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01. Memo	D. Allan Bromley to John Sununu Re: Japanese Visit (3 pp.)	10/21/91	(b)(1)	

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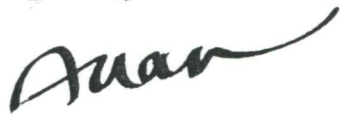
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 11, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

FROM: D. ALLAN BROMLEY 
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

As you will recall, I spent several days in Japan in October preparing the ground work for a major US/Japan discussion concerning the need for the Japanese to move up to a leadership role in basic research--both domestic and international--more in parallel with that they occupy in technology. This, of course, includes Japanese participation in the Superconducting Supercollider. It was clear that direct discussions between the President and the Prime Minister would be essential to achieve the desired results and I am optimistic regarding the outcome of such discussions.

I have also been working with Science Minister Kim of Korea and we not only have a US/Korea science and technology agreement ready for signing during the President's visit but also a range of other important science and technology initiatives that require high level discussion.

OSTP staff has worked closely with those in NSC in preparing the briefing and other material.

I would therefore request that I be able to join the President's traveling group in Korea and Japan where there are important science and technology components to the visits.

In contrast, in Australia and Singapore there is little S&T emphasis. With your approval and that of the President, I would plan to fly commercial to Korea, join the President's party for its Korean and Japanese segment and return on Air Force One.

I shall much appreciate your help in making this possible.

*John: You will be more than welcome
at any or all of this agenda..*

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL OF ADVISORS
ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

DECEMBER 12-13, 1991
AGENDA

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1991

CLOSED 9:00 AM - 12:00 NOON
CONFERENCE ROOM
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
722 JACKSON PLACE, NW

8:30 - 9:00 ARRIVAL AND COFFEE

9:00 - 9:30 OPENING REMARKS

DR. BROMLEY

9:30 - 12:00 DISCUSSION OF FINAL REPORT AND
OPTIONS PAPER OF THE PANEL ON
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND
NATIONAL SECURITY

DR. BUCHSBAUM
DR. FOSTER
OTHER PANEL
MEMBERS

CLOSED SESSION 12:00 NOON TO 3:00 PM
CORDELL HULL CONFERENCE ROOM
ROO 208
OLD EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING

12:00 - 1:00 LUNCH

1:00 - 3:00 DISCUSSION OF DRAFT PAPER
ON TECHNOLOGY AND THE AMERICAN
STANDARD OF LIVING

DR. GOMORY
DR. SHAPIRO

3:00 - 3:15 BREAK

→ This is the part that I
had hoped we could
discuss in particular
with the President.

CLOSED SESSION - 3:15 PM TO 5:15 PM
ROOM 180
OLD EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING

3:15 - 5:15

CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF PCAST REPORT
AND PAPERS

DR. BROMLEY

5:30 -

COCKTAIL RECEPTION AND DINNER
WHITE HOUSE MESS

I had hoped that perhaps
the President might
join us here when his
Schedule got jammed
but gather that there is
a White House reception
You are most welcome
if you can join us for
drinks and for dinner.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1991

CLOSED SESSION 9:00 AM - 12:00 NOON
ROOM 476
OLD EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING

8:30 - 8:50	ARRIVAL AND COFFEE (<u>DR. BROMLEY'S OFFICE, ROOM 358, OEOB</u>)	
8:50 - 9:00	MOVE TO ROOM 476	
9:00 - 9:30	OPENING REMARKS	DR. BROMLEY
9:30 - 12:00	CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF PCAST REPORT AND PAPERS	DR. BROMLEY

*Shame to leave at 10 to attend
the DTC meeting and see them
-flying to Yale to deliver their
year's Hardy lecture.*

Anna

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 21, 1991

MEMORANDUM TO JOHN H. SUNUNU

FROM: D. ALLAN BROMLEY ^{sl}
SUBJECT: JAPANESE VISIT

As the attached agenda indicates I was in Japan from Sunday October 13 through late Friday October 18. The latter two days were devoted to co-chairing the US/Japan Joint High Level Committee (JHLC) established in 1988.

The matter of the SSC came up in these meetings but was the primary topic of the first two days during which I met with former Prime Minister Takeshita (a very major political power), with the Ministers of Education, Science and Technology, Environment, MITI and the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs. I also met with seven of the senior university presidents including my old friend, Akita Arima, of the University of Tokyo and with the executive Committee of the Science Council of Japan chaired by Dr. Jiro Kondo--another powerful figure in Japanese S&T. A copy of my talk to this group is included as Appendix 2. At Kondo's request 210 copies of this talk were distributed Friday to the entire membership of the Science Council.

There is a very general recognition in Japan that its basic research is well below any acceptable standard in either scope or quality. University infrastructure and support for research in the universities are both considered to be in crisis conditions. I can confirm this from personal knowledge; political figures are now well informed and concerned. The current Minister of Education is the first in over a decade who has actually visited a university.

As the DOE group, led by Dr. Will Happer, discovered in late September, the Japanese were unwilling to consider any support for SSC emphasizing the great need to improve basic research facilities at home. They have a request from the universities for a 10% increase in funding but everyone recognizes this as grossly inadequate and very improbable as far as achievement.

Recognizing this we in OSTP concocted the idea of a package deal that would focus generally on the improvement of Japanese basic research--domestically by strengthening Japanese universities and their programs and internationally by becoming a co-owner of SSC. This was supported enthusiastically in an interagency meeting that I called just prior to leaving and I felt comfortable trying it on our Japanese hosts.

1. The university group harbored major questions as to whether we could pull it off politically but expressed great enthusiasm if we could contrast it to very strong opposition, were we to focus on SSC only. The degree of enthusiasm would mount rapidly if the actual increase to universities exceeded the requested 10%.

2. The Science Council Group was taken with the idea and as Jiro Kondo was quoted in the **Wall Street Journal** article--a copy of which is attached--he "felt much more positive" about Japanese participation in SSC as part of the proposed package deal.

3. Mr. Takeshita sounded interested and agreed to discuss the package proposal with both current and new ministers following the election. Mike Armacost will follow up with him.

