

# 제 1주제

동경의 수도기능이전은 왜 바람직하지 않은가

(Why Relocation of the Capital Functions of Tokyo is Undesirable)

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東京という都市が、日本という国全体の観点から見てその機能を最大限に発揮するためにはどういう条件を整えるべきだろうか、そういう観点から首都機能移転という政策提言を考えたいと思います。これから東京は、ソウルだとか上海だとか香港だとかシンガポールだとか、そういうアジアの大都市と競争していかざるを得ないということも考慮してお話ししたいと思います。

## I . 首都機能移転論の前提

賛成論には、基本的に3つの前提があると思います。

第一の前提は、「首都があるから東京に一極集中している」というものです。規制が強いため、民間企業は東京に本社を置かざるを得ない。これが一極集中の原因だというわけです。

第二の前提は、「一極集中は東京にとって良くない」特に、通勤混雑が激しくなり、地価が上昇するというものです。

## II . 一極集中の原因

まず、第一の「首都があるから東京に一極集中している」という前提を吟味するためには、東京がこれほど成長した理由は何かということに立ち返らなければなりません。

### A) 東京に本社をおくのは東京が首都だからか

中央官庁が規制とコントロールの権限を持っていて、それがどんどん強まっていたから東京が肥大化したんだ、という考えがあります。しかし規制とそれに伴う権限の行使はむしろ緩和されてきたというべきであろうと思います。高度成長が始まる40年前には、為替レートも、金利も、貿易も、海外からの資本投資も規制されたままでした。そういうことが全部自由になったんですね。私が学生の時はまだ貿易の自由化がやっと始まりかけた頃で、貿易は枠が決まっており、通産省が、各製鉄会社に対して、お前のところが鉄鉱石をこれだけ輸入しても良い、これだけ輸入しちゃだめだという権限を握っていました。通産省にそういう権限はもはやありません。だから、全般

的に見たら、規制とそれに伴う権限の行使はむしろ緩和されてきたというべきであろうと思います。それにも関わらず東京は集中を続けてきました。そうすると、どうも規制の強まりが一極集中の原因ではなさそうです。

事実、様々な企業に対するアンケートを見ますと、東京に本社を持っている会社のうち、東京に本社を置く最大の理由として、東京に政府があるから、ということ挙げる会社が意外と少ない。例えば、経済企画庁が1989年に、東京に本社を置く会社に“なぜ置いているか”と幾つかの理由を聞いたんですが、やっと6番目に“国などの行政機関との折衝に便利である”という理由がきた。そのうち一番多い回答は“市場や顧客の情報の収集に便利だ”というものでした。それに続いて、“仕入れや販売などの取引が楽である”とか、“優秀な人材を手に入れやすい”とかいろいろな理由があって、従って、本社を東京に置いている会社にとって、一番大きなメリットは、東京に来れば他の企業がたくさんあり、そこからたくさんの情報を早く得られる、ということです。そして極めつけは1993年に三菱総研が行ったアンケートです。

「首都機能が移転した場合に、本社を移転しますか？」という質問に対して、“本社を分割して、一部を移転する”、あるいは“全部移転する”と答えたのは404社のうち35社でした。そして“本社を全部移転します”と答えたのは2社しかなかった。つまり、東京に本社がある企業の大部分は、首都が仮にどこかに移ったとしても、東京に本社あるいは本社機能を残します。従って、東京が成長したのは東京に首都があるからだというのは間違いです。以下では、企業自身が本社を東京に設けた主観的な理由とは別の観点から、東京が成長した客観的な理由を三つばかり挙げてみたいと思います。

## B) 東京が成長した真の原因

### ① 第3次産業化

第1に、戦後日本の大都市は、東京に限らずみんなめざましく成長した、ということです。日本の政令指定都市の大多数は、戦後大変目覚ましく成長し、一方で小都市だとか田舎では人口はどんどん減少しました。それを示すのが図1のグラフです。これは1965年から1990年まで25年間（四半世紀）の景気の良いときから景気の良い時までの昼間人口をみたものです。昼間人口というのは昼間都心で働いている人たちの数ですから、単に市町村合併などで大きくなったという事が影響せず、都心で働いている人たち

の数で測った実質的な都市の規模を見ることが出来ます。これを見ると、確かに東京も84万人増えていますが、札幌も、福岡も、仙台も、神戸や京都も伸びているんですね。減っているところは二つしかなくて、基本的にはこういう政令指定都市、あるいは地方中枢都市は戦後大きく伸びたんです。これは、産業構造が第三次産業化すなわちサービス産業化して、そうして大都市が伸びていった、言ってみれば多極集中という現象が起きた。そのことの一つの反映として東京が伸びたというふうに見ることが出来ます。巨大な都市はますます巨大になっていった、東京もたまたま大きかったからその一環として大きくなった、そういう面がこの図からは読みとれるわけです。他の地方の都市がすべて小さくなって東京だけが突出したのではありません。これは非常に重要なポイントであろうと思います。この期間日本全体が都市化しました。それは産業構造の変化に対応したものだと言うことが出来ます。

## ② 都市間交通費の低下

第2に、そうはいってもやはり東京の特殊事情というものはあります。先程のグラフを見ると分かるんですが、このグラフを見ると衰退した都市、人口が減った都市が二つあります。北九州市と大阪市、この2都市です。北九州市というのは鉄鋼中心の町でしたから、鉄鋼の衰退と共に人口が減っていったという側面があります。しかしそれより大きいのは、北九州というのは福岡と非常に隣接しているんですね。新幹線で20分、そして日本の新幹線の2駅間では最大の乗客数を誇る、横浜と東京よりも一日の乗客数が多い区間です。しかもそこには割引券があって安いんですね。通勤のために新幹線の料金が特別に安い割引もある。だから福岡と北九州は実質的に一つの都市みたいなものですね。従って北九州市というのは言ってみれば福岡市の伸びに吸収されたんだといえる側面がある。すなわち、大都市内の人口移動と見なせるので、これは例外的です。

すると、最大の問題は大阪です。神戸も京都も増えていきますから、近畿が減っているわけではないのに、大阪が減っているんです。これは何を意味するのでしょうか。大阪も大都市である以上、第三次産業化の流れに沿って、当然都市化の影響を受けて昼間人口は増えたはずですが。しかしそれを相殺するくらい大きな減少要因があったと考えなければいけない。その減少要因はなんだったかということ、私が思うには大阪の本社機能の喪失です。大阪というのは戦後、高度成長が始まる頃くらいまでは西日本の経済圏の中心として多くの一流企業の本社があったところです。それが高度成長期を機に本社が

続々と東京に移転してしまいました。もちろん今でも、日本生命や住友銀行などのように、本社が大阪にある会社はありますが、そのような会社の重役や経営陣はほとんど東京にいて、たまに大阪に顔を出す、という具合に、実質的には本社機能は東京に移しています。その理由は何かということなんです。

この理由は端的に言って、都市間交通費の低下が大きな原因であると思います。高度成長が始まる前は、東京と北九州との間の鉄道がだいたい18時間かかったんですね。旅客設備も良くなって疲れ果てて移動していました。そういう状況で、九州や四国から東京の本社に頻繁に行くということは、容易なことではありません。すると、九州の会社にとって、大阪に本社があるならば夜行に乗らずに済むし、ちゃんと8時間程度で着く。このように、交通に大変な時間がかかり、交通の費用もかかった時代に、大阪が西日本の経済圏の中心として本社機能を引き受けていたというのは、言ってみれば当然のことであったと思います。東京ではあまりに遠すぎて本社機能を果たしにくいし、逆に、東京本社の人が地方の支社に出かけていく場合にも大変な時間的・金銭的費用が伴った。ところがご存知のように、新幹線や飛行機が発達して、東京と地方の間の行き来は日帰りで行えるようになりました。一泊をするにしても昔に比べたら楽に出来る。そうするとわざわざ大阪に本社を構えておく必要はない。全部東京に直接行けばそれで済んでしまいます。従って交通費の低下ということが、日本に二つの本社機能都市を置いておくことを無駄にしてしまったと言えます。戦後は大阪から東京へと本社が移っていき、結局は大阪だけが他の中枢都市を後目に衰退していった、ということが言えると思うんです。

そうしますと第二の理由というのは、言ってみれば第一の理由が東京を特別視しなかったのに対して、第二の理由は東京を特別視する。一般的な都市化の流れの上に東京だけ特別に集中する理由があったということが言えると思います。

### ③ 集積の利益

第三に、特に大都市には集積の利益があるということです。一度何らかの理由で都市が大きくなってしまえば、その都市は雪だるま式にますます大きくなる、という傾向があります。それは何故かということ、都市の基本的な機能は、人々が日頃FACE TO FACEでコンタクトすることで、他の企業や取引先から様々な情報を早く大量に手に入れることを可能にする所にあるんです。

ね。そういう情報を手に入れるためには、多くの企業が濃密に集中している都市のほうが能率は良くなります。それができるといことが都市の魅力であるならば、それを目的としてますます多くの企業が集積してくるようになります。

例えば香港では、セントラルと呼ばれるオフィス街にビルが集中していますから、ビジネスやパーティーなどでたくさんの人に会えますし、その分たくさん情報を早く得ることが出来ます。このような機能が発達している香港というのは、都市として非常に優秀であると言えます。

大手町のオフィス賃料は、渋谷の倍です。オフィスを渋谷から大手町に移すといった場合コストがかかるわけです。しかし、その一方で、大手町では、従業員の時間が節約できるというメリットがあります。すなわち、より多くのお客さんに会え、仕事ははかどりますから給料のロスも無くなります。具体的に申しますと、例えば機関投資家を顧客としている外資系の投資銀行にとって大手町のビルに立地することも利点は、次の通りです。まず同じビルの中に多くの会社があるから、同じビルの中でかなりの仕事ができるでしょう。周りには日本の大企業がほとんどあるので、歩いてお得意先廻りが出来る。また地下鉄が5本真下に通っていて、都心から多少離れたところでもすぐに行くことができる。すると、会えるお客さんの量がまるっきり違ってきます。朝一番の情報を携えてセールスマンが大きな機関投資家の所に売り込みに出かけていく。そうすると、大きな買い物をする機関投資家にとっても、ストック・アナリストに直接質問出来るわけですから、お互いに仕事の能率が上がります。ストック・アナリストは高給取りですから、取引や移動に時間がかかると、その分給料を無駄にしていることになるんです。都心にオフィスを構えると、そのような無駄を省くことが出来ます。

これを計量的に測定することが出来ます。すなわち、従業員の時間が何円分節約できれば、渋谷から大手町に移ることがペイするかを、いろいろな想定をした上で測定してみますと、だいたい一日40分時間が節約できればペイします。だから、それ以下しか時間が節約できない業種は渋谷にいれば良いんですが、先程の外資系の投資銀行のように、非常に多くの人と会って多くの情報をやりとりする必要がある業種は、明らかに移った方が良いという結果が得られます。そのようなことが出来るのが大都市の集積の利益です。つまり、情報を得る、という集積の利益を享受するためには、大きくなればなるほど良いんだということが言えると思うんです。

それから、ある程度大きな都市には、例えば国際法務や国際会計事務という

ものが商売として成り立つようになります。これは、例えば福岡や札幌では都市の規模が小さいからそういう業務は出来ないのですが、東京でならそのようなオフィス・サービスをする業種がやっていける余地がある、ということです。コンピュータのサポートもそうです。すなわち、オフィス機能をサポートする業種が大都市にはできてきます。

さらに、交通の便が違ってきます。全国との行き来が多くなると飛行機や電車の頻度が非常に高くなる。頻度が高いということは非常に重要です。例えば大阪のオフィスで午後3時過ぎまで仕事をして、それから4時半ぐらいの飛行機に乗ると、東京都心での午後7時の会議に出ることができます。そのまま一泊して朝一番の大阪行きの飛行機に乗ると、8時半に大阪のオフィスに戻ることができる。だから、それほど時間を無駄にはしていないわけですね。こんなことが出来るのも交通の頻度が高いからです。ぎりぎりまで地方のオフィスで仕事をしたあと、飛行機に飛び乗って東京に行く、ということが、全国から東京に対しては出来るんですね。だから交通の集中ということが、ますます東京に本社を置くことを有利にします。

まとめると、東京の成長の原因というのは基本的に三つに分けることができます。一つは全ての大都市がエンジョイした第三次産業化の流れを東京もまた受けたこと、第二は都市間交通費の低下を理由として本社機能が大阪から東京に移ったこと、第三にそういうきっかけがいつぺんあるとますます集中してしまうという集積の利益があることです。

もちろん東京に政府があることも、一種のオフィス・サービス企業があるようなもので、役に立った側面はあるのですが、決して決定的なものではない。そう考えてくると、ニューヨークや、オーストラリアのシドニーだとかメルボルンが、首都でもないのに大都市として成立している理由がおわかり戴けると思います。

### Ⅲ. 一極集中の弊害への対策

#### A) 集積の弊害：混雑と地価

集積には、上で述べたように利益がある一方で、弊害があると言われます。

集積の弊害の代表的なものが「混雑」と「地価の高騰」です。

この二つの弊害は、密接に関連しています。需要量が供給量を超えているの

に、それを調整するメカニズムがまったくないとき混雑現象が発生します。電車が通勤ピーク時に押し合いへしあいになっているのがその状況です。ここで、東京都が管轄している日比谷公園を例にとりましょう。まず、都が日比谷公園はもう要らないので、皆さん自由に使ってください、と言ったとします。そうするとホームレスの人だけでなく、あらゆる人たちが殺到し、大混乱するでしょう。

それに対して、都が日比谷公園を入札で最高値を入れたところに落札させる、つまり価格メカニズムを導入して需給調整をしたらどうなるか。日比谷公園の土地を最も有効活用する多くの企業が集めた不動産会社が落札し、そこにビルを建てるでしょう。先ほどの混雑とはまったく違った状況が現れます。つまり需要と供給のギャップが価格メカニズムによって調整されると、土地が有効利用されます。

したがって、集積がもたらす二つの弊害のうち、「混雑」は資源配分を不効率にするが、「地価の高騰」は効率化します。

ただし、地価によって需給調整がされた結果、最終的に儲けたのは東京都、つまり地主です。その利益の源泉は、非常に効率的に働くテナントの高い生産性です。しかし、高い生産性による利益の多くは、地主が手に入れてしまう。これが、都市の基本的な仕組みです。政府が何もしなければ、地主は濡れ手に粟であるため、地価上昇を人工的に抑えこもうとする政治的圧力が働きます。しかし、都市の地主の儲けを、税制で回収するような仕組みを作るとは可能です。また、土地の証券化によって、多くの人が都心の土地を共有することも可能です。

先ほどの日比谷公園の例のように、地価を上げなければ、土地は有効利用されません。ですから地価を抑えるようなことはすべきではありません。むしろ、価格機構を利用することを前提として、土地税制や証券化の制度を整えるべきでしょう。

## B) ピークロード・プライシング

混雑解消の手段として、60万人の人口を新首都に移しても、問題が解決するはずがありません。なぜかという、新首都を作るための財源として、東京都心の政府の持っていた土地の売却益を充てるわけですが、それを買った企業がそこにオフィスを建てれば当然社員が通勤してくるからです。したがって首都が出ていったからといって都心への通勤混雑は減りません。もしそれを民間の会社に売らないで公園などにするならば、混雑は緩和されるか

も知れないですが、土地の売却益を充てられないため、巨額の移転費用がかかってしまいます。

価格機能を用いた混雑の解決方法としては、ピークロード・プライシング（PEAK LOAD PRICING）が決定的な方法だと思います。これは、混雑はある時間帯の幅に集中しているわけですから、その鉄道料金を非常に高くし、混んでない時間帯の料金を安くするという方法です。例えば、ワシントンD.C.の地下鉄では、料金支払いはプリペイドカードで行うため、ある通勤時間帯に改札を通ると非常に高く差っ引かれるし、その時間帯が終わると安くなるという方法で行われています。それから、ロンドンの郊外電車なんかでは、車掌さんがまわって来てピークロードの時は高い料金を、オフピークの時は安い料金を徴収します。フランクフルトでも行われています。しかし、東京ではやっていません。東京では、実は混雑時は皆さん通勤定期で乗っていますから、逆に普通より安く乗っていることになります。

ただし、単にピークの時間帯を高くすることだけでは、混雑は効果的には減りません。例えば、東京駅にみんなが出てくる時間として、8時から9時がラッシュアワーで、8時半がピークだとします。時間毎に通勤者の密度をグラフにすると、8時から9時の1時間が他の時間帯より高く、その中でも8時半の時が一番高くなります。この時に、8時から9時の時間帯全域に均一にピーク料金をかけると、どういうことが起きるでしょうか。

8時過ぎに通勤していた人は、それまでより早起きをして8時前に東京駅に出てくるようになるでしょう。それから9時前に東京駅を出ていた人は、ちょっと遅らせて9時直後に出ていく、ということになります。ところが、まさに混雑を解消したい時間帯である8時半の人は、いくら安くたって30分も早起きするのは嫌だ、また彼らの始業時間は恐らく9時でしょうから、それ以上遅い電車にシフトすると遅刻してしまうからダメだ、となります。すなわち、肝心のピークがシフトしてくれません。だから課金は、8時から9時の間、などのように大ざっぱに行うのではなく、より細かく5分おきぐらいに料金を変える必要があります。5分おきに変えると、このピークの人たちは、出勤を5分早くするか5分遅くするので、その時間帯の混雑は減ります。その前後の時間帯の人達は、ピーク時から移ってきた人達で混雑が増えますから、やはり少し時間帯をずらして出勤しようとしています。他の時間帯でも同じ様なことが起こります。すると、8時から9時の通勤者全員が少しずつ出勤時間を調節することで、時間毎の通勤者密度のグラフは、課金前より低くなだらかな山になります。時間帯を細かく区切って料金にバリエー

ションをつけ、それによってピーク時の通勤者のシフトを促す、というこの方法は、今ではプリペイドカードで簡単に出来るようになりました。

これに対して、日本では無理だ、日本ではみんな会社が通勤手当を払っているから自分の負担にはならないじゃないか、という反論があります。

しかし、その場合でも効果はあります。例えば、安い時間帯のうちに早く出勤して、駅の周りで靴を磨いてもらったり本屋に行ったり朝飯を食べたりしていれば、プリペイドカードを貯めることができます。

現在、多くの会社が時差出勤を自主的にやろうとしています。ピークロードプライシングが実現すれば、企業にとっても大きな動機づけができると思います。従来通り、ピーク時に始業する企業は、非常に高い通勤手当を払わなくてはなくなるからです。

ピークロードプライシングが行われると、例えば渋谷に早く着いた分、駅の近くで朝食をとったり、スポーツクラブに行ったり、靴を磨いたり、あるいは本屋さんも早く開店するところも増えるでしょう。とにかく、朝の街が賑やかになると思います。

一方、オフピークの料金は極端に安くできるわけですから、郊外に住む奥さんたちがどんどん都心に買い物に行きますし、郊外に住む高齢者たちも街に出てくるのが簡単になって、街が賑わってきます。

また、ピーク時の高い通勤手当を払うのがいやな会社は出ていくことになります。結局地価の調整と同じように都市の混雑解消の機能を果たします。

ただ、総括原価主義の料金規制の下では、ピークロードプライシングを採用することは、鉄道会社にとってのメリットになりません。総括原理主義は修正する必要があります。ピーク時の料金の設定は自由にして、そこから儲けた分の例えば8割ぐらゐはオフピーク料金の低下かピーク時の輸送力の増大のために使う、しかし残りの2割は鉄道会社のものにしてください、というようなインセンティブをつけて、各社にやっていただくというのが良いのではないかと思います。

### C) 容積率規制の限界と都心居住

ピークロードプライシングは、都市の通勤混雑に対するファーストベストの対策です。

セカンドベストの対策は、都心のビルに入っている企業の従業員数に応じて、特別事業所税をかけることです。しかし、そうすれば確かに都心企業は従業員数を抑制しますが、特にピーク時の混雑を抑制することはできません。

ん。

もし、この対策もできないとするならば、サードベストの方法として、雇用者数にかかわらず床面積を制限してしまうということが考えられます。これが、現在採用している容積率規制をするという混雑制御手段です。

ただし、容積率規制には、通勤時間を調整させる力がありません。さらに、比較的雇用者の少ない、例えばサーバーだけを置いている会社やストレージサービスなどの会社も、都心から追い出してしまうという副作用もあります。

ところで、現行の容積率規制には、もっと大きな弊害があります。それは、オフィス用の規制容積率を、都心の住宅にまで適用したことによって発生しています。もともとの容積率規制の目的が、通勤混雑を減らすということであれば、むしろマンションの容積率は緩和し、都心建設を奨励すべきです。ニューヨークに比べて、東京で都心の居住が非常に少ない根本的な理由は、この容積率規制です。混雑対策として、サードベストの政策手段である容積率規制を採用せざるを得ないにしても、住宅に関しては容積率規制を撤廃すべきです。

しかし、それでは都心に住宅ばかりできてしまって、肝心のオフィス床面積が今度は減ってしまうという恐れがあります。それを防ぐ方法があります。例えば容積率が1,000パーセントの所に、住居用の緩和によって1,500パーセントのマンションができたとした場合、そこに立ち得たはずのオフィス用の容積率1,000はその地区内で転売できるようにするのです。そうすれば、その地区のなかでオフィス用の床面積は減りません。マンションがどんどんできてくる一方で、その地区のオフィスの床面積全体は前のまま保たれるわけです。

もちろん、都心に住宅が増えたとき何もしなければ道路は混雑します。しかし、工夫はあるのではないかと思います。

例えばロンドンでは、簡易型のロードプライシングをやっています。特定のステッカーをつけた車だけが都心地区に昼間に出入りできるようにし、カメラで車両ナンバーを撮影して、一定の時間内に許可なしに入ってきた自動車には後で課金をする、ということをやっています。

それから、丸の内のような繁華街では電気バスを頻繁に運行して、料金は無料にし、しかも2分間隔ぐらいで循環運行させる。そうすることによって非常に厳しい自動車の制限をすることが可能になってきます。その際、高層ビルやマンションの固定資産税を財源にすれば料金を無料にできると思いま

す。

## IV. 結論

以上の議論から、冒頭で指摘した首都機能移転論者の2つの前提は、正しくない事が示されました。

第一に、東京が一極集中した理由として、首都が東京にあるからだということとは全く正しくない。

第二に、東京に一極集中するということはそれ自体が悪いことだと言うわけですが、実は一極集中するというのはそれなりの理由があるわけです。その弊害として挙げられる混雑に関しては、効果的な対策方法があるにも関わらず全く行われていないだけである。従って混雑対策として首都移転をしようというのも見当違いの対策ではないかと思えます。

This report will discuss the policy proposal of relocating the capital functions mainly focusing on what aspects will have to be reformed to enable Tokyo to fully exert its function in the context of Japan as a whole. It will also be carried out in light of the fact that Tokyo has no choice but to compete with other metropolises in Asia including Seoul, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore.

## I. Preconditions of the Relocation of the Capital Functions Argument

The supporting argument is based on mainly two preconditions. First, unipolarization is occurring in Tokyo because it is where the administrative capital is located. It is stated that the reason for such heavy unipolarization is stringent regulation that makes it inevitable for private companies to have headquarters in Tokyo.

Second, unipolarized concentration is detrimental for Tokyo, in particular because of severe congestion during commuting hours and rise in land prices.

## II. Cause of Unipolarization

In order to think over the first condition "unipolarization is occurring in Tokyo because it is where the administrative capital is located", we must survey the reason why Tokyo was able to grow until now.

### A) Are Main Offices Located in Tokyo Because it is the Capital?

It has been widely recognized that the regulation and control of central administrative institutions and offices and the strengthening of them have attributed to the over-expansion of Tokyo. However,

quite the contrary, regulations and control have been eased. Four decades ago when the economy started to rapidly develop, foreign exchange, interest rate, trade and foreign capital investment were regulated, but now they have been liberalized. At the time when I was attending school, trade liberalization was just initiated and trade volume limits existed. For instance, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry(MITI) had the authority to control the limit of import volume of iron ore of individual iron manufacturing companies. Nowadays, the MITI does not have such authority. Therefore, viewed in a broader sense, regulation and the authority ensuing it have been loosened. Nonetheless, concentration in Tokyo has continued and this reflects that strengthened regulation is not one of the reasons for the unipolarization.

According to questionnaires used to survey various companies, among those that have main offices in Tokyo, surprisingly few replied that the biggest reason they located their main office in Tokyo was because the Executive branch was there. For example, in 1989, when the Economic Planning Agency of Japan asked companies that had head offices in Tokyo several reasons to "Why was the main office placed in Tokyo?", the answer because "It is convenient to collaborate with government agencies that represent the Administration" ranked only sixth. The number one reason was "It is convenient to gather information on the market or customers", followed by "Transactions including purchasing or selling are convenient" or "It is easy to recruit talented workers" and other numerous reasons. Therefore, the biggest advantage that a company has by locating their main office in Tokyo is obtaining information rapidly from other numerous companies that have advanced into Tokyo.

One of the most significant materials is the survey conducted by Mitsubishi Research Institute in 1993. Among the 404 companies that were asked "If the capital function is relocated, will the main office

be relocated?, only 33 companies replied “The main office will be divided and then relocated” and 2 companies responded that “The main office as a whole will be relocated.” In other words, the majority of companies that have headquarters in Tokyo will still have the main office or the main office function intact in Tokyo even if the capital is relocated.

In this regard, it is incorrect to say that the growth of Tokyo is resulted from the fact that it is a capital. In the following, three objective reasons why Tokyo was able to grow will be stated, which is a different point of view from the subjective reason companies placed their head offices in Tokyo.

## B) The Real Reason of Tokyo's Growth

### ① Third Wave of Industrialization

After World War II, not only Tokyo but other large cities achieved remarkable growth. Most of the the cities nominated by the Japanese Government grew dramatically after the war, but the population in small towns or rural areas gradually decreased. This is displayed in Diagram 1. It shows the observation results of the day-time population when the market was booming for 25 years from 1965 to 1990. Day-time population refers to the number of people working in the city during the day. Regardless from the enlargement attributable to the integration of towns and districts, the real size of the city can be seen by identifying the number of people working in downtown.

This shows that although 840 thousand people definitely increased in Tokyo, the population in Sapporo, Fukuoka, Sendai, Kobe and Kyoto also increased. Only two places are experiencing decline but the population of this kind of cities nominated by the government or central cities of regions largely grew after the war. It is due to the

third industrialization, that is service industrialization, and this promoted the growth of large cities. This was also because of a phenomena referred to as multipolar concentration. The increase of the population in Tokyo also reflects such phenomena. It can be seen in the diagram that according to the logic that large cities become increasingly larger, since Tokyo was a huge city, it continuously expanded. It is not that cities in other regions grew smaller and only Tokyo became to stand out. I believe this is a very important point. In this period, Japan as a whole was urbanized and this was in response to the changes in the industrial structure.

## ② Drop in Transportation Costs Between Cities

If the above stated reason is more general, the second reason is based on the unique circumstance of Tokyo. As it can be seen in the previous graph, two cities Kitakushu and Osaka went through change: was deserted and the other had a decrease in population. Kitakushu was a city centered around steel and thus, the decline of the steel industry was in part responsible for the drop in the population. However, the more significant reason was that Kitakushu was very adjacent to Fukuoka. It only takes 20 minutes by Shinkansen between Kitakushu and Fukuoka. The number of passengers between the two stations per day exceed that between Yokohama and Tokyo, which boasts the highest number of passengers between two stations. Moreover, a discount pass is applied here and there are even Shinkansen discount passes that have low rates for commuters. Therefore, it can be said that Kitakushu was absorbed into the growth of Fukuoka. This can be considered as migration of the population within a metropolis and is exceptional.

The more serious case is Osaka. The population in Kobe and Kyoto increased and the population in the Kinki prefecture that the two cities are included did not decrease. Yet, only Osaka experienced a drop in population. What does this mean? Osaka is also a metropolis

and therefore the day-time population must have increased due to urbanization in line with the third wave of industrialization.

However, there must have been a reduction cause to offset such increase. In my view, the drop was brought about by the disappearance of the main office function of Osaka. Before the economy started to grow rapidly in the post-war times, Osaka was the pivot of the economy of West Japan and numerous head offices of leading companies were located here. However with the advent of the high growth period of the economy, main offices were gradually moved to Tokyo. Of course even now there are companies like Japan Life and Sumimoto Bank, that have main offices in Osaka but executives and directors of the companies are mostly in Tokyo and only come to Osaka from time to time, the reasons for such phenomena are examined as follows.

The prominent cause is the drop in transportation cost between cities. Before the booming growth of the economy, it took generally 18 hours by train between Tokyo and Kitakushu. Facilities for passengers were poor, leaving them no choice but to travel in fatigue. In this regard, it is not an easy task to go back and forth from the main office in Tokyo to Kyushu or Shikoku. Thus, from the point of view of the company in Kyushu, if the main office is in Osaka, there is no need to ride the night train and the destination can be reached in about eight hours. In this sense, it is no surprise that Osaka was able to undertake the main office function as the center of the economy of West Japan in times when a lot of time was wasted in transportation and the transportation cost was high. Even in cases where the main offices were located in Tokyo because the distance was too far away, the time and financial cost business trips to branches in other regions were considerably high.

However, thanks to the development of the Shinkansen and planes, the round trip between Tokyo and other regions could be done in a day. Also, spending a night became more convenient compared to the

past. Thus, there was no need to locate a main office in Osaka. And they could go directly to Tokyo. Consequently, the decrease in transportation cost left having two cities in Japan with main office functions a waste. Thus, it can be said that the transfer of main offices in Osaka to Tokyo after the war attributed to the decline of Osaka.

While the first reason does not consider Tokyo in a special sense, the second reason does. There has to be a special reason that the population especially increased only in Tokyo amidst the trend of general urbanization,

### ③ Benefit of Agglomeration

Third, especially for metropolises, there is the benefit of agglomeration. When a city grows due to a certain reason, it has a tendency to continuously expand. The main reason was found to be the basic function of a city. Because people are in contact with each other everyday, a lot of companies are clustered together concentrated in a city to receive massive and diverse information from other companies or partners. This increases the efficiency of the city. If enabling this to be possible is the appeal of a city, more and more companies will agglomerate for this purpose.

For example, buildings are concentrated in the office street called Central in Hong Kong, enabling a lot of people to meet for business or parties and this makes it easier to acquire more information quickly. Hong Kong is an advanced place in this sense and is a truly outstanding city.

The office rental fee in Otemachi is twice of that in Shibuya. It is no doubt that moving an office from Shibuya to Otemachi will incur cost. However, the advantage of being in Otemachi is that time can be saved for employees. That is, loss in wages can be reduced because

employees can meet with more customers and it is easier for them to carry out their work.

For example, it is beneficial for foreign capital investment banks that have institutional investors as customers to be located in the building in Otemachi for the following reasons. First, many companies are in the same building so a lot of work can be done within the building. Numerous conglomerates of Japan are located near the area, so just taking a walk around the neighborhood could get the work done. In addition, five subway lines pass through the area, making it easy to go to places that are somewhat distant from downtown. This makes the number of customers they can meet directly incomparable to other places. The most up-to-date information can be prepared in the morning and salesman can go out to make sales to large institutional investors. It will also be convenient for institutional investors who have to make large volumes of purchase transactions to directly ask stock analysts, increasing the work efficiency for both sides. Stock analysts receive high wages and if a lot of time is wasted in transactions or moving from one place to another, it will bring a great loss in wages. Therefore, if the office is in the downtown area, this kind of loss can be saved.

The benefit can be gauged in a measurable way. If we look into how much money can be saved by preventing the loss of time of employees, measured based on various suppositions, the money equal to a trip from Shibuya to Otemachi that generally takes forty minutes daily, will be saved. A type of business that would not benefit from saving such amount of time would be located in Shibuya. But for businesses like the foreign capital investment banks mentioned before, that need to meet a lot of people to exchange information, it is definitely more conducive to move to Otemachi. The reason this can be possible is due to the benefit of agglomeration of large cities. To enjoy the benefit of agglomeration in the sense of acquiring information, it would be more beneficial the bigger the city

gets.

In addition, in a relatively large city, category of business like international legal affairs and international accounting can come into existence to become a type of business. For instance, cities like Fukuoka or Sapporo are small in scale, so these kinds of occupations cannot exist, but for Tokyo, there is much room for office service businesses like this to survive. This is the same for occupations that provide support for computers. In short, businesses that assist offices can operate in large cities.

Moreover, the frequency of various transportation modes is different from other cities. If the traffic increases from all parts of the nation, the frequency of planes or trains increase greatly. High frequency is very important. For example, a person can work till over three o'clock in the afternoon in an office in Osaka, get on a flight at about four-thirty and still make it to a seven o'clock meeting in downtown Tokyo. He or she can go to work in Osaka by eight-thirty a.m. after spending a night and taking an early return flight in the morning. This means that time can be saved. All of this is possible because of the high frequency rate of transportation. Working until the office hours end and then taking a flight to Tokyo is possible anywhere in Japan. Thus, the concentration of transportation has gradually made the location of main offices in Tokyo more beneficial.

In a nutshell, there are three main reasons for Tokyo's growth. First, like all other big cities, Tokyo experienced the third wave of industrialization. Second, main office functions moved from Osaka to Tokyo with the drop in transportation cost between cities. Third, due to increased concentration, the benefit of agglomeration emerged. Of course, like office assisting businesses, the location of the Administration in Tokyo can be in some aspects beneficial but it is definitely not the most decisive reason. In this view, one can understand how New York or Sydney and Melbourne, Australia all

came into being though they are not capital cities.

### III. Counter Measures for the Adverse Effects from Unipolarization

#### A) Adverse Effects from Agglomeration : Congestion and Land Price

As aforementioned, agglomeration has its benefit but it is also known to entail adverse effects. The most prominent detrimental effects are congestion and rise in land prices.

The two are closely related to each other. Congestion occurs when the demand exceeds supply but there is no mechanism to adjust the discrepancy. A case in point of congestion would be the crammed subways during the peak commuting hours where pushing people into the trains would fulfill the demand.

I would like to use Hibiya Park that is managed by the Tokyo prefecture as an example. Let's assume that the Tokyo prefecture announced that Hibiya Park is no longer necessary and asked everyone to use it freely. Then, not only the homeless but also all kinds of people will pour into the park to use it will create an maelstrom.

If the Tokyo prefecture were to put the Hibiya Park on bid and the park will be knocked down to the company with the highest bidding, in other words, if the price mechanism is adopted to adjust demand, then what will happen? To most efficiently use the land of the Hibiya Park, a real estate company that consists of mergers between many companies will win the bid and construct buildings. A case totally different from the congestion that was previously mentioned happens. If the gap in supply and demand is adjusted by the price mechanism, land can be utilized efficiently.

Therefore, among the two detrimental effects of agglomeration, congestion makes resource allocation inefficient but the rise in land price makes it efficient. However, as the result of the supply and demand adjustment by land price, the party that makes the money in the end is the Tokyo prefecture, the land owner. The source of the income is the high productivity from the efficiently moving tenants, but most of the return from the high productivity will go to the land owner. This is the basic structure of a city. If the Government does not do anything, the land owners will be making unearned income, and thus political pressures will exist to artificially control the price of land. This is why systems are made to retrieve the revenue of the land owners of the city through the tax system. Also, through securitization, a lot of people can share land in downtown.

As mentioned previously in the example of the Hibiya Park, if the land price does not rise, it cannot be used efficiently. Therefore, restricting land price should be avoided. On the precondition of using a price mechanism, systems like land tax system or securitization should be put in place.

## **B) Peak Load Pricing (Pricing higher prices during peak hours)**

Simply relocating 600 thousand people to a new capital will not alleviate congestion. To secure the financial resources to build the new capital, income from the sales of the land owned by the Government in downtown Tokyo has to be used. When the company that bought the land builds an office there, naturally the employees will commute to the place. Thus, capital relocation will not necessarily eliminate the traffic congestion in downtown. If the land is not sold to a private company and is turned into a park, it may alleviate the congestion, but if the return from the sales of the land is not secured, high relocation cost should be financed in other ways.

I believe that peak load pricing is the decisive solution to resolve congestion using the price mechanism. Because congestion is concentrated at a certain time of the day, the basic method is to impose high fares during rush hours when congestion occurs and low fares during the normal hours. For example, pre-paid cards are used in the subway in Washington D.C. During commuting hours, the fare will be highly priced when the passenger passes through the gate but will be priced cheaper when the commuting hours are over. In the subway of the suburbs of London, a conductor will collect higher fares during rush hours and lower fares non-rush hours and it is equally true in Frankfurt. However, this is not how it is in Tokyo, because even during the peak hour, commuters use the commuter Pass, so they are able to take a ride that is cheaper than regular hours.

Nevertheless, simply pricing higher fares during peak hours will not efficiently reduce congestion. For instance, if the rush hour of Tokyo Station is from eight to nine o'clock, let's say that the peak hour is eight-thirty. When the density of commuters of every hour is put into a graph, one hour between eight and nine will be higher than other time ranges and within the hour, eight-thirty will be the highest. What would happen is a peak fare is equally applied to the whole time range from eight to nine?

A person that used to go to work after eight would get up earlier and will try to get to Tokyo Station before eight. And a person who got to the Tokyo Station before nine would start for work later than usual and depart home a little after nine. Unfortunately, the people that commute during eight-thirty, which is the peak time that was originally the target to ease congestion, will dislike getting up thirty minutes earlier no matter how cheaper the fare is and probably because their office hours start at nine, they will not use the trains after the peak hour because they will be late for work. In short, the most primarily considered people that move during the peak hour will

not be influenced. Therefore, the higher priced fares should not be imposed roughly between eight to nine but more specifically in five-minute units. Then, commuters during the peak hour will either move five minutes earlier or five minutes later, alleviating congestion during the time frame. And because the commuters during the peak hour will spill over to the time range before or after what they usually opted for, the original people in that time zone will naturally change the time range they go to work and this kind of change will occur in different time slots. As a result, all the commuters of the eight to nine time range will slightly change the time they commute, and the graph showing the density of commuters will be lower and more gentle than the graph before imposing higher fares in detailed time frames. The method of giving changes to fares according to different detailed time frames to promote the transfer of commuters to different hours can be solved easily with a pre-paid card.

There are arguments in Japan that refute this system, claiming that it will be impossible to implement it in Japan because commuting allowance are given to workers, they do not feel that the money is coming out of their own pockets. But, even in this case, it can be effective. For example, commuters can move during cheaper hours and go to work earlier to have their shoes shined near the subway station or stop by a bookstore and they can save on their pre-paid card.

Given the fact that a lot of companies are currently trying to voluntarily implement differentiating office attendance hours, if the peak load pricing system is realized, it will give companies a great incentive. Companies that start working hours during the peak time like before will have to pay high commuting allowances.

If peak load pricing is put into practice, a commuter that arrives in Shibuya earlier than in the past can enjoy breakfast, go to a fitness

center, have one's shoe shined or go to a bookstore near the area. The scene of the streets in the morning will be changed.

On the other hand, because the fare during off-peak hours will be drastically cut, housewives living in the suburbs will increasingly visit the downtown area to go shopping and it will be easier for senior citizens to go on an outing, enabling the city streets to become alive again.

Furthermore, companies that do not want to pay for the increased commuting allowance incurred by the peak hour will eventually move out and just like the adjustment in land price, overcrowding in the city will be diminished.

However, for a the railroad company, under the aggregate cost method fare system, adopting the peak load pricing method will not be beneficial. Therefore, the aggregate cost method needs to be revised. By freely setting the fare during the peak hour, 80% of the return can be used for compensating the reduced fare of off-peak hours or increasing transport capacity during peak hours and the remaining 20% can be the income of the railroad company. This can be a good way to provide incentives.

### C) Limitations of the Floor Area Ratio Regulation and Housing in Downtown

Peak load pricing is the first measure to respond to commuting congestion in the city.

The second measure is imposing special business office tax to respond to the number of employees in the businesses in downtown buildings. However, this will be effective in only controlling the number of employees in the center of the city and not in deterring

congestion during peak hours.

