relocation negotiation is against the Constitution and unfairly desirable to the US interests. Otherwise, the US State Department did not evaluate the relocation negotiations above target.<sup>7</sup>

#### 4. Significances of Anti-US Base Expansion Movement

##### 1) Peace in Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia

Neighboring countries would not seat and watch the US expanding its military bases in the region. North Korea has already test-fired a missile with a shooting range over 100km, which is assumed to have targeted Pyeongtaek. China expressed concerns on being targeted by the US Forces Korea. The US aggressiveness in Pyeongtaek would increase tensions and threats of war in the Peninsula and in the region. In this sense, our strife against the US base relocation is also an act of opposition to the US military

<sup>7</sup> "Yongsangiji-ijeon Chogwadalseong, Migungmubu Eommupyeong-ga [Yongsan Base Move Above Target, US State Evaluate]," Yonhap News, Dec. 12, 2005.

transformation and strife for peace in the region.

##### 2) Right to Life

To farmers, land is life itself and it is especially so to the residents of 60s and 70s in Pyeongtaek who are too old to start a new life. Thus, depriving land from the residents is depriving them of right to life.

Pyeongtaek is a community that has maintained the tradition of helping each other. In its effort to persuade the residents, however, the government has come in between and antagonism and distrust has slit the community into pieces. Our struggle, in this respect, is to protect the right to life and the community.

##### 3) Barrier to US Military Transformation Plan

The US is concentrating its efforts to build rapid mobility in the Asia-Pacific region. South Korea and the US have come to agreements for the purpose through the FOTA meetings and taking advantage of high-level meetings between governments, ROK-US Security Policy Initiative (SPI) meetings and strategic flexibility meetings, South Korea and the US are putting efforts to discuss legislation regarding the ongoing changes. Naturally, our struggle against the Pyeongtaek relocation is against such transformation from a bigger picture. If we succeed in hindering the US Forces in Pyeongtaek, the foundation for the US military expansion in the region would be shaken, possibly resulting in a critical deadlock.

##### 4) New Phase of Anti-American Movement

This is a critical moment when the characteristics of the US Forces Korea and the ROK-US alliance change. Peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region is a new US rationale for stationing in the peninsula, replacing the obsolete objective of defending South Korea from North Korean attack. Pyeongtaek is in part of the US efforts to station itself forever in the region.

Relocation to Pyeongtaek will bring the US Forces a new bridgehead to become a steady regional influence. Stopping this plan is stopping its military transformation to expand its influence and station its armed forces forever in the region. This will bring a new change to the history-old unilateralism and hierarchy in the ROK-US relations. In other words, our struggle does not end in Pyeongtaek but expands to bringing a new

phase to anti-American movement.

#### 5) Key to Wider Anti-American Movement

As suggested above, the Pyeongtaek struggle can develop into the core of the current anti-American movement. Securing Pyeongtaek is, for the US, securing the material and geographical basis for strategic flexibility for the US Armed Forces. To us, however, it is securing our sovereignty, right to life and a starting point to a balanced relationship between the two countries.

The movement has all the conditions to boost the anti-American movement: the US deprives the farmers of land; Korea is responsible for most of the cost in the process; the residents themselves are the agent of the movement. Above all, it is life that matters this time rather than complicated military issues.

Nonetheless, it will not be an easy job. The US has critical interests in Pyeongtaek and Korea has made an agreement with the US. The two governments will move forward with an unprecedented thrust. Residents, on the other hand, will not step back, either. While the struggle at Maehyang-ri was to close an already operating base, this one is to defend the ground for life against a new installation. Besides, as current struggles show, our mobility and public awareness has been highly enhanced since 2000.

The government may come in with the police force and bulldozers to take over our land. As long as the residents resist and unite with the Pan-Korean Committee, we will never surrender our land. This struggle is only up to us and already almost won.

#### 5. Anti-US Base Expansion Movement and Way Forward

##### 1) Demonstrations in Pyeongtaek

While some are discouraged by threat and appeasement of the government, most of the residents have been continuing their candlelight vigil against the US relocation to Pyeongtaek every night over a year. The Pan-Korean Committee is convinced of their victory and supporting the residents' struggle by all means. The Residents' Committee and the Pan-Korean Committee devote themselves to the movement against the US base expansion and awareness raising campaigns against the government's maneuverings. Many civil society organizations and individuals participate in the vigils, visits to the base, volunteer works at the community.

