



The U.S.-China Era and Korea's Complex Network Strategy

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**Transformation of World Order in
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The Future of U.S.-China Relations



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I . Transformation of World Order in the 21st Century



1. The top 15 GDP in the world 2010-2015

in current billion US\$

| STATE | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2010 | 2015 |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| World | 61,781 | 65,003 | 68,701 | 72,740 | 77,132 | 81,790 |
| European Union | 16,543 | 16,925 | 17,507 | 18,139 | 18,806 | 19,482 |
| United States | 14,799 | 15,397 | 16,048 | 16,761 | 17,490 | 18,250 |
| China | 5,365 | 5,988 | 6,699 | 7,504 | 8,415 | 9,437 |
| Japan | 5,273 | 5,377 | 5,549 | 5,744 | 5,972 | 6,192 |
| Germany | 3,333 | 3,385 | 3,464 | 3,547 | 3,631 | 3,712 |
| France | 2,669 | 2,723 | 2,809 | 2,902 | 3,001 | 3,105 |
| United Kingdom | 2,223 | 2,297 | 2,416 | 2,553 | 2,696 | 2,836 |
| Italy | 2,121 | 2,159 | 2,220 | 2,280 | 2,341 | 2,406 |
| Brazil | 1,910 | 2,035 | 2,161 | 2,296 | 2,439 | 2,593 |
| Canada | 1,556 | 1,642 | 1,728 | 1,810 | 1,892 | 1,971 |
| Russia | 1,508 | 1,734 | 1,978 | 2,283 | 2,649 | 3,061 |
| Spain | 1,425 | 1,433 | 1,462 | 1,499 | 1,543 | 1,590 |
| India | 1,367 | 1,497 | 1,644 | 1,809 | 1,992 | 2,185 |
| Australia | 1,193 | 1,234 | 1,291 | 1,333 | 1,373 | 1,418 |
| Mexico | 996 | 1,066 | 1,151 | 1,235 | 1,318 | 1,398 |
| South Korea | 991 | 1,069 | 1,129 | 1,198 | 1,288 | 1,386 |

2. The top 15 military expenditures 2009

in current billion US\$

| RANK | STATE | 2009 MILITARY BUDGET | % of 2008GDP | % of WORLD MILITARY BUDGET |
|-----------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| — | World Total | 1531 | 2.7 | 100 |
| 1 | United States | 661 | 4.3 | 43 |
| 2 | China | 100 | 2.0 | 6.6 |
| 3 | France | 63.9 | 2.3 | 4.2 |
| 4 | United Kingdom | 58.3 | 2.5 | 3.8 |
| 5 | Russia | 53.3 | 3.5 | 3.5 |
| 6 | Japan | 51.0 | 0.9 | 3.3 |
| 7 | Germany | 45.6 | 1.3 | 3.0 |
| 8 | Saudi Arabia | 41.3 | 8.2 | 2.7 |
| 9 | India | 36.3 | 2.6 | 2.4 |
| 10 | Italy | 35.8 | 1.7 | 2.3 |
| 11 | Brazil | 26.1 | 1.5 | 1.7 |
| 12 | South Korea | 24.1 | 2.8 | 1.6 |
| 13 | Canada | 19.2 | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| 14 | Australia | 19.0 | 1.8 | 1.2 |
| 15 | Spain | 18.3 | 1.2 | 1.2 |

Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute(SIPRI) Yearbook 2010: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) p.203

3. The top 25 think tanks in the world

| RANK | THINK TANK | COUNTRY | RANK | THINK TANK | COUNTRY |
|------|--|---------|--|--|---------|
| 1 | Brookings Institution | US | 14 | Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars | US |
| 2 | Council on Foreign Relations | US | 15 | Amnesty International | UK |
| 3 | Carnegie Endowment for International Peace | US | 16 | Stockholm International Peace Research Institute | Sweden |
| 4 | RAND Corporation | US | 17 | Center for Global Development | US |
| 5 | Cato Institute | US | 18 | National Bureau of Economic Research | US |
| 6 | Chatham House | UK | 19 | Transparency International | Germany |
| 7 | International Institute for Strategic Studies | UK | 20 | Center for European Policy Studies | Belgium |
| 8 | Heritage Foundation | US | 21 | Center for Transatlantic Relations SAIS, Johns Hopkins | US |
| 9 | Center for Strategic and International Studies | US | 22 | Hoover Institution | US |
| 10 | Peterson Institute for International Economics | US | 23 | Human Rights Watch | UK |
| 11 | International Crisis Group | Belgium | 24 | Adam Smith Institute | UK |
| 12 | American Enterprise Institute | US | 25 | Center for Budget and Policy Priorities | US |
| 13 | World Bank Research Department | US | Source: James G. McGann, <i>The Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program 2009</i> (Think Tanks and Civil Society Programs, International Relations Program, University of Pennsylvania, January 2010) | | |