If this measure is impossible, the third measure is to limit the floor space regardless of the number of employees. This is the same as the currently adopted floor area ratio regulation which is a method to restrict congestion.

However, floor area ratio regulation does not have the ability to change commuting hours. Moreover, it has a side affect of driving out businesses with relatively small number of employees like firms operate with only servers or storing service providers.

However, the currently used floor area ratio regulation has been pointed out as having more severe detrimental effects by applying the same floor area ratio for offices on houses. If the original purpose of the floor area ratio regulation is to decrease commuting congestion, then the floor area ratio for mansions should be eased and construction in the downtown area should be encouraged. The main reason that migration in the downtown is much less in Tokyo than New York is because of the floor area ratio regulation. Even if it is inevitable to adopt the floor area ratio regulation as the measure to tackle congestion, the floor area ratio regulation on houses should be abolished.

But in this case, there is a concern that only houses will come into being and the floor area for offices may decline. There is a way to prevent this from happening. For example, if a mansion of 1,500 percent is built in a region with a floor area ratio of 1,000 percent due to deregulation, a floor area ratio of 1,000 for office use will be allowed for the district to monopolize it. This will block the decrease of office use floor area in the district. Therefore, even if more mansions are built in the area, the total floor space for offices will be maintained as the same as before.

Of course, if houses increase in the center of the city and nothing is done, roads will become congested. However, there should be other ways to tackle this problem.

For instance, a simple type of load pricing is executed in London. They adopted a system that allows only the cars with certain stickers to enter into the downtown area during the day-time or by recording license plates with cameras, imposing surcharges later on to unauthorized cars that came in during specific hours.

And in a downtown areas like Marunouchi, loop-line electric buses will be run frequently, at two-minute intervals, free of charge. By doing this, increase of automobiles can be strictly controled. The fixed asset tax of high-rise buildings or mansions can be used as the financial resource to operate the buses for free.

## IV. Conclusion

The argument above have shown that the two preconditions of the people in favor of the relocation of the capital functions pointed out in the introduction are not correct.

First, it is entirely false to say that the reason unipolarization occurred in Tokyo was because it was the capital.

Second, the unipolarized concentration in Tokyo itself is considered bad, but in truth, there are certain reasons why this happens. Although there are effective measures to resolve congestion, which is sighted as one of the detrimental effects from unipolarization, none of it is being implemented. Thus, it seems that seeking the relocation of the capital as a way to resolve congestion is a measure that falls short of the original reckoning.

도쿄라고 하는 도시가, 일본나라 전체의 관점으로 볼 때 그 기능을 최대한으로 발휘하기 위해서는 어떠한 조건을 개혁해야 하는가라고 하는 관점에서 수도기능이전이라고 하는 정책제언을 논의하고 싶다. 또 도쿄는 서울이나, 상하이, 홍콩, 또는 싱가포르와 같은 아시아의 대도시와 경쟁하지 않으면 안 된다고 하는 측면도 고려해서 논의해야 할 것이다.

## I. 수도기능이전론의 전제

찬성론에는 기본적으로 두 가지의 전제가 있다.

첫 번째 전제는 「행정수도가 있기 때문에 도쿄에 일극집중(一極集中)하고 있다」라고 하는 것이다. 규제가 강하기 때문에 민간기업은 도쿄에 본사를 두지 않으면 안 된다. 이것이 일극집중의 원인이라는 것이다.

두 번째의 전제는 「일극집중은 도쿄에 좋지 않다」라고 하는 것이다. 특히 통근혼잡이 심하고, 지가(地價)가 상승하기 때문이다.

## II. 일극집중의 원인

우선, 첫 번째 전제인 「수도가 있기 때문에 도쿄에 일극집중(一極集中)하고 있다」라고 하는 전제를 음미하기 위해서는 도쿄가 지금까지 성장하였던 이유는 무엇이었나를 다시 한번 생각하지 않으면 안 된다.

### A) 도쿄에 본사를 두는 것은 동경이 수도이기 때문인가

중앙관청이 규제와 통제권한을 갖고 있고, 그것이 점점 강해졌기 때문에 도쿄가 비대화하였다고 하는 생각이 지배적이다. 그러나 규제와 그에 따른 권한행사는 오히려 완화되어 왔다고 해야 할 것이다. 고도성장이 시작된 40년 전에는 외환, 금리, 무역, 해외로부터의 자본투자도 규제되었던 시대였다. 그러한 것이 지금은 전부 자유롭게 되었다. 내가 학생시대 때에는 무역자유화가 막 시작할 무렵으로 무역은 한도가 정해져 있었다. 예를 들면, 통산성(通産省)이 각 제철회사에 대해서 당신네 회사는 철광석을 이정도 수입해도 좋다, 이정도만 수입하면 안된다고 하는 식의 권한을 쥐

고 있었다. 그러나 지금은 통산성에 그러한 권한이 없다. 그렇기 때문에 전반적으로 볼 경우, 규제와 그에 따른 권한행사는 오히려 완화되어 왔다고 해야 한다. 그럼에도 불구하고 도쿄는 집중(集中)을 계속하여 왔다. 그렇다면, 아무래도 규제강화가 일극집중의 원인은 아닌 것 같다.

사실 여러 기업에 대한 앙케이트를 보면, 도쿄에 본사를 두고 있는 회사 중, 도쿄에 본사를 두는 최대이유로서 도쿄에 행정부가 있기 때문이라고 대답한 회사가 의외로 적은 것을 알 수 있다. 예를 들면 경제기획청이 1989년에 도쿄에 본사를 둔 회사에 “왜 본사를 도쿄에 두었는가”에 대해 몇가지 이유를 물어보았는데, 고작 6번째에 해당하는 것이 “행정부 를 대표하는 행정기관과의 절충에 편리하기 때문”이라는 이유가 포함되었다. 그 중 제일 많은 대답은 “시장이나 고객의 정보수집에 편리하기 때문”이었다. 이어서 “매입이나 판매 등의 거래가 편하기 때문” 혹은 “우수한 인재를 채용하기 쉽기 때문”등 여러 가지 이유가 있었다. 따라서 본사를 도쿄에 두는 회사에 있어서 제일 커다란 장점은 도쿄에 오면 다른 기업이 많이 진출해 있고, 그곳으로부터 많은 정보를 빨리 얻을 수 있다라고 하는 것이다.

그리고 가장 중요한 자료 중에 하나로, 1993년에 미츠비시종합연구소(三菱総研)가 조사한 앙케이트가 있다. 「수도기능이 이전할 경우, 본사를 이전하겠습니까?」라고 하는 질문에 대해서 “본사를 분할해서 일부를 이전한다” 혹은 “전부 이전한다”라고 대답한 것은 404사중 35사뿐이었다. 그리고 “본사를 전부 이전한다”라고 대답한 것은 단 두개 회사뿐이었다. 즉, 도쿄에 본사가 있는 대부분의 기업은 설령 수도가 이전하더라도 도쿄에 본사, 혹은 본사기능을 그대로 남겨둔다는 것이다.

따라서 도쿄가 성장한 것이 도쿄에 수도가 있기 때문이라고 하는 것은 잘못된 것이다. 이하에서는 기업자신이 본사를 도쿄에 설치하였던 주관적인 이유와는 다른 관점에서 도쿄가 성장하였던 객관적인 이유를 세가지정도 들어보려 한다.

## B) 도쿄가 성장하였던 진짜 원인

### ① 제3차 산업화

우선, 전후일본의 대도시는 도쿄뿐만이 아니라 모든 도시가 눈에 띄게 성장하였다. 일본의 정령지정도시(政令指定都市)의 대다수는 전후 상당히 눈

부시게 성장하였으며, 한편으로 소도시라던가 시골에서는 인구가 점점 감소하였다. 그림 1의 그래프가 이를 나타내고 있다. 이것은 1965년부터 1990년까지 약 25년간(4반세기)의 호경기일 때의 낮 인구를 관찰한 것이다. 낮 인구란 낮 시간의 도심에서 일하고 있는 사람들의 숫자이며, 단순히 시정촌(市町村)합병 등으로 커졌다는 것과는 무관하게, 도심에서 일하고 있는 사람들의 숫자로 파악한 실질적인 도시의 규모를 볼 수 있게 된다.

이것을 보면, 확실히 도쿄도 84만명이 늘어났지만, 삿포로(札幌), 후쿠오카(福岡), 센다이(仙台), 고베(神戸), 교토(京都) 등도 인구가 늘어나고 있다. 줄어들고 있는 곳은 두 곳밖에 없으며, 기본적으로는 이러한 정령지정 도시, 혹은 지방중추도시는 전후 크게 인구가 신장하였다. 이것은 산업구조가 제3차산업화, 즉 서비스산업화하고 그로인해 대도시가 신장하였다고 볼 수 있으며, 이는 다극집중(多極集中)이라고 하는 현상이 일어났기 때문이다. 이러한 현상을 반영하여 도쿄도 인구가 신장하였다고 보면 된다. 거대한 도시는 점점 거대하게 된다고 하는 논리에 따라, 도쿄도 원래 큰 도시였으므로 점점 커졌다고 하는 면을 이 그림으로부터 읽을 수가 있는 것이다. 다른 지방의 도시가 전부 작아지고 도쿄만 돌출한 것이 아니라는 점이다. 이것은 굉장히 중요한 포인트라고 생각된다. 이 기간에 일본 전체가 도시화하였다. 그것은 산업구조의 변화에 대응한 것이었다라고 말할 수 있다.

## ② 도시간 교통비 저하

위의 이유가 보편적인 이유라면, 두 번째는, 역시 도쿄가 갖고 있는 특수사정에서 생기는 이유이다. 앞의 그래프를 통해 알 수 있지만, 이 그래프를 보면 쇠퇴한 도시, 인구가 줄어든 도시가 두 군데 있다. 기타큐슈(北九州)와 오사카시(大阪市)등 두 군데이다. 기타큐슈라고 하는 곳은 철강중심의 도시였기 때문에 철강산업의 쇠퇴와 함께 인구가 줄어들었다는 측면이 있다. 그러나 그것보다 큰 원인은 기타큐슈라고 하는 곳은 후쿠오카(福岡)와 굉장히 인접해 있는 곳이다. 신칸센(新幹線)으로 약 20분이고, 일본에서 신칸센의 두 역 사이로서는 최대 승객수를 자랑하는 요코하마(横浜)와 도쿄보다도 일일 승객수가 더 많은 구간이다. 게다가 여기에는 할인권이 적용된다. 통근을 위해 신칸센의 요금이 특별히 싼 할인권도 있다. 그러므로 기타큐슈라고 하는 곳은 말하자면 후쿠오카시의 성장에 흡수되었다라고 보는 측면이 강하다. 즉, 대도시내의 인구이동이라고 간주할 수 있는데

이것은 예외적인 현상이다.

그렇다면, 최대문제는 오사카이다. 고베도 교토도 인구가 신장되었고 이 지역을 포함하는 긴키지방(近畿地方)의 인구도 줄어든 것도 아니다. 그런데 오사카만큼은 인구가 줄어들었다. 이것은 무엇을 의미하는 것일까? 오사카도 대도시인 이상, 제3차산업화의 흐름에 따라 당연히 도시화의 영향을 받아서 낮 인구는 늘었을 것이다. 그러나 그것을 상쇄할 정도로 커다란 감소요인이 있었다고 생각하지 않으면 안 된다. 그 감소요인은 무엇인가 하면, 내가 생각하기에는 오사카의 본사기능의 상실이라고 본다. 오사카라고 하는 곳은 전후 고도성장이 시작되는 때까지는 서일본(西日本)의 경제권의 중심으로서 많은 일류기업의 본사가 있던 곳이다. 그것이 고도성장기를 계기로 본사가 하나씩 둘씩 도쿄로 이전해 가버렸다. 물론 지금도 일본생명(日本生命)이나 스미토모은행(住友銀行)처럼 본사가 오사카에 있는 회사는 있지만, 그와 같은 회사의 중역이나 경영진은 거의 도쿄에 있어서 가끔 오사카에 얼굴을 비추는 정도이며 실질적인 본사기능은 도쿄로 옮겨져 있다. 그 이유는 무엇인가에 대해 살펴보자.

그 이유는 단적으로 말해서 도시간 교통비 저하가 커다란 원인이라고 생각한다. 고도성장이 시작되기 전에는 도쿄와 기타큐슈간의 철도가 대체적으로 18시간 걸렸다. 여객시설도 형편없어서 피곤한 채로 이동하게 된다. 이러한 상황에서 큐슈나 시코쿠(四国)로부터 도쿄의 본사에 빈번히 왕래하는 것은 간단한 일이 아니다. 그렇다면, 큐슈에 있는 회사의 입장에서 오사카에 본사가 있다면 야간열차에 타지 않아도 되고, 8시간정도면 도착할 수 있었다. 이처럼 교통에 많은 시간이 소모되고 교통비용도 만만치 않은 시대에 오사카가 서일본의 경제권의 중심으로서 본사기능을 떠맡게 되었다라고 하는 것은 어쩌면 당연한 것이었다고 생각된다. 도쿄에서는 거리가 너무 멀어 본사기능을 맡기 힘들어, 오히려 도쿄본사의 사람들이 지방 지사에 출장을 가는 경우에도 시간적, 금전적 비용이 상당히 많이 소요되게 된다.

그렇지만, 신칸센이나 비행기가 발달하게 되고 도쿄와 지방사이의 왕래가 당일에 가능하게 되었다. 일박을 하기에 옛날과 비교하면 편하게 되었다. 그렇게 되면 일부러 오사카에 본사를 둘 필요가 없어지게 된다. 전부 도쿄에 직접 가면 되는 것이다. 따라서 교통비 저하라고 하는 요인이, 일본에 본사기능의 도시를 2개나 두는 것이 낭비가 되게 만들었다. 전후에 오사카로부터 도쿄에 본사가 옮겨가고 결국은 오사카만이 다른 중추도시를 뒤로하고 쇠퇴하였다고 말 할 수 있다.

그렇다면 두 번째 이유라고 하는 것은 말하자면 첫 번째 이유가 도쿄를 특별시(特別視)하지 않은 것에 대해, 두번째 이유는 도쿄를 특별시하고 있다. 일반적인 도시화의 흐름상 도쿄만이 특별히 인구가 집중하는 데에는 이유가 따로 있다고 말 할 수 있는 것이다.

### ③ 집적(集積)의 이익

세 번째, 특히 대도시에는 집적의 이익이 있다고 하는 것이다. 한번 뭔가의 이유로 도시가 커지게 되면, 그 도시는 눈사람처럼 점점 커지게 되는 경향이 있다. 그것이 무엇인가 하니, 도시의 기본적인 기능은 사람들이 매일 대면적인 접촉을 하는 것으로, 다른 기업이나 거래처로부터 여러 가지 정보를 빨리 대량으로 입수하기 위해 많은 기업이 농밀(濃密)하게 집중하고 있는 도시가 능률이 오른다는 점이다. 이것이 가능한 것이 도시의 매력이라고 한다면, 이것을 목적으로 점점 많은 기업이 집적하게 되는 것이다.

예를 들어 홍콩에서는 센트럴이라고 불리우는 오피스가에 빌딩이 집중해 있기 때문에 비즈니스나 파티 등으로 많은 사람들을 만날 수 있으며, 그만큼 많은 정보를 빨리 얻을 수가 있는 것이다. 이러한 기능이 발달해 있는 홍콩이라고 하는 곳은 도시로서 굉장히 우수하다고 할 수 있다.

오테마치(大手町)의 오피스 임대료는 시부야(渋谷)의 두 배이다. 오피스를 시부야로부터 오테마치로 옮긴다고 할 경우 코스트가 든다는 것은 말할 필요도 없다. 그러나 한편 오테마치에서는 종업원의 시간을 절약할 수 있다고 하는 장점이 있다. 즉, 보다 많은 손님들과 만날 수 있고, 업무를 순조롭게 처리할 수 있기 때문에 급료에 대한 손실(loss)도 줄어든다.

구체적으로 예를 들어 말하자면, 기관투자가를 고객으로 둔 외자계의 투자은행이 오테마치의 빌딩에 입지하는 것은 아주 유리한데, 그 이유는 다음과 같다. 우선 같은 빌딩 안에 많은 회사가 있기 때문에, 같은 빌딩 안에서 꽤 많은 업무가 가능하다. 주위에는 일본의 대기업이 많이 있기 때문에, 걸어서 한바퀴 돌면 업무를 볼 수 있기도 하다. 또한 지하철 연계선이 5개선이나 통과하고 있어서 도심으로부터 다소 떨어진 곳이라도 금방 갈 수 있다. 그렇게 되면 직접 만날 수 있는 손님의 숫자는 다른 곳과 비교할 수 없게 된다. 아침에 가장 빠른 정보를 준비하고 세일즈맨이 커다란 기관투자가가 있는 곳에 세일즈하러 외출할 수 있다. 그렇게 되면 많은 양의 매매거래를 해야 하는 기관투자가로서도 주식분석가(stock analyst)에게 직접 질문할 수 있게 되기 때문에 상호 업무능률이 오르게

된다. 주식분석가는 높은 임금을 받기 때문에 거래나 이동에 시간이 소모된다면 그만큼 급료를 소모하게 되는 것이다. 도심에 오피스를 두면 이와 같은 낭비는 절약할 수 있다.

이것은 계량적으로 측정가능하다. 즉, 종업원의 시간이 몇 원 정도의 절약할 수 있는가를 살펴보면, 시부야로부터 오테마치로 이동하는 것은, 여러 가지 상정을 한 위에 측정해 보면, 대체적으로 일일 40분이라는 업무시간에 해당하는 돈을 절약할 수 있다고 한다. 이 정도의 시간을 절약해서 경영에 도움이 안되는 업종은 시부야에 있겠지만, 앞서 설명한 외자계의 투자은행처럼 굉장히 많은 사람들과 만나서 많은 정보를 거래할 필요가 있는 업종은 분명히 옹기는 것이 좋다는 결과를 얻을 수 있는 것이다. 이와 같은 것이 가능한 이유는 대도시의 집적에 대한 이익이 있기 때문이다. 즉, 정보를 얻는다고 하는 집적의 이익을 누리기 위해서는 도시가 커지면 커질수록 좋다고 말할 수 있다.

또한, 어느 정도 큰 도시에는 국제법무나 국제회계사무라고 하는 업종이 하나의 영업업종으로서 성립할 수 있게 된다. 예를 들면 후쿠오카나 삿포로에서는 도시규모가 작기 때문에 이러한 업무는 성립되지 않지만, 도쿄라면 이와 같은 오피스서비스를 하는 업종이 살아남을 수 있는 여지가 있다는 것이다. 컴퓨터의 지원업종도 마찬가지다. 즉, 오피스기능을 지원하는 업종이 대도시에는 영업이 된다.

더욱이, 교통편이 빈도가 다른 도시와 다르다. 전국과의 왕래가 많아지게 되면 비행기나 전철의 빈도가 굉장히 높아진다. 빈도가 높다고 하는 것은 굉장히 중요하다. 예를 들면 오사카에 있는 오피스에서 오후 3시 넘어서까지 업무를 보고, 4시 반 정도의 비행기를 타면, 도쿄도심에서 오후 7시 회의에 참석할 수 있다. 그대로 일박을 하고 빠른 아침비행기로 오사카행을 탄다면 오전8시반에 오사카에 있는 오피스에 출근이 가능하다. 그러므로 그만큼 시간을 낭비하지 않는다는 이야기이다. 이러한 것이 가능한 것도 교통의 빈도가 높기 때문이다. 업무시간이 마칠 때까지 지방에 있는 사무실에 있다가 비행기를 타고 도쿄에 간다고 하는 것이, 일본 어디서나 가능한 것이다. 그러므로 교통집중이라고 하는 것이 점점 도쿄에 본사를 두는 것을 유리하게 만들고 있다.

종합해 보면, 도쿄의 성장 원인이라고 하는 것은 기본적으로 세 가지로 분류할 수 있다. 첫째는 모든 대도시가 즐기고 있는 제3차산업화로의 흐름을 도쿄 또한 받은 것이고, 둘째는 도시간 교통비의 저하를 이유로 해서 본사기능이 오사카로부터 도쿄에 이동한 것, 셋째는 그것을 계기로 인

해 점점 집중해간다고 하는 집적의 이익이 있다고 하는 것이다.  
 물론 도쿄에 행정부가 있다는 것이 일종의 오피스서비스기업이 있는 것과 마찬가지로, 도움이 된다고 하는 측면은 있을지 몰라도 결코 결정적인 것은 아니다. 그렇게 생각한다면 뉴욕이나 오스트레일리아의 시드니, 멜버른이 수도가 아니면서 대도시로서 성립하고 있는 이유를 알 수 있다.

### III. 일극집중의 폐해에의 대책

#### A) 집적의 폐해 : 혼잡과 지가(地價)

집적에는 위에서 언급한 것처럼 이익이 있는 한편, 폐해가 있다고 알려져 있다.

집적의 폐해로서 대표적인 것이 바로 「혼잡」과 「지가의 등귀」이다.  
 이 두 가지 폐해는 밀접히 관련해 있다. 수요량이 공급량을 초과하고 있는데 그것을 조정하는 메커니즘이 전혀 없을 때 혼잡현상이 발생한다. 전차가 통근 피크시에 떠밀어 놓아야만 수요를 충족할 정도인 것이 바로 혼잡의 대표적인 상황이다.

여기에서, 도쿄도가 관할하고 있는 히비야공원(日比谷公園)을 예로 들어보자. 우선 도쿄도가 히비야공원이 이제부터 필요없게 되었기에 여러분이 자유롭게 사용해 주세요라고 말했다고 하자. 그렇게 되면 홈레스(노숙자) 뿐만이 아니라 모든 종류의 사람들이 물밀 듯이 사용하려하여 대혼란이 일어날 것이다.

이에 대해 도쿄도가 히비야공원을 입찰하여 최고치를 적어서 낸 기업에게 낙찰시킨다고 할 경우, 즉 가격메커니즘을 도입해서 수요조정을 한다면 어떻게 될까? 히비야공원의 토지를 가장 유효하게 활용하기 위해, 많은 기업의 합자로 이루어진 부동산회사가 이를 낙찰하여 거기에 빌딩을 세우게 될 것이다. 앞의 혼잡과는 전혀 다른 상황이 나타난다. 즉, 수요와 공급의 차이가 가격메커니즘에 의해 조정된다면 토지가 유효하게 이용될 수 있을 것이다.

그러므로 집적이 가져오는 두 가지 폐해 중에 「혼잡」은 자원배분을 비효율적이게 하지만, 「지가의 등귀」는 자원배분을 효율적이게 한다. 단, 지가에 의해 수급조정이 된 결과, 최종적으로 벌어들이는 것은 도쿄도, 즉 지주이다. 그 이익의 원천은 굉장히 효율적으로 움직이는 세입자들의 높

은 생산성이다. 그러나 높은 생산성에 의한 이익의 대부분은 지주가 손에 들어가 버린다. 이것이 도시의 기본적인 구조이다. 정부가 아무것도 하지 않으면 지주는 불로소득을 얻게 되기 때문에 지가상승을 인위적으로 억제 하라고 하는 정치적 압력을 받게 된다. 그래서 도시의 지주의 수익을 세 제로 회수하려고 하는 구조를 만들기도 한다. 또한 토지의 증권화에 의해 많은 사람이 도심의 토지를 공유하는 것도 가능하다.

앞서 언급한 히비야공원의 예에서처럼, 지가가 상승하지 않으면 토지는 유효하게 이용되지 않는다. 그러므로 지가를 억제하려고 하는 것은 피해야 한다. 오히려 가격기구를 이용하는 것을 전제로 해서 토지세제나 증권화 등의 제도를 정비해야만 할 것이다.

## B) 피크로드 프라이싱(피크시 높은 가격매기기)

혼잡해소의 수단으로서 60만명의 인구를 신수도로 이전하여도 문제가 해결되지는 않을 것이다. 왜냐하면, 신수도를 만들기 위한 재원으로서 도쿄도심의 정부가 갖고 있던 토지의 매각이익을 사용하여 충당하여야 되는데, 그것을 매입한 기업이 거기에 오피스를 세운다면 당연히 사원이 이곳으로 통근할 것이다. 그러므로 수도가 이전했다라고 해서 도심에의 통근 혼잡이 줄어들지는 않는다. 만일 그것을 민간회사에 팔지 않고 공원 등으로 한다면 혼잡은 완화될지 모르겠지만, 토지의 매각수입이 확보되지 못하기 때문에 거액의 이전비용이 소요된다.

가격기능을 이용한 혼잡의 해결방법으로서 피크로드 프라이싱(Peak Load Pricing)이 결정적인 방법이라고 생각한다. 이것은 혼잡이 어느 시간대에 집중해 있는 것이기 때문에, 혼잡한 시간대의 철도요금을 굉장히 높게 하고, 혼잡하지 않은 시간대의 요금을 싸게 한다고 하는 방법이다. 예를 들면, 워싱턴 D.C의 지하철에서는 요금지불이 프리페이드카드로 사용하기 때문에 어떤 통근시간대에 개찰을 통과하면 굉장히 높게 책정되고, 그 시간대가 끝나면 싸게 된다고 하는 방법을 사용하고 있다. 또한, 런던의 교외전철 등에서는 차장이 돌아다니면서 피크로드인 때는 높은 요금을, 오프 피크일 때에는싼 요금을 징수한다. 프랑크푸르트에서도 그렇다. 그러나 도쿄에서는 그렇게 하고 있지 않다. 도쿄에서는 혼잡시에도 모두가 통근정기권을 사용하기 때문에 오히려 보통 때보다 싸게 이용하게 되는 셈이다.

단, 단순히 피크시간대를 비싸게 하는 것만으로는 혼잡이 효율적으로

줄지 않는다. 예를 들면 도쿄역은 8시부터 9시가 러시아워인데, 8시 반이 피크라고 하자. 시간마다 통근자의 밀도를 그래프로 그리면, 8시부터 9시의 한 시간이 다른 시간대보다 높고, 그 중에서도 8시 반의 시간이 가장 높게 된다. 이때에 8시부터 9시의 시간대 전역에 균일하게 피크요금을 적용하면 어떠한 현상이 일어나게 될까?

8시 넘어서 통근하고 있던 사람은 그때까지보다 먼저 일어나서 8시전에 도쿄역에 나오려고 할 것이다. 그리고 9시전에 도쿄역에 나왔던 사람은 조금 늦추어서 9시 직후에 나오는 식이 될 것이다. 그런데, 정말로 혼잡을 해소하고 싶었던 시간대인 8시 반의 사람들은 요금이 아무리 싸더라도 30분 빨리 일어나는 것을 싫어할 것이고 또한 그들의 작업시작시간은 아마도 9시이기 때문에 그 이상 늦은 전차로 이동하게 되면 지각해 버리니까 안 된다고 할 것이다. 즉, 가장 중요하다고 생각한 피크대의 사람들이 움직여 주지 않는다. 그러므로 과징금은 8시부터 9시 사이 등과 같이 대충 하는 것이 아니라, 보다 상세하게 5분단위로 요금을 부과할 필요가 있다. 5분단위로 바꾸면, 이 피크대의 사람들은 출근을 5분 빨리 하던지 5분 늦게 하기 때문에 그 시간대의 혼잡은 줄어든다. 그 전후의 시간대의 사람들은 피크 때부터 이동해 온 사람들로서 혼잡이 늘어나기 때문에 역시 시간대를 조금 달리하면서 출근하려고 한다. 다른 시간대에서도 같은 현상이 일어난다. 그렇게 되면 8시부터 9시의 통근자 전원이 조금씩 출근시간을 조절하게 되어 시간대마다 통근자밀도의 그래프는 과징금전보다 낮고 완만한 산 모양이 될 것이다. 시간대를 세부적으로 구분하여 요금에 변화를 주고, 이것에 의해 피크대일 때의 통근자의 시간이동을 촉진하는 방법은 프리페이드카드로서 간단하게 처리할 수 있다.

이에 대해 일본에서는 무리다, 일본에서는 모든 회사가 통근수당을 지불하고 있기 때문에 자신의 부담으로 느끼지 않는다는 반론이 있다. 그러나, 그 경우에도 효과는 있다. 예를 들어 썬 시간대 범위 내에서 빨리 출근하여 역 근방에서 구두를 닦거나 책방에 가거나 아니면 아침을 먹거나 하면, 프리페이드를 절약해서 쓸 수가 있는 것이다.

현재, 많은 회사가 시차출근을 자주적으로 하려고 하고 있지만, 피크로드 프라이싱이 실현된다면, 기업에 있어서도 커다란 동기부여를 하게 될 것이라고 생각한다. 종전처럼 피크일 때에 작업을 시작하는 기업은 굉장히 높은 통근수당을 지불하지 않으면 안 되기 때문이다.

피크로드 프라이싱이 행해지면, 예를 들어 시부야에 빨리 도착한 만큼 역 근방에서 조식을 하거나, 스포츠클럽에 가거나, 구두를 닦거나, 아니면 책

방에 가서 책을 읽는 것도 괜찮을 것이다. 어쨌든 아침의 거리가 변화하게 될 것이다.

한편, 오프 피크의 요금은 극단적으로 싸게 될 것이기 때문에 교외에 사는 주부들이 점점 도심으로 쇼핑하러 올 것이며, 교외에 살고 있는 고령자들도 시내에 발걸음을 간단히 옮기게 되어 거리가 활기를 찾을 것이다. 또한, 피크시의 높은 통근수당을 지불하는 것이 싫은 회사는 바깥으로 빠져 나갈 것이고 결국 지가의 조정과 마찬가지로 도시의 혼잡해소기능을 발휘할 것이다.

단, 총괄 원가주의의 요금 규제하에서는 피크로드 프라이싱을 채용하는 것이 철도회사의 입장에서는 장점이 안된다. 총괄원가주의는 수정할 필요가 있다. 예를 들어, 피크 때의 요금의 설정을 자유롭게 하여 거기에서 벌어들인 것의 80%정도는 오프 피크요금의 저하, 아니면 피크시의 운송력의 증대를 위해서 사용하고 나머지 20%는 철도회사의 수익으로 하는 등과 같은 인센티브를 주는 방법도 좋은 방법이 아닐까 생각한다.

### C) 용적률규제의 한계와 도심거주

피크로드 프라이싱은 도시의 통근혼잡에 대한 첫 번째의 좋은 대책이다. 두 번째의 대책은 도시의 빌딩에 들어가 있는 기업의 종업원 수에 대응하여 특별사업소세를 부과하는 것이다. 그러나 그렇게 하면, 확실히 도심기업은 종업원수를 억제하겠지만, 특히 피크시의 혼잡을 억제하기는 어려울 것이다.

만일 이 대책도 할 수 없다고 한다면, 세 번째의 좋은 방법으로서 고용자 수에 관계없이 바닥면적을 제한해버리는 방법이다. 이것은 현재 채용하고 있는 용적률 규제와 같은 방식으로 혼잡억제수단이다.

단, 용적률규제에는 통근시간을 조정시키는 힘이 없다. 더욱이 비교적 고용자가 적은, 예를 들면 서버만을 놓고 있는 회사나 보관서비스 등의 회사도 도심으로부터 쫓겨나가게 되어버리는 부작용도 있다.

그런데, 현행 용적률 규제에는 더 큰 폐해가 지적되고 있다. 그것은 오피스용의 규제용적률을 도시의 주택에까지 적용함으로써 발생하고 있다. 원래의 용적률규제의 목적이 통근혼잡을 줄이고자 하는 것이라면 오히려 맨션의 용적률은 완화하고 도심건설을 장려해야만 한다. 뉴욕에 비해 도쿄에서 도시의 이주가 굉장히 적은 기본적인 이유는 이 용적률규제 때문이다. 혼잡대책으로서 세 번째 정책수단인 용적률규제를 채용하지 않을 수

없다고 하더라도 주택에 관해서는 용적률규제를 철폐해야만 한다.

그러나 이렇게 할 경우 도심에 주택만 생기게 되어 가장 중요한 오피스바닥면적이 이번에는 줄어들릴 염려가 있다. 그것을 막는 방법이 있다. 예를 들어 용적률이 1,000퍼센트인 곳에 주거용의 규제완화로 인해 1,500퍼센트의 맨션이 세워졌을 경우, 그에 따른 오피스용의 용적률 1,000은 그 지구 내에서 전매할수 있도록 하는 것이다. 그렇게 되면, 그 지구 내에서 오피스용의 바닥면적은 줄지 않게 될 것이다. 맨션이 점점 생기게 되는 한편으로 그 지구의 오피스의 바닥면적전체는 그 전과 같은 채로 유지되게 될 것이다.

물론, 도심에 주택이 늘어날 경우 아무것도 하지 않으면 도로는 혼잡하게 된다. 그러나 이에 대한 또 다른 대책이 뭔가 있지 않을까 한다.

예를 들면 런던에서는 간이형의 로드 프라이싱(부담 가격매기기)을 하고 있다. 특정 스티커를 붙인 차만이 도심지구의 낮시간에 출입이 가능하게 하거나, 카메라에서 차량번호를 촬영하여 일정 시간 내에 허가없이 들어온 자동차에는 나중에 과징금을 내게하는 등의 방식을 도입하고 있다.

그리고, 마루노우치(丸の内)와 같은 변화가에서는 전기버스를 빈번하게 운행하여 요금은 무료로 하며, 게다가 2분간격정도로 순환 운행시킨다. 그렇게 함으로서 굉장히 엄격하게 자동차의 증가에 제한을 둘 수 있게 된다. 그 때에 고층빌딩이나 맨션의 고정자산세를 재원으로 한다면 요금을 무료로 할 수 있을 것이다.

#### IV. 결론

이상의 논의로부터 서두에서 지적한 수도기능이전론자들의 두 가지 전제는 바르지 못하다는 것을 보이고 있다.

첫째는 도쿄가 일극집중한 이유로서 수도가 도쿄에 있으니까 라고 말하는 것은 전혀 바르지 못하다.

둘째로, 도쿄에 일극집중한다고 하는 것은 그 자체가 나쁘다고 하는데, 사실은 일극집중한다고 하는 것은 그 나름대로의 이유가 있다. 그 폐해로 들 수 있는 혼잡에 관해서는 효과적인 대책방법이 있음에도 불구하고 전혀 시행하고 있지 않을 뿐이다. 따라서 혼잡대책으로서 수도이전을 하려고 하는 것은 예상이 빗나간 대책이 아닌가 생각한다.

# 제 2주제

## 세계수도이전의 사례 : 한국의 수도이전에 대한 시사점

(Relocation of National Capitals: Implication For Korea)

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## INTRODUCTION

The requested topic for this presentation is to address "global capital relocations." The presentation is operationalized as a review piece, a think piece, and a normative piece, the purpose of which is to: (1) discuss some of the issues associated with capitals and capital relocations from around the world; (2) cite relevant cases of national capitals globally; and (3) suggest some implications for Korea. The intended principal audience is the practitioner in the policy environment, especially those who will be engaging the future public policy environment of Korea. Examples of such practitioners include: elected officials at all levels of government; national development strategists; regional and urban planners; private-sector investors and corporate planners; nonprofit and non-governmental organizational strategists; small-business persons; organized-labor leaders; and residents and citizens in general, among other actors whose opinions, influences and roles will impact the contemporary national capital relocation debate and decision for the Republic of Korea.

The methodology employed is to point the audience to the selected detailed cases and references that are provided here to enable them to follow up and to apply or operationalize the implied development concepts, guiding principles or actions to serve their own interests and those of the Korean nation. The intended motivation is to stimulate members of the audience to assume the responsibility to engage thoughtfully and creatively, the full range of future development needs of, and options for Korea, its regions and localities. Further, the intent here is to stimulate members of the audience noted above to construct and debate alternative development scenarios. For example, the relocation of a national capital or some of the functions of the capital is a means to an end; but what is the end being sought? In the South Korean media, it is said that "balanced national development" is the principal goal for moving the capital. Further, if the end indeed is balanced national development, then are

there other means available that might more effectively meet this end? This question is addressed elsewhere in the paper. Given the space and time limitations of this presentation, there is no attempt to be exhaustive and comprehensive in the treatment of this complex subject. Finally, the approach taken here is normative or prescriptive in the sense that "should" and "ought" are used, both to stimulate debate among Korean opinion setters and in the interest of best practice of "intelligent planning."

## ISSUES OF CAPITALS AND CAPITAL RELOCATIONS

The policy, urban, and planning literature on capitals, including the relocation of capitals and the functions of capitals is voluminous. This literature includes historical discourses and treatments of recent capital city analysis and capital city planning (Hall 1997; and Sonne 2003). The urban literature on modern capitals has been led by such distinguished scholars as Jean Gottmann and Peter Hall. There are a number of pioneering volumes, special issues of periodicals and reports that have focused on the topic of capital cities. Some representative examples have been compiled by: Eldredge 1975; Tyrwhitt and Gottmann March/April 1983; Taylor, Lengelle and Andrew 1993; Dube'and Gordon April-May-June 2000; and Boyd and Fauntroy March 29, 2002. Several of the references at the end of this paper note in brackets the individual capital cities that are included in these books, periodicals, and reports. When delving into these informational resources, it is important to be focused and precise as to one's purpose and the issues related to those purposes. For the purposes of this presentation, the following topics have been selected initially for discussion and consideration in planning for the relocation of capitals and new capitals: what is a capital?; what are the types of capital cities?; and critical success factors for a capital.

## What is a Capital?

A capital, or capital city is a seat of government, that is, a center of authority, or a city from which authority is exercised. The location of government may be permanent, provisional or seasonal. In some monarchies, the capital is wherever the king's or queen's court is located.

The principal functions of the capital are administrative or executive, legislative and judicial. These individual functions may be separated locationally. Usually, the location of the capital is stated in law. A country or territory may have more than one official capital at any point in time.

The form of national government often has had a strong influence on the nature and relocation of the national capital city. Unitary states, such as France and South Korea, often have the economically most important city in the country host the national capital functions. These are primate city countries. Alternatively, federated states often have relocated their national capitals away from the country's economically dominant cities, e.g., the United States and Australia. Issues of rivalry, i.e., regional and cultural/ethnic, centrality and neutrality of location, typically play a role in the capital relocation decision. These decisions quite often have revealed examples of political compromise in the public interest and on behalf of the nation's harmony. There also are states where the governance role of the country's regions is strong relative to the national or central government. Switzerland and Canada are such states. They are confederated states. See Boyd and Fauntroy March 29, 2002 for a comparative analysis of governmental structure among a selection of national capitals.

Answers to the above question of what is a capital?, do not come easily and clearly. Persons who have reflected on this question often come to the same conclusion. More study of and research into

capitals is needed. The subject of capitals is nuanced and dense. John Meisel has written, "both values [i.e., for public enterprise in Canada and private enterprise in the United States] and capital cities are immensely subtle and complicated things, the full nature of which requires extensive study (Meisel 1993: 5). Beth Moore Milroy has commented that the answer to the question, what is a capital? "is far from simple. An entire research program could be shaped out of the questions and discussion of this first session," i.e., of the book *Capital Cities: International Perspectives* (Milroy 1993: 91).

### What are the Types of Capital Cities?

Sir Peter Hall has identified seven types of capital cities (April-May-June 2000). Quoting from him:

"Multi-Function Capitals. Combining all or most of the highest national-level functions (London, Paris, Madrid, Stockholm, Moscow, Tokyo).

Global Capitals. A special case of [multi-function capitals], representing cities that also perform super-national roles in politics, commercial life, or both (London, Tokyo).

Political Capitals. Created as seats of government, and often lacking other functions which remain in older, commercial cities (The Hague, Bonn, Washington, Ottawa, Canberra, Brasilia).

Former Capitals. Often the converse of [political capitals] representing cities that have lost their role as the seat of government but that retain other historic functions (Berlin, Leningrad, Philadelphia, Rio de Janeiro).

Ex-Imperial Capitals. A special case of [former capitals] representing former imperial cities which have lost their empires

though they may function as national capitals, and may also perform important commercial and cultural roles for the former imperial territories (London, Madrid, Lisbon, Vienna).

