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policy REVIEW

Fall 1991 Number 58 $4.50

Conservatism's Growing Pains
Edwin J. Feulner Jr.

Why Communism Failed
Adam Meyerson

Is Japan Our Enemy?
Seth Cropsey

Reclaiming the Culture
Heather S. Richardson

Canada's Patient Patients
Edmund F. Haislmaier

Food Fight on Capitol Hill
Robert Rector

The Loneliness of the Black Conservative
Clarence Thomas

13
0 74470 65831 3

Uncle Samurai

America's Military Alliance with Japan

SETH CROPSEY

There were no aftershocks of alarm in Tokyo when Iraq invaded Kuwait a year ago. The Japanese, who rely on Middle Eastern imports for two-thirds of their energy, figured that oil is oil, and that it would find its way to market whether or not Kuwait was a sovereign nation. The land of the rising sun lay low.

Bush administration requests for Japan's assistance in transporting troops to the Persian Gulf aboard chartered airplanes elicited no response from Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu's anxious cabinet, and polite refusals from both Japan Airlines and All-Nippon Air. By early September, however, the issue could not be avoided. U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady arrived in Tokyo to ask Kaifu to provide frontline countries in the Gulf and the U.S.-led coalition with $4 billion in assistance. Japan began to realize that the nations arrayed against Saddam Hussein were watching its response to the growing crisis very carefully.

Eventually, Japan contributed $14 billion to Operation Desert Storm, and after the war was over, it sent four naval vessels to the Persian Gulf to help clear mines. Meanwhile, Japan's Asian neighbors shifted about uncomfortably at the thought of Japanese involvement once again in significant events beyond its borders. The political debate that occurred in Japan over what its role should be as a contributing member of the responsible international community continues today. As the preeminent Pacific power, as Japan's largest trading partner, and as its effective military protector, there is no nation with a keener interest in the outcome of that debate than the United States.

The United States and Japan have a common interest in maintaining the current military partnership. From it Japan derives the principal source of its security, the umbrella of U.S. military force deployed in the western Pacific. The United States, meanwhile, gets a base in Japan for protecting American influence in a region of the world whose importance will increase with time. America's superior, and Japan's subordinate, role in this security partnership are essential to the regional and global peace that both nations seek. As such, U.S. policymakers should resist isolationist and budget-driven pressures to diminish American influence in Asia. Japan's leaders, meanwhile, should hold fast to the American military umbrella by contributing to its technological and financial support as actively and greatly as possible.

The Scorch of the Rising Sun

The Asian solar system has a binary star for its center. China, the primary sun, has the greatest mass. It and the smaller Japanese star revolve around one another, affecting with their combined gravitational force the movement and rotation of all the lesser Asian planets. Beginning with the last quarter of the 19th century, Japan's pull has been so strong that it is impossible to discuss Asian security relationships without noting how the Japanese have altered everyone else's paths. This is especially true in Asia where, owing perhaps to the unusual antiquity of its recorded events or the deep animosity between its peoples, history is remembered in detail and called upon routinely as a lesson for the future. For its neighbors, Japan's obvious historical fact is its aggression.

Closer to Japan than any other neighbor, Korea was the first Asian country to encounter an aggressively hostile Japan. Intending to pass through and invade China, Hideyoshi Toyotomi, a 16th-century warlord attacked Korea in 1592 and again five years later.

As the 19th century drew to a close, Japan resumed its active interest in Korea. Japanese policy successfully edged out Chinese claims, and then by warfare in 1905, Russian control over the Korean Peninsula. When Japan decided soon after to bypass formalities and govern Korea directly, the subjugated people rose up. Japanese forces put their villages to the torch and killed 12,000 Koreans in a year.

Japan annexed Korea in 1910 and moved quickly to erase Koreans' sense of their nationhood. Newspapers were banned, schools closed, history rewritten, and Japanese treaties substituted for Korean ones. Occasional demonstrations against Japanese rule, such as the peaceful one that took place when the old Emperor Kojong

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died in 1919, were answered with club, bullet, and handcuff. In Seoul, 6,000 demonstrators were killed, 15,000 wounded, and 50,000 arrested.

For the next three-and-a-half decades until the end of World War II, Japan ruled Korea with increasing severity, enforcing worship of the Japanese Shinto religion, ending primary school instruction in the Korean language, and forcibly assigning nearly 5.5 million laborers to help support Japan's war effort.

"Bestial Machinery"

In late summer 1931 Japan overwhelmed Manchuria, a province of China in which elements of the Japanese army had been stationed since defeating the Russians in 1905. Initiating their military campaign with a manufactured provocation, Japanese soldiers attacked Chinese troops in the city of Mukden. Japan's forces in China, known as the Kwantung Army, then conquered all of Manchuria and several thousand square miles of neighboring inner Mongolia before the year was out.

A skirmish between Chinese and Japanese forces near Beijing in July 1937 led immediately to general warfare. By August the fighting had reached Shanghai. In December the Kwantung Army advanced up the Yangtze river valley and captured Nanjing, the Chinese capital.

Japanese military commanders were determined to discourage military and civilian opponents alike from any thought of resistance. They turned Nanjing into a charnel house, killing 200,000 civilians and prisoners of war in the first six weeks of occupation. Japanese military authorities failed to discipline their forces who looted and burned what could not be raped or slaughtered. Nazi Germany's ambassador to China cabled home describing the Japanese army as "bestial machinery."

The sharp gears of this violent instrument were engaged again as Japan turned it upon the Philippines. Japanese aircraft operating from bases on Formosa struck at American military targets on Luzon within hours of the Imperial Navy's attack on Pearl Harbor. After General MacArthur was forced to leave Corregidor in early March 1942, Japanese occupation closed upon the Philippines like a fist. The conquerors' policy was direct: exploit the land for resources to aid Japan's overall war effort.

The Japanese military unleashed its characteristic ruthlessness. A special unit of the Imperial Army's military police known as the Kempei Tai was responsible for upholding law and order in the immediate vicinity of its bases. Individual accounts of those who survived the Kempei Tai tell of the random shooting (and burial alive) of children, incineration of live victims' sexual organs, beatings with baseball bats, the burning of prisoners lashed to a rotating spit, and other forms of torture that are unprintable.

When Manila fell in March 1945 the Japanese naval defense commander, Rear Admiral Sanji Iwabuchi, gave orders for retreat that resulted in the beheading, rape, and shooting of numerous Filipinos who had thus far survived.

Japan's armed forces stalked across Asia duplicating this record. Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaya—there is hardly a country in the region that escaped the harsh



Library of Congress

Japan has been a bulwark against Soviet aggression in the Pacific.

treatment. The collective effect of this memory forecloses any possibility in the immediate future that Japan could peacefully assume a significant military position in Asia.

Asian Powderkeg

Japan's enormous national wealth, unsurpassed manufacturing capability, technological prowess, and personal industriousness would likely produce, if harnessed, an exceptionally well-organized military armed to the hilt with the most advanced equipment. Yet Japanese rearmament would cause such upheaval throughout the rest of Asia that it is almost certainly not in Japan's own interests.

Were Japan seriously to embark upon a major plan to rebuild their national defenses today, other Asian countries that have already been occupied in ambitious armament programs for the last decade would redouble their efforts. A hot market in weapons would be trans-



Ships of the World

Japan's neighbors shifted uncomfortably as Japan sent four ships to the Persian Gulf to clear mines after Operation Desert Storm.

formed into a furnace. The apprehension caused by a remilitarizing Japan would be further sharpened by the Bush administration's continuing reductions in American military strength, especially its intention announced in 1990 to decrease troop levels in Asia from 135,000 to 120,000 by 1993. Asia would become a powderkeg as Koreans, Chinese, and other Asians fear a resurgence of Japan as the region's preeminent military power.

Tempting as the prospect of a Japan wholly responsible for its own defense is to those in the United States who would slash the Defense Department or spend its budget on domestic priorities, it is not an option so long as a stable Asia that can go on creating wealth while it moves toward democracy remains, as it should, the U.S.'s overall policy goal for the region. Nor would rearmament be practical for the Japanese.

Because Japan also remembers. Since its absolute defeat at the end of World War II, Japan has eschewed arms as passionately as it once embraced them. Article Nine of Japan's constitution, enacted in November 1946, "forever renounce[s] war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes."

Successive Japanese governments have interpreted the article to allow national possession of only those weapons that are minimally necessary for self-defense. Excluded are such weapons as intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and aircraft carriers, which are deemed offensive. Under this strict interpretation Japan has not, until this past spring, deployed any armed forces outside its borders. It has forsworn the right of collective defense, *i.e.*, coming to the aid of allies under attack, and has steadfastly refused to export weapons—to anyone.

Japan's defense budget of $30 billion is comparable to those of Britain, France, and Germany, but small relative to its GNP and its global economic importance and interests. It is also deliberately unassuming. Rejecting even the slightest appearance of military ostentation, the Japanese Self Defense Force (SDF) does not speak of its component parts as an army, navy, and air force, choosing instead to call them the ground, maritime, and air self defense forces (GSDF, MSDF, ASDF). Together they number about 249,000 active-duty troops, a little larger than the total active and reserve strength of the United States' smallest military service, the Marine Corps.

With 156,000 men, the GSDF is the largest component of Japan's military. It fields one armored and 12 infantry divisions, and would constitute the nation's final defense against a successful invasion of Japanese soil. The MSDF and ASDF divide the other 93,000 troops equally in carrying out their defensive missions. Roughly one-third of the ASDF's 365 combat aircraft are committed to the support of ground troops, with the balance assigned to defending Japanese airspace. The MSDF is built around

a core of surface warships and submarines. Its principal mission is to defend the sea-lanes through which Japan's vital commercial shipping passes up to 1,000 miles from the mainland.

Beyond the 1,000-mile boundary, the U.S. Seventh Fleet, which is homeported in Yokosuka, Japan, along with its premier capital ship, the aircraft carrier USS *Independence*, assumes responsibility for patrolling the vast waters of the North Pacific and keeping open the sea lines of communication that link Japan with much of the rest of the world.

Japan's Strategic Value

Japan has benefited richly from the United States' defensive umbrella since the end of World War II. Released from the burden of acquiring a military commensurate with their dependence on the seas for delivery of raw materials and export of finished goods, the Japanese have stood out among the free nations in the relative puniness of their defense budgets. It was, for example, only in 1987 that Japan reversed a decision made 11 years earlier by Prime Minister Takeo Miki's cabinet to keep defense spending below 1 percent of gross national product. In terms of GNP, this is by far the smallest of the 20 top defense budgets in the world.

The yen saved may have contributed to the Japanese economy's position as the second largest in the world. But the use of Japan as an American base roughly 200 miles off the eastern coast of the Soviet Union has been of incalculable strategic value to the United States throughout the Cold War, and is certain to remain so unless some great event divides the two nations.

Since 1905, when the Russians were defeated in their war with Japan, Moscow has been unable to turn its complete attention to Europe, serene in the knowledge that its easternmost Asian approaches were secure. Over the years, Kremlin rulers may also have recalled that the Japanese troops who landed at Vladivostok in December 1917 were the first of many sent by foreign powers to crush the Bolshevik Revolution. Japan did not act out of a fear of Communism; the chance to seize territory at fire-sale prices was simply irresistible.

As tensions grew with China in the 1950s, Soviet anxiety heightened. By the 1980s the very low-technology threat of mainland China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) had tied up as many as 50 Soviet divisions at a time in Asia.

Qualitatively superior to that of the PLA, the U.S. presence in Japan has had a similar effect on Moscow. To keep the Soviets from concentrating their attention on Europe and to hold before them the daunting prospect of a two-front war, the United States could not have asked for a more favorable position than that offered by the main Japanese islands. They sit conveniently across the Sea of Japan from Vladivostok, which is the eastern terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the Soviets' chief warm water port, and the logistical center of the Soviet Union's Far Eastern theater of military operations. The presence of major U.S. armed forces at the USSR's back door speaks to the Kremlin in a clear and powerful language that needs no translation.

Japan's security thus has been assured without the self-effort that would have destabilized all of Asia, the United States has gained power and influence in the western Pacific while deterring war with the Soviets, and the world has been a safer place. The relationship has been mutually—and universally—beneficial.

Still a Bear Not to Cross

It is extremely important to remember that while the climate between the United States and the Soviet Union is more temperate now than ever, Soviet capabilities in the Far East have kept expanding as though this sea-change had taken place in an undiscovered ocean. Both the intentions and capabilities of a potential opponent must be weighed when trying to peer into the future. Intentions can change over a night or two. Capabilities take years to develop. Since President Gorbachev assumed power the Soviets have continued to modernize their forces in their Far Eastern theater.

Although the Defense Department expects overall reductions in the number of Soviet tanks deployed in the Far Eastern theater, modern and more powerful models such as the T-80, T-72, and upgraded T-72 will replace many of the older ones. As a result, firepower will be retained. The same is true for tactical air forces. As older planes are withdrawn, new models such as the Su-24 Fencer-E and MIG-29 Fulcrum will preserve combat capabilities. The addition of some newer aircraft, like the Su-27 Flanker will provide Soviet commanders with a long-range escort role that will actually increase the threat to Japan and the U.S. forces based there.

Similarly, the fighting capability of Soviet Pacific Fleet surface forces is expected to grow significantly throughout the 1990s. The Defense Department estimates that surface-to-surface missile capacity aboard Soviet warships will increase by 100 percent, surface-to-air missiles by 50 percent, and the number of ships with long-range anti-submarine warfare weapons by 40 percent. With the addition of the ability to project power ashore to this swelling armada, the Soviet Pacific Fleet is predicted to increase its capacity to transport amphibious troops from the current level of 50 percent of the naval infantry (marines) assigned to the fleet, to 80 percent by the year 2000.

Japanese rearmament would cause such upheaval throughout the rest of Asia that it is almost certainly not in Japan's own interests.

Still, there have been cutbacks in the Soviets' Asia-based ground forces. Symbolic ones were announced in April 1991 when President Gorbachev visited Tokyo and declared his intention to reduce the military division

based on the contested Kurile Islands by one-third. The rest of the 325,000 troops in the Far Eastern theater, according to Soviet figures, who are focused on Japan and U.S. forces in Asia, remain where they were.

The real reductions in the Soviets' Asian forces have come from their army divisions facing China from which, since 1988, nearly 120,000 troops have been withdrawn. Leaving aside speculation about what opportunities Beijing thinks the Soviet withdrawal may have unearthed for them, practical-minded Japanese are wise to note, as one defense expert did this past June, that "If the Soviets say their Far Eastern forces are not focused on the Chinese, then there are only the Japanese and the U.S. left."

Signs that Moscow's interest in Japan and the Far East is not restricted to the old regime were plain last spring. Mikhail Gorbachev's rival, Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin, and no friend of the Soviet Imperium, effectively claimed the Kurile Islands as Russian territory. On the eve of Gorbachev's historic trip to Japan, Yeltsin warned him not to cut any deal with the Japanese without first obtaining the Russian Republic's approval.

Japanese defense officials are appropriately wary. In their 1991 annual White Paper, Japan's Defense Agency called the situation in the Soviet Union "still unpredictable and untransparent." Their skepticism is justified both by the Soviets' continued arms buildup in the Far East, and by their response to the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) agreement Moscow signed with Washington last November. Required to decrease force levels in Europe, the Soviets simply transported an enormous quantity of weapons east of the Ural mountains. Those weapons can be shipped further east.