##### 2) Pan-Korean Committee against US Base Extension to Pyong-taek

The Committee, organized last February, had many programs to raise awareness among the public on the Pyeongtaek issues including the "Protect Land of Life and Peace" campaign that recruited a hundred thousand volunteers. As a result, the demonstration on July 10th had more than ten thousand people from every part of the society. The demonstration publicized the issues all around the country and the residents earned confidence in their struggle.

Promoted awareness among the general public through the demonstration also benefited the Pan-Korean Committee to gain strength and stability. During the second half of the year, the Committee will devote itself to raise identity as the center of the struggle among residents and concerned organizations. It will continue awareness raising campaigns, influencing the politics by participating in the national audits and national assembly hearings, and networking with other stakeholders domestic and international. The Pan-Korean Committee will hold various events including the one year anniversary of candlelight vigils and a nation-wide demonstration on December 11th.

Pyeongtaek demonstrations are conducted in coordination with the movement against Asia-Pacific US military expansion. The demonstrations, in this sense, will develop into a more ultimate anti-American movement.

##### 3) Domestic and International Solidarity

The rich soil in Pyeongtaek will turn into a golf course and peace of our peninsula is under threat. This just struggle will be soon embraced by the whole population in Korea. The Pan-Korean Committee is inviting supporters to join the demonstrations and will continue raising public awareness on the issue by actively making use of the internet and media. We will also devote ourselves into international solidarity movements among countries sharing the same US military base questions.

## 한반도의 자주·평화를 향한 평택 미군기지 확장 저지투쟁

유영재

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### 1. 미국의 군사패권전략 변화

#### 1) 아시아 중시 전략과 ‘1-4-2-1 군사전략’

탈냉전 이후 미국은 전통적인 유럽 중시 전략에서 중국을 잠재적국으로 상정하는 아시아 중시 전략을 채택하였다. 이에 따라 미국은 동아시아에서 자국의 본질적 이익을 침해하지 않는 범위에서 중국의 역할을 양해하는 한편, 세계적 차원에서 자국의 지배적 지위를 넘보지 못하도록 사전에 중국의 야망을 단념시키는 전략을 추구하고 있다.

미국은 또한 9.11 이후의 변화된 세계안보환경에 대응하여 ‘1-4-2-1 군사전략’을 21세기 신전략으로 채택했다. 이것은 90년대 탈냉전시기 전략으로 채택되었던 ‘양대전쟁전략’을 대규모 전쟁 2곳에서의 “신속한 승리”와 이 중 한 곳에서의 “결정적 승리”로 보다 공세화한 것에 덧붙여 △ 4개 지역(유럽, 동북아시아, 동아시아 도서, 중동/서남아시아)에서의 전쟁억제, △ 미국본토 방위를 추가한 것이다. 동북아시아는 전쟁억제를 위해 미군을 전진배치하기로 한 4개 지역의 하나일 뿐만 아니라, “신속한 승리”를 추구하는 주요전쟁 지역 두 곳 중 하나이다.<sup>1)</sup>

탈냉전 이후 미국의 세계전략과 1-4-2-1 군사전략이 아시아, 특히 동북아시아를 겨냥하고 있음을 알 수 있다.

#### 2) 미군의 군사변환

미군은 ‘1-4-2-1 전략’을 보다 효율적으로 이행하는 동시에 현재의 군사력을 21세기형 미래군으로 전환시키기 위하여 ‘군사변환(military transformation)’을 추진하고 있다. 이러한 군사변환의 일환으로 미군 군편제를 독립 여단들

1) 서재정, “탈냉전기 미국의 신군사전략”, 『전환기 한미관계의 새판짜기』, 한울, 2005, 48쪽.

이 자유롭게 결합해 임무를 수행하는 '모듈형(규격화된 조립단위) 군'으로 재편하고 합동군 조직을 강화하고 있다. 장기적으로는 미군을 첨단과학 무기로 무장된 신속기동군으로 전환하여 21세기형 네트워크 전쟁을 수행할 능력을 구비함으로써, 미국의 압도적인 군사력을 21세기에도 유지하겠다는 것이다.<sup>2)</sup>

### 3) 미군 재배치

'1-4-2-1 전략'을 이행하는 과정에서 군사변환의 성과를 극대화하기 위해 미군은 전세계에 걸친 군사력 재배치 작업을 '해외주둔 미군 재배치계획(Global Posture Review, GPR)'이라는 이름으로 추진하고 있다. 이에 따르면 냉전의 유물인 현 미군 배치 상태는 21세기 신전략에도 맞지 않고 군사변환의 성과도 수용하지 못하므로, 유럽과 동북아시아에 집중된 미군을 신전략에 부합하도록 분산배치하고, 신속기동성을 극대화하는 군사변환의 성과를 적극적으로 수용하는 방식의 미군재배치가 되어야 한다는 것이다.<sup>3)</sup>