Provincial Capitals. A special case in federal nations, overlapping with [political capitals]; cities which once functioned as *de facto* capitals, sometimes on a shared basis, but have now lost that role, retaining however functions for their surrounding territories (Milan, Turin, Stuttgart, Munich, Montreal, Toronto, Sydney, Melbourne). New York is a very special case here, almost *sui generis*, of a global provincial capital.

Super-Capitals. Functioning as centers for international organizations; these may or may not be national capitals (Brussels, Strasbourg, Geneva, Rome, New York)" (Hall April-May-June 2000: 8).

There is an eighth type of capital city today; it is the intelligent capital. Using Jean Gottmann's concept of the "historical hinge," i.e., a city-region location linking the present to the past (Gottmann March/April 1983: 89). There are the national capitals that were relocated before the digital age and there is at least one case, e.g., Putrajaya, Malaysia, that was relocated since the pervasiveness of the application of information and communications technologies (ICTs) to community and economic development. The relocation and development of a national capital is "intelligent" therefore, when ICTs are an explicit part of the development strategy, and when best practices from development and planning theory, from benchmarking cases elsewhere and from appropriate applications of the latest technologies are utilized successfully both to develop a new capital and to continue the development of the sending city-region, i.e., the earlier preceding capital. Under these guiding principles of the intelligent capital, both places, i.e., the sending place and the receiving place, need to be developed as communities that are cognizant of, and

responsive to the functional, social justice and locational realities of today and the near-term future. This includes the admonition that a national capital relocation that intends to result in an intelligent capital should help or at least does no harm for the nation's development and for the people and part of the society that is impacted directly by the new capital intervention (Corey December 19, 2003: 103).

### Critical Success Factors for a Capital

Drawing principally on Andrew and Taylor's 2000 article, the following aspects have been identified as individual factors in common in the study of capitals especially in understanding the politics and political dynamics of capital city policies and development, i.e., dynamics that go beyond the economic and physical/design factors that typically characterize so much of the policy, urban, and planning literature on capital cities.

Political. Andrew and Taylor have observed that part of the special nature of national capital cities is the relationship of the city to the rest of the country. For example, Schatz has demonstrated that the relocation of the capital city can be instrumental in nation building and state building (Schatz February 2003). Capital cities also were noted to host people and enterprises, thereby having an intra-urban role and set of relationships. Another set of internal relationships, of course, is hosting the national governmental functions and their physical facilities and precincts. Professor Gottmann identified yet a third set of political-economic relationships; he called them "hinge"relationships between the city and the external global international world (Gottmann 1961). A capital city-region such as Seoul plays this third, i.e., the global hinge role.

Administrative. Capital cities have large bureaucracies. Within a national governmental context, national capitals house the support activities for the three principal functions of the central government,

i.e., the legislative, the judicial, and the executive functions. Several Asian countries have created "administrative capitals," i.e., Malaysia and Sri Lanka. States that have decentralized national governance structures tend to have higher proportions of the bureaucracy outside the capital city. The more centralized the country's administrative structure, the bigger the impact on the old capital city when the administrative functions are relocated.

Cultural. Because of the relationship between the symbolic functions of a national capital city and culture in support of national symbolism, capital cities often host and attract some of the country's most highly regarded cultural institutions. Cultural institutions are attractive particularly to knowledge workers. High proportions of government workers are knowledge workers. These relationships tend to be reinforcing and reciprocal, and consequently add qualitative value to a nation's capital attractiveness and its development.

Informational. Information in support of decision making is at the core of all the functions of national government and the private-sector producer services that support government. Therefore, by definition, a capital city is an informational city. In the current era of the global knowledge economy and network society, an important informational node such as a capital city has a comparative advantage. The Washington, D.C. metropolitan region exemplifies these informational dynamics. If these functions should be removed from the capital, the consequences should be assessed and planned accordingly.

Symbolic. This aspect of the national capital city is one of the most distinctive features of capitals. Symbolism enables national leaders and institutions to reinforce and advance the country's core values and images. These factors are perceived by visitors and residents alike as central to the experience of engaging the capital city.

The above critical success factors cover a great deal of the scope of the issues that need to be considered when studying and planning the new capital city. However, this listing is not exhaustive and comprehensive especially for the complex and uncertain world of today and of the near-term future. Several additional critical factors that come immediately to mind are: leadership (including personality); champion (including personality); the form of the governmental organization of the state, i.e., a unitary state in contrast to a federal state; the role of information and communications technologies (ICTs); the relationships of the capital city to the global knowledge economy and network society time and timing location and spatial organization applicable theory, e.g., relational planning theory; planning practice and scheduling, operating and managing the planned capital.

In addition, to the individual factors noted above, there are transcendent factors that cut across the above criteria for success in planning for the development of a capital. For example, for a national capital to be successful, it must function both as a national seat of government for the country and it must function as a prosperous and livable city in its own right. Further, a nation's capital city must interface with the rest of the world; its global relationships are more critical today than ever before in history. John H. Taylor (September 4-7, 2002) has elaborated on the political cultures of the "city" and "capital" functions of capital cities. These national and local functions, plus the international and global linkages are three factors of success that apply to most of the above individual criteria and should be incorporated into strategies and plans for relocated and new national capitals. On the international and global function, Gottmann's "hinge function" is relevant here (Gottmann and Harper 1990: 11; and Gottmann 1961: 103). He has observed, "A capital city is necessarily a hinge in the relations between its country and the outside world" (Gottmann March/April 1983: 89). The hinge function concept is a precursor to today's global-city and world-city phenomenon (Sassen 1991; Sassen 1994; and Sassen 1996).

From the perspective of capital city strategic planning practice and implementation, these tools and mechanisms should be considered: benchmarking and best practices from comparative planning cases (Cf., Williams and Stimson 2001; and Hall 1980) should be derived and used in monitoring and evaluating the results of the capital city plan as implemented (Gordon Winter 2002).

As a manifestation and recognition of the imperative of planning new cities today within the context of the global knowledge economy and network society, the functioning of which is facilitated by ICTs, new additional factors of plan monitoring and evaluation are required. For example, drawing on the crucial factors used by Rosenberg (2002) in his study of Silicon Valley science park characteristics around the world, Ramasamy, Chakrabarty and Cheah (August 2002) conducted an evaluation of Malaysia's Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC). They applied "tangible" and "intangible" factors to the MSC, which includes the new administrative capital of Malaysia, i.e., Putrajaya. The assessment factors listed next include the tangible factors that are institutional, and the intangible factors that are entrepreneurial:

#### Institutional (tangible) Factors

- Universities

- Diversified and Talented Human Resource Pool

- Supporting Services Infrastructure

- Role of Government

- Corporate and Government Research Institutes

- The Venture Capital Community

- Small Business Incubators

- Infrastructure (Cf., Phillips 2003)

- Quality of Life

#### Entrepreneurial (intangible) Factors

See the discussion of Malaysia and Putrajaya elsewhere in this presentation. Compare this technology evaluation approach to Phillips

2003 evaluation design.

## CASES OF SELECTED NATIONAL CAPITALS

### Relocation of National Capitals and Multiple National Capitals

There are at least 70 cities that once were national capitals. These include capitals that have moved, or been renamed, or their host country no longer exists (Wikipedia June 15, 2004). At least fifteen of these have relevance to the relocation of national capital functions of the Republic of Korea. The country, the earlier former capital, and the names and founding years of the city to which the new capital has been located are listed here in this selection of the more relevant relocated national capital cities:

Australia	Melbourne	Canberra (1927)
Brazil	Rio de Janeiro	Brasilia (1960)
Canada	Quebec City	Ottawa-Hull (1865)
England	Winchester	London (9th century)
Germany	Bonn	Berlin (1994)
India (British)	Calcutta	New Delhi (1912)
Italy (Kingdom)	Florence	Rome (1871)
Japan	Kyoto	Tokyo (1868)
Kazakhstan	Almaty (Alma-Atta)	Astana (1998)
New Zealand	Auckland	Wellington (1865)
Nigeria	Lagos	Abuja (1991)
Norway	Christiana (1299)	Oslo (1824)
Pakistan	Karachi	Islamabad (1967)
Russia	Petrograd	Moscow (1918)
Turkey	Istanbul	Ankara (1923)
United States	Philadelphia	Washington, D.C. (1800)

Since the national capital relocation conversations in the recent South Korean context have revolved around the notion of moving a partial set of capital functions, i.e., an "administrative capital," there will be several other administrative or other cases of "partial capitals" added to the discussion below. Both of these cases are from Asia. They are Sri Lanka's Sri Jayewardenepura Kotte and Malaysia's Putrajaya.

Geography.About.Com (2004) has identified at least twelve countries with multiple capitals as well as countries that have moved their capital. With their respective functions noted, they are:

Bolivia	La Paz (administrative)	Sucre (legislative and judiciary)
Cote d'Ivoire	Abidjan	Yamoussoukro
Germany	Bonn	Berlin
Israel	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv-Jaffa (embassies)
Kazakhstan	Alma-Ata	Astana
Malaysia	Kuala Lumpur	Putrajaya (administrative and PM)
Netherlands	Amsterdam (de jure)	The Hague (de facto and monarchy)
Nigeria	Lagos (some administrative)	Abuja (some administrative)
South Africa	Pretoria (administrative)	
	Cape Town (legislative)	
	Bloemfontein (judiciary)	
Sri Lanka	Colombo (administrative and judiciary)	
	Sri Jayawardenepura (legislative)	
Swaziland	Mbabane (administrative)	Lobamba (royal and legislative)
Tanzania	Dar es Salaam (de facto)	Dodoma (de jure and legislative)

In 2003, as a contribution to the Republic of Korea national capital relocation debate, Harry Richardson provided a selection of brief reviews of capitals (Richardson October 24, 2003). His selections included: Washington, D.C.; Ottawa; the state capitals of the United States; Brasilia; Abuja; Yamoussoukoro (Ivory Coast); Jerusalem; Berlin; Islamabad; Dodoma (Tanzania); Canberra; Putrajaya; and he referenced "failed Plans" for the intended relocation of the capitals of

Peru and Argentina. Given that these selections by Professor Richardson already are available to Korean readers, some of the cases that he introduced will not be treated here. The comments and issues provided here in the rest of this section seek to be pointed so as to inform directly, policy planning and plan implementation thinking, reflection, and best practice in today's Korean context. There is no special order in the sequence of cases discussed.

### The Neighborhood Effect of New Capitals

When reflecting on the history and patterns of relocating capitals, it may be worth noting that there seems to be a kind of a contagious "neighborhood effect" during some periods of modern relocations of national capitals and other capitals by region. For example in southern South America, though it took some time for Brazil ultimately to realize the full move of the capital functions from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia, next-door neighbor Argentina put forth a proposal to move the capital from Buenos Aires to Viedma/Carmen de Patagones (Gilbert August 1989). In 1983, Argentine President Raul Alfonsi'n caused to be put into law this transfer of the capital. In the end, the Argentine capital relocation did not come to fruition. In Chile, the national congress relocated to Valparaiso from the capital city Santiago. Throughout Latin America, national capitals have been the object of interest and attention. This has been the case, in part, because capital cities are seen by the leaders in these countries to "symbolize modernity thus, shaping the capital city's built environment remains an important issue area. Construction of these projects also provides opportunities for rewarding supporters, building political machines, and acquiring personal wealth" (Myers April 17-19, 1997: 10). Also, refer to Hall (April-May-June 2000: 10) for a listing of Latin American new-capital cities.

In Northeast Asia, from ancient times onwards, China has moved its capital to various locations. Japan too has relocated its national

capital from the Nara period to the nineteenth century, and discussed further capital relocations through to the present day with the active promotion of Gifu Prefecture as a candidate site for the relocation of such capital functions as "the Lower House, the Upper House, the Central Government Offices, Supreme Court"(Sweet Valley n.d.). It has been estimated that Japan's plan to relocate the nation's capital could cost approximately U.S.\$200 billion (Ko June 21, 2004: 2). Recently, in Taiwan there has been some partisan political party debate about moving the nation's capital from Taipei in the north of the island to Kaohsiung in the south (Ko June 21, 2004). Korea too has had a history of various capital locations and sporadic capital relocation discussions have taken place throughout the last generation (Kim and Hwang July/August 1979; and Meier July/August 1979).

South Asia has had a number of noteworthy capital relocations. These have included: India; Pakistan and Sri Lanka. They are noteworthy especially for issues associated with colonialism, the stimulation of national pride and tradition, and for the physical and urban design of these new capitals.

In modern sub-Saharan Africa, the Cote d'Ivoire (1983), the Nigerian (1991) and the Tanzanian capital relocations have occurred. Also, see Hall (April-May-June 2000: 10; and Schatz February 2003). The history of the Tanzanian case is not an atypical story of the relocation of national capitals. The government of Tanzania announced in 1974 the decision to transfer the capital to interior Dodoma from coastal Dar es Salaam by the 1990s. The legislative body was relocated immediately and permanently. Lack of financial resources however has delayed the schedule for the full transfer of government until 2005.

Brazil: A Case of Sustained Followership. Brasilia, i.e., the relocated Capital of Brazil, is especially pertinent for the Republic of Korea. There are many similarities, and there are some important differences.

A notable difference is Brazil is a federal state; the Republic of Korea is a unitary state. The idea of relocating Brazil's capital had been in the public's consciousness for hundreds of years. An early proviso for a new capital city located away from the coast in the country's interior had been mandated in national law. In the mid 1950s, Brazil's President Juscelino Kubitschek got behind the notion of relocating the country's capital from crowded coastal Rio de Janeiro to the present-day location on the then undeveloped central plateau.

From this moment onward, the new city became virtually a compulsion with the President who placed behind the project all his political skill and personal enthusiasm. Some felt the project was undertaken with undue haste, but speed was necessary in the circumstances. Once Kubitschek had determined to build Brasilia, the task had to be accomplished within his single five-year term of office. By law, he could not succeed himself, and he knew that Brazilian politicians are loath to continue any project begun by a previous administration. In order for Brasilia to endure, therefore, it would have to be sufficiently complete before Kubitschek left office so that the project could not with reason be abandoned (Eldredge 1975: 475).

Some of the mechanics of Brasilia's planning and implementation are noteworthy. These include: the simple and straightforward competition for the urban design of the planned new capital; and the nature of the government corporation charged with constructing Brasilia.

The construction of Brasilia is considered Kubitschek's most notable achievement of his presidency. The initiative to relocate Brazil's national capital enjoyed the confluence of several hundred years of popular and constitutional support and the increasing realization that the crowded old capital of Rio de Janeiro was inadequate to meet the needs of the future and for the first time in Brazil's history, the

country's technical capacity was up to the task of developing a new capital.

In the long run however, the most important factor in keeping Brasilia alive may have been the popular support the project eventually received. With what now seems shrewd political insight, Kubitschek seems to have sensed that the Brazilian people were ready for adventure, and that popular imagination would respond to such a grand gesture more readily than to pedestrian and 'practical' enterprises. By 1960, Kubitschek was able to proclaim confidently, 'The Capital is moving, and anybody who tries to stop it will be lynched by the people' (Eldredge 1975: 476).

In order to guarantee that enough of Brasilia, i.e., the monumental pilot area, would be built quickly enough to ensure the perpetuation of the new capitalcity, President Kubitschek commissioned architects, including the renowned Oscar Niemeyer, to begin work on several of the intended buildings even before the national competition for the city's plan was completed. The result of this initial swift implementation process was to realize the construction of the monumental pilot area of Brasilia. Slightly more than three years after the selection of the winning master plan from the national competition, the formal inauguration of Brasilia occurred in 1960. Luc'io Costa's plan prevailed through the competition.

Within a brief period of time, he had to give Brasilia physical reality, and only the indisputable presence of a sufficient investment of asphalt, concrete and steel on site could guarantee the continuation of the project. Had Kubitschek sought to begin with a series of lengthy and very likely social and economic studies, it is more than likely that the city would never have come into existence (Eldredge, 1975: 477).

One of the most important lessons from the Brazil experience for the

current capital relocation debate in South Korea is the inherent uncertainty associated with the varying policies, priorities and commitments of different succeeding presidents and their different political parties over the long time period that it takes to realize a new capital city. The strong personal identification of Brasilia with President Kubitschek did not adhere to the three presidents who succeeded him during the decade of the 1960s. However, by 1970, the population of the Federal District of Brasilia had exceeded one-half million people, about half of these resided in the original pilot monumental area and about half lived in the separate outlying satellite communities of lower income people. The relocation of Brazil's national capital tapped into and generated a large reservoir of national pride. Despite this, "some felt the project was undertaken with undue haste" (Eldredge 1975: 475).

Sri Lanka: A Case of a Partial, Suburban and Historic Capital Relocation. In 1982, Sri Lanka, the country formerly known as Ceylon moved its House of Parliament from Colombo to Sri Jayewardenepura Kotte. This new location is in historic Kotte in suburban metropolitan Colombo eleven kilometers from the center of Colombo. Kotte was an early national capital several times in history. It was the capital most recently in the fifteenth century. Sri Lanka is a republic. It is a unitary state with Colombo serving as the country's dominant urban agglomeration. Except for the legislative functions of parliament, Colombo continues to host the other capital functions along with the highest level command and control decision making functions in the private and non-governmental sectors. Sri Lanka is noteworthy here because its policies of counterurbanization had operated to mute over concentration of population in Colombo. Successions of national governments had maintained relatively high levels of social, health-care and educational services, and relatively good roads and public transportation and connectivity throughout much of the rural countryside. This, combined with a policy of deconcentrating industries, operated to stunt inclinations for migration into Colombo

city. However, as large-scale development investments, e.g., the Mahaweli Development Program, were made in the 1970s and 1980s, the regionally dominant Tamil ethnic communities in the most northern and eastern areas of the island perceived that they were not sharing in national development benefits equitably in comparison to the country's majority ethnic group, the Sinhalese (Corey 1996). This perceived and actual disparity has resulted in an armed separatist movement by Tamil groups that has persisted for more than 20 years. The key lessons from the Sri Lanka case are that equity and social justice need to be addressed, and counterurbanization and deconcentration policies and programs sometimes can be effective in reducing overconcentration in a country's largest economically dominant urban area.

Malaysia and Putrajaya: A Case of Global Knowledge Economy Leadership in Intelligent Development. Another case of the relocation of just some capital functions with relevance for Korea is the administrative capital of Malaysia, Putrajaya. Malaysia is a multi-racial and multi-cultural country that has attained one of the better economic development levels in the Islamic world. Malaysia recently relocated the administrative functions of its federal government from Kuala Lumpur (KL) to Putrajaya. An intelligent city, Putrajaya was unveiled as the country's administrative capital in 1999. Malaysia's new administrative capital of Putrajaya is embedded in the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC), a 15 by 50 kilometer high-technology corridor that is anchored by KL in the north and the Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA) in the south (Ariff and Goh 1998; Mohamad 1998; and Corey August 2000). The new Administrative Capital of Putrajaya is 25 kilometers south of KL and with new highway and rail connections, it functions consequently as a suburban location especially for the relocated national civil service. Putrajaya was sited not on a true greenfield site, but rather in and among commercial plantations. The MSC and the relocation of the administrative capital to Putrajaya were the result of the active

leadership and championing of former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad. He left office in 2003. The MSC also includes another intelligent city, Cyberjaya. This city is intended as a commercial technopole, i.e., a research and development based growth center that engages in the creation of new technology. Both corporations from overseas and the spawning of new Malaysian firms were envisioned to locate in, and take full advantage of the technology-based environment of innovation that is being developed in the Multimedia Super Corridor (Bunnell 2004: 96). This conception is one of both government and private sector actors collaborating on common interest in value-added economic development based on contemporary information and communications technologies-supported production.

However, this case in the production of intelligent space has not been without practices of exclusion and concerns for increasing disparities, including social and spatial exclusions. The MSC growth pole has been seen by some as running "against regional development trends ostensibly oriented to a more 'balanced national' distribution"(Bunnell 2004: 117). Malaysia's approach to "intelligent development" has come up lacking in the full attainment of social justice principles. For example, in implementing the MSC:

The cheapest land identified and targeted for (re)development was frequently that over which [pre-existing] residents had limited land rights and/or legal claims to compensation. As such, the greatest social costs of transformation were borne by already socio-spatially marginal individuals and groups. New private sector-produced urban spaces were oriented to and intended literally to accommodate numerically and spatially expanding middle classes. The in situ residents here I consider, in particular, plantation workers and indigenous Orang Asli groups were financially excluded from privatized urban developments. Pre-'intelligent' territories and their inhabitants had no place in authoritative imaginings of utopian futures multimedia (Bunnell

2004: 117–118).

During the early years of the MSC implementation, the priority and the bulk of the national high-tech development investment of Malaysia went to the Corridor area. It was only later that action was taken to ensure that regions outside the MSC were included among the national high-tech investment allocations. Director General Dato'Wan Mohamed Mukhtar Bin Mohd Noor of Peninsular Malaysia's Department of Town and Country Planning envisaged that, beyond the MSC, "Malaysia will have a network of cyber cities that is link[ed] to the global information highway and other cyber cities of the world" (Noor, October 22–24, 2001: 7). The National Physical Plan for Peninsular Malaysia to 2020 is intended to promote more balanced regional and sustainable growth. A principal means of achieving this development is "in the form of dispersed concentration of networked nodes." That is, as the knowledge economy of the MSC matures, "development will be encouraged to disperse to regional centers with greatest growth potentials to catalyze the commercialization of their hinterlands" (Noor, October 22–24, 2001: 8).

Malaysia's existing mega projects and extensive technology investments that have been achieved and are planned have made possible some changed development priorities for different regions and additional sectors. Malaysia's new prime minister, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, for example, now can envisage emphasizing smaller, rural development investments with more explicit priority for the education and agriculture sectors (Jayasankaran, November 6, 2003). Both Sri Jayewardenepura Kotte in Sri Lanka and Putrajaya in Malaysia may be instructive for Korea's capital city relocation planning, because these cases of new capital cities are ones involving just some of a capital's functions, and because both cases are in relatively close proximity, i.e., within the suburban fringe, to the metropolitan area of the former capital city–region location. The relocation of Malaysia's administrative capital within the strategic

context of the nation's Vision 2020 development agenda was the direct outcome of the leadership and advocacy of the country's chief executive, the former prime minister Mahathir Mohamad; this championing had both the explicit and tacit support of the majority of Malaysians. Putrajaya and the MSC benefited greatly by the long-term tenure of Mahathir Mohamad as prime minister; he led the country for 22 years. His advocacy ensured the realization of this national Corridor project and the relocation of the administrative capital, even through the disruption of the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s. Research of the development processes and site visits to both of these Asian cases would be most informative for the policy makers and planners of South Korea's national capital relocation initiative.

For a full analysis and discussion of these new and other related intelligent development issues, see the recently published book by Tim Bunnell. It is entitled, *Malaysia, Modernity and the Multimedia Super Corridor: A Critical Geography of Intelligent Landscapes* (Bunnell 2004). Also, refer to Ramasamy, Chakrabarty, and Cheah August 2002 for an evaluation of the MSC and its need to strengthen the institutional and entrepreneurial factors of success especially focused on skills, attitude and aptitude of the workforce.

Germany and Ireland: Cases of Divided Nations and Their Capitals. As one looks to the future, there are several two-territory capital city planning cases that make for particularly creative and potentially relevant situations for the consideration of all-peninsula Korean strategists and planners. The divided nations of Germany and Ireland should be studied as cases that may provide somewhat analogous issues when planning for the Korean nation's possible ultimate reunification is conducted in the years ahead.

The German case is well documented (Campbell April 2000; and Wise April-May-June 2000). The relocation of the capital from Bonn back

to Berlin as the capital of a unified federal Germany, and all the issues associated with this unique case may have parallels for a possible reunification of the two Korea's in future. Peter Hall has noted:

The German government has faced huge costs in relocating the capital to Berlin while paying for the modernization of the East German economy. Other countries, with no such major political change in prospect, are even less likely to take the plunge [i.e., of relocating its national capital] (Hall April-May-June 2000: 11).

Because of the somewhat analogous issues, the German capital relocation case merits focused attention and research by Korean policy makers and planners respectively.

The Ireland case is less well documented for the purposes of this context. Its relevance may be in its possible source of learnings for the possible time when the Korean peninsula is to be re-unified. Since the Belfast Agreement (also known as the Good Friday Agreement) for devolved government was reached in April 1998, important movement has taken place toward improving the relationships between Northern Ireland (a province of the United Kingdom) and the Republic of Ireland. One of the important elements of the improved cross-border climate is the policy and planning work that has begun on the Dublin-Belfast Corridor 2025.

This effort must be viewed within the context of the European Union's European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). The ESDP, adopted in May 1999 by the EU, is a non-binding statutory agreement by the member states on common objectives and concepts for the spatial and regional development of Europe. The resulting policy options have three major goals in common: (1) a polycentric urban system (Healey May 2001); (2) equal access to infrastructure and knowledge; and (3) sustainable development, prudent management and protection of natural and cultural heritage. The Republic of Ireland

has formulated the *National Spatial Strategy* (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government 2002), and Northern Ireland has produced the *Regional Development Strategy* (Department for Regional Development 2001). Combined, these two strategies represent an all-island opportunity for collaboration and joint development. Within the policy and planning context of the ESDP, and the two spatial development strategies, planners from both sides of the border have begun working together to operationalize a coherent cross-border spatial development strategy for the Dublin-Belfast Corridor linking the capitals of the Republic and the Province (Healey September 11, 2003; and Healey March 2004).

The Irish case may inform the Korean case on at least two counts. One, it is essential to address the broader policy and spatial context when considering a territory's capital city's networks and linkages, both internal and external. In the case of the two Irelands, both function with dominant urban agglomerations or primate cities within their respective units of government. Two, looking to relate two territories that have been operating under separate sovereign development behavior requires analysis and planning attention to understand the commonalities and the differences and to plan differentially and in targeted staged ways that take into operational account the linkages, the disparities and the complementarities. Consequently, any all-island strategizing requires sensitive attention to these relationships. Places and the flows among their spaces produce different geographies; as a result different theories and different development strategies need to be applied appropriately. The parallel lessons for Korea and planning for the context and the time when the two Koreas are re-united will require an all-peninsula approach that seeks similar commonalities, disparities, complementarities and differentiated sensitive theoretical and policy applications. Simply, an approach that makes sense in the South, may not in the North. Alternatively, as in Ireland, it may be important to forge development networks and linkages in common, such as a

Seoul-Pyongyang Corridor that traverses the border not radically different from the Dublin-Belfast Corridor that traverses that border.

Canberra: The Planned Capital City and its Instruments of Plan Implementation. The location of Canberra is a product of compromise because of the rivalry between Sydney and Melbourne. It is the capital of a federated state. It took much of the 20th century for Canberra to realize a fully developed city. See Gordon Winter 2002. For Canberra's pertinence to the issue of relocating South Korea's national capital, its many plan-implementation instruments of making the city work are noteworthy. These may be helpful to Koreans, both in planning for a new capital and in the implementation of a new capital strategy. For purposes of learning from, and possible tailoring, planners of a new capital city for Korea should investigate Canberra's: National Capital Authority (NCA); the corporate plan of the NCA; the business plan of the NCA; NCA's communications strategy; "Australians' Perceptions of their National Capital" (CRC for Sustainable Tourism June 2002); program for "Culture, Commemoration and National Capital Awareness;" The Canberra Spatial Plan; a program for National Capital Security; and among other national capital plan-implementation instruments and public-education documents, Annual Reports. These are all instruments that are contemporary operational tools that can facilitate the realization of the capital city's vision, both as planned and as an evolving living organism of a city once implementation has gotten underway. The 2002 study of "Australians' Perceptions of their National Capital" revealed interesting findings. It found that younger visitors (18-34 years) to Canberra were most likely to believe that the capital city is portrayed positively in the media and least likely to believe that Canberra was dominated by politics; they were most likely to have visited Canberra in the last five years. On the other hand, older visitors, 35-54 and 55-75 years old, were most likely to have visited the capital more than five years ago or have never visited it; these groups further were more likely to have negative views of Canberra as

a city and see it as dominated by politics (CRC for Sustainable Tourism June 2002). It is a reasonable inference that the lengthy time that it took to get Canberra to be nearly fully developed from the time of its founding in 1927 has produced a generation gap. Older people have spent much or most of their lives with the national capital under slow development, while young Australians have grown up during a time when Canberra was coming to near full realization. This generational factor is one that should be carefully considered by the policy makers and planners of a new national capital for South Korea. It suggests that a reservoir of deep and sustained commitment by the national citizenry is an important dynamic in having the support required to complete such a time-consuming and expensive project as relocating a national capital.

In this present era of concern for security, it is important for a new capital to have detailed plans and procedures for public access and safety. Canberra has available a set of protocols and assessment criteria for approving public demonstrations. See National Capital Authority 2002.

Washington, D.C.: Government, Inc City-Region. After several hundred years of development and evolution, this planned national capital city case offers an example of a fully developed and thriving relocated capital. It is the capital of a federated national state. Similar to Canberra, it too came about because of compromise. It was located along the Potomac River, adjacent to the existing town of Georgetown. Thomas Jefferson supported Alexander Hamilton's "banking and federal bond plans in exchange for the choice of a Southern locale for the capital" (WordIQ n.d.). The states of Maryland and Virginia granted the land initially to the federal government for the national capital. In terms of governance today, the citizens of the District of Columbia are not equally represented in Congress with the same rights as the citizens of the fifty states. District citizens however, may vote in U.S. Presidential elections. While financially

dependent on the federal government, the municipality operates under a form of self government. Washington, D.C.'s governmental structure has been analyzed and compared to ten other national capitals (Boyd and Fauntroy March 29, 2002).

From the perspective of particular lessons for Korea, it is noted that Washington, D.C. anchors a highly productive and prosperous economic region, i.e., the Baltimore–Washington Corridor that includes Northern Virginia. This region is part of the southern segment of Megalopolis (Gottmann 1961). This segment has one of the country's largest and densest concentration of scientists and engineers and white collar knowledge workers in information and communications technologies, and the biosciences, in government, for-profit corporations, not-for-profit or non-governmental organizations, and universities. These knowledge-based jobs, in part are stimulated by the consulting, professional services, and in general, the producer industries associated with doing business with the federal government. These include firms of attorneys, accountants, advertising, public relations, marketing, trade associations, lobbyists, think tanks, and in general, a range of occupations of knowledge workers who are employed by "Beltway Bandits," i.e., firms that compete for and execute government contracts. As a result, over a 32-year period, from 1969 to 2001, the District of Columbia had per capita income growth that was 31.2 per cent above the national average; 31.5 per cent of the D.C. workforce is in knowledge-based jobs, while less than one per cent of the workers are in manufacturing (Michigan Technology News August 12, 2004: 3). Many capitals are government cities; their principal government products include such outcomes as: regulations; monetary and central bank decisions; weather forecasts; information, such as from the census; and research, as from laboratories and science institutes. Washington, D.C. and its southern Megalopolis region is a significant "government city and region," but its economy also has developed into a diverse one, driven by a wide range of relatively high-paid workers in

producer service sectors as just noted. Additionally, over the last generation, the Washington metropolitan area has evolved into an international-level cultural center with associated tourists from elsewhere and enhanced quality of life amenities for the residents of the city-region. It should be noted that the U.S. government long has practiced a form of deconcentration. Federal buildings and complexes are constructed and leased outside the District of Columbia (as well as inside the city). Among other beneficiaries, this policy has produced benefits for the private sector, including property developers and real estate firms, and in the outlying destination localities. This policy has served to disperse development widely throughout the region. Traffic congestion for example, has increased dramatically beyond the Beltway and along north-south corridors away from the city. In addition to implementing this kind of a deconcentration policy, the U.S. General Services Administration (GSA) operates a program of telework centers in surrounding communities of the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. Further, the cumulative effect of these deconcentrated developments have functioned to spawn significant private-sector property and construction investments, especially general office space and back office commercial enterprises, beyond the District of Columbia and beyond the Beltway and its edge cities (Fuchs, C., S. Mastran and J. Meany 1991). An additional function of the GSA is to ensure quality in the selection of the most highly regarded private sector architects, engineers, designers and construction professionals. The result has been internationally recognized design and construction programs for their excellence. The GSA also plays the role of steward for historic federal properties. As part of its Fine Arts Program, the GSA commissions top artists to create quality artwork for federal buildings. In the end, the federal government's impact on the Washington, D.C.-Baltimore-Northern Virginia region is significant.

National government and its capital functions, even in large metropolitan capitals, have a major impact on the region's economy. For example, the Washington, D.C. National Capital Region has had the

following economic impacts:

- The region had 20 million visitors in 2001, which generated more than US\$4 billion in regional economic activity. Part of the touristic attraction are the more than 230 memorials and museums in D.C. and surrounding environs.
- In 2002, there were 169 diplomatic missions and 28 officially recognized international organizations in the region.
- The federal government is the largest employer in the region; in 2000, 15 per cent of the region's total workforce were federal employees, this was approximately 370,000 workers, many of these were knowledge workers.
- Federal procurement contracts in the region amounted to 21 per cent of the gross regional product in 2000; this was valued at US\$28.4 billion.
- The federal government owned 155 million square feet and leased 55 million square feet in 2003. Of this total space, 43 per cent was in the District; 30 per cent in Maryland; and 27 per cent in Virginia.
- The federal government has jurisdiction of 13 per cent of the region's 2,412 square miles. Of the government's 321 square miles, 19.3 per cent is in parkland and open space. This is a much greater proportion of park area than most large cities in the United States (National Association to Restore Pride in America's Capital January 5, 2004; and National Capital Planning Commission March 2004). The National Mall in the heart of Monumental Washington is noteworthy particularly because it provides the country with a "national space" that accommodates the expression of collective will. Some of these expressions include protest, celebration, and national mourning, among other demonstrations. Such space is critical for the sustenance of national pride and solidarity, and therefore must be a component of a new-capital plan..

Has a baseline economic impact study been done for the Seoul Metropolitan Region? Because of the symbolic nature of Washington, D.C., Americans hold this city in special regard. It is a monumental city, which has been laid out and built up according to principles of good urban design and planning. Public art, civic architecture, and landscape design have framed the plan implementation for over several hundred years now. This long-standing planning tradition has produced a city that has a national image and appearance. Consequently, Washington is perceived as a special place by the American people. The planning legacy from this national capital city planning has set and raised planning and design expectations and standards in the United States for the populace in general and professional planners in particular. (Gutheim 1977; and National Capital Planning Commission March 2004).

Given the strong influence of the federal government on the National Capital Region outside of the District and beyond the Beltway, it should be noted that there are suburbanization dynamics that hold lessons for planners of other capital cities. In the United States, including the Washington, D.C.-Baltimore-Northern Virginia corridor region, a new metropolitan form has been identified; it has been labeled "edgeless cities"(Lang 2003). The growth and spatial structure of suburban office development in many American city-regions have revealed two types of forms: edge cities that are large-scale bounded relatively dense forms of suburban office and other development; and edgeless cities which are relatively low density forms of office and other non-mixed use development that is relatively less accessible by public transit. If this phenomenon of various forms of more distant urban sprawl (Hayden 2004) is generic to the largest city-regions, then what might be the implications for the Seoul Metropolitan Region, especially for areas beyond Gyeonggi Province and possibly in association with a planned alternative of relocating capital functions in closer, rather than more distant locations?

Ottawa. Ottawa, the capital of Canada is located at the language, ethnic and cultural seam of Canada, i.e., on the boundary between the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Situated on the Ottawa River, Ottawa was named Canada's capital by Queen Victoria in 1857. This locational choice was a compromise. The Queen's selection settled a capital relocation dispute between Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Kingston and Quebec City (the preceding capital location). Ottawa-Hull's distances to the country's two largest cities are: 402 kilometers to Toronto and 203 kilometers to Montreal. The Ottawa-Hull area had pre-existing settlements, so it was not a greenfield site. Indeed, during their history, they were said to be "dreary industrial towns" (Gordon Winter 2002: 191).

Soon after the Queen's capital location decision, work began on the new parliament buildings. In part, because of this early start of the physical capital, by 1999, the National Capital Commission was able to mark one hundred years of planning and implementing the plans of the capital region of Canada. See Gordon Winter 2002. The National Capital Region consists of Aylmer, Gatineau and Hull in Quebec, and Ottawa-Carleton in Ontario. The National Capital Region is recognized as reflecting the founding cultures of the nation. Canada today is a confederated state with parliamentary democracy. During the long period of one-hundred years, the weakness of provincial planning legislation and the opposition of local governments retarded the early implementation of a highly regarded comprehensive national capital plan. Consequently, the federal government decided that it had to act on its own; it formed the National Capital Commission (NCC) in 1959, and granted it powers to expropriate land, build infrastructure and create parks. After more than a hundred years of development, the resulting Ottawa-Hull capital city area now has been recognized generally as a success. Four factors have been assessed as key to the success of the capital city: (1) vision; (2) political leadership; (3) long-range planning; and (4) capacity for evolution (Lapointe and Dube' April-May-June 2000: 18). As NCC's managerial capacity

increased and matured, it was delegated "responsibility for maintaining the grounds of all federal buildings in the National Capital Region, project management of infrastructure, and land use planning approval for federal properties" (Gordon Winter 2002: 190). In order to build on its record of continuous planning and plan implementation accomplishment, the National Capital Commission (NCC) has developed a *Corporate Plan 2001-2002 to 2005-2006* (National Capital Commission n.d.). Because of a recent governance study that assessed the NCC's relationships with federal partners, local municipal governments and the public, the Commission prioritized "relationships" as its central concern to advance its mission of continuing to build the national capital. Attending to relationships was seen as critical to enhancing understanding of and support for its mission of "creating pride and unity through Canada's Capital Region." To plan the capital region, the NCC has identified these capital planning principles: symbolism; beauty; greenery; stewardship; orientation, i.e., facilitating visitors finding the services and information that they need to fully appreciate the capital; safety, comfort and accessibility; and transportation and communication. The Commission also has developed regional planning principles to address the needs of local residents: livability; partnerships for planning to enhance coordination among the various levels of planners; efficiency so as to produce good and timely results from government investments in the capital; natural resource conservation; "heart," so as to ensure a dynamic core area of the capital region; and transportation and communication (Planning the Capital Region n.d.).

The National Capital Commission is rich in case material of various approaches that are used during the plan implementation stages of fully developing a national capital. In addition to the just-cited *Corporate Plan*, the NCC Web site may be explored for such practicalities as: budget figures; reporting relationships, i.e., to Parliament; its status as an organization that functions at arm's length from the central government, i.e., as a Crown Corporation; its

functioning as a business with a public policy purpose; real asset management; communications, marketing and external relations; land management; and corporate audit, research and evaluation functions. Finally, in order to monitor progress on the capital city's development, and to ensure NCC's accountability to the public, a not-for-profit citizens organization has formed called NCC Watch (See NCC Watch, n.d.).

Ottawa planners now are building planning visions for the next 100 years. They would plan for four elements: (1) preserving heritage resources; (2) urban design and economic development; (3) protecting the environment; and (4) transportation planning (Dowd, et.al. April-May-June 2000).

Japan: Experience in Growing a Science City. To the extent that South Korea's capital relocation of government entities will involve the movement of science-producing organizations. There may be usefulness in assessing the pros and cons, and questions of the Japanese experience in planning and implementing Tsukuba Science City and other related projects in Japan, e.g., the technopolis initiatives. For example, what were the reasons for the long period of time that was taken for the science city's development? In this era of the global knowledge economy, which is driven in important respects by the creation of value-added science and technology intellectual property, such concerns as should they be localized and regionalized will be important factors in planning for national development in Korea. The Tsukuba Science City planning and implementation experience is rich in development and community building lessons for other places whose leaders and planners are considering similar projects. The case has all the pros (e.g., getting away from the congestion of Tokyo and the pleasant new upgraded environment in which to live and work, etc.) and cons (e.g., long time to build, sterile environment, etc.) of new town planning, plus its success is dependent directly on the communication among, and productivity of the

scientists and indirectly their happiness and satisfaction with the amenities and quality of life and work in the science city (Dearing 1995). On a related matter, Japan's technopolis program also should be explored for lesson transfer to the current and near-term national development Korean strategic planning environment.

