

The
Special Studies Series

Japan, Korea,
and the
Security of Asia:
Special Studies,
1970-1980

THE SPECIAL STUDIES SERIES

**Japan, Korea,
and the Security of Asia:
Special Studies,
1970-1980**

**Edited by
Paul Kesaris**

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REEL INDEX

Reel I

EAST ASIA

Frame

- 0001 **AID Spring Review of Land Reform: Volume III, Land Reform in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan.**

Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. Harold E. Voelkner, Robert B. Morrow, Kenneth H. Sherper, and Anthony Y.C. Koo. June 1970. 315 pp.

The document on Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan is one of a series which covers most nations that have experienced or are considering land reform. The design for each country's paper is the same: the situation before reform, the reform program, and the effects of the program.

- 0316 **PACOM Base Structure, 1975-1985.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Robert C. Gardner. December 10, 1973. 24 pp.

In view of President Nixon's trip to the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.), plus the announcement of the Nixon Doctrine, now is the time to reevaluate the U.S. Pacific base structure. Some bases will be lost to U.S. use, either by changing needs, or political restrictions being placed on them by the host country. Other bases had been made obsolete for U.S. purposes by technological developments in the field of weaponry.

- 0340 **An Analysis of the Department of State: Department of Defense Role in the Implementation of United States Foreign Policy in Japan, South Korea and the Republic of China.**

Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland. Joseph A. Sestak, Jr. May 21, 1974. 167 pp.

The security policy involving East Asian countries was found to be highly centralized, especially around Secretary of State Kissinger. The State Department and the Department of Defense have emerged with crucial roles in the formulation and implementation of this policy, since it involves military security

decisions and commitments which have political impact. Consultation between the two departments at the lower levels is effectively coordinated. However, there seems to be a need for more consideration to be given to this level of interagency coordination.

0507 Industrial and Technological Development in PACOM Countries as an Adjunct to Security Assistance.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Alvin L. Meredith. October 21, 1974. 27 pp.

The study reviews the Department of Defense security assistance programs as they were operative in Japan and Korea. The author suggests such assistance to Thailand and Vietnam.

0534 U.S. Strategy in Northeast Asia.

Strategic Studies Center, Sri International, Arlington, Virginia. William M. Carpenter, James E. Dornan, Jr., Garrett N. Scalera, and Richard G. Stilwell. June 1978. 152 pp.

This study examines, in terms of new perspectives incorporating the relationship between strategic stability and political-economic stability, the U.S. role in maintaining a stable environment in Northeast Asia. In addition to analysis of the Japan-Korea focal point, particular attention is given to the triangular set of relationships among the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China as they may be affected by changes in U.S. policies and/or military postures in South Korea and the Northeast Asia region.

0687 United States Security Policy in East Asia: The Japanese Factor.

Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland. Charles R. Wright. June 8, 1979. 93 pp.

United States security policy in East Asia is still in large measure based on President Ford's "New Pacific Doctrine" of December 7, 1975. The first point made by this doctrine is that American strength is basic to any stable balance of power in the Pacific. The doctrine's second point emphasizes the importance of relations with Japan in maintaining peace and stability in the area. The main point of this paper is to show how United States security policy in East Asia is affected by Japan. The first step is to define United States security objectives in East Asia and the security-related aspects of Japanese-American relations. The chapters on the Japanese view of security provide a different perspective on East Asian security. After looking at both the United States' and Japan's individual views of security, the author brings the two together. Several options are presented for United States security policy, while remembering Japanese attitudes, positions, and restrictions. Finally, greater cooperation and coordination between Japan and the United States in security matters are proposed and supported.

JAPAN

0783 Japanese National Security Policy—Domestic Determinants.

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Paul F. Langer. June 1972. 89 pp.

As relations between the United States and Japan enter a new era, it becomes increasingly important to understand the policymaking process in Japan. The report addresses itself specifically to the making of Japanese defense policy and analyzes the roles of certain domestic interest groups in national security policy decisions. The study is based primarily on Japanese documents.

