

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13762
Folder ID Number: 13762-001

Folder Title:
Roh Tae Woo State Visit 7/2/91 [OA 8325] [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	21	5	1



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

6/24/91
3501

Ch-1
6/2

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Public Statements by President Bush to
President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea
July 2-3

Attached are suggested public statements for the
President to make during President Roh Tae Woo's state visit,
July 2-3. The statements including welcoming remarks, a state
dinner toast, and a farewell speech.

W. Robert Pearson
Executive Secretary

Security Commitment
Uruguay Round
equality and partnerships
greater Korean role in its own defense

UNCLASSIFIED

WELCOMING REMARKS TO PRESIDENT ROH TAE WOO

JULY 2, 1991

Mr. President, Mrs. Roh, it is my great pleasure to warmly welcome you both to Washington. It is always an honor to see you, but at a time of profound transformation in world affairs it is especially important to reaffirm the deep bonds of friendship and cooperation our two countries have enjoyed for so long.

Americans and Koreans have stood shoulder to shoulder for over four decades, allies committed to preserving peace and freedom. We have forged mutually productive ties based on trust and mutual respect. The United States is unshakeable in its commitment to protecting the peace and security of Korea. Korea, in turn, has long shared a commitment with us to maintaining ~~ing~~ global peace and stability -- and I want to say right at the outset how much we appreciate the contributions Korea made to the multinational effort during the Gulf crisis.

The American people have great admiration for your country, and for the dedication your people have shown to building a prosperous and democratic nation. Much credit belongs to you, Mr. President, for the vision and leadership you have shown in bringing political reform to Korea, and in assuming ever greater international responsibilities. We support you in your commitment to market-oriented development and democratic ideals.

When you last visited the United States, Mr. President, you were preparing to embark on a bold new opening to the Soviet

union. That initiative has been an extraordinary success, benefitting not just Korea and the USSR, but many other countries, including the U.S. These new ties--along with your new relationship with China--will contribute to the stability and prosperity of the Pacific Rim. I congratulate you on this achievement, and I look forward to working with you to help encourage economic and political reform in the Soviet Union.

You are now about to take another major step in the international arena as you prepare for UN membership. We have long been Korea's most ardent supporter for a rightful place in the world organization, and we share your pride and satisfaction that your persistent efforts are about to be rewarded with another success.

We look forward to working closely with Korea, as it assumes an ever-larger role in the world community. We will support you fully in your efforts to help bring North Korea into full participation in the family of nations. Although only Koreans, North and South, can solve the problem of unification, we will work with you to help you realize your dream of a reunified Korea, a goal we strongly support.

Our two nations can look to the future with optimism. We can both be confident in the knowledge that amid the great changes sweeping the world, amid great adversity and opportunity, we have the determination, as allies, ^{to} steer a steady course. We face, of course, continuing challenges in

in equality and partnership.

*We will work with you to ensure
a greater Korean role in the defense
of Korea.*

both security and economic affairs. Our shared commitment to economic development based on market principles faces the test of successfully concluding the Uruguay Round negotiations. But I know we can count on your support in this effort, especially as Korea is taking the lead in regional economic expansion by hosting this fall the third ministerial meeting of APEC--the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation initiative.

Mr. President, it is a great pleasure to say to you again, on behalf of Barbara, myself, and the American people, welcome to the United States of America.

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST AT STATE DINNER FOR PRESIDENT ROH

July 2, 1991

It is an honor this evening to host President and Mrs. Roh, as well the entire Korean delegation. The American people and I are delighted to extend to all of you the hospitality of the White House and the nation.

As I look around the room this evening, I am reminded of the important role that Korean-Americans are playing in American life. American missionaries were among the first westerners to live and work in Korea over 100 years ago. Next year, a Korean-American, Dr. Syngman Rhee--whose name reminds us of your country's great first post-war leader, and a man strongly committed to Korea's national independence and development--born in Pyongyang and a veteran of the Korean War, will become President of the National Council of Churches.] There are countless ~~other~~ ^{from churches,} examples, in sports, in industry, in the arts and in business, 'b]

The Republic of Korea is one of the United States' most important friends and allies. Our ties were forged in blood. Today, our common interest in peace and our mutual willingness to accept the challenge of maintaining the peace is the foundation of our relationship. The remnants of the Cold War

which exist on the Korean Peninsula make our long-standing military and security relations still crucial.

Yet now our relationship has become increasingly important to us because of your global economic power and expanding political influence. We have all watched with admiration in recent years as the Republic of Korea has grown in power and prestige, and presented a visible example of the superiority of its system over that of its rival to the North. ~~No one has been more impressed than I~~ ^{I have been} with the rise to world prominence of the Republic of Korea, and I am especially pleased that you will take your rightful place in the United Nations later this year. We also look forward to your hosting this fall's third ministerial of the Asia/Pacific Economic Cooperation initiative.

Over the years, U.S.-Korean relations have grown and matured with changing regional and global circumstances. Our friendship has grown into a partnership, one intent on promoting prosperity and peace ~~as part of the New World Order~~, especially in the East Asian region. In that region, the Republic of Korea has served as model for other nations who admire its economic development, its growing democracy, and its active efforts to improve diplomatic relations with other nations. We applaud these developments and wish the Republic of Korea continued success in their pursuit.

No one has played a more important role than President Roh Tae Woo in overseeing and directing the development of this partnership between South Korea and the United States, and in bringing to his country the international respect and admiration it now enjoys. His guidance, his judgment, and his perseverance have been crucial.

I would like to offer a toast to President Roh for his wisdom, his courage, and his foresight in leading his country toward prosperity, democracy, and peace. We stand with you, ready to meet the challenges of a new era, strengthened and encouraged by the cooperation and assistance of nations like the Republic of Korea and leaders like yourself.

*Subject to substantial
revision*

FAREWELL SPEECH FOR PRESIDENT BUSH
UPON THE DEPARTURE OF PRESIDENT ROH TAE WOO

July 3, 1991

As I come to say farewell to President and Mrs. Roh, and the Korean delegation, I think it important and appropriate to reflect again on the significance of U.S.-Republic of Korea relations.

We have come through the Korean War and the Cold War together; we have been allies in war and partners in peace; we have developed human and familial ties that give Koreans and Americans a special relationship that will endure.

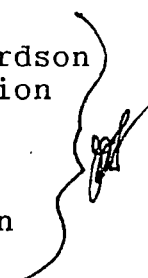
Now the world has changed, but we must continue to work together to build a lasting peace on the Korean peninsula and in East Asia, based on the principles we have pursued for many years: national self-determination, peace, free enterprise, and democracy. We have made progress in achieving these goals and will continue to pursue them, based on a better understanding of our common interests and values.

We have learned much from this visit, particularly in relation to how we each view and expect the U.S.-Korean partnership to progress in the coming years. Our expectations are very similar, and they provide a basis for cooperation to address mutual concerns.

As I say farewell, Mr. President, I also want to thank you and your delegation for coming to the United States, and say that I look forward to visiting Korea and working with you to promote security and growth in East Asia. Farewell and best wishes for continued success.

Drafter: EAP/K: JPLanier *JPL*
SEKPOL 2540 6/19/91 x7717

Clearance: EAP: RHSolomon
EAP/K: KSRichardson
EAP/K: MMcMillion
P: CKartman
C: JSour
S/P: JPryzstup
EB/ODC: DJensen
PA: RBoucher



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL HEADER SHEET (USFK/EUSA LNO)

FROM USFK/EUSA LNO	OFFICE SYMBOL DACS/EUSA-CS-SA	TELEPHONE NO. AM 224-8758:55 (703)614-3475	RELEASER [REDACTED] COL D.T. LYNCH
TO MS PEGGY DOOLEY RESEARCH OFFICE	OFFICE SYMBOL WHITE HOUSE	DATE/TIME 270840 JUN 91	PAGES HEADER + 1

REMARKS

BELIEVE INFO ON THIS PAPER PROVIDES
ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION. IF ANYTHING FURTHER
IS NEEDED, LET ME KNOW.

Lynch

**Korean Military Medical Support Group
Nuariyah, Saudi Arabia**

To: Maj. Kim
Aide to Chief of Staff CFC/UNC

27th June 1991

Subject : Actual Results during Gulf War

1. Patients Status

Nation of Patients	Total	U.S.A.	Other Allied Forces	Iraq
Number of Treated Patients	1,634	58	1,414	162

2. Patients during Khafji Ground Battle

Nation of Patients	Total	U.S.A.	Other Allied Forces	Iraq
Number of Treated Patients	97	5	64	28

3. Comments

- a. We were Developing cooperations with U.S. and Allied Forces for security and carrying out missions.
- b. Troops cooperated :
 - U.S. 300th Field Hospital and 85th Evacuation Hospital
 - U.S. Marine Corps in Jubail
 - U.S. Maintenance and Service Support Unit in Nuariyah
 - and other Allied Forces

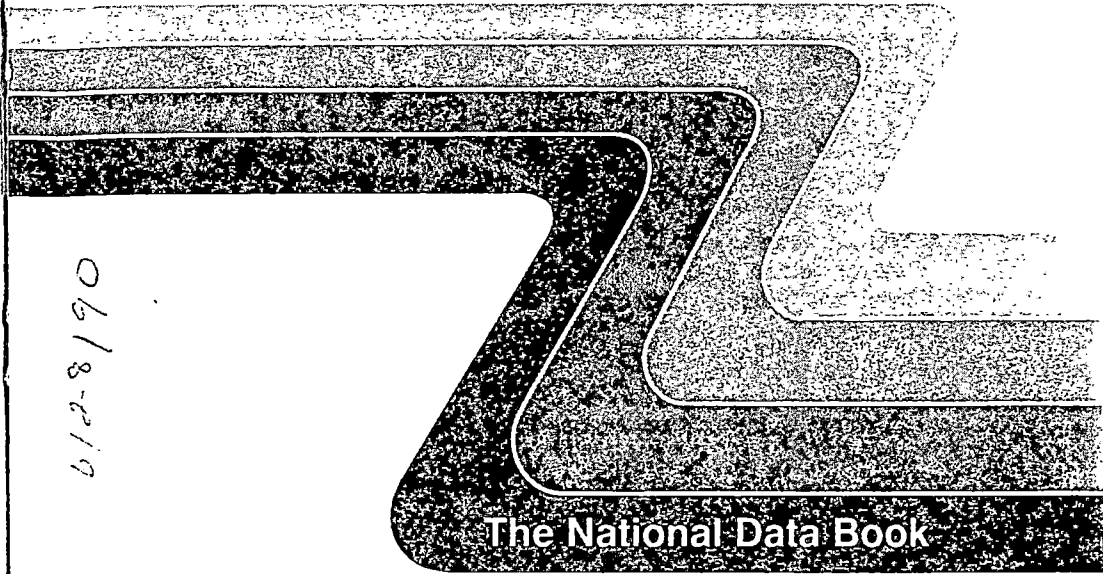
31 12/17

Col. Chol, Myung-kyu, M.D.
Commander,
Korean Military Medical Support Group
In Saudi Arabia

113
1990
Y.H

110th Edition

Statistical Abstract of the United States 1990



6/2-8/90



U.S. Department of Commerce
Robert A. Mosbacher, Secretary
Thomas J. Murrin, Deputy Secretary
Michael R. Darby, Under Secretary for
Economic Affairs

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Barbara Everitt Bryant, Director

THE WHITE AND BLACK POPULATIONS:

members of Armed Forces except those living off post or away; see text, section 1, and Appendix III

Number (000)	WHITE		BLACK	
	1980	1988	1980	1988
203,869	100.0	100.0	26,033	29,333
21,510	10.5	11.3	2,444	2,661
2,510	1.2	1.3	244	261
56,178	27.1	27.2	4,722	4,770
39,522	19.4	19.4	4,112	4,575
25,639	12.6	12.6	2,040	2,393
131,092	64.1	64.1	12,927	15,929
14,782	7.2	7.2	1,599	1,994
14,520	7.1	7.1	1,599	1,994
51,755	25.4	25.4	3,090	3,514
22,399	11.0	11.0	1,618	2,382
27,416	13.4	13.4	1,024	1,796
158,194	77.1	77.1	17,824	20,692
104,756	51.4	51.4	10,865	13,205
99,812	49.0	49.0	9,313	11,658
4,944	2.4	2.4	1,553	1,547
47	0.0	0.0	143	117
53,459	26.2	26.2	6,959	7,487
56,044	27.5	27.5	6,184	7,177
26,618	13.1	13.1	3,820	4,195
46,644	22.8	22.8	3,493	3,692
21,699	10.6	10.6	1,927	2,016
7,235	3.6	3.6	2,495	3,074
4,066	2.0	2.0	1,793	2,020
2,185	1.1	1.1	296	421
852	0.4	0.4	99	160
56,044	27.5	27.5	6,184	7,177
5,786	2.8	2.8	600	968
3,440	1.7	1.7	1,096	1,179
4,784	2.3	2.3	86	902
10,332	5.1	5.1	1,344	1,563
10,130	5.0	5.0	1,811	1,947
11,689	5.7	5.7	2,122	2,163
13,694	6.7	6.7	4,905	5,181
32,274	15.8	15.8	18,122	18,098
21,409	10.5	10.5	8,050	9,683
78,469	38.1	38.1	8,586	10,186
52,697	25.6	25.6	4,173	4,323
24,324	11.9	11.9	4,257	5,676
1,448	0.7	0.7	156	187

¹ Total unemployment as percent of civilian labor force.
² Tabular Presentation.
³ For explanation of poverty to Tabular Presentation.
⁴ For explanation of poverty to Tabular Presentation.
⁵ For explanation of poverty to Tabular Presentation.

20- Nos. 432 and 433 and series P-50, Nos. 161 and 162, and Earnings, January issues.

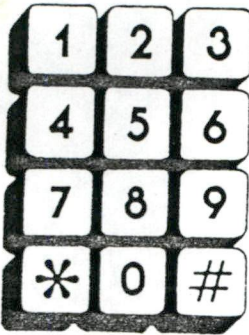
No. 44. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ASIAN, PACIFIC ISLANDER, AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO AND ALEUT POPULATIONS: 1980
 [In percent, except as indicated. As of April 1. Based on a sample from the 1980 Census of Population; see text, section 1, and Appendix III]

CHARACTERISTIC	Total population ¹	ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER											AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, AND ALEUT		
		Total	Asian						Pacific Islander				Total	American Indian	
			Total ²	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Asian Indian	Korean	Vietnamese	Total ³	Hawaiian	Guamanian			Samoan
Total (1,000)	226,546	3,726	3,467	812	782	716	387	357	245	260	172	31	40	1,534	1,479
Age:															
Under 5 years old.....	7.2	8.6	8.4	7.1	9.0	5.2	11.1	10.6	10.0	10.8	10.0	9.1	14.1	10.1	10.1
5-14 years old.....	15.4	16.3	16.5	14.0	18.1	11.3	16.0	21.7	24.8	20.4	19.2	19.9	25.7	20.8	20.8
15-24 years old.....	18.7	17.3	16.9	17.9	15.9	17.4	11.3	15.8	23.2	23.1	22.5	26.6	22.5	22.4	22.3
25-34 years old.....	16.4	21.5	21.8	23.0	20.9	18.9	25.5	21.0	21.6	17.4	16.4	21.7	16.9	16.9	16.9
35-44 years old.....	11.3	14.2	14.4	12.9	15.5	12.8	18.1	18.0	10.4	11.3	11.7	10.5	10.4	11.1	11.1
45-64 years old.....	19.7	15.7	15.9	18.1	13.5	27.0	10.1	10.5	8.0	12.6	14.7	9.7	8.4	13.4	13.5
65-74 years old.....	6.9	3.8	3.8	4.6	5.2	4.2	3.9	1.8	1.4	4.4	3.7	1.6	1.3	3.4	3.4
75 years old and over.....	4.4	2.1	6.1	2.3	2.0	3.1	4.1	.6	.5	4.4	1.9	.8	.7	1.8	1.8
Percent foreign born.....	6.2	58.6	62.1	63.3	64.7	28.4	70.4	81.9	90.5	11.8	1.6	9.5	35.6	2.5	2.5
Years of school completed:															
Persons 25 years old and over (1,000).....	132,836	2,137	2,018	495	446	473	239	185	103	119	83	14	15	715	691
Less than 5 years of school.....	3.6	6.4	(NA)	10.3	7.0	2.3	3.1	4.0	10.3	(NA)	3.2	4.9	5.9	8.4	8.1
4 years of high school or more.....	66.5	74.8	75.3	71.3	74.2	81.6	80.1	78.1	62.2	67.2	68.4	67.9	61.2	55.5	55.8
4 or more years of college.....	16.2	32.9	34.3	36.6	37.0	26.4	51.9	33.7	12.9	9.3	9.6	6.2	7.3	7.7	7.7
Labor force status:															
Civilian labor force (1,000).....	104,450	1,773	1,667	415	380	395	181	149	88	105	74	13	12	584	567
Percent unemployed ⁴	6.5	4.7	4.6	3.6	4.8	3.0	5.8	5.7	8.2	7.3	7.0	6.8	9.7	13.2	13.0
Family type and size:															
Total families (1,000).....	59,190	818	765	192	168	168	98	67	42	53	36	7	7	341	331
Married couple.....	82.8	84.4	85.1	86.8	83.6	84.1	91.0	86.0	72.8	75.4	73.2	79.6	78.0	71.8	71.9
Female householder, no spouse present.....	13.9	10.8	10.2	8.5	11.8	11.9	5.7	10.8	14.8	19.4	21.3	14.7	18.2	22.7	22.7
Male householder, no spouse present.....	3.4	4.8	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.0	3.4	3.2	12.4	5.2	5.5	5.8	3.8	5.5	5.4
Average size of family ⁵	3.27	3.98	3.96	3.65	4.20	3.59	3.45	4.88	5.16	4.25	4.10	3.94	5.16	3.83	3.82
Family income, 1979:															
Median income (dol.) ⁶	19,917	22,713	23,095	22,559	23,687	27,354	24,993	20,459	12,840	17,984	19,196	18,218	14,242	13,724	13,678
Families below poverty level (1,000) ⁷	5,670	87	79	20	10	7	7	9	15	8	5	1	2	81	79
Percent below poverty level.....	9.6	10.7	10.3	10.5	6.2	4.2	7.4	13.1	35.1	16.1	14.3	11.6	27.5	23.7	23.7

NA Not available. ¹ Includes other races, not shown separately. ² Includes all other Asians not shown separately. ³ Includes all other Pacific Islanders not shown separately.
⁴ Total unemployment as percent of civilian labor force. ⁵ Refers only to Asian and Pacific Islander persons in primary families with an Asian and Pacific Islander householder. ⁶ For definition of median, see Guide to Tabular Presentation. ⁷ For explanation of poverty level, see text, section 14.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population, vol. 1, chapter C (PC80-1-C) and vol. 2, chapter 1E (PC80-2-1E).