4. World Order in the 21st Century

- a. Unipolarity : United States + X
- b. Multipolarity : the rise of the rest
- c. Complexity: from balance of power
to power of balance

actor: state + network

**stage: Hard Power(M/Ec) +
Soft Power(Kn/C/En/GG)**

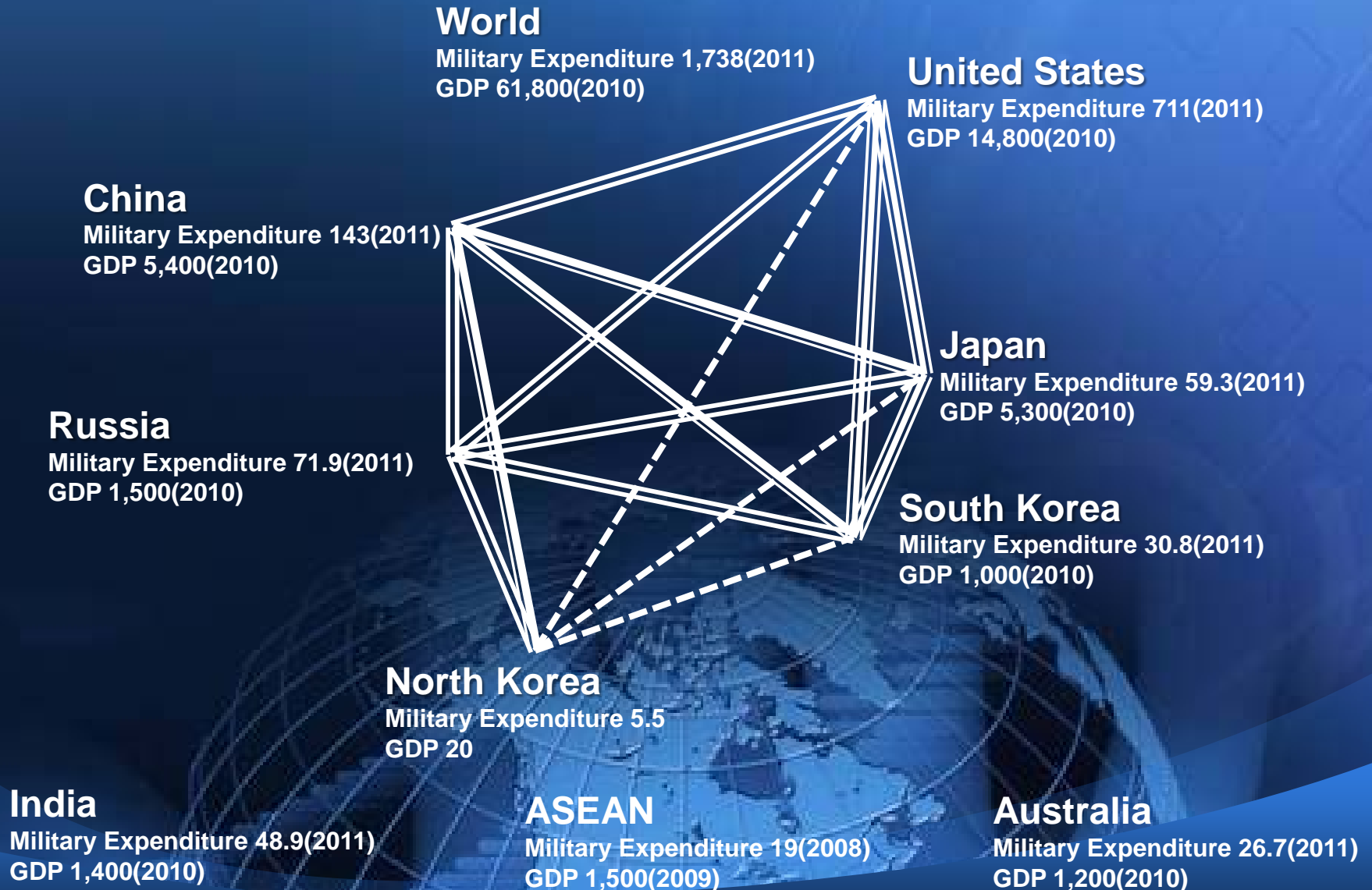
performance: conflict/cooperation/coevolution