Switzerland: More than Federation. The case of Switzerland is interesting and pertinent here for several reasons. Firstly, the country is a "confederation," and secondly, Switzerland hosts and has invented several other types of capitals. The country's formal long name is "Swiss Confederation." It was founded in 1291. A confederation is a state composed of self-governing regions. The central government of a confederation is weaker than the central government of a federation, or another way of expressing the functionality of a confederation is to recognize that its regions have more authority than the regions of a federation. Additionally, the Swiss Confederation and especially the city-region of Geneva (See Hall's "super-capital," April-May-June 2000: 8) has a long modern history of hosting pan-national international governance organizations such as the old League of Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and among many other non-governmental and humanitarian organizations, some of the principal organizations of the United Nations, e.g., International Labor Organization, International Telecommunication Union, World Health Organization, World Trade Organization, and many additional UN offices. The national capital of Bern has not relocated. Indeed, it is quite historic; the city was founded in 1191, and Bern joined the Swiss Confederation in 1353. Bern is both the nation's capital and the capital of the Bern canton. Ever the enterprising and business people, the Swiss also have been innovative in inventing other kinds of "capitals" in other cities and other regions of the country other than Bern. For example, Lausanne is the world's "Olympic Capital;" Lausanne is the seat of the International Olympic Committee and the home of the Olympic Museum. To its benefit, the regions and the country of the Swiss

Confederation have constructed a global niche of special "international capitals" that operate to bring value-added prosperity and cross-border networking on top of its traditional economic advantages in watches, chocolate, international banking, and so on.

Europe: Culture Capitals and Super Capitals of Europe. Europe is a source for innovative ideas on and for "capitals" The European Union (EU) initiated the "European City of Culture" program, the purpose of which was to bring European citizens closer together. The program has evolved and advanced to the point in 1999, when it was re-named European Capital of Culture. The EU operates a competition and then has a jury select a city each year. The selected city is awarded a grant and is designated a "Capital of Culture" for a year's time. Recent examples have included: Cork, Ireland; Patras, Greece; Luxembourg; and Liverpool, United Kingdom. When competing for the capital of culture title, cities have expended great effort to improve the city's physical facilities and programs in culture. Such upgrading, whether selected in competition or not, have operated to enhance cultural life in specific cities and through visitors, across Europe. While the EU operates this program across its continent, it also represents an interesting model for application at the scale of a country. Such a program could be instrumental in bringing attention to and support for local culture, national history and the significance of the capital concept that can be nurtured further.

Additionally, in this era of globalization and increasing interdependence among countries, new pan-national governance forms have emerged. The European Union (EU) again is noteworthy. Typically, Brussels in Belgium is popularly thought of as the "capital" of the EU. However, the EU has its principal governance functions allocated to three "capital cities." The Secretariat of the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice, i.e., the court of the European Union, are located in Luxembourg. The seat of the European Parliament is in Strasbourg, France; the plenary sessions of

the European Parliament meet there. In addition, Strasbourg is the seat of the non-EU Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights. Brussels is the seat for the EU's European Commission and the Council of the European Union. Parliamentary committees of the European Union also meet in Brussels. Additionally, Brussels is the political seat of the non-EU North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

These examples are relevant here because they demonstrate transnational and cross-border governance approaches. They also are pertinent because they illustrate operation of the dispersion of individual or partial "capital" functions and cases of actual spatially deconcentrated governance structures. The question of the effectiveness of such a structure remains to be assessed and determined.

#### London: A Global-City Capital

London is a national capital. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is a constitutional monarchy. It is a place of historical and imperial roots, and it is a place that has an internal geography that is rich and diverse (Ackroyd 2000). However, from the perspective of the presentation here, there is a much more compelling reason to understand the dynamics of London today. London today is a global-city that also happens to be a national capital; it is a global capital. It is a national capital of a unitary state that recently has devolved more governance autonomy to some of its provinces. "The global city is not just a place, it is a process" (Taylor April 15, 2004: 1). In the spirit of Castells' space of flows concept, London has been analyzed recently within the context of the global knowledge economy and network society (Taylor April 15, 2004).

Manuel Castells has written, "a network is a set of interconnected nodes."..."Networks are open structures, able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as

they are able to communicate within the network... (Castells 1996: 470)." "The new economy is organized around global networks of capital, management and information, whose access to technological know-how is at the roots of productivity and competitiveness."... The network society, in its various institutional expressions, is, for the time being, a capitalist society. ... But this brand of capitalism is profoundly different from its historical predecessors. It has two fundamental distinctive features: it is global, and it is structured to a large extent, around a network of financial flows (Castells 1996: 471)."At a deeper level, the material foundations of society, space and time are being transformed, organized around the space of flows and timeless time. (Castells 1996: 476)."

London may be a useful case for a relatively few other city-regions as their planners plan for the complete transformation that is required to attain global-city status (Seoul Development Institute December 2003). Three recent books have provided insights into London's functioning as a strategic actor in the context of globalization (Buck, et. al. 2002; Ellis, Hirmis and Spilsbury 2002; and Hammett 2003). Collectively, they are extremely useful object lessons for would-be world city policies formulation and planning ideas. They provide analysis of the internal relations as well as the external networking relations that distinguish world-cities from other city-regions. That is, world-cities interact significantly with other distant world-cities, in addition to interacting with nearer non-world cities. Peter Hall has observed that in addition to the cost and the disruption, governments will be cautious to move the capital from major global cities. They

now increasingly compete with each other to attract top-level global activities, transnational capital and elite populations. Because of this fact, national governments are less likely to countenance a move that could compromise their leading city and,

by implication, their country (Hall April–May–June 2000: 11).

In this context, a fundamental question is to what extent does the national capital functions contribute to the economic status of Seoul's city-region as a would-be global city? Put another way, if the national capital functions of a global city were removed, then what would be the impact on the global city or on a city-region aspiring to become a global city? Planning research to answer these questions seems critical if the capital functions are to be relocated away from the current capital city-region of Seoul (Cf., Jun November 15, 2003). It must be noted further that it is not good enough to study and plan for generic "capital functions." To be effective, such research today must get inside these dynamics; it must parse out the different geographies that are involved. Refer to the e-business spectrum discussion below in the subsection on "New and Different Geographies." We know now that the more routine informational activities of government are more susceptible to successful distant relocation than are the high-level idiosyncratic decision functions that are associated with specialized command-and-control activities by both top government and corporate leaders. These latter activities require the option of regular face-to-face contact; this requires spatial and locational proximity.

Other Capitals. Kazakhstan, relocated its national capital city from Almaty to Astana in 1997. This case of national capital relocation is idiosyncratic. Schatz (February 2003) has depicted the move of this capital as more analogous to the reasons for relocating capitals in post-colonial Africa than to the development issues faces by the newly-created countries of the post-Soviet era. The interests of Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarvaez to change the Soviet-era patronage structure, to marginalize members of the bureaucracy of the old capital, to re-structure the economy because of new opportunities presented by extractive industries, to re-orient the capital away from China and toward Russia, all combined to contribute to the president's

vision to address Kazakhstan's construction of independent statehood and to build a national identity from the country's ethnic diversity. The move to Astana was a key tool and central part of this multifaceted approach to state and nation building.

As capitals of unitary states, Paris and Rome also might be informative for Korean policy makers and planners. France long has been concerned with the dominance of Paris and has applied different approaches to the issue (Evenson 1979). An assessment of their effectiveness may provide useful lessons for Korea. With Rome located between the developed north of Italy and less developed southern Italy, there may be some parallels for Seoul and for the Korean peninsula by deriving lessons from Italy in general and overcrowd traffic congested Rome in particular (Malusardi November 1989).

## IMPLICATIONS FOR KOREA

Given the lack of national consensus, the huge long-term stakes involved and the mixed history of relocating national capitals and implementing new capitals elsewhere, it would make sense for the leaders and people of South Korea to think twice before proceeding now with the actual implementation of such a project. A six-month period of further reflection and informed debate would seem to be in order. If after such a pause there is compelling reason to proceed, then at least the nation's major concerns and visions would have been aired and thoughtfully considered.

### Lessons Derived from the Capital City Planning and Implementation Cases from Ottawa and Canberra

The deep literature on capital cities and capital city planning defies exhaustive analysis here. The cases selected however seem

reasonably representative of the principal issues that must be considered when contemplating the relocation of the national capital of the Republic of Korea. From this vast literature, an excellent evaluative article was identified. It is valuable especially for planners and for plan implementers who might be engaging in the relocation of a national capital and the associated capital city planning and plan implementation. The 2002 article, by Professor David L. A. Gordon is comparative. It is entitled, "Ottawa-Hull and Canberra: Implementation of Capital City Plans." His analysis spans a 75-year period for Ottawa and a parallel 67-year period for Canberra. Five elements for successful plan implementation were used to assess and evaluate the city planning and plan implementation processes of the two capital cities. The elements used were: (1) political support; (2) financial support; (3) planning skills; (4) administrative expertise; and (5) champion. This section here on deriving implications for Korea may begin best by means of a brief review of Professor Gordon's findings of joint lessons from Ottawa and Canberra.

Politics and Champions. Australia was unable to "lock in" the winning choice in the early (1911-1930) capital plan competition soon enough to get capital construction started and enough of the complex in place to ensure that the capital would be built on schedule. In Ottawa and Brasilia, they were able to get the initial construction in place soon enough to lock in the commitment needed to complete the new city over time. Consequently,

Canberra was subject to almost a half-century of debilitating attacks by civil servants, federal politicians and the press who did not wish to leave the comfort of Sydney and Melbourne, and state politicians who regarded spending upon the federal capital as a waste (Gordon Winter 2002: 203).

Strong high-level champions were essential to getting both capitals built and completed. Canada's prime minister, William Lyon Mackenzie

King, personally shepherded Ottawa proposals for 30 years. A new capital city champion with this kind of longevity is extremely rare. More characteristic is for the champion of the new-capital city to leave office well before the project's completion and without having achieved a political consensus across party lines to ensure that the effort will be sustained over different administrations. Even after death, the groundwork that was laid in both Canada and Australia by Mackenzie King and prime minister Robert Menzies respectively was sufficient to bridge regime changes and to see the successful realization of the two capital cities.

Financial Management. From his analysis of the long capital city planning histories of Canberra and Ottawa, Professor Gordon concluded:

It takes a great deal of time and money to develop a new town, A national capital has additional costs to construct the key government buildings, monuments and public spaces to a standard that inspires national pride. The infrastructure, which has no political benefits, has to be built first. The lengthy construction period needed for infrastructure and major public buildings like a Parliament House require stable financing over periods exceeding the typical four-Year political mandate (Gordon Winter 2002: 205).

Political consensus has to be built early in the capital city planning process. This consensus and stream of funding has to be strong and deep enough to transcend many years, different prime ministers, regime changes, party politics, and the weariness of the public.

Planning and Urban Design Expertise. Lack of professional planning capacity was a factor that long delayed the realization of Canberra and Ottawa. Outstanding outside designers were brought in early and as needed, but an in-house design capacity, combined with design administrators and managers were needed to complement the

early work of the external planners and designers. This enabled each group of professionals to emphasize their specialized skills. From the Australian experience, good design and quality planning were proven quite important over the long term.

Administrative Skills. In the implementation of the plan, organizational capacity and autonomy have been demonstrated to be crucial. Using staff from other agencies was not a successful approach. The value of demonstrating results and outcomes that are recognized by the public was proven important. The role of memorials, monuments and symbols that stimulate national pride are essential to sustaining the public's interest in the developing new capital. These results are supported best by effective public education and public relations. Independent capital development agencies staffed by high-quality personnel not subject to civil service restrictions were identified by Professor Gordon as part of successful plan implementation.

Future Directions. Professors Gordon's findings also found that capital implementation agencies as just described are needed in the early stages of plan execution, however later, after the city's basic infrastructure resulting from land use and transportation planning has been established, then these agencies can be scaled back. By re-focusing their missions in the later stages of plan implementation, the new focus can be on developing the monumental and ceremonial cores of the capitals.

#### Additional Lessons from Elsewhere

The next part of this section derives additional lessons, from the other capital relocation cases and literature, i.e., beyond those lessons from Ottawa-Hull and Canberra just summarized above. These implications are listed in no particular order.

Knowledge Exploration to Enhance Capital City Planning: Toward a Learning Community. Korean urban and regional planners long have involved foreign experts in the research and formulation of future planning strategies and policies planning. In the case of relocating some or all of its national capital functions away from Seoul, it is recommended that this tradition be maintained. A component of such knowledge exploration should include more focused research from home, and study visits abroad to a selection of other countries that have engaged in the relocation of the national capital or some of the functions of such cities, e.g., the executive or administrative functions of the central government. Countries also should be visited that have produced some success and have failed in such capital relocation related issues as balanced national development (e.g., Europe's experience to date with the European Spatial Development Perspective) and congestion of large city-regions (e.g., London, Rome, and Singapore). The study team should be composed of opinion leaders from South Korea's policy and planning communities. The team should be cross-generational and representative of the principal segments of the political party spectrum in the Republic.

Such study visits should include a range and diversity of cases of national capital city planning (Putrajaya) and other examples of related new-town planning and implementation cases, e.g., Tsukuba Science City. The cases should be variable with respect to such characteristics as: historical origins; political economy; form of national government; and culture, among other attributes.

This approach has the potential also to develop a base of common experience among the Korean policy makers and planners who are selected to engage in such direct knowledge exploration. Such experience can be invaluable after returning to Korea to engage in the hard work of political consensus building and imagining an innovative and creative development vision for Korea and its regions. Study visits also should be complemented by additional on-going knowledge

exploration research conducted from Korea.

Process Really Matters. Doing the capital relocation right is a huge national opportunity. Thereby, enhanced faith in government might be an important legacy to build on in future. The opportunity costs must be considered. If the country were to relocate the national capital, then what other strategic initiative(s) will not be pursued? The unintended consequences must be thought through. If the capital is moved, and based on the lessons from elsewhere, what likely candidate unplanned events might be lost? For example, when there might be a re-unified Korean peninsula, might a new capital option to facilitate all-peninsula unification be diminished or lost because of already having made such a huge relatively recent investment?

Consensus and Sustained Support Really Matter. The means here are leadership, vision, championship and followership. From the capital relocation cases elsewhere, it was clear that these ingredients were required, but not necessarily sufficient for success. In the case of Brazil, several hundred years of widespread popular yearning for a break from a colonial past and the vision to expand the development of the country into the undeveloped interior combined with an old overcrowded capital city, were powerful forces of momentum for a speedy relocation of the initial pilot core physical infrastructure for the national capital. Even this case suffered long lapses of national action as leaders and regimes came and went. In the cases of Ottawa and Canberra, at certain phases in long and badly-flawed capital city development processes, the leadership and national consensus were sufficient to retrieve nearly dormant aspirations for a new capital and turn the tide of inaction ultimately to complete the capital vision.

Compromise. Historically, political compromise has been routine and central to the process of selecting locations for the movement of national capitals. Such compromises frequently involved splitting the difference on location. The cases of Washington, D.C., Ottawa and

Canberra are the prototypical examples of locational compromise. Argentina demonstrated another kind of compromise, and that was deciding not to proceed with a planned national capital relocation. Politicians and leaders change their minds and policies routinely. To change one's mind for a project as expensive and time consuming as relocating a national capital should not be taken as a sign of indecision, but rather one of wisdom and discretion.

A legacy of Consensus and Good Planning. Should it ultimately be decided not to relocate the Republic's capital at this time, then an alternative position is to invest the political capital necessary to build a strong and lasting national consensus for more even and equitable balanced national development premised on increased local and regional autonomy and fully anticipatory of a re-unified Korean peninsula. Such a legacy and vision would follow the principles of intelligent development defined above and would include the possibility of a new capital for an all-peninsula Korean country that taps into the contemporary dynamism, global competitiveness and a five millennial history of the nation. One may discern flashes and pieces of such consensus/leadership and good planning/implementation in such cases as: Ottawa Putrajaya; Washington, D.C., and Canberra.

Nearby Versus Distant Capital and Capital Functions Relocations. Many capital relocations have involved distant moves, such as the cases of Brasilia, Canberra, Ottawa, and Washington, D.C. The other pattern of relocated capitals or some capital functions are those whose relocation destination(s) is relatively close to the previous location of the nation's capital; these examples include New Delhi (Volwahren 2002), Sri Jayawardenapura Kotte, Putrajaya, The Hague, and Washington, D.C. The nearby location(s) for the new capital or some of the functions of the capital has the advantage of: (1) deflecting some development from the old capital's congested core; and (2) being able to draw development benefits from the older earlier capital city.

During the initial development period of the new capital, the old capital and its strong urban agglomeration dynamics can provide some economic support to the new capital city. It is unclear what direct benefits accrue or might accrue to the old capital once the new capital has matured into a city in its own right. This is the case whether the relocated capital or its functions are near or far. The distance factor may be ameliorated only somewhat by electronic communications and high-speed rail and expressway links between the new capital and the economically-socially-culturally-amenities-dominant old capital. For high-level private and public decision making and strategic social capital exchanges, routine face-to-face proximity is critical. For a would-be global city, this needs careful attention.

New and Different Geographies. What has been termed the e-business spectrum (Corey December 19, 2003: 71) included below, depicts the principal economic functions of today's global knowledge economy and network society at regional and local scales. It was conceived with the inherent bias that the production functions are the economic drivers with the other functions following as dependent variables. Each of these functions has its own *locational and spatial organizational pattern*. These general geographical patterns are conceptualized as concentrated or clustered patterns and dispersed or distributed patterns. These general geographical patterns are symbolized below as (C) for concentrated or clustered patterns and (D) for dispersed or distributed patterns.

Production Functions:

- Science & Technology-driven Research & Development (C)
- Commercialization of Products & Services (C)
- Business & Producer Services (C) & Products (D)
- Public & Government Producer Services & Products (C&D)
  - e.g., regulatory functions, fiscal & monetary decisions, information (i.e., weather forecasts), taxation, etc.

Consumption (e-commerce) Functions:

- Online Procurement: B2B & B2G (D)
- Online Retailing: B2C & G2C (D)
- Value-Added Complementarities between Electronic & Physical Sales, i.e., "clicks & bricks" (C&D)

Amenity Factors:

- Social, Cultural and Institutional Activities (C & D)
- Natural Environmental Attributes (C)
- Educational & Human Capacity Building & Quality of Both (C&D)

When planning for the location and relocation of economic functions these locational and spatial differentiations should be accommodated.

Most importantly from the perspective of Seoul City, Gyeonggi and the Seoul Metropolitan Region which functions get impacted by a decision to relocate the capital or some of the administrative functions of the capital, are critical. Many of the production functions associated with value-added ideas, strategic command and control functions and highest level joint decision making and coordination that bridge the private sector and the national government sector need to be in proximity. Without careful attention to such specialized functional and spatial/locational dynamics, the global city/world-city development of the Seoul urban agglomeration could be muted, and in the process negatively impact the nation's economy. These dynamics must be researched in depth and strategized accordingly.

Criticality of Early Building. In the cases of Brasilia and Ottawa, the tactic of earliest speedy construction was used to ensure that sufficient building was on the ground to make it difficult to halt the process of completing the relocation of a national capital.

Quality. The cases from elsewhere have demonstrated a number of instances of bold and excellent plans and designs for a new capital. Some of these, through time have included: Brasilia; Canberra; Paris; St. Petersburg, Russia; and Washington, D.C. Quality also has manifested itself in the landscaping, architecture, memorials, artwork and quality of materials used. Sometimes such quality can be in stark contrast with the rest of the country or the surrounding area of the new capital, as in the case of Brasilia and Astana, Kazakhstan.

Timing. In the initiation of Brasilia at that time (late 1950s) was a fortuitous nexus of interests and forces that was facilitative of taking action for the relocation of the national capital. In the cases of Washington, D.C., Astana, Canberra and Ottawa, among others, the move of the capital occurred at a period in the evolution of the country such that state building and or nation building were underway. In the case of the Republic of Korea today, the question must be asked and answered, "why now?"

Sustainable Commitment. Brasilia, Ottawa and Washington, D.C. are good examples of new capitals that underwent forward motion and then periods of relative inaction in the implementation of the planned city. But either through the lasting consensus built by the first champion or by a later champion, there was sufficient support politically and or among the populace over longer or briefer periods of time to complete the essence of the physical and functional capital.

The Form of the National State Matters. National capital relocations make different contributions based in part on the nature of the country's structure of state governance. Confederations, e.g., Canada and Switzerland, offer maximum autonomy for the country's provinces and local units of governance. If South Korea is to continue the pursuit of greater local autonomy, then confederation might be considered as a longer term goal (Corey 1993). Federal governments have demonstrated proclivities for relocating national capitals as a

means of building and strengthening national cohesion among its intra-national states, e.g., Australia and the United States. Should South Korea pursue greater local autonomy, then federation might be an intermediate transition stage before launching into a possible confederation. Unitary states often have national capitals that are economically dominant and function as primate cities. Such dominance typically attracts migrants from the state's countryside and out-country urban areas, and there often is cumulative synergistic over-development that results in population and traffic congestion and over extension of the capital's aging infrastructure.

The Role of Congestion. Does intervention for deconcentration work? Note Sri Lanka and Washington, D.C. Old, large overly congested city-regions have been the targets of deconcentration interventions for centuries. Does relocating the national capital or some of its functions from such congested capitals either reduce, slow the growth or divert congestion? This is a fundamental question that demands much more systematic attention before using over concentration as a primary motivation for moving a national capital. By no means is the evidence clear or compelling. Sri Lanka was successful for quite a period of time by keeping the countryside relatively attractive, while the colonial capital of Colombo was maintained at a level that did not stimulate in migration and core-area employment generation (Corey 1996). The Washington, D.C. metropolitan region over the years have dispersed a great deal of development away from the District and the area inside the Beltway. This has resulted slowing a bit the hyper congestion that otherwise would have totally clogged the capital.

Physical Planning and Design in Capital City Planning: The Model from the Past. In the past, the bulk of the effort that went into the planning of new and relocated capitals was in design and physical planning. Coupled with the interests of presidents, prime ministers and other national leaders for the early initiation and swift construction of

the new capital that they championed, well-known architects and planners often were commissioned at the earliest stage of the capital city planning process. This enabled early construction and widespread regard of the initial buildings because of the reputations of these famous designers. Examples of some of these designers have included: Oscar Niemeyer and Lucio Costa for Brasilia; Le Corbusier for Chandigarh the capital of the Punjab, India; Constantinos Doxiadis for Islamabad, Pakistan (Botka July/August–November/December 1995; and Doxiadis 1968); Jacques Greber for Ottawa; and among others, Walter Burley Griffin for Canberra.

Organizational and Governance Issues for Capital Cities: Planning and Implementation. In the zeal to get a new capital underway, too often short shrift is given to the post-planning phase of relocating a capital. Many of the cases from elsewhere evidenced too heavy a reliance on on-the-job-training when it came to plan implementation, governance, and management of the built capital city. Washington, D.C., Ottawa and Canberra each had to invent implementation organizations and governance structures at various stages of their respective implementation processes to accommodate to the "good plan/bad implementation" situations that have characterized many other capital moves. See Boyd and Fauntroy March 29, 2002 for additional cases of governmental structures for national capitals.

Central Government Impact: To Disperse or To Cluster? In the end, the local, regional economic, and development impacts of national governments are huge. To the extent that such government investments and spin-off developments by the private sector are concentrated in a principal city-region or in a dispersed pattern of planned growth poles, then there may be more or less impact. Critical-mass issues may be critical; in any case, they need to be thoroughly researched for applicability to the Korean case. It is imperative to do baseline economic and other impact research on Seoul's current influence. Then forecasts of likely future impacts need

to be made for the receiving area to which the administrative capital functions are to be sent, and the resulting impacts for the sending area of Seoul (Cf., Jun November 15, 2003). The latter impact analyses should be sensitive enough to be able to differentiate between the likely different impacts that can be expected for Seoul City, Gyeonggi and an expanded Seoul Metropolitan Region, including edge city and more remote edgeless city types of areas. This will necessitate applying the different geographies that are associated with today's different economic functions.

Security, Demonstrations, Festivals and Events. The importance of the new capital having large enough and properly designed space is critical. Examples noted here have included Washington, D.C. and Canberra. Such large open spaces are used regularly in such Asian capitals such as: Pyongyang; New Delhi; Beijing and Singapore (Burton August 14/August 15, 2004).

Move the Capital to Change the Bureaucracy. Astana and Brasilia in part were motivated by presidential interest in replacing or catalyzing the government workers of the national bureaucracy. In the Kazakhstan example, changing the patronage system and recipients was the motivation (Schatz February 2003). In the Brazil example, the national government workers in Rio de Janeiro worked part-time; the president intended that the move to isolated Brasilia would result in full-time commitment and greater productivity (Eldredge 1975).

The Need for Long-Term and Planning. Given that several generations are needed to relocate and build a fully developed new capital and new town, it is essential that the strategies for the capital project prepare for well into the future. The cases that have been reviewed here suggest that 60 to 100 years is an appropriate and realistic time horizon for such planning.

The Need for Medium-Term Planning and Short-Term Scheduling. A new capital city takes a great deal of time and operational scheduling to develop. Experiences and lessons learned from Canberra, Brasilia and Islamabad indicate that, among other things, the process of creating a new capital city tends to take a long time. It has taken over 20 years to implement Islamabad's plan and a half a century was required to reach the new capital's population of 50,000 in Canberra. Because of this time scale, creating a new capital will go through different stages; preparation, planning and design, construction, relocation and operation of the municipal government. The entire planning period undoubtedly depends on a variety of input factors including finance, labor, and technology. Among other things, however, a well defined development schedule seems to be vitally important not only as a starting point, but also as a tool to reduce the uncertainties that are involved in the great length of planning period that is required for creating a new capital city (Kim and Hwang July/August 1979: 262).

Public Planning Education. One of the many means of building an effective operating consensus to see a capital relocation through to realization is to educate the current generation of Koreans about the vision and opportunities presented by the new capital. In addition, since the new capital project is such a long-term proposition, the next generation too must be engaged. In addition to informational programs and campaigns, it is imperative to invent involvement processes for the citizenry that actively seeks participation and suggestions for operational solutions to the issues deemed to be priorities for the new capital and for the Seoul city-region alike. A complementary tactic is to construct models, dynamic map-plans and exhibits for the public and for school-age children and young adults. Singapore and Washington, D.C. have a history of maintaining effective planning exhibits. Given South Korea's ubiquitous availability of high speed broadband Internet connectivity, "e-engagement" activities for interaction around the development of the new capital and the old

capital await invention and creative application. The invention and maintenance of such a technology-based system of programs should include youngsters in important design and updating decision making roles.

## CONCLUSION

This has been a normative discussion. It has sought to bring together prior thought by Korean policy thinkers and planners on their solutions to the issues of Korean national capital relocation, and balanced national development. The purpose in presenting and connecting these positions was to suggest that alternatives and resultant choice can, and should be part of the debate that ought to drive large-scale public and private development projects and investments. South Korean strategists and developers have proven repeatedly that they have the technical and creative capacity to execute successfully such mega efforts as the Summer Olympics, a world's fair and the World Cup. No less success and excellence should be expected in planning for and implementing the possible relocation of the national capital, and or addressing the complex issue of balanced national development both for South Korea, and later for the time of possible re-unification of the two Koreas. In the end, innovation and great effort must be expended here because a great deal is at stake. To paraphrase Dr. An-Jae Kim, as he looked to the need to strategize for a unified Korean peninsula, he wrote,

we the people living on the Korean Peninsula, should do our best to transmit a worthwhile land and settlements to our descendants through effectively unified development and conservation of only one country with unified wisdom and efforts" (Kim July 7-11, 1993: 52).

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## 해외 수도이전사례와 한국에 대한 시사점

국가적 합의부족, 장기적 차원에 있어 사안의 중차대성, 과거 수도이전의 성공과 실패의 역사가 혼재되어 있음을 고려할 때, 대한민국의 지도층과 국민 모두는 현재 진행중인 사업의 실제 시행에 앞서 수도이전의 타당성에 대해 다시 한번 심사숙고해야 할 것이다. 이를 위해 향후 충분한 시간을 가지고(최소 6개월만이라도) 심사숙고하면서 진지하고 깊이 있는 토론을 해야 할 필요가 있다.

### 오타와와 캔버라 수도이전 계획과 시행에서의 교훈

본 논문에서 수도와 수도계획에 관해서 깊이 있게 다룬 방대한 문헌을 철저히 검토·분석하기는 어렵다. 그러나 본 논문에서 제시하는 예는 한국에서 수도이전을 계획하는데 있어 반드시 고려해야 할 주요 문제들을 잘 보여 준다고 할 수 있다. 방대한 수도이전 관련 문헌에서 특기할만한 평가자료(evaluative article)를 찾아냈는데, 이 자료는 수도이전과 수도 계획수립 및 시행에 관여할 정책입안자나 시행자에게 가치가 있다고 할 것이다. 데이비드 L. A. 고든(David L. A. Gordon) 교수의 2002년 논문 "오타와-헐과 캔버라: 수도이전계획의 시행"이 그 비교연구이다. 고든 교수는 오타와는 75년간, 캔버라는 67년간의 기간을 분석했다. 위에서 제시한 성공적인 수도의 도시계획수립에 필요한 다섯 가지 요인을 적용하여 각 수도의 도시계획과 계획시행과정의 평가와 분석을 하였다. 다섯 가지 요인으로는 (1) 정치적 지지(국민적 합의), (2) 재정적 지원, (3) 도시계획기술, (4) 행정 전문성, (5) 옹호론자의 지지였다. 본 논문에서는 고든 교수가 오타와와 캔버라의 수도이전 연구에서 밝혀낸 연구결과를 간략하게 살펴봄으로써 수도이전의 한국에 대한 시사점을 도출할 수 있다고 생각한다.

정치적 지지와 옹호론자. 호주는 수도계획 선정과정에서 대상확정이 초기(1911-1930)에 신속히 이루어지지 않아 착공이 안됐으며 수도 건설완공을 예정대로 추진하기 위한 수도부지내 단지조성을 확정 지을 수 없었다. 오타와와 브라질리아의 경우는 조기 착공이 가능했기에 신도시 건설 완공까지 필요한 지지는 시간이 지남에 따라 확보할 수 있었다. 결론적으로 말해,

캔버라 수도이전계획은 시드니나 멜버른 이외의 도시를 수도로

결정하길 원하지 않았던 공무원, 연방 정치인 그리고 언론과 연방 수도이전에 소요되는 비용을 낭비라고 생각하는 주정치인들로부터 약 50여년 간에 걸쳐 집중포화를 받았다(Gordon Winter, 2000. 203).

수도건설과 완공에는 고위층의 강력한 옹호가 필수적이다. 캐나다의 윌리엄 리용 맥켄지 킹 총리는 개인적으로 오타와 수도이전 제안을 30년간 주창했다. 신수도를 이토록 오랜 기간 지지하는 경우는 매우 이례적인 일이다. 더욱더 특이한 점은 신수도를 지지한 총리는 수도이전계획이 완료되기 훨씬 이전에 자리를 떠나게 되어있으며 이후 여러 행정부에 걸쳐서도 수도이전이 지속될 수 있도록 해줄 초당적인 지지를 얻지도 않았다는데 있다. 맥켄지 킹 총리와 로버트 멘지 총리가 각각 토대를 마련한 캐나다와 호주의 수도이전계획은 이들이 사망한 이후에도 정권교체와 무관하게 성공적으로 실현될 수 있었다.

재정관리. 캔버라와 오타와의 장기 수도 건설계획에 관한 분석에서 고든 교수는 다음과 같은 결론을 내렸다.

새로운 도시를 건설하는 데에는 엄청난 시간과 비용이 소요된다. 한 국가의 수도건설에는 국민적 자긍심을 고취시킬 수 있는 수준의 주요 정부청사, 기념물, 공공 장소 등의 건설에 추가적인 비용이 들어간다. 정치적인 이익이 없는 기반시설 건설이 선행되어야 한다. 기반시설과 국회의사당과 같은 주요 공공건물 등의 건설은 장기간이 소요되는 공사이므로 재정지원 역시 통상 4년의 정권기간을 초과하는 안정적인 장기재정조달이 필수적이다(Gordon Winter, 2002: 205).

수도계획수립과정 초기부터 정치적 합의가 이루어져야 한다. 이러한 정치적 합의와 재정지원은 수년의 시간이 흐르고, 총리가 바뀌고, 정권이 바뀌고, 정당정치가 바뀌고, 여론의 관심이 식어도 수도이전사업이 차질 없이 장기적으로 진행될 수 있도록 하는 원동력이다.

도시계획 및 설계의 전문성. 전문적인 도시계획능력 부족은 캔버라와 오타와의 수도이전 현실화가 장기 지연된 원인 중 하나였다. 뛰어난 외부 설계전문가가 조기에 충분히 투입되었으나, 설계행정관과 관리자를 포함하여 내부 설계능력도 외부 설계 전문가들의 초기 작업에 상호보완적으로 필요했다. (상

호보완적인 노력으로 외부 및 내부 전문가 모두가 각자의 특화된 전문성을 살릴 수 있다.) 호주의 사례에서 뛰어난 설계와 수준 높은 도시계획이 장기적으로 매우 중요하다는 점이 증명되었다.

행정 기술. 계획시행에 있어 조직의 역량과 자율성이 매우 중요하다고 나타났다. 타기관 직원을 활용하는 것이 성공적인 접근방식은 아니었다. 국민이 인정할 만한 결과와 성과를 도출해 내는 것 또한 중요한 것으로 증명됐다. 기념관, 기념비 등 국민적 자긍심을 자극하는 상징물의 역할은 신수도 개발에 대한 국민의 관심을 지속시키는데 필수 요소이다. 대국민 홍보와 교육이 이러한 결과를 가져오는데 가장 효과적인 방법이다. 고든 교수는 공무원에게 적용되는 제한사항에 구속되지 않는 수준 높은 전문가들로 조직된 독립적인 수도개발 전담기관 역시 성공적인 수도 이전계획 시행의 일부라고 밝혔다.

향후 방향. 고든 교수는 방금 위에서 설명한 독립적인 수도이전 시행기관 등이 계획실행 초기단계에서는 필요하나 이후 토지이용과 교통계획에 따른 기본 기반시설이 건설되고 난 후에는 그 역할을 축소할 수 있다고 밝혔다. 수도이전 계획의 시행 후반부에 가서는 각 기관의 임무를 재검토함으로써 수도의 기념비적이고 상징적인 핵심을 개발하는데 새로운 초점이 맞춰질 수 있다.

## 기타 다른 사례에서의 교훈

지금부터는 전술한 오타와-헐과 캔버라 이외의 기타 다른 수도이전의 사례와 관련 문헌에서 찾아낸 추가적인 교훈을 말하고자 한다. 특별한 순서 없이 열거했다.

수도계획 강화를 위한 지식탐구: 학습사회를 향해 한국의 도시 및 지역개발 계획자들은 미래 계획전략 및 정책입안에 관한 연구와 형성에 외국 전문가를 오랫동안 포함시켜왔다. 수도기능의 일부 혹은 전체를 서울에서 떼어내 다른 도시로 이전할 경우에도 이러한 방식을 계속 유지할 것을 권장한다. 지식탐구에는 국내에서 이루어지는 심층연구 뿐만아니라 수도 이전 혹은 중앙정부의 행정기능 등 수도 기능 일부이전의 경험이 있는 외국을 선택해 실시하는 해외시찰이 포함된다. 해외시찰의 경우, 유럽에서 현재까지 진행되고 있는 유럽공간개발방향(European Spatial Development Perspective)의 사례와 같은 국가 균형 발전과 런던, 로마, 싱가포르 등의 대도시지역의 과밀화(congestion) 등 수도이

전과 관련된 사안에 있어 성공한 국가와 실패한 국가 모두를 시찰해야 한다. 연구팀은 한국의 정책 및 계획분야의 오피니언 리더로 구성되어야 한다. 연구팀은 또한 여러 세대 구성원으로 이루어져야 하며 한국내 정치정당의 주요 분야를 대표하는 인사들로 구성되어야 한다.

해외시찰의 경우 말레이시아 푸트라자야의 경우와 같이 국가적 차원의 수도계획에서부터 일본의 쓰쿠바 연구학원도시와 같은 관련 신도시 계획 및 시행의 예까지 다양하고 다면적인 방문이 되어야 한다. 특히 시찰대상 도시의 역사적 기원, 정치경제, 정체(政體), 문화 등의 특징을 신중하게 검토하고 이를 한국의 경우에 대입, 적용할 수 있어야 한다.

이러한 접근 방식은 직접적인 지식탐구에 관여하게 될 한국내 정책입안가들 사이에 공통의 경험을 공유할 수 있는 기본 바탕을 마련해 줄 수 있다. 이 같은 접근방식을 통해 정책 입안가들이 한국에 돌아와 정치적 합의 도출이라는 어려운 과제와 한국 전체의 혁신적이고 창의적인 개발 비전 구상 노력에 더없이 소중한 경험이 될 것이다. 해외시찰을 통한 접근방법은 한국 내에서 지속적으로 행해질 지식탐색연구와 상호 보완적이어야 한다.

절차의 중요성. 수도이전은 국가적으로 엄청난 사안이다. 따라서 정부에 대한 국민의 확고한 믿음이 신수도를 건설하는데 중요한 유산이 된다. 기회비용도 반드시 고려되어야 한다. 한국이 수도를 이전할 경우 수도이전으로 중단될 전략사업은 무엇이 있는가? 의도하지 않았던 결과도 반드시 깊이 생각해봐야 할 것이다. 다른 나라에서 얻은 교훈을 토대로 해서 수도가 이전될 경우 계획하지도 않았던 어떤 다른 값진 기회비용을 놓칠 수도 있지 않는가를 따져보아야 한다. 예를 들어, 한반도 통일의 경우 한반도 통일(all-peninsular unification)을 촉진시킬 수 있는 새로운 통일시대를 염두에 둔 수도(new capital option)가 최근에 이미 행해진 엄청난 투자로 인해 그 빛을 잃거나 사라져 버릴 수도 있지 않은가? 등이다.

합의와 지속적인 국민의 지지가 반드시 필요. 즉, 리더십, 비전, 지도층의 옹호와 국민적 지지가 반드시 필요하다는 것이다. 다른 나라의 수도이전 사례에서 볼 때 이러한 요소들이 필수조건이지만 성공을 위한 충분 조건은 아니다. 브라질의 경우 식민지 과거를 청산하고자 하는 수백년간의 국민적 열망과 오래된 과밀수도를 미개발 내륙지역으로 옮겨 국가 개발을 확대하

고자 하는 비전은 수도건설을 위한 물리적 기반시설(pilot core physical infrastructure)을 맨 처음 건설함으로써 수도이전을 조속히 진행할 수 있었던 강력한 동인이 되었다. 이같이 성공적이었던 브라질의 경우에서조차 지도자가 바뀌고 정권교체가 이루어지면서 수도건설사업과정에서 국가차원의 장기 휴지기가 발생하기도 했다. 오타와와 캔버라의 경우에는 결함도 많은 수도개발추진과정이 오래 지속되는 과정에서 일정 시점마다 지도부와 국민적 합의가 이루어져서 신수도 건설에 대한 잠자고 있던 열망을 깨울 수가 있었고 이로써 추세를 반전시켜 수도이전의 비전을 완성할 수 있었다.

타협. 역사적으로 정치적 타협은 수도이전을 위한 부지선정과정에서 관례적인 것이면서도 주요 핵심을 차지해 왔다. 부지선정을 둘러싼 이견을 좁히는 타협방식이 주를 이루었다. 워싱턴 D.C., 오타와와 캔버라의 경우가 부지 선정을 둘러싼 타협 모델의 전형적인 예이다. 아르헨티나의 예에서는 당초 계획된 수도 이전을 진행하지 않기로 하는 다른 종류의 타협이 이루어졌다. 정치인과 지도자들은 생각과 정책을 자주 바꾼다. 수도이전과 같이 엄청난 비용이 들어가고 많은 시간을 필요로 하는 국책사업에 관한 결정변경을 우유부단의 증거로 보아서는 안되며 지혜와 판단의 문제로 보아야 한다.