256-977 O-90-3



U. S. Department of Commerce • Bureau of the Census • Washington, D. C. 20233

telephone contacts bureau of the census

A Data User Services Division Publication

No. 28

January 1988

Director	John G. Keane	(301)763-5190
Deputy Director	C. Louis Kincannon	763-5192
Associate Director for the Decennial Census	Charles D. Jones	763-5180
Associate Director for Demographic Programs	William P. Butz	763-5167
Associate Director for Economic Programs	Charles A. Waite	763-5274
Associate Director for Field Operations	Roland H. Moore	763-7247
Associate Director for Management Services	Bryant Benton	763-7980
Associate Director for Statistical Standards and Methodology	Vacant	763-2562
Assistant Director for Administration	Clifford J. Parker	763-2350
Assistant Director for Automatic Data Processing	Gerald F. Cranford	763-2360
Assistant Director for Decennial Census	Peter A. Bounpane	763-5613
Assistant Director for Economic and Agriculture Censuses	Roger H. Bugenhagen	763-2076
Assistant Director for International Programs	Robert O. Bartram	763-4014
Data User Services Division	Customer Services Staff	763-4100
Office of Congressional Affairs	Frederick A. Ruth, Chief	763-5360
Public Information Office	Staff	763-4040
1990 Census Promotional Office	Staff	763-1921

DEMOGRAPHIC PROGRAMS

Center for Demographic Studies	CDS	James R. Wetzel, Chief	763-7720
Center for International Research	CIR	Barbara Boyle Torrey, Chief	763-2870
Decennial Operations Division	DOD	Arnold A. Jackson, Chief	763-5613
Decennial Planning Division	DPLD	Susan M. Miskura, Chief	763-7670
Demographic Surveys Division	DSD	Thomas C. Walsh, Chief	763-2776
Geography Division	GEO	Robert W. Marx, Chief	763-5636
Housing Division	HOUS	Acting Chief	763-2863
International Statistical Programs Center	ISPC	Robert O. Bartram, Chief	763-2832
Population Division	POP	Paula Schneider, Chief	763-7646
Statistical Methods Division	SMD	Preston Jay Waite, Chief	763-2672
Statistical Support Division	STSD	Acting Chief	763-7802

Population, Housing & Geographic Subjects

Age and Sex (U.S., States)	POP	Staff	763-5072
Age Search	DUSD	Census History Staff	763-7936
Aging Population	POP	Cynthia Taeuber	763-7883
Apportionment	POP	Robert Speaker	763-7955
Citizenship: Foreign Born/Stock, Country of Birth	POP	Nancy Sweet	763-7571
Commuting: Means of Transportation, Place of Work	POP	Phil Salopek	763-3850
Consumer Expenditure Survey	DSD	Gail Hoff	763-2063
Crime Surveys: Victimization, General Information	DSD	Larry McGinn	763-1735
Current Population Survey (See detailed listing on page 2 for Population Estimates)	DSD	Kathleen Creighton	763-2773
Decennial Census:			
Content and Tabulations—Program Design	DPLD	Patricia Berman	763-2358
Count Questions - 1980 Census	DPLD	Edgar Elam	763-2685
Content (General)	DPLD	Al Paez/P. Lichtman-Panzer	763-5987/5270
Tabulations and Publications (General)	DPLD	Cheryl Landman/Gloria Porter	763-3938/4908
Special Tabulations:			
Housing Data	HOUS	Bill Downs	763-2873
Population Data	POP	Phil Fulton	763-7962
1980 Counts for Current Boundaries	GEO	Joel Miller	763-1996
Disability	POP	Jack McNeil	763-7946
Education, School Enrollment and Social Stratification	POP	Paul Siegel	763-1154
Employment, Unemployment, Labor Force	POP	Thomas Palumbo/Gordon Lester	763-2825
Farm Population: Census, Current Surveys	POP	Diana DeAre	763-3850
Fertility/Births, Number of	POP	Martin O'Connell/Amara Bachu	763-5303

HA215
.B52
WH

ALMANAC

of the

AMERICAN

PEOPLE

TOM and NANCY BIRACREE



Facts On File®

New York • Oxford

Black **Spanish-origin**

21.0% 37.7%
 19.2% 14.3%
 33.9% 28.4%
 14.8% 11.0%
 11.1% 8.5%

53.4% 57.8%
 9.5% 6.8%
 37.1% 35.4%

51.1% 71.7%
 29.1% 50.3%
 43.9% 23.0%
 28.9% 16.6%
 5.0% 5.3%
 1.9% 1.2%

30.6% 25.3%
 14.3% 14.9%
 22.0% 23.4%
 26.1% 28.5%
 7.0% 8.1%

45.3% 41.2%
 54.7% 58.8%

in a foreign country. About half of these foreign born Americans were naturalized citizens. [5]

According to the 1980 Census, 60% of Americans identified themselves as having English, German, or Irish ethnic origins. By country, the ethnic origins of Americans were: [6]

Ancestry group	Number of Americans
English	49,584,000
German	49,224,000
Irish	40,166,000
Afro-American	20,965,000
French	12,892,000
Italian	12,184,000
Scottish	10,049,000
Polish	8,228,000
Mexican	7,693,000
Dutch	6,304,000
Swedish	4,345,000
Norwegian	3,454,000
Russian	2,781,000
Spanish	2,687,000
Czech	1,892,000
Hungarian	1,777,000
Welsh	1,685,000
Danish	1,518,000
Puerto Rican	1,444,000
Portuguese	1,024,000
Chinese	894,000
Filipino	795,000
Japanese	791,000
French-Canadian	780,000
Cuban	580,000
Canadian	456,000
Korean	377,000
Asian Indian	312,000
Lebanese	295,000
Vietnamese	215,000
Armenian	213,000

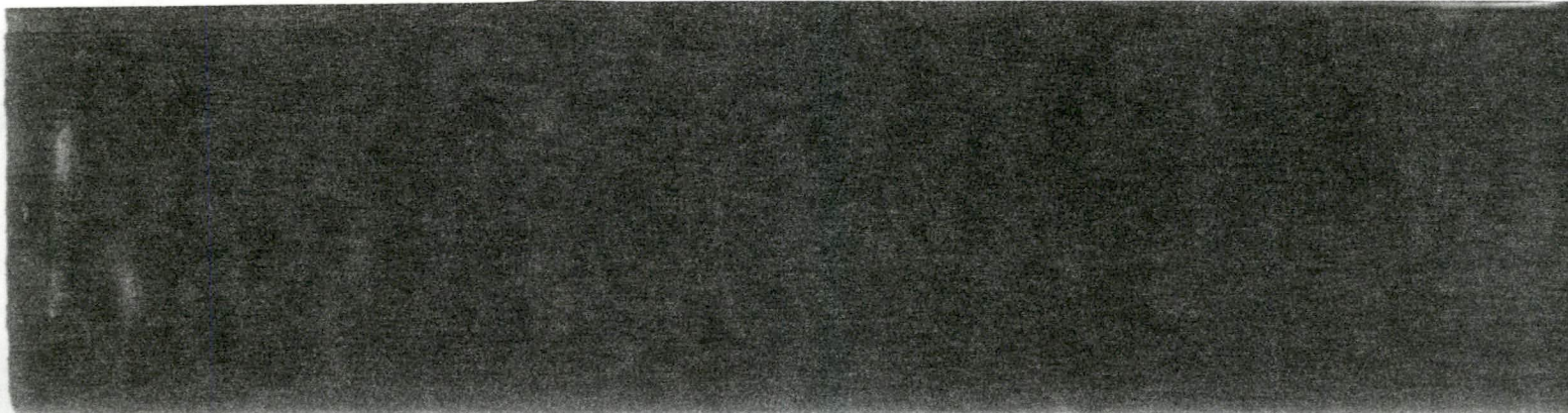
au projections were that the popula-
 ld reach 267,000,000 by the year 2000.
 er of the American people is expected
 an. [4]

MELTING POT

erican Indians, the rest of you trace
 r the globe. You may be surprised to
 migrants between 1971 and 1980 was
 period in American history, with the
 s between 1901 and 1920. In 1980,
 6% of the population, had been born

Between 1981 and 1985, nearly half the immigrants admitted legal-ly into this country came from Asia. In order, the top areas of origin of immigrants during this period were the Caribbean, Mexico, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Korea.

Immigrants accounted for about 25% of the population increase



ROH Tae Woo
(Phonetic: no)

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

President (since February 1988)

Addressed as: Mr. President

In December 1987 Roh Tae Woo won his country's first direct-vote presidential election since 1971 and succeeded Chun Doo Hwan. He has portrayed himself as the "common man's" president: a responsible democratic reformer who can guarantee economic stability and national security. According to the press, he remains committed to his June 1987 eight-point democratization proposal, which includes strengthening basic rights and press freedom and promoting university autonomy.



Roh was born on 4 December 1932. He graduated from the Korean Military Academy in 1955 (Class 11) and received additional training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina (1959), and the ROK Army Command and General Staff College (1967). In the late 1960s he commanded a Korean unit in South Vietnam. He has held such key posts as those of commanding general of the Defense Security Command, the 9th Special Warfare Brigade, the Special Warfare Command, and the Capital Security Command. He received his fourth star in July 1980 and retired a year later. He then served briefly as Second Minister of State for Political Affairs and, in 1982, as Minister of Sports and Minister of Home Affairs. He was president of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee during 1983-86 and won high marks for his handling of the preparations for the 1988 Olympic Games. Chun selected Roh as Democratic Justice Party president in August 1987.

Roh enjoys reading and playing golf and tennis. He speaks fair English. Married, he has a daughter and a son. His name is spelled No Tae-u in the McCune-Reischauer romanization system.

26 January 1989

- 12 -

WE FOUGHT OFF THE OTHER PARTY'S ATTEMPT TO BUILD A NEW
CHILD CARE BUREAUCRACY MANAGED AND MANDATED BY
WASHINGTON -- A SYSTEM OF RED TAPE AND REGULATIONS SO
STIFLING IT WOULD TAKE OUR KIDS OUT OF GRANDMA'S ARMS
-- AND PUT THEM INTO ANTISEPTIC GOVERNMENT DAY CARE
INSTITUTIONS. // OUR CHILD CARE INITIATIVE PUTS
CHOICE RIGHT WHERE IT BELONGS: IN THE HANDS OF
PARENTS. ///

THAT'S THE REPUBLICAN WAY -- THE RIGHT WAY. //

6402

~~7:50~~

Sen Baker 8:55
Cong. Michel
Sen. Dole
Cong. Vander Jagt
VP
Sen. Baker intro Gramm
Sen. Gramm intro POTUS
POTUS 9:21
~~after dinner~~

Lee Greenwood

Conv. Center

President's Dinner

Salute to

Conc

JUNE 10, 1991

SENIOR REPUBLICANS -- HOUSE:

BOB MICHEL -- SINCE 1957 *Jan*

?? ~~Broomfield - 57~~

~~Conte - 59~~

Horton - 63

McDade - 63

Quillen - 63

Dickinson - 65

Vander Jagt - 66

Hammerschmidt - 67

Miller - 67

Myers - 67

Wylie - 67

Coughlin - 69

Fish - 69

Crave - 69

Call
Legislative
Affairs?

at 4:08 p.m. in White House. On a pitcher for the team, pitched a no-hitter for the Athletics.

N. Peltier To Be Ambassador to Guyana

President today announced his intention to nominate Noel Peltier, of Texas, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Co-operative Republic of Guyana. He would succeed Theresa Anne Tull.

Since 1989 Mr. Jones has served as vice president for State Department affairs for the American Foreign Service Association in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Chief of Mission for the U.S. Embassy in Santiago, Chile, 1985-1989; Deputy Chief of Mission for the U.S. Embassy in San José, Costa Rica, 1982-1985; Director of the Office of Regional Political Programs, 1980-1982; Deputy Director of the Office of Regional Political Programs in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs at the Department of State, 1978-1980; National War College, 1977-1978; Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala, Guatemala, 1974-1977; and political adviser at the U.S. Mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, Austria, 1971-1974. In addition, he was assigned to the Department of State, 1967-1971, and served in the U.S. Embassy in Caracas, Venezuela, 1963-1966; the U.S. Embassy in Accra, Ghana, 1961-1963; and the U.S. Embassy in Quito, Ecuador, 1958-1960. Mr. Jones joined the Foreign Service in 1956.

Mr. Jones graduated from Wabash College (A.B., 1955), the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (A.M., 1956), and Stanford University (M.A., 1967). He was born June 27, 1935, in San Angelo, TX. Mr. Jones is married and resides in Fairfax, VA.

Nomination of George Fleming Jones To Be United States Ambassador to Guyana

June 12, 1990

Mr. Jones is married and resides in Fairfax, VA.

Nomination of Richard V. Bertain To Be an Associate Director of ACTION

June 12, 1990

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard V. Bertain to be Associate Director for the ACTION Agency

for the Office of Domestic and Anti-Poverty Operations.

Since 1978 Dr. Bertain has served as superintendent and assistant superintendent for business services for the El Segundo Unified School District in California. Prior to this, he served as assistant superintendent for business services for the Palm Springs Unified School District in California, 1978; management consultant and president of the American Educational Services in Los Angeles, CA, 1971-1978; deputy superintendent of schools; acting planning director, and special consultant to the superintendent for the Glendale Unified School District in California, 1969-1971; deputy of secondary schools and high school principal for the Culver City Unified School District in California, 1967-1969; and assistant to the superintendent of the Beverly Hills Unified School District in California, 1963-1967. In addition, he has served on the advisory council of the Boy Scouts of America and is a sustaining member of Young Men's Christian Association.

Dr. Bertain graduated from St. Mary's College (A.B., 1951), California State University (M.A., 1960), and Harvard University Graduate School of Education (Ed.D., 1964). He was born July 4, 1930, in Scotia, CA. Dr. Bertain served in the U.S. Navy, 1955-1957. He is married, has six children, and resides in West Hills, CA.

Remarks at the President's Dinner Reception

June 12, 1990

Welcome, everybody, for many a return engagement. And Barbara and I are delighted to have you here. Once again, we're in your debt. First, let me single out our chairman of tonight's dinner, under the theory that you get a busy person to get in and get the job done. The committee, the blind committee—because nobody wanted to take the blame nor the credit—said, "We'll go get Howard Baker; we'll try." And sure enough he accepted, and sure enough I think tonight we have the most successful dinner ever.

ty School of Law (J.D., 1975). He was born March 16, 1950, in Washington, DC. He served in the U.S. Army, 1975-1979. He is

married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Remarks at the Annual Republican Congressional Fundraising Dinner

June 14, 1989

What a spectacular evening. Thank you, Don, and thank all of you. Thank you so very, very much. Barbara and I are delighted to be here. Thank you. Senator Nickles, thank you for that introduction and the great job that you're doing as head of the Senate campaign committee. That is important work, and Don is doing a superb job.

Way down there, Marilyn Quayle—Marilyn, it's a delight to be with you on this evening. And I want to welcome back your husband, Dan, from Central America. And thank you, Mr. Vice President, once again for taking our message of hope and democracy to our important friends and neighbors. Dan Quayle is doing an outstanding job for the United States of America, and I am proud he is at my side in the White House.

And the warrior of all times, David Murdock—thank you for your dedication, not just for this evening, but especially for this evening—making this event possible. What a job you've done—and your cochairmen and their cochairmen—and there's never been a political event like this in the history of the country, and I'm grateful to you from the bottom of my heart. Thank you, sir. And as to our able chairman of the House campaign committee, Guy Vander Jagt, great to see you, and thank you for your work. I want to thank Mary Hart and Willard Scott. Willard, may your future be free of cumulus clouds. [Laughter] And may I thank the members of my Cabinet. I am so lucky, as President of this country, to have the support of an outstanding Cabinet—men and women of excellence—total dedication to our country. And believe me, I count my blessings every day for that.

It was at the last President's Dinner that Ronald Reagan, then the 40th President of

the United States, stood before us and formally challenged all of us to hold on to the Presidency, no matter how tough the odds. And since then, President Reagan has returned to his beloved California, and you and I have fought shoulder-to-shoulder, battling our way to a 40-State win on election day. And I'm grateful to every one of you for that support.

But none of us here, not one of us, fought the battle we fought—we didn't put ourselves and our families through the turmoil of a campaign simply to win an election. And we fought because we believed in certain ideas and certain ideals. We fought because we believe that together we can build a better America. The American people defined our mission, and in the 5 months since the Inaugural—without fanfare or partisan furor—we have worked together to quietly follow our assigned mission, to achieve what was considered to be outlandishly impossible.

The American people want action on the budget deficit, and we reached an agreement with the Congress to reduce the deficit by a whopping \$65 billion. And we aim to achieve this without raising the taxes on the working men and women of this country.

The American people want action on a festering problem—the hemorrhaging of the savings and loan system. And our reform plan will restore stability, eliminate unsafe and extravagant practices, and punish those who abuse the trust of the depositors. The American people will have to pay billions of dollars to clean up this mess. And we must make sure that it never happens again. And the Senate, under the able leadership of Bob Dole and Jake Garn and others, approved our plan 91 to 8. And

and resides in

ising

ore us and for-
hold on to the
ough the odds.
Reagan has re-
ornia, and you
o-shoulder, bat-
vin on election
ery one of you

re of us, fought
didn't put our-
gh the turmoil
in an election.
believed in cer-

We fought be-
er we can build
ican people de-
5 months since
re or partisan
ther to quietly
o achieve what
dishly impossi-

t action on the
hed an agreee-
duce the defi-
n. And we aim
g the taxes on
n of this coun-

nt action on a
norrhaging of
em. And our
ility, eliminate
ractices, and
e trust of the
ople will have
clean up this
e that it never
ate, under the
and Jake Garn
n 91 to 8. And

ethics

enviro

crime

now I call on the House of Representatives to follow suit.

The American people want action on ethics. And clearly, it is time for an even-handed ethics approach across all branches of government. This is the goal of our ethics proposal that I sent to the Congress in April. We must all—all—be equal before the law.

And as President, I will strive for a constructive working relationship with the new Speaker, Speaker Foley; the leader in the Senate, Senator Mitchell; and the rest of the Democratic leadership. But while we are in competition with each other, we will keep that competition on the issues and fighting for what we believe in. For we Republicans are bound together in a common purpose: to wage a vigorous debate on the important issues that unite us. We are confident that in taking our message of peace and prosperity to the American people in an open, honest, and direct manner we will become the majority party in America.

The American people—Republican, Democrat, young and old—want action on the environment. And yesterday, surrounded by the natural jewels of the Grand Tetons, enjoying that crisp, pristine mountain air, I called on Congress to join me in a quest for cleaner air—an end to acid rain, ozone depletion, and other harmful emissions. You shouldn't have to become a mountain man just to breathe good, clean air.

And, oh, how the American people want action on crime. This administration will not rest until we've lifted the shadow of fear from the homes and the shops and the streets and the neighborhoods of America. And that's why I called last month for tough new laws, more law enforcers and prosecutors to back them up. This administration is going to lead the charge to take back the streets—take them back from the criminals who threaten our neighborhoods and our families—not just in the cities but all across this country. We are going to win the battle against the criminal.

And the American people want action on foreign policy, a sensible, yet bold plan to deal with the changes sweeping through the Communist world. And our bipartisan agreement with Congress on Central America allows the United States to speak with

one clear message, one voice. Let freedom ring in Managua. Let freedom ring throughout the Communist world, from Beijing to Budapest to Warsaw. In Brussels, at our historic NATO meeting, I said that we face an historic opportunity to move beyond containment of the Soviet Union. I said that the world has waited long enough, that Europe can be whole and free, that we can move beyond armed camps divided by suspicion and fear. And we asked the Soviets—challenged them—to join us in a peace of trust over a peace of tension. And we offered our vision for a future of peace and freedom, the spirit of Brussels.

But this, the first 5 months of this administration, is just a start. We must work together to protect what is already the longest peacetime expansion in our history, to keep America competitive, at work, on the job. We must fight drug abuse on every front to redeem thousands of children—it's the children that hurt the most—to return promise to their lives.

And we must revitalize our schools so that a solid education is once again the birthright of every American kid. And to make this kind of progress will require more than a government program or another grant initiative. Republicans believe that it will take the active involvement of parents and students and teachers and business and local government and churches, yes, and our schools. And this is what we mean by a Thousand Points of Light. As powerful and resourceful as government is, government alone cannot come close to overcoming these problems.

And next week, I'll announce a major initiative to challenge our young people to serve their communities. From now on, the definition of the good life in America must include service to others. But as you know, achieving our highest goals depends to a large extent—you heard it here tonight—on winning elections in Congress. We must take our case to the American people, precinct by precinct, block by block. And I believe it is no coincidence that our party slipped to minority status in the House as we became a minority in the State legislatures.

Today Democrats now have a redistrict-

ing advantage in States that compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. And that is why we Republicans must make solid gains at the State level. Critical gubernatorial and legislative races in the eight largest States alone will determine whether Republicans will be treated fairly in the drafting of 209 congressional districts. From Springfield to Sacramento, from Austin to Albany, we must win the fight for fair competition. A majority or even a large minority of Republicans in State legislatures can join with Republican Governors to sustain the veto of outrageous gerrymandering schemes, strengthening our numbers in the U.S. House. Bob Michel, our able leader in the House, is outgunned, outmanned. So, let's help him by picking up more seats in the House of Representatives.

Strong State parties can help us win back the U.S. Senate, one of our most critical goals. And I salute our leader, Bob Dole. What a job he is doing as Republican leader in the Senate, but he needs more troops. He needs some help over there. So, let's win back the Senate. Let us again make it a Republican Senate, and that will be good for the United States of America.

In the next election, we have a good shot at making big gains. And of course, the party that controls the White House is often expected to do poorly in midterm elections, but there are no ironclad rules in politics. After all, if there were, I would never have become the only living member of the Martin Van Buren Society.

With your support and leadership, the leadership of so many great Republicans—I don't want to embarrass him, but in his work tonight and the support he's given me and so many other elected officials in this room, men like Carl Lindner of Ohio, who has done a superb job here—we can again defy the precedents; we can again make history. In order to win, we must work together as a team, not as an association of acronyms—the RNC or the NRCC or the RGA or the NRSC. These are top-notch, well-managed organizations staffed by the best people in politics today, but our Republican Party must be greater than the sum of its parts. We must be inspired by a common purpose. We must bring opportunity to new constituencies and campaign in

their neighborhoods, in the inner cities, the barrios once considered to be the exclusive domain of the opposition. And I salute our Secretary of Housing and Urban Development for taking this message right into the inner city—Jack Kemp.

And our party chairman, Lee Atwater, who's doing a great job. And he's been a strong voice and a correct voice, arguing that we Republicans need to reach to minorities and the disadvantaged. And these groups can benefit the most from our philosophy, which simply maximizes opportunity and rewards initiative. And that is a message I believe in, and it's a message that we as a party must be prepared to act upon.

To win, we must also recruit the very best men and women to represent our party as candidates and as officeholders.

And so, these are my strategies for victory, but strategies are useless without a great purpose. And we have such a purpose: to build a better America for today and for the new century ahead. And we've shed a lot of blood, sweat, tears to rebuild the Republican Party since the early seventies. The best way to keep our party growing is to win more elections in 1990, from the courthouse to the statehouse to Capitol Hill. And with your help, let's prove to the Democrats that the successes of the 1980's are not a fluke, that they in fact spell the beginning of the end of Democratic dominance in the United States Congress.

Thank you all, each and every one of you, for your unbelievable contribution to these goals—thank you. Barbara and I send you our best wishes. Good night, and God bless each and every one of you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 9:45 p.m. in Hall A at the Washington Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to weatherman Willard Scott, who led the Pledge of Allegiance, and television host Mary Hart, who sang the national anthem. He also referred to the Republican National Committee (RNC), the National Republican Congressional Caucus (NRCC), the Republican Governors Association (RGA), and the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC).

And just to guarantee that—as I walked up here, I'm sure you wondered what the deep, dark secret was that Howard told me—that thanks to the generosity of Armand Hammer, to the tune of \$500,000, that we're now over the top and going strong. So, Armand, my great vote of thanks to you.

And that is a very nice supplement to what so many others have done, either through wearing out the telephone—guys like Jack McDonald, my old colleague in the House, who I understand is modestly standing back here but should be hanging from the rafters because of his performance, probably the leading ticket seller or participant in that manner, according to Howard. And then, of course, Carl Lindner and Dwayne Andreas—just stars in this, and I am very grateful to them. But in the same vein, I'm grateful to every single person here, you who did the heavy lifting out there and most of the work. So, thank you all very much because this comes at an important time in what we feel could be an historic year.