II . The Future of U.S.-China Relations



1. Distribution of Power in East Asia

Billion US\$



2. Four different approaches

- Conflict: John J. Mearsheimer - the pursuit of regional hegemony; Yan Xuetong (阎学通) - a theory of superficial friendship (假朋友)
- Cooperation: John Ikenberry
- Constructivism: Barry Buzan
- Complexity: competition + cooperation + constructivism + coevolution of US and China

Hillary Clinton: Remarks at the Strategic and Economic Dialogue U.S. Press Conference (2012/5/4)

- the United States and China are trying to write a new answer to the age-old question of what happens when an established power and a rising power meet. And for the United States, we see this as an opportunity, not a threat. We look at the future with great optimism. And we believe that neither of us can afford to keep looking at the world through old lenses, whether it's the legacy of imperialism, the Cold War, or balance-of-power politics. Zero sum thinking will lead to negative sum results.

Hu Jintao: Promote Win-Win Cooperation and Build a New Type of Relations Between Major Countries (2012/5/4)

- We should prove that the traditional belief that big powers are bound to enter into confrontation and conflicts is wrong, and seek new ways of developing relations between major countries in the era of economic globalization.
- To follow the path of peaceful development is our strategic choice which will never change, and it is a solemn commitment China has made to the world economic globalization.
- We should approach our differences in a correct way, and respect and accommodate each other's interests and concerns.

Dai Bingguo: U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (2009/07/28)

“Core Interests” (核心利益)

- (1) Preserving China's basic state system and national security (维护基本制度和国家安全)
- (2) National sovereignty and territorial integrity (国家主权和领土完整)
- (3) The continued stable development of China's economy and society (经济社会的持续稳定发展)

III. Regional Architecture in East Asia



Hillary Clinton: America's Pacific Century (2011.10.11)

6 key lines of action

- Strengthening bilateral security alliances
- Deepening our working relationships with emerging powers, including with China;
- Engaging with regional multilateral institutions
- Expanding trade and investment
- Forging a broad-based military presence
- Advancing democracy and human rights

Dai Bingguo: Promote China-US Sound interactions in Asia Pacific (2012/5/3)

- Asia Pacific is the place where China establishes itself and pursues peaceful development.
- The building of a new type of relationship between China and the US should start from Asia Pacific.
- China and the US in Asia Pacific should uphold the following principles: first, mutual respect and mutual trust

- second, equality, mutual benefit, harmonious coexistence and common development; third, promoting the development of regional cooperation mechanisms in an open, inclusive and step by step manner; fourth, seeking common ground while reserving differences and sharing responsibilities, building security through cooperation and properly handling regional hotspot issues.



Assistant Foreign Minister Le Yucheng: The Rapid Development of China's Diplomacy in a Volatile World (2011/12/27)

- the United States has adjusted its policies toward the Asia-Pacific and increased its input in this region. Some people are thus worried and doubt if China and the US can coexist peacefully in the Asia-Pacific. Some even believe that China's surrounding environment has deteriorated. In my view, the US has never left the Asia-Pacific, so there is no "return" to speak of. China does not want to and cannot push the United States out of the Asia-Pacific. We hope the US can play a constructive role in this region, and that includes respecting China's major concerns and core interests. The Pacific Ocean is vast enough to accommodate the coexistence and cooperation between these two big countries.

Yoshihiko Noda: Policy Speech to the 178th Session of the Diet(2011.9.13)

- Deepening and developing the Japan-U.S. alliance
- Strengthening bilateral relations with neighboring countries
 - Japan-China: seeking for China to play an appropriate role befitting its responsibilities as a member of the international community with greater transparency, we will work to deepen our strategic relationship of mutual benefit
 - Japan-South Korea: strengthen relations, based on a future-oriented vision towards the next one hundred years
 - Japan and North Korea: the comprehensive resolution of the outstanding issues of concern
 - Japan-Russia: resolving the issue of the Northern Territories, and building an appropriate relationship as a partner in the Asia-Pacific region
- Linkage in a multi-polar world

Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Larov at the National Assembly (2011.6.30)

Asia-Pacific

- Strategic partners: China, ASEAN, ROK
- Nearest neighbor: Japan
- East Asia Summit
- Russian-Chinese initiative: new security system in the Asia-Pacific
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization
- Multilateral network diplomacy: BRICS