Providing for Common Defense

In fact, Japan's appreciation of the Soviet threat has long been sound. It is reflected not only by the efforts mentioned above at self-defense, and the gradually accelerating percentage of GNP Japanese leaders have devoted to the military budget, but by Tokyo's record of growing financial support over the years for U.S. troops based in Japan, and by several other important but generally unknown facts.

Japan's defense budget of $30 billion is comparable to those of Britain, France, and Germany, but small relative to GNP.

Between 1985 and 1989, and under steady diplomatic pressure, Japanese payments for facilities and equipment on U.S. bases rose by 45 percent. During the same period Tokyo's annual payments for items such as water, electricity, construction, and a part of the salaries of Japanese nationals employed on U.S. bases grew by 176 percent. Japan's level of support is today far greater than that of any other nation that is host to U.S. armed forces. By 1995 Japan has promised to pay 73 percent of the total cost of the U.S. military presence on Japanese soil, minus the salaries of U.S. armed forces personnel and civilian Defense Department employees.

Japan has also increased active defense cooperation with the United States. In 1983 at the request of the Reagan administration, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's government reexamined Japan's Three Principles on Arms Export, which, since their declaration in 1967, had effectively prevented the sale abroad of any equipment remotely connected with military technology. Nakasone waived the rules exclusively for the United States, allowing transfer of military technologies for naval and selected surface-to-air missile application.

Other gauges record similar progress. Among all nations, Japan is second only to Turkey in the amount by which its government increased total defense spending during the 1970s and '80s. From 1971 to 1989 Japan's defense budget grew by 165 percent (the United States by comparison increased its defense spending during the same period by 20.5 percent).

Undesired Guest

Kokusai-koken is shorthand for Japan's still-to-be-defined contribution to the emerging world order. The Gulf War helped concentrate the attention of Japanese leaders on the question. American policy-makers should anticipate and debate the issue seeking to guide its resolution.

For the United States the first principle is to maintain American influence in the western Pacific and Asia. The forward-based units of the American military are essential for U.S. leverage, and the bases Japan provides and helps to provision are still central to America's military presence in the region. So long as Moscow retains powerful armed forces capable of seriously threatening vital U.S. interests around the world, American sailors, marines, soldiers, and pilots should remain in Japan as a strategic reminder to Kremlin leaders of their vulnerability to a second front. Moreover, the Soviets are still modernizing their military capabilities in the Far East. U.S. forces in Japan offer the strongest bulwark in the region against that expanding threat.

The second reason for preserving the U.S. defense relationship with Tokyo is economic. Japan is the heart of the Asian market that holds the fastest-growing and most dynamic economies in the world, and to which the center of international trade is shifting from the North Atlantic. As America's commerce with Asia grows, so does its interest in Asian stability. U.S. forces based in Japan assure that stability, first by protecting Japan, and second, by saving Tokyo the military exertions that would agitate other nations in the region. The rotating presence of the Yokosuka-based Seventh Fleet throughout Asia offers genuine hope for that quarter of the world's continued prosperity and its eventual progress toward democracy.

The foundation on which U.S. military presence in Japan rests is sound. Both nations benefit greatly. The fact that Japan now recognizes the need to increase its

participation in shaping international events dovetails with American popular opinion that Japan should assume an even greater share of responsibility for its own defense. It should not be regarded as the first step in a reverse march of history.

Today, Japanese energies are absorbed commercially. Japan's military occupies a place in society much like the presence at a rich banquet of an unimportant and vaguely undesired guest. Recruiting is difficult. This year one-fifth of the National Defense Academy's graduating class turned down commissions, largely to accept more lucrative offers in business. Prestige is low; it was only after Noburu Takeshita became prime minister in November 1987 that military officers were once again allowed to wear their uniforms in the chief of government's office. And, the military's voice within the government carries little weight. In fact they are represented by the Finance Ministry, and have no direct control over budget decisions.

In short, while the chance of a relapse into the warrior-dominated society that precipitated Japan's behavior in the decades before and during World War II cannot be dismissed, signs of it are scant. *Kokusai-koken* should be welcomed by the United States as an opportunity to encourage Tokyo to expand its contribution to our mutual security.

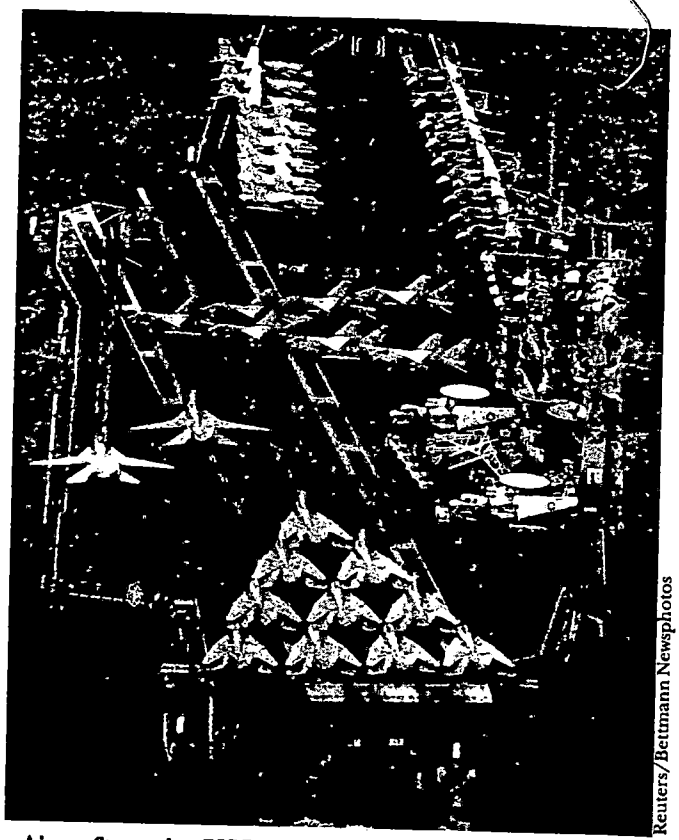
Getting Japan to See It That Way

That will require persuasion. In a recent poll of Japanese corporate leaders, 75 percent believed that the Gulf War forced Japan to consider the extent of its cooperation with the United Nations. Only 35 percent thought that the issue raised had been the nature of the U.S.–Japan relationship. Japanese politicians and intellectuals have reacted similarly. Those who favor a more active role in the world have focused on measures such as mediating Third World disputes, using foreign aid as a more effective lever to advance peace, and stepping up participation in internationally sanctioned peace-keeping operations.

These initiatives can be useful, but they are bound to have a marginal effect on immediate dangers to peace: rulers such as Saddam Hussein or North Korea's Kim Il Sung. Nor can such economic or diplomatic measures protect Japan from the fallout of more distant international explosions: a possible cataclysmic splintering of the Soviet Union, major civil unrest in China, atomic exchanges in the sub-continent or the Middle East, or nuclear blackmail as powerful weapons and the means to deliver them proliferate.

As a great commercial power, Japan has to prevent the turmoil in marketplaces and unavoidable disruption in seagoing commerce that such upheavals would cause. Japan's clearest foreign policy interest is in continued international stability. The most dependable guarantor of that equilibrium is U.S. willingness to lead other nations in coalition efforts like Desert Storm or, if necessary, to act by itself. And that fact links the former basis of the U.S.–Japan security relationship with its future.

Where the foundation of the relationship was once the common need to guard against potential Soviet aggression, Japan in the future stands to gain just as much, and perhaps more, from the U.S. ability to protect international order. For the United States, though, with Soviet aggressiveness in remission, Moscow is more likely to pose a regional than a global threat. The emphasis on Japan's strategic value has shifted from the geographic to a mixture of technological and economic. Japan's technology with military application, its industrial prowess, and its wealth will become the chief benefits to the United States of our mutual security relationship.



Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

Aircraft carrier USS *Enterprise* off Okinawa. Japanese bases are central to America's military presence in Asia.

That shift alters slightly the balance of the security relationship between the two nations, giving a United States relieved of having to cope with the Soviets' most troublesome aggressiveness a slight edge over a Japan that must still face the localized reality of Moscow's well-armed forces. As much as Washington would like to draw upon Tokyo's know-how and wealth, Japan has a more urgent requirement for America's defensive umbrella.

U.S. policy-makers should remember that fact as debate over the future of the U.S.–Japan security relationship takes shape. The leverage it offers should not be wielded to threaten Japan with termination of U.S. defensive protection, but rather to build upon and strengthen the framework of the relationship that already exists between the two nations.

Greater Burden-Sharing

One part of that structure that has already been improved almost as much as possible is Japan's direct financial support for U.S. forces based on its soil. Here and there a significant U.S. expense can still be identified



UPI/Bettmann

Fifty years after Pearl Harbor, the United States and Japan are close friends with common defense interests.

that the Japanese could reasonably be expected to pay. One such example is the 5.3 million barrels of ship fuel the Seventh Fleet burned last year and which cost American taxpayers roughly $200 million.

The Japanese should divide that bill equally with the United States. But the list of military expenses Tokyo does not share with the United States is finite, and close to exhaustion. It cannot be lengthened without changing fundamentally the idea of burden-sharing, and that would have a negative effect. For the foreseeable future, the current of Japanese pacifism will run strong, not dictating the country's foreign and defense policies, but certainly influencing them. Any agreement Japan could make to recompense the United States for defense costs beyond those that clearly apply to Japan would inevitably foul and probably diminish the defense relationship between the two nations.

A small yet fertile and untilled field that offers more opportunities for Japan to increase its level of support is in operations alongside the U.S. military. To note a couple of examples, Japanese naval supply ships could help reprovision U.S. naval vessels, and Japanese command-and-control aircraft could work together with Seventh Fleet aircraft carrier battle groups. Because it is likelier to produce results quickly, the Bush administration should step up its efforts quietly to persuade Japanese politicians to pass legislation that would allow the SDF to conduct joint operations with the United States.

A far more profitable area for cooperation, however, and one in which there are tremendous possibilities for growth is technology. The Japanese government's 1983 decision to allow the export of military technology to the United States creates the potential for increased availability of leading-edge technologies, significantly reduced production costs, and substantial decreases in the long intervals the Pentagon routinely experiences between the completion of research and development for weapons systems and their actual production.

There are today three committees, staffed by American and Japanese officials, that are working to reach agreements on the transfer of advanced Japanese military technologies to the United States, and another two that would move selected U.S. technologies in the opposite direction. Gaining access to Japanese excellence in technology that greatly improves a missile's

ability to locate and destroy its target, in certain areas of magnetic field research, and for ceramics used to strengthen and lighten internal combustion engines are the U.S. objectives in these discussions. In their dealings with Japanese officials, the Defense Department should elevate the importance of reaching timely agreements that produce meaningful, tangible results.

SDI Cooperation

The United States should expand considerably the scope of this effort so that the entire spectrum of Japan's applicable manufacturing industry is brought to bear in support of the armed forces that protect both nations. Japanese commercial successes in micro-processing, electro-optics, and advanced steel technologies, to name a few, can and should be harnessed to serve the interests of both nations by improving the combat capabilities of the U.S. military.

More to the point, the United States should consolidate in one office of the Department of Defense responsibility for all government efforts to identify and then negotiate with Japan to obtain technologies that could substantially improve U.S. combat capabilities. Right now that effort is diffuse. In the Defense Department, for example, officials of the Defense Security Assistance Agency, the Defense Technology Security Administration, and in the undersecretary for Acquisition's office are all involved. At the Departments of State and Commerce efforts are also underway to draw upon Japan's technological skills. The issue is important today and will surely grow enough in the future to deserve the concentrated energies of the arm of government responsible for defense.

Finally, and most important, Japan's industry and wealth should become a primary engine in the effort to build an effective space-based defense against ballistic missiles. Then-Prime Minister Nakasone laid the groundwork for such cooperation with his 1986 agreement to participate in SDI research. Fleshing it out to produce real, practical results should be accomplished as soon as feasible.

Japan's ability to play a major role in the development and production of SDI is plain. The research laboratories of the nation's great manufacturing corporations labor smoothly and efficiently alongside the production facilities they support. Both respond speedily to decisions taken by the central government in Tokyo. Engineers, the human building blocks of a massive technological project like SDI, abound in Japanese society. Their talents have already been indicated by the award of contracts let by the U.S. Defense Department's Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO) to Japanese corporations in areas such as superconductivity and magnetic field technology. And, of course, Japan has the wealth to shoulder a large portion of this burden.

Persuading Japan that it has the interest to do so should be the object of the Bush administration. Easing that task is the suitability of SDI, a defensive weapon, to Japan's constitutional limitations, its experienced aversion to nuclear attack, and its nearly total vulnerability to the ballistic missile-borne weapons of mass destruction that will before long find their way into more and more hands.

SDI cooperation is suitable for Japan's constitutional limitations and its vulnerability to nuclear attack.

Complicating the task of convincing the Japanese will be their urge to turn to the checkbook when threatened. Tokyo's recent discussions with the North Koreans over possible reparations from World War II are a good example. They come at a time when Pyongyang is probably trying to complete plans for the production of nuclear weapons. A fundamental issue in the U.S.–Japan security relationship's future is not whether Japan will remilitarize, but whether it chooses to become an active, influential participant in shaping world events. Can this powerful ally resist the temptation to employ the wealth that is the source of its power to solicit neutral nations and placate hostile ones? The United States must agree upon the means, and then persuade Japan to employ them in demonstrating its confidence that working together with friends is the straightest path to mutual security.

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HEADLINE: ASIA SEEKS LEADING ROLE IN PACIFIC'S DESTINY;
TRADE: THE MALAYSIAN PRIME MINISTER'S PROPOSAL FOR AN ECONOMIC CONSORTIUM RAISES FEARS THAT IT WOULD SHED TRADITIONAL VALUES OF OPEN MARKETS.

SERIES: SECOND OF TWO PARTS

BYLINE: By KARL SCHOENBERGER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Whose destiny is it to lead the Pacific into the 21st Century?

Pundits are asking that question with increasing frequency, wringing their hands over the decline of Pax Americana, fretting about Japan's dream of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and postulating about how the two great Pacific powers might balance their interests in a lasting partnership.

But the future may be decided by the followers, not the leaders, as East Asian nations examine the common values and interests that bind them into a regional entity.

Worries are rising that Europe's economic integration and North America's proposed free-trade agreement will divide the globe into protectionist trade blocs, stifling Asia's export-driven economic growth. A number of countries are thinking seriously about circling their wagons.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed has proposed creating an economic consortium aimed at providing political leverage and counterbalancing the two groups in the West. Provocatively, the United States, Canada and Australia were excluded, while Japan was clearly incorporated into the plan.

The idea met initial skepticism, but Mahathir's group appears to be taking on a life of its own. China endorsed it. Malaysia's Southeast Asian neighbors are increasingly supportive. Japan is privately intrigued.

Yet the proposal raises the contentious question of how to define common interests in the broader Asia-Pacific region. The Bush Administration recoils at the idea of an exclusive Asian trading club, fearing the loss of influence over the fundamental principles that guide economic behavior.