합의와 우수한 계획의 유산. 현 상태에서 한국의 수도를 이전하지 않기로 최종 결론이 날 경우 한국이 취해야 할 현명한 태도는 지역 및 지방자치강화와 통일한반도 건설이라는 전제하에 국가균형개발을 이룩할 수 있는 강건하고 지속적인 국가적 합의를 이루는데 필요한 정치기반에 투자를 하는 것이다. 이 같은 비전과 유산은 위에서 말한 현명한 개발 원칙에 입각하여 오늘날 한국의 역동성과 국제 경쟁력 그리고 한국의 오천년 역사를 반영할 수 있는 통일한국의 신수도라는 가능성을 포함해야 한다. 이러한 오타와, 푸트라자야, 워싱턴 D.C., 캔버라 등의 주요 사례에서 드러난 합의/지도력 그리고 우수한 계획/시행의 예에서 잘 드러날 것이다.

근거리 대 원거리 수도 이전, 수도기능 이전. 브라질리아, 캔버라, 오타와 워싱턴D.C. 등 많은 경우가 원거리 이전이었다. 다른 형태의 수도 이전 혹은 수도 기능이전은 구 수도에서 멀리 떨어지지 않은 곳으로의 이전으로, 뉴 텔리(Volwahren, 2002), 스리 자야와르데나푸라 코테, 푸트라자야, 헤이그, 워싱턴 D.C.를 예로 들 수 있다. 근거리 신수도 혹은 수도기능이전에 따른 이점은 (1)

구수도의 과밀핵심으로부터 개발을 이전할 수 있고 (2) 구수도로부터 개발 혜택을 얻을 수 있다는 점이다. 신수도의 초기 개발기간동안 구수도와 구수도의 강력한 도시팽창력 (urban agglomeration dynamics) 으로 신수도에 경제적 지원을 제공 할 수 있다. 일단 신수도가 완전한 자족도시로 성숙하면 구수도에 어떤 직접적인 혜택이 생길지, 혹은 혜택이 생길 수 있을지는 확실치 않다. 이는 수도 혹은 수도기능 이전지의 위치가 근거리인가 원거리인가의 문제이다. 거리요소는 신수도와 경제·사회·문화적 편의시설이 잘 갖추어진 구수도간을 연결하는 전자통신과 고속철도, 고속도로 등의 연결방법을 통해 어느 정도 까지는 개선될 수도 있다. 민과 관의 고위급 의사결정과 전략적 사회자본 교류를 위해서는 일상적인 접근성이 매우 중요하다. 세계도시로 나아가고자 하는 도시라면 이점에 특별한 관심을 기울여야 한다.

새롭게 달라지는 도시 지리. 아래에 포함된 e-비즈니스 스펙트럼 (Corey 2003.12.19:71)이라 함은 지역, 지방차원에서의 국제 지식경제와 네트워크 사회의 주요 경제적 기능을 묘사하는 것이다. 생산기능은 경제동력으로서 다른 기능들은 종속변수로서 부차적으로 생겨난다는 내재적 편견이 존재한다고 인식된다. 각각의 기능은 나름대로의 입지적(locational) 공간적(spatial)인 패턴을 지닌다. 일반적 지리적 패턴은 집중 혹은 밀집패턴과 분산 혹은 분포 패턴으로 개념정리가 된다. 이러한 일반적인 지리적 패턴은 기능별로 아래와 같이 집중 혹은 밀집패턴은 (C)과, 분산 혹은 분포 패턴은 (D) 으로 구분할 수 있다.

#### 생산기능:

- 과학기술주도의 R&D (C)
- 상품과 서비스의 상용화(C)
- 비즈니스& 생산자 서비스(C) 와 상품 (D)
- 공공 및 정부 생산자 서비스와 상품(C&D)
  - 예: 규제기능, 재정 통화결정, 정보(예: 일기예보), 과세 등

#### 소비(e-커머스) 기능

- 온라인 조달: B2B & B2G (D)
- 온라인 소매: B2C & G2C (D)
- 전자판매와 실물판매간 부가가치 보완성. 즉 " 온라인과 오프라인의 결합(clicks & bricks)" (C&D)

편의시설요인:

- 사회,문화, 제도적 활동(C&D)
- 자연환경 특성 (C)
- 교육, 인재 능력 및 자질개발(C&D)

이에 따라 경제기능의 배치나 재배치를 계획할 때는 입지와 공간적 차이의 조정이 반드시 이루어져야 한다.

서울시의 관점에서 볼 때 가장 중요한 점은 수도이전이나 행정기능의 일부 이전 결정으로 인해 경기도와 서울광역시 지역의 기능이 크게 영향을 받는다는 점이다. 부가가치를 창출하는 아이디어, 전략적 지휘권과 통제기능, 민과 관을 이어주는 최고 통합의사결정 및 조율과 관련된 생산기능의 대부분은 서로 인접해있어야 한다. 전문화된 기능적 역학구조와 공간적/위치적 역학구조에 관한 세밀한 주의가 없으면 서울을 포함한 주변부의 국제도시/세계도시 개발은 그 추진이 곤란해지고 그 과정에서 국가 경제에 부정적 영향을 미치게 된다. 이러한 역학구조에 대한 심층연구가 반드시 이루어져야 하며 그에 맞는 전략을 수립해야 한다.

시기. 브라질리아의 수도이전이 시작되던 1950년대 후반은 수도이전에 대한 관심과 추진력이 우연히 맞물린 시기였다. 워싱턴D.C., 아스타나, 캔버라, 오타와 등은 국가건설이나 국민형성과 같은 국가의 형성시기가 한창이던 때 수도이전문제가 대두됐다. 오늘날 한국의 경우는 "왜 지금인가"라는 질문에 대한 답변이 있어야 할 것이다.

지속적인 노력. 브라질리아, 오타와, 워싱턴D.C.는 도시계획시행에 있어 추진기와 상대적인 휴지기가 반복되었던 좋은 예다. 그러나 최초의 옹호론자나 그 이후의 다른 옹호론자가 이끌어낸 지속적인 합의를 통해 수도의 물리적, 기능적 핵심을 완성하는데 필요한 장기나 단기 기간에 대한 정치적, 국민적 합의가 충분히 확보되었기 때문이다.

국가정체(政體)의 중요성. 국가수도이전은 그 국가의 국가통치구조의 성향에 따라 기여하는 바가 일부 달라진다. 캐나다와 스위스 같은 연방국가의 경우는 지방과 각 자치단체에 최대한의 자치권을 부여한다. 한국이 지방자치를 더욱더 확대해 나가려 한다면 연방제가 장기적인 목표가 되어야 한다고 본다.

호주나 미국과 같은 연합정부는 국내의 각기 다른 주 간의 국가적 응집성을 확립하고 강화시키려는 방법으로 수도이전을 단행했다. 한국이 지방자치를 확대할 계획이라면 연합정부제가 연방국가로 나아가기 전 중간단계로 생각해 볼 수 있다. 거의 대부분의 계획고권을 지닌 중앙집권 중심의 단일국가는 흔히 경제 일극중심형의 수도가 중추도시로서의 기능을 한다. 이러한 경제 일극중심제는 지방지역과 외곽 도심부로부터 이주민의 유입을 유발하게 되고, 교통체증과 인구증가를 가져오는 과개발과 수도의 노후 인프라의 과다 사용의 문제가 발생되기도 한다.

과밀화와 분산정책. 분산정책이 성공할 수 있는가? 스리랑카와 워싱턴 D.C.의 경우를 주목해 보면, 오래되고 지나치게 과밀한 거대 도시 지역은 수세기 동안 분산정책(*deconcentration interventions*)의 주 목표대상이 되어왔다. 과밀화된 수도를 다른 곳으로 이전하거나 수도기능의 일부를 이전함으로써 과밀을 해소하거나 성장속도를 늦추거나 과밀을 피할 수 있는가? 이는 국가 수도를 이전하려는 일차적인 동기로 과밀을 이용하기 이전에 한 차원 높은 체계적인 검토가 필요한 근본적인 질문이다. 명백하고 절대적인 증거는 결코 없다. 스리랑카는 지방지역은 상대적으로 쉽게 개발대상지가 될 수 있도록 만들고 식민시대 수도인 콜롬보는 이주민 유입이나 핵심지역의 고용창출을 유발하지 않는 수준으로 유지했기 때문에 상당기간 성공적일 수 있었다(Corey, 1996). 워싱턴 D.C.지역은 수년동안 워싱턴과 벨트웨이내의 개발을 외부로 상당부분 분산시켰다. 이러한 노력은 수도를 완전히 마비시킬 수도 있었을 과밀을 어느 정도 낮출 수 있었다.

수도계획의 물리적 계획과 설계: 과거모델. 과거에는 신수도 건설과 수도 이전 계획에 투입된 노력의 대부분이 설계와 실제 계획에 들어갔다. 신수도 건설의 초기착수와 조속한 건설을 옹호한 대통령, 총리, 국가 지도자들의 관심으로 유명 설계사와 계획 수립자들은 수도계획절차 초기단계에서부터 임무를 부여받기도 했다. 이로써 초기 착공이 가능했고 유명 설계사들의 명성덕택에 최초로 축조될 건물에 대한 여론의 관심이 고조되었다. 대표적인 유명 설계사를 예로 들면, 브라질리아의 오스카 니에메이에와 루치오 코스타(Oscar Niemeyer, Lu'cio Costa), 인도 폰잡주의 샹디그라의 르 꼬르부지에(Le Corbusier), 파키스탄의 수도 이슬라마바드의 콘스탄티노스 도시아디스 (Constantinos Doxiadis) (Botka 1995.7/8~11/12; Doxiadis 1968), 오타와의 자크 그레베 (Jacques Gre'ber) 그리고 캔버라의 월터 벌리 그리핀(Walter Burley Griffin) 등이다.

수도 조직 및 거버넌스문제: 계획과 시행. 신수도계획에 착수하겠다는 열망에만 몰두하다 보니 흔히 수도이전 계획 이후 단계에는 지나치게 소홀해 지는 경우가 빈번했다. 완성된 수도의 계획시행, 거버넌스(governance), 관리문제에 있어서 현장학습에 지나치게 의존한다는 점이 여러 수도 계획에서 지적됐다. 워싱턴 D.C., 오타와, 캔버라는 "계획은 좋으나 시행이 제대로 되지 않았던" 다른 나라의 수도이전 계획의 경우와 마찬가지로 시행과정의 여러 단계에서 시행조직과 거버넌스 구조를 어렵게 창출해 내야 했다. 수도의 거버넌스 구조에 관한 추가적인 사례는 2002.3.29. 보이드와 파운트로이의 연구에서 찾아볼 수 있다.

중앙정부의 영향: 분산인가 밀집인가? 결론적으로 중앙정부 주도의 지방, 지역 경제 개발의 영향은 그야말로 어마어마하다. 그러나 정부투자와 이에 따른 민간의 개발이 주도시 지역에 집중되어있거나 계획된 성장 거점패턴에 따라 분산되는 정도가 될 경우에는 다소간의 영향을 줄 수 있다. 규모에 관한 문제(critical mass issues)가 중요할 것인데 어느 경우에 있어서든 한국의 경우 적용가능성에 대한 철저한 연구가 필요하다. 서울의 현재 영향력에 관한 기본적인 경제 및 타분야 영향조사가 반드시 필요하다. 이전되는 행정수도기능이 유입되는 지역에 미칠 수 있는 향후 영향 예측이 행해져야 하고 행정수도기능을 분리해 이전시킬 서울에 미칠 영향도 예측해야 한다(Cf., Jun, 2003.11.15). 후자의 영향분석은 서울시와 경기도에서 예상하는 영향과 서울외곽도시(edge city)와 좀 더 외딴 곳의 팽창도시지역(more remote edgeless city types of areas)을 포함한 보다 확대된 서울대도시권 지역에서 예상하는 영향을 차별화 할 수 있을 만큼 세심하게 이루어져야 한다. 이러한 분석은 현재 각기 다른 경제 기능과 관련된 각기 다른 지리적 특성을 적용해야 할 것이다.

관료주의 변화를 위한 수도이전. 아스타나와 브라질리아의 수도 이전은 대통령이 정부 관료주의에 빠진 공무원들을 교체하거나 변화시키기 위한 의도를 일부 갖고 단행했다. 카자흐스탄의 경우는 관직 임명권과 임명대상자를 변경하기위한 목적으로 시행되었다. 브라질 대통령은 당시 시간제 근무를 하고 있던 리우 데 자네이루의 공무원들이 외딴 브라질리아로 수도를 옮겨 놓게 되면 종일제 근무를 하게 되고 생산성도 높아질 것이라는 의도하에 시행되었다(Eldredge 1975).

장기계획의 필요성. 수도를 이전하고 개발이 완전히 이루어진 수도와 신도시를 건설하는 데는 수세대가 걸린다는 점을 감안할 때 수도 이전 계획을 장

기적인 미래를 내다보고 세우는 것이 필수적이다. 본 논문에서 검토한 예에서 볼 때, 수도이전계획의 적절하고 현실적인 시한은 60~100년 사이라고 제안한다.

중기 계획과 단기 계획 필요성. 새로운 수도건설에는 오랜 시간과 운영상의 계획이 필요하다. 캄버라, 브라질리아, 이슬라마바드의 경험과 교훈에서 알 수 있듯 무엇보다도 신수도 건설에는 장기간이 소요된다. 이슬라마바드 수도이전계획 시행에는 20년이 걸렸으며 신수도인 캄버라의 인구가 5만에 달하기까지는 반세기가 걸렸다. 이러한 장기성으로 말미암아 신수도 건설은 준비, 계획 및 설계, 시공, 이전, 시정부 운영 등 각기 다른 단계를 거치게 된다. 전체 계획기간은 재원, 인력, 기술 등 여러 가지 각기 다른 투입요소에 따라 결정된다는 데에는 의심의 여지가 없다. 그러나 제대로 된 개발 계획은 출발점으로서의 중요성 뿐 아니라 신수도 건설에 필요한 장기간의 계획기간에 따른 불확실성도 줄일 수 있는 수단이 된다는 점에서 그 중요성이 특히 강조된다 (Kim and Hwang 1979 7/8: 262).

사업계획 대국민 홍보. 수도이전을 현실화하기 위해 필요한 효과적인 합의 구축의 여러 가지 방법 중 하나는 현재 한국 국민들에게 신수도가 가져다 줄 기회와 비전을 널리 알리는 것이다. 뿐만 아니라 신수도계획은 장기적인 계획이므로 차세대 역시 홍보대상에 반드시 포함되어야 한다. 정보전달프로그램과 캠페인 뿐 아니라 신수도와 서울시지역 모두가 똑같이 최우선시하는 문제해결에 참여하거나 제안을 적극적으로 원하는 시민에게는 참여할 수 있는 채널을 마련하는 것도 필수적이다. 보완적인 전략으로는 일반 대중과 학생과 청소년을 대상으로 하는 모형과 자세한 설계도를 만들고 전시회 등을 개최하는 것이다. 싱가포르와 워싱턴 D.C.에는 효과적인 계획전시회 개최를 실시해온 전통이 있다. 대한민국의 어디서나 가능한 초고속 인터넷 접속 가능성을 고려해 볼 때 신수도와 구수도의 개발과 관련된 쌍방향 "온라인 참여"가 여러 가지 방법으로 만들어져 창의적인 활용이 가능할 것이다. 기술에 바탕을 둔 프로그램 개발과 유지에는 중요 설계와 의사결정역할의 지속적인 최신화 작업에는 젊은이들이 반드시 포함되어야 한다.

## 결 어

지금까지 규범적인 논의를 해보았다. 지금까지 대한민국의 정책가들과 계획 입안자들이 한국의 수도이전과 국가균형발전 문제에 대한 해법 모색에 앞서서 해야 할 우선적 생각을 한데 모아보고자 했다. 이러한 입장을 밝히고 연결고리를 찾고자 한 목적은 대안과 결론적 선택이 대형 관민 개발 사업과 투자를 추진하는 논의의 일부일 수 있고 또 일부여야만 한다는 것을 말하고자 한 것이다. 한국의 전략가들과 개발자들은 세계인의 축제인 하계 올림픽과 월드컵과 같은 초대형 사업으로 성공적으로 수행할 기술적 능력은 물론 창의력도 있다는 것을 여러 차례 증명해왔다. 한국과 나아가 미래 남북한 통일 시대를 위한 한국의 수도이전계획과 시행을 염두에 두면서, 그리고 국가 균형개발이라는 복잡한 문제를 해결하는데 있어서도 똑같이 훌륭히 성공하리라 믿는다. 너무나도 큰 이해가 걸려 있으므로 혁신과 노력을 아낌없이 쏟아 부어야 할 것이다. 통일된 한반도를 위한 전략화의 필요성을 생각하면서 쓴 김 안재 박사의 말을 빌리면,

한반도에 사는 우리 국민은 하나 된 지혜와 노력으로 하나뿐인 국가를 효과적으로 개발하고 보전하여 우리 후손에게 가치 있는 국토와 안정을 물려주기 위한 최선의 노력을 다해야 한다(Kim 1993.7. 7-11: 52).

## 감사의 글

이 자리를 빌어 서울시정개발연구원의 최상철 교수와 국제 세미나에 참석해 이같이 중요한 토론에 참여할 수 있도록 초청해 주신 주최측과 후원회에 감사의 말을 전한다. 수년간 우연한 기회로 한국의 놀라운 성장과 개발이 성숙되는 과정을 직접 목격할 기회가 있었다 (Corey, 1980; Corey, 1993; Corey, 1997 겨울 Corey, 2000. 10. 31; Corey, 2003). 한국의 성장을 지켜보고 교류를 하며 많은 것을 얻었으며 그 과정에서 대한민국에 대한 존경과 애정을 갖게 되었다. 결국은 한국의 오피니언 리더와 한국민이 수도와 수도기능 이전문제에 대해 올바른 결정을 내릴 것으로 확신한다. 또한 한국민이 복잡한 결정과정에 내재되어 있는 도전과제를 훌륭히 해결할 것도 확

신한다. 외국인으로 이같이 중요한 논의에 참여할 수 있어 영광스럽다. 본 논문의 작성에 브레인스토밍, 비평과 소중한 조언을 아끼지 않은 팀 버넬 (Tim Bunnell), 이제훈(Je-Hoon Lee) 그리고 마크 윌슨(Mark I. Wilson)에게 감사한다.

## 제 3주제

베를린: 분단 전 그리고 통일 이후 수도 베를린

(Berlin: The Old and the New Capital)

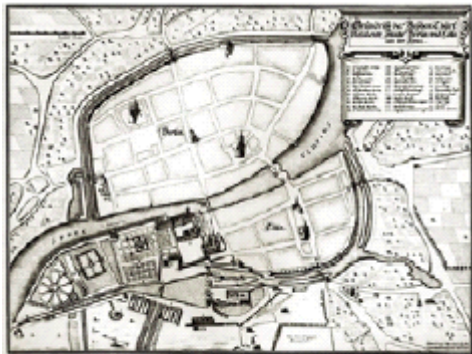
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아날리에 슈오엔 단장  
베를린시 도시개발국 수도계획단

Annalie Schoen  
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Germany

## History

The first documentary reference dates from 1237, which makes Berlin a relatively young city by European standards. In the 17th century, Friedrich Wilhelm, the Great Elector, laid the groundwork for Berlin's rise. The city's significance grew in the wake of industrialisation and mechanisation. Berlin, which had been the capital of the German Reich since 1871, had a population of 2.7 million at the end of the 19th century, making it the continent's largest industrial city. After World War I, the capital of the first German democracy became more than anything else a vibrant cultural metropolis.



Berlin 1652



Berlin 1802

## The divided city

The Second World War, which ended on 8 May 1945, left large parts of Berlin in ruins:

600,000 apartments had been destroyed, and the city's population, which had once been 4.3million, was now only 2.8 million. The city was divided into four sectors and jointly administered by the occupying powers. The Soviet Union's blockade of the Western sectors from June 1948 to May 1949 resulted in the Berlin Airlift, with which the Western Allies provided supplies to the city by air.



Building the Wall 1961



Airlift 1948

The Cold War between East and West culminated in the construction of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961. With unbelievable inventiveness, desperate refugees tried to cross, dig under or even fly over the Wall. Well over one hundred people paid for their freedom with their lives, many more were wounded or imprisoned. Thereafter, the two halves of the city developed separately from one another.



The divided City, Berlin 1957

## The fall of the Wall in 1989

In the late summer of 1989 the first few hundred prospective emigrants from the GDR were joined in Hungary by thousands more. On 10 September, the Hungarian government allowed them to leave the country initially for Austria and then for the Federal Republic. On 30 September,

the GDR leaders decided that the refugees crowded together under extremely difficult conditions in the Prague Embassy would also be allowed to leave the country. Special trains took them to the Federal Republic.

On 18 October, Erich Honecker resigned. 300,000 people took to the streets in Leipzig on 23 October demanding more democracy and the freedom to travel. Their rallying call was "We are the people". On 8 November, the entire Politbüro of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany resigned. On the night of 9 November the Wall finally fell. The next day the GDR officially opened its borders with the Federal Republic and West Berlin.



The Fall of the Wall Brandenburg Gate 1989

With the fall of the Wall on 9 November 1989 and reunification on 3 October 1990, the division of the city was overcome and the last troops of the former occupying powers left the city by 1994. The reunification of Germany paved the way for Berlin to become the capital once more. On 20 June 1991, the Bundestag decided with 337 against 320 votes that Berlin would be the seat of the German parliament and federal government. Berlin, for years the focal point of the Cold War and confrontation, was now a symbol of the unity of Germany and the future of Europe.

## Building after the fall of the Wall

The area of the wall was a no-man's-land at a length of 160 km, as the wall stood in 1989 it cut right through the middle of the city. The land it

occupied has since been used for a variety of building projects, some of which are of spectacular dimensions.

The Brandenburg Gate no longer stands alone in the border zone, but is once again the outstanding feature of the architectural ensemble on Pariser Platz. Among the buildings erected are representative office blocks for banks, the embassies of France and Great Britain and the new Adlon Hotel, which has replaced its legendary predecessor. They will be followed by the new Academy of Arts and the diplomatic representations of the USA.

Potsdamer Platz has seen the birth of a new inner-city neighbourhood comprising over 600,000m<sup>2</sup> of floor space for residential accommodation, offices, the shopping mall, hotels, cinemas, restaurants, a casino and a musical theatre. The main investors are Daimlerchrysler and Sony. The first part of the new Daimlerchrysler precinct was opened in late 1998. The Sony Centre was completed in 2000.



Potsdamer Platz 2002



Pariser Platz 2002

## Government and parliament in Berlin

The new parliament and government precinct in the Spreebogen, the landscape around the old Reichstag building, is nearing completion. The master plan for this area was devised by the architects, Axel Schultes and Charlotte Frank. A "band of federal buildings", including office blocks for the members of parliament and the Federal Chancellery, spans the bend in the River Spree and symbolically links the eastern and western parts of the city.



Reichstag building

Architect Lord Norman Foster has converted the Reichstag for use by the Bundestag. It is topped by a new glass dome which is open to the public. The Reichstag, a late 19th-century building designed by Paul Wallot, was re-opened with a meeting of the Federal Electoral Assembly in May 1999. Following the summer break the German parliament has begun its work in Berlin along with the government. Since some of the new buildings were not finished, members of parliament and some ministries have moved into provisional offices in old buildings converted especially for the purpose. Until the new Federal Chancellery in the Spreebogen was completed in 2001, the Federal Chancellor had his official seat in the former Council of State building on Schlossplatz next to the Palace of the Republic. But by the year 2002 all the final destinations of the ministries and by the year 2003 all parliament and government buildings were in use.



Urban Design of the Area of Parliament



Federal Chancellery Entrance

## The concept of accommodation

Already in 1990 the federal government had conducted a research about

potential sites for the different ministries and parliament buildings in Berlin and proved that the relocation is possible. According to the study a potential existed of 570.000m<sup>2</sup> floor space in over 50 public buildings. Berlin being the former capital of the GDR had numerous buildings waiting for a new use. The demand of 190.000m<sup>2</sup> for the parliament according to the existing floor space in Bonn and the 400.000m<sup>2</sup> for the federal government were possible to meet. It took another four years to work on the relocation concept which the parliament finally confirmed in 1994. From then on the planning advanced more rapidly.

Most of the federal ministries have moved into existing buildings at a number of different sites in Mitte district (the central district of Berlin). The approach was to retain old prominent landmarks which had been in a poor stage of maintenance. These have been thoroughly renovated and restored for the new use, wherever necessary, supplemented by new buildings. Only the Federal Ministry of Interior is renting a new building. At the end the federal government had erected about 441.000m<sup>2</sup> net floor space which is about 1.180.000m<sup>2</sup> gross floor space for the offices of the federal president, the Bundesrat, the federal government (without the rental space) and the parliament.

## The Berlin/Bonn law

The decision of relocation in 1991 included the assignment to the federal government and parliament as well as to the Berlin Senate to develop a concept of realisation within four years. A fair distribution of tasks was demanded between Bonn and Berlin.

It was decided to transfer only the main ministries to Berlin. The Ministry of Defense, Health, Environment, Consumer Protection, Education, Economic Cooperation still have their so called "first residence" in Bonn and a second – with less personnel – in Berlin. This was a political compromise to help structurally the region of the former capital Bonn. The goal was to reduce the actual movements because of social and functional reasons. Through moving 16 federal offices from Berlin to Bonn the possibilities for the employees was great to stay in

Bonn with a new posts in a different office.

<b>Numbers of places of employment to transfer</b>	
from Bonn to Berlin (federal government, parliament, Bundesrat, federal president)	about 11.400
from Berlin to Bonn	about 4.350
Rhein-Main region	about 2.200

<b>Number of personnel moving</b>	
from Bonn to Berlin (federal government, parliament, Bundesrat, federal president)	about 7.500
from Berlin to Bonn	about 1.900
Rhein-Main region	about 1.200

<b>Number of personnel remaining</b>	
in Bonn	about 3.900
in Berlin	about 2.450
in Rhein-Main region	about 1.000

The modern communication technology makes the organisational demands feasible of two locations being 600 km apart.

For two years the government paid for the approximately 3.700 commuters the trip on weekends from Berlin to Bonn either by flight or train. Unexpectedly the commuting was decreasing within the first year.

## Organisational structure

Short after the decision of the Bundestag a "Working committee Berlin/Bonn" was established to generate a concept on the federal side. In Berlin the "Working committee Capital Berlin" was looking for the potentials and the frame work for the relocation. A "capital bureau" was initiated 1992 under the lead of the office of the Berlin major to concentrate and coordinate the manifold tasks of urban development, traffic, planning, logistic, property management as well as the interests of the international missions, the interest groups and the media. The work was accompanied by a special commission of the Senate for the year

2000, later on by the Berlin parliament. The federal parliament set up different commissions (for the general concept, the social affairs, the

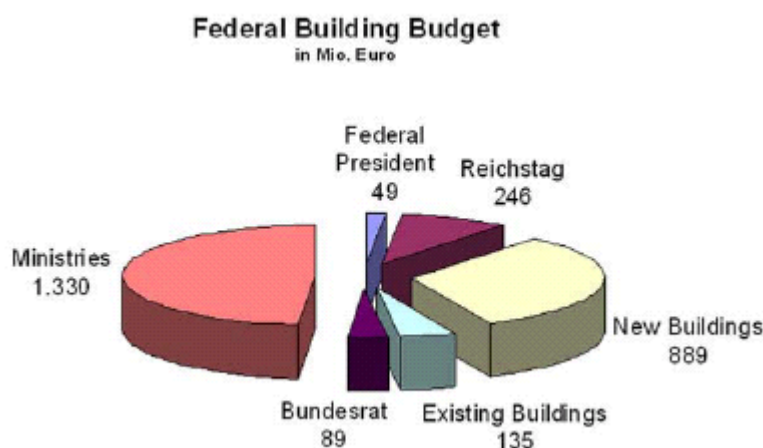
interests of the German states) to give the guidelines for the relocation process. The Building Commission had to decide and control the building process of the Reichstag and the other parliamentary buildings. To strengthen the interests of the federal government also the federal planning law was changed.

To regulate the cooperation between the federal government and the city of Berlin a contract was set up in August 1992 ("Contract about the Capital"). A common board ("Gemeinsamer Ausschuss") was built by six ministries on each side to adjust the main fields of the planning and building process as well as to decide the conflicts. The chairman is the Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Housing. The first years this board met regularly but within the last 3 years no meeting was necessary because the main work is done.

## Costs of relocation

The estimated cost for the relocation over all was 10 billion euros. Of which € 8 billion were planned for the actual relocation itself including € 5 billion for the investments and € 2 billion for the addition services in Berlin (€ 0,85 bill.) and Bonn (€ 1,15 bill.).

About € 2 billion alone was needed to buy the properties either from private owners or from Berlin. € 0.8 billion was spent for the federal housing and € 0.45 billion for personnel arrangements.



According to the building law a special development area was set up for the district of the parliament and government. This generated a budget of € 580 Mio. mainly for the planning, building of streets, bridges, parks, social infrastructure, 64 % contributed by the federal government, 34 % by the city of Berlin.

The complete relocation did not exceed the € 10 billion even though there had been slight changes within the budget.

## Housing for Berlin

Central government is one of the major developers and builders of residential

accommodation in Berlin. It wished to avoid any additional burden being imposed on the Berlin housing market through the transfer to the capital of federal employees. The estimated need was 9.100 living units for the federal personnel which should have been covered by 3.600 existing Allies living units. In addition were about 2.500 units planed to be built new for rent and 3.000 units for home ownership. This ambitious building projects were mainly in specially designated areas, in particular on land formerly occupied by the Allies in Berlin. 718 homes were built in Moabiter Werder at an attractive riverside location not far from the new government precinct. Only about 2.000 units have been build new and most of them were occupied by Berlin instead federal inhabitants. At the end of 1999, beginning of 2000 the Berlin housing market had so many city near attractive living possibilities that only a few federal employees used the housing offer.

Over half the people who now live in Mitte district have moved there since 1989. They have given the old centre new drive.

In Berlin in general tens of thousands of new homes have been built since 1989. The building boom has considerably eased the situation on the Berlin housing market. Another contributing factor has been the decision of many Berliners to move out into the countryside around the city, which has led to a steady decrease in the population. Careful urban renewal is at the heart of the policy Berlin has pursued over the past ten

years in protecting its very varied architectural heritage.

800,000 Berliners, over 20 per cent of the population, live in prefabricated housing. These post-war buildings seldom satisfied modern housing requirements in the years after reunification. Since 1990, 150,000 prefabricated dwellings have been modernised at an overall cost of around € 4,35 billion.

## The pull of the capital

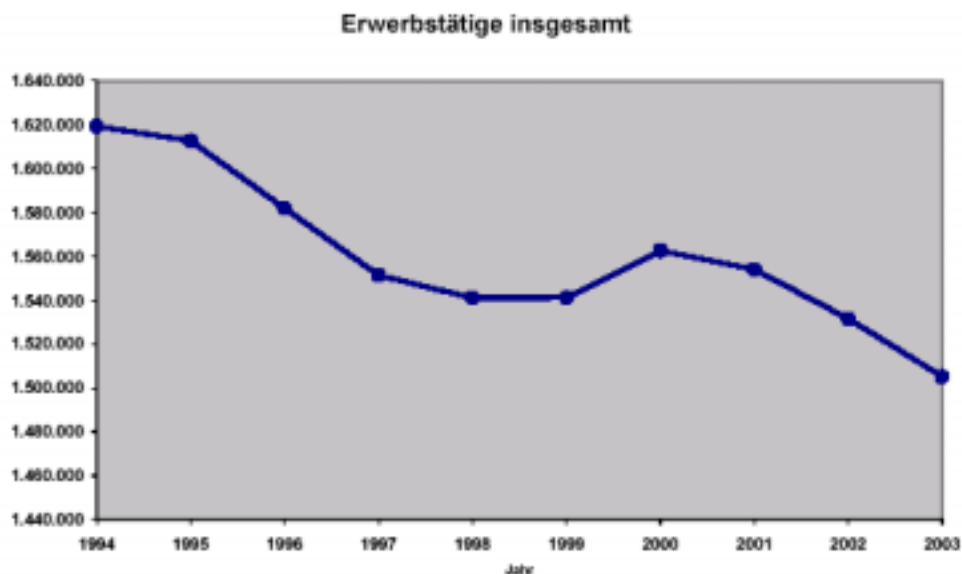
Lobbyists and Service providers have followed in the government's footsteps along with diplomatic representations and political institutions. Most of the new or renovated buildings they have moved into are in Mitte district.

Some 150 embassies had followed the government to Berlin. Many of them have found properties in the former diplomatic quarter on the southern fringe of Tiergarten Park. This is also where some of the representations of the German federal states in Berlin have been accommodated, most of the are situated close to the Brandenburg Gate. Other countries, such as France, Great Britain and the USA on Pariser Platz, Russia on Unter den Linden and Switzerland in the Spreebogen, are back to the traditional sites they occupied before the Second World War. Associations and lobbyists make up a large group of their own among the companies and institutions moving to Berlin. Over 40 business associations alone transferred to the capital. The most striking building project in recent years in this sector has been the Trade and Industry Building on Breite Straße built to house the Federation of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce (DIHT), the Federal Association of German Industry (BDI) and the Confederation of German Employer Associations (BDA).

The media have occupied premises near the government precinct. The first television station began to broadcasting from Berlin in late 1992. The big national print media set up offices in Berlin soon after. The capital is well prepared for the new tasks it faces. 141,000 kilometres of fibre optic cables have been laid over the past years, thus providing an

efficient infrastructure for communications companies and service providers. This also benefits the advertising industry, which has brought new life to old buildings.

A study of Prognos Institute about economic effects of the government move to Berlin indicates that the federal government invested € 5,1 billion into the technical infrastructure of Berlin. In addition the investment for capital institutions was € 1.9 billion so that the relocation from Bonn to Berlin gave an temporary incentive of approximately € 7 billion for the Berlin economy. Additionally the federal government pays roughly € 1 billion for their personnel and for subsidies among others to cultural initiatives. The effect is mainly in the public sector, trades, hotel and restaurants. The conclusion is that without moving the parliament and federal government to Berlin the economy had been declining even more.



As shown in the diagram above the working population was slightly rising when parliament and government started to work in Berlin in 1999 and 2000 but the federal working force including the accompanying embassies, interest groups, media could not prevent Berlin from a dramatic decline since the beginning of the last decade.

## Reviving the old city center

In the ten years since the fall of the Wall, Mitte district has undergone a radical facelift. Friedrichstraße with its many new buildings and renovated architectural monuments is a popular place. The three buildings which make up the FriedrichstadtPassagen are the most striking examples of the new urban architecture which has changed the appearance of this famous street. Over 100,000 m<sup>2</sup> of retail space have sprung up around Friedrichstraße over the past ten years. Berlin's old city center in Mitte is where visitors will find the places which have made Berlin famous – the boulevard Unter den Linden, Friedrichstraße, Gendarmenmarkt, Museum Island and Schlossplatz.

Meanwhile, the western city centre is also being developed. 1999 has seen the start of construction on new, representative buildings.

## The historic center

Dealing with Berlin's historic core, and thereby fostering the development of the original heart of the city into a vibrant cultural and academic center, remains an important challenge in terms of urban planning. The international panel of experts convened to discuss the historic city center concluded its deliberations in April 2002 and made new recommendations, for a structure to be built at the site where the city palace once stood and where the Palace of the Republic (Palast der Republik) was later built by the GDR. The majority of the panel's members argued for reconstructing the baroque façade of the original palace on three sides. A modern architectural approach, on the other hand, should shape the eastern wall of the building and the interior. On 4 July 2002, the German Bundestag decided in favor of constructing a building on the same scale as the city palace. The building will recreate the historic baroque façade on three sides and the Schlüter courtyard inside.



City Palace 1898



Historical Center of Berlin

## Traffic projects to integrate the city

The division of Berlin had a serious impact on the traffic network. Berlin has invested almost 2,5 billion Euro in road building since 1989 and more than 5 billion Euro in the railway network and public transport. Important road and rail links were severed. Putting them back together again was a priority task. 110 new road links have been established since reunification. Through traffic on the suburban railway line was resumed in July 1990. The repair and reconstruction of the 100-year-old inner-city suburban railway network was completed in 1998 and the restoration of the old circle line has been finished.

The decision taken by the German parliament in 1991 in favour of Berlin as the new capital confronted the city with a host of new tasks. The future parliament and government precinct has to be connected up to the traffic network and the precinct itself kept free of road traffic. This is to be achieved largely by the construction of a tunnel underneath Tiergarten Park, which should open in 2005.

The biggest problems after reunification stemmed from the fact that for 40 years the two halves of the city had pursued completely different strategies in the development of their traffic networks. In the western half of the city there was a relatively well built-up network of Underground railway lines but no tramlines, whereas there was only a modest Underground railway System in the eastern half with a large number of tram lines.

1995 saw the development of a traffic strategy which paved the way for long-term route planning. One of the key elements in this strategy was the extension of the cost-effective tram network from the eastern part of the city into the western half. In November 1995 the first tram crossed from Prenzlauer Berg district in the east to Wedding district in the west.

## The new Central Railway Station

Long-distance railway traffic in the city had to be completely reorganised. The concepts revolves essentially around the new Station at Lehrter Bahnhof, the first central Station in Berlin's history, in walking distance to the Federal Chancellery and the Reichstag.

In order to cope with the new traffic situation, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Land Berlin and Deutsche Bahn are constructing a central connecting railway station which should be completed by 2006. The new station will create for the first time, a north-south connection straight through the city. There will also be an additional east-west connection over the urban railway viaduct. The new railway station, the junction of the two main traffic axes, will be the most important station in the city. On its completion it is expected to handle 240,000 passengers every day. A steel-glass roof of sophisticated technical design spans the urban railway viaduct with its three platforms. The environs of the railway station will be upgraded into an urban district with mixed use.



North of Spreebogen - Central Railway Station Area



Image Central Railway Station

## Berlin's economic structure

There has been a noticeable change in Berlin's economic profile since 1990. It now ranks as one of Europe's leading cities in the ground-breaking fields of biotechnology and traffic and environmental engineering. Research and development work being carried out at the three universities and many other Colleges in the city. The economy must adapt to altered basic conditions and new market challenges.

However, the restructuring of the economy has also resulted in great opportunities. The future belongs to knowledge-, technology-, design-, and service-intensive industries. The service sector is already the driving force in the city's economy. It employs approximately 591,000 people, which is about 41 percent of the labor force. In the area of industrial manufacturing, modern companies in Berlin that offer innovative products and techniques are prevailing on the international market.

Small and medium-sized companies play a decisive role in Berlin's economy. Ninety-four percent of Berlin's companies employ fewer than 200 people. The trades sector continues to be a stabilising force: more than 27,400 tradesmen's businesses employ approximately 215,700 people. A total of around 44,000 companies operate in the retail, commercial agency, and wholesale trade sector; these employ around 116,000 people who pay into the national social security fund.

Berlin receives substantial financing from various European structural funds, which is to be used to strengthen the city's economy and infrastructure. This will amount to almost € 1.3 billion during the six-year grant period that ends in 2006.

The city's other important location factors include its highly qualified labor force, its large regional market, and its infrastructure, in which more than € 102.2 billion has been invested since 1990. As a center of competence, Berlin is relying primarily on new and expanding technology fields: information and Communications technology, multimedia, the media industry, environmental engineering, medical technology, biotechnology, and transportation technology are priority sectors. At the

end of 2001, there were more than 5,300 companies in Berlin in the information technology sector (including multimedia) and media industry alone. Berlin has succeeded in positioning itself as a "capital of talents."

Tourism also continues to be a growth sector. Constant gains have by now resulted in annual sales of around € 5.2 billion generated by the more than 66,000 employees in this field. Berlin's hotels had more than 4.9 million guests in 2001, with just under 11.4 million overnight stays. More than 63,000 beds in all price categories are available to the city's visitors.

Berlin's unemployment rate averaged 17.9 percent in 2001, which represents an increase of 0.3 percentage points over the previous year. In August 2004, the average unemployment rate is 18.2 %.