IV. Korea's Complex Network Strategy



1. Weaving five-layered networks

Spider-wolf



Simple



Double



Complex



a. Architecture of Complex Network in East Asia

① Strengthening closeness of complex US-ROK alliance

- Complex Relations of state + network
- Roles of complex alliance

Korea: to deter and defense against North Korean security threats/ to support North Korean version of peaceful development strategy

East Asia: to build the architecture of peaceful and prosperous East Asia

World: to consolidate alliance in the fields of counter-proliferation, counter-terrorism, peace-keeping, disaster and development assistance

② Developing strategic cooperative partnership with China

- Expanding complex networks with China
- Maintaining peaceful relations between South Korea and the US
- Sharing common views on the future governance of the Korean Peninsula
- Strengthening economic network including FTA
- Helping China to become a “responsible great power

③ Building complex networks between Korea & Japan

- Depoliticization of issues on Dokdo/history textbooks
- Cooperation in major and emerging stages
- Growing identity of East Asia

④ Expanding networks with Russia

⑤ Improving cooperation with India, ASEAN and Australia

b. Complex network on the Korean Peninsula

- ① First step: from military-first policy to economy-first policy
- ② Limited utility of Six-Party Talk and bilateral talks
- ③ Failure of engagement policy and sanction policy
- ④ Coevolution policy: North Korea's post-military-first policy + South Korea's collaboration with US, China, Japan, Russia, and EU for the peace and prosperity system of the Korean Peninsula and East Asia