Despite claims to the contrary, U.S. officials say, Mahathir's proposed East Asian Economic Group (EAEG) could -- in a worst-case-scenario -- develop into a protectionist bloc prone to shedding traditional values of open markets. The obvious tendency would be to emulate the Japanese model of development through industrial policy, managed trade and mercantilism, a model that draws

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vociferous complaints of unfairness from the West.

In the very least, discussion of an exclusive Asian trade grouping underscores America's economic decline and formalizes Japan's ascendence as the dominant power in the region.

"The EAEG proposal is perhaps the first time after World War II in which a leadership role in East Asia is handed to Japan on a silver platter by another Asian country," observed Hadi Soesastro, an Indonesian scholar, at a seminar in Mexico City in February.

In response, U.S. officials are promoting a different vision of Asia's economic future, one that involves continued economic integration and economic cooperation across the Pacific and a resolute commitment to free markets.

The likely vehicle to advance that cause would be a loosely defined association established two years ago in Canberra, Australia, calling itself the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). It gathers government officials from 12 countries, including the United States and Australia, mainly for research.

So far APEC has been formless, toothless and directionless, its critics say.

But U.S. officials expect the annual APEC ministerial meeting in Seoul, South Korea, next month to mark the beginning of a more vigorous stage of APEC's development. The three Chinas -- Hong Kong, Taiwan and the People's Republic -- are going to be admitted, and Soviet observers are expected to attend.

"Our goal is to get all these countries into the camp of open markets rather than see them take the Japanese approach of more managed trade," said a U.S. official, requesting anonymity.

Developing East Asia, after a decade of phenomenal economic growth, is not as pliant as it once was. Mahathir is the voice of dissatisfaction, asking whether the American ideology of open markets and liberal democracy must be the norm or whether Asia should be allowed its own way of doing things.

"Today, individuals in some developed countries consider it their right to tell us how to rule our country," Mahathir said in a speech late last month before the United Nations General Assembly. "If we don't heed them, they consider it their right to destroy our economy, impoverish our people and even overthrow our governments."

Mahathir warned of the potential for a sinister, neocolonial "New World Order," and he pointed to "powerful trade blocs" that would demand "voluntary restraints" -- an apparent reference to the EC's recent automobile import quota agreement with Japan.

He also articulated the dilemma of conflicted identities and divided loyalties for developing East Asia.

"We are told that we may not call ourselves East Asians as Europeans call themselves Europeans and as Americans call themselves Americans," Mahathir said. "We are told we must call ourselves Pacific people and align ourselves with people who are only partly Pacific, but more American, Atlantic and European."

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Mahathir may be grandstanding to the Third World, but he appears to be hitting a responsive chord in some parts of East Asia. He proposed the EAEG at a banquet for China's Premier Li Peng, who was visiting the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur last December. China, caught up in a battle to retain most favored nation status with the United States, wasted no time in endorsing the EAEG plan.

The foreign ministers of the Assn. of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), meeting in July, declared that they would "further examine and advance" the proposal. ASEAN's economic ministers met earlier this month and proposed a softer alternative to Mahathir's group, calling it a "caucus." They also revived an old idea of creating an ASEAN free-trade zone, setting a timetable of 15 years for completion. ASEAN's position on the trade bloc issue won't be entirely clear until the group holds its next summit in January.

Japan, meanwhile, remains officially skeptical, diplomatically echoing U.S. concerns about exclusivity. But privately, Japanese officials are sympathetic. Bureaucrats at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, engineers of the industrial policy that resurrected the Japanese economy after World War II, are reportedly smacking their lips at the plan.

"You have to look at the Japanese behavior in terms of Victorian behavior," said Juanjai Ajanant, professor at the University of Toronto and a former high government official in Thailand. "What they do, they do in the dark."

Proponents of the EAEG grouping say it will be committed to open markets and free trade. Noordin Sopiee, director of Malaysia's Institute of Strategic and International Studies, an influential think tank, defended the basic concept in the New Straits Times in August.

"There must be no attempt to create a fortress East Asia. . . . There must be no attempt to create a trade bloc," he wrote.

But laissez faire economics isn't necessarily on the agenda. Sopiee suggests that EAEG may attempt to "harmonize" regional industrial policies and, in effect, draw up blueprints that would rationalize the divisions of labor across a set of economies.

"The choice before us in the region is whether we sit back and let nature take its course, or do we intervene to help the process of increasing interdependence along," Sopiee wrote.

Such intervention would be a dream come true for the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry planners, who have for years tried to orchestrate Japanese penetration into the region with commercially oriented foreign aid, infrastructure projects and direct foreign investment aimed at stratifying industrial production.

David Arase, assistant professor of government at Pomona College, said the notion of coordinating industrial policies through a forum like EAEG would be tantamount to "integrating Asia under Japanese industrial policy."

"Tokyo controls things from the top by controlling investment and technology and access to its own markets," Arase said.

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To be sure, Japanese economic dominance is already well established in the region, but barriers to a more formal economic association with Japan remain formidable.

Japan's trade surplus with its Asian trading partners has been rising sharply, creating a strained atmosphere. Massive direct investment in the region since the yen nearly doubled in value five years ago has caused concern. And memories of Japan's wartime atrocities remain rooted in the minds of the older generation.

Rapid economic growth, much of it related in some way to Japanese investment, has spread the wealth, however, and the Japanese are no longer openly reviled as "economic animals," exploiting the region.

When Emperor Akihito broke precedent recently and took an historic tour of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, the news was that there was no news. The son of Hirohito, in whose name Asia suffered tragically, was cordially received.

Japan has opened its markets to Asia's manufactured goods, not just its resources. Still, economists doubt that it can replace the U.S. market as the engine of growth in the region. The United States took nearly one-fourth of East Asia's exports last year, as opposed to Japan's 15% share. The ratio of manufactured goods to total imports from developing Asia remains significantly higher for the U.S. market.

Alienating the United States at the expense of building an exclusive house of Asian interests, as Mahathir proposes, echoes ironically back to Imperial Japan's World War II battle cry of "Asia for the Asiatics."

"East Asia has come of age," Sopiee, the Malaysian analyst, concluded in his article. "And the logic of East Asian dynamism, interdependence and cooperation cannot be denied."

That may be so, but a showdown seems in store over where to draw the lines on the map.

Does burgeoning East Asia share economic interests with its North American trading partners that would place it naturally into a pan-Pacific community? Why can't the sleepier economies of Australia and New Zealand be part of the family?

And does it matter, after all, to American business?

Richard Drobnick, director of USC's International Business Education and Research program, thinks so, and he advised business executives to keep an eye on trends in regionalism in a speech earlier this year.

"The Pacific Rim's regional structure does affect business strategies in terms of decisions about where to focus marketing efforts, where to locate production, who to seek as strategic alliance partners and subcontractors, and how to attract, train and retain key employees," Drobnick said.

But monitoring developments across the vast and vague region is a daunting task.

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"Are we really entering a Pacific century, and will there ever be a natural feeling of community in the Pacific Rim?" asked James Clad, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "My feeling is that we're light years away."

Competing Trade Blocs
There are competing visions of economic cooperation in the Pacific. Two organizations -- one fledgling, the other not yet formally established -- are possibly headed for a showdown, a contest for future economic agenda-setting in the Asia-Pacific region. One group, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, includes the United States and embraces traditional free-trade principles; the other, the East Asia Economic Group proposed by the Malaysian prime minister, excludes the Americans, the Australians and the Canadians and looks toward Japan as the model for development.

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
(15 members)
1 Australia
2 Brunei
3 Canada
4 (China)*
5 (Hong Kong)*
6 Indonesia
7 Japan
8 S. Korea
9 Malaysia
10 New Zealand
11 Philippines
12 Singapore
13 (Taiwan)*
14 Thailand
15 United States
East Asia Economic Group
(11 prospective members)
Brunei
China
Hong Kong
Indonesia
Japan
S. Korea
Malaysia
Philippines
Singapore
Taiwan
Thailand
Economic Growth in Asia
1990 gross domestic product in billions of U.S. dollars (percent increase over previous year)
Japan: (4.9%); $2,963
S. Korea: (8.6%); $224
Taiwan: (5.2%); $165
Hong Kong: (2.3%); $70
Singapore: (8.3%); $35
Indonesia: (6.5%); $96
Thailand: (12.2%); $79

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Malaysia: (8.5%); $43
Source: The Heritage Foundation "U.S. and Asia Statistical Handbook"

Asia Export Dependence on the U.S. Market

Despite Japan's economic penetration and domination in Asia, the United States still plays a key role as the largest single market for Asian exports. That is one argument against a trade bloc that would exclude the United States and other Pacific nations such as Australia and Canada.

1990 Exorts to U.S. and Japan as a percentage of total exports

U.S. Share: United States imports about 23% on average.

Japan's Share: Japan imports about 15% on average.
Source: The Heritage Foundation "U.S. and Asia Statistical Handbook"

GRAPHIC: Map, Competing Trade Blocs, JAMES OWENS / Los Angeles Times; Chart, Competing Trade Blocs, JAMES OWENS / Los Angeles Times; Chart, Asia Export Dependence on the U.S. Market, JAMES OWNES / Los Angeles Times

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12TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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APRIL 14, 1989, FRIDAY

LENGTH: 445 words

HEADLINE: U.S. LAWMAKERS URGE BUSH TO CREATE PACIFIC BASIN FORUM

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, APRIL 13

BODY:

KEY U.S. LEGISLATORS INTRODUCED RESOLUTIONS THURSDAY, URGING PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH TO ESTABLISH A PACIFIC BASIN FORUM TO PROMOTE FREE TRADE EASE MILITARY TENSIONS IN THE REGION.

SEN. ALAN CRANSTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS, SAID AT A NEWS CONFERENCE, 'WE BELIEVE IT'S TIME FOR AMERICA TO SHOW IMAGINATION IN ADDRESSING CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PACIFIC.'

'WE NEED DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE,' SAID THE CALIFORNIA DEMOCRAT. 'WE NEED TO SHOW WE'RE NOT STANDING STILL, NOT JUST A STATUS QUO POWER.'

INTRODUCED IN BOTH THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THE RESOLUTIONS STIPULATED THAT THE PROPOSED FORUM SHOULD ARRANGE ANNUAL SUMMIT MEETINGS OF LEADERS OF THE U.S., JAPAN, CHINA, SOUTH KOREA, INDONESIA, THE PHILIPPINES, MALAYSIA, THAILAND, SINGAPORE, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND CANADA.

THEY ALSO CALLED FOR SETTING UP A PERMANENT SECRETARIAT 'TO PERFORM RESEARCH AND TO PURSUE DIALOGUE ON LONG-RANGE CONCERNS OF MUTUAL INTEREST IN THE PACIFIC,' CRANSTON TOLD REPORTERS.

THE BIPARTISAN RESOLUTIONS WERE COSPONSORED BY REPUBLICAN SENS. RICHARD LUGAR OF INDIANA AND FRANK MURKOWSKI OF ALASKA AND DEMOCRATIC SENS. CHRISTOPHER DODD OF CONNECTICUT AND BILL BRADLEY OF NEW JERSEY.

IN THE HOUSE, THE PRIME SPONSOR WAS REP. LEL LEVINE, A CALIFORNIA DEMOCRAT, AND REP. STEPHEN SOLARZ, CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS. REP. JIM LEACH OF IOWA JOINED LEVINE IN INTRODUCING THE RESOLUTION.

'I WANT TO STRESS THAT THE ORGANIZATION IS NOT AGAINST ANYONE,' CRANSTON SAID. 'IT'S NOT AGAINST EUROPE, NOR IS IT AGAINST COMMUNISM. IT'S DESIGNED TO HAVE US WORKING TOGETHER TO THE BEST DEGREE POSSIBLE.'

LEVINE SAID, 'THE PACIFIC CENTURY IS NOT MERELY AROUND THE CORNER, IT IS HERE NOW.'

MURKOWSKI SAID AT THE NEWS CONFERENCE THAT THE PARTICIPATING NATIONS CAN USE THE FORUM TO ADDRESS SUCH ISSUES AS TRADE BARRIERS, THE SUPER 301 PROVISION OF THE U.S. OMNIBUS TRADE ACT, RESPONSIBILITY SHARING AND A COMMON DEFENSE.

CRANSTON SAID HE EXPECTS THE FORUM TO BE FORMULATED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ALLOW TAIWAN TO GET ITSELF FULLY INVOLVED IN THE VENUE.

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HE SAID THAT INITIAL REACTION TO THE FORUM CONCEPT FROM SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAS BEEN ENCOURAGING.

'HE HAD INDICATED INTEREST,' CRANSTON SAID OF BAKER. HE ADDED THAT OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CONSIDER THE FORUM 'A VERY FINE APPROACH.'

'THEY MAY HAVE SOME MODIFICATIONS TO IT BUT THEY LIKE THE CONCEPT VERY, VERY MUCH,' CRANSTON ADDED.

PRESIDENT BUSH UNDERSCORED THE ROLE OF THE U.S. CAN PLAY AS A PACIFIC POWER DURING HIS FEBRUARY TRIP TO JAPAN, CHINA AND SOUTH KOREA.

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7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Institutional Investor

August, 1991

SECTION: A SPECIAL SPONSORED SECTION; Hawaii; Bridge Between East and West; A Tradition of Internationalism; Pg. S 16

LENGTH: 815 words

BYLINE: BY KENT KEITH, PRESIDENT OF CHAMINADE UNIVERSITY

BODY:

In 1881, King Kalakaua became the world's first reigning monarch to circumnavigate the globe, calling on heads of state as he went. During his reign, he envisioned Hawaii as the leader of a Polynesian political confederation and dispatched diplomats to that end.

In the years since then, Hawaii's leaders have worked to make Hawaii an international center for meetings, culture, research and education. Historian Paul Hooper, in Elusive Destiny: The Internationalist Movement in Modern Hawaii, concludes that Hawaii's internationalism "is probably the most consistent single tradition in the modern Hawaiian historical experience."

The tradition initially focused on Hawaii's role in political leadership. As the " Pacific Century" dawned in the 1980s, Hawaii's leaders turned their attention more and more to the state's role in terms of business leadership. Non-tourist activities in international business are described by veteran Hawaii journalist A.A. Smyser in his booklet, Hawaii As An East-West Bridge, published by the East-West Center. Those who see Hawaii as only "sand, surf, and hula girls," should take a closer look at Hawaii's exciting and extensive international business activities.

While Hawaii has many international business activities and opportunities, one that fits especially well with the tradition of internationalism is international education. For America to succeed in Asia and the Pacific, we need people who understand the languages, cultures, markets, and governmental systems of the region. Hawaii is already helping to meet this need.

The resources and activities of Hawaii's universities regarding the Asian/Pacific region are substantial. The state university, the University of Hawaii, for example, has between 300 and 400 scholars with expertise in Asian/Pacific subjects and the broadest Asian curriculum of any university in the U.S. Next door, the federally-supported East-West Center has an international staff of 300, and fellowships and scholarships which support the equivalent of 800 full-time students each year.

Hawaii's private colleges and universities are also committed to internationalism. Chaminade University, for one, offers a Master's degree in Japanese Business Studies which has attracted students from 20 countries. The course includes intensive Japanese language training, as well as courses on Japanese culture, marketing and management and internships in Japan with companies like Nippon Telegraph and Telephone, the world's largest company in terms of market value. Hawaii Loa College, at the foot of the Koolau mountain range, offers a B.A. in Pacific Studies that is unique in the United States,

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as well as majors in Asian Studies, International Relations, and International Business.