The dinner I hope will be fun if we can see each other across a rather intimate ballroom over there—[laughter]. But nevertheless, it's marvelous. Let me just say a word about it, and I really should defer to Don Nickles, who's our superb chairman on the Senate side, and Guy, on the House side, and, of course, the National Committee weighing in in a great way on all this, too. And I want to thank them. But they are better to comment on the day-to-day political activity.

But you know the litany: The party in power loses seats in an off year, historically. Well, we want to change that. And I had a report from both Senator Nickles and Congressman [Guy] Vander Jagt when I met in the Cabinet Room with the leadership of the party this morning on the Hill—our Hill leadership—Dole, Michel, et cetera. Without kind of putting too optimistic a spin on it, the Senate report was very strong, and the House report—where everyone knows we have a great difficulty because of the locking in of incumbency—even there, Guy was able to give us a pretty upbeat report.

And I can tell you I'm going to try to do my share. The Vice President has been magnificent—Dan Quayle—in what he's

been able to do in helping candidates raise money. The recruitment, I think I can say without putting words in the mouths of these two, has gone well. The party under Lee Atwater and Mary Matalin is pitching in. Jeannie Austin doing a good job on that as well. So, the team is together, and the importance of the year is enormous.

I don't want to overlook the Governors' races because they are key when you look at this concept of redistricting that we're going to have to grope with in the years ahead. And we have some very key Governors' races out there. And the Republican Governors Association has been active and strong in doing their part.

So, we're getting the assistance, and we're getting the financial support, thanks to the approach that many of you have taken to this. But again, the election is important. I know Howard Baker is probably better able to speak to this than anybody else here. But the difference between controlling one body in the Congress and not is night and day in terms of how a President can operate. And Howard saw it when he so effectively led the Senate majority when he was Senate leader. And you could move the agenda. The President would campaign on certain things, and then he'd be able to at least be sure they were considered.

The way it is now in the Senate, as Don knows, we're playing—our leader is doing a superb job. Bob Dole is just outstanding, and he and I are working very closely together for the same objectives. But the problem is, with the numbers the way they are, it is very difficult to get our agenda placed ahead of their agenda. And the result is we're often playing defense and trying to amend a proposal that's far different philosophically than what we would have proposed in the first place.

So, we're keeping working on it, and I'm very pleased that we've been able to get some things done. Sometimes you measure progress by keeping bad things from happening. And I don't know what's going to happen at 6:15 p.m. on our veto override. We've got a technical bill up there that has a technicality that even some of our own Republicans are having difficulty with. But we've been very lucky that the vetoes have been sustained and not overridden. We may

ing candidates raise
I think I can say
in the mouths of
. The party under
Matalin is pitching
a good job on that
together, and the
enormous.

ok the Governors'
ey when you look
ricting that we're
with in the years
e very key Gover-
id the Republican
s been active and

assistance, and
al support, thanks
any of you have
the election is im-
Baker is probably
his than anybody
nce between con-
ongress and not is
f how a President
d saw it when he
ate majority when
d you could move
t would campaign
n he'd be able to
considered.

ne Senate, as Don
r leader is doing a
just outstanding,
g very closely to-
jectives. But the
bers the way they
o get our agenda
agenda. And the
ying defense and
al that's far differ-
what we would
place.

ing on it, and I'm
been able to get
mes you measure
things from hap-
v what's going to
ur veto override.
up there that has
some of our own
ifficulty with. But
it the vetoes have
eridden. We may

take one on the chin here today or in the next few days on another issue.

But generally, the Republican side has stayed together enough to be able to negate very unhappy legislation. Now I'd like to take that a step forward this fall and make it a more optimistic process, where we can take the offense and get done the things that join us all together as Republicans, and those who come from a more conservative side of the ledger when it comes to the free economy, free market, and all of those kinds of points.

I might—just looking around the room, I know of the interest of so many here in the international aspects. I just would say a word on the summit meeting that we had with Gorbachev. I was very pleased with it—not that we solved all the problems, the tough problems of the Baltic States. We're different. I told him very candidly and very frankly and, indeed, at an open press conference, sitting side to side. We could talk about our differences without rancor and without people getting all upset with each other the way it used to be.

We've got differences on the Baltic States, and I'm very pleased that now he's back there talking to the three leaders of the three Baltic States. And I'm hopeful that that can be resolved so we can get a dialog going and get the economic blockade lifted and then move forward in these areas that are very important not just to Gorbachev and the Soviet Union but in my view to the United States. And I'm talking about a freer, more open trading system where we can interact with each other more on the economic side, because I firmly believe that is in the interest of our country. And I know it is in the interest of markets and of an economy that has got to change and will change. But the more we interact with them, in my view, the more dramatic the change and the sooner the change can come.

And so, the meeting with Gorbachev was a good one. We made some progress on a lot of subjects. One near and dear to my heart—they accepted our proposals that lead to a ban on chemical weapons, which I think is a very civilized thing to be talking about in the year 1990. And I just wanted you to know that the tone of these meetings were quite different than anything that has

transpired before, although the last Reagan-Gorbachev summit did have a very good climate, too.

The man is facing enormous problems at home. It is my view that we need to keep our eyes open, that we need to keep our country strong, that we don't want to be naive in the treatment with any country. But I just thought that you ought to know that the mood of it was good, and I think it will lead to an understanding on questions such as the Baltic States or a unified Germany being a full, participating member in NATO or whatever the question was. It's a wonderful challenge that so many of you—that all of you, really—have given me and, I would say, to the star of Wellesley, too, to represent this country at this very special time in our history. We like—I won't speak too confidently for Barbara—but we like every single minute of it. [Laughter]

It's a challenge, it's a great challenge, and I will never forget how we got here. And we got here just exactly through the generosity and commitment of people in this room, just as other future Senators are going to get to the Senate as a result of that same generosity, just as a wide new group of new courageous young Congressmen are going to get to the Congress for the same very reason.

So, once again, our heartfelt thanks to you for what you're doing. Thank you. And I look forward to seeing you all, I think, at a large dinner later on. Thank you for making it such a success.

Note: The President spoke at 4:37 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Jack McDonald, Carl Lindner, and Dwayne Andreas, members of the President's Dinner leadership committee, and Lee Atwater, Mary Matalin, and Jeannie Austin, chairman, chief of staff, and cochairman of the Republican National Committee, respectively. Mrs. Bush spoke at this year's Wellesley College commencement ceremony. The dinner was held later in the evening at the Washington Convention Center. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

April 1991

Official Name: Republic of Korea

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 98,500 sq. km. (38,000 sq. mi.); about the size of Indiana. **Cities:** Capital—Seoul (10 million). **Other major cities**—Pusan (3.5 million), Taegu (2 million), Incheon (1.4 million). **Terrain:** Partially forested mountain ranges separated by deep, narrow valleys; cultivated plains along the coasts, particularly in the west and south. **Climate:** Temperate.

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Korean(s). **Population** (1988): 43 million. **Annual growth rate:** 1%. **Ethnic groups:** Korean; small Chinese minority. **Religions:** Buddhism, Christianity, Shamanism, Confucianism. **Language:** Korean. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—6. *Number of students*—11,182,000. *Attendance*

(1988)—of those eligible, 99% attended middle school, 94% attended high school. **Literacy**—98%. **Health** (1987): 1 doctor/1,000 persons. **Infant mortality rate** (1988)—6/1,000. **Life expectancy** (1988)—men 67 yrs., women 73 yrs. **Work force** (17 million, 1988): **Agriculture**—21%. **Industry**—28%. **Services**—50%.

Government

Type: Republic with powers shared between the president and the legislature. **Independence:** August 15, 1948. **Constitution:** July 17, 1948; last revised 1987.

Branches: *Executive*—president (chief of state). *Legislative*—unicameral National Assembly. *Judicial*—Supreme Court and appellate courts, Constitutional Court.

Subdivisions: 9 provinces, 6 administratively separate cities (Seoul, Pusan, Incheon, Taegu, Kwangju, Taejon).

Political parties: *Government party*—Democratic Liberal Party (DLP).

Opposition parties—New Democratic Union (NDU) and Democratic Party (DP).

Suffrage: Universal at 20.

Central government budget (1991): **Expenditures**—\$38 billion.

Defense: \$11 billion, approx. 4% of GNP in real terms and 29% of government budget. About 650,000 troops.

Flag: Centered on a white field is the ancient Chinese symbol of yin and yang; at each corner of the white field is a different trigram of black bars.

Economy

GNP (1990 est.): \$224 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1965-86): 7%; (1986-88): 12%; (1990 est.): 9%. **Per capita GNP:** \$5,500.

Consumer price index (1990 avg. increase): 9%.

Natural resources: Limited coal,

tungsten, iron ore, limestone, kaolinite, and graphite.

Agriculture, including forestry and fisheries (9% of 1990 GNP): **Products**—rice, barley, vegetables. **Arable land**—22% of land area.

Mining and manufacturing (35% of 1990 GNP): Textiles, footwear, electronics, shipbuilding, motor vehicles, petrochemicals, industrial machinery.

Trade (1990): **Exports**—\$65 billion: manufactures, textiles, ships, electronics, footwear, steel. **Major markets**—US, Japan, European Community, Middle East.

Imports—\$70 billion: crude oil, food, machinery and transportation equipment, chemicals and chemical products, base metals and articles. **Major suppliers**—Japan, US, Middle East.

Official exchange rate (December 1990): 715 won=US\$1.

Fiscal year: Calendar year.

Membership in International Organizations

Official observer status at UN; active in many UN specialized agencies (FAO, GATT, IAEA, IBRD, ICAO, IDA, IFAD, IFC, IMF, IMO, ITU, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNIDO, UPU, WHO, WIPO, WMO, WTO) and other international organizations (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Geneva Conventions of 1949 for the Protection of War Victims, Asian Development Bank, INTELSAT, the Administrative Council of the International Telecommunications Council, International Whaling Commission, Interparliamentary Union, INTERPOL); official observer status in African Development Bank (member of Africa Development Fund), International Labor Organization, and Organization of American States.

million), Japan (700,000), the United States (1.2 million), and the Soviet Union (500,000).

Language

Korean is a Uralic language, remotely related to Japanese, Hungarian, Finnish, and Mongolian. Although dialects exist, the Korean spoken throughout the peninsula is mutually comprehensible. Chinese characters were used to write Korean before the Korean Hangul alphabet was invented in the 15th century. These characters are still in limited use in South Korea, but the North uses Hangul exclusively. Many older people retain some knowledge of Japanese from the colonial period (1910-45), and most educated Koreans can read English, which is taught in all secondary schools.

Religion

Korea's traditional religions are Shamanism and Buddhism. Although Buddhism has lost some influence since the 15th century, it still commands the greatest number of adherents of any faith—about 20% of the population. Shamanism (traditional spirit worship) is still practiced in some rural areas. Although Confucianism remains the dominant cultural influence, its religious adherents are few and tend to be elderly.

Christian missionaries arrived in Korea in the 19th century and founded schools, hospitals, and other modern institutions throughout the country. Today, nearly 7 million Koreans, or 16% of the population, are Christians (about 78% Protestant)—the largest figure for any East Asian country except the Philippines. There are estimated to be 4 million adherents of *Chondogyo*, a native religion founded in the mid-19th century that fuses elements of Confucianism and Christianity.

HISTORY

According to Korean legend, the god-king Tangun founded the Korean nation in BC 2333, after which his descendants reigned over a peaceful kingdom for more than a millennium. By the first century AD, the Korean Peninsula, known as Chosun ("morning calm"), was divided into the kingdoms of Silla, Koguryo, and Paekche. The Silla kingdom unified the peninsula in

PEOPLE

Korea was first populated by a Tungusic branch of the Ural-Altaic family, which migrated to the peninsula from the northwestern regions of Asia. Some also settled parts of northeast China (Manchuria); Koreans and Manchurians still show physical similarities—in their height, for example. Koreans are racially and linguistically homogeneous, with no sizeable indigenous minorities, except Chinese (50,000).

South Korea's major population centers are in the northwest area of Seoul-Inchon and in the fertile southern plain. The mountainous central and eastern areas are sparsely inhabited. Between 1925 and 1940, the Japanese colonial administration in Korea concentrated its industrial development

efforts in the comparatively underpopulated and resource-rich north, resulting in a considerable migration of people to the north from the southern agrarian provinces. This trend was reversed after World War II, when more than 2 million Koreans moved from the north to the south following the division of the peninsula into US and Soviet military zones of administration. This southward migration continued after the Republic of Korea was established in 1948 and during the Korean war (1950-53). About 10% of the people in the Republic of Korea are of northern origin. With 43 million people, South Korea has one of the world's highest population densities—much higher, for example, than India or Japan—while the territorially larger North has about only 20 million people. Ethnic Koreans now residing in other countries live mostly in China (2.6

AD 668. The Koryo dynasty (from which is derived the Western name "Korea") succeeded the Silla kingdom in 935. The Yi dynasty, which supplanted Koryo in 1392, lasted until the Japanese annexed Korea in 1910.

Throughout most of its history, Korea has been invaded, influenced, and fought over by its larger neighbors. Korea was under Mongolian occupation from 1231 until the early 14th century and was devastated by a large number of Chinese rebel armies in 1359 and 1361; the Japanese warlord Hideyoshi launched major invasions in 1592 and 1597. In the mid-19th century under the Yi kings, Korea adopted a closed-door policy to ward off Western encroachment, earning Korea the name of "Hermit Kingdom." Although the Yi Dynasty paid nominal fealty to the Chinese throne, Korea was, in fact, independent until the late 19th century. At that time, Japanese, Chinese, and Russian competition in Northeast Asia led to armed conflict. Japan defeated its two competitors and established dominance in Korea, formally annexing it in 1910. The Japanese colonial era, which lasted until the end of World War II, was characterized by tight control from Tokyo and ruthless efforts to supplant Korean language and culture. Korean resistance to such colonialism, notably in the 1919 Independence Movement, failed.

At the April 1945 Yalta Conference, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to establish a joint trusteeship for Korea. The trusteeship was intended as a temporary administrative measure pending democratic elections of a Korean government. The US proposed—and the Soviet Union agreed—that Japanese forces surrender to US forces south of the 38th parallel and to Soviet forces north of that line.

In the north, the Soviets initially transferred the administrative powers of the former Japanese colonial government to "people's committees," and later to a 5-province administrative bureau under the nationalist, Cho Man-Sik. Cho was later purged by the Soviets for opposing the decision of allied foreign ministers at the Moscow Conference in December 1945 for a 5-year trusteeship, during which a Korean provisional government would prepare for full independence.

In the south, the US military government in Korea (1945-48), headed by Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge, was marked by uncertainty and an unclear US policy toward Korea. The Moscow conference's decision for a trusteeship also generated a

firestorm of protest in South Korea. Trusteeship was unacceptable to nationalist leader Syngman Rhee and other rightist Korean leaders associated with the provisional government established in Shanghai in 1919 by Korean nationalists living abroad. It was also opposed by groups within southern Korea who had established local self-governing bodies after the Japanese surrender.

The US military government initially relied on the advice of conservative elements but later tried to put together a moderate coalition to provide it with a broader base of political support. In December 1946, the military government established an interim legislative assembly to draft legislation and appointed moderates to half the seats. (The others were indirectly elected seats that went to rightists.) But the July 1947 assassination of a prominent leftist in the coalition and the decision of a coalition moderate to enter into unification talks with the north led to the demise of the coalition effort.

The joint Soviet-American commission provided for by the Moscow conference met intermittently in Seoul but became deadlocked over the issue of free consultations with representatives of all-Korean political groups for establishment of a national government. The US submitted the Korean question to the UN General Assembly for resolution in September 1947.

Korean Conflict

The Soviet Union and the Korean authorities in the north ignored the UN General Assembly resolution of November 1947, which called for UN-supervised elections throughout Korea. Elections, nonetheless, were carried out under UN observation in the south, and on August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established. Syngman Rhee, became the republic's first president. On September 9, 1948, the Soviet Union established the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the north under Kim Il Sung, a former anti-Japanese guerrilla who served with the Soviet Army in the Far East during World War II.

Guerrilla fighting between southern and northern forces intensified during 1948-50. During this period, although the US provided modest military aid to the south, it planned and executed a withdrawal of its occupation forces which was completed by June 1949.

A year later, on June 25, 1950, North Korean forces invaded South Korea. The UN, in accord with its charter, engaged in its first collective action by establishing the UN Command (UNC), under which 16 member nations sent troops and assistance to South Korea. At the request of the UN Security Council, the United States, which contributed the largest contingent, led this international effort.

After initially falling back to the Pusan perimeter, UN forces conducted a successful surprise landing at Inchon and rapidly advanced up the peninsula. As the main UN force approached the Yalu River, large numbers of Chinese "people's volunteers" intervened, forcing UN troops to withdraw south of Seoul. The battle line seesawed back and forth until the late spring of 1951, when a successful offensive by UN forces was halted to enhance ceasefire negotiations prospects. The battle line thereafter stabilized north of Seoul near the 38th parallel.

Armistice negotiations began in July 1951, but hostilities continued until July 27, 1953. On that date at Panmunjom, the military commanders of the North Korean Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers, and the UNC signed an armistice agreement. Neither the United States nor South Korea is a signatory of the armistice per se, though both adhere to it through the UNC. No comprehensive peace agreement has replaced the 1953 armistice pact, which remains in force. Thus, a condition of belligerency still exists on the divided peninsula. A Military Armistice Commission (MAC), composed of 10 members, five appointed by each side, supervises implementation of the armistice.

In April 1954, an international conference on Korea met in Geneva but ended without agreement or progress after 7 weeks of futile debate.

Postwar Developments

Syngman Rhee served as president of the Republic of Korea until April 1960, when university students forced him to step down. A caretaker government was established, the constitution was amended, and national elections were held in June. The opposition Democratic Party easily defeated Rhee's Liberals, and the new National Assembly named Chang Myon prime minister in August. Chang's democratic but ineffectual government—

the Second Republic—lasted until May 1961, when it was overthrown in an army coup led by Maj. Gen. Park Chung Hee. After 2 years of military government under Park, civilian rule was restored with the advent of the Third Republic in 1963. Park, who had retired from the army, was elected president (and was reelected in 1967, 1971, and 1978).

In 1972, a popular referendum approved the *Yushin* (revitalizing) constitution, greatly strengthening presidential and executive branch powers. Key provisions included indirect election of the president, presidential appointment of one-third of the national assembly, and presidential authority to issue decrees restricting civil liberties in times of national emergency. Park subsequently issued several such decrees; the best-known of these, EM-9, banned discussion of false rumors, criticism of the constitution or advocacy of its reform, and political demonstrations by students.

The Park era, marked by rapid industrial modernization and extraordinary economic growth, ended with his assassination in October 1979. Prime Minister Choi Kyu Ha assumed office briefly (the Fourth Republic), promising a new constitution and presidential elections. In December 1979, Maj. Gen. Chun Doo Hwan and close military colleagues removed the army chief of staff and soon effectively controlled the government.

University student-led demonstrations spread in the spring of 1980. The government declared martial law in mid-May, banned all demonstrations, and arrested many political leaders and dissidents. Special forces units in the city of Kwangju reacted harshly to any who ignored the ban, setting off a confrontation which left 200 civilians dead. This incident left a wound that has proven slow to heal. By September 1980, President Choi had been forced to resign, and General Chun, by then retired from the army, was named president.

In October 1980, a referendum approved a new constitution, beginning the Fifth Republic. This document retained key features of earlier ones, including a strong executive and indirect election of the president, but limited the chief executive to one 7-year term. Elections were held in early 1981 for a National Assembly and an electoral college; the latter elected President Chun to a 7-year term (1981-1988).

Although martial law ended in January 1981, the government retained

broad legal powers to control dissent. An active and articulate minority of students, intellectuals, clergy, and others remained critical of the Chun government and demonstrated against it. Demonstrations at Inchon in May 1986 and at Konkuk University in fall 1986 were marred by violence.

In April 1986, the president responded to a signature campaign by the opposition New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP), which called for direct election of the next president by amending the constitution. The NKDP soon split into two opposition parties—Kim Dae Jung's Peace and Democracy Party (PPD) and Kim Young Sam's Reunification Democratic Party (RDP). They agreed on eight demands for reform including constitutional revision, repeal or revision of onerous laws, and release of political prisoners.

President Chun, who could not succeed himself, pledged in early 1987 that he would step down at the end of his term in February 1988. Chun suspended all discussion of constitutional revision in June 1987, and the ruling Democratic Justice Party approved Chun's hand-picked successor, Roh Tae Woo. Students, and then the general public, took to the streets to protest Chun's suspension of constitutional revision. On June 29, in a surprise move, presidential candidate Roh Tae Woo distanced himself from President Chun by announcing that he would implement democratic reforms if elected. The constitution was revised in October to include direct presidential elections and a strengthened National Assembly consisting of 299 members.

In December 1987 Roh Tae Woo won with 37% of the vote in the first direct presidential election since 1971. The two leading opposition leaders, Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam, unable to agree on a single candidate, both ran and lost. Kim Dae Jung, Kim Young Sam, and former prime minister Kim Jong Pil polled 27, 28 and 10%, respectively.

The new constitution entered into force in February 1988, when President Roh assumed office. Elections for the national assembly were held on April 26. In a stunning upset, President Roh's ruling Democratic Justice Party (DJP) won only 34% of the popular vote, thereby losing control of the assembly for the first time since 1952. The final count was 125 seats for the DJP, 70 seats for Kim Dae Jung's Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD), 59 seats for Kim Young Sam's Reunification Democratic Party (RDP),

35 seats for Kim Jong Pil's New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP), and 10 for independent candidates.