- 0873 **The Northern Territorial Issue.**
International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Virginia. Rosemary Hayes. July 1972. 34 pp.
The paper presents the historical background and current status of the dispute between Japan and the Soviet Union over several islands northeast of Hokkaido known collectively to the Japanese as the northern territories. The history of the northern territories is traced from their early settlement by migratory tribes through their occupation by Soviet troops at the end of World War II. The paper discusses the subsequent conflict between the U.S.S.R. and Japanese governments over the rightful possession of the northern territories. In view of recent economic and political movements by the two governments, it is stated that the territorial issue will be reopened and that a compromise solution may be achieved.
- 0909 **The Computer Industry in Japan and Its Meaning for the United States.**
Computer Technology/Resource Panel. National Research Council, Washington, D.C. 1973. 140 pp.
The following topics are discussed: The Japanese economy; the general economic context; government and corporate structure; Japanese computer hardware; Japanese computer software; Japanese technology; Japanese research and development.
- 1049 **Japanese Force Development in the Next Ten Years: Will Japan Go Nuclear?**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Donald M. Rhea. February 23, 1973. 63 pp.
The extent to which Japan will improve its military forces in the next ten years will determine the balance of power in Asia, if not in the world. Because of the close economic and security ties which the United States has with Japan, and because Japan is the linchpin of United States foreign policy in the Pacific, future U.S. actions will have a substantial impact on Japanese-U.S. relations. This monograph examines the major factors which may influence Japan's decision on how much to improve its military forces.
- 1112 **Will Japan Go Nuclear in the Seventies?**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Robert G. Lynn. March 16, 1973. 34 pp.
The purpose of this brief monograph is to examine some of the issues and reasons that are driving Japan toward the acquisition of nuclear weapons. The paper compares Japan's military, political and economic problems with the known incentives for a nation to become a nuclear power. An assessment is made of Japan's security issues as they relate to the current world environment, the resurgence of nationalism and concern for world prestige, and the benefits of nuclear technology.

Reel II

JAPAN (cont.)

- 0001 **The Nixon Doctrine in Northeast Asia: Strategic Implications of Japanese Reactions.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Hugh L. Burluson. April 18, 1973. 98 pp.
Rapid evolution of the political situation in East Asia, largely as a result of U.S. actions under the Nixon Doctrine, has raised a number of questions about Japanese diplomatic and security policies and about the U.S.-Japan relationship. The paper examines statements and views of Japanese officials and influential defense affairs analysts in order to deduce what U.S. actions and policy adjustments are needed or desirable. The data was drawn from available Japanese and American newspapers, periodicals and monographs, from an interview with a prominent Japanese defense analyst, and from the author's own notes and background information accumulated in Japan from 1960 to 1969.
- 0099 **A Preliminary Analysis of Japan's Dependence on Selected Imported Raw Materials.**
International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Virginia. Nathan N. White. September 1973. 121 pp.
The paper presents a preliminary analysis of the extent and nature of Japan's economic vulnerability to an interruption in the supply of imported raw materials. Ten commodities are studied: crude petroleum, coal, iron ore, and seven nonferrous metal ores. The working hypothesis is that Japan's resource endowment and its present industrial structure are such that imports of these raw materials are vital to Japanese industry, which would in time cease to function without them. Preliminary analysis is made of present supply and demand for the selected commodities and the time needed to exhaust existing stockpiles.
- 0220 **Japan's Future Position in the World Economy.**
Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. Edward R. Fried and Philip H. Trezise. August 1974. 198 pp.
The study examines Japan's domestic economic trends, its national interest, and the external economic developments. The rate of domestic economic growth is bound to have a pervasive effect on Japan's external economic relations. An examination of the sources of growth suggests strongly that Japan's future growth will be in the 6 percent rather than the 11 percent range. In the future, Japan's interests would be enhanced by a strengthening of multilateralism in economic relations rather than by heavy reliance on bilateralism, whether with the U.S. or with Southeast Asia. We would expect Japan to be an active supporter if not proponent of trade liberalization in GATT, of a more powerful role for the IMF in international monetary reform, and of increased multilateralism in foreign aid.
- 0421 **Revival of Japanese Militarism: Fact or Fiction?**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Robert L. Peters. November 18, 1974. 27 pp.
Contents: historical precedent; postwar evolution of economic role; changing attitudes and conflicts; international implications; regional security.