## **Consolidation of the budget**

Berlin finds itself in a difficult financial situation. Overcoming these difficulties is the major challenge confronting the state's government. Essential elements of consolidation efforts include the permanent reduction of expenditures, a focus on the state's core responsibilities, and the modernisation of state structures.

The budget for 2002 and 2003 provides for an annual volume of approximately € 21 billion. Net new borrowing will increase to just under € 6.3 billion in 2002. It will decline to € 3.6 billion in 2003 after the introduction of the new consolidation policy and should drop to € 2.4 billion by 2006. Berlin's austerity measures are aimed at transforming the primary deficit – that is, the gap between core expenditures and current receipts – into a surplus by 2006, which can be used to finance interest payments. Achieving this will require that spending cuts with a total volume of more than € 2 billion annually, which is about ten percent of the entire budget. Investment expenditures will be reduced, and substantial cuts will also be made in the area of civil service personnel. The management of property and participating interests are in the process of reorganising.

## Conclusion

The relocation of the federal parliament and government from Bonn to Berlin was the consistent decision related to the German history. It also had a strong economic impact on the development of the city and was an important step for Berlin to become the interesting and vibrant city of today to which all people are invited.

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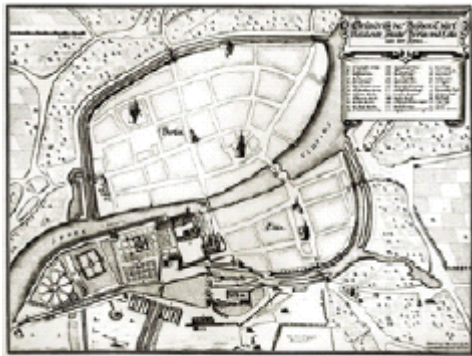
Photo research: Dr. Friedemann Schmidt, Stefan Hohenberger

Senate Department of Urban Development, Internet,  
Public Relations

Federal Government of Germany, Internet,  
Bundesverwaltungsamt – Projektgruppe Dienstleistungsportal

## ■ 역사

베를린에 관한 문헌상의 기록은 1237년까지 거슬러 올라가지만, 유럽의 다른 고도(古都)에 비하면 역사가 그리 길다고 할 수는 없다. 17세기에 대선제후(大選諸侯) 신성로마 제국의 황제를 선출할 권한을 가진 대귀족의 의미임 프리드리히 빌헬름 왕이 베를린이 유럽의 주요 도시 중의 하나로 부상할 수 있는 기틀을 마련했으며, 산업화 과정을 거치면서 베를린의 입지는 더욱 굳어졌다. 1871년 이후로 독일 제국의 수도였던 베를린은 19세기 말경에는 인구가 270만 명에 달했던 유럽 최대의 산업 도시였다. 제1차 세계대전 이후 독일민주공화국의 첫 수도로 지정된 베를린은 왕성한 문화 활동의 중심지가 되었다.



Berlin 1652

<베를린 1652년>



Berlin 1802

< 베를린 1802년>

## ■ 분단된 도시

1945년 5월 8일에 막을 내린 제2차 세계대전은 베를린을 잿더미로 만들었다. 60만 호의 아파트 건물이 파괴되었고, 한때 430만 명에 달했던 인구 또한 전후에 280만 명으로 줄어들었다. 이후 점령군이 베를린을 네 개 구역으로 나누어 공동으로 관리했다. 1948년 6월에서 1949년 5월까지 소련 연방이 베를린의 서쪽 지역을 봉쇄하고 육로를 차단해버리자, 연합국측은 항공편을 통해 도시에 물자를 공수했다.



Building the Wall 1961

&lt;베를린 장벽의 건설 1961년&gt;



Airlift 1948

&lt;베를린 공수작전 1948년&gt;

1961년 8월 13일 베를린 장벽이 세워지면서 동서간의 냉전은 극에 달했다. 동독 주민들은 장벽을 넘거나 땅굴을 파는 등 갖가지 기발한 방법을 동원하여 필사적인 탈출을 감행했다. 자유를 찾아 동독을 탈출하는 과정에서 100명이 넘는 사람들이 목숨을 잃었으며, 이도가 훨씬 더 많은 사람들이 부상을 당하거나 투옥되었다. 그 후로 베를린의 서쪽과 동쪽은 완전히 분리된 채 각자 개별적으로 발전했다.



The divided City, Berlin 1957

&lt;분단된 도시, 베를린 1957년&gt;

## ■ 베를린 장벽의 붕괴, 1989년

1989년 늦은 여름에 독일민주공화국(동독)을 탈출한 수백명의 난민들이 헝가리로 몰려온 이후, 그 수는 수천 명으로 늘어났다. 같은 해 9월 10일 헝가

리 정부는 난민들이 헝가리를 떠나 오스트리아를 경유한 다음 독일연방공화국(서독)으로 갈 수 있도록 허가해 주었다. 이후 9월 30일 동독 정부는프라하에 있는 서독 대사관으로 난입한 후 극도의 어려움 속에서 나날을 보내고 있던 난민들이 체코를 떠나 서독으로 갈수 있도록 허가했고, 특별 수송 열차가 마련되어 이들을 태우고 서독으로 향했다.

같은 해 10월 18일, 동독의 에리히 호네커(Erich Honeker) 총리가 사임하자, 라이프찌히(Leipzig)에서 30만 명에 이르는 군중들이 거리로 몰려나가 민주주의와 여행의 자유를 부르짖으며 시위를 벌였다. 그들이 내건 구호는 "우리는 국민이다" "We are the people"였다. 11월 8일에는 동독 사회주의 통일당의 중앙위원회 소속 정치국 위원 전원이 사임했다. 마침내 11월 9일 베를린 장벽이 무너졌고, 다음 날 동독 정부는 공식적으로 서독 및 서 베를린과의 국경을 개방했다.



The Fall of the Wall Brandenburg Gate 1989

<베를린 장벽의 붕괴, 브란덴부르크 게이트(Brandenburg Gate) 1989년>

1989년 11월 9일 베를린 장벽이 붕괴되고 1990년 10월 3일 동독과 서독이 통일되면서, 베를린의 분단 상황은 마침내 종지부를 찍었고, 1994년에는 베를린을 점령하고 있던 외국 군대마저 철수했다. 통일은 베를린이 다시 한번 독일의 수도로 거듭나기 위한 기반을 마련했다. 1991년 6월 20일 독일의 연방 하원인 분데스타크(Bundestag) 지역구 의원과 비례대표제 방식으로 선출되는 독일의 연방하원이 주요 입법권한을 행사함. 참고로 연방상원은 주정부가 임명함.는 337대 320의 득표차로 베를린을 독일 의회와 연방정부 청사 소재지로 결정했다. 오랜 기간 동안 냉전과 대립의 구심점 노릇을 했던 베를린이 독일의 통일과 유럽의 미래를 상징하는 도시가 된 것이다.

## ■ 베를린 장벽 붕괴 후의 도시 건설

1989년 당시 도시 중심부를 가로질러 베를린을 양분했던 베를린 장벽은 그 길이가 160 킬로미터에 달했지만, 장벽 주변의 토지는 어느 누구의 소유지도 아니었다. 이후 장벽 주변에 위치한 땅에는 다양한 용도의 건물들이 들어섰고, 이중 일부는 놀라울 정도의 위용을 자랑한다.

동독과 서독의 국경이 있던 자리에는 수많은 건축물들이 즐비하지만, 그 중에서도 파리지 플라츠(Pariser Platz)에 있는 브란덴부르크 게이트는 뛰어난 건축물의 상징이 되었다. 그 외에도 여러 은행들의 대표 지점 건물들과 프랑스 및 영국 대사관, 드높은 명성을 자랑했던 구 건물을 허물고 새로이 축조된 아들론 호텔(Adlon Hotel) 등이 있으며, 예술 아카데미와 미국 대사관 건물이 새로이 들어설 예정이다.

포츠다머 플라츠(Potsdamer Platz)에는 60만 제곱미터의 바닥 면적에 주택, 사무실, 쇼핑 센터, 호텔, 극장, 음식점, 카지노, 뮤지컬 극장 등의 시설을 수용하는 도심 내의 주거 지역이 생겨났다. 다임러크라이슬러와 소니가 주요 투자자로서, 새로이 모습을 드러낸 다임러크라이슬러 지구의 1차 건설분은 1998년 말에 개방되었고, 소니 센터는 2000년에 완공되었다.



Potsdamer Platz 2002

<포츠다머 플라츠 2002년>



Pariser Platz 2002

<파리지 플라츠 2002년>

## ■ 베를린 정부와 의회

슈프레보겐에 새로이 들어서게 될 의회 및 정부 청사 건물은 유서 깊은 라이크스타그(Reichstag) 건물 인근에 자리해 있으며, 얼마 안 있어 완공된

다. 건축가 악셀 슈테스(Axel Schultes)와 샬로테 프랑크(Charlotte Frank)가 이 일대의 도시개발 마스터 플랜을 세웠다. 의원들과 연방 총리 집무실을 포함한 일련의 연방 정부 건물들은 슈프레 강의 만곡부를 따라 늘어서 있어서 베를린의 동쪽과 서쪽을 상징적으로 잇고 있는 형상이다.



Reichstag building

<라이크스타그 건물>

건축가 노먼 포스터(Norman Foster) 경이 연방 의회 건물로 개축한 라이크스타그 건물은 지붕을 유리 돔으로 덮었으며, 일반인들도 자유롭게 드나들 수 있도록 개방되어 있다. 19세기 후반에 파울 발로트(Paul Wallot)가 설계한 라이크스타그 건물은 1999년 5월에 연방선거위원회 회의를 개최하기 위해 다시 문을 열었다. 같은 해 여름 휴가가 끝난 이후부터 독일 의회와 정부는 베를린 청사에서 업무를 수행해왔다. 신축 건물들 중 일부는 아직 완공되지 않았기 때문에 의원들과 일부 장관들은 예비용으로 개조된 구 건물로 이사해야 했다. 연방 총리 집무실은 2001년이 지나서야 완공되었는데, 그 전까지 공식적인 연방 총리실은 공화국 왕궁 옆에 위치한 솔로스플라츠(Schlossplatz)의 구(舊) 국가위원회 건물에 있었다. 2002년에 정부 내 모든 부처가, 2003년에는 모든 의회 및 기타 정부 기관이 신축 건물들에 자리 잡았다.



Urban Design of the Area of Parliament

<의회 부근의 도시 설계>



Federal Chancellery Entrance

<연방 총리실 입구>

## ■ 건물 수용의 기본 컨셉

연방정부는 1990년에 이미 베를린에 들어설 정부 부처와 의회 건물 부지에 대한 연구조사를 실시했고, 그 결과 수도 이전이 가능하다는 결론에 이르렀다. 연구 결과를 통해 연방정부는 57만 평방미터에 이르는 바닥 면적에 50개 이상의 공공 건물이 들어설 수 있음을 확인했다. 동독의 옛 수도인 베를린에는 용도 변경이 가능한 수많은 기존 건물들이 자리하고 있었다. 서독의 옛 수도인 본에 소재하고 있는 구 정부 청사의 바닥 면적을 감안할 때, 의회 건물 부지로는 19만 평방미터가 연방정부 청사 부지로는 40만 평방미터가 필요했는데, 이들 모두를 수용할 수 있을 정도였다. 수도 이전 계획에 대한 추가적인 연구가 이루어지고, 이에 대해 연방 의회가 최종적으로 승인을 한 때는 그로부터 4년이 지난 1994년이였다. 그 후 수도 이전 계획은 빠르게 진전되었다.

대부분의 연방정부 부처는 미테(Mitte) 지구(베를린 중심부에 위치)에 있던 기존 건물로 이전했다. 이 과정에서 독일 정부는 허술하게 관리되었지만 역사적인 가치가 있는 기존 건물들은 그대로 유지하면서, 용도 변경을 통해 필요한 경우에는 건물 내 어떠한 부분이든 개조 및 복원을 하였고 새 건물을 지어 보완하기도 했다. 연방정부 산하의 내무부만이 신축 건물을 임대하고 있을 뿐이다.

마침내, 연방정부 청사가 바닥 면적이 44만 1000 평방미터에 이르는 부지에 건설되었는데, 약 118만 평방미터에 이르는 연면적에 연방 대통령 집무실, 연방 상원(Bundesrat), 연방 정부(외부 임대 공간 없음) 및 연방 하원 건물들을 수용하고 있다.

## ■ 베를린 법과 본(Born) 법

독일 정부는 수도 이전과 관련하여 1991년 베를린 시의 상원 뿐만 아니라 연방 정부 및 의회도 결정권을 가질 수 있도록 하였고, 4년 후에 현실적인 계획안이 나오도록 함으로써 본과 베를린간에 정부기능을 공평하게 배분했다.

그 결과, 정부의 주요 부처만을 베를린으로 이전하기로 결정했다. 현재까지

도 국방부, 보건부, 환경부, 소비자 보호부, 교육부, 경제협력부는 본에 소위 "1차 거주지" "first residence"를 유지하면서 베를린에는 근무 인원수가 상대적으로 적은 "2차 거주지"를 두고 있는데, 이는 옛 수도인 본이 수도 이전 후에도 사회·경제·구조적으로 문제가 없도록 하기 위한 정치적 타협의 산물이었다. 이와 같은 부분 이전의 목적은 사회 및 기능상의 이유로 발생할 사회적 이동을 줄이는 것이었다. 베를린에서 본으로 16개의 연방정부 사무소를 이전했고, 일부 직원들은 본에 머무르면서 다른 사무소의 새로운 일자리에서 일할 수 있도록 했다.

이전 대상 일자리	
본에서 베를린으로 (연방 정부, 연방 상.하원, 연방 대통령)	약 1만 1400개
베를린에서 본으로	약 4350개
라인-마인 지역	약 2200개

이동 인력	
본에서 베를린으로 (연방 정부, 연방 상.하원, 연방 대통령)	약 7500명
베를린에서 본으로	약 1900명
라인-마인 지역	약 1200명

남아있는 인력 수	
본	약 3900명
베를린	약 2450명
라인-마인 지역	약 1000명

정부기능이 베를린과 본 두 도시에 분산되어있지만 현대 통신 기술의 발달로 인해 600 킬로미터나 떨어진 곳에서도 조직 업무를 수행할 수 있게 되었다.

2년 동안 독일 정부는 주말에 베를린에서 본으로 항공기나 기차를 타고 통근하는 약 3700명의 직원들에게 교통비를 지불했는데, 첫 해에 통근량은 예기치 않게 줄어들었다.

## ■ 조직 구조

독일 연방 하원이 수도 이전을 결정한지 얼마 지나지 않아, 연방정부 차원에서 수도 이전에 대한 구체적인 계획안을 수립하기 위해 "베를린/본 실무 위원회"가 설립되었다. 베를린측에서는 "수도 베를린 실무 위원회"가 설립되어 수도 이전의 효과와 기본 방향을 연구했다. 1992년 베를린 시장 직속의 "수도국"이 각국의 외교 공관, 각종 이권단체 및 언론기관뿐만 아니라 도시 개발, 교통, 계획, 물류, 재산 관리 등의 업무를 집중적으로 조율했다. 2000년에는 상원의 특별 위원회가, 나중에는 베를린 의회가 여기에 합류했다. 연방 의회는 다양한 목적(일반적인 개념 정립, 사회 문제, 독일의 여러 주(州)들의 권익)별로 위원회를 구성하여 수도 이전에 필요한 지침을 제공했다. 건설 위원회는 라이크스타그 독일의 국회의사당 건물 명칭 건물과 다른 의회 건물들의 건설에 대한 결정을 내리고 통제하는 임무를 수행했다. 연방 정부의 권익을 강화하기 위해 연방 계획법 또한 개정되었다.

1992년 8월에는 연방 정부와 베를린 시(市) 사이의 협력을 규정하는 계약이 마련되었다 ("수도에 관한 계약"). 양측에서 각각 6명의 장관급 인사를 선임하여 공동 위원회를 구성한 다음, 수도 이전을 둘러싼 갈등 상황을 해소하고 계획 및 건설과 관련된 주요한 사안들을 조정하는 역할을 했다. 연방 정부의 교통.건설.주택부 장관이 위원회의 최고 책임자 자리를 맡았다. 초기에는 위원회가 정기적으로 소집되었지만, 최근 3년 동안에는 주요 사업들이 완료되면서 회의를 소집할 필요가 없어졌다.

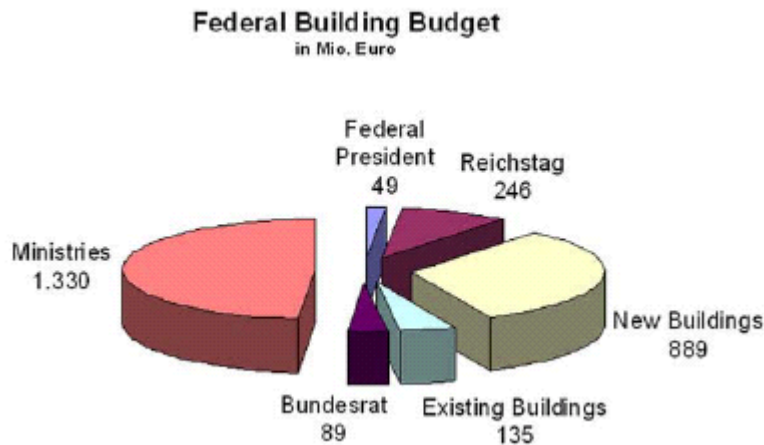
## ■ 수도 이전 비용

수도 이전에 소요되는 총 비용은 100억 유로로 추정되었다. 이중 80억 유로는 수도를 실제로 옮기는 사업 자체에 소요되는 비용인데, 50억 유로는 투자에 20억 유로는 베를린(8억 5000만 유로)과 본(11억 5000만 유로)에 추가 서비스를 제공하는데 사용되는 명목이었다.

민간인 토지 소유주와 베를린 시로부터 부동산을 매입하는 데에만 약 20억 유로의 자금이 필요했다. 연방정부 직원들의 주택 건설 사업에 8억 유로가 사용되었고 인력배치 명목으로 4억 5000만 유로가 소요되었다.

&lt;연방정부의 건설 예산&gt;

(단위: 100만 유로)



건축법에 따라 의회 및 정부가 들어설 지역이 특별 개발 지구로 지정되었다. 도로, 교량, 공원, 사회간접자본 등을 계획하고 건설하는데 5억 8000만 유로의 예산이 책정되었는데, 연방 정부와 베를린 시가 각각 64퍼센트와 34퍼센트를 부담했다.

수도 이전을 완수하는데 드는 비용은 예산과 실제 소요된 금액 간에 약간의 차이가 있었지만, 전체적으로 100억 유로를 넘지는 않았다.

## ■ 베를린의 주택 시설

베를린의 주택 개발 및 건설을 담당했던 주체 중의 하나인 중앙 정부는 수도 이전으로 인해 베를린 주택 시장에 어떠한 혼란도 초래하지 않기를 원했다. 베를린에는 이전에 도시를 점령했던 연합군 병력들이 거주하던 3600호의 주택이 있었지만, 연방정부 직원들을 수용하기 위해서는 이보다 더 많은 9100호의 주택이 필요한 것으로 추정됐다. 여기에 덧붙여, 임대용 주택 2500가구와 개인 소유용 주택으로 3000가구를 신규로 건설할 계획도 마련되었다. 이 야심찬 건설 프로젝트의 주 무대는 특정 목적으로 용도가 지정된 지역, 특히 과거 베를린 주둔 연합군이 점령했던 토지가 대부분이었다. 정부 청사가 새로이 들어설 지구에서 그리 멀지 않고 하천 주변의 매력적인 입지를 갖춘 모아비터 베르더(Moabit-Werder)에 718가구가 건설되었다. 새로이 건설된 주택 수는 2000호에 불과했는데, 대부분의 거주자들은 연방 정부 직원이 아니라 베를린 시민이었다. 1999년 말에서 2000년 초에는 도시 근교에 매력적인 주거 공간들이 많았기 때문에, 정부에서 제공하는 주택

시설을 사용한 연방정부 직원들의 수는 얼마 되지 않았다.

현재 미테(Mitte) 주민들의 절반 이상이 1989년 이후 이주해온 사람들이다. 이들은 이 유서 깊은 도심 지역에 새로운 활력을 불어넣었다.

1989년 이후로 베를린에는 전체적으로 수만 호의 주택이 새로이 들어섰다. 이와 같은 주택건설 붐으로 인해 베를린의 주택시장은 상당히 호전되었다. 또 하나의 중요한 요인으로는 많은 수의 베를린 시민들이 도시 주변의 교외 지역으로 이사했고, 이로 인해 베를린의 인구는 지속적인 감소세를 보여왔다는 사실이다. 지난 10년 동안 베를린 시는 신중한 도시 재개발 정책을 추진하면서 전통적인 다양한 형태의 건축물들을 소중히 보존해왔다.

시 전체 인구의 20퍼센트 이상에 달하는 80만 명의 베를린 시민들이 조립식 건물에서 생활하고 있다. 전후에 축조된 이 건물들은 통일 이후의 현대식 주거 요건을 거의 충족시키지 못했다. 1990년 이후로 15만 개의 조립식 건물들을 현대식 주거 공간으로 바꾸는 데 총 43억 5000만 유로의 비용이 들었다.

## ■ 수도의 흡인력

정부 로비스트들과 각종 서비스 업체들이 외국 공관과 정치 단체들과 함께 연방정부를 따라 베를린으로 이전해 왔는데, 대부분은 미테 지구에 소재한 신축 또는 개축 건물에 둥지를 틀었다.

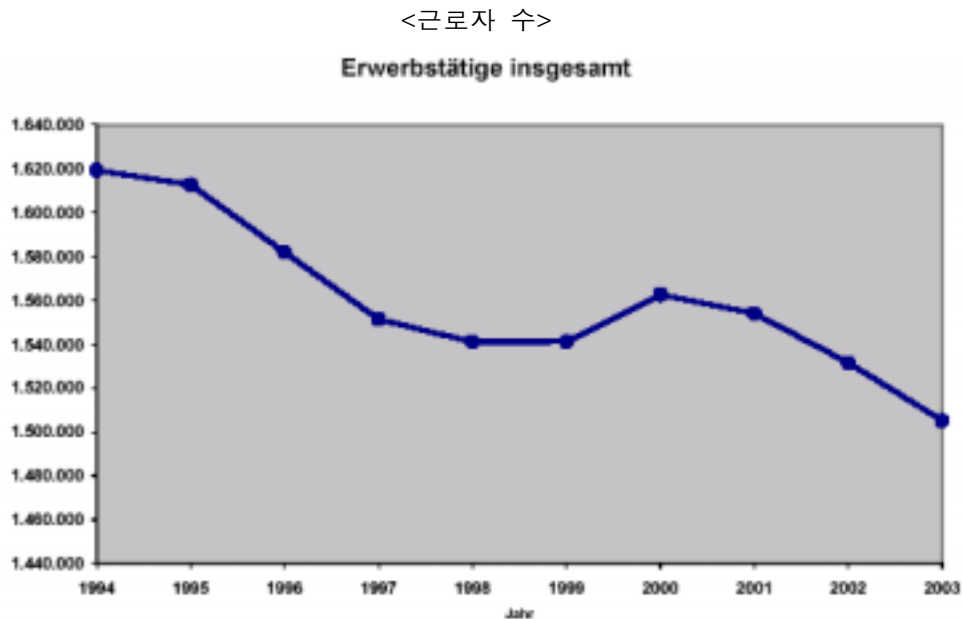
150여 개의 외국 대사관들이 연방 정부를 따라 베를린으로 이전했다. 많은 외국 공관들은 티어가르텐 파크(Tiergarten Park)의 남쪽 가장자리에 있는 건물들을 사용했다. 이 일대는 동독 시절의 외교 공관들이 모여있던 곳이었다. 그 외에 독일 연방의 여러 주들을 대표하는 주정부 청사들도 있으며, 대부분의 건물들은 브란덴부르크 게이트 근처에 자리해 있다. 그 외 프랑스와 영국, 미국 대사관은 파리지 플라츠에, 러시아 대사관은 운터 덴 린덴(Under den Linden)에, 스위스 대사관은 슈프레보겐으로 이전함으로써, 2차 대전이 발발하기 이전에 자국이 점령했던 전통적인 역사가 서려 있는 곳으로 돌아간 셈이 됐다.

협회와 정부 로비스트들은 베를린으로 이전해 온 기업 및 각종 단체들 중

상당한 부분을 차지했다. 베를린으로 이전해 온 기업체 협회만 해도 40개 이상에 달했다. 이들이 차지하고 있는 건물 중 가장 인상적인 위용을 자랑하고 있는 것은 브라이테 슈트라세(Breite Straße)에 있는 무역·산업 빌딩(Trade and Industry Building)이다. 여기에는 독일연방상공회의소(DIHT)와 독일연방산업협회(BDI) 그리고 독일경영자협회(BDA) 사무실이 자리하고 있다.

언론사들은 정부 청사 지구 인근에 자리하고 있는 건물들을 차지했다. 베를린에 처음으로 입성한 텔레비전 방송국이 첫 방송을 시작한 때는 1992년 말이었고, 얼마 안 있어 전국적인 배급망을 갖춘 대형 신문사들이 베를린에 사무실을 차렸다. 베를린은 수도로서의 기능을 원활히 수행할 만반의 준비를 갖추었다. 지난 수년간에 걸쳐서 타설된 14만 1000 킬로미터에 이르는 광섬유 케이블은 통신사와 관련 서비스 업체들에게 효율적으로 활용할 수 있는 인프라였으며, 기존의구식 건물에 이전해 온 광고 업체들이 큰 도움이 되었다.

프로그노스(Prognos) 연구소가 수도 이전의 경제적 효과를 분석한 연구 결과에 따르면, 연방정부는 베를린의 기술기반구조 기술 인프라 시설 Technical infrastructure를 구축하는데 51억 유로를 투자하고, 수도의 공공 시설물에 19억 유로를 투자했다고 한다. 이와 같은 대규모 투자를 통해 본에서 베를린으로의 수도 이전은 베를린 경제에 약 70억 유로에 이르는 일시적인 인센티브를 제공했다고 볼 수 있다. 아울러 연방 정부는 직원 봉급과 문화사업 등에 대한 보조금으로 약 10억 유로를 지출하고 있다. 주요 수혜자는 공공 부문과 전문 수공업자, 호텔과 요식업 부문이었다. 여기서 얻을 수 있는 결론은, 의회 및 연방 정부를 베를린으로 이전하지 않았다면 베를린의 경제는 지금보다 훨씬 더 큰 하락세를 겪었을 수도 있었음을 의미한다.



위의 표에서 알 수 있듯이, 1999년과 2000년에 연방 의회와 정부가 베를린에서 업무를 시작하면서 근로자 수는 소폭의 증가세를 보였다. 연방정부의 직원들과 외국 대사관, 각종 이권단체, 언론사 등이 대거 유입되었지만 10년 전부터 이미 시작된 급격한 인구감소 추세를 막기에는 역부족이었다.

## ■ 옛 도심의 부활

베를린 장벽이 붕괴된 지 10년이 지나면서 미테 지구의 외관은 빠르게 바뀌었다. 많은 신축 건물들과 개·보수 공사를 마친 기념비적인 건축물들이 자리한 프리드라이크 슈트라세(Friedrichstraße)는 많은 사람들의 발길을 끌고 있다. 세 개의 건물로 구성된 프리드라이크 슈타트 파사젠(Friedrichstadt Passagen)은 이 유명한 거리의 외관을 뒤바꾼 신축 건물 중에서도 가장 강렬한 인상을 준다. 지난 10년 동안 프리드라이크 슈트라세에 소매 매장들이 앞 다투어 개장한 결과, 전체 매장 면적은 10만 평방미터에 이른다. 베를린 중심부에 위치한 미테 지구에서 관광객들은 베를린의 관광 명소인 운터 덴 린덴 대로(大路)(Unter den Linden)와 겐트알멘 마르크트 광장(Gendarmenmarkt), 박물관 섬(Museum Island), 궁전 광장(Schlossplatz)을 발견할 것이다.

한편 베를린 서부의 중심지 또한 개발 중에 있다. 1999년에는 이 지역을 대

표할만한 신축 건물들이 준공되었다.

## ■ 역사의 중심

베를린의 역사적 의의를 되찾는 일, 즉 도시의 중심부를 활력 넘치는 문화, 교육의 중심지로 개발하는 일은 도시 계획의 측면에서 여전히 중요한 도전 과제 중의 하나로 남아있다. 역사적 가치가 있는 도심 개발을 논의하기 위해 모인 국제 전문가 위원들은 2002년 4월에 도시 궁전(City Palace)이 자리해 있던 부지와 동독이 나중에 건립한 공화국 궁전(Palast der Republic)이 있던 부지에 구조물을 건설하자는 권고안을 내놓았다. 다수 위원들이 건물의 삼면은 궁전의 원래 건축 양식인 바로크 식으로 개조하고, 건물의 동쪽 벽과 실내는 현대식 건축기법을 살리는 방법을 주장했다. 2002년 7월 4일 독일 연방 하원은 도시 궁전과 같은 크기의 건물을 짓기로 결정했다. 건물의 삼면은 역사적 가치가 있는 바로크 양식을 채택하고, 내부는 건축가 슐류터(Schlüter)가 설계했던 안마당을 그대로 재현할 것이다.



City Palace 1898

<도시 궁전 1989년>



Historical Center of Berlin

<역사의 중심, 베를린>

## ■ 도시통합 교통 프로젝트

지리적인 분단 상황으로 교통망에 심각한 후유증을 겪었던 베를린은 1989년 이후로 도로 건설에 거의 25억 유로를, 철도망과 대중교통 수단에 50억 유로 이상을 투자했다. 분단으로 인해 끊어진 주요 도로와 철로를 원 상태로 연결시키는 일이 급선무였다. 이런 식으로 도로를 연결한 경우만 110건

에 달했다. 교외 지역을 통과하는 열차 운행이 1990년 7월부터 재개되었다. 도심과 교외를 잇는 100년 역사의 철도망을 수리하고 재건하는 작업은 1998년에 완수되었으며, 오랜 환형(環形) 철도 또한 복구되었다.

1991년 독일 연방의회가 베를린을 수도 이전지로 확정하면서 베를린은 이제까지 경험해보지 못한 수많은 일을 처리해야만 했다. 그 중의 하나는 미래의 의회와 정부 청사가 들어설 지구의 교통 문제를 해결하는 일이었다. 이를 가능하게 만든 것은 2005년 개장 예정인 티어가르텐 파크이다.

통일 후 최대 문제 중의 하나는 지난 40년 동안 베를린동쪽과 서쪽의 교통망 개발 전략이 판이하게 다른 방식으로 추진되었다는 점이었다. 서쪽의 경우 비교적 잘 발달된 지하 철도망을 갖추고 있었지만 시내를 관통하는 전차궤도 철도(railway line)와 전차궤도(tramline)는 없는 반면, 동쪽은 소규모의 지하 철도망과 잘 발달된 전차궤도를 보유하고 있었다.

1995년에 마련된 교통 전략으로 베를린의 장기적인 철도망 개발 계획의 기틀을 마련했다. 이 전략의 핵심적인 요소 중 하나는 베를린의 동쪽과 서쪽을 잇는 비용효과적인 전차궤도 망을 구축하는 것이었다. 마침내 1995년 11월 첫번째 전차가 동부의 프렌츠라우어 베르그(Prenzlauer Berg) 지구를 출발하여 서부의 웨딩(Wedding) 지구까지 운행하기에 이르렀다.

## ■ 중앙 철도역의 신설

베를린의 장거리 철도 교통 체계는 완전한 재편이 필요했다. 기본 개념은 레알터 반호프(Lehrter Bahnhof)에서 연방 총리 집무실과 연방 하원 건물에서 도보로 닿을 수 있는 지점에 베를린 역사상 첫번째의 중앙 역사(驛舍)를 세우는 것이었다.

현재 독일 연방정부와 란트 베를린(Land Berlin) 그리고 도이체 반(Deutsche Bahn) '란트 베를린'은 '베를린 토지공사' '도이체 반'은 '베를린 철도공사' 등으로 번역할 수 있을 듯 한데 확실치는 않음이 주축이 되어 2006년 완공을 목표로 중앙 역사를 건설하고 있다. 이 역사는 사상 처음으로 베를린의 북쪽과 남쪽을 직통하는 철로를 이어 줄 것이다. 또한 베를린의 동서를 연결할 도시 철도용 고가도로도 건설될 것이다. 두개의 주요 철로를 잇게 될 이 새로운 역사는 베를린에서 가장 중요한 철도역으로 자리매

김할 것이며, 완공 후에는 하루 24만 명의 유동 인구를 소화할 것으로 전망된다. 유리과 철재 소재에다 첨단 기술을 활용하여 설계한 역사의 지붕은 세 개의 플랫폼과 고가 철로를 따라 뻗게 된다. 역사의 주변 시설 또한 다양한 용도에 맞게 재단장 될 것이다.



<슈프레보겐 북쪽 중앙 철도역 부근>



<중앙 철도역의 외관>

## ■ 베를린의 경제 구조

1990년 이후로 베를린의 경제는 괄목할만한 변화를 겪어 왔다. 이제 베를린은 생명공학 기술, 교통, 환경공학과 같은 첨단 분야에서 유럽을 이끄는 선도적인 도시 중의 하나로 자리매김하고 있다. 베를린 소재 종합대학 세 곳과 기타 전문대학에서 활발한 연구·개발 활동이 수행되고 있다. 앞으로 베를린의 경제 주체들은 기초 여건 상의 변화와 새로운 시장 환경이 제시하는 도전적인 과제에 적절히 대응해나가야 할 것이다.

하지만 경제적 구조조정이 이루어지는 과정에서 훌륭한 사업 기회 또한 창출되었다. 미래는 지식, 기술, 디자인, 서비스 중심의 산업이 주도할 것이다. 서비스 부문은 이미 베를린 경제를 이끄는 견인차 역할을 하고 있다. 서비스 부문에서만 베를린의 근로자 중 약 41퍼센트를 차지하는 약 59만 1000 명이 종사하고 있고, 혁신적인 기술과 제품을 개발하는데 앞장서고 있는 베를린의 제조업체들은 세계 시장에서 좋은 실적을 올리고 있다.

중소 기업은 베를린 경제에 결정적인 역할을 한다. 베를린에 소재한 기업체 중에서 94퍼센트는 종업원 수가 200명 이하인 중소기업이다. 수공업 독일 경제에서 전문 장인들이 주축이 되어 운영하는 수공업(trades) 분야의 규모

는 그 자체가 하나의 독립된 산업 분야로 분류되고 있다. 부문은 지속적인 안정세를 보여주고 있다. 2만 7400개 이상의 수공업체에서 약 21만 5700명 이상의 인력이 종사하고 있다. 소매업, 상업 활동 대행업, 도매업 부문에서 총 4만 4000개의 업체가 영업 활동을 벌이며 국가에 사회보장기금 보험료를 납부하는 11만 6000명의 인력을 고용하고 있다.

베를린은 유럽의 다양한 구조기금(structural funds)으로부터 상당한 액수의 자금 지원을 받고 있다. 2006년 말까지 6년의 기간 동안 13억 유로에 달하는 지원금이 베를린의 경제 및 사회 간접자본 시설에 투입될 예정이다.

베를린의 중요한 산업입지 요인 중 하나는 우수한 노동력, 대규모의 시장, 사회 간접자본 시설 등을 꼽을 수 있다. 특히 1990년 이후로 사회 간접자본 시설 확충에 1022억 유로가 투자되었다. 도시 경쟁력 제고의 일환으로 베를린 정부는 정보통신 기술, 멀티미디어, 미디어 산업, 환경공학, 의료 기술, 생명공학, 교통 기술 등의 신기술 부문에 집중적인 지원 정책을 펼치고 있다. 2001년 말 기준으로, 베를린에서 정보기술 부문(멀티 미디어 포함)과 미디어 산업 부문에서 활동하는 기업체의 수는 약 5300개에 달했다. 이런 측면에서 베를린은 "인적자원의 수도"로서의 입지를 굳히는 데에도 성공한 것이다.

관광산업 또한 지속적인 성장세를 누리는 산업 부문으로서, 연간 매출 52억 유로를 거둬들이고 있으며 6만 6000명 이상의 인력을 고용하고 있다. 2001년 기준으로 고객 수가 490만 명을 넘었으며 투숙객은 1140만 명에 달하고 있는 베를린의 호텔들은 다양한 가격대 별로 6만 3000개의 침상을 갖추고 있다.

베를린의 실업률은 2001년 평균 17.9퍼센트를 기록했는데, 이는 전년도에 비해 0.3퍼센트 증가한 수치다. 2004년 8월 기준으로 평균 실업률은 18.2퍼센트에 달하고 있다.

## ■ 예산 통합

베를린은 재정적인 어려움을 겪고 있으며, 주 정부가 당면하고 있는 주요 과제 중의 하나가 바로 재정난을 극복하는 것이다. 이러한 재정난 극복을

위해 주 정부는 예산통합정책을 수립하여 지출의 영구적인 삭감과 주 정부 구조의 현대화에 중점적인 노력을 기울이고 있다.

2002년과 2003년의 연간 예산은 약 210억 유로에 달했다. 신규 순 차입액 규모는 2002년에 63억 유로를 약간 밑도는 수준으로 늘어날 것으로 예상되지만, 새로운 예산 통합 정책을 도입한 후인 2003년에는 36억 유로로 2006년에는 24억 유로로 줄어든 전망이다. 베를린 정부가 추진하는 긴축재정 시책의 목표는 주요 세출액과 현재 세입액의 차이에서 발생하는 재정 적자를 2006년까지 흑자 기조로 전환시켜, 흑자분을 이자 비용으로 충당하는 것이다. 이를 위해서는 매년 전체 예산의 10퍼센트 수준인 총 20억 유로 이상의 지출 삭감이 필요하다. 시 정부는 투자 규모를 줄이고 공공 부문 인력에 대한 상당한 수준의 감원 조치를 단행할 것이다. 또한 공공 재산 관리 등에 대한 개편 작업도 이루어지고 있다.

## ■ 결론

본에서 베를린으로의 수도 이전은 독일 역사에 비춰볼 때 적합한 결정이었을 뿐만 아니라, 베를린 시가 발전할 수 있는 경제적인 동력을 제공했으며 베를린이 오늘날과 같이 모든 사람들의 관심을 끄는 흥미롭고 활력 넘치는 도시로 거듭나기 위한 중요한 조치였다.

# 제 4주제

## 한국의 수도이전 추진현황 및 서울시 입장

(Progress of Korea's Capital Relocation  
and Perspective of the Seoul Metropolitan Government)

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## I. 정부의 수도이전 추진현황

### 1. 정부의 수도이전 논리

수도이전을 위한 정부의 논리는 3가지로 요약 될 수 있다.

첫째, 수도권에 과밀·집중의 해소이다. 수도권에 과도하게 집적된 경제·산업·교육기능과 인구과밀에 대한 해소책으로서 수도이전이 필요하다는 입장이다. 둘째, 수도권에 집적된 인구와 기능의 물리적 분산을 통하여 국토의 균형발전을 도모한다는 논리이다. 셋째, 수도이전을 통하여 수도권에 집중된 인구와 기능을 분산함과 동시에 균형발전을 도모하는 것이 국가경쟁력을 제고할 수 있다고 주장한다.

### 2. 신행정수도 건설계획(안)의 주요 내용

#### • 입지 및 도시개발유형

2004년 8월 11일자로 신행정수도의 후보지는 충남지역의 「연기-공주지역」로 최종 확정된 바 있다. 신행정수도는 수도로서의 상징성 확보와 기존 도시와의 연담화 방지를 위하여 기존도시와 일정거리를 유지하여 독립된 형태로 개발하는 「신도시형」으로 발표되었다.

#### • 이전대상기관

신행정수도에 수용하게 될 수도기능은 청와대를 포함한 73개 중앙행정기관이 잠정적으로 확정·발표되었다(2004. 7. 21). ‘신행정수도 도시기본구상’은 입법·사법·행정부 모두 이전하는 것을 전제로 계획되어 있으나, 입법부, 사법부, 헌법기관은 국회승인 등 별도의 의사결정을 거쳐 이전여부가 결정되므로 정부의 발표에서는 일단 제외되었다.