One institution which trains both East and West is the Japan-America Institute of Management Science (JAIMS) in Hawaii Kai, established by Fujitsu, Ltd. JAIMS offers programs which prepare American business personnel to work effectively in Japan and help Japanese business personnel work more effectively in America. Over 1,500 people have graduated from their academic programs since 1972. Other campuses supported from Japan are Kansai Gaidai Hawaii, Tokyo Honolulu International College and Tokai University Pacific Center.

Hawaii has the resources and commitment to expand its international education programs significantly. It also has the right cultural setting. There is no ethnic or racial majority; all are minorities. The largest group is called "mixed" or "cosmopolitan," and constitutes 31 percent of the population. The next largest groups are Caucasian (24 percent), Japanese (23 percent), Filipino (11 percent) and Chinese (5 percent).

As a multicultural society, Hawaii has something special to offer those preparing for an international career in the Asia -Pacific arena. It is hard to measure, but many people who have lived in a multicultural environment are more at ease with, and more respectful of, cultural and ethnic differences. They are also more willing to work out a problem or take advantage of an opportunity within the context of the market or social system in which they find themselves, rather than trying to impose the system of their own country. I have had a number of businessmen tell me how pleased they are with the overseas performance of their employees from Hawaii. They have the right human touch. They are effective because they can adapt to different cultural conditions.

Since the days of King Kalakaua, Hawaii has sought a role in bringing people and nations together for increased understanding and cooperation. Hawaii can fulfill this role in international business by taking advantage of its geographical location and multicultural character to train and educate international business people to enhance America's success in the " Pacific Century. "

GRAPHIC: Photo 1, Honolulu's expanse and changing skyline is nowhere more noticeable than at night. Photo 2, Kent Keith; Photo 3, Traditional sports add to Hawaii's appeal. Photo 4, Airports such as Kahului Airport on Maui help make Hawaii the leading U.S. gateway to Asia. Graph, NUMBER OF BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS IN HAWAII, Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census County Business Patterns

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"To make out a heron to be a crow.") This witty saying describes an unreasonable person's method of arguing just to make a point.

Saru no suiren: "To do something that is unnatural." (Lit., "The swimming of a monkey.") Since the monkey lives in trees it is not fit for him to swim.

Seiten no hekireki: "A sudden surprise." (Lit., "A thunderclap from the blue sky.") This is a direct translation of the English "A bolt from the blue."

Sendō ōku shite fune yama ni noboru: "Too many sailors drive the boat up the mountain." English parallel: Too many cooks spoil the broth.

Shirami no kawa wo yari de sogu yō: "Unnecessary effort for a small result." (Lit., "Like slicing off the skin of a louse with a spear.") English parallel: To kill a fly with a long spear.

Sora no mitsu no rōka: furō-ka, terō-ka, kumorō-ka: "In the sky there are three halls: *("rōka")*—Will it rain? *("furō-ka?")* Will it clear up? *("terō-ka?")* Will it become cloudy? *("kumorō-ka?")* The word *"rōka"* means "a hall," but in the above saying it is used as a pun by forming the ending of three verbs dealing with the weather. Much of Japanese wit consists of a play on words with the same sound but different meanings.

Suppon to o-tsuki sama hodo chigau: "As different as can be." (Lit., "As different as the snapping turtle from the moon.") English parallel: As different as chalk from cheese.

Suzume no namida: "A very small quantity." (Lit., "A sparrow's tears.") See *"Ka no namida,"* "A mosquito's tears," p. 257.

Taka no atta suzume no yō: "Like a sparrow meeting a hawk." This describes a man or an animal meeting and becoming overawed by an enemy of much greater strength.

Taizan meidō-shite nezumi ippiki: "Much fuss with small results." (Lit., "A great mountain rumbles and brings forth only one mouse!") English parallel: Much ado about nothing.

Tana kara botamochi: "An unexpected piece of good luck." (Lit., "A bean-jam rice cake from the shelf!") English parallel: A windfall.

Teki naki ni ya wo hanatsu: "A warlike operation with no objective." (Lit., "To let fly an arrow where there is no enemy.")

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BNA INTERNATIONAL TRADE DAILY

Oct. 21, 1991

LENGTH: 894 words

Export Controls
HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS APPROVES BILL EASING CURBS ON EXPORTS TO U.S.S.R., OTHER NATIONS

WASHINGTON (BNA) -- The House Foreign Affairs Committee Oct. 17 approved a two-year reauthorization for U.S. export controls, including amendments to ease restrictions on sales of telecommunications equipment to the Soviet Union and to remove Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia from the list of proscribed countries for industrial exports.

The extension of the Export Administration Act through March 1, 1993 includes an amendment providing for tighter multilateral restrictions on exports of nuclear-weapons-related equipment and technology and stiff sanctions against companies or countries facilitating the spread of such weapons.

The bill (HR 3489), introduced by Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn), is similar to legislation (HR 4653) approved by Congress last year but vetoed by President Bush in November. It was amended and approved by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Economic Policy and Trade Oct. 1. A similar bill (S 320) was adopted by the Senate earlier this year.

U.S. officials, speaking at a committee meeting called to approve HR 3489, said that the administration continues to oppose several elements of the bill, including the nuclear-weapons-related provision.

Other amendments adopted by the committee include those introduced by Reps. Wayne Owens (D-Utah) allowing the president to extend similar export-control treatment to the Soviet republic of Armenia as offered under the bill to the newly independent Baltic states; John Miller (R-Wash) establishing a set of human rights guidelines for U.S. businesses operating in China; Toby Roth (R-Wis) making U.S. pre-licensing changes in computer specifications under the bill subject to approval by the 17-nation Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM); and Edward F. Feighan (D-Ohio) increasing the maximum civil penalty for violating the provisions of the bill from $100,000 to $250,000.

Approved earlier, at a brief meeting of the committee Oct. 10, was an en bloc amendment offered by Gejdenson which, among other things, would lift U.S. controls on exports to Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia of so-called dual-use industrial items but not of nuclear- and munitions-related equipment and technology. Dual-use items can be used for either civilian or military purposes.

The Gejdenson amendment would also eliminate a provision of the original bill which would have required the State Department to review license requests for exports of chemical and biological agents. The amendment,

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moreover, would oblige the administration to propose to COCOM excluding missile-related equipment and technology from coverage under the license-free zone now being established for COCOM member countries.

Nuclear Amendment

Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-Mich), who introduced the nuclear-related amendment to the bill, said that the experience of Iraq has demonstrated that tougher U.S. export controls will not, in themselves, be sufficient to solve the problem of nuclear proliferation.

At the committee hearing, Wolpe said that a "glaring loophole" in U.S. nuclear proliferation law conditions exports of nuclear fuel or reactors on strict international safeguards and a formal nuclear cooperation agreement but allows exports of nuclear components and transfers of nuclear technology the same requirements.

"That's a loophole big enough to drive a nuclear weapons through," Wolpe said, adding that the amendment he sponsored would close the loophole and promote a more effective multilateral proliferation control regime.

However, Gardner Peck, deputy assistant secretary of state for legislative affairs, told the committee that the administration opposes the amendment on the grounds that it would hinder U.S. cooperation with other supplier countries, including the Soviet Union. He said that the administration also objects to the amendment because it would unilaterally impose new requirements--beyond U.S. law or non-proliferation policy--on all countries.

Concerning exports of telecommunications equipment, Gejdenson said that he was attempting to address concerns raised by the administration by limiting the application of his amendment to the Soviet Union as well as the level of technology to that already cleared for export to China. The original bill would have lifted controls on telecommuncations exports to the Soviet Union to the same level as that granted to Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

The act governing U.S. export controls--the Export Administration Act--expired last September, but restrictions on U.S. exports have been maintained under the International Economic Powers Act since then (7 ITR 1500, 10/3/90).

An amendment introduced by Rep. Mel Levine (D-Calif), which would have urged President Bush to ban all exports to Syria, was withdrawn after Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind) raised objections to the "timing" of the measure given sensitive diplomatic discussions now under way, he said, over Syrian participation in a Middle East peace conference and the hostage situation.

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4. Promotion of Asian political leadership

There are nearly 8 million Asian Pacific islanders in the U.S. Yet, we have only one Japanese senator and one Hawaii Senator and fou Japanese Congress members. There is not even one Chinese in the Congr You all must work very hard to put up more elected members in the Co

You are doing rather well with the appointed officers. Since have become the President, I have more than one hundred Asians to top position in my administration. I have appointed Asian Under Secretary Transportation, Ambassador to Nepal, Chairman of Commission on Future Trade, Person to myScience Advisory Council, members to key boards an Commission. I am happy to announce that(so & so)has been appointed .) next year is the 500 years anniversary of Christop Columbus discovery of America. In order to commemorate the historical occasion, Congress has established the Christopher Columbus Quincenta Jublee Compission. I am happy to announce that I have the intention to nominate or appoint so and so to be a member of the Columbus Commissi to join with other planning the celebration of this historical event.

5. Family Values as n anti-crime weapon

Asian Pacific islanders works very hard. They are loyal American cit They honor their tradition and uphold their heritage. They put specia emphasis on family value. The recent celebration of his ninetyOs birt by Generak Chang Hsueh-liang with his family of four generations in Ca is a vivid exemple of Chinese family value. The respect of elders and honoring of parents are the cardinal social principal of the Asian cu which commands the chilfen or younger persons to behavor well. We A have much to learn from this Asian tradtion.

suggested points for President's speach
at the Asian American Event

1. Extention of MFN and Human Rights in China

China ought to be given another year of extention of MFN without conditions. Any conditions will be rejected by China and will hurt China's pride.Rejectionof an extention will hurt Americans business in China, the 300 American companies in Hongkong that are counting on doing business with China. It will hurt the $20 billion trade with China by American companies and will hurt TaiwanOs economy that rely upon China's law materials,cheap labors, and needs of investments.

However, China is still showing very poorly in human rights area. I have noted the rehabilitation of three high officials who were involved in the civil rights movement on June 4th and released a number of student leaders who demanded democracy. yet, there are still many student leaders such as Wang Dan and about several hudred peaceful demonstrators on June 4th still in the prison. The world is concerned about these people.

2. Treatment of Asian Immigrants

There are three problems in this area. Although Congress has increase the number of Asians being allowed into the U.S. annually by one-thi the U. S. embassies and American consulate abroad, particularly in China, Taiwan and Hongkong are very reluctant to grant visas. Even reluctant to grant student visas to bona fida students coming to the the United States. Chinese civil rights watchers reported that there are about 50,000 Chinese who have relatives who petitioned thier cor to the United States. I will give order to our foreign mission abroad instructing them not inconveniencing relatives and siblings of Ameri citizens and other bona fida students who are seeking visas to the U The same thing will go with the tourists, businessmEn AND Investors. Secondly, upon arriving at U.S. Port of entry, our immigration inspect often given them a hard time in questioning them. This fact GIves th a feeling of unwelcome. Thirdly,the investigation of permanent resid who are waiting for a citizenship hearing takes too long a time and felt being intimidated. I will instruct the Immigration director to move casesfast.

3. Promotion of Asian political leadership

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LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 61 STORIES

The Xinhua General Overseas News Service

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JUNE 5, 1991, WEDNESDAY

LENGTH: 265 words

HEADLINE: shanghai branch of citibank starts business

DATELINE: shanghai, june 5; ITEM NO: 0605193

BODY:

the u.s.-owned citibank opened its shanghai branch today, which is the first u.s. bank branch set up in the city so far. richard s. braddock, general director of citibank, said in his speech at the opening ceremony that china is rapidly improving its economy, which is clearly represented in many fields ranging from increased merchandise trade to the growth of the gross national product. he said that even more encouraging is president bush's intention to extend the most favored nation (mfn) status to china, recognizing mfn as

the cornerstone of relations between our two countries. he expressed his appreciation for china's reform and opening policies, saying that citibank values its relationship with china very much and looks forward to expanding its role in facilitating china's economic development. citibank owns the most fixed assets of all u.s. banks. in 1990 the value of its fixed assets amounted to 216.986 billion u.s. dollars. the bank has set up branches or agencies in more than 90 countries. to date, the bank has set up two branches and two agencies in china, namely the branches in shenzhen and shanghai and the agencies in beijing and xiamen. in 1987, citibank helped raise money for shanghai's key construction projects on behalf of the shanghai branch of people's construction bank of china. the new branch will deal in foreign currency business, including foreign currency deposits, investments, remittances, export and import accounts, securities exchanges and other related services. shanghai and eastern china will comprise its major business area.

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LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 130 STORIES

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June 6, 1991, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part G; COMMENTARY; Pg. G4

LENGTH: 826 words

HEADLINE: Numbers getting better for GOP

BYLINE: Donald Lambro; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

The economic and political roads to 1992 are quickly merging into a high-speed, super highway for President Bush and his party.

Indeed, seven months before another presidential campaign year begins, the economic recovery numbers appear to be slowly destroying the Democrats' case against the administration with a vengeance.

(c) 1991 The Washington Times, June 6, 1991

Among the key statistics: Personal income and new-home sales increased for the third straight month in April, suggesting renewed confidence in the economy and pointing to future increases in durable goods if home sales continue to rise - as I think they will.

But the best news out of the Commerce Department was a 0.6 percent rise in the government's leading economic indicators for April - the third straight increase and the strongest evidence yet that the economic recovery is on its way.

The department also reported that factory orders rose 1.8 percent in April, the first time that has happened in six months.

These and other bullish economic indicators have begun to steel the president's political resolve to attack the Democrats on several strategic issues and, in the process, score some important points for his party.

Notably, he has begun to go after the Democrats with new aggressiveness on the Democratic civil rights "quota bill," attacking them for practicing the "politics of division."

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"It invites people to litigate, not cooperate," Mr. Bush said in a toughly worded West Point commencement address. "And this is no way in our country to promote harmony. And so, let us cast off now the politics of division. Let's build a society in which people respect each other, work with - not against - each other."

Armed with internal GOP polling data showing strong voter disapproval toward racial hiring quotas, Mr. Bush's quota speech not only represented the early opening shot of his presidential campaign, it was a preview of his political strategy: Define the Democrats as the party of quotas and the GOP as the party of opportunity.

"Some talk not of opportunity, but of redistributing rights," the president said. He was identifying his party with economic growth and opportunity while defining the Democrats as the party that seeks to open racial wounds with an orgy of litigation that will not create a single job or launch a new enterprise.

Although the formal opening of the president's campaign is still many months away, he has in fact begun the early stages of his de facto campaign against the Democratic Congress.

(c) 1991 The Washington Times, June 6, 1991

In fact, Mr. Bush appears to be following the advice of several veteran GOP strategists who are urging him to mount an early and prolonged re-election campaign to convert his party's growing membership and his high public-approval ratings into GOP gains in Congress.

Veteran campaign adviser Ed Rollins thinks the president should make the big-spending, Democratic-controlled Congress the target of a lengthy re-election drive seeking "a mandate for change in 1992."

In a detailed campaign analysis for the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Mr. Rollins says "coming out of the Rose Garden early poses no real risk" for Mr. Bush or his party.