- 0448 **Japanese Social Attitudes toward Nuclearization.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Robert J. Leakey. 24 pp.
 The study explores the attitude of the Japanese people toward the development and possession of nuclear arms by that nation. Consideration is given to the impact that the atomic attack of 1945 has had on contemporary thinking; the restraints of the National Peace Constitution; interpretations of that document by the Japanese government and its influence on public attitudes; the role public opinion plays on decision making, along with the attitudes it measures. Finally, an examination is made of national and international factors and events which exert pressure on public expression.
- 0472 **Japan: Military Options for the 1980s.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Gerald F. Wilson. May 23, 1975. 49 pp.
 With the gradual reduction of the U.S. presence in Asia, future U.S. policy in that area centers more and more on Japan. The foundation of U.S. policy must be based on an accurate assessment of the current and future direction of Japanese security policy. In spite of repeated assurances on the part of the U.S. that it intends to honor its commitments to the security of Japan under the 1960 Security Treaty, events of the recent year have caused Japan to seek reaffirmation of U.S. intentions to include the nuclear shield. This perception of questioning U.S. intentions and resolve has served as the catalyst for a call for a fundamental reevaluation of Japanese security policy. The basic question is to identify the spectrum of security options that are open to Japan and assess the probability of which will be adopted. While the range of alternatives runs from neutralization to nuclear rearmament, it is concluded that Japan will find it in her best interests to maintain her security arrangement with the U.S. and continue her gradual qualitative upgrading of the Self-Defense Force.
- 0521 **Science and Technology in Japan: A Brief Analytic Survey.**
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Ed McGaffigan and Paul Langer. November 1975. 190 pp.
 The report is an exploration of the strengths and weaknesses of Japanese science and technology, including an estimate of the importance of foreign technology to Japanese technological advancement and an examination of the power of Japanese business management and government policy over scientific and technological development. Possible areas for U.S.-Japanese collaboration are identified. Today, government policy in Japan is to concentrate on and to invest more R and D funds in "knowledge intensive" areas, such as computers, fine chemicals, nuclear energy, semiconductors, and other industries where significant levels of R and D expenditures are required to compete in world markets. Projects chosen aim at satisfying long-term national and industrial needs.
- 0711 **Japan's Foreign Policy: Metamorphosis in Asia.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. April Doreen Mohr. March 1976. 138 pp.
 Japan's traditional postwar policies are becoming increasingly more autonomous from those of the U.S., despite the fact that her defense policy remains linked to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. The alternatives open to Japan are diverse, each with a wide range of effects, but the validity of the U.S. commitment will be the chief determinant of the options selected. Nearly every element of Japan's post-

war policies has been dictated by the need to guarantee her economic viability. Her postwar defense posture, despite internal and external pressures, has been predicated upon a policy of absolute minimum defense. A major factor in Japan's move toward independence is her new relation with the Asian nations, specifically, the P.R.C. [China] and the U.S.S.R. and the countries she considers to be primary threats to her security—Korea and Taiwan. Japan's future policy alternatives encompass a wide range of options, each dependent upon a given set of circumstances or events which could conceivably make any one policy choice inevitable.

0849 **The U.S.-Japan Alliance, 1951-1976.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. James Lowell Freed. December 1976. 141 pp.

This report discusses factors influencing the decision to form alliances and applies them to the U.S. treaty system in the post-World War II period with special emphasis on the U.S.-Japan alliance. The origins of the U.S. commitment to the defense of Japan including negotiations of peace and security treaties are traced. It outlines U.S. military aid to Japan from 1950 to 1960, and the organization and growth of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces. Forces leading to the revision of the Mutual Security Treaty in 1960, and the corresponding change to military sales and licensing agreements as the method of transferring arms as Japanese self-confidence recovered are discussed. Strains which have developed in the alliance and recommendations for easing them are analyzed. The report also contains several tables and graphs summarizing military aid and sales to Japan and other U.S. allies in East Asia.