4. The Minister for MITI first thought that SSC was pure research and therefore not part of his mandate but Moore and I emphasized the major technological aspects of such a project and he warmed up substantially.

5. The Minister of the Environment reacted positively but felt largely disconnected from the matter. He felt strongly about the importance of international cooperation.

6. The Minister of Science and Technology said simply that her needs locally were so great that she could not consider support for SSC.

7. A similar response came from the Minister of Education although privately I learned that he had been musing about a 500 billion yen basic research fund of which 200 billion yen (\$15 billion) would go to buy into SSC and 300 billion yen would go to strengthen the Japanese basic research enterprise. At least he was thinking of such numbers.

In discussions with my old friend Wataru Mori, former President of the University of Tokyo and now chairman of the Prime Minister's Council of Science and Technology, I found that the actual FY1991 numbers for Japanese education are these:

Budget for National Universities

a) Salary Expenses	Y 1,046,000 million
b) General Expenditures	Y 388,000 million
c) Facility Expenditure	Y 153,000 million
d) Aid to Private Universities	Y 270,000 million
e) Research Grants in Aid	Y 58,900 million

The universities would be relatively happy with a Y300 billion step function divided proportionately among items b), c) and e).

These data should be considered as confidential.

8. I emphasized that in the US no agency could tackle a project as large as SSC in its existing agency budgets and that new money, made doable at the very highest political levels was required. I noted, for example, that SSC had been approved, personally, by both Presidents Reagan and Bush. Inone nodded sagely and clearly understood the message.

9. Subsequently Ambassador Ota of the Foreign Office took me aside to urge that I not take the negative news of the Ministers of Science and Technology and of Education too seriously inasmuch as both would be gone by the time of the President's visit and that both were simply emphasizing that they could not support SSC within their current budgets.

10. Mike Armacost had much the same feeling and plans to work hard to follow up momentum generated during our visit. He considered the relatively positive response of Takeshida and of Kuzo Obuchi, Secretary General of the LDP (who may become Minister of Finance), as important indicators. Both of these men pointed out that Miyazawa, the prospective new PM had been Minister of Finance, of Foreign Affairs and of MITI in the past and was personally interested in improved relations with the US.

11. As a bottom line let me simply say that I think our timing was fortunate. Mr. Miyazawa, when he meets with President Bush, will lead a new team that wants a highly visible symbol of improving US/Japan relations. The package deal suggested would give him an easy win on both the domestic and international scenes.

12. I did make the point, too, that both in Europe and in the US there was growing concern that Japan was not playing its fair share in refilling the international basic research coffers, from which all draw. I emphasized that our cooperation with Japan in Science and Technology was at a critical point. We either move forward together or else fall back. We cannot maintain a status quo. Both points were clearly understood.

13. I am optimistic that if the President asks specifically for the above-mentioned package deal the probability is high that PM Miyazawa will respond positively.

14. With your agreement, I should like to spend a few minutes briefing the President on this--and as I noted before would appreciate being able to accompany him on his Japanese trip.

Enclosures:

Appendix 1 - Itinerary for Trip to Japan

Appendix 2 - Asian Wall Street Journal article

Appendix 2 - Speech presented in Japan

10/11/91; 1530; 1988x

ITINERARY

Dr. D. Allan Bromley
Assistant to the President for
Science and Technology
(Director, Office of Science and Technology Policy)
White House
and his JHLC Mission

October 14 - 18, 1991
Tokyo Japan

Monday, October 14

15:30 Arrive Narita on UA 881. Met at United Airlines arrival counter by Estcouns Edward Malloy and Embassy sedan. Proceed to Okura Hotel (tel: 3582-0111; fax: 3582-3707).

RON Hotel Okura.

Tuesday, October 15

09:45 Depart Okura Hotel in Embassy sedan for Embassy.
10:00-10:15 Courtesy call on Ambassador. Accompanied by Estcouns.
10:15-11:00 Embassy roundtable briefing for all JHLC delegates and staff in Tokyo.

Unscheduled time.
12:45 Depart Embassy with Ambassador.
13:00-13:30 Meet with Mr. Noboru Takeshita, accompanied by Ambassador. (Tentative)

Speech preparation, rest time.
TBD Meet with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, accompanied by Ambassador.
14:45 Depart Hotel Okura in Embassy car.
15:00-16:00¹⁵ Speech at Science Council of Japan to some three dozen scientists from all over Japan. Then meet with Dr. Jiro Kondo, Chairman.
16:00 Depart Science Council of Japan in dedicated car for Okura Hotel.
19:00 Informal drinks at Estcouns Malloy's residence (Embassy housing compound, 4115 Harris Tower).

10/11/91; 1530; 1988x

Wednesday, October 16

07:20 Depart Okura with Dr. Walter Massey and Mr. Henson Moore in Embassy sedan for Ambassador's residence.

07:30-09:00 Breakfast Meeting with University Presidents hosted by Ambassador Armacost at his residence. (Also in attendance: Mr. Moore, Dr. Massey, Dr. Malloy, Dr. Akito Arima (Tokyo University), Dr. Yasuhara Suematsu (Tokyo Institute of Technology), Dr. Saburo Nagakura (Graduate University for Advanced Studies), Dr. Tetsuji Nishikawa (Science University of Tokyo), Dr. Sogo Okamura (Tokyo Denki University), Dr. Hidetsugu Ikegami (DG, Osaka University Nuclear Physics Research Center), and possibly Dr. Chumaru Koyama (Waseda University).)

09:00-09:15 Follow-on meeting (Bromley only) with Dr. Arima, President, Tokyo University.

09:15 Dr. Bromley departs residence in dedicated car for Science & Technology Agency.

09:30-10:00 Meet at the Science and Technology Agency with Dr. Wataru Mori, Member of the Council for Science and Technology (CST).

(10:05 Dr. Walter Massey and Mr. Henson Moore arrive at Science & Technology Agency.)

(10:05 Ambassador arrives at Science & Technology Agency.)