## 2. 아시아·태평양 신속기동군화 노린 주한미군 재편

주한미군의 아시아·태평양 신속기동군화(이하 '아·태기동군화')란 적어도 공식적으로는 50년간 유지돼 왔던 대북 방어 목적의 주한미군의 성격에 아·태 지역을 포괄하는 신속기동군으로 바꾼다는 뜻이다. 즉, 신속기동능력과 정밀타격력을 바탕으로 주한미군을 언제든지 아시아·태평양지역의 어디로든 신속하게 투입할 수 있는 군대로 만들겠다는 것이다. 이는 미국의 군사전략 변화를 한반도에 적용하기 위한 것이다. 한미양국은 이를 주한미군의 '전략적 유연성'이라는 부드러운 이름으로 포장하면서 전방위적으로 주한미군의 아·태기동군화를 위한 태세를 갖춰가고 있다.

<표 1> 주한미군의 성격 변화

	현 재	미 래
활동 범위	대한민국	아시아·태평양
성격	방어적	'개입적'(침략적)
특성	지상군 위주의 불박이 군대	해·공군 위주의 기동형 군대

2) 서재정, 위의 책, 48쪽.

3) 서재정, 위의 책, 49쪽.

### 1) 주한미군재배치 및 감축

미국은 전세계에 걸친 '해외주둔 미군 재배치계획(GPR)'의 일환으로 주한미군을 재배치하고 있다. 미국은 용산미군기지와 미2사단을 2008년을 전후하여 평택으로 이전하는 등 주한미군을 평택과 대구·부산의 2개 권역으로 재배치하는 계획을 추진하고 있다.<sup>4)</sup> 미국이 주한미군을 공군기지와 해군항이 있는 평택으로 옮기려는 이유는 신속기동력과 정밀타격력을 핵심요건으로 하는 주한미군 아태기동군 역할을 원활히 수행하기 위한 물리적 기반을 마련하려는 데에 있다.

미국은 또한 첨단 장비 위주로 군 구조를 바꾸는 과정에서 37,000명의 주한미군을 2008년까지 25,000명으로 감축키로 하였다.<sup>5)</sup>

### 2) 군 구조 변환

미국은 지난 6월 중순, 미2사단을 사단과 군단기능을 통합한 '미래형사단'(UEX:Unit of Employment X)으로 전환했다.<sup>6)</sup> 이로써 미2사단은 C4I 및 무인정찰기(UAV)를 비롯하여 최신에 에이브럼스(AIM) 탱크, M270A1 최신에 다연장로켓시스템을 갖춰 현재 보다 훨씬 강화된 '정밀타격능력'과 '확대된 전장과 원거리에서의 작전능력'을 보유한 미래형사단 구조로 완전히 탈바꿈했다.<sup>7)</sup>

이는 미2사단 산하의 제1여단이 기존 여단보다 2~3배 전력이 강화된 중무장한 '미래형전투여단'(UA:Unit of Action)으로의 재편을 완료한 데 뒤이은 것이다.<sup>8)</sup> 미국은 이밖에 2사단 등 주한 미 지상군을 지휘하는 8군사령부도 올해 말까지 UEX보다 상위 개념인 '작전지원사령부(UEY)'로 개편할 방침이다.<sup>9)</sup>

이렇게 되면 미8군-미2사단-여단 체계로 되어 있는 기존의 주한미군 구조는 UEY-UEX-UA 체계로 전면 개편되는 것이다.

미국은 또한 내년 1월, K-55공군기지에 있는 미7공군사령부를 개편하여

4) 국방부, 「2004 국방백서」, 2005, 92~95쪽.

5) 국방부, 위의 책, 95~96쪽.

6) "주한미2사단 '미래형사단' 개편 완료", 《연합뉴스》, 2005. 6. 17.

7) "미2사단, 여름까지 '미래형사단' 탈바꿈", 《연합뉴스》, 2005. 3. 6.

8) "주한미2사단 '미래형사단' 으로 업그레이드", 《연합뉴스》, 2004. 8. 20.

9) "핵심 1여단 '미래형 작전부대'로 개편", 《경향신문》, 2004. 10. 6.

아·태지역 유일의 해외공군전투사령부인 '동북아공군전투사령부'를 창설할 방침이다.<sup>10)</sup>

이와 같은 미군 구조의 변환은 첨단무기와 새로운 작전개념 즉, 정밀타격 능력과 원거리 작전능력을 더욱 효과적으로 구사할 수 있는 군 조직을 마련하기 위한 것이다.