0990 **Will Japan Rearm?**

Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Joseph B. Berger, Jr. June 10, 1977. 91 pp.

This thesis examines the possibility of Japanese rearmament, using a comparative case study approach that examines the periods 1870 to 1945 and 1945 to 1976. Major actors in each period are examined in order to understand the role they play and their views toward rearmament. For the period 1870 to 1945, the actors are the emperor, the politicians, the military, the population and the economic sector. During the later period, these same actors together with the American occupation force are examined. The shift of political power and influence during each period is charted in order to determine any significant similarities between the two. An examination of the literature of both periods allows for additional similarities to be drawn. It is concluded that Japan probably will continue along a course of gradual conventional rearmament.

1083 **Japanese-Indonesian Relations: A Case Study on the Scope and Limits of Economic Power in International Affairs.**

Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Thomas L. Wilborn. January 20, 1978. 33 pp.

Indonesia is Japan's fifth largest trading partner, and the location of \$2 billion of Japanese capital. It controls, together with Malaysia, the Strait of Malacca and, alone, sea passages between Australia and Japan. Indonesia is also important for Japan in maintaining a suitable balance of power in Asia and a satisfactory world economic order. Japan is Indonesia's largest customer, buying around half of all exports, and from 55 to 73 percent of all exported petroleum. It is also Indonesia's

major supplier. For the last several years Japan has been Indonesia's principal donor of economic assistance. These economic interactions undoubtedly provide Japan with valuable assets in dealing with Indonesia. But there are restraints on Japan's potential to affect Indonesian behavior, particularly with respect to achieving stability in Southeast Asia under regimes friendly to Japan. The United States must concern itself with Indonesia if it wants the benefits of an alliance with a strong Japan, even if direct U.S. interests by themselves do not appear to justify too much attention. The deployment of military forces probably would not be desirable.

1117 **Japanese Perspectives toward U.S.-P.R.C. Relations since 1971.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Charles Frederick Gore. March 1978. 150 pp.

The objective of this thesis is to examine Japanese perspectives toward U.S.-P.R.C. [China] relations since 1971 through the eyes of interest groups which have a significant foreign policy role in Japan. It is vital that Americans understand these perspectives in light of the potential for improved Sino-American relations in the near term. As background, some security aspects of Japan's foreign policy are discussed and U.S.-P.R.C. relations from 1949 to 1978 are encapsulated. The foreign policy roles and the attitudes of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, the opposition parties, the central bureaucracy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of International Trade and Industry), the economic community, and public opinion toward Sino-American policy developments and current issues are then analyzed. The thesis concludes that the beginnings of a rapprochement between the U.S. and China have caused a great deal of consternation within these groups and that they all perceive the dangers inherent in a continued warming trend in Sino-American relations.

Reel III

JAPAN (cont.)

0001 **Japan and North Korea: The Growing Accommodation between Japan and North Korea and Its Effect on the National Security of the United States.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. William Jamie Hulsey. March 1978. 217 pp.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the relations between Japan and North Korea, identifying each nation's concept of its own security interests. The report describes the present status of Korea, both North and South, and examines the transitory division between the two halves of what both profess is a single, divided country. It examines the strategic significance to China of the Korean peninsula, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Japan. It discusses North Korea's and Japan's foreign policy goals, especially as they relate to internal and external security considerations, attempts to determine the nature of the accommodation between North Korea and Japan, based on their own strategic interests, and analyzes the effect of this accommodation on the United States.

- 0219 **Japanese National Interests and the Sino-Japanese Peace and Friendship Treaty.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Joseph Michael Mazzafrò.
March 1979. 194 pp.

The signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship opened a new era in Japanese foreign policy. By improving relations with Peking, Tokyo gained the latitude of action necessary to play a central role in creating a pattern of regional stability compatible with Japan's national interests in security, prosperity, and prestige. The decision to sign the treaty underscores the determining influence these traditional national interests have on contemporary Japanese foreign policy, and it highlights the dichotomy between Japan's culturally induced xenophobic proclivities and its economic needs for greater access to foreign raw materials. Reflecting Japan's departure from its post-World War II international reticence, the Peace and Friendship Treaty, as a function of national interests, is a useful analytical tool for assessing the impact of a more vigorous Japanese foreign policy on the Sino-Soviet dispute, the application of the Nixon Doctrine, the stability of Southeast Asia, the reunification of Korea, the future of Taiwan, and the allocation of resource rights in the East China Sea.