"The only risk to the GOP comes from a delayed entry into the political arena. If voters, including base Republicans, decide that 1992 is a foregone conclusion, many will stay home," he warns.

But, Mr. Rollins adds, "given the likely depressed state of straight-ticket Democratic voting, there's a real possibility a strong president-inspired Republican turnout would pull in victories for House and Senate candidates next year who would get only 45-49 percent of the vote in an off-year."

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GOP strategist and pollster Richard Wirthlin also thinks the pro-GOP political climate of the '90s provides Mr. Bush with a golden opportunity to convert a landslide re-election into significant gains in both houses of Congress.

When Mr. Wirthlin was plotting strategy for Ronald Reagan's 1980 election, his polling showed that a hefty 51 percent of Americans identified themselves as Democrats and only 28 percent as Republicans.

However, a poll in January showed that the GOP had moved to a 3 percent advantage over the Democrats in party identification, while a survey in April showed the parties were virtually even at 43 percent each. Mr. Wirthlin's polls also showed more than half of all Americans surveyed (57 percent) considered themselves politically conservative, while only 34 percent labeled themselves liberal on most issues.

The GOP's sharply increased numbers not only give Mr. Bush a strong political buffer in 1992 that he did not have in 1988, it gives his party much larger forces that can make the difference in key congressional races.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

LEVEL 1 - 8 OF 484 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 The Washington Post

May 29, 1991, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A19

LENGTH: 720 words

HEADLINE: Quotas: The Smoking Gun

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Charles Fried

BODY:

The Kennedy-Hawkins bill (the Civil Rights Act of 1990 and now of 1991) is supposed to restore the law regarding employer practices that have the unintended effect of disadvantaging minorities to the state in which it was before a 1989 Supreme Court decision. It is these "restorative" provisions that have been criticized as creating powerful pressures on employers to engage in racially preferential hiring -- in the president's words, it is a "quota bill." The bill's fans have responded every time that there is no evidence that

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employers before 1989 engaged in quota hiring, and so the president's misgivings are dismissed with dark hints that the president is playing racial politics.

The widespread use, particularly by large employers, of "race-normed" employment tests is as good evidence as any objective person should want. Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.) has proposed legislation to restrict the use of race-normed tests. Out of that debate has come the kind of smoking gun evidence that should, but will not, take this "no evidence" argument off the air for good.

In a race-normed test, the score assigned to an individual is not the raw score reflecting the number of right answers but a percentile score -- a score of 89 means that the candidate did as well as the top 11 out of every 100 test takers. When a test is race-normed, the percentile score is assigned not according to the raw scores of all test takers but rather according to the scores of those in the same racial group (black, Hispanic, and white or Asian). The employer often does not even know what the raw scores of each candidate are. This means that a large employer accepting all qualified candidates above a determined race-normed score must as a matter of mathematical necessity hire in strict proportion to the race of the persons taking the test -- that is, quota hiring.

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Now it will be said that no employer hires only according to performance on an objective employment test. Probably not. The chances are that employers seeking to avoid legal liability will give some preference (recognizing "subjective factors") to minority applicants with the same score. Can you imagine an employer so foolish as to prefer a non-minority candidate with a lower score? But the point is that any such preference is an additional preference, since the "same" score is not really the same score at all but a race-normed score that masks the actual achievement on the test.

A lawyer for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund has defended race-norming as "a necessary tool" that "corrects for the bias that's in the test." This reasoning is circular. The bias, apparently, is nothing other than that undoctored test scores do not yield racially proportional results. But a conception of "bias" that takes as its premise that everything must be distributed strictly according to race is exactly the quota mentality that many see lurking behind the soothing euphemisms used to support Kennedy-Hawkins and race-norming both. That race-norming has nothing to do with some kind of cultural bias in the content of the test is amply demonstrated by the grouping of Asians with whites -- not because of a similarity of cultural background but because Asians do as well or better than whites on the test. Thus do we penalize achievement and ability in the name of equality.

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It may be that employers and universities and broadcasters are sometimes justified in giving preferences along racial lines. That is a different question from whether the law -- directly or indirectly, but unmistakably as in Kennedy-Hawkins -- should compel them to do so. It is sad and ironic that the Democratic leadership, in its eagerness to be seen as triumphing over a reluctant president, has rejected the administration's recent conciliatory compromise bill, and at the last minute has added to Kennedy-Hawkins a provision purporting to prohibit quota hiring. If this is meant to have teeth in it and to prohibit all racial and gender preferences, it will deny the private sector a form of discretion it has enjoyed for two generations. The only beneficiaries of this double bind will be the trial lawyers, the one group in society no one believes deserves affirmative action.

The writer, a professor at Harvard Law School, was solicitor general in the Reagan administration.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

LEVEL 1 - 14 OF 484 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 The Washington Post

May 26, 1991, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A15

LENGTH: 666 words

HEADLINE: Berkeley Admissions Guarantee: Some Minorities Gained, Asians Were Limited

SERIES: BERKELEY, Part 1 of 2

BYLINE: Kenneth J. Cooper, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: BERKELEY, Calif.

BODY:

The number of students trying to get into the University of California in the 1980s increased at the same time the school was recruiting more minority students.

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One result was that racial-ethnic tensions among students deepened. Another was that admission to Berkeley became a scarce prize.

In 1980, then-Chancellor Ira M. Heyman ordered the recruitment of more black, Mexican-American and American Indian students to comply with legislative directives that University of California campuses reflect the population of high school graduates.

To achieve that goal, California residents from those three racial-ethnic groups were effectively guaranteed admission if they met a state requirement of graduating in the top eighth of their high school class.

But Asian leaders, beginning in 1984, noticed a decline in Asian students accepted to Berkeley and accused the school of imposing enrollment ceilings on them. Berkeley officials denied there were any restrictive quotas.

The Asian criticisms continued as applications to Berkeley rose and the percentage of students accepted fell. In 1986, the number of applicants unexpectedly jumped 70 percent, from 11,900 to 20,300.

It was in that year that Berkeley, with its longstanding reputation for academic excellence, for the first time accepted fewer than half of the

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students who applied.

In 1989, the controversy over Asian admissions crested. After legislative hearings on the issue, Heyman apologized for "insensitivity" and acknowledged that "the admissions process indisputably had a disproportionate impact on Asians." He accepted faculty recommendations on revising admissions policies, and Asian leaders made peace with the school.

In retrospect, administrators have described the guaranteed-entrance admission policies for some minorities as a major mistake.

Admissions director Patrick Hayashi said many Asian applicants were referred to other University of California campuses beginning in 1984 because officials faced a choice of squeezing out Asians or breaking the guarantee for black, Mexican-American and American Indian students.

New faculty recommendations, implemented for the class entering Berkeley this fall, terminated the guarantee, added economic disadvantage as an admissions factor and increased the percentage of students accepted on the basis of grades and test scores alone. Preliminary indications are that Asians will increase in the 1991 freshman class as a result of the changes.

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But racial considerations continue to benefit blacks, Mexican-Americans and Native Americans.

"We tried a whole series of models of admissions using a whole lot of factors other than race," said Roderic Park, Heyman's vice chancellor from 1980 to 1990. "Without including race we could not get either black or Chicano students above 2 percent of the freshman class. Race has to be a factor."

Heyman cited practical reasons for ensuring what administrators call racial parity, or what critics have called racial discrimination.

"If you think of a state that in 10 years is going to be half 'other than white,' you'd better train some [nonwhite] leaders," Heyman said. "Otherwise, you're going to have chaos."

Questions about the fairness of the racial preferences linger. Some critics have argued that many black and Hispanic students, who average lower scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test than whites and Asians, belong at less demanding state colleges, and that their insufficient preparation accounts for their higher dropout rates.

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Officials noted that white students benefit from special considerations, too -- for being athletes, disabled, talented in music or art, rural residents or older students returning to college. Admissions officials said 24 percent of white freshmen were admitted under special considerations last year.

And the controversy continues. The Office for Civil Rights is investigating a 1989 complaint from an Asian computer specialist that whites are underrepresented at Berkeley.

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, SERIES

SUBJECT: COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES; ENROLLMENT AND ADMISSION; STUDENTS; ASIAN AMERICANS; HISPANIC AMERICANS; BLACKS

ORGANIZATION: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

NAMED-PERSONS: PATRICK HAYASHI

ENHANCEMENT: SIDEBAR

LEVEL 1 - 15 OF 484 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 The Washington Post

May 23, 1991, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A23

LENGTH: 845 words

HEADLINE: Liberalism's Apartheid of 'Compassion'

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: George F. Will

BODY:

"Within group score conversion" is a euphemism for "race-norming," which is a euphemism for a form of "affirmative action," which is today's euphemism for reverse discrimination, adopted when "compensatory opportunity" proved to be a jawbreaker.

But perhaps before you have mastered the obfuscating language of compassion's guilty conscience, race-norming may be dead. It may be killed by the

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democratic device of asking those who favor it -- mostly Democrats -- to actually vote for it.

Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.) recently tried to attach to this year's so-called "civil rights bill" (a euphemism for a quota-promoting and lawyer-enriching bill) an amendment outlawing race-norming. Democrats rejected it in committee on a 21-13 party-line vote.

Under race-norming, scores achieved by job applicants on certain tests are segregated by racial groups. Individuals' scores are reported not in relation to all those taking the test, but only in relation to others in the individuals' racial groups.

Each year state employment agencies evaluate prospective job applicants for private employers using the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB). For example, in a recent year scores for whites, Hispanics and blacks in the 50th percentiles of their groups were 305, 295 and 276 respectively. Such scores were reported as identical.

A black with 305 points was at the 84th percentile among blacks. That score was reported as substantially superior to a white applicant's 305.

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Employers getting test scores are not told the applicants' races. Hence the employers do not know that black and Hispanic applicants have inflated scores. At least 33 states and an unknown number of employers practice race-norming.

Defenders of race-norming say the policy is justified because the tests are flawed. But if so, the answer is to change the tests, not cook the results. The real reason for race-norming is that any test is apt to produce uncomfortable "statistical disparities" by racial groups until the schools that many blacks attend, and the home environments from which many blacks go to school, and the neighborhoods through which they walk to school, are better.

Race-norming does not have many, if any, explicit defenders in Congress. We are ostensibly a nation of laws, but no lawmaker has ever voted for race-norming. It was concocted in the dying days of the Carter administration, enlarged by Reagan's Labor Department and belatedly questioned by his Justice Department. The Bush administration is brooding about this obvious violation of equal protection of the law.

Some of those who voted against Hyde's amendment said, archly, that Congress should not interfere with a "regulatory" matter. Trust today's liberals to fight to keep their agenda out of harm's (democracy's) way.

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This year's "civil rights" bill is designed to force employers to choose between preemptively adopting quotas or risking punishing litigation that requires them to prove themselves innocent of "unintentional" discrimination. Such "discrimination" can occur by the use of an employment test that produces statistically "wrong" results.

Even if the bill's final version explicitly bars quotas, no prudent person will be reassured. Hubert Humphrey, the prime mover of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, denied that quotas or other preferred treatments of any group were required by that law. But "race-conscious" policies soon were required.

" Quotas" ? Heaven forfend. Only "goals" and "timetables" for removing "statistical disparities" and "underrepresentation."

Any employment practice that has a "disparate impact" on certain government-certified victim-groups (not, for example, Asian Americans, whose GATB scores are segregated with whites' scores) can make an employer vulnerable to costly litigation. Hence many employers like race-norming, which helps them fill de facto quotas.

The phrase "race-conscious remedy" is today's preferred euphemism for policies like race-norming. Such "remedies" so obviously poison society, it is

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reasonable to suspect that the poisoning is an aim of some members of the "civil rights" lobby. Increasingly that lobby exists to administer a racial spoils system. Hence that lobby has a stake in the competitive cultivation of group grievances.

The stain of officially sponsored racism is spreading everywhere. In a story on the self-segregation of students on campuses -- separate dorms, dining halls, clubs -- the New York Times reports: "Minority students say they are made to feel like they do not belong on campuses where affirmative action casts doubt on their qualifications." A black student at Stanford explains her preference for a predominantly black dorm: "I didn't want a whole layer of challenges about whether I deserved to be here. I figured that if I lived in a black environment it wouldn't come up." A black student at Berkeley complains, "I feel like I have AFFIRMATIVE ACTION stamped on my forehead."

This sad disfigurement of the academic experience is, like race-norming, another aspect of liberalism's apartheid of "compassion."

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION; EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

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the landmark immigration reforms of 1965, the United States had a white majority of 85 percent and a black minority of 12 percent. The 1965 Immigration Act was expected to enhance America's cosmopolitan mix of minorities, not to submerge the existing majority culture. Yet, at current rates of over a million immigrants per year - more than 90 percent of whom are Latin American and Asian - whites of European ancestry will be a minority in this country by the year 2050; in immigration-intensive states like New York and California, whites will become a minority in 20 years.

More than any other factor, it is this emerging multiracialism - notwithstanding the spirit, hard work and economic contributions of many recent immigrants - that is paving the way to multiculturalism. The cultural identity of white Americans is changing, almost unconsciously; as the country's racial paradigm-shift makes our predominantly European heritage seem increasingly anachronistic in relation to our present, radically changed population, that heritage is delegitimized as a source of national identity and ideals. "Diversity" - with all its radicalizing potentialities in terms of group-think and derogation of the West - becomes the only way Americans can describe themselves, and the only way they can sanction their institutions.

At the same time, as the new groups continue to increase in numbers and power, they start to experience themselves as a culturally distinct rising

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force. That attitude, combined with the anxiety of assimilating into a mainstream culture which they feel does not fit them, and which itself is dwindling in numbers and legitimacy, creates a dangerous impetus toward ethnic chauvinism. In the words of Gabriel Garcia Marquez: "The great power of Latin America is its culture. We don't spend a dime trying to penetrate culturally, yet we're changing the United States . . . We're changing the language, the food, the music, the way of being. We're changing you into a Latin country." A black studies professor tells Time magazine: "People of color have always been a majority in the world, and are now becoming a majority in America. The issue becomes, How do we begin to share power?"

It is not just the chauvinists who speak this way; even among ethnic spokesmen and writers of a nonradical bent, it is simply taken for granted that our changing demographics are leading to cultural revolution. William Wong writes in the Oakland Tribune: "If we are to get to the pluralistic society, everyone will have to give something up, including the guardians of European-rooted cultures, to form a whole new society." Novelist Bharati Mukherjee tells Bill Moyers: "What I like to think, Bill, is that you and I are both now without rules because of the large influx of non-Europeans in the '70s and '80s, and more to come in the '90s . . . We have to invent new American mythologies. Letting go of the old notions of what America was shouldn't be seen as a loss." Far from opposing these ideas, the white establishment supports

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them; at the prospect of demographic change being translated into a shift of political power, cultural elites such as college presidents capitulate in advance to the new cultural agenda.

To recognize that the fate of a culture has something to do with numbers - and therefore power - is not to endorse the leftist idea that Western culture is a mere system of "hegemony." As Americans we believe in our cultural heritage, not just because it is "ours," but because it is good. But our ability to preserve and transmit that common heritage depends on the continued existence of a majority population that believes in it. As people with widely different - even incompatible - cultural identities become a majority, the dominant culture inevitably changes or is replaced; when, for example, the majority of children in a school are Hispanic and Asian, it becomes less evident why they should go on learning about the "Eurocentric" stories, traditions and heroes that formed the American character in previous generations. The curriculum is radically revised, and with it, America's soul.