### 3) 한미간 군사임무 전환

한미간 군사임무 전환이란 이제까지 주한미군이 수행하던 대북 방어외의 주도적 임무를 한국군에게 넘기고 주한미군은 새로운 임무 즉, 아시아·태평양 신속기동군 노릇을 주로 하겠다는 것이다. 이를 위해 주한미군은 자신들이 맡고 있던 판문점 공동경비구역 경계, 대화력전 등 대북방어 관련 10대 임무를 한국군으로 이양하고 있다. 이 임무를 이양받는 데에만 약 1천187억원이 필요하다고 한다.<sup>11)</sup>

군사임무 전환이 완료되면 주한미군은 이제까지의 대북 방어형 불박이 군대에서 언제 어디로든 자신들이 원하는 대로 해외 출격을 감행할 수 있는 태세를 갖추게 되는 것이다.

### 4) 작전계획의 공격성 강화

미국은 1-4-2-1군사전략을 한반도에 적용하기 위해 한미연합사의 작전계획을 더욱 공격적으로 바꾸고 있다.

전면전을 상정한 '작전계획 5027-04'에서는 2000년도에 채택되었던 69만명의 대규모 병력을 시차별로 동원하는 '시차별 부대전개체원'(TPFDD)을 제외 한 것으로 알려지고 있다.<sup>12)</sup> 이는 이라크 전쟁 등을 통해 검증된 첨단무기를 동원한 신속정밀타격으로도 충분히 효과를 달성할 수 있다고 판단하기 때문인 것으로 보인다.

작전계획 5026에 의하면 북한 내 특정목표(Target List)를 파괴하기 위한 정밀유도폭탄, 특히 전천후 파괴력을 가진 합동직격탄(JDAMs)을 투하할 수 있는 F-15E, F-117, B-1B, B-2, B-52H 등 폭격기들이 약 700여개의 목표점들을 겨냥하고 있으며, 아울러 함정과 잠수함 등에서 토마호크 순양미사일 발

10) "동북아공군전투사령부 내년 1월 평택에서 창립", 《경향신문》, 2005. 7. 20.

11) "한국군 10대임무 인수 투자비 1천187억", 《연합뉴스》, 2004. 10. 4.

12) 박진, "2004 국방위원회 국정감사 보도자료", 2004. 10. 4.

사, 키티호크, 칼빈슨 등 항모전단 등의 입체적인 작전 내용 등이 포함되어 있는 것으로 파악되고 있다. 핵심적인 부분은 타겟 리스트인데 대량살상무기만을 제한적인 공격대상으로 하는 경우와 지대공 미사일, 방공레이더, 그리고 지휘통제시설 등에 대한 확대공격의 경우도 예상하고 있는 것으로 알려지고 있다.<sup>13)</sup>

'개념계획 5029-05'는 더욱 심각한 문제를 안고 있다. 이 계획은 북한 내부에 이상 징후가 발생할 경우 주한미군사령관이 작전통제권을 행사하여 이른바 북한의 급변사태에 대한 군사적 개입을 상정하고 있는 것으로 전해졌다.<sup>14)</sup> 이 계획은 북한인권법, 북한자유법안, 대규모 탈북 난민사태를 대비한 다국적군의 모의훈련(MPAT), 대량살상무기방지구상(PSI) 등을 통한 북한 흔들기와 연계될 가능성이 높다는 점에서 매우 위협하다.

### 5) 한미연합전력증강

미국은 2006년까지 150개 분야에 110억 달러를 추가로 투자하여 주한미군 전력현대화를 추진하고 있다. 이 액수는 북한의 한 해 군사비의 7~8배에 이르는 엄청난 규모다. 여기에는 아파치 롱보우 헬기 교체, MD무기체계의 하나인 패트리엇미사일(PAC-3), M1계열 전차 성능개량, 전술지휘통제(C4I)체계 성능 개선, 무인정찰기 실전운용 등이 포함된다.

또한 스트라이커 1개 여단을 싣고 오키나와에서 하루 만에 한반도로 이동할 수 있는 육군 초고속 수송함(TSV)과 공중 급유나 중간기착 없이 미 본토에서 11시간 만에 한반도로 병력을 투사하는 스트라이커 여단의 핵심 수송수단인 C-17글로브마스터 대형 수송기에 대하여 24시간 긴급 발진 태세를 유지하도록 하고 있다.<sup>15)</sup>

미국은 이와 함께 한국의 국방비 증액과 미국산 무기도입을 요구하고 있고, 우리 정부는 이에 편승하여 '협력적 자주국방'이라는 허울 좋은 이름 아래 공중조기경보통제기, PAC-3, 공중급유기, 무인정찰기 등 주로 미국의 새로운 군사전략에 부응하는 무기체계의 도입을 서두르고 있다.