c. Global network

Expanding global networks with EU, Middle East, Latin America, and Africa

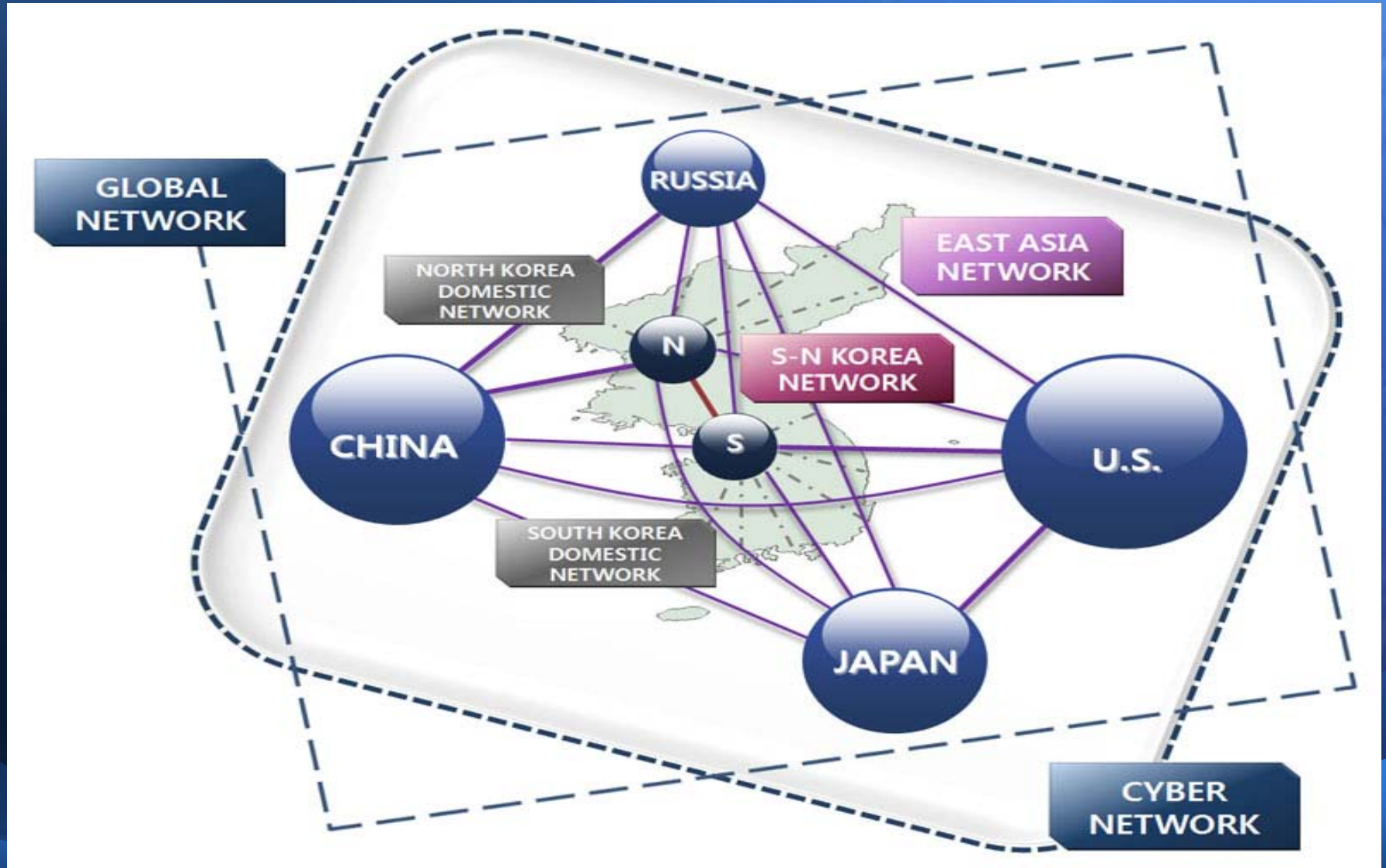
d. Cyberspace network

Enhancing network power in the cyberspace to make up for the relative weakness of hard power in East Asia

e. Domestic network

Strengthening bipartisan and social consensus for Korea's complex network strategy

Complex Networks of East Asia



2. Building three-story complex stage



a. Three-story complex stage

$$\{[(\text{Security/Economy}) + \text{Culture/Environment}] \in \text{Knowledge}\} \in \text{Politics}$$

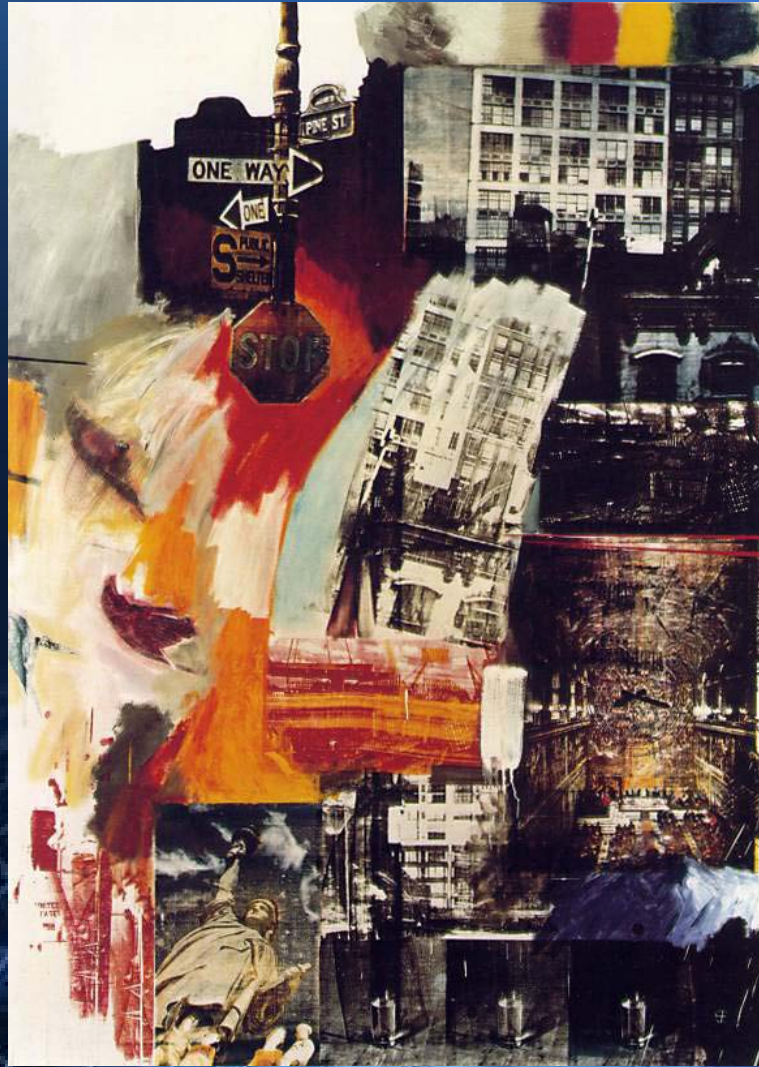
b. Major stage: common security/ co-prosperity+

Emerging stage: culture/environment

Base stage: technology/information/knowledge

Top stage: global governance

3. Complex Performance: competition, cooperation and coevolution



Robert Rauschenberg's Estate



THANK YOU!

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