The new opposition-dominated national assembly quickly challenged the president's prerogatives. In July 1988 it turned down President Roh's choice for chief of the Supreme Court. In the fall, the assembly conducted the first government audit in 16 years and began televised hearings into practices and policies of former President Chun's Fifth Republic. By late November, Chun was forced to make a public apology to the nation, turn over his personal wealth to the nation, and go into internal exile in a Buddhist temple. In December, the government and the assembly for the first time worked together to pass the budget, which the government had previously handed down.

After months of speculation and demands from the opposition that President Roh hold the interim assessment on his administration that he had promised while campaigning, Roh decided in March 1989 to postpone the evaluation indefinitely, citing the unstable political situation. Labor, farmer, and student unrest continued despite Roh's promises of further reforms.

In April 1989, the government began cracking down against leftist elements it maintained were destabilizing the country. The nation was shocked by the deaths of seven policemen in Pusan in a confrontation with students. This was soon followed by the illegal visit of 71-year old dissident Rev. Moon Ik Kwan to North Korea. Rev. Moon embraced North Korean leader Kim Il Sung while in Pyongyang and was arrested upon his return to South Korea. In July, student activist Yim Su Kyong made an unauthorized visit to the North to attend Pyongyang's World Youth Festival and was arrested. In August opposition leader Kim Dae Jung was indicted in connection with unauthorized visits to North Korea by one of his party members, Suh Kyong Won. In October the government acknowledged that 1,315 people had been arrested in the first 9 months of 1989, including 284 for security violations.

South Korean politics have changed dramatically because of the 1988 legislative elections, the assembly's greater powers under the 1987 constitution, and the influence of public opinion. There has been significant political liberalization since 1987, including freedom of the press and greater freedoms of expression and

assembly than in the past. In 1988, the government released several hundred political prisoners and restored the civil rights of former detainees. In 1989, the government asserted its prerogatives to maintain public stability, raising concerns over human rights issues.

The nation was stunned in January 1990 when the 3 political parties led by President Roh, Kim Young Sam, and Kim Jong Pil merged to form a new majority party, the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP). This new alliance left Kim Dae Jung and his Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD) as the primary opposition, since the tiny Democratic Party (DP) controlled just eight seats in the National Assembly. In July 1990, the DLP passed several significant bills without debate, and the PPD and the DP precipitated a legislative crisis by announcing a boycott of the national assembly. The PPD returned to the assembly in November, only after getting assurances on several issues, including greater local autonomy. In March 1990 the ROK held its first local elections in 30 years. Further local elections were planned for June 1991, and the trend toward greater democratization continued to gain momentum.

Principal Government Officials

President—Roh Tae Woo
Prime Minister—Roh Jae Bong
Deputy Prime Minister; Chairman,
Economic Planning Board—
Lee Seung Yun
Minister of Foreign Affairs—Lee Sang
Ock
Minister of National Defense—Lee
Jong Ku
Ambassador to the United States—
Hyun Hong Choo
Ambassador to the UN—Roe Chang
Hee
Speaker of the National Assembly—
Park Jyun Kyu

Korea maintains an embassy in the United States at 2320 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, DC 20008 (tel. 202-939-5600).

ECONOMY

Over the past 25 years, the Republic of Korea's economic growth has been spectacular. Despite the need to maintain a large military, South Korea, one of the world's poorest countries only a generation ago, is now the United States' seventh largest trading partner and a

middle-ranking industrial power. Lacking natural resources, Korea's greatest asset is its industrious, literate people.

The division of the Korean peninsula in 1945 created two unbalanced economic units. North Korea inherited most of the peninsula's mineral and hydroelectric resources and most of the heavy industrial base built by the Japanese. South Korea was left with a large, unskilled labor pool and most of the peninsula's limited agricultural resources. Both north and south suffered massive destruction in the Korean war, but an influx of refugees added to the south's economic woes. South Korea began the postwar period with a per capita gross national product (GNP) far below that of the north. It received large amounts of US foreign assistance until the 1970s. All US direct aid was stopped in 1980.

South Korea's meager mineral resources include tungsten, anthracite coal, iron ore, limestone, kaolinite, and graphite. There is no oil, and energy is a continuing concern for the ROK's economic planners. An ambitious program to develop nuclear power is well underway; Korea now has eight nuclear plants in operation, one under construction and two planned. The nation's successful industrial growth program began in the early 1960s, when the Park government instituted sweeping economic reforms emphasizing exports and labor-intensive light industries. The government also carried out a currency reform, strengthened financial institutions, and introduced flexible economic planning.

From 1963 to 1978, real GNP rose at an annual rate of nearly 10%, with average real growth of more than 11% for the years 1973-78. While Korea's national production was rising throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the annual population growth rate declined to the current 1%, resulting in a 20-fold increase in per capita GNP. Per capita GNP, which reached \$100 for the first time in 1963, now exceeds \$4,000, or four times that of North Korea.

The political and social unrest that followed the 1979 assassination of President Park and the effect of world economic developments, including the drastic increase in world oil prices in 1979, triggered a severe recession in Korea. In the early 1980s, external debt was a serious concern, peaking at \$47 billion in 1985. The economy had already recovered

somewhat by the spring of 1983 when a strengthening US economy helped stimulate Korean economic performance. From 1986 to 1988, booming exports led once again to high growth rates averaging 12% per year. Current account surpluses reached a total of \$14 billion by the end of 1988, at which time foreign debt had decreased to \$31 billion—18% of GNP and 44% of exports.

Korea registered bilateral trade surpluses of about \$10 billion with the US in 1987 and 1988. In 1989, Korea's global trade and current account surpluses and bilateral surplus with the US declined dramatically, due to a number of factors: appreciation of the *won*, labor disputes, cumulative wage increases and strong domestic demand. The surplus remained approximately \$4 billion in 1990. It has yet to be demonstrated, however, whether a structural, lasting decline in Korea's surplus has begun. Long-term growth prospects remain bright. External factors will remain important. Korea continues to emphasize exports, while the quickly expanding domestic market provides greater economy of scale. The ability to adapt to a more open system suitable to a growing democracy and to Korea's greater role in the world economy are important to the continued success of the Korean economy.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

South Korea is committed to peaceful settlement of international differences, a commitment best illustrated by its restrained response to a number of provocations by North Korea over the past 15 years. These include the 1968 Blue House raid, the October 1983 bombing in Rangoon, Burma, which killed six of the ROK's most prominent leaders, and the November 1987 bomb explosion aboard Korean Air Lines flight 858, in which 115 lives were lost. Captured North Korean agents confessed to all of these acts.

South Korea is becoming increasingly active in international affairs. Although not a UN member, it has launched a campaign to join that organization. However, North Korea opposes separate admission to the UN on the grounds that it would perpetuate the division of the peninsula; some of its allies support this contention. South Korea presently has a UN observer mission headed by an ambassador and is active in most UN

specialized agencies. In addition, South Korea has made efforts to join or participate actively in many other international fora, ranging from the Antarctic Treaty to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

South Korea today has diplomatic relations with 148 countries and an even broader network of trading relationships. It has hosted a series of prestigious international events, including the 1988 summer Olympics. A total of 159 countries participated in the Seoul Olympics, making it the largest Olympics ever. Only six nations followed North Korea's call to boycott. Chinese, Soviet, and Eastern European participation in the Seoul Olympics underscored and accelerated President Roh's policy of "Nordpolitik"—the pursuit of wide-ranging relations with socialist nations and contacts and dialogue with North Korea.

Nordpolitik has so far met with notable success. In February 1989, Hungary became the first communist nation to establish full diplomatic relations with the ROK. The ROK now has diplomatic relations with all the countries of Eastern and Central Europe except Albania. Nordpolitik's crowning achievement came in September 1990, when the ROK and USSR opened formal diplomatic relations. In early 1991 the ROK and People's Republic of China exchanged trade offices, a clear sign of improvement in relations and a possible first step toward eventual diplomatic relations.

The South Korean government and politicians have long been concerned over the fate of the 35,000 Koreans on Sakhalin Island, now under Soviet control. Koreans were originally brought to Sakhalin by the Japanese as forced labor. A series of semi-official Korean delegations visited Moscow and Sakhalin in 1989. These contacts resulted in Soviet agreement to increase the flow of ethnic Koreans in Sakhalin allowed to visit South Korea. In addition, 20 first-generation Koreans from Sakhalin were repatriated in 1988 after more than 40 years away from their homeland.

Following the ratification in 1965 of a treaty normalizing relations between Japan and Korea, the two nations have developed an extensive relationship

centering on mutually beneficial economic activity. Although the legacy of historic antipathies has at times impeded cooperation, relations at the government level have improved steadily and significantly in the past several years.

Korea's economic growth, energy requirements, and need for basic raw materials and for markets have given economic considerations high priority in the country's foreign policy. In light of these concerns, Korean diplomacy in recent years has also concentrated on broadening its international base of support with Third World nations, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Middle Eastern states. Korea wants to participate actively in Pacific basin economic affairs. It has offered to host in 1991 the third ministerial meeting on Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation initiated by Australian Prime Minister Hawke.

Negotiating Efforts with North Korea

Throughout the postwar period, both Korean governments have repeatedly affirmed their desire for reunification of the Korean peninsula, but, until 1971, the two governments had no direct, official communication or other contact.

In August 1971, North and South Korea agreed to hold talks through their respective Red Cross societies with the aim of reuniting the many Korean families separated following the division of Korea and the Korean war. After a series of secret meetings, both sides announced on July 4, 1972, an agreement to work toward peaceful reunification and an end to the hostile atmosphere prevailing on the peninsula. Officials exchanged visits and regular communications were established through a south-north coordinating committee and the Red Cross, but the two sides made no substantive progress. These initial contacts quickly broke down and finally ended on August 13, 1973. The breakdown reflected basic differences in approach, with Pyongyang insisting on immediate steps toward reunification before discussing specific issues and Seoul maintaining that, given the long history of mutual distrust, reunification must come through a gradual, step-by-step process.

South Korea maintains that a meaningful dialogue should be based on

de facto recognition of each other's existing political, social, and economic systems. South Korea supports the recognition of both Koreas by the major powers in the region (US, USSR, PRC, and Japan), and the admission of both Koreas to the United Nations, pending peaceful reunification. North Korea currently rejects these ideas, although it applied for UN membership in 1949 (following the lead of the ROK) and supported a Soviet Union draft in 1957, resubmitted in 1958, which called for "simultaneous UN admission." The North now argues that this proposal would perpetuate the peninsula's division.

Tension between North and South Korea increased dramatically in the aftermath of the 1983 North Korean assassination attempt on President Chun in Burma. North-South sports talks the following spring became acrimonious after the Rangoon bombing. South Korea's suspicions of the north's motives were not diminished by Pyongyang's proposal for "tripartite" talks on the future of the Korean peninsula. This initiative, made public in January 1984, called for talks with the United States in which "South Korean authorities" would be permitted to participate. The tripartite talks would replace the armistice agreement with a peace treaty, which would provide for withdrawal of all US troops and set the stage for a declaration of non-aggression between north and south.

North Korea's offer to provide relief goods to victims of severe flooding in South Korea in September 1984—and South Korean acceptance—led to revived dialogue on several fronts: Red Cross talks to address the plight of separated families, economic and trade talks, and parliamentary talks. However, in January 1986, the north unilaterally suspended all talks, arguing that annual ROK/US military exercises were inconsistent with dialogue. The north also announced a unilateral moratorium on large-scale military exercises and called upon the US and ROK to do the same. The US and the ROK responded by reiterating their longstanding offer to allow DPRK officials to observe exercises and by proposing pre-notification of military exercises. These proposals were rejected by the north, and in 1987 the north resumed large-scale exercises.

In a major new initiative on July 7, 1988, South Korean President Roh Tae Woo called for new efforts to promote exchanges, family reunification, inter-Korean trade and contact in international fora. President Roh called on Korea's friends and allies to pursue contacts with the north and said that the south intended to seek better relations with the USSR and China.

Roh's initiative provided renewed momentum to a dialogue suspended since late 1985. Over the following months, the two sides met several times at Panmunjom to try to arrange a joint meeting of the two Korean parliaments. In early 1989, both sides also met in preliminary meetings to discuss arrangements for prime ministerial-level talks. In other fora, the two national Olympic committees met to discuss forming a joint team for the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing.

In February 1989, North Korea suspended the parliamentary talks over US-ROK military exercises. In April the north suspended the prime ministerial talks and the sports talks until July, blaming South Korea's arrest of a dissident clergyman who visited North Korea without government approval. In the fall of 1989, the dialogue resumed in four fora—athletic, Red Cross, parliamentary, and prime ministerial. In the Red Cross talks, there were attempts to reach agreement on reunions of separated family members and exchanges of cultural arts troupes.

Prime ministerial-level talks were initiated in 1990. Delegations met three times, although little concrete progress was made. The north cancelled the fourth meeting, scheduled for February 1991, once again citing annual exercises as the reason.

Hopes for a summit (proposed repeatedly in the past) have also been unfulfilled. President Roh, in a speech to the UN General Assembly in October 1988, offered to go to Pyongyang at any time to discuss any issue, including North Korea's call for a mutual declaration of non-aggression. North Korean President Kim Il Sung did not respond positively. Kim had earlier stated that a summit must first take up his proposal for Koryo confederation and withdrawal of US forces. In his 1989 New Year's address, Kim suggested that Roh come to

Pyongyang as a party head in a group with southern opposition and dissident leaders. However, he later referred to Roh by his official title and, in his 1991 New Year's address, offered a revised version of his confederal proposal in which he suggested that regional governments would exercise independent foreign and defense policy.

Following the ROK government's 1988 decision to allow trade with the DPRK, South Korean firms began to import North Korean goods, all via third-country contracts. The DPRK has denounced and denied this trade. Nevertheless, the north publicized a late January 1989 visit by Hyundai Corporation founder Chong Chu Yong as

well as a private protocol he signed to develop tourism and other projects in the north.

US-KOREAN RELATIONS

The United States remains committed to maintaining peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. The United States agreed in the 1954 US-ROK Mutual Defense Treaty to help the Republic of Korea defend itself from external aggression. In support of that commitment, the US maintains about 43,000 service personnel in Korea, including the army's Second Infantry Division and several air force tactical squadrons. To coordinate operations between these units and the 650,000-strong Korean armed forces, a combined forces command (CFC) was established in 1978. The CFC is headed by a US general who serves concurrently as commander in chief of the UN Command (CINC-UNC).

Several aspects of the security relationship are changing as the US moves from a leading to a supporting role. South Korea has agreed to pay more of the US defense costs, to fund relocation of the large US headquarters garrison at Yongsan from Seoul, and to accept changes in the CFC command structure.

The United States supports direct, government-to-government talks between the authorities of South and North Korea. The US believes that the fundamental decisions on the future of the Korean peninsula must be taken by the Korean people themselves. Therefore, the US has refused to be drawn into separate negotiations on Korean issues with North Korea, as Pyongyang has insisted.

The most rapidly developing area in Korean-US relations is that of economics and trade. Korea is now its seventh largest trading partner, and the US seeks to improve its trade imbalance, through greater access to Korea's expanding market and improved investment opportunities for US business. Although Korea is reluctant to abandon industrial protection and the state-directed industrial policy which played such an important role in its industrialization, Korean policy-makers increasingly claim to recognize the benefits of liberalized trade for their economy. Korean leaders seem determined to manage successfully

Principal US Officials

Ambassador—Donald P. Gregg
 Commander in Chief, UNC—
 Gen. Robert Riscassi
 Deputy Chief of Mission—
 Raymond F. Burghardt
 Counselor for Political Affairs—
 E. Mason Hendrickson, Jr.
 Counselor for Economic Affairs—
 Richard Morford
 Counselor for Administrative Affairs—
 Oliver P. Garza
 Counselor for Public Affairs—
 John Fredenberg
 Consul General—Edward H. Wilkinson
 Counselor for Commercial Affairs—
 Peter Frederick
 Counselor for Agricultural Affairs—
 George J. Pope
 Chief, Joint US Military Advisory
 Group, Korea—
 Gen. Robert J. Jellison
 Defense Attache—
 Col. William McKinney, USA

The US Embassy is located at 82 Sejong-Ro, Chongro-Ku, Seoul; APO San Francisco 96301. Tel. 82-2-732-2601, Fax no. 82-2-738-8845.

The US Agricultural Trade Office is located at 63, 1-Ka, Ulchi-Ro, Choong-Ku, Seoul. Fax no. 82-2-752-5626.

The US Export Development Office/ US Trade Center is c/o US Embassy. Fax no. 82-2-739-1628. Director: William M. Yarmy.

the complex economic relationship with the United States and to take a more active role in international economic fora as befits Korea's status as a major trading nation.

Since the 1950s, the US-Korean relationship has developed into one of the most important in Asia. The 1982 celebration of the centennial of Korean-American diplomatic relations and President Reagan's 1983 visit to Korea underscored the quality of US-Korean relations. In 1989, a succession of high-level visits—President Bush (February), Vice President Quayle (September) and President Roh (October)—reaffirmed a determination to develop and strengthen the bilateral relationship further. President Roh visited the US again in June 1990. ■

TRAVEL NOTES

Climate and clothing: Korea's temperate, four-season climate is like that of the eastern US. Dress is more conservative than in the US.

Visas: Visas are not required of tourists travelling to South Korea if their stay is less than 15 days or if they are simply transiting the country and have a ticket for an onward destination. Tourist visas, which should be obtained from a Korean consulate for longer stays, are issued for a 5-year period with multiple entries, but the length of any one visit should not exceed 90 days. Visas are required for all official and business visitors. No immunizations are required of travelers from the US.

Health: Health services are fair to good in most major cities. Most Korean physicians have been trained in Western medicine, and hospital services are adequate. Outside of the major hotels, water generally is not potable.

Transportation: International airports serve Seoul (Kimpo), Pusan (Kimhae), and Cheju Island. Extensive intercity air, rail, and bus service is available. There is an excellent network of local bus, taxi, and, in Seoul, subway services.

Tele-communications: Seoul is 14 time zones ahead of Eastern Standard Time (13 hrs. during daylight-saving time). International direct-dial service is available to Korea's major cities.

POLITICAL OVERVIEW IN KOREA

U.S.-South Korean Security Cooperation

The modern U.S.-Korean relationship dates from the end of World War II, when American troops helped to liberate southern Korea from Japanese rule. Soviet forces had already moved into the northern half of the peninsula, and the result was a de facto division of the country. Korea remained officially divided when Allied forces withdrew in 1948-49.

The United States has had compelling political and strategic interests in Korea since the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. Under United Nations auspices, American troops were dispatched to Korea and ultimately repelled the Northern invasion. A 1953 armistice halted the fighting between North and South, but officially the war has never ended. U.S.-Republic of Korea (ROK) mutual security interests are embodied in our 1954 Mutual Defense Treaty, which led to the stationing of American troops in the South. The U.S. has approximately 43,000 uniformed men and women serving in the country, commanded by a U.S. four-star general who is also the Commander of United Nations forces and the U.S.-Korea Combined Forces Command.

The U.S.-ROK security relationship is reviewed annually in the Security Consultative Meeting, co-chaired by the U.S. Secretary of Defense and the Korean Minister of National Defense. Secretary Cheney met with his Korean counterpart in November in Washington.

Sentiment in Congress has been growing to review the rationale for maintaining current troop levels in the ROK, and to consider possible reductions. The East Asia Strategy Initiative calls for a reduction of about 7000 U.S. troops by the end of 1992. At that time, the U.S. and ROK will review the situation to determine if further reductions are warranted. The ROKG has mixed views on the question of troop reduction and/or withdrawal. For nationalistic reasons it would like to reduce U.S. military presence. However, it does not want an immediate or precipitous withdrawal because of the continued threat of North Korea and long-term fear of Japanese regional hegemony.

North and South: The Military Equation

Despite the growing economic and military strength of the South, the military balance on the peninsula still favors the North in virtually every category. The North has 1,040,000 men under arms, the South, 650,000. The North has 15 armored divisions, the South, 1. The North has 730 jet fighters, the South, 480. The North has 25 attack submarines, the South, one. In addition, Seoul is only 25 miles from the demilitarized zone. North Korean redeployment in the 1980's significantly reduced the ROK's warning time in the event of a surprise attack.

The North's military advantages are offset somewhat by South Korean qualitative advantages in some armaments and by the deterrent value of U.S. forces stationed in the South. American forces will remain in the South so long as there is a threat from the North, and the U.S. and South Korean governments believe they are needed. A vocal minority of dissidents in the South opposes the U.S. military presence, but the overwhelming majority of South Koreans want U.S. troops to remain.

North-South Relations and Reunification Talks

The lessening of Cold War tensions worldwide has been least felt in Korea. However, leaders on both sides of the DMZ are talking more about improving relations and eventual reunification. Since July 1988, President Roh has worked to open trade and contact with North Korea in a variety of fora. In 1989 and 1990, the North interrupted scheduled North-South talks, citing the annual U.S.-ROK Team Spirit military exercise as the reason.

In the second half of 1990, the two governments initiated a series of talks at the Prime Ministerial level, meeting in August, October, and December. These were the the highest level meetings between North and South since the division of the peninsula. The two talks have produced no concrete agreements, but at this point the mere fact of the talks is significant. Another round of meetings was scheduled for late February in Pyongyang. However, the North cancelled the February session, again to protest the Team Spirit exercise. We do not know when, or if, they will be renewed.