Yet even while ethnic spokesmen and educators speak of racial change leading ineluctably to cultural change, the conservative critics of multiculturalism continue to ignore the demographic dimension of the problem. As historian and Yale College dean Donald Kagan said in a speech to his students: "Happily, student bodies have grown vastly more diverse. Less happily, students are

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seeing themselves increasingly as parts of groups, distinct from other groups." It does not occur to Kagan that the group-think he regrets may actually be the result of the explosive racial diversification that he applauds. Conservative intellectuals seem to believe that over the next century scores of millions of Hispanics, Asians, Moslems and Africans can melt into the American character as easily as did the European immigrant groups in the early 20th century. But this historical analogy - repeated constantly in immigration debates - is fatally flawed.

First, the great southern and eastern European influx took place at a time when American society believed in its heritage and demanded cultural and linguistic assimilation as the price of admission; today, the United States has lost much of its unifying ethos and has largely abandoned the assimilationist ideology. Second, in the early 20th Century there were mediating institutions - schools, churches, community organizations, the military - that did the actual work of assimilation; those institutions have now lost their cultural authority, leaving both older and newer Americans adrift in the sea of a debased and meaningless pop culture. Third, the European immigrant groups, while ethnically distinct from the older Anglo-Americans, still shared with them an overall similarity of European heritage, a key factor in assimilation and cultural continuity; by contrast, the great majority of today's immigrants are Asian and Latin American. Finally and most importantly, the earlier immigration wave

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was cut back by Congress in 1921, leaving the majority culture intact. While the restrictive national quotas passed in the 1920s are considered discriminatory today, there is no question that the resulting drop in immigration helped reduce ethnic tensions and greatly eased the assimilation of European-Americans through the mid-20th century. By contrast, there is no end in sight to the current, Third-World influx - which has assumed the character, not of a wave, but of a permanent, if peaceful, invasion.

The results of these differences are plain to see. The turn-of-the-century immigration, while it changed America in some sigificant ways, did not lead to a redefinition of the United States as a "multicultural" country; or to the devaluation of the American and Western heritage; or to the massive spead and official use of foreign languages; or to the frightening ignorance and anomie of young Americans deprived of their civilizational inheritance in the name of "diversity"; or to the expectation that America must give up its very identity to form a whole new society.

On the cutting edge of these changes is the University of California at Berkeley. Our first major university with a multiracial, white-minority student body, Berkeley has become a tense no-man's-land of mutually exclusive cultural turfs, where Western civilization is being reduced to something called European-American ethnic studies, and where white students anxiously watch

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their every word to avoid "politically incorrect" speech.

What Berkeley is today, America will be tomorrow. Group rights and quotas, an endless battle over culture and race, and a growing bureaucratic power to mediate the conflict - this is the new, unfree America being born of uncontrolled immigration.

GRAPHIC: Photo-Lawrence Auster. Illustration by Bob Newman-Statue of Liberty holding a stop sign.

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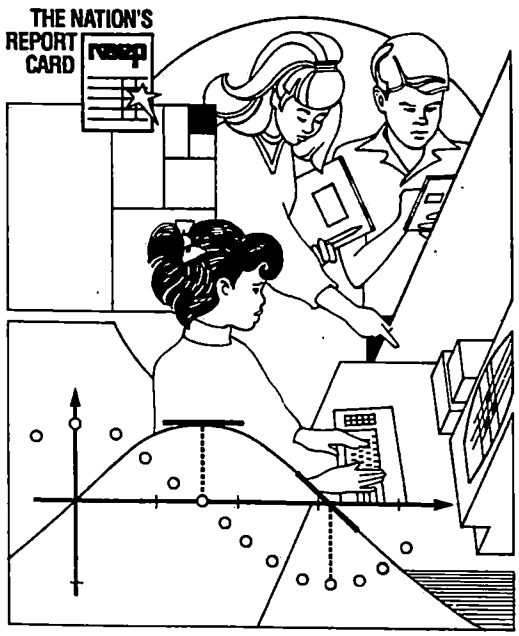
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NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS

The STATE of Mathematics Achievement

NAEP's 1990 Assessment of the Nation and the Trial Assessment of the States

Ina V.S. Mullis • John A. Dossey
Eugene H. Owen • Gary W. Phillips



Report No: 21-ST-04

June 1991

Prepared by Educational Testing Service under Contract with the National Center for Education Statistics
Office of Educational Research and Improvement • U.S. Department of Education

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS

In 1990, the President and the governors adopted six ambitious education goals to be met by the year 2000. Two explicitly mention mathematics education:

- American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

- U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.

The remaining four goals address improving children's readiness for school learning, increasing the high-school graduation rate, adult literacy, and freeing the schools from drugs and violence.

THE 1990 NAEP MATHEMATICS ASSESSMENT

For more than 20 years, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) has been monitoring the educational achievement of American students and changes in that achievement across time. However, as part of the 1990 mathematics assessment of fourth, eighth, and twelfth graders, a new dimension was added to NAEP whereby states (including the District of Columbia) and territories could, on a voluntary basis, participate in the mathematics assessment of eighth graders. The assessment was designed to provide state-level data comparable to results for the nation and other participating states and territories. The Trial State Assessment Program provides information about mathematics achievement as well as programs and practices in mathematics instruction.

TABLE 2.1 Average Proficiency and Percentage of Students at or Above Four Anchor Levels on the NAEP Mathematics Scale by Race/Ethnicity

	Percent of Students	Average Proficiency	Percentage of Students at or Above			
			Level 200	Level 250	Level 300	Level 350
Grade 4						
White	70 (0.1)	223 (0.7)	81 (1.2)	14 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Black	15 (0.1)	194 (1.3)	41 (2.1)	1 (0.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Hispanic	11 (0.1)	201 (1.4)	52 (2.5)	3 (0.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Asian/Pacific Islander	2 (0.3)	228 (2.8)	85 (3.3)	23 (4.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
American Indian	2 (0.3)	211 (2.5)	66 (5.1)	3 (2.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Grade 8						
White	71 (0.2)	272 (1.2)	99 (0.3)	77 (1.2)	18 (1.4)	0 (0.1)
Black	15 (0.1)	241 (1.6)	92 (1.6)	36 (2.5)	3 (0.8)	0 (0.0)
Hispanic	10 (0.1)	248 (1.6)	95 (1.1)	47 (3.2)	4 (1.2)	0 (0.0)
Asian/Pacific Islander	3 (0.4)	285 (4.1)	99 (1.1)	86 (3.1)	32 (4.9)	2 (2.1)
American Indian !	1 (0.4)	248 (3.4)	97 (5.0)	47 (8.5)	4 (1.9)	0 (0.0)
Grade 12						
White	74 (0.4)	301 (1.2)	100 (0.0)	95 (0.6)	52 (1.6)	6 (0.6)
Black	14 (0.3)	270 (1.3)	100 (0.0)	74 (2.0)	16 (1.6)	0 (0.3)
Hispanic	8 (0.3)	278 (2.4)	100 (0.6)	79 (2.9)	25 (3.4)	1 (0.5)
Asian/Pacific Islander	3 (0.2)	315 (4.0)	100 (0.0)	97 (1.6)	70 (3.5)	13 (4.0)
American Indian !	1 (0.3)	290 (5.4)	99 (2.3)	92 (4.7)	39 (9.0)	0 (0.0)

The standard errors of the estimated percentages and proficiencies appear in parentheses. It can be said with 95 percent certainty that for each population of interest, the value for the whole population is within plus or minus two standard errors of the estimate for the sample. When the proportion of students is either 0 percent or 100 percent, the standard error is inestimable. However, percentages less than 0.5 percent are rounded to 0 percent, and some White eighth graders (0.2 percent) and some Black twelfth graders (0.2 percent) reached Level 350. !Interpret with caution--the nature of the sample does not allow accurate determination of the variability of the results for this subgroup.

Although the sample sizes for Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian students are quite small (as indicated by the small percentages of students in those classifications), for the overall mathematics performance data, results are provided for all five racial/ethnic groups analyzed separately by NAEP: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, and American Indian.[29]

An examination of the results for all three grades reveals a relatively consistent pattern. Asian/Pacific Islander students exhibited the highest level of performance, followed by White, American Indian, Hispanic, and Black students, in descending order. This pattern tends to hold for both average proficiency (with the exception of little difference between Asian/Pacific Islander and White students at grade 4 and between American Indian and

[29]Definitions of the various NAEP population subgroup classifications can be found in Appendix C.

Hispanic students at grade 8) and for the percentages of students performing at or above the anchor levels across the scale.

An interesting phenomenon, however, emerges at the highest anchor levels achieved at each grade. Much larger percentages of Asian/Pacific Islander students than White students reached the highest levels. In turn, comparatively more White students than American Indian, Hispanic, or Black students reached these levels. Within each grade, there were also vast differences between the highest and lowest average performance by racial/ethnic group. These discrepancies were also reflected in the percentages of students attaining various anchor levels. For example, 86 percent of the Asian/Pacific Islander eighth graders performed at or above Level 250, compared to 36 percent of the Black eighth graders. Similarly, 70 percent of the Asian/Pacific Islander twelfth graders performed at Level 300, compared to 16 percent of the Black twelfth graders.

PERFORMANCE BY GENDER

TABLE 2.2 presents the mathematics proficiency results by gender for the nation as a whole, and TABLE 2.3 presents results by gender for White, Black, and Hispanic students. The performance patterns by gender for White, Black, and Hispanic students generally match the gender results for the nation as a whole. At grades 4 and 8, there was essentially no difference in performance between males and females. However, a minor but persistent advantage for males can be detected at the anchor levels. This advantage increased at grade 12, particularly at the higher end of the scale. This finding is consistent with other research studies showing larger gender differences favoring males when above-average performance is considered.[30] Additionally, the developing gender gap during high school was particularly pronounced for Black and

[30]Gilah C. Leder, *"Gender Differences in Mathematics: An Overview" in Mathematics and Gender*, Elizabeth Fennema and Gilah C. Leder, editors (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1990).

MINORITY BUSH APPTS
S X P A G

13:05 MONDAY, MAY 6, 1991

TABLE OF PTYPE BY RACE

PTYPE RACE

FREQUENCY / PERCENT / ROW PCT / COL PCT	WHITE	ASIAN	BLACK	HISP	I Am. (Native)	White	TOTAL
PA (Full & Part-time)	0	28	74	47	18	826	993
	0.00	0.45	1.19	0.76	0.29	13.29	15.98
	0.00	2.82	7.45	4.73	1.81	83.18	
	0.00	26.67	19.73	19.58	42.86	15.16	
PAS (Full & Part-time)	0	29	84	45	4	1040	1202
	0.00	0.47	1.35	0.72	0.06	16.74	19.35
	0.00	2.41	6.99	3.74	0.33	86.52	
	0.00	27.62	22.40	18.75	9.52	19.08	
SES	0	12	54	43	8	961	1078
	0.00	0.19	0.87	0.69	0.13	15.47	17.35
	0.00	1.11	5.01	3.99	0.74	89.15	
	0.00	11.43	14.40	17.92	19.05	17.63	
SKC	1	36	163	105	12	2623	2940
	0.02	0.58	2.62	1.69	0.19	42.22	47.32
	0.03	1.22	5.54	3.57	0.41	89.22	
	100.00	34.29	43.47	43.75	28.57	48.13	
TOTAL	1	105	375	240	42	5450	6213
	0.02	1.69	6.04	3.86	0.68	87.72	100.00

FREQUENCY MISSING = 121

FAX MESSAGE

THE OFFICE OF CHINA AND HONG KONG
INTERNATIONAL TRADE ADMINISTRATION
Room 2317
U.S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D.C. 20230

PAGES: 7

DATE: 10/27/91

FAX #: (202) 377-1576

FAX #: 456-6218

FROM: Bob Chu

TO: Michelle Nix

SUBJECT/COMMENT:

Please find attached some statistics East Asian countries as well as a DRAFT Fact Sheet that was just revised.

OCT-28-1991 18:00 FROM ITA/EAP/PRCHK TO 9-456-6218 P.02

U. S. TRADE WITH KEY EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC (EAP) COUNTRIES
(in millions of dollars)
1989, 1990, Jan-Aug 1990, Jan-Aug 1991

	U.S. EXPORTS (F.A.S.) (1)				U.S. IMPORTS (C.V.)			
COUNTRY	1989	1990	Jan-Aug 1990	Jan-Aug 1991	1989	1990	Jan-Aug 1990	Jan-Aug 1991
Brunei	63.0	142.7	122.5	63.0	74.6	95.7	71.7	20.9
Indonesia	1,246.7	1,896.7	1,201.1	1,249.4	3,528.7	3,343.1	2,269.0	1,964.4
Malaysia	2,870.4	3,424.7	2,198.3	2,701.0	4,744.1	5,272.3	3,445.1	3,700.3
Philippines	2,201.9	2,471.6	1,654.6	1,472.6	3,068.0	3,382.6	2,269.7	2,256.6
Singapore	7,344.5	8,019.1	5,207.2	6,058.5	9,002.9	9,839.5	6,358.3	6,288.9
Thailand	2,288.1	2,991.5	1,982.5	2,553.1	4,379.5	5,293.8	3,379.1	3,847.7
ASEAN	16,014.6	18,946.3	12,366.2	14,097.6	24,797.8	27,227.0	17,792.9	18,078.8
Australia	8,331.0	8,534.7	5,763.5	5,305.4	3,872.9	4,432.7	2,934.2	2,728.7
Burma	4.7	20.1	9.6	21.5	17.1	22.7	17.0	16.6
China	5,755.4	4,807.3	3,287.7	4,043.1	11,989.9	15,223.9	9,659.1	11,250.9
Fiji	22.4	24.9	13.0	11.4	16.3	34.0	16.4	25.4
Hong Kong	6,291.3	6,840.4	4,620.4	5,309.8	9,722.2	9,488.0	6,305.0	5,742.6
Japan	44,493.8	48,584.6	31,595.4	32,317.7	93,552.5	89,655.2	58,089.4	59,058.1
Korea, South	13,458.6	14,398.7	9,498.2	10,272.7	19,736.5	18,493.2	12,419.5	11,132.8
Laos	0.3	0.8	0.4	0.8	0.8	0.4	0.2	1.5
Macao	10.8	7.6	4.7	6.5	653.8	735.7	503.2	322.6
New Zealand	1,117.2	1,133.3	628.1	688.0	1,208.5	1,199.4	870.6	878.0
Papua New Guinea	121.5	54.1	27.2	54.4	29.2	21.9	17.5	25.4
Taiwan	11,334.6	11,482.4	7,686.6	8,690.7	24,312.7	22,666.7	15,159.5	14,683.1
Other Asia/Pacif	249.9	224.8	134.5	200.8	123.8	78.8	52.2	37.9
EAP TOTAL	107,206.1	115,060.0	75,635.5	81,020.4	190,034.0	189,279.6	123,836.7	123,982.4
WORLD TOTAL	363,811.5	394,044.9	260,681.6	277,331.2	473,210.8	495,042.0	324,418.3	317,256.9

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census
Compiled by Gary Bouck, Office of the Pacific Basin

(1) Includes special category commodities, if any.