10:10-10:40 Meet with Minister Akiko Santo, accompanied by Ambassador, Mr. Moore, Dr. Massey.

Unscheduled Time for Dr. Bromley. (Mr. Moore has meeting at MOFA from 11:00 to 11:20 after which he will go to Monbusho.)

11:20 Dr. Bromley, Ambassador Armacost, Dr. Massey, depart Embassy for Monbusho.

11:30-12:00 Meet with Minister Yutaka Inoue, Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture.

12:15 ① Lunch at Okura Hotel, Restaurant Furusawa (tel: 3582-0111).

13:50 Dr. Bromley, Dr. Massey, Mr. Moore depart Okura for LDP Headquarters.

13:50 Ambassador departs Embassy for LDP headquarters.

14:00-14:30 Meet with Mr. Keizo Obuchi, LDP Secretary General, in his office at LDP Headquarters.

10/11/91; 1530; 1988x

Wednesday, October 16 (Continued)

Dr. Bromley and Ambassador travel from LDP headquarters to MITI.

14:50-15:20 Dr. Bromley and Ambassador meet with Minister Eiichi Nakao, Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

Unscheduled time.

16:50 Dr. Bromley departs Okura in dedicated car for Environment Agency.

16:50 Ambassador departs Embassy for Environment Agency.

17:00-17:30 Meet with Minister Kazuo Aichi, Environment Agency.

Dr. Bromley and Ambassador return to Embassy.

17:45-18:45 Press Conference, American Embassy.

18:45 Dr. Bromley departs in Embassy car for New Otani Hotel.

(18:45 Three vans depart Embassy for New Otani with other JHLC delegates and staff.

19:00-20:00 Reception at New Otani Hotel hosted by STA Minister Santo.

②

Canadian Bear Story

20:15 Dr. Bromley returns to Hotel Okura in Embassy car.

RON Hotel Okura.

548 years ago today, an unsuccessful attempt made to usurp the Japanese throne.

10/11/91; 1100; 1988x

Thursday, October 17

07:45 Dr. Bromley departs Okura in dedicated car for Embassy.

08:00-09:30 Pre-meeting of JHLC USDEL, Jefferson Room, US Embassy.

09:30 Depart Embassy for Ministry of Foreign Affairs, if there will be a meeting of Co-chairmen. Otherwise, depart at 09:45.

(09:30 Dr. Sullivan departs Residence if there will be a meeting of co-chairmen.)

09:40-10:00 Meeting of Co-Chairmen at MOFA. (Asked for)

(09:45 Ambassador departs Residence for MOFA. Secretary Sullivan accompanies, unless he has already left.)

10:00-12:10 JHLC Meeting at MOFA, Room 751. (Ambassador and Secretary Sullivan will attend until 10:30/45.)

12:20 Depart MOFA in Embassy car for Iikura House.

12:30 (3) Lunch hosted by MOFA Vice Minister Owada. *58 years ago today
Ruskin arrived in USA*

14:05 Depart Iikura House for MOFA.

14:20-17:30 JHLC Meeting at MOFA.

17:35 Return to Hotel Okura in Embassy sedan.

18:15 (4) Walk across street to Ambassador's residence.

18:30-20:00 Reception hosted by Ambassador.

Walk to Okura Hotel. RON. *124 days ago to tomorrow
US bought Alaska.
General George Metaxas of
Greece.*

Friday, October 18

10:45 Depart Hotel Okura in Embassy car for MOFA.

11:00-12:45 JHLC Meetings.

14:15 Depart Okura Hotel in Embassy car for Narita airport.

17:25 Depart Narita on UA 882.

Wednesday, October 16, 1991

U.S. Presses Japan Again on Supercollider

By JACOB M. SCHLESINGER
Staff Reporter

TOKYO — The Bush administration intensified its pleas for Japan to give \$1.5 billion to an ambitious high-energy physics project, offering Japan a more concrete role in managing the venture and U.S. support for Japanese-led science projects.

D. Allan Bromley, director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, is making the renewed pitch for help with the \$8 billion-plus Superconducting Supercollider this week to top political, bureaucratic, and academic leaders here. He said in a speech on Tuesday that the issue will be a top priority when President George Bush visits Japan late next month.

That visit will mark the third time Mr. Bush has taken the case personally to Japanese leaders over the past year and a half, and officials from both governments said they finally expect some sort of Japanese response by then. Japan hasn't officially accepted or rejected the request, saying it supports the project in principle but has difficulties finding the money. While Japanese industry is rich, they say, the Japanese government has little money for scientific research.

The situation is reminiscent of the Bush administration's ultimately successful push a year ago to get Japan to help fund the Persian Gulf war. Then as now, America argues that isn't able to pay the entire bill for its ambitions, and a richer Japan agrees it must play a bigger role but can't quite figure out how.

The issue is likely to come up again and again, particularly with "big science" projects. Mr. Bromley said he also plans to seek Japanese cooperation this week in research on the environment and mapping human genes.

The superconductor supercollider, located in Texas and slated for completion in 1998, involves construction of an 87-kilometer ring through which protons will whirl in opposite directions, eventually smashing together to recreate the forces present at the origins of the universe. That, Mr. Bromley said, would help human "understanding of matter and energy," as well as shed light on "the structure of our universe and its history."

"Let me be very explicit: We need Japanese participation," Mr. Bromley said in his speech to the Science Council of Japan, a scientific advisory group to the prime minister. The U.S. Congress has required that a third of the funding come from non-federal sources. Other than \$1 billion from the state of Texas, the U.S. expects the rest to come from foreign governments. With Europe pursuing a similar project, Japan is considered the most likely source.

Mr. Bromley's latest appeal appears designed to soothe feelings that may have been hurt during earlier U.S. requests for Japanese scientific funding. In the past, the Japanese felt the U.S. has simply demanded more money, asserting that Japan does little basic research of its own and should thus pay back for Japanese industry's "freeloading" on Western basic research.

Mr. Bromley stressed that the Japanese wouldn't just be investors, but equity owners involved in "construction, planning, management and use of the facility." The U.S. has made such an offer before, but further strengthened the promise of a specific management role for Japan.