South Korean Internal Developments

The South has been undergoing a democratic political transformation since the election of President Roh Tae-Woo in December 1987, in the country's first direct presidential

election in 16 years. President Roh was elected with 37 per cent of the vote. In legislative elections five months later, three opposition parties won majority control of the National Assembly. In January 1990, President Roh stunned the nation by successfully merging two opposition parties with his own Democratic Liberal Party (DLP) to provide a two-thirds majority in the 299 seat Assembly. The party merger increased political cynicism, but opposition leader Kim Dae Jung has had difficulty translating this cynicism into political gain for his Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD).

In July 1990, the ruling DLP used its overwhelming majority to pass significant legislation without debate at the close of the legislative session. Nine days later, eighty opposition members resigned from the Assembly in protest, and Kim Dae Jung called for new general elections. The Speaker of the National Assembly rejected the resignations and the legislative crisis continued until November, when the PPD came back to the Assembly when the ruling party agreed to hold local elections in 1991 and Assembly elections in 1992. The tiny, 8-member Democratic Party continues to boycott the Assembly. Achieving a degree of local political autonomy has been a major opposition goal, and is close to implementation. The first round of local elections were held in March 1991, and the second round is scheduled for June.

The human rights situation has improved considerably under President Roh. The ROKG has released several hundred political prisoners, but another several hundred remain imprisoned. Opposition parties and human rights activists have called for repeal of the National Security Law, which, among other things, allows for arrest and imprisonment for possessing and/or publishing books or articles originating in, or praising, North Korea. They criticize the ROKG for its uneven enforcement of the law, particularly with regard to travel to North Korea.

Labor relations has been another area of dispute in South Korea. The overall process of labor/management conflict resolution is still in its infancy, although there were far fewer labor disputes in in 1990 than in 1989.

Anti-Americanism

Anti-American sentiments often appear at demonstrations, as well as in pamphlets and on campus posters. The assertive nationalism of young Koreans is frequently expressed as anti-Americanism, owing largely to the presence of American military forces. Although we support reunification on terms agreeable to both sides, many young Koreans wrongly believe the U.S. desires the continued division of the country.

Some also mistakenly think the U.S. played a role in the 1980 Kwangju massacre, in which at least 200 people were killed by the ROK military. USIS offices and American cultural centers have been attacked by students in recent years. Recently, perceived U.S. pressure on market access and the Uruguay Round have also contributed to anti-Americanism. Still, most observers feel anti-Americanism is on the wane. There is no heightened threat to private Americans travelers or residents.

ROK Foreign Policy

During the 1980s, the ROK greatly expanded its international role. The Seoul Olympics marked a breakthrough. Today, South Korea has diplomatic relations with nearly every country. Since 1988, President Roh has carried out his policy of "Nordpolitik," which called for the expansion of diplomatic ties worldwide, especially with Socialist countries. The crowning achievement of Nordpolitik was the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union on September 30, 1990. President Roh visited Moscow in mid-December and the two countries have signed several agreements on economic cooperation. The ROK also recently agreed to provide \$3 billion in economic assistance to the Soviets in the form of loans. Relations have also improved with China, and the two countries have agreed to exchange trade offices. The U.S. fully supports President Roh's Nordpolitik policy, and the improvement in relations with both the USSR and the People's Republic of China.

South Korea would like to join the UN. In 1990 it seemed likely that China would veto ROK membership unless it were on terms suitable to the North. In 1991, the North announced that it too would apply for UN membership, thus practically guaranteeing membership for both North and South Korea. The U.S. supports UN membership for both Koreas.

- conclusion and implementation of an IAEA safeguards agreement, as required by the NPT;
 - a regular process of returning Korean War MIA remains;
 - a credible statement condemning terrorism.
- o We are encouraged by some of the trends we see:
- North Korea has expressed interest in bettering relations with the U.S. It has responded positively to a number of our concerns, including remains return and North-South dialogue. Anti-U.S. propaganda has declined.
 - The diplomatic picture in Northeast Asia has changed remarkably. Probably in response to South Korea's success in establishing relations with the USSR and China, North Korea has offered to normalize relations with Japan. It is seeking to expand relations with a number of Western countries.
- o However, problems remain, and there are still serious restraints on improving relations with the DPRK.
- Our most serious concern is the DPRK's failure so far to sign a nuclear safeguards agreement with the IAEA, as it is obligated to do. North Korea operates an unsafeguarded reactor and other facilities which could be used to build nuclear weapons, which would be extremely destabilizing. We have said that signing safeguards is a condition for significantly improving U.S.-DPRK relations;
 - We also call for a clear disavowal of terrorism, and we would like North Korea to stop being an exporter of certain arms and military technology, especially missiles.
- o As Secretary Baker noted in testimony to the SFRC on February 1, 1990, "We are looking for a steady, reciprocal process toward better relations both between North and South Korea and between the U.S and North Korea."
- o We also support the entry of both Koreas into the UN, as President Bush mentioned in his speech to the UN last fall.

February 1991
SEKPOL 1938

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BRIEFING PAPER

USG Policy Toward North Korea

o Relations between the U.S. and the DPRK are strained, and there are no official relations. We talk to each other at a low level, but we remain divided by major problems, the chief one being the threat posed by North Korea's million-man army to our ally, South Korea.

o However, in the past two years, both the U.S. and the ROK have taken steps to reduce tensions with North Korea.

o In support of ROK President Roh Tae Woo's 1988 opening to North Korea, and because it is in the joint U.S.-ROK interest to draw the DPRK out of its isolation, the U.S. announced in October 1988 a package of steps toward North Korea:

- We encourage unofficial, non-governmental visits from the DPRK for academic and cultural purposes;

- We allow the travel of U.S. citizens to North Korea for family visits, academic and cultural purposes, etc.;

- We permit humanitarian trade in items meeting "basic human needs;"

- We have authorized our diplomats to engage in substantive discussions with North Korean counterparts. Since January 1989, the U.S. Embassy Political Counselor in Beijing has met with his North Korean counterpart 14 times, most recently in January 1991.

o North Korea remains on our list of nations which support terrorism. The 1968 capture of the USS Pueblo in international waters and the raid on the Blue House; the 1974 assassination of President Park's wife by a North Korean resident of Japan; the October 1983 bomb murder in Rangoon of senior Korean officials; and the November, 1987, destruction of a KAL airliner have dictated this move. We have not removed North Korea from our list of states supporting terrorism, nor have we lifted our general embargo on commercial trade.

o In diplomatic discussions with the North Koreans subsequent to our October 1988 announcement, we have suggested several areas in which North Korea could take steps which we would regard as positive. These have included:

- Progress in the North-South dialogue, including serious discussion with the South about CBM's and other concrete steps to reduce tensions;

Budget in his report of October 16, 1989.

(4) For accounts making commitments for guaranteed loans or obligations for direct loans as authorized by substantive law, the head of each department or agency is directed to reduce the level of such commitments or obligations to the extent necessary to conform to the limitations established by the Act and specified by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget in his report of October 16, 1989.

All reductions and sequestrations shall be made in strict accordance with the specifications of the October 16th report of the Director of the Office of Management and

Budget and the requirements of section 252(b).

This order shall be effective immediately and supersedes the initial order issued on August 25, 1989.

This order shall be published in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 16, 1989.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 7:18 p.m., October 16, 1989]

Remarks Following Discussions With President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea

October 17, 1989

President Bush. There have been many high-level visits between Washington and Seoul recently, proof that good relations are important to both countries. But today it's been my special pleasure to welcome President Roh and his Cabinet to Washington. Mr. President, I hope you and your lovely First Lady have enjoyed your visit to the White House as much as Barbara and I enjoyed our visit to the Blue House last February.

This has been a busy day of discussions with President Roh on a range of important bilateral, regional, and multilateral issues; and we've confirmed that the Governments and peoples of the United States and the Republic of Korea are resolved to promote and defend economic growth and democracy. Our discussions have been intense and meaningful, and our partnership has been strengthened.

So, let no one doubt that the United States stands by its commitment to maintain the peace and prevent the outbreak of hostilities on the peninsula. As I said in Seoul in February, U.S. forces will remain as long as both Governments and both peoples believe it is in the interest of peace. And, of course, our forces will remain as long as there is a threat from the North. I under-

stand that President Roh, when asked about the American presence in South Korea generally, answered with a colorful American phrase: "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." And, Mr. President, my sentiments exactly.

At the same time, our two nations aspire to lessen tensions between the North and the South. And this and the creation of the conditions that favor reunification can only be the result of the vision and tireless efforts of the Korean people. The United States applaud President Roh's creative diplomacy and supports his plan to create a commonwealth between the North and the South as a step toward reunification. President Roh's unification formula is based on principles that we share—independence, peace, and democracy—and it is my hope that the resumption of other forums of inter-Korean dialog will lead to institutions that will serve as a basis for eventual reunification.

But the division of Korea is merely a part of a great divide between all the nations of the world. And it is in the other half of the world, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, that momentous change is underway. President Roh and I are of one mind in dealing with this change. Simply put, we will seek to strengthen security and peace

by engaging the Communist world in constructive endeavor. President Roh's *nordpolitik*, a diplomatic endeavor to reach out to Communist countries in Europe as well as in Asia, complements the policy of the United States. And, Mr. President, may I follow your practice and quote a few Korean sayings: "World peace is not a pavilion in the sky." "If beans grow where beans are planted, then surely peace will grow where peace is planted."

Just as South Korea is taking a leading role in diplomacy, so it has also become a major economic force. South Korea is now the world's 10th largest trading nation and America's 7th largest trading partner. Korean workers and companies have benefited from U.S. open markets, but American workers and companies deserve equal access to Korean markets. As I told the National Assembly in February, protectionism offers a false prosperity. It may seem to be the easy way out, but it's really the quickest way down. And trade, free and fair, is the way up for the consumers and the workers of both nations. And that's why I'm pleased to note the progress made in the past few years in reducing trade barriers. And we applaud these moves and expect continued improvement on the trade front.

And last, but not least, President Roh and I today discussed the dramatic changes occurring in Korean society and politics. Under his leadership, the Republic of Korea has moved toward greater democracy and respect for human and civil rights. And the history of our own country suggests that such change is hard won. But our history also suggests that the struggle for democracy is crucial to a nation's political and economic and moral development. President Roh, you have my highest respect and support for your goals, and I wish you well in your nation's efforts for continued peace and the growth of democracy and prosperity in your great Republic.

President Roh. Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen, first of all I would like to convey to my American friends a message of warm friendship from the Korean people.

Today President Bush and I had very constructive and meaningful talks in which we reviewed the current international situ-

ation and discussed a wide range of issues of common interest. My meeting with President Bush this time, only 8 months after the meeting in Seoul last February, demonstrates how close and important the Korea-U.S. relationship has become. At today's meeting, President Bush and I reaffirmed that the traditional friendship and cooperation between our two nations remain firm and are growing stronger. Both of us shared the view that a new breeze of reform and openness currently blowing throughout the world is promoting reconciliation and harmony among nations and, thereby, spreading freedom in the Socialist world.

We noted the stark reality, however, that despite this encouraging trend of change, confrontation and tension have not abated on the Korean Peninsula. President Bush and I were of the same opinion that under such circumstances there should be no change in the current level of the Korea-U.S. combined defense capability. I feel reassured that President Bush reiterated the U.S. commitment to Korean security and that U.S. forces in Korea will remain as long as the Korean Government and people want them and as long as those forces continue to contribute to peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula—which are, in turn, vital to the whole of northeast Asia. We share the view that both direct dialog between the authorities of South and North Korea and the building of mutual confidence through increased exchanges in various fields are essential to the resolution of the Korean question.

I explained to President Bush the Korean national community reunification formula, which is based on the principles of self-determination, peace, and democracy. President Bush reassured me of his deep understanding and full support for this new initiative. The Republic of Korea will continue its efforts to persuade North Korea to positively respond to our rational and realistic proposals for the peaceful unification of Korea in line with the global trend of openness and reconciliation.

President Bush and I share the view that an expansion of commerce in the spirit of free trade is essential to the economic development of the world, and we agreed to

Oct. 17 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

continue our efforts to that end. We found satisfaction in the fact that major trade issues between our two countries have been solved through mutually beneficial negotiations and that our bilateral trade is expanding in a more balanced manner. I emphasized to President Bush that in spite of many domestic difficulties, the Korean Government, with strong faith in free and fair trade, has been moving toward economic liberalization and market opening. Our two governments agree to exert concerted efforts to build a prosperous Asia-Pacific area by enhancing regional cooperation. We also reaffirmed our understanding that Asia-Pacific cooperation is not intended to create a new economic bloc or promote regionalism but should serve the practical interests of the nations in the region. With this in mind, we agreed to participate actively in the ministerial conference to be held in Canberra next month.

I commended President Bush for his leadership in addressing problems we are facing together, such as drugs, terrorism, and the environment; and I expressed the readiness of the Korean Government to participate

actively in international cooperation in these areas.

Mr. President, the Republic of Korea is progressing toward a democratic society, promoting general welfare. Economically, it is pursuing openness along with stability. Politically, it is traveling on the road to a full-fledged democracy. Korea, commensurate with its continued economic and political developments, will assume new roles and responsibilities in promoting peace and prosperity in northeast Asia and, in a broader context, in further promoting East-West reconciliation and North-South cooperation.

I once again thank the U.S. Government and the American people for the warm hospitality extended to me and my party on this visit. Thank you very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 1:23 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. President Roh spoke in Korean, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Earlier, the two Presidents met privately in the Oval Office and with South Korean and U.S. officials in the Cabinet Room. They then attended a luncheon in the Residence.

Letter to Members of the Senate Appropriations Committee on Federal Funding for Abortion October 17, 1989

Dear _____:

As the Senate begins consideration of H.R. 2990, the Conference Report accompanying the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Appropriations Bill for FY 1990, I want you to know that I will not sign the measure should it include language that expands Federal funding for abortion beyond that which has been current law since 1981.

My position on the issue of abortion is clear. I support a constitutional amendment that would reverse the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade*. I also support a human life amendment with an exception for rape, incest, or where the life of the mother is threatened. I do not support Federal funding of abortions except where the

mother's life is threatened.

As H.R. 2990 progressed through the legislative process, my senior advisors indicated that they would recommend I veto the measure if it included expanded Federal funding for abortion beyond the life of the mother exception. Although I wrote a letter to Members of Congress clearly expressing my concerns during consideration of the District of Columbia Appropriations bill for FY 1990, I nonetheless asked my senior advisors to take another look at this complex issue, particularly the role of public funds, consistent, though, with my position as stated above.

This decision is one that I have not reached easily or lightly. Many citizens and Members of Congress were consulted as this

g
c
si
n
w
th
al
Si
de
fu
th
th
ab
otl
lin
inc
sec
otl
the
pos
N
wo
rap
pos
crit
pun
crin

Re
Oca

TI
you,
trod
you
cess
succ
Miss
with
to se
tiona
job i
I w
net f
net—
ty. W
under
count
deligh
I w

background notes

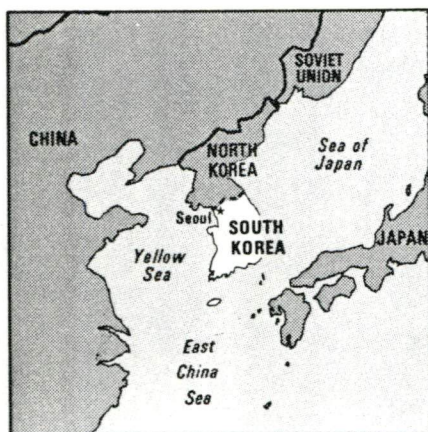
[South] Korea

more recent?
not recent?

April 1987



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs



Official Name:
Republic of Korea

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 98,500 sq. km. (38,000 sq. mi.); about the size of Indiana. **Cities:** *Capital*—Seoul (over 10 million). *Other major cities*—Pusan (3.4 million), Taegu (2.0 million), Incheon (1.2 million). **Terrain:** Partially forested mountain ranges, separated by deep, narrow valleys; cultivated plains along the coasts, particularly in the west and south. **Climate:** Temperate.

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Korean(s). **Population** (1986): 43.3 million. **Annual growth rate:** 1.5%. **Ethnic groups:** Korean; small Chinese minority. **Religions:** Buddhism, Christianity, Shamanism, Confucianism. **Language:** Korean. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—6. *Number of students*—11,121,000. *Attendance* (1984)—of those eligible, 98.8% attended middle school, 89.7% attended high school. **Literacy**—over 90%. **Health** (1983): 1 doctor/1,509 persons. *Infant*

mortality rate (1983)—29/1,000. *Life expectancy*—men 64 yrs., women 71 yrs. **Work force** (15.4 million, 1985): *Agriculture*—24.9%. *Industry*—30.5%. *Services*—44.6%.

Government

Type: Republic with power centralized in a strong executive. **Independence:** August 15, 1948. **Constitution:** July 17, 1948; revised 1962, 1972, 1980.

Branches: *Executive*—president (chief of state). *Legislative*—unicameral National Assembly. *Judicial*—Supreme Court and appellate courts, Constitutional Court.

Subdivisions: Nine provinces, four administratively separate cities (Seoul, Pusan, Incheon, Taegu).

Political parties: *Government party*—Democratic Justice Party (DJP). *Opposition parties*—New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP), Korean National Party (KNP). **Suffrage:** Universal over 20.

Central government budget (1985): *Expenditures*—\$17.4 billion.

Defense (1986 est.): \$47 billion, approx. 5.1% of GNP and 31.2% of government budget. About 600,000 active in armed forces.

Flag: Centered on a white field is the ancient Chinese symbol of yin and yang, a divided circle of interpenetrating blue (top) and red (bottom), representing the union of opposites. At each corner of the white field is a different trigram of black bars, symbols of the elements from the ancient pan-East Asian *I Ching* or "Book of Changes." Together, the yin-yang and the four trigrams represent eternal unity.

Economy

GNP (1986 est.): \$91.750 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1961–81): 8%. **Per capita GNP** (1985): \$2,032. **Consumer price index** (1985 avg. increase): 3.2%.

Natural resources: Limited coal, tungsten, iron ore, limestone, kaolinite, and graphite.

Agriculture (including forestry and fisheries, 16.4% of 1985 GNP): *Products*—rice, barley, vegetables. *Arable land*—22% of land area.

Mining and manufacturing (42.0% of 1985 GNP): Textiles, footwear, electronics, shipbuilding, motor vehicles, petrochemicals, industrial machinery.

Social overhead capital and other services: 41.6% of 1985 GNP.

Trade (1986): *Exports*—\$33.9 billion: manufactures; textiles; ships; electrical products; footwear; steel. *Major markets*—US, Japan, European Community, Middle East. *Imports*—\$31.5 billion: crude oil; food; machinery and transportation equipment; chemicals and chemical products; base metals and articles. *Major suppliers*—Middle East, Japan, US.

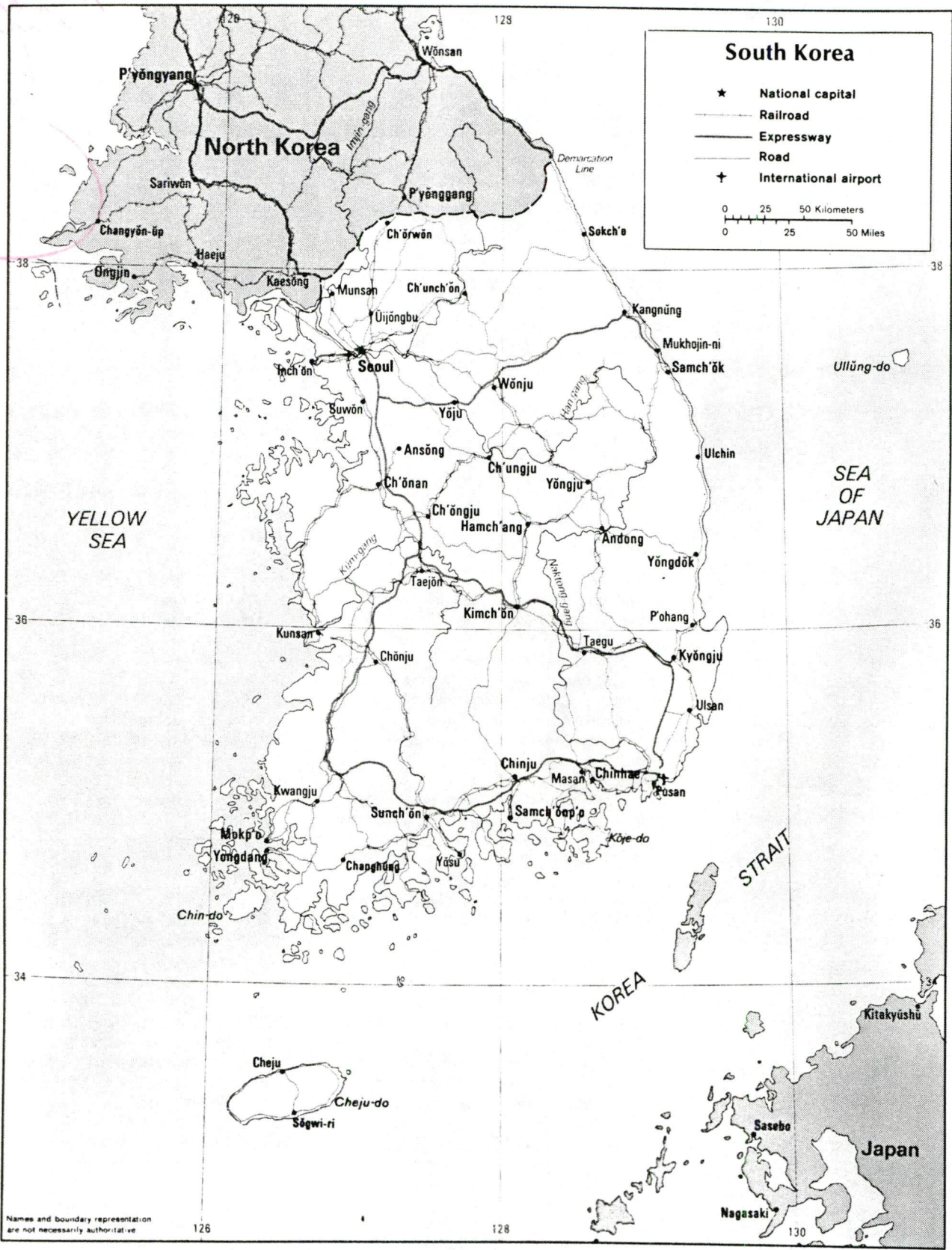
Official exchange rate (March 1987): 852 won=US\$1.