OCT-28-1991 18:00 FROM ITA/EAP/PRCHK TO 9-456-6218 P.03

U.S. TRADE BALANCE
1989, 1990, Jan-Aug 1990, Jan-Aug 1991
(in millions of dollars)

COUNTRY	1989	1990	Jan-Aug 1990	Jan-Aug 1991
Brunei	(11.6)	47.0	50.8	42.1
Indonesia	(2,282.0)	(1,446.4)	(1,067.9)	(715.0)
Malaysia	(1,873.7)	(1,847.6)	(1,246.8)	(999.3)
Philippines	(866.1)	(911.0)	(615.1)	(784.0)
Singapore	(1,658.4)	(1,820.4)	(1,151.1)	(230.4)
Thailand	(2,091.4)	(2,302.3)	(1,396.6)	(1,294.6)
ASEAN	(8,783.2)	(8,280.7)	(5,426.7)	(3,981.2)
Australia	4,458.1	4,102.0	2,829.3	2,576.7
Burma	(12.4)	(2.6)	(7.4)	4.9
China	(6,234.5)	(10,416.6)	(6,371.4)	(7,207.8)
Fiji	6.1	9.1	(3.4)	(14.0)
Hong Kong	(3,430.9)	(2,647.6)	(1,684.6)	(432.8)
Japan	(49,058.7)	(41,070.6)	(26,494.0)	(26,740.4)
Korea, South	(6,277.9)	(4,094.5)	(2,921.3)	(860.1)
Laos	(0.5)	0.4	0.2	(0.7)
Macao	(643.0)	(728.1)	(498.5)	(316.1)
New Zealand	(91.3)	(66.1)	(242.5)	(190.0)
Papua New Guinea	92.3	32.2	9.7	29.0
Taiwan	(12,978.1)	(11,184.3)	(7,472.9)	(5,992.4)
Other Asia/Pacif	126.1	127.8	82.3	162.9
EAP TOTAL	(82,827.9)	(74,219.6)	(48,201.2)	(42,962.0)
WORLD TOTAL	(109,399.3)	(100,997.1)	(63,736.7)	(39,925.7)

REVISED 10/28/91

People's Republic of China

FACT SHEET

Office Director: Christine Lucyk
Desk Officer: Robert Chu/ Laura McCall

1. PROFILE

A. Population: 1.143 billion
B. Religions: N/A
C. Government: Communist
D. Language: Mandarin Chinese
E. Next Election Scheduled for: N/A

2. ECONOMY

	1988	1989	1990
A. GNP ($ B)	373.3	418.6	364.0
B. GNP Growth Rate (% constant)	11.2	3.5	5.0
C. GNP Per Capita (current $)	340.7	376.8	318.5
D. Government Spending as % of GNP	N/A	N/A	N/A
E. Inflation (%) (retail price)	18.5	17.5	2.1
F. Unemployment (%)	2.0	2.6	3.5
G. Gold & FX Reserves ($ B)	17.6	17.0	28.0
H. Average Exchange Rate (yuan/$)	3.7	3.7	4.7
I. Foreign Debt ($ B)	38.0	44.0	50.0
J. Debt Service Ratio	8.0	9.8	11.3
K. U.S. Economic Assistance	-	-	-
L. Wage Rate (% change)	8.6	-3.5	-
M. Productivity Rate (% change)	7.9	1.3	-
N. Labor Force	N/A	N/A	N/A

3. TRADE

	1988	1989	1990
A. Total Exports (F.O.B., $ Mil)	47,540.0	52,480.0	62,060.0
B. U.S. Imports	8,510.9	11,988.5	15,223.9
C. Total Imports (C.I.F., $ Mil)	55,250.0	59,100.0	53,350.0
D. U.S. Exports	5,021.4	5,807.4	4,807.3

E. Principle U.S. Exports: (F.A.S., $ U.S., Millions)

Commodity	1988	1989	1990
Commercial Aircraft & Parts	334.6	536.2	749.1
Fertilizers	200.7	487.4	543.9
Synthetic Resins, Rubber, & Plastics	598.8	218.6	165.8
Professional, Scientific, & Control Instruments	246.0	270.7	226.8
Wood and Cork	448.1	181.3	179.9
Organic Chemicals	283.8	289.3	289.3
Cereals	697.8	1,126.5	512.4

F. Principal U.S. Imports: (Customs, $ U.S., Millions)

Commodity	1988	1989	1990
Luggage and Handbags	524.2	683.0	873.9
Textiles	1,781.9	2,657.2	3,197.1
Toys, Games, & Sports Equipment	1,063.0	1,725.4	2,138.7
Crude Petroleum	427.7	504.1	660.9
Iron and Steel	169.6	226.2	246.5
Footwear	341.7	721.0	1,477.4
Fish	294.1	297.1	396.2

G. Foreign Market Share of China's Imports(%):

1. Hong Kong	21.7	21.2	26.7
2. Japan	20.0	17.8	14.2
3. U.S.	12.0	13.3	12.3

H. Curr Acct Surplus/Deficit ($ B) -3.8 -4.3 11.0

I. Trade Balances with Leading Trading Partners ($ B):

1. Hong Kong	6.3	9.1	12.4
2. U.S.	3.5	6.2	10.9
3. Japan	-3.1	2.2	1.4

J. Import Policy:
1. Tariff & Taxes: Vary Greatly; Avg. 30-60%
2. Licensing: Mandatory Import Certificates.

K. U.S. Exports Prospects:

1. Aircraft & Parts
2. Agricultural Chemicals
3. Industrial Chemicals
4. Yarns

4. INVESTMENT

A. Foreign Ownership Restriction: Must be approved by MOFERT or provincial authorities.
B. Total U.S. Investment: $4.4 Billion
C. U.S. Share of Foreign Investment: 11.2% of cumulative investment.
D. Principle Foreign Investors: Hong Kong, U.S., Japan

5. COMMERCIAL INFORMATION

A. Top Three U.S. Investors: N/A
B. Minister Counselor for Commercial Affairs: Timothy Stratford

China's Economy

China's economy regained momentum in 1990. Spurred by a second year of record harvests, increased industrial output, and booming exports, the Gross National Product grew by 5%. Inflation was 2.1%. Foreign exchange reserves soared to record levels. With the main goals of the government's three-year austerity program achieved, the focus has now shifted to restructuring of the economy. The 8th Five Year Plan (1991-95) emphasizes development of agriculture, basic industry, transportation, and telecommunications. The program envisions an economic system which combines planning and regulation by market forces. The plan provides renewed scope for economic reform, including price adjustments.

The challenges are tremendous. Two thirds of state-owned enterprises are facing financial difficulties. The budget deficit is expanding. Little progress has been made toward strengthening the central government's macroeconomic control. Moreover, the potential exists for renewed double-digit inflation, a recurrence of the cycle of economic over-heating and recession which has plagued China during the reform period. Resort to the administrative measures which China has used previously may well avoid rapid inflation in the short term--but such steps would undermine attempts to improve economic efficiency through difficult, but necessary structural adjustment.

6. **GENERAL**

A. Major Bilateral Issues:

Chinese Tariff and Non-Tariff Barriers - High customs tariffs, arbitrary applications of customs regulations, extensive import and export licensing systems, import substitution requirements, strict currency controls and primitive and expensive business facilities constitute significant barriers to U.S. business in China. On October 10, USTR self-initiated a formal investigation under Section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974 into selected, highly significant Chinese market barriers as they affect U.S. export interests.

Export Controls - Since June 1989, license applications for export of dual-use technology to China have been carefully screened to identify exports of crime-control equipment or sales to military and police endusers. Applications which meet these criteria have been denied or held without action.

Licenses for items on the Munitions Control List have been suspended. The implementation of a distribution license procedure for China has been indefinitely postponed. There are also several restrictions on the export of satellite technology to China. However, recent COCOM reforms will benefit China indirectly by lifting 50 percent of the curbs on technology exports from electronics to propulsion systems once the core list is adopted in September.

As a result of concerns regarding ballistic missile proliferation and the threat to national security, on June 16, 1991, the White House announced that the U.S. will limit the licensing of high speed computers to China, decline to approve any further export licenses to Chinese entities of U.S. satellite technology and satellite components at this time, and impose sanctions on the two firms engaged in missile proliferation activities.

Textiles - Growth of textile imports from China has been substantial in recent years. On December 19, 1987, the U.S. and China concluded a new four-year bilateral textile and apparel agreement. The agreement limits the annual growth rate of Chinese textile exports to the U.S. to 3.3 percent. The agreement has been extended without change through 1993 as we await the results of the Uruguay Round. The U.S. Customs Service investigated cases of textile products manufactured in China entering the U.S. under false country of origin declarations. As a result of these investigations, the U.S. has charged China's quotas for over one million dozen this year. U.S. Customs continues to investigate transshipments which may result in additional charges to China's quotas.

Concessionary Credits - The Chinese have received aid-type concessionary credits from Japan and European countries for capital goods imports, and they seek similar credit terms from the United States.

Investment Climate - China's investment climate, while improving somewhat over the past several years, recently has been buffeted by political turmoil, adverse macroeconomic trends and measures taken by the government to recentralize economic management. Credit controls that severely limit the availability of foreign and domestic funds have hit foreign investors hard. Many of them are experiencing serious cash flow problems and have had to revise or delay expansion or new investment plans. Shortages of power and raw materials have caused production delays and have contributed to inflationary trends. Other problems concern the imposition of arbitrary regulations, and the increase in cases of contract noncompliance on the part of Chinese firms.

GATT - In July 1986, China formally applied to "resume" its contracting party status. Since then, we have held a round of bilateral and multilateral consultations on the substantive obligations which we want to see addressed in the accession negotiations. China submitted its memorandum of foreign trade in February 1987. A GATT Working Party has held several rounds of consultations with the Chinese - the latest in September 1990. Further progress in the accession process has been stalled by the lack of forward movement on China's economic reforms.

Intellectual Property - Serious deficiencies in Intellectual Rights (IPR) laws and enforcement practices prompted China's designation as a "priority foreign country" under the Special 301 provision of the 1988 Omnibus Trade Act. Pursuant to this designation, a six month investigation has been initiated. If the problem has not been resolved at the end of this period, trade sanctions may be considered. Problems with China's IPR protections include the lack of protection for foreign works, the requirement to publish first in China to receive protection, inadequate software protection, and no protection for pharmaceutical and chemical products.

China's National People's Congress passed a copyright law in September 1990 which will go into effect June 1, 1991. The protection provided by the law falls short of internationally accepted standards for copyright protection. As currently formulated, the law is not compatible with the Berne or Universal Copyright conventions. Foreign works are not protected under the law and the protection of computer software is unclear as the implementing regulations of the computer software protection were recently released.

Maritime Trade - In July, the Federal Maritime Commission (FMC) initiated a formal investigation, pursuant to the Foreign Shipping Practices Act (FSPA) of 1988, regarding allegations of unfair shipping conditions in the ocean trade between the United States and China. Under the FSPA, once the order of investigation is published in the Federal Register, the Commission has 120 days to reach a decision. Among the issues to be examined by the Commission are those restrictions which preclude lawfully filed tariffs, conducting intermodal operations such as feeder vessel services between the PRC and Hong Kong, and other "doing business" restrictions which may adversely affect U.S. carriers.

The FMC determination is expected to be announced November 22, 1991. If the Commission decides that a violation of the FSPA's standards exists, it has the authority to impose sanctions on PRC flag carriers servicing U.S. ports, or fees up to $1,000,000 per voyage.

Trade Imbalance - U.S. figures show a growing surplus for China, which reached 10.4 billion dollars in 1990. Trade figures for the first eight months of 1991 are as follows:

	(January - August) 1990	1991
A. U.S. Exports (F.A.S., $ Mil)	3,287.7	4,043.1
B. U.S. Imports (Customs, $ Mil)	9,659.1	11,250.9

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3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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October 27, 1991, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A20

LENGTH: 1704 words

HEADLINE: Opinion Builds for Smaller U.S. Role Abroad;
;
Attention Shifting to Domestic Problems as Epoch Begun at Pearl Harbor Draws to a Close

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

In the growing national debate about the extent of future U.S. involvement overseas following the demise of Soviet communism, a consensus appears to be developing in the traditional foreign policy establishment for a reduced U.S. role.

Among foreign policy experts, historians and political leaders interviewed in recent days, the predominant view is that the United States can afford to assume a less ambitious role abroad because the Soviet Union likely will no longer be a leading player on the international stage -- as either a foe or a partner -- and the chances of nuclear war or serious hostilities between major powers have diminished.

Although the danger of civil and inter-ethnic violence is expected to increase, contributing to a more turbulent global scene, these specialists agree that U.S. domestic problems are increasing substantially and warrant greater attention.

There is also a strong sense among those both inside and outside the Bush administration that, whatever the United States does, the world has reached the end of an epoch.

According to several experts, the collapse of Soviet political and economic power marks not just the end of the Cold War but the climax of a longer era that began with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and brought a reluctant United States into a leading international role -- first to fight Japan and Germany, then to contain the Soviet Union.

With the Soviet empire dissolving and Kremlin officials seeking friendlier relations with the West, President Bush expressed as recently as last fall the hope that Americans and Soviets could cooperate in establishing a "new world order." But given the disintegration of the Soviet Union, its viability as a partner in charting a new course for the world is in question, leaving the United States as the only real superpower.

Former secretary of state Henry A. Kissinger, one of the nation's leading internationalists, is among those who contend that the United States should be less engaged abroad in the future than it was during the Cold War. "We've

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gotten into the habit of thinking that anything that is broken in the world, we've got to fix," Kissinger said.

He suggested that the United States needs to establish more rigorous priorities. "It has to define those things it must do, those things it would like to do and those things it will overextend itself" by doing, he said, noting that no national consensus or even strongly held opinions on these categories of priorities yet exist.

Retired Adm. William J. Crowe, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said only partly in jest that the Soviets "did a dirty trick" by eliminating themselves as a threat to the United States and "really screwed us up" in terms of strategic beliefs and planning.

"We keep looking overseas when our biggest long-term threats are at home," Crowe observed, echoing the remarks of many nonmilitary experts. The most serious problems facing the country, according to Crowe, include deficiencies in education, declining economic competitiveness, eroding infrastructure, the drug epidemic and a threatened environment.

Crowe emphasized, as did several others, that any U.S. shift away from overseas involvement should be one of emphasis or degree rather than a sudden reversal to pre-World War II isolationism.

"I don't believe you can get out of the foreign policy business, " Crowe said. "I think you have to do both [domestic and foreign]. But I really believe with all my heart that if you want to be as activist in foreign policy as we have been in the past, and as the president seems to want to be right now, the first thing you have to worry about is the fiscal strength of the country. We cannot be as activist as we have been in the past unless we improve our fiscal base."

What these and other foreign policy specialists appear to have in mind is a more selective U.S. role in world affairs. The United States would continue to deal with conflicts abroad but would do so less automatically than in the past and in roles less dominant and less costly.