Mr. Bromley also offered for the first time U.S. financial support, likely a few million dollars, for the Human Frontier Science Program to study human biology. Japan unveiled the project five years ago to show it would try and contribute more to basic research, but instead was accused of further trying to steal Western ideas. The project has since gotten little foreign funding.

In addition, he indicated new enthusiasm for other Japanese-led research programs that have drawn similar reactions,

including one designed to develop world-wide "intelligent manufacturing" systems and another to develop advanced computers.

The Japanese have complained that the U.S. devised the supercollider project by itself, then sought money from the Japanese. Mr. Bromley acknowledged that view, saying, "I must admit to you I would have much preferred the supercollider would have been a truly international project at a much earlier stage in its history."

Many Japanese scientists also are afraid that heavy Japanese contributions to the supercollider will undercut long-promised, long-overdue pledges by the government to increase money for decrepit university labs and for other basic research. Mr. Bromley tried to woo them by suggesting that Japan devise a comprehensive package where it pay for both — though he didn't say exactly from where the money should come.

"The attitude from the U.S. side has been very much changed," Jiro Kondo, chairman of the Science Council, said after hearing Mr. Bromley's pitch. "I am now more in favor." But he added that "still there is uncertainty whether the government can decide or not."

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

**SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY:
THE ERA OF INTERNATIONALIZATION**

D. ALLAN BROMLEY
Assistant to the President for Science and Technology
Executive Office of the President

Science Council of Japan
October 15, 1991
Tokyo

It is an honor and a particular pleasure for me to be back in Tokyo, a world center of activity in research and technology. Over the years, I have had the opportunity to participate in many research collaborations with Japanese scientists, engineers, and students, and I have always taken from those exchanges a great admiration for the ingenuity, dedication, and perception of my Japanese colleagues. More recently I have had the opportunity to participate in U.S.-Japan collaborations on a policy level rather than a scientific level, and the results of those collaborations have been every bit as agreeable, and as mutually beneficial, as were those in research.

One cannot help but observe, in traveling through today's Tokyo, the extent to which Japan has become a world leader. Indeed, Japan today shares the international aspects of major countries around the world. You have built a modern, prosperous nation on the pillars of trade, international peace, education, and your own hard work and vision. In many ways, you have become a model for other countries that aspire to your economic and technological successes. Kokusai-ka has been a resounding success in Japan, and it is an attribute that every country in the world would do well to emulate.

In that respect, as a scientist, I feel very comfortable in Japan, because science is among the most truly international of human activities. As Anton Chekhov once wrote, "There is no national science just as there is no national multiplication table; what is national is no longer science." Information in science and technology travels freely among countries and individuals, and there is very little that governments can, or indeed should, do to stem that flow. Scientists and technologists are often on more intimate terms with colleagues on the other side of the globe than they are with those on the other side of the hall.

It was for this reason that I was delighted to find in the 1990 Japanese White Paper on Science and Technology the statement, "It is critical to conduct exchanges of researchers between nations in order to promote science and technology on a worldwide scale." I could not agree more!

This free flow of information has contributed, in Japan, to one of the strongest science and technology enterprises anywhere in the world. Particularly in technology, Japan has become an undisputed world leader. We in the United States admire and respect your accomplishments, even as we seek to emulate the practices and principles that you have pioneered.

We also recognize that Japan is destined to play an even greater role in science, technology, and overall scientific culture than it does today. Your interest in basic scientific research and in improving your citizens' quality of life points toward a day when Japan will be a world leader in many other areas in addition to technology.

It is my strong belief, however -- and I base this belief on my experience in the United States -- that leadership in areas other than technology requires a balanced effort. Furthermore, this balance must apply along several different axes. This afternoon I wish to focus on two of these axes: the one defined by the spectrum of work between basic research and technology development, and the one stretching between domestic efforts in science and technology and more explicitly international efforts.

Science and Technology Policy in the United States

The question of balance along these axes is one that all the countries of the world must address, and each will answer it in its own way. Because these questions arise every day in my work as the Assistant to President Bush for Science and Technology, let me describe our approach to answering them in the United States.

Today, science and technology are integral elements of both domestic and international policy in the United States, reflecting the President's strong interest in these areas. One of the places where the importance of science and technology can most clearly be seen is in the proposed budgets that President Bush sends to the U.S. Congress each February. In all three of the budgets that the President has submitted to Congress, science and technology have been prominently featured.

To take a specific example, in the most recent budget the President proposed a

record \$75.6 billion -- nearly 10 trillion yen -- for research and development, a 13 percent increase over the amount Congress appropriated for FY 1991. Furthermore, this substantial increase came in a year when the overall growth of the budget was severely constrained by the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, which is designed to reduce the U.S. budget deficit to zero over the next five years. In fact, science and technology received a larger increase than did any other major component of the federal budget.

The only way to increase science and technology under the terms of the budget agreement was to find other programs in the budget -- many of which have very strong constituencies in the United States -- and reduce or eliminate them. In other words, President Bush has decided that science and technology -- as vital investments in the future of not only our nation but also the entire world -- require a higher priority than do federal programs focused more toward immediate consumption.

A particular area of emphasis in the Bush Administration's budgets has been basic research. Our Administration is in the process of doubling, over a six-year period, the budget of the National Science Foundation -- which supports much of the physical sciences, mathematics, and engineering conducted in our nation's universities -- by 1994. The other agencies that support considerable amounts of basic research in our universities -- and there are more than a dozen of these, including the National Institutes of Health and the Department of Energy -- are also receiving substantial increases. Overall, in the most recent budget, basic research was slated for \$1 billion increase -- or about 130 billion yen -- to a total of \$13 billion -- about 1.7 trillion yen. Of this amount, about three quarters goes to universities -- nearly \$10 billion, or 1.3 trillion yen.