Fiscal year: Calendar year.

Membership in International Organizations

Official observer status at UN; active in many UN specialized agencies (FAO, GATT, IAEA, IBRD, ICAO, IDA, IFAD, IFC, IMF, IMO, ITU, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNIDO, UPU, WHO, WIPO, WMO, WTO) and other international organizations (Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee, ASPAC, Asian People's Anti-Communist League, World Anti-Communist League, Colombo Plan, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Geneva Conventions of 1949 for the Protection of War Victims, Asian Development Bank, INTELSTAT, International Whaling Commission, Interparliamentary Union, INTERPOL); official observer status in African Development Bank (member of Africa Development Fund), International Labor Organization, and Organization of American States.

P. 100 page 1



GEOGRAPHY

The Republic of Korea (South Korea) occupies the southern portion of a mountainous peninsula, about 966 kilometers (600 mi.) long and 217 kilometers (135 mi.) wide, projecting southeast from China and separating the Sea of Japan from the Yellow Sea. Japan lies about 193 kilometers (120 mi.) east of Pusan across the Sea of Japan (called the East Sea by Koreans). The most rugged areas are the mountainous east coast and central interior. Good natural harbors are found only on the western and southern coasts.

South Korea's only land boundary is with North Korea, formed by the Military Demarcation Line (MDL) marking the line of separation between the belligerent sides at the close of the Korean war. The Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) extends for 2,000 meters (1.2 mi.) on either side of the MDL. The North and South Korean Governments hold that the MDL is not a permanent border but a temporary administrative line.

Seoul, the capital, is less than 48 kilometers (30 mi.) from the DMZ, near the west coast. Seoul's climate is hot and rainy in summer; winters are cold, dry, and windy, with generally light snowfall, and mean January temperature is -5°C (23°F). Fall is traditionally the Koreans' favorite season, with warm days, cool nights, and clear skies; such weather often lasts into mid-December.

PEOPLE

Korea was first populated by a Tungusic branch of the Ural-Altaic family, which migrated to the peninsula from the northwestern regions of Asia. Some of these people also settled parts of north-east China (Manchuria), and Koreans and Manchurians still show physical similarities—in their height, for example. Koreans are racially and linguistically homogeneous, with no indigenous minorities.

South Korea's major population centers are mostly in the northwest area of Seoul-Inchon and in the southern fertile plains. The mountainous central and eastern areas are sparsely inhabited. Between 1925 and 1940, the Japanese colonial administration in Korea concentrated its industrial development efforts in the comparatively underpopulated and resource-rich north, resulting in considerable migration of people to the north from the southern agrarian provinces. This trend was reversed after World War II, when more than 2 million Koreans moved from the north to the

south following the division of the peninsula into U.S. and Soviet military zones of administration. This southward migration continued after the Republic of Korea was established in 1948 and during the Korean war (1950–53). About 10% of the people in the Republic of Korea are of northern origin. With over 40 million people, South Korea has one of the world's highest population densities—much higher, for example, than India or Japan—while the territorially larger North has about 20 million people. Expatriate Koreans live mostly in China (1.2 million), Japan (600,000), the United States (500,000), and the Soviet Union.

Language

Korean is a Uralic language, remotely related to Japanese, Hungarian, Finnish, and Mongolian. Although dialects exist, the Korean spoken throughout the peninsula is mutually comprehensible. Chinese characters were used to write Korean before the Korean Hangul alphabet was invented in the 15th century. These characters are still in limited use in South Korea, but the North uses Hangul exclusively. Many older people retain some knowledge of Japanese from the colonial period (1910–45), and most educated Koreans can read English, which is taught in all secondary schools.

Religion

Korea's traditional religions are Shamanism and Buddhism. Although Buddhism has lost some influence since the Koryo dynasty (A.D. 935–1392), it still commands the greatest number of adherents of any faith—about 18.9% of the population. Shamanism, the traditional spirit worship, is still practiced in some rural areas. Confucianism remains the dominant cultural influence; however, its religious adherents are few and mostly elderly. Christian missionaries arrived in Korea in the 19th century and founded schools, hospitals, and other modern institutions throughout the country. Today, nearly 7 million Koreans, or 16% of the population, are Christian (about 75% Protestant)—the largest figure for any East Asian country except the Philippines.

HISTORY

According to legend, the god-king Tangun founded the Korean nation in 2333 B.C., after which his descendants reigned over a peaceful kingdom for more than a millennium. By the first century A.D., the Korean Peninsula, known as Chosun (“morning calm”), was

divided into the kingdoms of Silla, Koguryo, and Paekche. In A.D. 668, the peninsula was unified under the Silla kingdom, rulership of which was taken over in 918 by the Koryo dynasty (from which is taken the name “Korea”). The Yi dynasty, which supplanted Koryo in 1392, lasted until the Japanese annexed Korea in 1910.

Throughout most of its history, Korea has been invaded, influenced, and fought over by its larger neighbors. Major Japanese invasions occurred in 1592 and 1597, and the Chinese attacked in 1627. To protect themselves from such foreign buffeting, the Yi kings finally adopted a closed-door policy, which earned Korea the title of “Hermit Kingdom.” Though the Yis showed nominal fealty to the Chinese throne, Korea was in fact independent until the late 19th century, when Japanese influence became predominant.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Japanese, Chinese, and Russian competition in Northeast Asia led to armed conflict. Having defeated its two competitors, Japan established dominance in Korea, annexing it in 1910. The Japanese colonial era was characterized by almost total control from Tokyo and by ruthless efforts to replace the Korean language and culture with those of the colonial power.

As World War II ended, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed at Yalta that Japanese forces in Korea would surrender to the United States south of the 38th parallel and to the Soviet Union north of that line. This division of Korea was intended as a temporary administrative measure only. However, in 1946–47, the Soviet administration in the North refused to allow free consultations with representatives of all groups of the Korean people for the purpose of establishing a national government, and the United States and the Soviet Union subsequently were unable to reach agreement on a unification formula.

Korean War

In the face of communist refusal to comply with the UN General Assembly resolution of November 1947, calling for UN-supervised elections throughout Korea, elections were carried out under UN observation in the U.S. zone of occupation, and on August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established there. The Republic's first president was a prominent Korean nationalist, Syngman Rhee. In September 1948, the

Soviet Union established the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the North under Kim Il Sung, a former Soviet Army major, who claimed authority over the entire peninsula. On December 12, 1948, the UN General Assembly declared the ROK the only lawful government in Korea.

The United States withdrew its military forces from Korea in 1949. On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces invaded the Republic of Korea. The United Nations, in response and in accordance with the terms of its Charter, engaged in its first collective action through the establishment of the UN Command (UNC), to which 16 member nations sent troops and assistance. At the request of the UN Secretary General, this international effort was led by the United States, which contributed the largest contingent. UN forces initially succeeded in advancing almost to the Yalu River, which divides the Korean Peninsula from China, but large numbers of "people's volunteers" from the army of the People's Republic of China joined the North Korean forces. In December 1950, a major Chinese attack forced UN troops to withdraw southward. The battle line fluctuated up and down the peninsula until the late spring of 1951, when it finally stabilized north of Seoul near the 38th parallel.

Armistice negotiations began in July 1951, but hostilities continued until July 27, 1953, when, at the village of Panmunjom, the military commanders of the DPRK forces, the Chinese people's volunteers, and the UNC signed an armistice agreement. Neither the United States nor the ROK is a signatory of the armistice per se, though both adhere to it through the UNC. No comprehensive peace agreement has been signed in Korea, and the 1953 armistice agreement remains in force. A Military Armistice Commission, composed of 10 members, 5 appointed by each side, is empowered to supervise implementation of the terms of the armistice.

The armistice called for an international conference to find a political solution to the problem of Korea's division. This conference met at Geneva in April 1954, but, after 7 weeks of futile debate, ended inconclusively.

Postwar Developments

Syngman Rhee served as president of the Republic of Korea until April 1960, when university students and others, demonstrating in protest against irregularities in the presidential election

of that year, forced him to step down. A caretaker government was established, the constitution was amended and, in June, national elections were held. The opposition Democratic Party easily defeated Rhee's Liberals, and, in August, the new National Assembly named Chang Myon prime minister. Chang's democratic but administratively ineffectual government—the Second Republic—lasted until May 1961, when it was overthrown in an army coup led by Maj. Gen. Park Chung Hee.

After 2 years of military government under Gen. Park, civilian rule was restored with the advent of the Third Republic in 1963. Park, who had retired from the army, was elected president (and was reelected in 1967, 1971, and 1978). In 1972, a popular referendum approved the Yushin (revitalizing) constitution, which greatly strengthened the executive branch's powers. Key provisions included indirect election of the president, presidential appointment of one-third of the National Assembly, and presidential authority to issue decrees to restrict civil liberties in times of national emergency. Park subsequently issued several such decrees; the best-known of these, EM-9, banned discussion of false rumors, criticism of the constitution or advocacy of its reform, and political demonstrations by students.

The Park era, marked by rapid industrialization and extraordinary economic growth and modernization, ended with his assassination in October 1979. Prime Minister Choi Kyu Ha assumed office briefly (the Fourth Republic), promising a new constitution and presidential elections. In December 1979, Maj. Gen. Chun Doo Hwan and his close colleagues removed the army chief of staff and soon controlled the government. By September, President Choi had been forced to resign, and General Chun, by then retired from the army, was named president.

During this process and in opposition to it, demonstrations by campus activists and others increased through the spring of 1980. In mid-May, the government declared martial law, banned all demonstrations, and arrested many political leaders and dissidents. In Kwangju City, Special Forces units reacted harshly to demonstrators who ignored the ban, setting off a confrontation which left an official estimate of 170 dead. Unofficial sources claim a higher figure. This incident left a wound that has proven slow to heal.

In October, a referendum approved a new constitution, beginning the Fifth Republic. This document retained key features of earlier ones, including a

strong executive and indirect election of the president but limited the chief executive to one 7-year term. Elections were held in early 1981 for a National Assembly and an electoral college; the latter elected President Chun to a 7-year term beginning in March of that year.

Although martial law ended in January 1981, the government, under laws enacted during the martial law period, retains broad legal powers to control dissent. An active and articulate minority of students, intellectuals, clergy, and others have remained critical of the Chun government and from time to time have organized demonstrations against it. Some of these demonstrations, such as those in Incheon in May 1986 and at Konkuk University in the fall of 1986, have been marked by considerable violence.

President Chun, who is barred from succeeding himself, has pledged to step down when his term ends in 1988. In April 1986, the President responded to a signature campaign by the opposition New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP), calling for direct election of the next president by proposing that the assembly try to reach agreement on a constitutional amendment. The government party, the Democratic Justice Party, supported a parliamentary system with a weakened president and a greatly strengthened prime minister, both elected by the assembly. The NKDP carried forward its earlier call for a directly elected president. Neither side has shown a willingness to compromise, and the outcome of the process to create what is hoped will be a more open political system with broad support from the Korean people was uncertain as of early 1987.

Principal Government Officials

President—**Chun Doo Hwan**

Prime Minister—**Lho Shin Yong**

Deputy Prime Minister; Chairman,

Economic Planning Board—

Kim Mahn Je

Minister of Foreign Affairs—**Choi**

Kwang-soo

Minister of National Defense—**Lee Ki**

Baek

Ambassador to the United States—**Kim**

Kyong Won

Ambassador to the United Nations—

Park Kun

Speaker of the National Assembly—**Lee**

Chai Hyung

Korea maintains an embassy in the United States at 2320 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20008 (tel. 202-939-5600).

ECONOMY

Over the past 25 years, the Republic of Korea's economic growth has been spectacular. The nation has advanced in a single generation from one of the world's poorest countries to the threshold of full industrialization, despite the need to maintain one of the world's largest military establishments. Lacking natural resources, Korea's greatest asset is its industrious, literate people.

The division of the Korean Peninsula in 1945 created two distorted economic units. North Korea inherited most of the mineral and hydroelectric resources and most of the existing heavy industrial base built by the Japanese. South Korea was left with a large, unskilled labor pool and most of the peninsula's limited agricultural resources. Although both the North and South suffered from the widespread destruction caused by the Korean war, an influx of refugees added to the South's economic woes. For these reasons, South Korea began the postwar period with a per capita gross national product (GNP) far below that of the North.

South Korea's meager mineral resources include tungsten, anthracite coal, iron ore, limestone, kaolinite, and graphite. There is no oil, and energy is a concern for ROK's economic planners. The country's ambitious program to build nuclear power plants is well underway; this year their sixth plant went into operation, and five more are under construction or on order.

The ROK was self-sufficient in rice production in 1977, but rising demand and several disappointing harvests have since made it a net importer. In 1985, Korea purchased about \$1 billion in U.S. agricultural products. Korea is the United States' seventh largest source of imports and its eighth largest market for exports. The resulting trade imbalance was about \$5 billion in 1985. Korea's economy is rapidly approaching full maturity—a marked change from the 1960s and 1970s, when it was a major recipient of U.S. foreign assistance (U.S. direct-aid programs in Korea ended in 1980).

The nation's successful industrial growth program began in the early 1960s, when the Park government instituted sweeping economic reforms emphasizing exports and labor-intensive light industries. The government also carried out a currency reform, strengthened financial institutions, and introduced flexible economic planning.

From 1963 to 1978, real GNP rose at an annual rate of nearly 10%, with average real growth of more than 11% for the years 1973-78. While Korea's

Further Information

These titles are provided as a general indication of material published on this country. The Department of State does not endorse unofficial publications.

- Baldwin, Frank. *Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945*. Pantheon, 1974.
- Bartz, Patricia. *South Korea, a Descriptive Geography*. Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Brandt, Vincent S. *A Korean Village Between Farm and Sea*. Cambridge: Harvard, 1971.
- Chung, Kyung Cho. *Korea: The Third Republic*. Macmillan, 1971.
- Cole, David. *Korean Development: The Interplay of Politics and Economics*. Cambridge: Harvard, 1971.
- Crane, Paul. *Korean Patterns*. Seoul: Hollym Corporation, 1968.
- Harrington, Fred H. *God, Mammon and the Japanese*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962.
- Henderson, Gregory. *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Henthorn, William. *History of Korea*. New York: The Free Press, 1968.
- Lee, Chong-Sik. *The Politics of Korean Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.
- Lee, O. Young. *In This Earth and In That Wind*. Seoul, 1968.
- McCann, David R., ed. *Studies on Korea in Transition*. Honolulu: Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii, 1979.
- McCune, Shannon. *Korea, Land of Broken Calm*. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1966.
- Noble, Harold. *Embassy at War*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974.
- Paige, Glenn D. *The Korean Decision*. New York: St. Martin, 1974.
- Pihl, Marshall R. *Listening to Korea: A Korean Anthology*. New York: Praeger, 1973.
- Reese, David. *Korea: The Limited War*. New York: St. Martin, 1964.
- Rutt, Richard. *Korean Works and Days*. Tokyo: Charles R. Tuttle, 1966.
- Wickman, Michael. *Living in Korea*. Seoul: The American Chamber of Commerce in Korea, 1978.
- Available from the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402:
- American University. *South Korea—A Country Study*. 1982.
- U.S. Department of State. *Key Officers of Foreign Service Posts*. Triennial.
- _____. *Korea Post Report*. March 1986.
- _____. *The Record on Korean Unification, 1943-1960*. 1961.
- Major English-language newspapers: *Korea Herald* and *Korea Times*.

For information on economic trends, commercial development, production, trade regulations, and tariff rates, contact the International Trade Administration, US Department of Commerce, Washington, DC 20230.

national production was rising throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the annual population growth rate declined to the current 1.5%, resulting in a 20-fold increase in per capita GNP in those two decades. Per capita GNP, which reached \$100 for the first time in 1963, now exceeds \$2,000, far above that of North Korea.

Internal economic distortions, the political and social unrest that followed the 1979 assassination of President Park, and the effect of world economic developments, such as the drastic increase in world oil prices in 1979, triggered a severe recession in Korea in 1980. The economy recovered somewhat in the following 2 years, but it was not until the spring of 1983 and the strengthening of economic recovery in the United States that Korean economic performance began to take on the buoyancy of earlier days. Korea's economic planners have shifted their emphasis from high to stable growth. After registering 5% real GNP growth

in 1985, low by Korean standards, the Korean economy rebounded impressively. Nineteen eighty-six is widely viewed as the Korean economy's most successful year ever, as booming exports led once again to double-digit growth of 12%. Korea achieved surpluses in both its current account balance and the trade balance in 1986. Long-term growth prospects remain extremely bright, and Korea continues to successfully manage its large external debt (about \$45 billion, including short-term).

The continuing military threat from the North and the lack of foreign economic assistance require Korea to devote a third of its national budget to defense. In light of this, Korea must continue large defense expenditures while maintaining economic growth.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

South Korea is committed to peaceful settlement of international differences, a commitment best illustrated by its restrained response to a number of armed provocations over the past 15

years. These include the 1968 Blue House raid, the shooting down in September 1983 of a Korean Air Lines airliner by Soviet fighters, and the October 1983 terrorist bombing in Rangoon, Burma, which killed six of the ROK's most valued leaders.

South Korea has cast its lot with the West and the noncommunist world. It is active in international affairs and seeks to enhance its already impressive stature in the world community. Although not a member of the United Nations, South

Travel Notes

Climate and clothing: Korea's temperate, four-season climate is like that of the eastern US. Dress is more conservative than in the US.

Customs: All travelers entering the ROK must have a visa, which may be obtained from a Korean Consulate. Tourist visas are good for 60 days. No immunizations are required of travelers from the US.

Health: Health services are fair to good in most major cities. Many Korean physicians have been trained in Western medicine, and hospital services are adequate. Outside of the major hotels, water generally is not potable.

Transportation: International airports serve Seoul (Kimpo), Pusan (Kimhae), and Cheju Island. Extensive intercity air, rail, and bus service is available, as is an excellent network of local bus, taxi, and (in Seoul) subway services.

Telecommunications: Seoul is 14 time zones ahead of eastern standard time (13 hrs. during daylight-saving time). International direct-dial service is available to Korea's major cities. Internal telephone and telegraph services are available.

Tourist attractions: The Yi dynasty palaces in Seoul—Kyongbok, Changdok, and Toksu—are recommended, as are the National Museum of Korea and the Korean Folk Museum. The folk village at Suwon, located less than an hour's drive from Seoul, is a fine example of a "living museum." Sorok Mountain and Cheju Island are popular scenic attractions, while Pusan and Masan are examples of a modern Korean port and industrial site. The southeastern city of Kyongju has many fine antiquities. English is widely spoken at major tourist sites and facilities in the principal cities; in other areas, English speakers may be less readily found.

National holidays: Businesses and the US Embassy may be closed on the following holidays—National Day (Independence Day), August 15; New Year, January 1-3; Foundation Day (commemorating the founding of the nation by the god-king Tangun), October 3; Hangul Day (commemorating the creation of the Korean alphabet in 1446), October 9; Chusok (harvest moon festival), date varies, usually in August or September.

Korea keeps an observer mission, headed by an ambassador, at the UN General Assembly and is active in many of the UN's specialized agencies.

Following the ratification in 1965 of a treaty normalizing relations between Japan and Korea, the two nations have developed an extensive relationship centering on mutually beneficial economic activity. Although both countries' historic antipathy has at times impeded cooperation, relations at the government level have improved steadily and significantly in the past several years.

Korea's economic growth, energy requirements, and need for basic raw materials and for markets have given economic considerations high priority in the country's foreign policy. In light of these concerns, Korean diplomacy in recent years has concentrated on broadening its international base of support with Third World nations, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the Middle East.

A recurrent theme in all phases of Korea's foreign relations is its perennial competition with the DPRK for world stature and recognition. In this effort, the ROK has been highly successful: while most of the world's nations recognize the reality of two Koreas, more maintain diplomatic relations with the ROK than the DPRK (122 versus 103, with 67 countries having relations with both). The South's network of international trading relationships is far broader than the North's, and South Korea has been selected to host a series of prestigious international events, including the 1985 International Monetary Fund and World Bank annual conference, the 1986 Asian Games, and the 1988 Summer Olympics (to be held in Seoul).

Negotiating Efforts With North Korea

Throughout the postwar period, both Korean governments have repeatedly affirmed their desire for reunification of the Korean Peninsula, but until 1971 no direct communications or any other contacts took place between the two governments or their citizens except through the Military Armistice Commission.

In August 1971, the DPRK and the ROK agreed to hold talks through their respective Red Cross societies with the stated aim of reuniting the many Korean families separated during the Korean war. Following a secret meeting on July 4, 1972, North and South Korea announced an agreement to work toward national reunification through peaceful

means and to end the atmosphere of hostility that had formerly prevailed. Although official visits were exchanged and regular communication was established through a North-South Coordinating Committee and the Red Cross, no substantive progress was made. The contacts quickly broke down and were finally terminated by the North. This breakdown reflected basic differences in approach, with Pyongyang insisting that immediate steps toward reunification be taken before discussion of specific issues and Seoul maintaining that, given the two sides' history of violence, any realistic approach to reunification must be a gradual, step-by-step process.