- 0414 **Japanese Oil Dependence.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Charles Alfred Meyer, Jr.
June 1979. 135 pp.

This thesis is an examination of Japan's response to the oil crisis of 1973. Intermediate measures to cope with rising prices and restrictions on supplies of oil and petroleum products were marginally effective, but inadequate as bases for long-term policies. It will be shown that Japan has available to it five major areas of alternative petroleum sources. The conclusion emerges that no other area except the Middle East has sufficient available supplies to meet Japan's needs. The next section undertakes an estimate of alternate sources of energy which might become available to Japan as oil substitutes. Again, the conclusion is inescapable that Japan will remain dependent on Mideast supplies for the foreseeable future and will therefore be constrained to make such modifications and improvements in economic and diplomatic procedures as to obtain maximum benefit at the least cost to meet her economic and security needs.

- 0549 **How Will the United States Withdrawal from the Republic of Korea Affect Japan's National Security?**
Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Bowman M. Olds. June 8, 1979. 127 pp.

This study examines the impact of U.S. ground troop withdrawal from the Republic of Korea on Japan's national security. Japan's vital interests, her Self-Defense Force, and the status of the United States-Japan Security Treaty provide a basis for analyzing her current national security program. The effect of the withdrawal is weighed against America's changing role in Asia and Japan's perception of the threat in East Asia. Based upon Japanese assessment of these developments, six major options were examined as choices for Japan as she responds to changes in this region. It is anticipated that the United States withdrawal of ground troops in the short term will not be significant. As long as the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty is credible and continues to serve as the cornerstone in this relationship, Japan's national security structure will remain relatively unchanged. In the long term, however, it is possible that Japan will take

precautionary steps to obviate the outbreak of hostilities. In the event of another armed conflict on the Korean peninsula, the most likely option for Japan will be a selective and conventional course of rearmament involving the continuation of her incremental advances and improvements in her current force structure.

- 0675 **Koreans in Japan: Their Influence on Korean-Japanese Relations.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Alice K. Lee. September 1979. 120 pp.

Since the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, many Koreans migrated to Japan seeking a livelihood. The majority of these emigrants were in the lowest economic status of Japanese society. After World War II, of the 2.5 million Koreans in Japan, the majority were repatriated to their homeland, leaving approximately 600,000 Korean residents. The Koreans in Japan are divided factionally, each group separately favoring either South or North Korea. This, in turn, creates political differences and animosities. The South Korea-Japan Treaty of 1965 granted permanent resident status to Korean residents. However, inconsistencies in the Japanese government's treatment of Korean residents causes Koreans many disadvantages. Despite the phenomenal growth in the Japanese economy, the economic situation of Korean residents in Japan has not improved much since the South Korean-Japan Treaty of 1965. From the sociological aspect, a degree of assimilation has taken place among Korean youths, but it remains to be seen whether such assimilation is desirable.

- 0795 **United States-Japan Trade: Issues and Problems.**
International Division, General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. September 21, 1979. 221 pp.

The U.S.-Japan trade imbalance has created serious concern. The imbalance reflects underlying economic factors as well as differences in trade policy and attitudes toward exporting. GAO analyzes these factors, contrasts U.S. and Japanese trade policies, and points out specific problems in the Japanese market through case studies from seven U.S. industries—computers, automobiles, telecommunications, color television, machine tools, logs and lumber, and soybeans.

REEL IV

Japan (cont.)

- 0001 **Japan's Defense Policy: Forecast and Implications.**
Army Military Personnel Center, Alexandria, Virginia. William Ray Lynch III. December 21, 1979. 227 pp.