In the "general guidelines for science and technology" approved by the Japanese government cabinet in March 1986, I was delighted to find that the two highest priority "actions" were listed as: (1) enhancement of basic research, and (2) promotion of international cooperation and exchange programs. Because of definitional problems -- such as whether a fraction of faculty salaries are included or not -- it is difficult to make any clear comparison with the Japanese situation. But it is our general impression that Japan supports basic research at roughly half the

relative level of the United States -- with, again, a substantial amount of that going to universities.

The U.S. government supports basic research for several reasons. At the most abstract and idealistic level, it supports basic research because the quest for scientific knowledge is one of the most profound adventures to which human beings have ever had access. I consider myself exceedingly fortunate -- as I'm sure all of us in this room do -- to have been able to be participants in this adventure. It is the human activity that has defined the modern age, and because of our activities the human species will never again be the same.

Governments also have a more practical reason for sponsoring basic research -- namely, that it produces rich economic and social returns. These returns are not easy to quantify, but a distinguished economist in the United States, Edwin Mansfield of the University of Pennsylvania, has made an initial attempt. Looking specifically at research conducted at colleges and universities with federal support in close to 100 corporations in seven major industrial sectors, he found an average social rate of return to past investments in academic research of between 28 and 40 percent. In comparison, companies normally expect to receive returns on the order of 15 percent from investments in other areas such as plant and equipment.

International Cooperation in Basic Research

These arguments provide a compelling rationale for increasing support of basic research, and I know that Japan has invoked them in increasing its own support of basic research. Yet it is a feature of science in the modern age, and a measure of our success in science, that current research opportunities continue to far outstrip available resources. This has been a source of some frustration among university researchers in the United States, who see the tremendous benefits that could flow to our society from the work of people ready and able to pursue these opportunities if only more funding were available. It does little good to point out that the U.S. government now supports more researchers than have ever been supported in our

history. Nor does it help to contrast the relatively generous funding for basic research in the United States with similar funding in other countries. The prospects for advances are too exciting, the questions to be answered too compelling, and the potential rewards to our society -- and to the world -- too enormous.

Furthermore, the frontiers of scientific inquiry have been changing in a way that exacerbates the tension between available resources and current research opportunities. In many areas of science and technology, facilities required to give researchers access to the frontiers of their fields have become so large and complex that they are too expensive for any one country to afford on its own. Yet these facilities define key scientific frontiers; without movement on those frontiers, scientific progress in these areas will stagnate. As a result, we always strive toward a balance in our budgets -- between supporting our scientists and engineers in doing what they want to do today and broadening the foundation that will take these same individuals to the new frontiers of their fields years from now.

Among the areas I might cite as examples are high-energy physics and human genetics, space exploration and fusion research, research on global change and on natural hazard reduction. Let me take global change research as an example. If an enhanced greenhouse effect does occur, it will clearly be no respecter of national boundaries. A ton of carbon dioxide or chlorofluorocarbons released in the United States has the same potential effect as a ton released anywhere in the world. Similarly, the consequences of any future greenhouse warming will not be limited to any one region of the globe. All countries share an interest in understanding and anticipating the possible effects of climate change. I noted in the 1990 Japanese White Paper on Science and Technology, "It is important to protect the Earth's environment and at the same time to promote stable growth of the world economy." Again we are in total agreement.

It will be a monumental task to understand a system as large and as complex as the global environment, and no one country can accomplish this task alone. This international dimension to the problem was the rationale behind the U.S. proposal at a White House Conference in April 1990 that three regional international institutes be set up in different parts of the world to study the regional as well as the global

dimensions of global change. One institute would represent and be located in the Americas, a second would represent Europe and Africa, and a third would represent Asia and the western rim of the Pacific.

Last July I attended a workshop in Puerto Rico to discuss the scientific agenda and administrative structure of the institute to be located in the Americas. The United States is now exploring with Japan and with a number of countries in Asia the prospects for a similar workshop being held to begin planning for the Asian institute. Once all three of these planned institutes are in place, it will be essential to develop strong latitudinal linkages so that together -- and with their satellite institutions -- they form a truly global network to address this global problem.

It is my understanding that Japan has offered to host an organizational meeting for the western Pacific institute rather similar to the one we hosted in Puerto Rico in July of this year. I am pleased to be able to tell you that we, in the United States, are prepared to cooperate with you in such ways as supporting travel of some of the country delegates who might otherwise not be able to attend your meeting or in other ways that you might wish to suggest. We believe that the proposed network of institutes can play a very important global role.

The Domestic Complement to International Research

This kind of international cooperation in science and technology returns benefits to all the countries involved. It is impossible to specify exactly where, when, and to whom the benefits of basic science will flow; that is the nature of fundamental science. But science and technology are positive sum games. To paraphrase an old adage, "Science is the rising tide that raises all ships."

It bears emphasis, however, that to take full advantage of international activities in science and technology, a country must have a strong domestic science and technology base. In the United States, much of the strength of our science and technology base comes from our universities. We call upon our universities to provide new knowledge as well as the young minds trained to use this knowledge in innovative

ways. Our universities have responded in exemplary fashion. Their excellence has been a cornerstone of our economic well-being, our national security, and the health and quality of life of our citizens.

I was recently discussing the educational systems of the United States and Japan with a leading science administrator in your country, and he made an interesting observation. He pointed out that in Japan precollege education is, in his words, "quite good," but that university education in Japan has some significant weaknesses.

I pointed out to him that in the United States, the situation is quite different. Our best research universities are among the best in the world, and scientists from around the world do not feel that their education is complete until they have spent some time in a U.S. university. But our precollege education system is greatly in need of reform.

The President, in cooperation with the Governors of all of our States, has initiated a major effort to reform precollege education in the United States. We are now in the process of defining standards of what students should know in various core areas -- including mathematics and science -- at various grade levels, and we are devising assessment techniques to measure student performance against those standards. In this, as in many other areas, Japan's level of achievement provides a model for the United States.