13) 박진, 위의 자료.

14) "북한내 쿠데타 등 '작전계획 5029' 5개 시나리오 첫 공개", 《유용원의 군사세계》, 2005. 4. 17.

15) "주한미군 전력증강 '절반 이상' 진행", 《연합뉴스》, 2005. 4. 27.

## 6) 한미연합군사훈련

한미 연합사는 지난 3월 대규모 미군 병력이 참가하는 2005 '한미 연합전시증원(RSOI) 연습'을 '독수리(FE) 연습'과 연계하여 한반도 전역에서 벌였다.

이 훈련에는 한반도 유사시 제일 먼저 투입될 항공모함 키티호크가 F-18 슈퍼호넷을 비롯한 60여대의 최신예 전투기를 싣고서 일주일 동안 한반도에 머물며 훈련에 참가했다. 또 최신예 무기로 중무장한 신속 기동타격 부대인 스트라이커 부대를 미국 본토에서 한반도로 투입하고, 오키나와에 있는 미군 해병대와 주한미군을 포함하여 1만7천명의 미군 병력이 참가했다. 특히 포항 서독석리 해안가에서는 "유사시 적 후방에 기습적인 상륙작전을 감행하여 지상군과 연결 후 적의 중심을 포위 공격"하는 합동상륙훈련이 강도 높게 실시되었다.

이렇게 볼 때, 이 훈련은 한미 연합사가 주장하는 '연례적인 방어훈련'이 아니라 한미연합사의 선제공격계획에 따라 북한에 궤멸적 타격을 가하는 위협천만만 북침 전쟁연습임이 분명하다.

또한 지난 5월과 6월, 첨단전력으로 무장한 '미래형사단(UEx)'과 한국군이 처음으로 연합 모의훈련과 본격적인 연합연습을 실시하였다.<sup>16)</sup> 이 훈련은 가공할 파괴력을 갖춘 첨단전력으로 적의 핵심부대를 집중 타격하는 명백한 공격훈련이다.

## 7) 주한미군 역할확대 법제도화

### ① 한미간 법제화

한미당국은 외교부 차관급 고위전략 대화, 한미동맹 안보정책구상(SPI)회의, '전략적 유연성'회의 등을 통하여 주한미군 역할확대를 법제도화하려 하고 있다. 이는 각론 부분에서는 이미 실행단계에 들어서고 있는 주한미군 역할확대를 합법화·정당화하려는 것이다.

한미양국은 한미상호방위조약을 재해석하여 한미동맹의 지리적 적용범위를 확대 해석하고, 한미안보공동선언을 제정하여 '아시아·태평양 평화와 안정 기여' 등의 모호한 표현이나 재난구호, 테러, 대량살상무기 확산 방지 등의 명분으로 주한미군 역할확대를 편법적으로 합법화하려 하고 있다. 또한 주한미군 해외출동 사전협의제(또는 사전동의제)를 도입하려 하고 있다. 이에 따

16) "미군 첫 미래형 사단' 주한 미2사단 지휘소서 첫 모의훈련", 《중앙일보》, 2005. 5. 24.

라 한미연합지휘체계와 작전통제권의 변화도 논의하고 있다.<sup>17)</sup>

### ② 국내 법제도 정비

정부여당은 유엔평화유지활동(PKO)과 해외 긴급 재난 구조를 명분으로 국회 동의없이 국군의 해외파병을 가능케 하는 해외파병법을 추진하고 있다. 그러나 정부는 당사자의 파병 동의, 중립성, 무력불사용의 원칙 등 유엔 PKO의 5원칙을 명확히 하지 않고 있으며, 국회 동의를 생략해야 하는 근거나 PKO상비부대를 편성해야 하는 정당한 근거를 제시하지 못하고 있다. 법적 정당성도 없고 국민적 설득력도 없는 이 법이 무리하게 추진되는 이유는 주한미군 역할확대와 한미동맹의 침략동맹으로의 전환을 뒷받침하려는 데 있다고 보아야 할 것이다.<sup>18)</sup>

정부는 또한 '유사시 다양한 국가안보 위협에 효율적인 대응을 보장'한다는 명분으로 전·평시동원법을 일원화하는 '국가동원법' 제정을 추진하고 있다. 정부는 현재 "국가안위에 관계되는 중대한 교전상태"로 되어 있는 동원령 선포요건을 완화하여 "동원시행의 적시성을 보장"하겠다고 한다. 이렇게 되면 국지적 적 위협, 테러 및 재난사태 등을 이유로 수시로 국가동원령이 선포되고 이에 따른 인력 및 물자가 정부의 요구에 따라 강제 동원되게 된다. 한마디로 상시 동원체제가 구축되는 것이다. 이 법 또한 '재난 구호' 등을 명분으로 한 주한미군 역할확대와 한미동맹의 퇴행적 전환에 봉사하게 될 것이다.