This thesis forecasts Japan's defense posture in the 1980s. The forecast is based on a review of Japanese history and elements of national security including the East Asian security environment. Several key variables, including economic growth and rising nationalism, are analyzed for their effect on defense posture. The major conclusion is that Japan is unlikely to move to a significantly stronger defense posture in the 1980s; instead, Japan's most probable course is relatively minor improvements of existing defense forces within present overall defense capabilities. This means that the U.S. can expect to continue to shoulder the major responsibility for Japan's defense, while Japan makes a small but "respectable"

contribution, which eschews nuclear weapons. A review of analyses and conclusions suggests that both nations need to reconsider their interdependent defense policies in order to provide an improved climate for continued strong ties. In particular, Japan needs to find ways to make an increased common defense contribution, while the U.S. needs to rethink the "one and a half wars" policy and improve credibility.

- 0231 **Strategic Options of Japan under the Tri-Polar Structure in Northeast Asia.**
Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Hideya Aoto. June 2, 1980. 38 pp.

Under the changing structure of Tri-polar Powers in Northeast Asia, Japan faces mounting pressure from outside and inside to step up its military strength. In this paper the author analyzes the strategy of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and Japan. He examines Japan-U.S. relations and seeks several strategic options for Japan's security policy and defense strategy. The conclusion is to reshape and strengthen the Japan-U.S. bilateral treaty, and put the emphasis on improving the Japanese ground force as well as the maritime force.

NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA

- 0269 **Themes of North Korea's Unification Messages, a Study on Pattern Shifts, 1948-68.**

Honolulu Department of Political Science, Hawaii University. Sang-Woo Rhee. February 1973. 45 pp.

The purpose of the study is to delineate some basic thematic patterns in North Korea's official propaganda messages regarding unification and to describe the chronological shifts of those patterns across a period of twenty-one years, 1948-1968. A sample of forty-nine official messages pertaining to unification sent to South Korea by North Korean decision makers were analyzed through thematic content analysis according to a prepared coding scheme of thirty-six theme categories. To measure the pattern shifts, a new index called the relative deviation (RD) index was designed. A total of ten factor patterns were delineated and examined.

- 0314 **Prospects for Reunification of the Koreas.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Charles W. Bagnal. February 26, 1973. 45 pp.

The premise of the report is that a divided Korea is a definite threat to her neighbors and to the world because of the continued possibility of war. But, is reunification possible within the next decade? Is reunification in the best interests of the Koreas, the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and the United States? The two questions are analyzed in the framework of changes occurring in power relationships and their implications. The Koreas are now talking, but yet unclear is the role played by the powers in these contracts. What is clear, though, is that if there is to be reunification, the four powers must play a role. It is concluded that the following steps will be taken by the powers: encourage continuation of talks, limit the arms race and press for troop reductions on both sides, encourage expansion of contacts for both Koreas, disestablish the UN Command, and seat both Koreas in the United Nations. It is expected that these events will occur by the end of the decade with the beginning of some loose political confederation between the two Koreas.

0361 **Consequences of the Nixon Doctrine on the Strategic Importance of South Korea.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Donald L. Richardson. October 31, 1974. 26 pp.

In recognition of a new and developing multipolar world, the Nixon Doctrine—willingness to negotiate, partnerships, and strength—has replaced the United States' policy of the Cold War—containment of communism. South Korea had played a significant strategic role in the containment policy by providing the U.S. with a foothold on the continent at a strategic point where Chinese, Russian, and Japanese influence had historically clashed. The essay appraises the consequences of the Nixon Doctrine and its new perceptions on the strategic significance of South Korea to the U.S.

0388 **A Shrimp among Whales: Policies and National Interests of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 1950-1976.**

Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. Laurence W. Mitchell III. December 9, 1976. 177 pp.

The author first outlines and analyzes the major national interests and vital factors associated with the development of the foreign policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from the period just prior to the outbreak of hostilities in June 1950 and traces them through the autumn of 1976. The second purpose of this study is to assess the degree of influence and control that the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union are able to exercise over the actions of North Korea, and to delineate the nature of that possible control in terms of economic, political and military factors. By examining the past, it may be possible to determine whether the North Koreans are likely to resort to overt aggression to effect a military reunification of the Korean peninsula. Analysis of the past twenty-six years of the foreign and reunification policies of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea reveals characteristics and trends which may provide these vital clues.