International Collaboration on the Superconducting Super Collider

The remarks that I have made thus far provide a context for an important issue that I wish to discuss with you this afternoon -- and that I shall be discussing with various of your officials this week -- and that is Japanese participation in large international science projects, or megaprojects, of great importance to the world scientific community. The largest of these megaprojects is the Superconducting Super Collider (SSC); when built, it will be the largest basic research facility anywhere in the world. It will reach energies of 40 trillion electron-volts (TeV), compared with 16

TeV for the proposed Large Hadron Collider at the European Center for Nuclear Research (CERN) and 2 TeV at Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory in Illinois.

The SSC is the essential tool required for the next major step in unlocking the secrets of matter and energy as well as the structure and history of our universe. Fundamental questions continue to surround the so-called Standard Model. Other questions have emerged from world activity in recent decades, including the nature of the vacuum and the origin of mass itself. The Standard Model is currently one of the intellectual triumphs of our human species, encompassing a large fraction of all that we have learned about the universe in which we find ourselves. But we already know that it has a fatal flaw and cannot represent a final understanding of nature. If we ask, for example, for the probability that two intermediate bosons carrying the weak nuclear interaction will interact at energies above 1 TeV in the Standard Model, answers with a probability in excess of 100 percent result. This is clearly nonphysical. To find out what is really happening in this region above 1 TeV, we need much higher energies such as those provided by the SSC if we are to obtain adequately high reaction rates.

In the Standard Model, it is assumed that the various particles of nature interact with an electrically neutral field -- the Higgs field -- which, if it exists, permeates the universe and assumes a nonzero background value even in a perfect vacuum. This symmetry-breaking interaction gives the particles an energy -- and thus a mass -- with respect to the vacuum.

In the simplest form of the theory, the Higgs field would be represented by a single Higgs particle. In other versions, mass is imparted through interactions with a family of such particles. To date, however, no such particles have been observed using any existing particle accelerator.

The theory provides little precise guidance concerning the mass of the Higgs particle or particles, and thus it is essential to be able to search up to quite heavy masses, which requires correspondingly high-energy beams. In fact, it is essential to be able to search at masses up to 800 GeV/c². Beyond this point the particle would decay so rapidly, and its corresponding resonance be so great, that it would be undetectable. The SSC design energy and luminosity will provide unique experimental

access up to this region.

The discovery of the Higgs would be an historic event, while failure in this energy region would imply new physics beyond the Standard Model -- a most exciting result -- which could then be probed in detail with the facility. In either eventuality, the SSC should provide definite clues to the fundamental mystery of symmetry breaking in the electroweak sector and to the related question of the origin of the masses of the known particles.

This is just one example of the research that will be done with the SSC. But some of the most exciting physics to be done with the facility is virtually impossible to foresee today. Construction of the SSC is a step into scientifically uncharted areas, and such a major venture into the unknown can be guaranteed to produce rich and provocative results.

I have come to Japan prepared to offer your government what amounts to an equity position in the construction and operation of the SSC. This would mean that the Japanese would, effectively, be true partners in this facility. Japan would be closely involved in the planning, the construction, and the management of the SSC. This proposal marks a new approach to the construction and operation of a major international science project, but it is one that I believe will become increasingly common as science and technology become ever more international.

However, the point I made earlier about corresponding domestic capabilities applies with particular force here. Japan will benefit fully from its participation in the SSC project to the extent that it has a strong university research system. I would therefore take the liberty to propose that Japan undertake investment in the SSC in parallel with a major domestic initiative. A major strengthening of your university-oriented system would make your partnership with the United States in the SSC most effective. Such a combined thrust would bring great benefits to Japan's scientific community, and to Japan as a nation. It would mark your full acceptance of the leadership role in international science in parallel to that you now enjoy in technology. It will make Japan a leader in the international exchange of scientific information and in the development of new ideas. This would be entirely consistent with one of the primary objectives of the "Technology and Economy Program" adopted

here in Japan in 1988, which calls upon Japan to "enhance basic research by improving the research environment in Japan to attract or hold capable researchers."

The United States is now ready to move forward with the SSC. Congress, in this fiscal year, by strong majority votes in both houses, appropriated nearly \$500 million -- almost 65 billion yen -- for the SSC, bringing the total U.S. expenditures to date to over \$1 billion. Thus far, the project is coming in ahead of schedule and below budget, and funds for other research areas are increasing at the same time that the SSC's funding is increasing. We are now looking to the other nations of the world -- and particularly to Japan -- for the partnerships that will make the SSC a reality as a shared, international project. Japan's contribution could be a combination of cash and substantial in-kind contributions of Japanese-built components. We need your country as a partner if this -- the next major step in the advance of human knowledge -- is to occur.

Other International Megaprojects in Science and Technology

During the course of our discussions this week, I will also be covering several other international projects in science and technology. One is the Human Frontiers Science Program proposed by Japan at the Venice Summit in 1987. In the past the United States has participated in this program largely through in-kind contributions. As we speak, there are 357 Japanese scientists in residence at the National Institutes of Health in the United States, at a cost to us of \$8.5 million. These young researchers are doing work and receiving training at the frontiers of medical science. Those who return to Japan are among our very best ambassadors; those who remain add enormous strength to our medical and biomedical research activities.

Now that the Human Frontiers Science Program has proven itself capable of delivering quality scientific results, the United States is planning to contribute financially to the program in addition to this in-kind support.

The Human Frontiers Science Program and the SSC are both basic science projects, but much of what I have been saying this afternoon applies as well to areas

of technology development. A good example is the Intelligent Manufacturing Systems initiative proposed by the Government of Japan. A feasibility study is just getting under way in which representatives from six different regions will examine appropriate and equitable modes of cooperation, methods of funding, intellectual property rights issues, and areas of study. This feasibility study will provide a forum for all participants to begin contributing to the structure of the initiative so that, if it is undertaken, it will provide benefits commensurate with a region's contributions.

The New Information Processing Technologies initiative is another international effort of great interest to the United States. We are in the process of developing a proposal for the international component of the program that, we hope, will result in a successful bilateral relationship.