President Chun has repeatedly suggested a summit meeting with President Kim of North Korea to discuss any and all proposals, an agreement to normalize inter-Korean relations pending reunification, and other specific measures to reduce tensions and promote humanitarian and cultural exchanges. In January 1982, President Chun, for the first time, addressed the central political issue, proposing that the North and South organize a conference to draft a constitution for a unified democratic republic of Korea. The ROK intends to present its draft constitution and urges the North to do so. The ROK maintains that a dialogue should be based on de facto recognition of each other's existing political, social, and economic systems. Seoul supports the recognition of both Koreas by the major powers in the region (the United States, U.S.S.R., China, and Japan), and the admission of both Koreas to the United Nations pending peaceful reunification. North Korea rejects these ideas on the grounds that they would perpetuate the peninsula's division.

Tension between North and South Korea increased dramatically in the aftermath of the October 9, 1983, North Korean assassination attempt on President Chun in Burma. North-South sports talks the following spring became acrimonious after the Rangoon bombing. South Korea's suspicions of the North's motives were not diminished by Pyongyang's proposal for "tripartite" talks on the future of the Korean Peninsula. This initiative, made public on January 10, 1984, called for talks with the United States, in which "South Korean authorities" would be permitted to participate. The tripartite talks would replace the armistice agreement with a peace treaty, which would provide for withdrawal of all U.S. troops and issue a declaration of nonaggression between North and South.

North Korea's offer to provide relief goods to victims of severe flooding in South Korea in September 1984—and South Korean acceptance—signaled the beginning of renewed dialogue between the two parties. Both sides began discussions on a variety of fronts—Red Cross talks that address the plight of family members separated by the division of Korea, economic/trade talks, and parliamentary talks. However, citing the U.S.-ROK Team Spirit joint military exercise, the North suspended these talks in January 1986. In addition, both sides have met under International Olympic Committee auspices to discuss cooperative ways of approaching the 1988 Summer Olympics to be held in Seoul.

U.S.-KOREAN RELATIONS

The United States remains committed, as it has for the past 30 years, to maintaining peace on the Korean Peninsula—a commitment vital to the peace and stability of the entire Northeast Asian region. The United States agreed in the 1954 Mutual Security Treaty to help the Republic of Korea defend itself from external aggression. In support of that commitment, the United States maintains about 39,000 troops in Korea, including the Second Infantry Division and several Air Force tactical squadrons. To coordinate operations between these units and the 600,000-strong Korean Armed Forces, a Combined Forces Command (CFC) has been established, headed by a U.S. four-star general who serves concurrently as Commander in Chief of the UN Command (CINCUNC). These U.S. forces effectively supplement

the Korean people's ongoing and successful effort to deter aggression.

On Korean reunification, the United States believes that direct, government-to-government talks between the authorities of South and North Korea are necessary and that steps to promote greater understanding and reduce tension are needed to pave the way for reunifying the nation. Because the United States believes that the fundamental decisions on the future of the Korean Peninsula must be taken by the Korean people themselves, it has refused to be drawn into separate negotiations with North Korea, as Pyongyang has suggested. The United States stands prepared to participate in any discussions between the representatives of North and South Korea, if so desired by both Korean governments and provided that both are full and equal participants in such talks.

Perhaps the most rapidly developing area in Korean-U.S. relations is that of economics and trade. Korea has become the United States' seventh largest commercial partner. The United States seeks to improve its trade imbalance through greater access to Korea's expanding market and improved investment opportunities for U.S. business. Korea has embarked on an investment liberalization policy designed to open 90% of all industries to foreign investment by 1988. Korean leaders seem determined to manage successfully the complex economic relationship, and there appears to be widespread recognition in Korea of the benefits to be gained from greater U.S. private sector involvement in the country's development process.

Since the 1950s, the U.S.-Korean relationship has developed into one of the most important in Asia. The celebration in May 1982 of the centennial of

Korean-American diplomatic relations and President Reagan's subsequent visit to Korea in the fall of 1983 underscore the special quality of U.S.-Korean relations and the determination of both governments to further develop that relationship.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—James R. Lilley
Commander in Chief, UNC—
Gen. William J. Livsey
Deputy Chief of Mission—Thomas S. Brooks
Counselor for Political Affairs—Thomas P.H. Dunlop
Counselor for Economic Affairs—Donald F. McConville
Counselor for Administrative Affairs—Robert G. Deason
Counselor for Public Affairs—John M. Reid
Consul General—Andrew F. Antippas
Counselor for Commercial Affairs—George Mu
Chief, Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group, Korea—Mg. Todd P. Graham

The U.S. Embassy is located at 82 Sejong-Ro, Chongro-ku, Seoul (tel. 732-2601; telex AMEMB 23108). ■

Published by the United States Department of State • Bureau of Public Affairs • Office of Public Communication • Editorial Division • Washington, D.C. • April 1987
Editor: Juanita Adams

Department of State Publication 7782
Background Notes Series • This material is in the public domain and may be reproduced without permission; citation of this source would be appreciated.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402



EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 20, 1991

Reggie Trugillo
Office of Research
The White House

Dear Mr. Trugillo:

As you requested, here are some words of greeting in Korean.

The greeting "Ban-gap-sumneeda" (phonetically spelled) means "glad to see you" and would be appropriate for the arrival ceremony. The greeting "Hwa-yong-hamneeda" means "welcome" and can be used at the official state dinner, in a toast for example, and at the arrival ceremony as well.

Please do not hesitate to contact our office if you have questions about pronunciation or need additional assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Kwang OK Kim".

Kwang OK Kim
Cultural Attache

91 JUN 20 P5:17

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA
WASHINGTON, D.C.

FAX: 202-387-4695

TEL: 202-939-5687

FACSIMILE

DATE : 6/20/91
TO : Reggie Trugillo
COMPANY : Office of Research, The White House
FAX NO : 456-6218
FROM : Kwang Ok Kim
PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET) : 2
MESSAGE :

* IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL THE PAGES,
PLEASE CALL BACK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Republicans are the ones who want to keep the economy strong, and we've fought every step of the way against those who want to bring America to a grinding halt. We're fighting against mandated benefits that would burden small businesses, mindless red tape, more tax-and-spend programs. We're the ones who support a balanced budget amendment and the line-item veto -- because with a more sane budget process, we know we can build a better America.

Republicans are the ones who sent the Violent Crime Control Act to Congress last year, with tougher penalties and enforcement measures. This Administration is leading the charge to take back the streets, and we will win.

We're the Party that brought you the Educational Excellence Act and the Education Summit to develop National Goals for our schools for the first time in American history -- so that American students can be the best in the world.

And take a look at our record on the environment. We sent to Congress the first major overhaul of the Clean Air Act in over a decade -- because we must protect our planet for our children and their children. But this Administration also believes in market-oriented policies, policies that protect our planet and keep hard-working Americans on the job.

Tonight, I've only mentioned a few of the greatest hits from the Republican Record. But, as everyone here knows, achieving more depends on winning more elections for Congress. We can beat our Democratic opponents on the issues -- when the fight is a fair one. But we lose -- and the American people lose -- when the fight is rigged because of Democratic gerrymandering.

This year's election also presents an opportunity for us to regain a majority in the Senate. We can end the Democratic stranglehold on the U.S. Congress.

Our goal is to build a better America for our children, and for those who will come after them in the next century. Our goals are ambitious, but we have the best candidates and the best supporters in the country to get us there -- and many of them are right here in this room tonight.

Republicans all across America are making a difference -- in our Party, in our country, and in the lives of others. People like David Kirschner of Hanna Barbera who joined with other industry leaders to use the unique power of television cartoons to teach children at an early age to avoid the temptation of drugs; or Lod Cook, who's led Atlantic Richfield to become one of the most aggressive companies mobilizing its workforce to engage in community service. There are so many others like them here tonight -- who make up this Grand Old Party. We call them "points of light." We can and will continue to make a difference for those in need. That's what building a better America is all about.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 9:25 P.M. EDT
TUESDAY, JUNE 12, 1990

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE 1990 PRESIDENT'S DINNER

Convention Center
Washington, DC

June 12, 1990

I would like to acknowledge the outstanding men and women of my Cabinet, and let me mention a man who is not with us tonight -- a close advisor and a good friend. One of the most dynamic Chairmen this party has ever seen, Lee Atwater. He's a real pro, and I can't wait 'til he's back in the saddle again, leading the Party to more victories in the future.

I just returned from the Midwest on a trip for some great Republican candidates, where I talked about the successful Summit we held with President Gorbachev.

Over the past year of remarkable change, we have seen -- literally -- millions of people freed from the bonds of tyranny. We felt a new breeze of freedom sweep away decades of oppression. It was the Republican policy of peace through strength coupled with our unyielding commitment to freedom and democracy that helped breathe life into the Revolution of '89 and provided us the opportunity to make so much progress at the Washington Summit two weeks ago -- a policy so successful in the 1980s because of the vision and leadership of many people, but none more than President Ronald Reagan.

President Gorbachev and I worked together during those four historic days, to further the process of peace by working toward a safer world and a stable, new Europe -- one in which every nation's security is strengthened and no nation is threatened. Important differences still remain -- self-determination for Lithuania and the question of a unified Germany in NATO, for example, but the Summit was a success and real progress was made.

But, I've also come to you tonight to set a few things straight. Apparently, there are people in America whose sense of priorities is out of whack. I'm talking about the people who believe there's no difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties. But there is a big difference. On our side -- the Republican side -- lies opportunity, empowerment, and free market solutions to critical problems. Republicans want power in the hands of people, not big government.

What's scaring the heck out of our opponents is the simple fact that this fall, they're up against the Republican record. The longest peacetime economic expansion in history. The lowest unemployment rate in 16 years, and almost 22 million jobs created.

WORLD

N. Korea returns remains of 11 U.S. soldiers

By Paul Shin
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

PANMUNJOM, Korea — North Koreans yesterday returned 11 wooden coffins bearing remains of U.S. soldiers killed in the Korean War and said they will help search for 9,000 allied troops listed as missing in action.

The transfer came on the eve of the 41st anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War. It followed two days of negotiations in which officials agreed to establish a joint committee for further transfers.

"I appreciate the humanitarian effort put forth to locate, recover and return these men," said Sen. Bob Smith, New Hampshire Republican, in this border village 30 miles north of Seoul.

Mr. Smith planned to accompany the remains to Honolulu, where a military laboratory will try to identify them. Seven sets of remains returned last year have not been identified.

Li Sung Ho, a North Korean lawmaker, said his government was "acting from a humanitarian point of view, and we hope that our sincere efforts and cooperation will bring good results in improving relations between the two nations."

[In Washington, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said, "The United States government appreciates the return of war remains. We hope this step will lead to the return of additional remains of soldiers who fought under the U.N. flag in the Korean conflict."]

Mr. Smith walked into the northern sector of this village in the demilitarized zone that separates North and South Korea and checked each casket. Small boxes accompanying each set of remains held buttons, leather gloves, boots, an infantryman's insignia and a finger-size

Buddha's image.

Three boxes contained dog tags bearing the names John R. Bowers, Peter Kubic and David Woodruff. It was not known if the remains of the three men were among those returned yesterday.

No hometowns were immediately available.

About 100 U.S. military officers and veterans silently watched the 50-minute transfer. The ceremony ended with a moment of prayer led by a U.S. chaplain.

"I am grateful," Mr. Smith said after the ceremony. "The American people are grateful, the veterans who fought alongside these men are grateful and the family members who have faced uncertainty for nearly 40 years are especially grateful."

Dr. Norman E. Jones, a member of the Korean War Veterans Association, called the transfer "a positive step that will expedite the transfer of additional remains of those from all countries who fought in the Korean conflict."

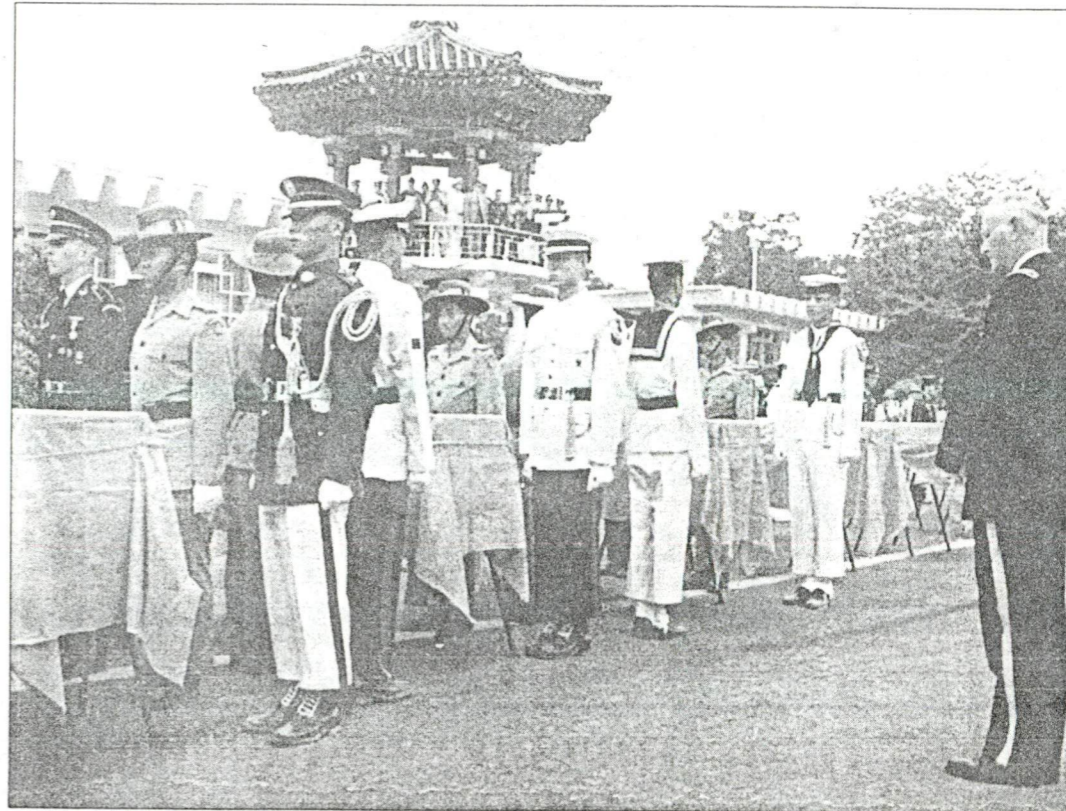
Mr. Smith said he and North Korean officials agreed in principle earlier yesterday to form a committee to search for other missing personnel. Details of the committee will be worked out later, he said.

More than 9,000 military personnel who fought under the U.S.-led United Nations Command are still missing. They include soldiers from Canada, Australia and England.

Mr. Smith held private talks with North Korean Vice Foreign Minister Kang Sok Chu a few hours before the transfer. Mr. Smith declined to disclose details.

Five million Americans served in the 1950-1953 war, and 33,629 are listed as killed in action.

The two Koreas have never signed a peace treaty and are still technically at war.



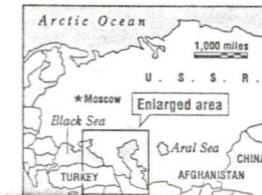
A U.S. military chaplain prays yesterday as North Koreans return the remains of 11 American soldiers during ceremony at Panmunjom, Korea.

Oil-laden Baku not likely to slip away from Soviets

By Martin Sieff
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Baku has been to

commissars what Houston is to American oil men — the technical



Factions agree: No foreign arms

PATTAYA, Thailand (AP) — Cambodia's warring factions signed an agreement that they will not monitor the cease-fire or other

ROH TAE WOO

A Political Profile





ROH TAE WOO

A Political Profile

When Roh Tae Woo assumed the Presidency of the Republic of Korea in 1988, the country was in the midst of preparations to host what was to become the most successful Olympic Games in history.

The theme for the Games was "The World to Seoul and Seoul to the World." Under the Roh presidency, that dream has indeed come true. The world did come to Seoul in 1988—athletes and spectators from 160 countries—transcending the many diplomatic barriers which existed at the time.

Subsequently, lifted by the spirit of the Games and the vision of Roh Tae Woo's "Northern Policy," Seoul has gone to the world. In the last two years alone, President Roh Tae Woo has led his country into diplomatic relations with 17 nations, including the Soviet Union, securing ties that were unimaginable just a few years ago. Today, the Republic of Korea stands ready to take its place as a member of the United Nations.

Seoul's assumption of membership in the U.N. will mark a milestone in modern Korean history. Yet such significant events have come to represent the political career of Roh Tae Woo:

- June 29 Declaration, 1987—As presidential candidate of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, Roh Tae Woo stunned the nation with his call for sweeping democratic reforms. The reforms were significant enough in themselves, calling for direct presidential elections as well as major social changes. However, it was the idea itself of voluntary concessions by a ruling party that sent shock-

waves through the Korean political scene.

- Presidential Elections, December 16, 1987—The Korean people went to the polls for the first direct presidential election in 16 years and selected Roh Tae Woo from among a field of four candidates.

- Peaceful Transfer of Power, February 25, 1988—For the first time in the 40-year history of the Republic of Korea a peaceful transfer of power took place. No tanks in the streets, no soldiers surrounding government buildings—just the passage of presidential authority from one man to another.

- Olympic Games, September, 1988—The Olympic Family marched into the Seoul Olympic Stadium to hear President Roh declare the opening of the Summer Games and witness what was in many ways the harbinger of Roh's "Northern Policy" and the melting of the Cold War ice.

- Formal Ties with the USSR, September 30, 1990—The Republic of Korea and the Soviet Union put behind them decades of animosity and established diplomatic relations, marking a significant milestone in Roh Tae Woo's Presidency and the diplomatic history of the Korean people.

As the Republic of Korea prepares to assume membership in the United Nations, President Roh Tae Woo continues to pursue the nation's greater goal—the eventual reunification of the divided Korean Peninsula.

This will be no easy task to accomplish. Nor have any of the other achievements of Roh Tae Woo been easy. The obstacles have been many and varied. But

as each milestone was reached, one factor has remained constant—the steady and patient leadership of Roh Tae Woo.

The Path to Leadership

The son of a farmer in a tiny Korean village traversed from his humble beginnings to a position



President Roh's daily schedule includes various meetings with government officials, political leaders and citizens from all walks of life.

of preeminence. He has revolutionized the image of Korean leaders. He thrust aside the long-standing tradition of authoritarian rule, proposed revolutionary changes in the political and social life of the country and pressed to see them through. How did it all happen?

There are many answers to this question. Those who know him describe Roh Tae Woo as “a man of reconciliation” and “a born troubleshooter.” Mild mannered and comfortable with ordinary people, he

is known for his imperturbable calm that seldom deserts him.

President Roh likes to listen to the views of others. He is patient and self-contained. He works thoroughly and waits for the process to run its course before making a decision. Once the decision is made, he will stand firm to see through its implementation.

In 1950, he was a senior at the prestigious Kyongbuk High School in the city of Taegu. On June 25th of that year, Communist North Korea invaded the Republic and, like so many other Koreans, this tragic event altered the course of his life. Still wearing his high school uniform, the young man who had planned a medical career joined the Korean army as a volunteer student-soldier and saw combat.

In 1951, Roh Tae Woo was selected as a cadet in the Korean Military Academy. There he was steeped in patriotism and service to the country, as well as in military doctrines.

Roh Tae Woo spent 26 years in the military, retiring as a four-star general in 1981. He entered politics as Minister of State for Political Affairs. It was from this post that he gained prominence as a political leader, as he successfully led the campaign to host the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul.

In 1982, Roh Tae Woo was named Korea's first Minister of Sports, the new agency whose primary goal was to prepare for the Olympics. Later, he became Minister of Home Affairs. Roh Tae Woo resigned from Government service to concentrate on the preparations for the Olympics. As president of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee and of the Korea Olympic Committee, he travelled extensively to confer on Olympic issues with leaders around the world.

The culmination of his efforts came when the largest Olympic Games in history convened in Seoul in September 1988. For the first time in 12 years, East met West in Olympic competition. These events were highlighted by the participation of all of the Eastern Bloc nations including the Soviet Union.

The Road to Democratic Reform

In mid-1987, Korea was in the grip of tense political turmoil. Having undergone decades of authoritarian rule, the Korean people aspired to regain their right to elect a President through direct, popular elections. As presidential elections approached, street demonstrations became violent, and chaotic situations developed as political confrontations intensified.





President Roh has remained firm in his commitment to the ROK-U.S. alliance to maintain peace on the Korean Peninsula. The President receives a briefing from U.S. servicemen stationed in the Republic (top). President Roh's hands-on style of leadership allows him the opportunity to keep abreast of daily developments and the progress of implementation of government policy. Above, he confers with Prime Minister Chung Won-shik as part of their daily consultation on national issues.

Senior Presidential assistants hold regular exchanges and briefings with the Chief Executive. President Roh discusses pending matters with his advisors at an early morning session at Chong Wa Dae (Presidential office and residence)







President Roh enjoys meeting with senior citizens throughout the Republic (top), and talks with Seoul City workers (above).

President Roh makes frequent trips to the countryside and especially enjoys the rice planting season when he can talk with farmers and listen to their views on conditions affecting their daily lives. (right)





After a careful assessment of the situation, Roh Tae Woo, then Chairman of the ruling Democratic Justice Party and a presidential candidate, decided that dramatic reform was inevitable if Korea's persistent and escalating turmoil was to be resolved. And so, on June 29, 1987, he put his political career on the line and issued an eight-point proposal for democratic reform providing for popular presidential elections, amnesty for political prisoners, press freedom and other steps toward liberal democracy. His reform package was met with an overwhelming national acclaim, including his political opponents.

