

LSE MONOGRAPHS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

America's commitment to South Korea

This book diagnoses problems of power and stability in Northeast Asia by analysing the strategic rationale of the American security commitment to South Korea, and its forward base there. Since the Korean War the US—South Korean alliance had constituted a major pillar of peace and stability in the region, but with the palpable failure of US containment strategy in Indochina the alliance was exposed to renewed critical examination. The dilemma for successive United States Administrations was how to prevent the Korean situation from degenerating into another Vietnam, and yet preserve its commitment to its old ally. Military and political support were necessarily disengaged, and the Nixon Doctrine thus served as both the end and the means of containment strategy in Asia.

The purpose of this book is to identify and elucidate the principal conditions that have influenced changing American perspectives on South Korea, and to illuminate the overall intellectual and practical problems of collective security in the region as represented by the US–South Korean alliance. As Korea has become the only part of the world in which the Soviet Union, China and the United States are directly engaged, the significance of this study extends far beyond its immediate theme. The nature of the American commitment to South Korea bears directly upon the achievement, or otherwise, of peace and stability throughout East Asia and the Western Pacific.



# LSE MONOGRAPHS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

PUBLISHED FOR THE CENTRE FOR
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, LONDON SCHOOL OF
ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Editorial Board

Dr M. Leifer Professor D. C. Watt
Professor I. Nish Mr P. Windsor
Professor P. J. Wiles Dr A. Polonsky

Mr J. B. L. Mayall

The Centre for International Studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science was established in 1967 with the aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation. Its aim is to promote research and advanced training on a multi-disciplinary basis in the general field of international studies.

To this end the Centre sponsors research projects and seminars and endeavours to secure the publication of manuscripts arising out of them.

Whilst the Editorial Board accepts responsibility for recommending the inclusion of a volume in the series, the author is alone responsible for views and opinions expressed.

### ALSO IN THIS SERIES

China's Policy in Africa, 1958–1971 – Alaba Ogunsanwo

Hitler's Strategy 1940-1941: The Balkan Clue - Martin van Creveld

The Totalitarian Party: Party and People in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia - Arych L. Unger

Britain and East Asia, 1933-1937 - Ann Trotter

Britain and the Origins of the New Europe, 1914-1918 - Kenneth J. Calder

The Middle East in China's Foreign Policy, 1949-1977 - Yitzhak Shichor

The Politics of the Soviet Cinema, 1917-1929 - Richard Taylor

The End of the Post-War Era: Documents on Great-Power Relations, 1968-75 - edited by James Mayall and Cornelia Navari

Anglo-Japanese Alienation 1919–1952: Papers of the Anglo-Japanese Conference on the History of the Second World War – edited by Ian Nish

Occupation Diplomacy: Britain, the United States and Japan 1945-1952 - Roger Buckley

The Defence of Malaysia and Singapore: The Transformation of a Security System 1957-1971 - Chin Kin Wah

The Politics of Nuclear Consultation in NATO 1965-1980 - Paul Butenx

British Policy towards Greece during the Second World War 1941-1944 - Procopis Papastratis

Détente and the Nixon Doctrine: American Foreign Policy and the Pursuit of Stability 1969-1976 - Robert S. Litwak

The Second Baldwin Government and the United States, 1924–1929: Attitudes and Diplomacy – B. J. C. McKercher

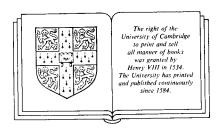


## AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO SOUTH KOREA

The first decade of the Nixon Doctrine

JOO-HONG NAM

Assistant Professor in Strategic Studies The National Defense College of Korea



#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge London New York New Rochelle Melbourne Sydney



#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521125444

© Cambridge University Press 1986

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1986
This digitally printed version 2009

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Nam, Joo-Hong, 1952-

America's commitment to South Korea.