These programs and many others are moving forward under the umbrella of the U.S.-Japan Science and Technology Agreement. That agreement has played a valuable role in bringing our two countries closer together, and we have a common challenge to improve it in the years ahead. Later this week I will be cochairing the third meeting of the Joint High Level Committee under the agreement with Minister Santo, and we will be discussing many of the issues I have raised today. We will also be discussing some of the issues that we expect will arise when President Bush travels to Japan at the end of November to meet with your Prime Minister. It promises to be an extremely productive and interesting meeting.

Conclusion

This meeting of the Joint High Level Commission is being held at a propitious time. With the end of the Cold War, the nations of the world -- including the countries of the Eastern Bloc -- will soon have a great many more opportunities for international cooperation in science and technology than they have ever had before. We now have a unique opportunity to replace the tensions of the past with peaceful cooperation on the common challenges we face.

There is no better base for this cooperation than science and technology. The

longer I have worked in these fields, the more obvious it has become that science -- and the technologies derived from science -- have an essential unity, an underlying order and intrinsic beauty that flashes out when and where we least expect it. Ideas, approaches, and concepts developed in one area of science illuminate totally different ones -- and in the process our understanding of nature becomes ever deeper.

As I said at the beginning of my talk, science and technology are inherently international activities. They pull us together as a species and transcend the differences between nations and between peoples. We are approaching a new era in science and technology, an era of internationalization that will bring all countries closer together. None of us can afford to miss the unique opportunity that we have been given.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Dr. Ratchford:

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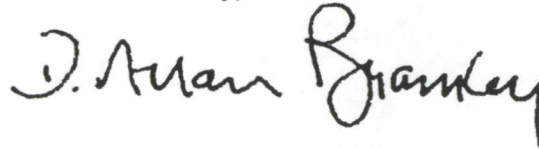
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I look forward to a productive and worthwhile trip to Japan.

Sincerely,

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D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

The Honorable J. Thomas Ratchford
Associate Director
Office of Science and Technology Policy
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20506

JOINT HIGH LEVEL COMMITTEE MEETING U.S. ISSUES

S&T AGREEMENT RENEWAL: The STA will expire in June 1993. The Joint High Level Committee (JHLC) has been meeting approximately every 18 months, therefore, the October meeting may present the first and last opportunity for the Committee to discuss the issue of renewal. Both sides will wish to renew the agreement, but there may be varying opinions as to whether changes to the agreement are necessary and if so, the nature of the changes. In any case, a thorough discussion of related issues is warranted. Issues to be addressed might include:

- effectiveness of the agreement in meeting its stated objectives,
- effectiveness of the administrative structure,
- evaluation of the areas for cooperation outlined in Annex I
- scope of the agreement and relationship to other bilateral agreements.

The scope question may be the most important. It relates to how well the umbrella agreement has coordinated and facilitated all bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the United States and Japan, and whether improvements toward this end can be made to insure a more integrated United States Government science and technology interaction with Japanese technical agencies.

The JHLC discussion should result in a firm commitment to renew the agreement, some preliminary views on the issues listed above and others, and instructions to the JWLC to engage in a thorough review of the agreement with recommendations on how to proceed toward renewal.

MEGAPROJECTS: During the May 1990 meeting, the JHLC discussed international cooperation in megaprojects in the sciences. The U.S. side agreed to provide a paper outlining some initial thoughts on the topic. A draft discussion paper has been prepared (outlining the issues but not presenting positions of the USG) that would serve as a useful backdrop to further discussions with the Japanese on this topic. The draft document should be sent to the Japanese no later than one month prior to the meeting to allow ample time for Japanese consideration. A discussion draft will be available for comment by U.S. delegation members shortly.

In addition to the broad discussion of megaprojects, the U.S. should be prepared to give a complete briefing to the Japanese on the Superconducting Super Collider. In return, the Japanese could provide a briefing on the Human Frontiers Science Program. Both sides could report on international planning for the next phase of the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor. The intent is to engage in a discussion of how the two sides can cooperate in these programs with a view toward a head of state announcement in November. There may be other topics which the U.S. side would like to discuss, including Human Genome research.

ENVIRONMENTAL PACKAGE: As part of preparations for the President's trip to Japan in November, the U.S. may table a comprehensive package of environmental proposals, including cooperation in environmental technology development, global change research center for the Pacific rim, and cooperation in aid and development related activities. The package will probably be presented to the Japanese by late September. Should this occur, the JHLC meeting will provide an excellent opportunity to discuss the proposals further, iron out differences, and prepare for an announcement during the head of state meeting.

IMS, NIPT, OTHERS: Intelligent Manufacturing System (IMS) and New Information Processing Technology (NIPT) are two MITI initiatives that are already being discussed within the context of Annex I of the Agreement. The GOJ should be prepared to give a status report on implementation of these programs, both domestically and internationally. To the extent possible they should also give the U.S. side information on other MITI initiatives which may be downstream, such as one relating to micromachines. The U.S. side should be prepared to ask questions about downstream projects as well as provide an update on our deliberations on IMS and NIPT.

**JOINT HIGH LEVEL COMMITTEE MEETING
PROPOSED U.S. DELEGATION**

OSTP

Dr. D. Allan Bromley
Dr. J. Thomas Ratchford

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Mr. Douglas Paal

U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. Jules Katz

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Amb. Reginald Bartholomew
Dr. John Boright (Chairman of the JWLC)
Mr. Richard H. Solomon

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

Mr. Henson Moore

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Dr. Victor Reis

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Dr. Robert White
Mr. J. Michael Farren

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

Dr. Bernadine Healy

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Dr. Charles Hess

NSF

Dr. Walter Massey

NASA

Dr. Richard Truly

EPA

Mr. Henry Habicht

AID

Dr. Richard Bissell

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

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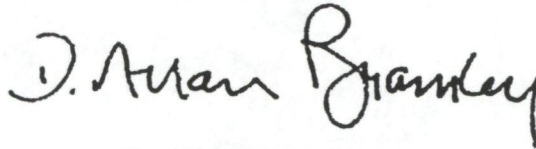
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D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

The Honorable Douglas H. Paal
The Special Assistant to the President
and Senior Director for Asian Affairs
National Security Council
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20506

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

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The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