After the historic "June 29 Declaration," the ruling and the opposition parties drafted a revised constitution which included, among other things, provisions for direct presidential elections.

In the presidential elections, scheduled for December 16, 1987, Roh found himself up against three of Korea's most prominent politicians. In a campaign which was distinguished by freedom of debate, he won by a substantial plurality.

Immediately upon his inauguration in February 1988, President Roh set in motion a series of actions that would take the nation on the road toward full democratization.

A Great Era of Ordinary People

During his election campaign for the presidency, Roh Tae Woo made a promise that, if elected, he would do his best to usher in what he called "a Great Era of Ordinary People." By this he meant an era in which all Koreans would have equal access to the political process and would be able to enjoy a decent living standard.

Following his inauguration, President Roh began to press for government policies which would improve the economic and social status of the urban poor, farmers and fishermen, a group of Koreans too often left out as economic development made steady gains over the past 30 years. Such goals were translated into programs in which billions of dollars of public and private funds were poured into neglected geographic regions of the country and underdeveloped sectors of the economy.

The Korean mainstream prospered, as well. The economy has continued strong annual growth and, more important, average wages have increased dramatically over the past few years. Per capita income, which was just about US\$3,100 in 1987, topped the US\$5,500 mark last year. This, in turn, has spurred a sharp rise in domestic consumption and purchases

of imported goods and services.

Perhaps the most impressive of the changes that took place was in the political structure itself. On January 22, 1990, agreement was reached to merge the ruling Democratic Justice Party led by President Roh, the Reunification Democratic party headed by Kim Young-sam, and the New Democratic Republican party of Kim Jong-pil. The new ruling party, having embraced the members of the former opposition camp, was renamed the Democratic Liberal Party and has effectively stabilized the nation's once-raucous legislative politics.

A series of reform measures initiated by President Roh have resulted in a comprehensive guarantee of civil rights and a balance of power between the ex-



President Roh and U.S. President George Bush stroll through the gardens of the Presidential residence in February 1989 (left). The two leaders have developed a close personal bond that has brought the two countries closer together. President Roh and Bush confer on matters of interest at the White House during Roh's official trip to Washington, D.C. in 1989.

ecutive and the legislative branches of government.

- Citizens now enjoy unrestricted freedom of press and speech. And, a countless number of new newspapers and magazines have appeared across the nation.

- A strong National Assembly and an independent Judiciary are in place.

- Labor laws have been revised to promote and protect the rights of workers.

- Local autonomy, ended in 1961, has been reinstated and free and fair elections have been held for



President Roh addresses a joint session of the United



States Congress during his official visit to Washington, D.C. in 1989. The President was greeted warmly by the body.



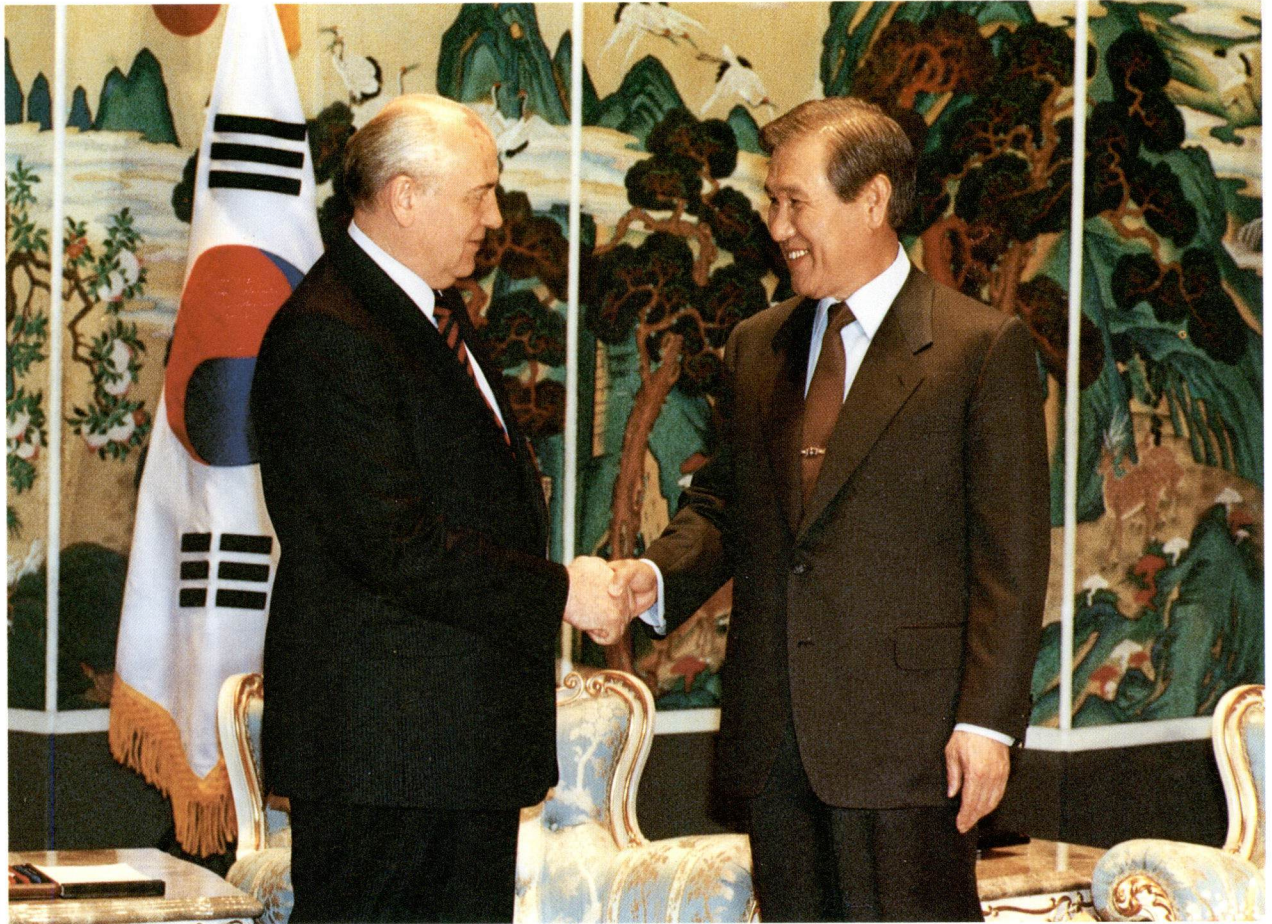
President Roh speaks before the United Nations General Assembly in New York (above). The South Korean leader is pictured with members of the South and North Korean delegations, including the North Korean Premier on the occasion of the first South-North Korean Prime Minister's meeting in Seoul.





President Roh Tae Woo speaks before a group of students at Moscow University during the ROK President's first-ever trip to the Soviet Union in December, 1990. (above) President Roh and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev exchange greetings during their historic summit on the South Korean Island of Cheju, marking the first time that a Soviet leader has visited the Korean Peninsula—South or North.





offices at all levels of the political system.

- In May 1991, the National Security Law, a statute aimed at restricting pro-North Korean activities and one that was often manipulated and abused by past Korean regimes, was revised to ensure minimum safeguards for the national security.

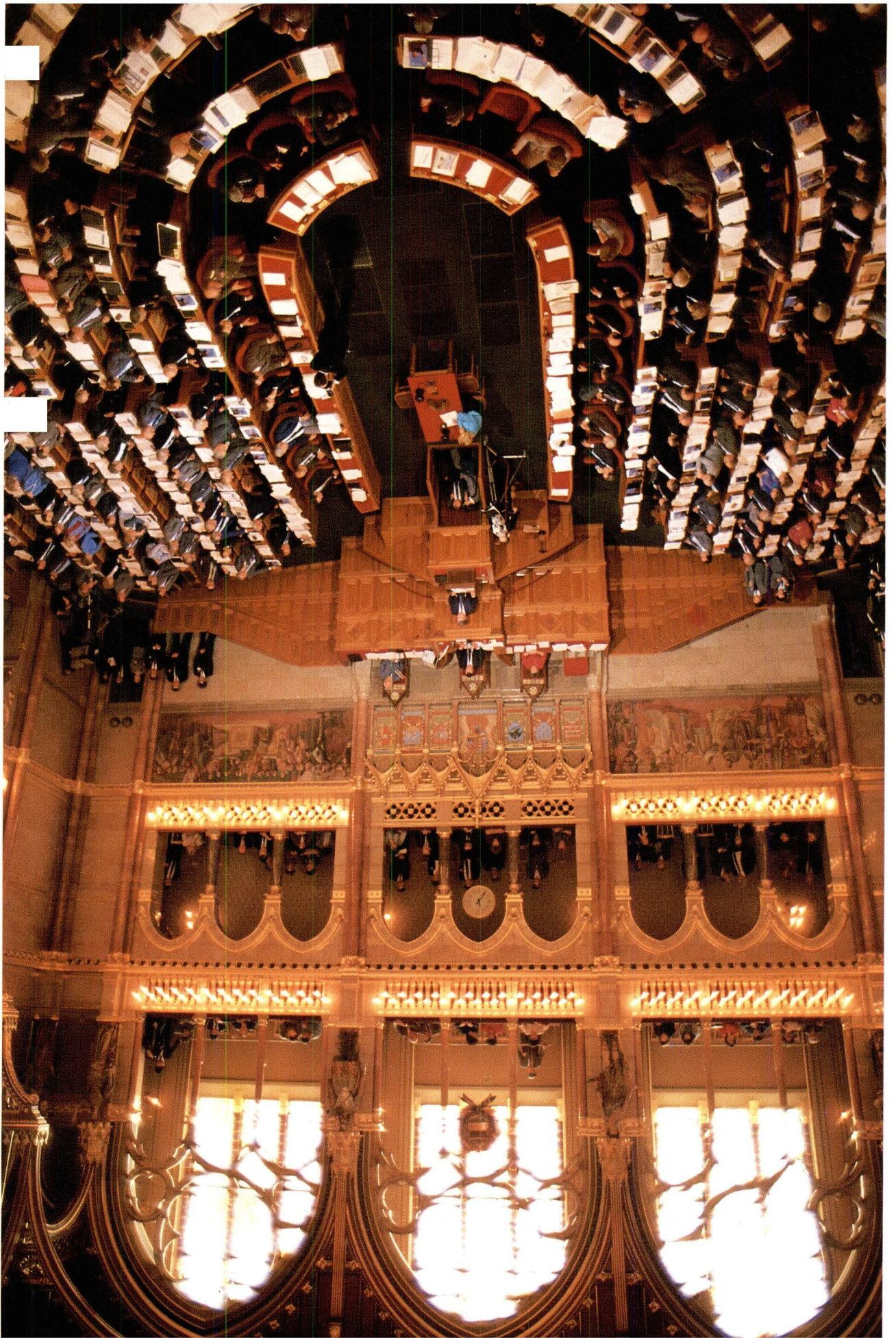
One result of the new atmosphere of freedom was heightened labor unrest and the proliferation of public demands which, in the case of Korea's few but vocal student radicals, sometimes have been accompanied by the resort to violence. Roh has met these forms of turmoil with calm and reasonableness. He has often said that democracy "is a rather vociferous enterprise." Law enforcement and security agencies have accordingly been streamlined and are now restricted from excessive intervention in labor disputes, student demonstrations and other forms of disturbance.

While recent street demonstrations in Korea received considerable attention around the world, these scenes reflect the dissatisfaction of a small number of political extremists. The fact that they are

allowed to express their radical ideologies is itself testimony to the level of democracy achieved in Korea. A small, minority coalition of dissidents recently tried to mobilize the Korean mainstream, but failed completely. The majority of Korean people today is satisfied that the ROK has become a functioning democracy and believes that the politics of street protest has no place in its rapidly developing society. President Roh believes that Korea's disgraceful tradition of political violence will soon fade as all of the nation's political activists—on the left and right—learn to work within the nation's newly emerging democratic system.

Broadening Diplomatic Horizons on the Road to Reunification

President Roh has travelled extensively around the world to promote the ROK's international stature. The U.S., being Korea's closest and most dependable ally, has remained central to many of the President's foreign policy initiatives and he has



sought, often through personal diplomacy, to maintain the warm bonds of ROK-U.S. friendship that have been developing over the past five decades. President Roh visited the United States in October 1989 and became one of 67 foreign leaders who have been invited to address a joint session of the U.S. Congress. Roh conferred with President George Bush after addressing the U.N. General Assembly in 1988 and again after his San Francisco summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in June 1990. The two also met when President Bush paid a visit to Seoul in 1989.

President Roh's approach to Korea's foreign relations, especially vis-a-vis North Korea, has a mirror image of his domestic policies; i.e., harmony, conciliation and cooperation.

The President has accelerated normalization of relations with the Socialist world. His "Northern Policy" has led to rapid improvements in Korea's relations with the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe. His policy seeks to remove as quickly as possible the vestiges of the Cold War by promoting reconciliation, openness and a greater interaction between the Republic and the Socialist nations. For better relations with ROK's traditional adversaries would also help improve the prospects for eventual Korean reunification.

On June 4, 1990, President Roh and Soviet President Gorbachev surprised the world by holding a first-ever ROK-USSR summit meeting in San Francisco. During the *tete-a-tete*, the two leaders discussed a wide range of issues including the normalization of relations, bilateral economic cooperation and the Korean Peninsula situation. On September 30, 1990, the Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Korea and the Soviet Union signed a joint communique establishing full diplomatic ties between the two countries. The joint communique declared that relations between the Republic of Korea and the Soviet Socialist Republics will be based on the principles of mutual respect... full equality and mutual benefit... and will contribute to a peaceful settlement on the Korean Peninsula. On April 19-20 this year, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev visited South Korea for a summit meeting with President Roh. He was the first Soviet leader to step foot on Korean soil—South or North.

During the past three years, the Republic of Korea established diplomatic ties with seven East European countries plus Mongolia. And in October 1990, Korea and China exchanged representative trade

offices to facilitate economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation and to issue travel visas. Trade between Korea and China has increased substantially in the past year and increased trade and exchanges between the two neighboring countries are expected to pave the way for full diplomatic ties in the near future.

The shift from anti-Communism to President Roh Tae Woo's flexible Northern Policy represents a sea



During his visit to Europe in 1989, President Roh addressed the Hungarian National Assembly, illustrating an early success of his Northern Policy (left), and meets with Japanese Emperor Akihito during an official visit to Japan.

change in Korea's international outlook.

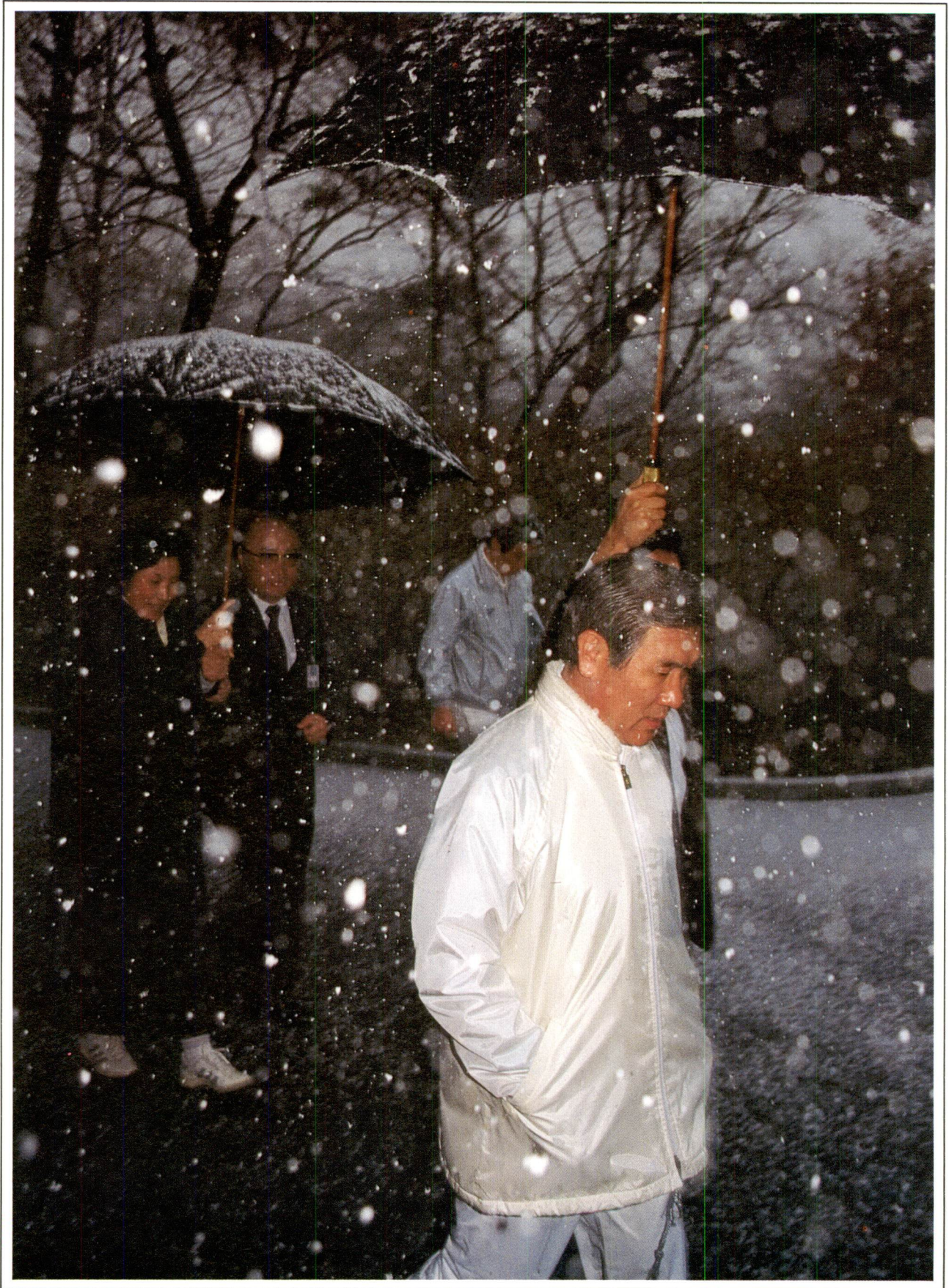
President Roh's flexible and conciliatory policy is most clearly demonstrated in his initiatives toward North Korea. He believes that South Korea must actively search for a genuine breakthrough to relax the confrontational relationship between the two parts



President Roh and First Lady Kim Ock Sook enjoy meeting school children in



Seoul and talking to them about their dreams for the future. Here they tour the gardens of the official residence.





An outdoorsman, the President often contemplates matters of state on long walks with his wife (left). The ancient art of calligraphy also gives the President a great deal of enjoyment and time to review important issues at hand.

of Korea. Closely related to this view is a broader assessment that it is necessary to persuade North Korea to break out of its self-imposed isolation and join the world as a responsible member of the international community.

On July 7, 1988, Roh Tae Woo publicly enunciated a six-point foreign policy guideline, which later came to be known as the Northern Policy. This initiative was President Roh's foreign policy equivalent of his June 29 Declaration for Democratic Reforms. In a remarkable shift from previous policies, President Roh called on his countrymen to regard North Korea as a potential partner rather than a rival. He said he would seek to achieve unification through exchanges and cooperation rather than through rivalry and confrontation. He also

declared that Seoul would extend helping hands to P'yongyang's effort to join the mainstream international community.

The President reiterated these principles in his address before the United Nations General Assembly in October 1988. He then called for the admission of two Koreas into the U.N. The two governments are currently represented in the U.N. by non-voting "observer" missions. North Korea has long opposed separate membership and insisted on a plan calling for the two sides to share a single seat, which was not only in violation of the U.N. Charter but also utterly unworkable in reality.

On July 20, 1990, President Roh Tae Woo announced his "open door" policy toward North Korea, and a "major exchange visit" program between the



President Roh cherishes his family and the time they share together. The Roh's have two children, a son and a



daughter—both married—and a granddaughter. Here the President enjoys a quiet Sunday afternoon in their midst.



President and Mrs. Roh celebrate Arbor Day in Seoul by planting a tree at Chong Wa Dae (above), and on weekends, President Roh likes to catch up on his reading.

two parts of Korea. There are estimated to be ten million Koreans who have been separated by the Korean War, and who have never been permitted to meet or write letters with each other for the past 40 years. North Korea, however, rejected this humanitarian proposal.

In the meantime, South and North Korea have agreed to hold high-level official talks and their Prime Ministers met three times in 1990—twice in Seoul and once in P'yongyang. President Roh has called for a summit meeting between himself and Kim Il-sung, however, the North Korean president has yet to respond.

Toward a New World Order

President Roh Tae Woo has been diligently working to relax Cold War tensions in East Asia. By positively responding to the call for assistance in the wake of the Gulf War, he has actively contributed to the international efforts for peace and stability under the New World Order. North Korea, now the world's most hardline and isolated communist re-

gime, is feeling the pressure of international opinion and the winds of change which are sweeping through what is left of the Socialist world. The North Korean government recently announced that it would seek entry into the U.N. in order "not to permit South Korea to represent the entire Korean people." North Korea's decision to enter the U.N. is expected to substantially improve the avenues of communication for North Korea and between South and North Korean governments.

North Korea, however, remains a formidable military threat to South Korea's security. It continues to maintain a million-men armed force equipped with a vast array of modern weapons. It is, in part, for these reasons that the United States continues to maintain U.S. forces in Korea under terms of the Korea-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty.

The world is changing fast, and President Roh Tae Woo's foreign policy initiatives continue to play an important role in the New World Order. The prospects for reconciliation continue to improve on one of the world's last remaining flashpoints: The Korean Peninsula.