#### • 수용인구 및 도시개발규모

신행정수도는 인구 50만명 정도를 수용하는 규모로서 인구밀도(순밀도) 300~350인/ha를 적용하여 6,600~8,300만㎡(약 2,000~2,500만평) 내외 규모로 개발될 계획이다.

- 단계적 개발계획

신행정수도 건설의 추진일정은 2007년 하반기에 착공하여 2012년부터 국가기관을 단계적으로 이전하고 2030년에 완료한다는 계획이다.

2003년까지가 준비단계로서 도시기본구상 및 입지선정기준을 마련하고 신행정수도건설을 위한 특별조치법을 제정한다. 계획단계는 2007년까지로서 이 기간에 이전계획, 건설기본계획 및 최종입지를 결정하고 개발계획수립 및 용지매입에 착수할 예정이다. 건설단계에서는 부지조성, 공공청사신축, 기반시설 건설과 함께 ‘신행정수도지위등에관한법률’을 2011년까지 제정할 계획이다. 2012년부터 이전단계로서 주요 국가기관의 단계적 이전과 주민입주가 시작될 계획이다.

- 예상 건설비용

정부는 2030년까지 총 45.6조원의 건설비용이 소요될 것으로 추정하고 있다(2003년 불변가격). 이 중 정부재정은 11.3조원이고 나머지 34.3조원은 민간부문에서 조달할 계획이다. 정부재정 부문은 정부청사건축으로 4.7조원, 시청, 학교등에 3.6조원, 광역교통기반시설에 3조원이 소요될 것으로 추정하였다. 주택시설건설의 27.3조원, 상업 및 편익시설의 약 6.1조원은 민간부문에서 조달할 예정이다. 정부는 수도이전의 재원을 마련하기 위해 일부 정부청사는 민간에게 매각할 예정이며 교육, 환경 등 도시기반시설의 건설을 위해 민간자본을 적극 유치할 계획이다.

### 3. 신행정수도의 추진일정 및 경과

<정 부의 신행정수도건설 주요 추진경과 및 일정계획>

일 정	추 진 사 항
2002. 9.30	노무현 대통령 후보는 청와대와 정부부처를 충청권으로 옮기겠다는 '행정수도 이전' 대선공약 제시
2003. 4.14	청와대에 '신행정수도건설추진기획단' 발족
2003. 12.29	'신행정수도 건설을 위한 특별조치법' 제정
2004. 7. 12	시민단체 대표, 교수, 종교인 등 수도이전 위헌 헌법소원 대리인단 '신행정수도건설특별법'에 대한 헌법소원 제출
2004. 7. 21	주요 국가기관(중앙행정기관 등)의 이전계획 및 신행정수도 건설기본계획 심의·의결
2004. 8.11	신행정수도 후보지로 충남의 「연기-공주지역」 확정
2005~2007년	개발계획 수립 및 토지취득
2007년 하반기~2011	조성공사 및 청사건축
2012년부터	행정기관 입주 및 주민입주

자료: 신행정수도건설기획단, 2004. 7

## II. 수도이전의 쟁점과 서울시 입장

수도이전을 통해서 이루고자 하는 정책목표는 수도권 과밀해소와 국토균형발전이다. 전문가나 국민들도 수도이전의 찬성반대를 떠나서 이러한 정책목표에는 상당한 공감대가 형성된 것 같다. 따라서 논란의 핵심은 이러한 정책목표를 달성하기 위한 최선의 방안이 과연 수도이전이라는 극단적이고 물리적인 정책수단인가 하는 점이다. 다음은 그 동안 수도이전 논란에서 제기된 주요 쟁점과 이에 대한 서울시의 견해를 요약하여 정리한 것이다.

### 1. 수도권집중과 수도이전

수도이전의 논리 중 하나는 수도권에 집중되어 있는 인구 및 경제·산업·교육 기능을 분산시켜 과밀을 해소하자는 것이다. 현 정부는 수도권이 전국면적의 11.8%인데 반해 총인구의 47.6%가 집중하여 과밀하고 이로 인해 삶의

질이 떨어지고 사회적 비용의 증가요인이 된다고 주장한다. 사회적 비용으로 교통혼잡비용이 12.4조원(2002년 기준), 대기오염 처리비용은 연간 10조원, 환경개선비용 4조원 등을 제시한다. 따라서 수도권집중과 사회적 비용의 억제를 위하여 수도이전은 필수적이라는 것이다. 이에 대한 서울시의 견해는 수도권 인구과밀문제의 실체는 인구규모 자체보다 이로 인한 사회적 비용문제이므로 수도이전과 같은 막연한 인구분산책으로는 해결이 어렵고 보다 정교하고 직접적인 해법이 요구된다는 입장이다.

첫째, 수도권의 과밀은 상대적 개념으로 단순 지표만으로는 판단할 수 없다. 우리와 같이 국토면적이 작은 나라는 광대한 면적을 가진 미국, 브라질, 호주 등과 같은 나라들에 비해 인구집중도가 높은 것은 지극히 당연한 것이다. 절대적 인구규모로는 동경, 뉴욕, 상해 등의 대도시권이 우리나라 수도권보다 크며, 인구밀도로도 동경권(2,484인/km<sup>2</sup>)이 우리나라의 수도권(1,817인/km<sup>2</sup>)보다 오히려 높다. 이론적으로도 인구과밀여부는 인구의 적정규모(optimal size)를 판단해야 하는데, 아직까지 이를 뒷받침할 결정적인 연구 결과는 없다는 것이다.

둘째, 수도이전에 따른 수도권의 인구분산효과는 지극히 미미하다. 정부의 추정치(신행정수도연구단, 2003)에 따르면, 중앙행정기관 공무원 등 약 2만 5천명이 충청권으로 이전할 경우, 2030년까지 수도권 인구는 51만 3천 명이 감소할 것으로 분석하고 있다. 이는 2030년 수도권 추정인구(2,554만; 통계청, 2002)의 약 2%에 불과하다. 특히, 정부의 추정치는 이전대상 공무원의 부양가족 전체가 동반 이주하는 것으로 가정하고 있다. 자녀교육, 맞벌이 부부 등의 이유로 단신부임하는 경우를 고려하면 현실적으로 인구감소 효과는 더욱 줄어들 것이다. 또한, 정부는 신행정수도건설의 재원조달을 위해 국가 공공기관의 이전 시 일부 이전적지를 민간에게 매각할 예정이다. 이 경우 민간의 고밀개발로 인해 수도권의 인구감소효과가 상쇄되거나 오히려 인구유입을 조장할 가능성도 있다.

셋째, 충청권으로 수도이전은 수도권내 교통량 및 환경오염 감소효과는 미미한 반면 신행정수도로의 접근성은 오히려 악화될 것이다. 수도이전으로 50만 인구 감소될 경우, 수도권내 통행감소효과는 전체 교통량의 2.2%, 승용차통행의 0.59%정도로 미미할 것으로 분석되었다(서울시정개발연구원, 2004). 더욱이 실제 중앙부처(입법, 사법부 포함)의 행정서비스를 이용하는 사람의 90%이상이 수도권에 거주하기 때문에 수도이전 시 신행정수도로의 접근성은 더 악화되는 것으로 분석되었다. 수도를 충청권으로 이전할 경우

업무통행은 통행거리 기준으로(인, 시간) 수도권에서 1,063%, 전국적으로 273%정도가 증가하는 것으로 분석되었다. 또한, 대기나 수질의 경우도 수도권의 환경개선효과는 미미하나 충청권이나 전국의 환경에 미치는 영향은 오히려 악화되는 것으로 분석되었다(국토연구원, 2003)

넷째, 수도권의 집적경제는 글로벌 경쟁시대에서 오히려 국가발전의 원동력이다. ‘한강의 기적’이라는 말이 있듯이, 서울과 수도권은 우리나라 경제발전의 견인차였고, 지금도 ‘황금 알을 낳는 거위’로서 핵심적인 역할을 하고 있다. 수도권 집종의 원인은 경제적·사회적 시설의 집중이 가져다주는 시너지효과, 즉 ‘집적의 이익’에 있다는 게 다수의 주장이다. 이런 점을 고려할 때, 수도이전으로 수도권의 경쟁력을 약화시키기 보다는 국가발전을 위해 오히려 수도권의 경쟁력을 강화시켜 나가야 할 것이다. 특히, 오늘날과 같이 자본과 노동, 기술이 국경을 초월해 이동하고 개인과 도시, 국가가 다차원적으로 경쟁하는 글로벌시대에서는 더욱 그러하다.

다섯째, 수도이전과 수도권 규제완화는 별개의 사안으로 ‘홍정’의 대상이 될 수 없다. 정부는 수도권 민심을 달래기 위해 ‘신행정수도 건설을 전제로 공장총량규제 등 수도권의 규제를 대폭 완화할 수 있을 것’이라고 한다. 이것이 소위 ‘빅딜론’인데, 이는 목적과 수단을 혼동하는 논리적 오류를 범하고 있다. 수도이전은 국가의 명운을 좌우할 수 있는 중요한 국가대사로서, 수도권 규제완화와는 차원을 달리하는 전혀 다른 별개의 사안이다. 수도를 이전해도 합리적인 규제는 일관되게 유지해야 하며 그 반대라도 불합리한 규제라면 폐지해야 할 것이다. 더구나 오늘날은 세계화와 개방화의 시대이다. 수도권의 기능을 규제한다고 해서 이것이 곧 비수도권의 지역발전으로 이어지는 것이 아니다. 왜냐하면 자본과 시설과 사람은 외국으로 나갈 수도 있기 때문이다. 지금까지 정부의 수도권 억제정책이 뚜렷한 성과를 이루지 못한 것도 이러한 시대적 흐름과 무관하지 않다.

여섯째, 신행정수도에 입주할 켜에는 수도권의 인구도 안정단계에 들어설 전망이다. 서울은 1990년을 정점으로 인구 1천만명 수준에서 정체 내지 감소추세이며, 수도권의 인구증가세도 지속적으로 둔화되고 있다. 특히, 신행정수도 입주가 예정된 2015년~2030년에는 수도권 인구는 절대 규모의 면에서도 안정단계에 접어들 것으로 전망되고 있다(통계청, 2002년).

마지막으로, 정도차이는 있으나 오늘날 세계의 어느 대도시나 인구집중문제를 가지고 있으며, 이를 해결하려고 수도이전과 같은 극약처방을 선택한 사례는 거의 없다는 점이다. 과밀문제의 실체는 인구규모 자체보다 이로 인한 교통혼잡, 환경오염, 주택가격 등의 사회적 비용이다. 이런 문제는 막연한

인구분산책 보다는 오히려 교통정책, 환경정책, 주택정책 등 분야별로 문제의 원인을 찾아 해결하는 것이 보다 실질적이고 효율적인 처방일 것이다.

## 2. 국토의 균형발전과 수도이전

정부는 이른바 ‘분권, 분업, 분산’의 삼분(三分)정책에 따라 ‘신행정수도특별법’과 ‘지방분권특별법’, ‘국가균형발전특별법’이 상호 보완의 관계를 갖고 있으며, 이들을 효율적으로 운영하면 골고루 잘 사는 나라를 만들 수 있다 ‘고 홍보하고 있다. 수도이전은 국토균형발전에 필수적인 선도정책이라는 것이다.

그러나 신수도의 건설은 특정지역에 집중투자하는 소위 ‘불균형 성장거점사업’으로서 지방분권이나 지역균형발전 정책과는 지향하는 목표가 달라 오히려 상충적인 성격을 가진다. 국가균형발전을 위해서는 서울의 집중보다 중앙정부 권한의 집중을 해소하는 것이 선결되어야 한다. 비수도권 지역에 과감한 투자를 해야 하고, 진정한 지방분권을 강한 의지로 추진해야한다.

첫째, 충청권으로의 수도이전은 지역불균형을 더 심화시킬 것이다. 수도이전 후보지인 충청권은 1인당 지역내총생산(GRDP)를 기준으로 지난 10년간 가장 높은 경제성장률을 시현한 지역이다. 이런 상황에서 ‘신행정수도’까지 충청권으로 이전할 경우, 경제성장효과도 충청권에 집중될 우려가 있고 따라서 타 지역간의 경제적 격차는 더 심화될 것으로 예상된다. 국책연구원의 연구결과(국토연구원, 2003년)에 따르면, 신행정수도의 투자비용이 약 31.1조원일 경우 총생산유발액은 약 83.7조원에 이르며, 이중 85.2%인 71.3조원을 충청권이 차지한다고 분석하였다. 수도권이 9.1%를 차지하고 그 외 지역이 받는 경제파급효과는 5.3%에 불과하다. 또한, 충청권으로 이전하는 기관에 의한 소득이전 파급효과의 경우, 수도권에는 1조 3,594억원, 강원권 약 20억원, 호남권 약 304억원의 생산감소효과가 발생하나 충청권은 1조 6,626억원에 달하는 생산량 증가가 예상되었다. 따라서, 수도이전으로 인한 경제적 혜택은 충청권에 집중되고, 타 지역은 오히려 더욱 낙후될 가능성이 높다.

둘째, 수도이전은 수도권과 충청권의 도시연담화 현상을 심화시킬 것으로 예상된다. 충청권은 수도권에 인접해 있기 때문에(고속전철로 50분내 거리) 이곳으로 수도를 이전하면 수도권의 분산은 커녕, 수도권의 팽창을 초래할

우려가 있다. 수도이전은 먼저, 평택과 안성 등 수도권 남부지역의 성장과 더불어 수도권의 물리적 확산을 촉진시킬 것으로 전망되고 있다. 결국 충청권으로의 수도이전은 수도권 남부지역과 충청권 북부지역의 성장을 촉진시키고 양 지역이 서로 통합·연담화되는 결과를 초래할 가능성이 높다. 이럴 경우 서울에서부터 충청권에 이르는 거대한 도시지역을 형성하여 소위 ‘수충권(수도권+충청권)’이 탄생할 것이다. 이 지역은 기타 지역에 남아있는 노동, 자본 등 생산요소들을 더욱 강력히 흡입하여 물리적으로 팽창하므로써 공간적 혼잡 등 사회적 비용의 손실이 지금의 수도권과는 비교가 되지 않을 정도로 커질 수 있다는 점이다.

셋째, 보다 엄밀하게 보면 현재의 지역간 불균형은 공간적으로 수도권 대비(非)수도권의 구도라기 보다는 경부고속도로를 따라 발전한 경부축 지역 대비경부축 지역의 차원에서 찾아야 한다. 우리나라의 주요 경제활동은 경부축 선상에 있는 서울-대전축을 따라 집중되어 있다. 수도이전 후보지는 이러한 성장축선에 입지하므로 신행정수도가 건설된다면, 수도권이 아닌 다른 지역의 인구, 자본과 정보를 빨아들이는 ‘거대한 블랙홀’로 작용할 가능성이 크다. 이로 인한 비수도권과 비 충청권의 인구 및 고용유출은 가뜰이나 취약한 지방의 경제기반을 더욱 약화시킬 것이다. 현재 상대적으로 낙후된 강원도, 영남내륙지방, 호남 남해안 지방이 그러하다.

진정한 국가균형발전을 위해서 수도이전보다 중앙정부에 집중된 권한을 지방으로 이양하는 지방분권을 선결해야 한다. 그간 수도권외의 지역에 대한 투자에도 불구하고 균형발전이 안된 가장 큰 원인은 중앙정부가 자원을 비효율적으로 배분했기 때문이라는 분석이 제기되고 있다. 수도이전은 중앙집권의 틀과 불균형성장의 기조를 유지한 채 중앙정부기관의 공간적 이동만을 추진하려는 시도이기 때문에 지방분권과는 거리가 있는 정책이다. 수도를 이전할 재원이 있다면 차라리 낙후된 지역의 도시 인프라 구축에 집중 투자하는 것이 균형발전을 도모하는 길이다. 모든 지역이 독자적인 권한과 자율적인 참여를 통해 주어진 책임을 스스로 수행하고 지역특성에 맞는 산업을 발전시켜야 실질적인 지역발전을 기대할 수 있을 것이다.

### 3. 국가경쟁력과 수도이전

정부는 국토의 불균형과 수도권집중은 주택난·교통난, 환경오염 등 고비용구조를 야기하여 국가경쟁력의 장애로 작용한다고 주장한다. 수도이전으로

수도권의 과밀이 해소되면 수도권의 규제완화가 가능하여 경제중심도시로 특성화 될 것이며 동북아 경제허브로 발전하는 계기가 된다고 본다. 즉, 국토의 공간구조를 다극분산형으로 개편하므로서 국가 경쟁력 향상에 기여한다는 것이다.

국경 없는 무한경쟁 시대에서 국가의 생존경쟁은 어느 때보다 치열하며, 대도시의 경쟁력은 곧 국가경쟁력이라고 할 수 있다. 서울은 이제 더 이상 국내도시가 아니라 동경, 북경, 상해, 싱가포르 등 동북아 경쟁도시와 한판 승부를 벌여야 할 입장에 있다. 국토균형발전에 유달리 관심이 많았던 유럽의 주요 국가들조차 새로운 국가발전전략으로 대도시의 경쟁력을 적극 육성하는 방향으로 정책을 전환하고 있다. 런던, 파리, 로마, 프랑크푸르트, 베를린, 브뤼셀 등은 유럽연합(EU)의 주도권을 놓고 경쟁력을 강화하기 위하여 강력한 재집중 전략을 펴고 있는 실정이다.

첫째, 서울은 대한민국의 대표브랜드이다. 70년대 ‘한강의 기적’, 80년대 ‘서울올림픽’, 2002년 ‘월드컵대회’를 거치면서 우리나라의 국제적 위상이 높아졌고, 서울은 그 중심에 위치한 한국의 대표 브랜드이다. 국제사회에서 모스크바(Moscow)라고 하면 러시아(Russia)를 연상하고, 파리(Paris)라고 하면 프랑스(France)를 연상한다. 마찬가지로 서울(Seoul)하면 대한민국(Korea)을 떠올리고 대한민국하면 곧 서울을 연상하는 것이 세계인들의 일반적인 정서이다. 서울이 가진 이러한 상징성은 수백 년에 걸쳐 축적되어 온 것이다. 수도 이전은 올림픽, 월드컵 이미지는 물론 육백 년의 역사로 쌓아온 서울의 브랜드가치를 스스로 포기함으로써 국가경쟁력에 엄청난 손실이 예상된다. 수도이전문제는 치열한 글로벌 경쟁시대에 우리나라의 대표브랜드이자 국가경쟁력의 원천인 서울을 적극 활용해야 한다는 냉엄하고도 현실적인 관점에서 접근할 필요가 있다. 이는 결코 서울제일주의나 지역이기주의를 주장하는 것이 아니다.

둘째, 수도이전은 수도권의 경쟁력을 약화시키고 충청권을 제외한 나머지 지역은 경제파급효과가 미미해 결국 한국의 경제성장이 저하되는 결과를 초래한다는 분석결과가 있다. 충청권으로 수도를 이전할 경우 경제성장률의 약 1%정도가 둔화되며 이를 화폐가치로 환산하면 연간 약 7.2조원 정도가 된다는 것이다(서승환, 2004년). 생산성이 높은 수도권에서 정부핵심인력과 국가중추기관을 생산성이 상대적으로 낮은 지역으로 이전시키므로 국민 전체적인 소득은 감소할 수밖에 없는 것이 당연한 이치이다. 또한, 막대한 국가재정이 투자되는 수도이전 비용은 단순히 행정기능을 이전시키는 비용이

므로 투자대비 신규 고용창출효과는 크게 기대하기 어렵다. 오히려 수도권능과 밀접한 산업연계가 수도이전으로 인해 공간적으로 벌어지면서 국가경제 전체적으로는 생산 및 고용감소를 초래할 것으로 분석되고 있다(지해명, 2004년).

셋째, 수도이전 비용은 향후 훨씬 더 증가할 것으로 예상된다. 정부는 신행정수도 건설비용으로 45.6조원을 추정하고 있으나, 이는 건설에 소요되는 직접 비용일 뿐이다. 공간구조의 개편에 따른 간접비용, 예컨대 공항, 항만, 철도와 고속도로, 광통신망 등 교통-통신망의 구축, 군사보안 체계의 개편, 행정 체계의 개편 등 간접비용과 행정업무의 비효율, 불필요한 교통 및 통신비용, 이사비용, 대규모 환경파괴, 지역 간 갈등 심화 등 사회적 비용을 전혀 고려하지 않은 액수이다. 특히 비용편익의 관점에서 보면, 수도이전은 막대한 비용에 비해 그 효과는 상당히 불투명하다는 것이 문제이다. 국가재정에서 지출하여야 할 사업이 산적한 상황에서 굳이 수도이전에 우선순위를 둔다는 것은 설득력이 없다. 이밖에 신행정수도가 건설될 경우 기존 수도권권에 소재한 기업들이 큰 불편을 겪게 되고, 추가 비용(지역사무소 설치, 출장 등)이 발생할 수 있을 뿐만 아니라 업무의 비효율성으로 경제 중심지로서 국가경제의 경쟁력 약화를 가져오게 될 것이다.

넷째, ‘동북아중심국가’가 되기 위해서는 서울의 경쟁력이 필수적이다. 지금 정부는 우리 자신조차 생소한 곳에 수도를 이전한다고 하는데, 이럴 경우 서울이 과연 북경·상해·싱가포르 등 대도시들과 대등하게 경쟁할 수 있을지 의문이다. 정부는 신행정수도를 국가 중추관리기능 외에 국제교류, 교육, 연구, 첨단산업 등을 구비한 자족도시로 육성하고, 기존의 수도권은 국제교류, 금융, 물류, 정보통신 등 비즈니스 기능을 강화하여 ‘동북아중심국가’의 전략거점으로 육성한다고 한다. 그러나 국가핵심기능의 이전은 서울의 주력산업인 생산자 서비스업과의 긴밀한 산업연계를 단절시켜 서비스업 전반의 위축을 초래하여 정부에서 주장하는 동북아 경제허브로의 육성정책과는 상호 모순되는 결과를 가져올 것이다

#### 4. 국민적 합의와 수도이전

정부는 수도이전은 현 대통령의 주요 대선 공약이었고 그 동안 공청회나 토론회를 통해 여론을 수렴했으므로 국민적 공감대가 충분하다고 주장한다. 그러나 지금까지 개최된 각종 토론회나 공청회는 신행정수도건설을 기정사실화한 상태에서 이를 어떻게 건설할 것인가에 대한 방법과 절차, 그리고

신행정수도의 건설의 당의성에 대한 홍보위주로 진행되어 왔다. 한국은 사실상 세계에서 유일한 분단국가로서 수도이전문제는 대단히 중요한 국가대사이므로 반드시 국민투표로 결정되어야 한다는 것이 서울시 입장이다. 우리나라 헌법에도 “대통령이 필요하다고 인정할 때에는, 국가안위에 관한 중요정책을 국민투표에 부칠 수 있다”고 규정하고 있다.

남북분단이라는 특수한 상황에서 국가방위의 핵심인 수도를 이전하는 것은 법리적으로나 상식적으로도 국가안위에 직결된 사안이라고 보아야 할 것이다. 수도가 국체를 구성하는 주요한 요소라는 것은 그곳에서 국가의 의사결정이 이루어지고, 그곳이 국가를 대표한다는 사실만으로도 자명하다.

수도를 이전한다는 것은 1,000만 서울시민뿐만 아니라 2,300만 수도권주민, 나아가 4,900만 전 국민의 생명과 재산에 심대한 영향을 미치는 국가적 중대사임이 분명하다. 이는 중장기적으로 국토 구조의 기본을 바꾸고, 국가안보의 기초에 근본적으로 영향을 미치며, 국민들의 생활패턴을 크게 변화시킬 것이기 때문이다. 또한, 국제적으로 국가 위상에 지대한 영향을 미치며 막대한 재정지출을 수반하는 것도 경시할 수 없는 일이다.

둘째, 정부는 국가안위에 관한 사항일지라도 국민투표 실시 여부는 대통령의 재량이라고 주장하나, 국가안위에 관한 정책이 명백한 경우 이러한 의견은 헌법규정을 지나치게 좁게 해석한 것이다. 수도이전은 대한민국의 건국 이래 가장 중대한 국가정책으로서, 대통령이 자의적으로 국민투표 실시여부를 결정할 수 있는 사안은 아닐 것이다. 설사, 수도이전에 대한 국민투표의 법률규정이 없다 해도 현재와 같이 국민의견이 분열된 상황에서는 반드시 국민투표를 통하여 국민합의를 이끌어 내야 할 것이다.

최근의 국민여론조사 결과는 55.3%(2004년 7월 12일자 한겨레신문), 57.5%(2004년 8월 9일자 동아일보) 등 과반수 이상의 국민이 수도이전에 반대하고 있으며, 이러한 추세는 점차 ‘늘어나고 있다’고 전망되고 있다. 그리고 수도이전에 관한 국민투표 실시 여부에 대한 여론조사(2004년 7월 8일, 조선일보·한국갤럽조사)에서는 ‘국민투표를 실시해야 한다’는 의견이 67.5%로 나타났다. 노무현 대통령 스스로도 제16대 대통령 선거당시와 당선 후 몇 차례에 걸쳐 “수도이전은 국민투표를 거쳐 최종 결정하겠다”(2002년 12월 14일, 2004년 2월 24일 등)고 대국민 약속을 공개적으로 천명한 바 있어, 국민투표는 반드시 실시하여 국민적 합의를 이끌어 내야 할 것이다.

## 5. “신행정수도건설특별조치법”의 입법 절차적 쟁점

정부는 신행정수도건설 및 국가균형발전 등 국가정책이 대선과 국회의 특별법 제정 등으로 정당한 절차를 거쳤으므로 입법절차상의 문제가 없다는 입장이다.

수도이전의 근거법인 ‘신행정수도건설을위한특별조치법’은 국회의 입법과정에 중대한 흠결이 있는 위헌법률이라는 것이 서울시의 입장이다. 한 나라의 수도입지는 국민통합과 국가의 효율적인 운영, 국가경쟁력에 지대한 영향을 미치는 중대사로서, 국가의 명칭, 국기, 국가의 변경 등과 같이 비록 헌법에 명시적 규정은 두지 않았지만 국가의 근본과 관련하여 헌법적으로 중차대한 사안이다. 그럼에도 불구하고 16대 국회에서는 2003년 12월 충분한 검토 및 국민적 합의 없이 통과시켰다. 이 점에 관해서는 당시 과반수 이상의 의석을 차지했던 야당이 공개적으로 시인하고 유감을 표한 바도 있다. 또한, 국회법 제58조에는 “새로운 법률의 제정 시에는 반드시 국민의 의사를 듣기 위한 공청회나 청문회를 거치도록” 규정하고 있으나, 단서조항에서 “위원회의 의결로 이를 생략할 수 있다”고 규정하고 있다. 국회에서는 이 단서규정에 근거하여 위원회의 의결로 공청회 등 국민의사를 듣는 절차를 생략하였다. 그러나 이 단서규정은 ‘의원회 심의 이전에 국민적 합의가 객관적으로 인정되어 더 이상 공청회 개최가 필요하지 않을 때 생략할 수 있다’는 형식적인 절차 규정이라는 것이 전문가들의 견해다.

법률심의 과정에서 국회전문위원은 공청회 등 국민의견 수렴절차의 필요성을 검토의견으로 보고하였고, 국민투표를 명시한 수정안을 국회의원들에게 제시하였으나 묵살 당하였다. 국회의원 김광원, 국회의원 이희규 등도 국민적 합의의 필요성을 여러 번 지적한 바 있다. 그러나 당시 국회 다수당이었던 야당은 충청지역 국회의원들의 거센 항의와 총선을 앞두고 충청도 표를 의식한 당 지도부의 종용으로 국민의견 수렴절차 없이 법률안을 통과시켰다. 이러한 법률안 제정과정을 자세히 지켜본 국회 전문위원은 ‘신행정수도특별조치법’ 처리는 국회의 미필적 고의에 의한 직무유기’라고까지 지적한 바 있다.

## 6. “신행정수도건설특별조치법”의 내용상 쟁점

신행정수도건설특별조치법 제8조는 “예정지역 및 주변지역은 대전광역시,

충청북도 및 충청남도 일원(이하 “충청권”으로 한다)의 지역 중에서 선정한다”고 규정하고 있다. 수도이전의 근거법률에서 수도이전 대상지역을 충청권 지역으로 미리 한정하고 있다는 뜻이다.

국가의 중대사인 수도이전을 하기 위해서는 우선 수도이전을 할 것인지, 수도이전을 한다면 어느 곳으로 이전할 것인지에 대해 국가의 주권자인 국민의 의견을 충분히 수렴하면서 결정해 나가야 할 것이다. 그런데 수도이전을 추진하고자 제정한 법률에서 공정하고 객관적인 조사 분석 및 국민의견수렴 없이 ‘수도는 충청권으로 이전한다’고 못 박은 것은 이 법이 충청권의 표를 얻기 위한 정치적 목적에서 추진된 것임을 간접적으로 대변하고 있다. 일본의 경우에는 수도이전을 추진하면서 우선 수도이전의 근거법에 수도이전지는 충분한 논의와 검토를 거쳐 후보지를 결정하고 그 후보지와 현재수도인 동경을 비교하여 최종이전지를 정하도록 하고 있음을 참고할 필요가 있다.

‘신 행정수도건설특별조치법’에서는 수도이전지를 충청권으로 한정함으로써, 결과적으로 수도이전의 후보지로서 검토될 수 있는 충청권 이외의 지역은 아예 검토대상에서 제외하였고, 이는 헌법에서 정한 평등권의 명백한 침해이다.

## 7. 남북한 통일문제와 수도이전

정부는 통일은 언제 어떻게 이루어질지 예측이 곤란하며, 통일이 되어도 상당한 적응기간이 필요하므로 국토균형발전을 위한 수도이전을 지체할 수 없다는 입장이다. 또한 통일이 되면 많은 북한주민이 일자리 등을 찾아 수도권으로 유입되면 수도권 집중은 더욱 심각해지므로 이를 위해서도 수도이전은 필요하다는 주장이다. 그리고 통일수도 문제는 통일의 방식 및 시기 등에 영향을 받으므로 통일이 되는 시점에서 논의되는 것이 바람직하다는 주장이다.

대한민국은 사실상 지구상의 유일한 분단국가이다. 우리 헌법의 전문은 “조국의 민주개혁과 평화적 통일의 사명에 입각하여… 민족의 단결을 공고히 하고”라고 구체적으로 규정하고 있으며, 제3조에서도 “대한민국의 영토는 한반도와 그 부속도서로 한다”고 명시하고 있다. 따라서 국가백년대계인 수도이전은 반드시 평화적 통일이라는 국민적 염원과 한반도라는 국가적 틀 안에서 구상되어야 한다.

첫째, 수도이전 구상에서 통일은 반드시 고려되어야 한다. 현재 세계는 탈냉

전과 시장경제의 팽창으로 새로운 질서를 맞이하고 있다. 대부분의 사회주의 국가들이 기존의 이념을 버리고 있는 가운데 북한은 국제적으로 고립되어 있으며, 경제난이 겹쳐 체제가 내구력을 상실해가고 있다는 것이 중론이다. 즉, 통일이 언제 실현될 지는 누구도 단정할 수 없으나 예상치 못한 급작스런 통일도 배제할 수 없는 상황이다. 물론, 통일은 시기와 방법, 형태에 있어서 정치적 상황이나 국제적 역학관계, 국민의 여론과 밀접히 관련된 사안이다. 따라서 통일에 관련된 여러 견해가 있을 수 있으나, 분명한 것은 통일문제는 일부 정치세력이 아니라 온 국민이 합의할 수 있는 통일비전 하에 이루어져야 한다는 것이다. 통일이라는 민족적·국가적·역사적 과제를 안고 있는 현실에서 당장 수도를 이전하는 것이 타당한 지에 대한 최소한의 논의조차 결여된 채 수도이전이 강행되고 있는 것은 재고되어야 할 사안이다. 둘째, 충청권의 수도이전은 통일과 동북아시대에 역행하는 정책이다. 한반도의 분단은 단순히 남북한 간의 분단일 뿐 아니라 동북아시아의 분단이라 할 수 있을 정도로 물류나 지리적 측면에서 그동안 단절이 심화되어 있다. 남북한이 통일이 되면 동북아 전역에서 활발한 교류가 이루어질 것이며, 한반도의 지정학적 의미도 크게 달라질 것이다. 통일 이후에 한반도는 중국 및 러시아와 직접 육로로 연결되고 나아가 유럽까지 뻗어나갈 것이다. 따라서 정부가 ‘동북아 중심국가를 꿈꾼다’면서 수도를 남쪽의 허허벌판으로 남하하는 것은 시대적 요구에 맞지 않는 정책이다.

셋째, 수도입지는 남북한 통합을 위한 준비로서 가장 우선적으로 고려해야 할 핵심사항이다. 이는 수도의 위치에 따라 통일국가의 정체성과 대외관계의 경쟁력, 그리고 국가경제가 크게 영향을 받을 수 있기 때문이다. 통일이 되면 남북한이 민족적 동질성을 회복하고, 경제성장의 혜택을 남북한 전 국토에 확산시켜야 할 것이다. 이러한 구심점 역할과 성장엔진 역할을 수행할 도시로서, 역사성과 상징성, 효율성을 고려할 때 서울은 최적의 조건을 갖추고 있다. 독일의 통일사례에서 보듯이 통일 후 민족통합에서 가장 중요한 과제는 북한의 경제를 살리는 일이다. 현실적으로 남한은 북한의 경제성장에 많은 도움을 주어야 하는데, 그러기 위해서는 북한과 지리적으로 가깝고 국제적 기능의 네트워크와 역사문화의 브랜드가치를 가진 서울이 대한민국의 수도로서 기능을 계속 유지해야 할 것이다.

즉, 북한주민 500만 서울유입이 두려워 수도를 남쪽으로 이전한다는 것은 분단고착적 논리의 연장에 지나지 않으며 평화통일을 지향하는 우리나라의 헌법정신에도 부합되지 않는다. 통일 후의 국가형태는 자유민주주의와 시장경제를 근본으로 하는 것이어야 하며, 수도를 포함한 그 밖의 사안에 대해

서는 지금의 대통령이나 국회가 결정할 것이 아니라 7천만 온 겨레가 다 함께 참여해 결정해야 할 일이다.

## 8. 국가안보문제와 수도이전

정부는 충청권으로 수도를 이전할 경우 국가안보차원에서도 긍정적 효과가 있다고 주장한다. 그러한 이유로 서울과 신행정수도 등 국가의 전략적 표적이 두개로 분산되어 전쟁 지속능력이 향상되며 자산피해의 감소효과가 있다는 것과 국방부와 합참이 각군 본부와 근접해 군사작전의 지휘·협조가 용이하다는 점 등을 들고 있다.

현재의 대한민국 국방정책의 기초는 전쟁억제에 있으며 유사시 방위전략은 수도서울을 중심으로 짜여져 있다. 전국 인구의 절반이 살고 있는 국가경제의 중심지인데다 국가중추권력이 위치하여 국가안보의 전략적 핵심 요충지이기 때문이다. 따라서 수도이전은 새로운 전력 배치 등 국가방위체제 전반에 대한 개편이 불가피할 뿐만 아니라 국가안보와 대외 신인도에 상당한 악영향을 미칠 것으로 보인다. 수도가 이전할 경우 국군의 편제와 군사력의 편성, 작전체제 전반에 엄청난 영향을 미칠 것이 명백한데도 불구하고, 정부의 신수도건설계획안에서는 이에 관한 철저한 점검을 찾아보기가 어렵다. 2004년 7월 7일 제17대 국회 국방위원회에서 조영길 전 국방부장관은 “행정수도를 이전할 지역에 대하여 아직 전반적인 검토를 하지 못 했다”고 답변한 바 있다. 수도이전은 다음과 같은 군사 안보적 문제점을 지니고 있다.

첫째, 분단 상태에서의 수도이전은 대북 전쟁억지력을 약화시킬 우려가 있다. 서울방위를 위한 전력이 약화될 전망이 보일 경우, 북한이 전략적 요충지를 대상으로 국지적으로 도발할 가능성이 있다는 것이 군사전문가의 의견이다. 이러한 북한의 오판과 도발을 예방하자면 전쟁지휘부가 있는 신행정수도뿐만 아니라, 서울의 방위력을 동시에 증진시켜야 하는데, 여기에는 막대한 비용이 장기간에 걸쳐 소요될 것이므로, 수도를 이전할 경우 단기적인 측면에서는 전쟁억지력이 약화될 우려가 있다는 것이 대체적인 전망이다.

둘째, 충청권으로 수도이전은 국가 안보의 역량을 분산시켜 결과적으로 서울과 신흥수도의 안보에 문제를 야기시킬 수 있다. 수도가 남쪽으로 이전하여도 서울에 집중된 인구, 경제력, 기타 사회·문화적 가치는 여전히 북한의 공

격에 노출된다. 신행정수도 역시 북한의 전략전술의 하나인 전후방 동시공격의 목표가 될 뿐이어서 충청권으로 수도이전은 국가안보전략 차원에서도 결코 유리하지 않다.

셋째, 최근 정부의 언행은 서울사수의 국가안보개념을 포기한 것은 아닌지의구심을 낳고 있다. 신행정수도건설추진위원장은(2004년 8월 4일) “전쟁이 일어나 평택쑈에서 휴전이 되면 인구는 5할, 국력은 7할 이상 빠져 나간다”고 말했는데 이러한 발언은 국내외적으로 엄청난 파장을 일으키고 있다. 정부가 국가경쟁력 강화를 위해 수도이전을 추진한다면서, 사실은 국내외 투자자들을 앞장서 불안하게 하는 잘못을 저지르고 있다.

국가안보는 정부와 국민이 서로 신뢰할 때 가능한 것이고, 국제사회가 그 의지와 능력을 인정하고 도움을 줄 때 극대화되는 것이다. 굳건한 국가 안보를 위하여 대통령은 반드시 서울에 있어야 한다. 대통령이 서울에 있어야 국민들에게 서울사수가 확고하다는 의지를 보일 수 있으며, 이러한 서울사수의 의지를 대통령이 스스로 보일 때 비로소 국민과 외국인은 국가안보에 관하여 안심할 수 있을 것이다.

## 9. 수도로서 서울의 역사와 입지

수도이전은 국가의 중대사이다. 해외사례를 보더라도 수도를 옮긴 나라들은 독립과 건국, 통일 등 국가체제의 변혁기에 뚜렷한 목표를 가지고 수도이전을 결정하였다. 수도이전은 오랫동안 국력을 기울여야 하는 사업이기 때문에, 전 국민의 사전적 합의가 반드시 필요했고, 어느 한 정권의 차원이 아니라 국가의 차원에서 사업을 꾸준히 추진하였다.

서울은 백제의 수도로서, 조선왕조와 대한민국의 수도로서, 오랜 역사를 가진 도시이다. 1950년대의 서울은 인구 100만 명이 안 되는 도시였으나, 산업화 과정에서 성장을 거듭하여 이제는 인구 1,000만이 사는 거대도시가 되었다. 서울은 우리나라 역사와 문화의 상징이고, 경제성장과 근대화의 모태이다. 더욱이 1988년 서울올림픽과 2002년 한일월드컵을 거치면서, 서울은 세계사회에 대한민국을 상징하는 대표브랜드로 자리를 잡았다.

서울은 지리적으로 한반도의 중앙에 위치해 있고, 한강이 용수와 물류의 젖줄이 되어온 곳이다. 유구한 민족사를 살펴보아도 한강유역을 장악했던 나라가 한반도 전체를 지배해왔다. 그래서 한강유역은 늘 치열한 쟁패의 대상이었던 것이다. 조선이 한양을 수도로 정하면서 한강유역은 통일된 민족국가의 심장부였던 것이다. 서울은 한강 유역의 전략적 요충으로서 반도 문물

교류의 중심이었고 조선왕조 정도 이래로 우리민족 전체의 실질적, 정신적 수도였다. 따라서 서울은 한반도의 움직일 수 없는 중심지이다.