Ambassador Julius L. Katz
Deputy United States Trade Representative
U.S. Trade Representative
Executive Office of the President
Winder Building
600 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

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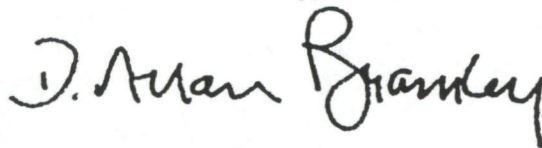
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D. Allan Bromley
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Science and Technology

Enclosures

Ambassador Reginald Bartholomew
Under Secretary
International Security Affairs
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520-7512

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

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Enclosures

Dr. John Boright
Chairman
Joint Working Level Committee
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Science and Technology
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520-7512

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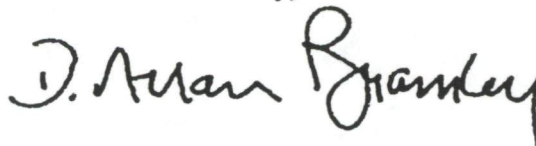
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The Honorable Richard H. Solomon
Assistant Secretary
East Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520-7512

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Mr. Moore:

You are invited to be a member of the U.S. Delegation for the Third Joint High Level Committee (JHLC) meeting in accordance with the U.S.-Japan Agreement on Cooperation in Research and Development in Science and Technology. The meeting will be held in Tokyo on October 17 and 18, 1991. Your participation in this meeting is important.

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I look forward to a productive and worthwhile trip to Japan.

Sincerely,

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D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

The Honorable W. Henson Moore
Deputy Secretary of Energy
U.S. Department of Energy
1000 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20585

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Dr. Reis:

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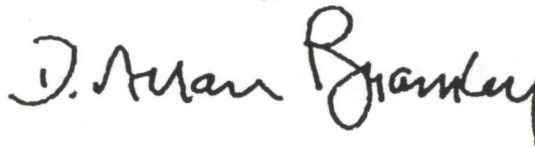
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D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

The Honorable Victor Reis
Director
Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
U.S. Department of Defense
1400 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22209

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Dr. White:

You are invited to be a member of the U.S. Delegation for the Third Joint High Level Committee (JHLC) meeting in accordance with the U.S.-Japan Agreement on Cooperation in Research and Development in Science and Technology. The meeting will be held in Tokyo on October 17 and 18, 1991. Your participation in this meeting is important.

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D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

The Honorable Robert M. White
Under Secretary
Technology Administration
U.S. Department of Commerce
14th and Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20230

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Mr. Farren:

You are invited to be a member of the U.S. Delegation for the Third Joint High Level Committee (JHLC) meeting in accordance with the U.S.-Japan Agreement on Cooperation in Research and Development in Science and Technology. The meeting will be held in Tokyo on October 17 and 18, 1991. Your participation in this meeting is important.

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D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

The Honorable J. Michael Farren
Under Secretary
International Trade Administration
U.S. Department of Commerce
14th and Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20230

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Dr. Healy:

You are invited to be a member of the U.S. Delegation for the Third Joint High Level Committee (JHLC) meeting in accordance with the U.S.-Japan Agreement on Cooperation in Research and Development in Science and Technology. The meeting will be held in Tokyo on October 17 and 18, 1991. Your participation in this meeting is important.

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D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

The Honorable Bernadine Healy
Director
National Institutes of Health
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
Building 1
9000 Rockville Pike
Bethesda, MD 20892

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Dr. Massey:

You are invited to be a member of the U.S. Delegation for the Third Joint High Level Committee (JHLC) meeting in accordance with the U.S.-Japan Agreement on Cooperation in Research and Development in Science and Technology. The meeting will be held in Tokyo on October 17 and 18, 1991. Your participation in this meeting is important.

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D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

The Honorable Walter E. Massey
Director
National Science Foundation
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20550

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Admiral Truly:

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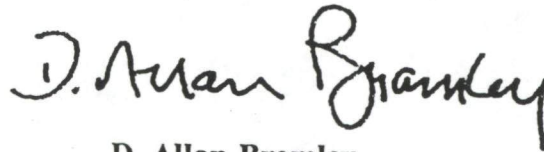
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D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
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Enclosures

The Honorable Richard H. Truly
Administrator
National Aeronautics and Space
Administration
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20546

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Mr. Habicht:

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The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

Enclosures

The Honorable F. Henry Habicht, II
Deputy Administrator
Environmental Protection Agency
401 M Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20460

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Dr. Bissell:

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The Assistant to the President
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Enclosures

The Honorable Richard Bissell
Assistant Administrator
Science and Technology Bureau
Agency for International Development
320 21st Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20523

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1991

Dear Dr. Hess:

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Enclosures

The Honorable Charles E. Hess
Assistant Secretary
Science and Education Administration
U.S. Department of Agriculture
12th Street and Jefferson Drive, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20250

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 3, 1991

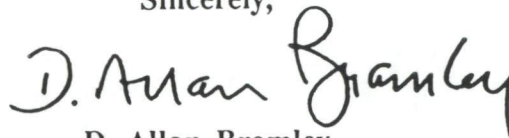
Dear Mr. Minister:

Thank you for your letter of June 25 responding to my inquiries about the development of NIPT (New Information Processing Technology) Program. My response has been delayed pending communication between Ambassador Ota and Dr. Ratchford, and Mr. Hirosawa and Dr. Wong. I believe that these exchanges have resulted in a better understanding on our part of the program and its implementation schedule. Thank you for assisting in this matter.

Dr. Wong has relayed to Mr. Hirosawa our proposal that we focus on one topic for which a model for cooperation would be developed. We are in the process of consulting with research groups in the private sector for the purpose of proposing a topic for Japanese consideration.

I look forward to discussing this matter with you in more detail when we meet this fall for the third meeting of the Joint High Level Committee of the U.S.-Japan Agreement on Cooperation in Research and Development in Science and Technology.

Sincerely,



D. Allan Bromley
The Assistant to the President
for
Science and Technology

The Honorable Taro Nakayama
Minister for Foreign Affairs
2-1-1 Kasumigaseki
Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100
Japan