## 3. 평택미군기지 확장의 문제점

### 1) 한반도 및 동북아 평화 위협

미국이 용산기지와 미2사단을 평택으로 옮기려는 이유는 북한의 장사정포 사정거리에서 벗어나 북한을 쉽게 공격하고, K-55(송탄)공군기지와 평택항을 이용한 신속기동력과 정밀타격능력을 확보하여 중국을 봉쇄하고 아시아·태

17) 고영대, "이른바 주한미군의 전략적 유연성 무엇이 문제이며, 어떻게 대응해야 하나?", [http://www.spark946.org/bugsboard/index.php?BBS=pds\\_2&action=viewForm&uid=60&page=1](http://www.spark946.org/bugsboard/index.php?BBS=pds_2&action=viewForm&uid=60&page=1), 2005. 4. 15. 참조.

18) 고영대, "정부의 이른바 PKO활동 확대와 국회 동의절차 생략 기도의 문제점", [http://www.spark946.org/bugsboard/index.php?BBS=s\\_news&action=viewForm&uid=781&page=1&search=title&key=해외파병법&idx=1](http://www.spark946.org/bugsboard/index.php?BBS=s_news&action=viewForm&uid=781&page=1&search=title&key=해외파병법&idx=1), 2005. 5. 6. 참조.

평양지역에 언제든지 병력을 파견하기 위한 것이다. 이는 우리나라가 상시적인 주한미군 해외침략의 전초기지 또는 병참기지가 된다는 것을 의미한다.

미래한미동맹정책구상(FOTA) 1차회의(2003. 4. 8~9) 때 미국측 기획참모부장의 “미2사단의 현위치는 전쟁수행에 적합하지 않”<sup>19)</sup>다는 발언이나, “중국 등 잠재 지역패권세력과 역내 여타 국가간의 분쟁 개입, 중국-대만간 양안갈등 때 군사적 조정” 등을 명시한 FOTA 3차 회의 한국측 사전준비자료<sup>20)</sup>, “아시아 태평양지역 미 군사력의 신속 기동태세를 갖추는 것을 단기과제로 추진하겠다”<sup>21)</sup>는 3월 8일, 윌리엄 펠런 신임 미태평양 사령관의 미 상원 군사위 청문회에서의 발언은 이를 입증해 주고 있다.

이렇게 되면 한반도와 주변지역의 군사적 긴장과 갈등은 높아질 수 밖에 없을 것이고, 최악의 경우 우리는 미국이 일으키는 전쟁에 말려들어 전쟁의 참화를 뒤집어 쓸 수도 있는 것이다.

## 2) 반미감정 잠재우고 영구주둔 노리는 미군 재배치

미국이 미군기지를 평택으로 옮기는 또 다른 이유는 안정적인 영구주둔의 기반을 마련하기 위한 것이다. 미국은 서울 한복판에 대규모 땅을 차지하고 있는 용산기지가 국민의 정서에 반하는 것으로 보고 이를 이전함으로써 우리 국민의 반미감정을 무마시키려 하고 있다. 이에 따라 미국은 평택에 새로운 기지를 건설하여 장기적이고 안정적인 한국 주둔을 노리고 있는 것이다.

미국은 주한미군 재배치 협상 초기부터 “주한미군의 장기적·안정적 주둔여건 조성”<sup>22)</sup>을 그 목표로 내세워왔다. 이에 따라 용산기지 이전협정 전문도 “(용산기지의) 적시 이전이 주한미군의 지속적인 체제(enduring structure)에 기여”<sup>23)</sup>한다고 명시하고 있다. 이를 위해 미국은 협정에 ‘시설수준의 향상’을 명시토록 하였으며, 이를 근거로 최신시설을 요구하고 있다.

## 3) 주민 생존권 유린하는 평택 미군기지 확장

평택주민들은 이미 수십 년에 걸쳐 457만평이나 되는 땅을 빼앗긴 채 살아

19) 노회찬, “2004 정기국회 대정부질문”, 2004. 11. 11.

20) 노회찬, “2004 정기국회 예산특별위원회 자료”, 2004. 11. 30.