0566 **Korea: Future Problems, Future Policies.**

Research Directorate, National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Jack G. Callaway. February 1977. 77 pp.

The United States' involvement in Korea and its long-standing commitment to economic and military support of the Republic of Korea have remained a constant in the nation's national security policy. Wholehearted American participation in the Korean War and the Republic of Korea's continuing support of American Asian policies have forged a strong military and political bond between the two countries. The continuing changes in the dynamics of international politics and perceived requirement by the leadership in the United States to control defense expenditures have again brought forth proposals to reduce American defense spending. The extent of American commitment to the Republic of Korea is under review, as are the basic policies supporting this commitment.

0643 **Negotiating with the North Koreans: The U.S. Experience at Panmunjom.**

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Reed R. Probst. May 16, 1977. 25 pp.

This paper addresses the circumstances and negotiating posture surrounding two major confrontations between the United States and North Korea—the *Pueblo*

incident of January 23, 1968 and the August 18 incident (1976). During the *Pueblo* negotiations it became apparent that the U.S. would have to accede to the North Korean conditions—a signed apology document—if it wanted the eighty-two crewmen back alive. In the 1976 negotiations the North Koreans backed down and made concessions in the Joint Security Area at Panmunjom inasmuch as the United Nations Command had photographs showing the North Korean acts of brutality and had responded with a show of military strength immediately after the incident. Negotiations over these two incidents demonstrate that the North Koreans will negotiate when threatened or when they hope to gain important concessions not otherwise available. North Korea seeks the appearance of legitimacy and respects power and force more than law and international norms of conduct. The U.S. should avoid situations where its officials may be taken hostage by the North Koreans and should at all times provide some means for documenting North Korean violations of international law.

0668 **Security Assistance to South Korea: Assessment of Political, Economic and Military Issues from 1975 to 1979.**

School of Systems and Logistics, Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. Wilhelm Bolles and Malcolm H. Perkins. September 1979. 164 pp.

Security assistance to South Korea occupies an essential position in United States foreign policy. In the time frame of 1975 to 1979, significant events transpired which affected the conduct and execution of U.S. security assistance to the Republic of Korea. In order to isolate the political, economic and military issues which contributed to the evolution of security assistance to the ROK since 1975, the authors conducted an extensive literature review which is included in the bibliography. Political, economic and military issues which affected U.S. security assistance are identified. The contributions of security assistance to: (1) political stability in the Republic of Korea, (2) economic stability and growth in the Republic of Korea, (3) strategic military balance on the Korean peninsula, and (4) regional stability in Northeast Asia are developed. The authors express opinions as to the future role of security assistance in American-Korean relations, and suggest further research in two specific areas: (1) an analysis of lessons learned in transferring U.S. quality control programs and procedures to the ROK, and (2) examination of South Korea's policy objectives regarding its defense production capacity and the extent of U.S. assistance and participation.

0836 **Arms Transfer and Security Assistance to the Korean Peninsula, 1945-1980: Impact and Implications.**

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Richard P. Cassidy. June 1980. 345 pp.

Since the Korean War, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China have sought to maintain a peaceful stability on the Korean peninsula. Their strategies oriented toward maintaining such a stability have been based on three major factors: economic aid, military assistance, and, in the case of the United States, a continued presence of military forces. The phenomena of arms transfers and security assistance have played a major role in the overall nation-state development of both Koreas; moreover, they have resulted in supplier entanglement for the three major suppliers. From the latter 1960s, these major suppliers have displayed great interest in maintaining a status quo, while

the Koreans have moved toward limited independence by developing indigenous arms industries, expanding their defense budgets, and continuing an upward economic mobility. A consequence of these developments has been a reduction in the ability of the suppliers to control or influence their client states and a possible future threat to the status quo.

SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major subjects of the four reels. The Roman numeral refers to the reel, and the Arabic numeral refers to the frame number at which a particular study begins. Hence, III: 0934 directs the researcher to the study which begins at Frame 0934 of Reel III. By referring to the Reel Index which comprises the initial section of this guide, the researcher can find the main entry for this study.

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