(International studies)

Revision of thesis (doctoral) - London School of Economics and

Political Science, 1983.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

- 1. United States Foreign relations Korea (South)
- 2. Korea (South) Foreign relations United States.
- 3. United States Foreign relations 1969-1974.
- I. Title. II. Title: Nixon doctrine. III. Series: International studies

(Cambridge University Press)

E183.8.K6N35 1985 327.730519'5 85-15135

ISBN 978-0-521-26765-6 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-12544-4 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To My Late Mother



## CONTENTS

Preface Introduction		Page ix
I	THE FOUNDATION OF US SECURITY POLICY IN KOREA	ΙΙ
	I. The United States as a liberator	ΙΙ
	II. The United States as a creator	22
	III. The United States as a protector	31
	IV. Summary	46
PA	RT TWO: STRATEGY AND DOCTRINE	
2	UNLIMITED CONTAINMENT	51
	I. From the lessons of Korea to the legacy of Vietnam	5 I
	II. The Nixon Doctrine	62
	III. Summary	72
3	THE STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS FOR KOREA OF THE NIXON	
	DOCTRINE	74
	I. The evolving role of US forces in Korea	74
	II. Koreanization: alliance versus self-reliance	97
	III. Summary	106
4	THE BALANCE-OF-POWER IMPLICATIONS FOR KOREA	
•	OF THE NIXON DOCTRINE	109
	I. Sino-American detente and its impact on Korea	109
	II. Korean dialogue	123
	III. Summary	136
5	NIXON'S LEGACY: CARTER'S POLICY OF TROOP WITHDRAWAI	
	FROM KOREA	139
	I. The state of Carter's mind	139

vii



vii	i Contents	
	II. America and Korea (1): a troubled partnership	146
	III. America and Korea (2): the external dimensions	162
	IV. Summary	173
6	CONCLUSION	175
	Appendix I: Outline of U.S. military deployment in the	
	Western Pacific region	181
	Appendix II: Military strength on the Korean peninsula	182
	Notes	183
	Index	212



## **PREFACE**

For thirty-five years since the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the Korean peninsula has been a focus of East–West confrontation in Northeast Asia. Its root cause, the division of the peninsula into North and South Korea, was a direct consequence of the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The ensuing bitter doctrinal enmity and military confrontation between the two Koreas reflected conflicting interests between the US and the USSR (and the People's Republic of China – PRC). Since the armistice of 1953, a state of neither peace nor war has obtained on the Korean scene among the contending parties. The forward basing of US forces in South Korea is one symbol of the entangling conflict.

Amongst the variables that affect the peace and security of the peninsula, this study chose to emphasize the role of the American security commitment to South Korea as a key determinant. This is because the presence of sizable US forces in South Korea ever since the end of the Korean War has been the single most important factor in preventing recurrence of war between the contending Koreas. Accordingly, this study examines in particular the role of US forces in South Korea and those interests (both US domestic and international) which have pressed for and against a US military presence.

This book is a revised edition of a doctoral dissertation which was presented to the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1983. The scope of major investigation is confined to the 1970s because it was largely the legacy of Vietnam which prompted successive US Administrations to reassess the degree of American commitment to South Korea during that decade. The major problems of that commitment during the seventies arose from the attempt to reconcile the imperative of post-Vietnam military disengagement from the Asian periphery with the political necessity to preserve the alliance system because of the global rivalry with the Soviet Union.



### x Preface

The reconciliation of these seemingly contradictory priorities was sought through the Nixon–Kissinger strategy embodying the Nixon Doctrine. Carter's policy of withdrawing US troops from South Korea was a logical extension of the Nixon Doctrine, although Carter's policy emphasized more the military disengagement than the preservation of a strong alliance with South Korea.

In writing this book, I have benefited greatly from the advice and assistance of a number of individuals. I would like to acknowledge gratefully the following: my supervisors, Mr Michael Yahuda and Dr Michael Leifer of the Department of International Relations, London School of Economics, who have offered extremely valuable comments, candid evaluations, and editorial suggestions for individual chapters; my former colleagues and staff of the Harvard Centre for International Affairs, especially Professor Samuel Huntington and Professor Gene Sharp for the stimulus of many hours of conversation; Vice-Chairman Lim Chang-Wook of MI-WON Industrial Group and Lim Byung-Woon, executive director of SAE LIM Foundation, Korea, for their encouragement and support throughout the research period; and finally to my wife Mi-Sook and all the family members who have furnished spiritual sustenance in the preparation of the manuscript.