### III. 마치는 글

#### 1. 수도이전의 정책대안

첫째 정부에 집중된 권한을 지방에 이양하는 분권화를 적극 추진해야 한다. 제대로 된다면 정부청사의 위치는 그리 중요하지 않을 수 있으며, 큰 비용 없이도 수도권에 집중된 권력의 지방분산효과를 기대할 수 있을 것이다. ‘지방분권위원회’의 기능강화 등을 통해 불필요한 정부권한의 이양을 위한 제도적 기반을 만들고 구체적인 계획을 추진해야 한다. 이런 구도하에 일부 공공기관의 물리적 분산, 국고보조금의 차등지원 등 다양한 방안들이 검토될 수 있을 것이다. 둘째 수도이전비용은 지역별 발전기반을 위한 재원으로 활용하자는 것이다. 각 지역의 특성과 자원에 기초한 지역별 전략산업육성, 지방대학지원, 사회문화적 인프라 구축 등 다양한 정책사업을 개발할 수 있을 것이다. 셋째 수도권은 성장관리체계를 구축하고 그로 인한 개발이익은 비수도권의 발전과 연계하자는 것이다. 수도권의 광역성장관리체제를 구축하여 과밀로 인한 혼잡비용을 줄여가고 내부의 불균형문제도 치유해야 할 것이다. 또한 수도권에서 발생하는 편익의 일부는 비수도권의 발전을 위한 재원으로 활용하는 방안도 검토할 필요가 있을 것이다.

#### 2. 맺음말

##### 지금은 수도권과 비수도권의 상생정책으로 국력을 결집할 때

국경이 없는 글로벌 경쟁체제에서는 ‘수도권 대 지방’이 아니라 ‘세계 대도시들간 경쟁’이라는 구도로 바뀌고 있다. 수도이전문제로 지역갈등과 국력을 소모한다면 기업은 지방이 아니라 해외로 이전할 수 있다. 따라서 수도권과 비수도권은 상생적 발전이라는 큰 틀에서 국력을 결집하는 것이 매우 중요하다. 동북아 경제거점으로서 수도권의 잠재력을 최대한 활용하되, 그 과실은 비수도권의 발전과 연계하는 상생전략을 적극 모색할 필요가 있다.

결국 국토균형발전은 하향 평준화가 아니라 국제경쟁력의 확보로 국가 전체적으로도 이익(Positive-Sum)이 되어야 한다.

#### **수도이전은 백년대계의 안목으로 통일이후에 논의하는 것이 바람직**

또한 국내의 균형발전도 중요하나 통일 후 남북간 불균형문제는 더욱 심각할 것이다. 지금 수도를 옮긴다면 같은 논리로 수도를 또 이전할 것인가? 독일이 통일 후에 수도를 베를린으로 재이전한 사례는 시사하는 바가 크다. 따라서 신행정수도의 건설은 재고되어야 한다. 서둘러 시행하기 전에 백년대계의 안목으로 이전의 타당성에 대해 보다 심도 있게 논의하고 폭넓은 국민적 합의하에 추진되어야 할 것이다.

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## I. Progress of the Government's Capital Relocation

### 1. The Government's Logic for Capital Relocation

The Government has basically three logics for capital relocation. First, to ease overcrowding and concentration in the Capital Region<sup>1)</sup>. The standpoint is that as a measure to resolve the excessively concentrated economic, industrial and educational functions and overcrowding of population in the Capital Region, capital relocation is required.

Second, to achieve balanced national development by physically dispersing the concentrated population and capital functions in the Capital Region.

Third, to boost Korea's national competitiveness by dispersing the concentrated population and capital functions in the Capital Region and pursuing balanced national development.

### 2. Main Points of the New Administrative Capital Construction Plan (Draft)

#### • Location and Urban Development Type

On August 11, 2004, the Yeongi-Kongju area of the South Chungcheong Province, south of the Capital Region was officially selected as the site for Korea's new administrative capital. The new administrative capital was announced to be developed as a 'new town' type, which means that the new capital will be developed independently and will maintain a certain distance from other established urban areas to secure its symbol as the capital city and

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1) The Capital Region consists of the capital city of Seoul, Incheon Metropolitan City and surrounding Gyeonggi Province. The conurbation, the total area of 11,753 km<sup>2</sup>, extends outwards over a radius of 70km from the center of Seoul. The number of the population of the Capital Region in 2000 is 21.3 million which is 46.3% of the total national population.

prevent conurbation with existing cities.

- **The Scale of Government Agencies Subject to Relocation**

It has been tentatively decided and released (July 21, 2004<sup>1</sup>) that out of the total 269 central state agencies, 73 central government bodies (18 Ministries, 4 Agencies, 3 Offices) including Cheong Wa Dae (Office of the President) will be moved to the new administrative capital. The Conceptual Urban Plan for New Administrative Capital is based on the precondition that the legislation, judiciary and administration all be relocated but the relocation of the legislation, judiciary and constitutional bodies requires the approval of the national assembly and therefore was excluded from the announcement of the Government.

- **Population and Urban Development Scale**

The new administrative capital will house a population of 500 thousand people and it is planned to be developed to be around 66~83 million m<sup>2</sup>(nearly 20~25 million pyong) with a population density(net density) of 300 ~ 350 people/ha.

- **Phased Development Plan**

According to the new administrative capital construction schedule, ground will be broken in the second half of 2007 and central government agencies will be relocated on a step-by-step basis from 2012 and will be completed by 2030.

The Preparation Stage, which is until the end of 2003, features the preparation of the conceptual urban plan and criteria for location selection and the legislation of the Special Act on the New Administrative Capital Construction. The Planning Stage is until 2007 and during this period, relocation plan, conceptual construction plan and final location will be decided, development plan will be established and site purchasing will be started. In the Construction Stage, preparation of building site, construction of public buildings,

establishment of urban infrastructure and the legislation of the Law on the Status of the New Administrative Capital will be done by 2011. In the Relocation Stage, which starts from 2012, major state agencies will be relocated in phases and transfer of residents will start.

- **Estimated Construction Expense**

The Government estimates that by 2030, 45.6 trillion won (around \$ 38 billion) in total will be spent for the construction expense (2003 Invariable Price). Of the total expense, 11.3 trillion won (\$9.4 billion) will be from the government finance and the remaining 34.3 trillion won (\$ 28,6 billion) will be raised from the private sector. It is estimated that of the government finance, 4.7trillion won (\$ 3,9 billion) will be used for construction of government buildings, 3.6 trillion won (\$ 3,0 billion) will be appropriated for the city hall, schools, etc. and 3 trillion won (\$ 2,5 billion) will be utilized for metropolitan transportation infrastructure. The 27.3 trillion won(\$ 22,8 billion) for construction of housing facilities, nearly 6.1 trillion won(\$ 5,1 billion) for commercial and accommodation facilities will be raised from the private sector. The Government is planning to sell state buildings to raise funds for capital relocation and will attract private capital for the construction of urban infrastructure such as educational and environmental facilities etc.

### 3. Developments and Schedule of the New Administrative Capital

<Major Developments and Schedule of the New Administrative Capital Construction of the Government>

Date	Developments
Sept. 30, 2002	Presidential candidate Roh Moo-hyun makes a "Capital Relocation" campaign pledge to relocate Chung wa dae and government bodies to the Chungchong Province area
April 14, 2003	The Presidential Committee on Administrative Capital Relocation is launched
Dec. 29, 2003	Legislation of the Special Act on New Administrative Capital Construction
July 12, 2004	Representatives of civic groups, professors, religious leaders, etc filed a constitutional petition against the Special Act on New Administrative Capital Construction
July 21, 2004	Relocation plan of major state agencies (central administrative bodies, etc) and Conceptual Urban Plan for the New Administrative Capital Construction was reviewed and approved
Aug. 11, 2004	Yeongi-Kongju area of South Chungcheong Province was officially picked as the site for new administrative capital
2005~2007	Establish development plan and land purchase
Second Half 2007 ~2011	Site preparation and construction of public buildings
From 2012	Central government bodies and residents will move into the new capital

Material: Presidential Committee on Administrative Capital Relocation, July 2004

## II. Issues related to Capital Relocation and Perspective of the Seoul Metropolitan Government

The policy goal of capital relocation is resolving overcrowding of the Capital Region and achieving balanced development. Regardless of whether they are for or against capital relocation, considerable consensus has been formed regarding the policy goals among experts and the public. Therefore, the key of the controversy is whether

capital relocation, which is a drastic policy measure that seeks to literally move the capital to another place, is the best way to accomplish such policy goals. The following is a summary of the major issues raised in the controversy on capital relocation up to now and the perspective of the Seoul Metropolitan Government.

## 1. Concentration of the Capital Region and Capital Relocation

One of the major logics of capital relocation is to disperse the economic and educational functions and the population concentrated in the Capital Region to alleviate overcrowding. The current Government argues that although the Capital Region accounts for only 11.8 percent of the total land of the nation, 47.6 percent of the total national population is concentrated in the area. This is the main cause of increased social costs such as traffic congestion, environmental pollution because it incurs overcrowding and subsequently undermines the quality of life of the residents. Among social costs, transportation congestion cost is 12.4 trillion won(\$ 10,3 billion)(as of 2002), air pollution treatment cost is annually 10 trillion won(\$ 8,3 billion) and environment improvement cost is 4 trillion won(\$ 3,3 billion). Thus, they assert that relocation of the capital is necessary to eliminate concentration in the Capital Region and reduce social cost. The standpoint of the Seoul Metropolitan Government is that the core of the overcrowding of population in the metropolitan area is not just the volume of population itself but the social costs that it entails. In this line, it is difficult to solve the problem with a vague plan like a population dispersion measure but it calls for a more deliberated and direct solution.

First, overcrowding in the Capital Region is a relative notion and it is impossible to determine only with mere indices. It is only natural that a small country like Korea has a much higher population density than countries that cover a much larger area like the U.S., Brazil and

Australia. The absolute population scale of metropolitan areas like Tokyo, New York and Shanghai is larger than that of the Capital Region. Even in terms of population density, the Tokyo metropolitan area (2,484 persons/km<sup>2</sup>) is higher than the Seoul metropolitan area (1,817 persons/km<sup>2</sup>). Even in urban theory, when determining over-population, the optimal size of the population has to be decided, but there are no definite research results to support this.

Second, the population dispersion effect from capital relocation is meager. According to the estimate of the Government (New Administrative Capital Research Committee, 2003), if about 25 thousand public officials of central government agencies are moved to the new administrative capital, the population of the Capital Region will decrease by 513 thousand persons by 2030. It accounts only 2 percent of the estimated population of the Capital Region (25 million 540 thousand, Korea National Statistical Office, 2002) in 2030. In particular, the Government's estimate assumes that all the dependents of the public officers to be relocated will move with them. If the cases where officials proceed to their post only by themselves due to reasons like children's education and double-income family in Seoul are considered, the population dispersion effect will be much smaller in reality. Moreover, when government agencies are relocated, the Government is planning to put some of the land and public buildings on sale to the private to raise the funds for the new administrative capital construction. In this case, the population decrease effect will be offset by the higher density development of the private sector and may rather spur inflow of more people to the Capital Region.

Third, although the traffic volume and environmental pollution in the Capital Region may experience a trifle reduction due to capital relocation to the Chungcheong Province Area, accessibility to the new capital will become worse. No more than 2.2 percent of the total traffic volume in the Capital Region and 0.59 percent of the traffic of vehicles will be reduced (Seoul Development Institute,

2004). It has been found that accessibility to the new capital will turn for the worse because 90 percent of the people who use the administrative service of the central state agencies (including central government bodies, legislative and judiciary branch) reside in the Capital Region. If relocation is proceeded, the business trip of central state agencies on the basis of distance(person, time) will increase 1,063 percent for the Capital region and 273 percent for Korea as a whole (Seoul Development Institute, 2004). Improvement of air and water pollution in the Capital Region will be insignificant while environmental impact nationwide will be aggravated(Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, 2003).

Fourth, the agglomerated economy of the Capital Region is not necessarily a negative problem, but it is the driving force of national development in an era of global competition. As there is a phrase "Miracle of the Han River", Seoul and the metropolitan area has been the engine of Korea's economic development and still has a critical role as "the goose that lays the golden eggs." It is widely said that the cause for concentration in the Capital Region is the synergy effect from the centralization of economic and social facilities, in other words, the benefit from agglomeration. In this context, rather than weakening the competitiveness of the Capital Region with capital relocation, the competitive edge of the area should be strengthened for national advancement. It is all the more so in times that is characterized as an era where capital, labor and technology move beyond borders and individuals, cities and countries compete globally in multi-dimensions.

Fifth, relocation of the capital and relaxing location regulations of the Capital Region are fundamentally different issues that cannot be dealt together. The Government claims that with the construction of the new administrative capital as a precondition, it will be able to drastically ease regulations in the Capital Region such as factory quota system to conciliate the public sentiment. This is the so-called

'big deal trade', but here they are making a logical error of confusing the policy objective with the measures. Capital relocation is a matter of grave concern for the nation that can determine the fate of the country. Thus, it is a completely separate issue from and in a totally different level than the deregulation of the Capital Region. Even if the capital is relocated, reasonable regulations should be consistently maintained and even the case relocation does not take place, unreasonable regulations should be abolished. Furthermore, in an era of globalization and liberalization, regulation of the functions of the Capital Region will not necessarily translate into the regional development of the non-metropolitan areas because capital, facility and people can be moved overseas. The reason the Government's restraint policy of the Capital Region until now could not reap any substantial achievements is also related to the global trend.

Sixth, by the time the transfer to the new administrative capital is started, the population in the Capital Region is forecasted to enter into a stable phase. Since the peak in 1996, the population of Seoul has stood at 10 million or has been declining and the population increase rate of the Capital Region has continuously slowed down. In particular, from 2015 to 2030, by the time relocation of the new administrative capital is planned, the Capital Region's population is anticipated to be stabilized in terms of absolute volume (Korea National Statistical Office, 2002).

Last, all metropolises around the world are in some degree experiencing the problem of population concentration but nearly in no case was a drastic policy measure like capital relocation adopted to resolve the problem. The true nature of the problem of overcrowding is social costs like traffic congestion, environmental pollution and housing price rather than the scale of the population itself. To tackle the cause of the overcrowding problem, it would be more efficient to opt for a practical and direct solution in various sectors like transportation, environmental and housing policies rather than an

ambiguous population dispersion policy.

## 2. Balanced National Development and Capital Relocation

The Government has been promoting that according to the tri-decentralization policy consisted of "devolution, division, dispersion", Special Act on the New Administrative Capital Construction, Local Devolution Special Act and the Balanced National Development Special Act are mutually complimentary and if they are efficiently implemented together, a country where everyone is equally well-off can be built. Thus, capital relocation is a leading policy essential for balanced national development.

However, the construction of a new administrative capital is a typical "imbalanced growth center project" where investment is concentrated in a specific region. This pursues a different goal from the policy of Local devolution or balanced regional development and rather goes against them. To achieve balanced national development, devolution of the central government authority should be accomplished before easing the over-concentration in Seoul. Bold investment should be made in non-Capital Region and decentralization of power that is worth its name should be pursued with strong determination.

First, capital relocation to the Chungcheong Province Area will aggravate the regional imbalance. The Chungcheong Province Area, the candidate site for the capital relocation, has realized the highest economic growth rate during the past decade on the basis of per capita GRDP. Against this backdrop, if the new administrative capital is to be relocated to the Chungcheong Province Area, there is a concern that the economic growth effect will be concentrated in the Chungcheong Province Area and will deepen the economic disparity with other regions. According to a government research institute (Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, 2003), it was

analyzed that the investment cost for the new administrative capital is about 31.1 trillion won (\$ 25,9 billion), the investment induced production amount will reach nearly 83.7 trillion won(\$ 69,7 billion) and of this, 85.2%, which amount to 71.3 trillion won(\$ 59,4 billion) will go to the Chungcheong Province Area. The Capital Region will take up 9.1% and other regions will get a mere 5.3%. In addition, due to the income transfer implication of public organizations relocating to the Chungcheong Province Area, the production drop effect for the Capital Region is estimated to be 1.36 trillion won(\$ 1,1 billion), for the Gangwon Province Area about 2 billion won(\$ 1,6 million), for the South Jeolla Province Area nearly 30.4 billion won(\$ 25,3 million) but the Chungcheong Province Area will enjoy and increase in production of 1.66 trillion won(\$ 1,38 billion). As can be seen, the economic benefit from relocating the capital will be concentrated in the Chungcheong Province Area and there is a high possibility that other regions will fall behind.

Second, it is likely that capital relocation will deepen the conurbation between cities in the Chungcheong Province Area and the Capital Region. Chungcheong Province Area is located adjacent to the Capital Region (within 50 minutes by Korean Train Express) and thus, there is a high possibility that the capital relocation will bring physical expansion of the Capital Region rather than dispersion. There are prospects that the capital relocation will first bring about a growth of the southern area of the Capital Region such as Pyongtaek and Anseong, promoting the physical expansion of the Capital Region. Thus, relocation of the capital to the Chungcheong Province Area will accelerate the growth of the southern part of the Capital Region and the northern part of the Chungcheong Province Area and result in the integration and conurbation of the two areas. In this case, it may form the so-called "Su-Cheong Area", which roughly translates into "Capital-Chungcheong Province Area", the vast area that stretches from the Capital Region to the Chungcheong Province Area. This region may physically expand to strongly absorb production

elements like labor and capital that are left in other regions, bringing about even more social costs like spatial congestion that are incomparable to that of the current Capital Region.

Third, if observed more closely, it can be seen that the regional imbalance is not brought about by the contrast between the Capital Region and non-Capital Region but between areas on the Seoul-Busan axis that was developed along the Seoul-Busan highway and areas away from it. Korea's major economic activities are concentrated along the Seoul-Daejeon axis that is on the Seoul-Busan axis. The candidate for the capital relocation is on this growth axis and if the new administrative capital is constructed, there is a high possibility that it will become a humongous black-hole that will suck in the population, capital and information of other regions other than the expanded Capital Region. The drain of the population and employment of the areas excluding the Capital Region and Chungcheong Province Area will further weaken the already fragile economic basis. This will be the case for the Gangwon Province, inland areas of Gyeongsang Province, coastline of the South Sea in Jeolla Province that are relatively lagging behind.

Thus, to achieve true balanced regional development, devolution of the concentrated authority in the central government must come before the physical capital relocation. It has been argued that the biggest reason balanced development was not possible despite of many investment projects is because the central government allocated the resources inefficiently. The capital relocation policy is a far cry from devolution of power in central government because it is attempting to only move the location of the central government bodies while maintaining the underlying base of imbalanced growth pole policy and existing central government power. It would be better to pursue balanced development by heavily investing the financial resource that is available for the capital relocation in the establishment of urban infrastructure for regions that are falling

behind. Substantial regional development can be looked forward when all regions can carry out their responsibility spontaneously through independent authority and participation and when industries that are in line with the regional characteristics are developed.

### 3. National Competitiveness and Capital Relocation

The Government claims that the imbalanced regional development and excessive concentration in the Capital Region has provoked a high-cost structure including traffic congestion, housing shortage and environmental pollution that are obstacles to national competitiveness. It is also thought that if overcrowding in the Capital Region is alleviated by capital relocation, deregulation of the Capital Region will be possible, enabling Seoul to become a business function-oriented city and provide an opportunity for it to develop into an economic hub in Northeast Asia. In other words, by reforming the spatial structure of the national land into 'a poly-centralized decentralization' structure, it will contribute to boosting the national competitiveness.

In an era of borderless and limitless competition, a nation's competition to survive is fiercer than ever and a competitiveness of metropolis is the competitiveness of a nation. Seoul is no longer simply a domestic city. It now has to compete with other world-class cities in Northeast Asia like Tokyo, Beijing, Shanghai and Singapore. Major countries in Europe that were keenly interested in balanced regional development have shifted their policies in the direction of actively fostering the competitiveness of metropolises as a new national development strategy. London, Paris, Rome, Frankfurt, Berlin and Brussels are carrying out strong re-concentration strategies to increase their competitiveness to attain the hegemony in the EU.

First, Seoul is a brand that has become synonymous with Korea. 'The

Miracle of the Han River' in the 70's, Seoul Olympics in the 80's and the World Cup in 2002 have boosted Korea's international image and Seoul is the leading brand of Korea at the heart of it. In the international community, people think of Russia when they hear Moscow and are reminded of France when they hear Paris. In the same context, it is common that people around the world associate Seoul with Korea and vice versa. The symbolism that Seoul embodies was accumulated over centuries. Capital relocation will make Korea forsake not only the positive image garnered from hosting the Olympics and the World Cup but also the brand value of Seoul that has been amassed over its six-hundred-year history, bringing tremendous loss in national competitiveness. There is a need to approach the issue of capital relocation keeping in mind the harsh reality where Korea has to actively utilize Seoul which is Korea's representative brand and the source of its national competitiveness in the fierce global competition era. This is by no means calling for a mind-set that the interests and needs of Seoul has to be first and foremost or regional egoism.

Second, there is an analysis that capital relocation will weaken the competitiveness of the Capital Region and due to insignificant economic implications to regions other than the Chungcheong Province Area, Korea's overall economic growth will be undermined in the end. When the capital is moved to the Chungcheong Province Area, the national economic growth rate will slowdown by approximately 1% and if this is translated into currency value, it will amount to approximately 7.2 trillion won(\$ 6,0 billion)(Suh Seng-hwan 2004). It is only natural that the overall national income will decrease because resources (e.g. manpower of the central government and national key organizations) will be moved from the Capital Region that has a high-productivity to a region that has a lower productivity. Moreover, the expense for capital relocation heavily invested by the national finance is the pure cost for transferring the administrative function, so it is hard to look forward

to new job creation effect compared to the investment amount. Rather, it has been observed that industries closely related to the administrative functions in the Capital Region will become distant due to the capital relocation, provoking a drop in production and employment across the national economy(Ji Hae-myung, 2004).

Third, it is expected that the expense for capital relocation will further increase considerably in the future. The Government estimates 45.6 trillion won(\$ 38 billion) as the construction expense for the new administrative capital, but this is only the direct cost that will be spent for construction only. The figure does not include the indirect cost for the reform of the spatial structure, which includes the cost for the establishment of transportation-communication network like airport, railroad, highway, fiber-optic communication network and the reform of the military, security system and administrative system. The government expenditure plan also neglects overall social cost such as inefficiency of administrative work, unnecessary transportation and communications cost, moving cost, large-scale environmental degradation and increased conflicts between regions. Especially, from a cost/benefit point of view, one of the major problems with capital relocation is that compared to the immense investment cost, the benefit from it is very uncertain. It is unconvincing to put the highest priority on capital relocation when there are numerous projects piled up that need to be financed from the government coffers. Moreover, if the new administrative capital is constructed, it will wreak havoc on Korea's competitiveness due to additional problems like the inconvenience that the companies in located in the Capital Region will experience, an occurrence of a supplementary cost and work inefficiency.

Fourth, for Korea to emerge as the hub in Northeast Asia, Seoul's competitiveness is integral. It is doubtful whether Korea will be able to compete equally with metropolises like Tokyo, Beijing, Shanghai and Singapore when the Government is trying to relocate the capital

to a place that is even unfamiliar to Koreans. The Government's plan is to foster the new administrative capital as a self-sufficient city that has the central administrative functions as well as features like international trade, education, research and the high-tech industry, and to nurture the existing Capital Region to have strengthened business functions like international exchange, finance, logistics and IT to transform it into a strategic stronghold in the hub of Northeast Asia. Unfortunately, the relocation of the capital functions will sever the close industrial linkage with the producer service industry, which is a leading industry in Seoul, causing the overall service industry to wither. As a result, this will bring outcomes that are mutually contradictory to the policy of the Government to foster Korea as the economic hub in Northeast Asia.

#### **4. National Consensus and Capital Relocation**

The Government argues that the national consensus is sufficient because capital relocation was a part of the election pledge of the current president and the public opinion has been gathered through public hearings and discussions until now. However, the debates and public hearings held until now were based on a notion that considered capital relocation as an established fact, focusing around the promotion of the legitimacy of capital relocation and the method and procedure of how to construct the new capital.

The standpoint of the Seoul Metropolitan Government is that because Korea is the only divided country in the world, capital relocation is a very significant national issue that must be decided through a national referendum. Even in the constitution of Korea it is stated that "When the president recognizes the need, major policies regarding national security can be put up for a national referendum."

Amidst the special circumstance of North and South division in Korean peninsula, relocating the capital city which is the strategic center of national defense is an issue that is directly linked to national safety both in legal principle and in common sense. A capital is a key element that comprises a form of a state because that is where all the nations decision-making is done and just the fact that

it represents a country is enough to make it so.

There is no doubt that capital relocation is a grave national issue that will profoundly affect the life and property of not only the 10 million Seoul citizens but also 23 million residents in the Capital Region and even the 49 million Koreans. In the long-term, relocation of the capital will change the basic structure of the nation, fundamentally affect the basis of national security and largely shape the lifestyle pattern of the people. Also, in an international context, it will immensely influence the nation's image and entail an enormous amount of financial spending.

Second, the argument of the Government is that although an issue is related to the nation's welfare, whether to conduct a national referendum or not is at the president's discretion. Such assertion is from interpreting the provisions of the constitution too narrowly, when it is so unmistakably clear that the policy is linked with national welfare. Capital relocation is the most crucially important national policy since the foundation of the Republic of Korea and it is not a type of issue that the president can arbitrarily decide on whether to have a national referendum or not. Even if there is no provision in the law on a national referendum on capital relocation, in circumstances like this where the opinion of the people is divided, national consensus has to be reached through a national referendum.

According to a recent public opinion poll, 55.3%(Hankyoreh Newspaper, July 12, 2004) and 57.5%(Dong-A Ilbo, August 9, 2004) of the respondents, which means over half of the people, opposed to relocation of the capital and this trend seems to gradually increase. In a survey on the public opinion on conducting a national referendum on capital relocation(Chosun ilbo and Korea Gallup, July 8, 2004), 67.5% of the surveyed replied that a national referendum should be held. President Roh Moo-hyun himself said during the 16th presidential elections and on several occasions after he was elected that "Capital relocation will be finally decided through a national

referendum"(December 14, 2002, February 24, 2004, etc.), publicly pledging a promise. A national referendum must be carried out to reach a national consensus.

## 5. Issues regarding the Legislative Procedure of the "Special Act on New Administrative Capital Construction"

The viewpoint of the Government is that since the national policies like the construction of a new administrative capital and balanced regional development went through the right and fair procedure of the presidential elections and legislation of a special act by the National Assembly, there is no problem in the legislative procedure.

The Seoul Metropolitan Government views the "Special Act on New Administrative Capital Construction" as an unconstitutional law with a serious flaw in the process of legislation by the National Assembly. Location of a capital is a grave issue that profoundly influences national solidarity, efficient governance of a country and national competitiveness. Although there are no provisions in the constitution like the changing of a name, national flag and song of a country, it is an issue with great magnitude constitutionally related to the foundation of a country. Nevertheless, the 16th National Assembly passed the law without sufficient review and national consensus in December, 2003. Regarding this point, the opposition party, that took up the majority of the seats, publicly admitted and expressed their regrets. In addition, in Article 58 of the National Assembly Law, it is stipulated that "When a new law is legislated, public hearings or hearings must be held to hear the opinions of the people," but a provisory clause states that "With the voting of the committee," this can be omitted. The National Assembly abbreviated the process of hearing the public's view including public hearings through the voting of the committee based on this provisory clause. Experts view that the provisory clause is simply a perfunctory procedural clause which provides that "If a public hearing is no longer necessary because a national consensus is objectively acknowledged before the deliberation of the Committee, it can be excluded."

In the process of law deliberation, expert advisors in the National Assembly reported their review comments that the procedure of collecting the public's view like a public hearing is necessary. A revised draft that clearly stated about a national referendum was proposed to lawmakers, but it was totally ignored. Lawmakers including Kim Gwang-won and Lee Hee-kyu repeatedly pointed out the need of a national consensus. However, the opposition party, the majority party of the National Assembly at the time, passed the bill without gathering the public sentiment due to the strong protests of the lawmakers of the Chungcheong Province Area and the persuasion of the party leaders who were conscious of the votes of the Chungcheong Province Area before the general elections. An expert advisor of the National Assembly, who closely watched the whole legislation process of the bill, has even indicated that the settlement of "Special Act on New Administrative Capital Construction" is a reckless dereliction of its duty.

## **6. Issues regarding the Content of the "Special Act on New Administrative Capital Construction"**

It is stipulated in Article 8 of the New Administrative Capital Construction Special Act that "The prospective and surrounding region shall be selected from the regions in the area of Daejeon Metropolitan City and North and South Chungcheong Province (hereinafter referred to as "Chungcheong Province Area"). This illustrates that the law that the capital relocation is grounded on defines the region subject for relocation in advance.

To move ahead with capital relocation, which is a grave national project, decisions should be made while collecting the opinion of the people, on whether to relocate the capital or not, and if it is to be pursued, where the location will be for the new capital. Yet, the fact that the legislated law for capital relocation makes it clear that "the

capital shall be relocated to the Chungcheong Province Area" without any fair and objective research analysis or collecting the view of the people, indirectly shows that the law was driven by political motives to acquire votes from the Chungcheong Province Area.

There is a need to heed Japan's experience when it strived to move ahead with capital relocation. It was stipulated in the law that the candidate site for the capital relocation shall be selected after sufficient discussion and review, and the final relocation site shall be decided after comparing the candidate site and Tokyo, the current capital city.

"The Special Act on New Administrative Capital Construction" limits the relocation site for the capital to the Chungcheong Province Area. Consequently, regions outside of the Chungcheong Province Area that could have been considered as the candidate site for the relocation was completely excluded from review, and this is an outright violation of equality provided by the constitution.

## **7. North and South Korea Reunification and Capital Relocation**

The Government claims that we cannot afford to delay capital relocation any more for balanced regional development, given the difficulty of predicting when and how reunification will be realized. Even if the two Koreas are reunified, a considerable amount of time will be needed to settle down. It is also arguing that after reunification, numerous residents from the North will flow into the Capital Region to find jobs, aggravating the already overcrowding in the Capital Region. Regarding the capital of a unified Korea, the Government asserts that it is desirable to discuss the issue at the time when reunification takes place because it will be easily influenced by the method and period of reunification.

The Republic of Korea is the only divided country existing in the world. The preamble of Korea's constitution stipulates that "Having assumed the mission of democratic reform and peaceful unification of our homeland ... and having determined to consolidate national unity" and Article 3 states that "The territory of the Republic of Korea shall consist of the Korean Peninsula and its adjacent islands." In light of this, the farsighted project of capital relocation should be planned within the context of the national aspiration of peaceful reunification and the national framework of the Korean Peninsula.

First, reunification issue must be considered in the capital relocation plan. The world at present is facing a new order with the end of the cold war and the expansion of the market economy. It is widely perceived that North Korea is being internationally isolated amidst the wave of a majority of the socialist states discarding their existing ideologies and the North Korean system is losing its endurance due to the economic crisis adding to the already dire situation. No one can predict when reunification will happen, but on the same token, we cannot exclude the possibility of a sudden and unexpected reunification. Of course the period, method and form of reunification is closely linked to the political situation, international dynamics and the public opinion. There can be various views regarding reunification, but one thing is certain. Reunification should be realized under a national vision that all Koreans can agree and not just by a certain political party. It must be reconsidered that the relocation of the capital is being pushed forward without the least discussion and contemplation on the validity of capital relocation right now when we are faced with reunification, which is a national and historical task.

Second, relocation of the capital to the Chungcheong Province Area, South of the Capital Region, is a policy that runs counter to reunification and the era of Northeast Asia. The division of the Korean Peninsula is not simply a partition between the North and

South Korea but also a logistical and geographical division of Northeast Asia. If the two Koreas were to reunite, active exchanges will take place all around the Northeast Asian region and the geopolitical significance of the Korean Peninsula will greatly change. After reunification, the Korean Peninsula will be linked directly with China and Russia by inland routes and will be positioned to further have access to Europe. Therefore, if the Government claims that it seeks to realize the dream of making Korea the hub in Northeast Asia but moves the capital further South to a remote area, this is a policy that goes against the demands of the times.

Third, in preparation for reunification, the location of the capital is a critical matter that should have the highest priority. Where the capital will be located will substantially influence the identity of the unified Korea, competition in foreign relations and the national economy. When the two are reunified, the ethnic homogeneity of the North and South should be recovered and the benefit from economic growth has to be spread across the whole nation. When thinking about the historic and symbolic aspects and the efficiency of a city that will carry out a central role and serve as an engine for growth, Seoul has the best conditions. As can be seen in the reunification case of Germany, the most important task in solidifying the nation after reunification is reviving the North Korean economy. South Korea will have to provide a lot of support for the economic growth of North Korea and to do so, Seoul, which is geographically close to North Korea and has a international network and a brand value in history and culture, must continuously maintain its functions as the capital of the Republic of Korea.

In short, to move the capital to the South in fear of the inflow of 5 million North Korean residents to the Seoul, is just an extension of a logic fixed on division and does not coincide with the spirit of the constitution. The nation after reunification should be based on free democracy and market economy. All issues including the capital

should be decided by the whole 70 million people on the Korean Peninsula and not just by the present president or the National Assembly.

## 8. National Security and Capital Relocation

The Government proclaims that if the capital is relocated to the Chungcheong Province Area, it will bring positive effects to Korea's national security. It states that because there will be two strategic targets in the nation, Seoul and the new administrative capital, it will enhance Korea's sustainability during war and reduce property damage and because the Ministry of Defense and Joint Chiefs of Staff will be near the headquarters of forces, it will be easier to command and cooperate in military operations.

The basic principle of the national defense policy of the Republic of Korea as of now is deterrence of war and the emergency defense strategy was designed centering around Seoul. Seoul is the critical strategic point of national defense because central power of the nation is situated and it is the center of the national economy with over half the national population residing in it. Therefore, capital relocation will inevitably bring an overall reform in the national defense system including the deployment of new combating power and it will adversely affect national security and Korea's international credibility. Although it is blatant that capital relocation will have great implications on the formation of military forces, the composition of military strength and the overall tactic system, thorough contemplation within the Government's New Administrative Capital Construction Plan is nowhere to be seen. At the 17th National Assembly's Defense Committee on July 7, 2004, former Defense Minister Cho Young-gil said that "Comprehensive review on the region where the administrative capital will be located has not been done." Capital relocation has the following military and defense

problems.

First, there is a concern that if capital relocation is carried forward when the two Koreas are still divided, it will weaken the war deterrence ability against North Korea. According to the opinion of military experts, there is a possibility that the North will provoke regional war targeting strategic points when there is an outlook that the military force safeguarding Seoul will be weakened. To prevent North Korea from making miscalculations and provoking war, defense power for the new administrative capital, where the war command post is located, as well as Seoul has to be simultaneously strengthened. However, this will require tremendous costs over the long term. Thus, the overall view is that the relocation of the capital may weaken war deterrence capability in the short term.

Second, capital relocation to the Chungcheong Province Area will disperse the capacity of Korea's national security, subsequently creating security problems for Seoul and the new capital. Even if the capital is moved further South, the population, economy and other social and cultural values concentrated in Seoul will stay exposed to the attack of North Korea. The new administrative capital may be the target of front and rear simultaneous attack, which is one of North Korea's war tactics. Thus, moving the capital to the Chungcheong Province Area is disadvantageous for the national security strategy.

Third, the recent words by the Government is creating doubts whether it has renounced the concept of national security of defending Seoul. The Chairman of the Presidential Committee on Administrative Capital Relocation said that "If a war were to break out and a cease-fire is concluded near Pyungtaek, 50 percent of the population and 70 percent of the national resource will be lost (August 4, 2004)." This has brought great repercussions within and outside of Korea. Although the Government is saying it is relocating the capital to strengthen Korea's national competitiveness, it is in fact making the mistake of provoking investors home and abroad to

be anxious in advance.

National security will be achieved when confidence is built between the government and the people and it is maximized when the international community provides support by acknowledging the national commitment and capability. For a strong and steady national security, the president must be in Seoul, showing that the president has a steadfast determination to safeguard Seoul. Only then will the people and foreigners feel a sense of relief towards the national security of Korea.

## 9. History and Location of Seoul as a Capital City

Relocation of the capital is a serious national affair. In examples of other countries that moved their capital, the relocation of the capital was decided with a distinct objective in times when the national system went through changes like independence, founding of a country or reunification. Capital relocation is a project that calls for the concentration of the strength of a nation for a long period of time and requires the prior consent of all the people. The project has to be moved forward ceaselessly on a national level, not for a single administration.

Seoul has a long history as it has been the capital of the Baekje Kingdom, Joseon Dynasty and the Republic of Korea. In the 1950s, the population in Seoul was not quite 1 million but it grew with industrialization to become a large city that houses a population of 100 million. Seoul has been the symbol of Korea's history and culture, and the cradle of economic growth and industrialization. Moreover, with the hosting of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games and the 2002 World Cup, Seoul has been the representative brand that symbolizes Korea in the international community.

Seoul is geographically located in the center of the Korean Peninsula and the Han River has served as the main source of water for

everyday use and the route for logistics. Historically, the kingdom that took hold of the Han River basin ruled the entire Korean Peninsula, making the Han River area always the target of fierce competition for dominance.

When the Joseon Kingdom chose Hanyang as its capital, the Han River basin became the heart of the unified Korean Peninsula. As the strategic stronghold in the Han River basin, it was the center for trade in the peninsula and has been the substantial and spiritual capital city of Koreans since the Joseon Kingdom. Seoul is the center of the Korean Peninsula that cannot be moved.

### III. Concluding remarks

#### 1. Policy Alternative of Capital Location

First, devolution that transfers the authority concentrated in the central government to other regions should be actively pushed forward. If this is carried out successfully, it will not matter that much where the offices of the central government bodies are located and regional dispersion of the power concentrated in the Capital Region can be expected without high cost. By strengthening the functions of the Local Devolution Committee, institutional base for transferring of unnecessary central government authority should be in place and action plans should be implemented. Under this direction, various measures like physical dispersion of some of the public institutions and graded provision of subsidy from the national coffers can be reviewed.

Second, the financial resources of capital relocation should be used as the investment fund for regional development. A wide variety of policy projects can be developed like strategic industry development of each region in accordance with the regions characteristic and

resource, support for regional universities and establishment of social and cultural infrastructure.

Third, the Capital Region should formulate a growth management system and the development profit from it can be lined with the development of non-Capital Region. Formulation of the Metropolitan Growth Management System for the Capital Region will reduce the congestion cost from overcrowding and will reduce internal imbalance problems. In addition, there is a need to review ways to utilized some of the advantages stemming out of the Capital Region as the financial resource for the development of non-Capital Region.

## **2. Concluding remark**

**Now is the time to concert Korea's national resources through win-win strategy of the Capital Region and non-Capital Regions**

In the borderless global competitive framework, the competition is shifting from between Capital Region vs. non-Capital Regions to between metropolises around the world. If conflict between regions occur and Korea's national strength is wasted because of the capital relocation issue, firms may relocate to overseas rather than other regions across Korea. It is important to collect Korea's national strength within the framework of win-win development between the Capital Region and other regions outside of the region. The potential of the Capital Region should be utilized to its fullest as the economic hub in Northeast Asia, but at the same time, there is a need to actively pursue co-existence strategies to link the fruitful outcomes with the development of other regions. In conclusion, balanced regional development is not a downward leveling adjustment but a positive-sum for the nation as a whole by securing international competitiveness.

**Capital relocation should be discussed after reunification with a farsighted perspective**

In addition, it is no doubt that balanced development within South Korea is important but resolving the imbalance between the South and North Korea after reunification will be even more serious. If we are to move the capital now, will we have to relocate the capital once again according to the same logic? The fact that Germany relocated its capital once again to Berlin after reunification provokes a lot of thoughts. In this regard, relocation of the new administrative capital must be reconsidered. Before it is pushed forward hastily, profound discussions on the validity with a farsighted perspective should take place and national consensus should it be sought.

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