21) “북 핵 1~2개 보유...”, 《연합뉴스》, 2005. 3. 9.

22) “국제 안보환경에 맞는 국방운영방향 확정”, 《국정브리핑》, 2004. 8. 12.

23) 《용산기지이전협정》, 2004. 10.

왔다. 지금 농사짓고 있는 땅은 주민들이 지게와 가래로 어깨와 팔목이 빠지도록 일군 땅이다.

그 과정에서 정부가 한 일이라고는 등기 내주고 세금 받아낸 일 밖에 없다. 그런데 이제 와서 정부는 ‘국가안보’라는 이름으로 또다시 349만평이나 되는 땅을 빼앗으려 하고 있다.

주민 상당수는 60~70대가 넘는 농민들이다. 이들이 자신들의 소중한 삶을 빼앗기면 어디 가서 새로운 삶을 개척할 수 있겠는가?

이름도 아름다운 황새울 들녘! 이곳은 땅이 비옥하고 홍수와 가뭄 피해가 없으며 경지정리가 잘되어 있는 절대농지다. 그래서 쌀도 특등과 1등급만 나는, 전국에서 알아주는 맛좋은 쌀을 생산하는 고장이다. 이런 땅을 미군기지 와 골프장으로 내주려 하고 있는 것이다.

그 뿐 아니다. 평택미군기지가 확장되면 군사시설이 대폭 늘어나고 전쟁의 위험이 높아져 경제와 도시발전에 중대한 장애가 조성되고, 교육·환경·문화·미군범죄 문제 등으로 인한 시민의 피해가 속출하게 될 것이다.

## 4) 굴욕적인 이전 비용 부담

용산 등 주한미군 기지 재배치는 미국의 필요와 요구, 즉 해외주둔 기지 재배치계획(GPR)에 따른 것이다. 그럼에도 불구하고 재배치 비용의 대부분은 우리가 부담한다.<sup>24)</sup>

용산기지 이전의 경우 부지구입비·설계비·기반시설비·건축비는 물론이고 이사비용, 심지어는 이사기간 동안의 숙박비·일비까지 지급해야만 한다.

2004년 말에 체결된 용산기지이전협정(용산협정)은 90년 당시의 협정에 비하여 이전비용이 17억 달러에서 30~40억 달러로 늘어났고, 대체부지도 26만 8천평에서 52만평으로 늘어났으며, 무엇보다도 기존수준을 유지하는 것에서 ‘임무와 기능’에 따른 이전으로 시설수준의 향상을 명시하고 있다는 점에서 훨씬 더 개악된 협정이다.

또 독일 라인마인 미공군기지 이전사례와 비교해 보더라도 용산협정의 불평등성은 너무도 뚜렷하다. 독일의 경우 독일의 요구에 따른 이전임에도 불구하고 미국이 일부 비용을 부담토록 했으며, 협정에 비용 총액은 물론이고 세부내역까지 명시하고 있다. 또한 건축기준도 독일 기준에 따르도록 하고 있으며 사업의 전권을 독일이 행사하도록 하고 있다. 하지만 용산협정의 경

24) 이와 관련하여 직간접비용을 모두 합하여 한국측이 부담해야 할 미군기지 이전비용이 11조가 넘는다는 보도가 있다. 황일도, “미군기지 이전비용, 두 배로 늘어난다!...”, 《신동아》, 2005. 8월호, 210~219쪽 참조.

우 미국에 일방적으로 유리한 내용으로 가득 차 있다.

용산협정은 또한 비용총액조차 명시되어 있지 않은 선언적 내용을 담은 문서(포괄협정)만 국회비준동의를 거치고 정작 세부내역을 담고 있는 하위문서들은 이를 피하도록 하고 있다. 이는 국가나 국민에게 중대한 재정적 부담을 지우는 조약은 국회의 비준동의를 거치도록 되어있는 헌법 60조 1항을 위배한 것이다. 또한 사업의 전권을 비공개로 운영되면서 미국의 요구가 쉽게 관철되어왔던 SOFA합동위원회에 넘김으로써 미국이 전횡을 부릴 가능성을 열어놓고 있다.

미2사단의 경우 한미연합토지관리계획(LPP) 개정협정에는 미국이 비용을 부담하는 것으로 되어 있으나 종전의 사례나 미국의 문서들을 보면 2사단 이전비용의 대부분도 우리가 부담하게 될 것이 거의 확실하다.<sup>25)</sup>

이처럼 주한미군 재배치 협상은 위헌적이고 불평등한 내용으로 가득 차 있다. 오죽했으면 미국무부조차 주한미군 재배치 협상에서 자신들의 목표를 '초과달성(above target)'<sup>26)</sup>했다고 했겠는가?

#### 4. 평택미군기지확장 저지투쟁의 의의

##### 1) 한반도 및 동북아의 평화를 수호하는 투쟁이다.

미군기지가 확장되어 평택이 대북 선제공격 기지가 되고, 중국 포위와 중국-대만 간 분쟁의 전초기지가 된다면 대상 국가들도 이를 그대로 바라만 보고 있지는 않을 것이다. 이미 북한은 평택을 겨냥한 것으로 추정되는 사정거리 100km가 넘는 미사일을 시험 발사한 바 있고<sup>27)</sup>, 중국도 주한미군이 자국을 겨냥하는 것에 대하여 우려를 표명하고 있는 상황이다. 이처럼 평택미군 기지가 미국의 새로운 군사전략 수행의 전진기지가 된다면 한반도 및 동북아의 군사적 긴장과 갈등, 전쟁의 위협이 높아지리라는 것은 불을 보듯 뻔하다.

이런 점에서 우리가 평택미군기지 확장을 저지하는 것은 미국의 새로운 군

25) 유영재, "국회 통일외교통상위원회 공청회 발표 자료", [http://www.spark946.org/bugsboard/index.php?BBS=pds\\_3&action=viewForm&uid=159&page=4](http://www.spark946.org/bugsboard/index.php?BBS=pds_3&action=viewForm&uid=159&page=4), 2004. 12. 6. 및 평통사, "독일사례로 본 용산기 이전협정의 굴욕성", [http://spark946.org/bugsboard/index.php?BBS=pds\\_3&action=viewForm&uid=117&page=7](http://spark946.org/bugsboard/index.php?BBS=pds_3&action=viewForm&uid=117&page=7), 2004. 8. 22 참조

26) "용산기지가 이전 '초과달성', 미국무부 업무평가", 《연합뉴스》, 2004. 12. 12.

27) "군 '평택 미군기지가 사정권'", 《중앙일보》, 2005. 5. 4.

사전략 구사에 중대한 제동을 줌으로써 한반도 및 동북아의 평화에 크게 기여하는 투쟁이다.

##### 2) 평택주민의 생존권과 공동체를 수호하는 투쟁이다.

농민에게 땅은 생명과도 같은 존재다. 특히, 이들 중 상당수는 어디 가서 새로운 삶을 개척하기도 어려운 60~70대가 넘는 노인들이다. 이들로부터 땅을 빼앗는 것은 생존권을 송두리째 박탈하는 것이다. 이들은 또한 상부상조의 아름다운 전통을 유지하면서 살아왔다. 그런데 정부가 기지확장을 위해 주민들을 분열시키고 이간질하면서 주민 사이에 불신과 반목이 극에 달해 서로 다른 입장에 있는 주민이 상을 당해도 쳐다보지도 않는 상황에까지 이르고 있다.

이런 점에서 평택미군기지확장 저지투쟁은 주민생존권 수호와 마을 공동체의 회복을 위한 투쟁이기도 하다.

##### 3) 주한미군의 아·태기동군화에 파열구를 내는 투쟁이다.

미국은 주한미군 아·태기동군화를 위해 전방위적으로 움직이고 있다. 한미양국은 '미래 한미동맹 정책구상(FOTA)' 회의를 통하여 주한미군 아·태기동군화를 위한 각론 수준의 합의를 이뤄내고 이를 실행하고 있다. 한미양국은 이어 '한미동맹 안보정책구상(SPI)' 회의와 '전략적 유연성' 회의 등을 통하여 주한미군 아·태기동군화의 법제도적 장치를 마련하려 하고 있다. 이 모든 것들은 주한미군 아·태기동군화를 위한 각 방면의 조건을 갖추기 위한 것이다. 주한미군 재배치 역시 주한미군 아·태기동군화의 물리적 조건을 마련하기 위해 추진되고 있는 것이다.

따라서 우리가 평택미군기지확장을 막아내는 것은 주한미군 아·태기동군화의 기틀을 허무는 것이다. 우리가 평택미군기지확장을 저지한다면 주한미군 아·태기동군화는 물리적 토대를 마련하지 못함으로써 중대한 난관에 봉착할 것이다.

##### 4) 반미자주화투쟁의 새로운 단계를 여는 투쟁이다.

지금 주한미군과 한미동맹의 성격이 근본적으로 전환되는 중대한 시기가 다. 대북 방어 목적의 주한미군 주둔 근거가 상실됨에 따라 미국은 '아·태지