In the interest of finding a new principle to guide U.S. foreign policy and replace the old notion of Soviet containment, Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.), a senior member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, has been meeting for about a year with foreign policy experts from outside the government in off-the-record sessions.

While convinced of the need for a continued leading U.S. role in world affairs, Hamilton has been unable to find a principle, a cause or a unifying theme that carries the logic and political appeal that containment of communism did. Hamilton said that in the process of his inquiry, he has been struck by the ambiguous views of his constituents, especially younger ones.

"On the one hand they are very proud of the fact that we are a superpower, and maybe the only superpower, but on the other hand they are not sure they want to pay for it," Hamilton said. The key question, he concluded, is "whether the American people will continue to support a strong international role when they have enormous needs at home to be met and when you no longer have the kind of appealing and unifying principle of containment, which led you to look at the

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world as a moral crusade."

Although most Americans are not old enough to remember a time before extensive U.S. engagement in the world, the definition of national security until 1940 was limited mainly to the protection of domestic tranquillity, U.S. borders and neighboring areas in the Western Hemisphere, according to Prof. Ernest May of Harvard, author of a forthcoming study titled "National Interest in American History."

Not until World War II did the accepted view of U.S. security interests expand by giant steps -- first to encompass Britain, then most of Europe, then East Asia. As the United States led the Western alliance during the Cold War, these interests extended to parts of Africa, the Middle East and South Asia -- wherever Soviet challenges were seen.

Twice before in this century -- after World War I, when President Woodrow Wilson sought unsuccessfully to continue U.S. engagement abroad through participation in the League of Nations, and after World War II, when the United States quickly demobilized and began debating its role in the world -- Americans have felt a powerful impulse to retreat to the traditional limited view of their international interests.

Now, May said, as a new national debate on the issue begins, it seems unlikely that the United States, after decades as a dominant world leader, will quickly give up an expansive view of its role.

Among the factors suggesting that the United States would have difficulty retreating from world affairs are two international trends.

One is the development of a global economy. While the United States still has the single biggest internal market in the world, it is increasingly dependent on flows of foreign capital, energy, raw materials and manufactured goods. Fully 20 percent of U.S. manufactured goods and 30 percent of farm products are now sold abroad. Attempts to disengage the United States from foreign involvement could undermine relations with major trading partners and thus damage the U.S. economy, experts say.

A second important trend involves the growing gap between rich and poor. On the one hand, there are those with the education, skills and drive to participate in and benefit from the wealth-producing activities of the Third Industrial Revolution, as the current high-tech age is sometimes called. On the other hand, there are whole nations -- and groups within even the advanced countries -- that have been excluded from the economic growth and are sinking further into poverty.

Between 1980 and 1990, living conditions improved substantially in most developed countries and spectacularly -- more than 20 percent -- in many of the newly industrializing countries of Asia, Latin America and North Africa, according to data compiled by Prof. Richard Estes of the University of Pennsylvania, an adviser to the United Nations. But 33 of the poorest countries, especially those in Africa and the Middle East, lost ground in the decade, according to Estes's statistics.

"A tremendous widening of the gap between the poorest and richest countries is notable," Estes said.

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This gap is a source of conflict and political turbulence in the world, and such instability further complicates any decision to reduce U.S. involvement abroad. If world power can be shared more evenly among the richer nations, however, the United States may find itself freer to assume a lower profile.

"I think what we are coming to is a world of about seven to 10 major countries which, when they agree, will run the world," said William Hyland, editor of Foreign Affairs. Hyland identified the charmed circle as the Group of Seven major industrialized democracies -- the United States, Germany, Japan, Britain, France, Italy and Canada -- along with China and the Soviet Union and possibly one or two others.

"You have the feeling that the G-7 will turn into an economic directorate," Hyland said.

Hyland and several other foreign policy experts predicted that NATO, despite its current efforts to expand its mission, will decline in importance and perhaps wither away in the post-Soviet world. Nor is there much confidence in the continued prowess of the Permanent Five members of the U.N. Security Council, which include the Soviet Union and China but not the economic megastates of Germany and Japan. Amending the U.N. charter to add permanent Security Council members would be difficult.

While permanent alliances such as NATO are likely to become less important, temporary coalitions aligned on particular issues, such as the diverse one assembled for the Persian Gulf War, will be more important.

With relations less structured and more ambivalent, "the world of 'good guys and bad guys' will give way to a world of 'gray guys,' " Prof. Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard wrote this year in a publication of the International Institute of Strategic Studies. "Relations among the major powers may converge toward a mean mixing of elements of cooperation and competition."

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; COMMUNISM; U.S.S.R.; TIME AND HISTORY

ORGANIZATION: COLD WAR

NAMED-PERSONS: SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON; RICHARD ESTES; HENRY A. KISSINGER; WILLIAM J. CROWE; LEE H. HAMILTON; ERNEST MAY

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The New York Times

February 24, 1991, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Part 1; Page 22; Column 3; National Desk

LENGTH: 1624 words

HEADLINE: Asians Spread Across a Land, and Help Change It

BYLINE: By FOX BUTTERFIELD, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: BAYOU LA BATRE, Ala.

BODY:

In Birmingham, where eating out long meant barbecue, there are now 60 Chinese restaurants. In Huntsville, Korean managers at the Korean-owned Gold Star television factory give orders to their American workers. And here in Bayou La Batre, at the tip of Mobile Bay, a third of the old Cajun fishing village's 2,600 inhabitants are now Vietnamese or Cambodian.

In a state that a quarter-century ago was a symbol of racism, these new settlers are part of a wave of immigrants that has increased the Asian-American share of Alabama's population by 124 percent in the past decade, according to figures recently made public by the Census Bureau.

And they reflect one of the most dramatic findings of the 1990 Census -- the explosion of Asian and Pacific Islanders around the United States. Although Asian-Americans were once largely confined to a few states, like California and Hawaii, and clustered in urban centers like the Chinatowns of New York and San Francisco, they have now spread to virtually every part of the nation.

So far, the Census Bureau has released ethnic statistics for about half the states. But Frederick W. Hollmann, a demographer with the Census Bureau, has estimated that around the country the Asian population increased by 79.5 percent in the 1980's, rising to 6.88 million from 3.83 million. That is seven times faster than the general population and "makes them far and away the most rapidly growing" ethnic group in the country, Mr. Hollmann said.

Some Figures Are Startling

In some of states, the growth of the Asian-American population is stunning: New Jersey, up 162 percent to 272,521; Texas, up 165.5 percent to 319,459, and Rhode Island, up 245 percent to 18,325.

The 124 percent increase in Alabama means there are now about 22,000 Asian-Americans in this state, whose overall population increased by 3.6 percent in a decade. The Asian-American population in Mississippi went up almost 76 percent, to about 13,000, while the overall state population increased 2.1 percent. Louisiana's Asian-American population went up almost 73 percent, to just over 41,000, while the overall population went up only three-tenths of 1 percent.

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The figures for California, home to about one-third of all Asian-Americans, have not yet been released. But in 1988, state researchers estimated that Asians had reached 9.3 percent of the state's population, surpassing the black population of 7.5 percent.

Over all, the growth of the Asian-American population has been so large and widespread that "Asians are just becoming part of the landscape," said Stanley Karnow, the Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and author who is writing a book about Asians in America. "Where in the past they were odd and exotic, now they are accepted."

And in many ways, they are changing the landscape. On Feb. 15, firecrackers pierced the morning in Bayou La Batre as Tu Phuc and other immigrants celebrated Tet, the Vietnamese lunar New Year festival. Until recently, most people here associated Tet with the 1968 Communist offensive that changed the course of the Vietnam War.

Mr. Tu, a refugee from Saigon, settled here in 1985 as Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians flocked to the warm climate and jobs in the shrimp and crab business that were being abandoned by white and black workers who left for higher-paying jobs in Mobile.

Mr. Tu, an ethnic Chinese who fled Vietnam on a small fishing boat in 1977, now runs the grocery store, which sells sacks of rice from Thailand, chili sauce and cassette tapes of Vietnamese music stars. He also owns a pool hall frequented by Vietnamese, and some fishing boats, trailers and apartments.

"It is just like in Saigon; the Chinese ran the stores there, and they run the stores for Vietnamese here," Mr. Tu said, speaking in Chinese. He sends his three children to a Roman Catholic school 40 minutes away. "I am a Chinese and want them to get the best education," he said.

The heavy influx of immigrants has sharply altered the composition of the Asian population in the United States. Until 1970, two-thirds of all Asian-Americans were of Japanese or Chinese descent, and most were members of families that had been here since the late 19th or early 20th century. Most also lived in urban concentrations, like the Chinatowns in New York and San Franciso.

Is a Term a Myth?

The flow of immigrants has changed the ethnic balance radically. Whereas in 1970, Japanese formed the largest group, in 1980 Chinese surpassed them, and in 1990 Filipinos jumped over them, according to a report by Leon F. Bouvier for the Center for Migration Studies in New York. Mr. Bouvier estimated that in 1990 there were 1.4 million Filipinos, 1.26 million Chinese, 859,000 Vietnamese, 814,000 Koreans, 804,000 Japanese, 684,000 Asian-Indians and 706,000 others, including Cambodians, Laotians and Pacific Islanders.

Given this diversity of national origins -- and perhaps an even greater diversity in social classes among the immigrants between peasants and nuclear physicists -- some Asian-American leaders say it is misleading to use the term " Asian-American" at all.

" Asian-American is a myth," said K. W. Lee, editor of The Korea Times in Los Angeles. "You have Chinese who have lived here for 100 years, Koreans who

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have just arrived, and poor Cambodian and Laotian refugees who are living lives of quiet desperation."

From 1985 to 1989, Asian immigration figures ranged from 268,000 to 281,0001 annually, said Michael Hoefer, chief of demographic statistics for the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Philippines, with an average of 50,000 immigrants a year in the latter half of the decade, was the leadig source of Asian and Pacific Island immigrants.

Turning Point in 1965

The combined annual figures for China, Taiwan and Hong Kong from 1985 to 1989 averaged more than 40,000, while the number of immigrants from South Korea averaged 35,000 a year, Mr. Hoefer said.

The key to this surge was a 1965 change in the immigration law by President Lyndon B. Johnson that removed restrictions on Asians that had been in place since early in the century.

As a result, the number of Asian-Americans jumped from 891,000 in 1960 to 1.4 million in 1970, and then to 3.8 million in 1980, according to the Census Bureau. Demographers say it may be close to 7 million for 1990.

Another change in the immigration law last year, giving greater preference to applicants with certain skills, is expected to further increase the flow of Asians, many of whom are nurses, doctors, engineers and scientists, Mr. Hoefer said.

The new Asian immigrants have tended to cluster in towns or cities where a friend or relative first settled, following patterns of earlier waves of Irish, Italian, Polish and Jewish immigrants from Europe.

Drawn by Countrymen

In Rhode Island, much of the growth of the Asian population began with two Cambodian students who found themselves unable to return to their homeland after it fell to the Khmer Rouge in 1975. They then offered to sponsor Cambodian refugee families, who in turn sponsored other families, said Sophai Moeuy, a former sergeant in the Cambodian army who fled to a refugee camp in Thailand in 1978.

"When my time came to leave the camp, I did not know where I was supposed to go," said Mr. Moeuy, who is now a postal worker in Providence. "But when I went to my interview, I told them I had a friend named Pally Nak who had lived in the camp before who was now in the United States. I showed them a piece of paper with his address in the United States, and they took me here. I didn't now if it was cold or snow or hot here. I didn't know anything. But here I am."

Starting a Community

In the pine woods of Alabama between Bayou La Batre and Mobile, a group of Cambodian families have bought 200 acres of land, started their own crab processing plant, moved in some trailers and erected a makeshift Buddhist

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temple.

The Cambodians, like many of the Vietnamese, were originally brought to the area by the Mobile office of Catholic Social Services, which helps them with English classes and job counseling. The Cambodians also renamed the dusty road where the temple sits, calling it South Angkor Street, after the medieval capital of Cambodia.

In Birmingham, many Chinese and Koreans and some Japanese have come as students or scholars to the University of Alabama at Birmingham and its large medical center. Yoshimi Saito, a gentle, graying 52-year-old professor of mathematics arrived in 1983 from Kyoto, at first somewhat skeptical. "I had never heard of a Southern mathematician," he said in the living room of his comfortable ranch-style house in the hilly suburb of Homewood.

But Mr. Saito expresses satisfaction with his move now. He says he has felt no racial prejudice. He is a member of a Southern Baptist church. And his daughter, Yoriko, did so well in high school that the school sent her to the University of Alabama for her science classes starting in her sophomore year. When she graduated, she finished third nationally in the Westinghouse Science Talent Search. She is now part of a special joint graduate program at the Harvard Medical School and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

At the Great Wall restaurant in Birmingham, Candice Diong and Jet Wee Ong are the managers, as well as being husband and wife. They are both Chinese from Malaysia who met after they came to Alabama to college.

"Birmingham sure has changed since I came here in 1984," Mr. Ong said. "There were only a half dozen Chinese restaurants here then; now there are 60. It used to be quite difficult to explain to people what an egg roll is. Now they're just like french fries."

GRAPHIC: Photos: "Birmingham sure has changed since I came here in 1984," said Jet Wee Ong, who manages the Great Wall restaurant in Birmingham, Ala., with his wife, Candice Diong. "There were only a half dozen Chinese restaurants here then; now there are 60 (Mike Clemmer for The New York Times); Tu Phuc, a refugee from Saigon who settled in Bayou La Batre, Ala., sells rice from Thailand and cassette tapes of Vietnamese pop music stars at his grocery store. (Dave Hamby for The New York Times)

Graph: "A Growing Asian Population," tracks population in 1980 and projected 1990 population, by country of origin (Source: Census Bureau)

SUBJECT: POPULATION; ASIAN-AMERICANS; CENSUS; LAW AND LEGISLATION; IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

NAME: BUTTERFIELD, FOX; JOHNSON, LYNDON BAINES (1908-73)

GEOGRAPHIC: UNITED STATES

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THE ASIA SOCIETY

The Asia Society is dedicated to increasing American understanding of the culture, history and contemporary affairs of Asia and to fostering communication between Asians and Americans.

A national nonprofit, nonpartisan educational organization, the Society provides a forum for building awareness of the more than thirty countries broadly defined as the Asia-Pacific region -- the area from Japan to Iran, and from Soviet Asia to New Zealand, Australia, and the Pacific Islands.

Through art exhibitions and performances, seminars and conferences, publications and assistance to the media, and materials and programs for students and teachers, The Asia Society presents the uniqueness and diversity of Asia to the America people.

Founded in 1956 by John D. Rockefeller 3rd, the Society reaches audiences around the United States through its headquarters in New York and regional offices in Houston, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. Asians from all walks of life also participate in the Society's work through the new Hong Kong Center, an International Council and programs in Asia.

The Asia Society is supported by contributions from foundations, corporations, and individuals who believe in the mandate of the Society: to build bridges of understanding between Americans and Asians.

The Asia Society has approximately 6,000 members.

Report of the Chairman and the President

The need to educate Americans about their neighbors across the Pacific was the principal motive behind the founding of The Asia Society in 1956, years before the phrase "Pacific Community" became popular. From the outset we enlisted the cooperation of prominent Asians in our efforts to bring Asians and Americans together in a community of mutual interest.

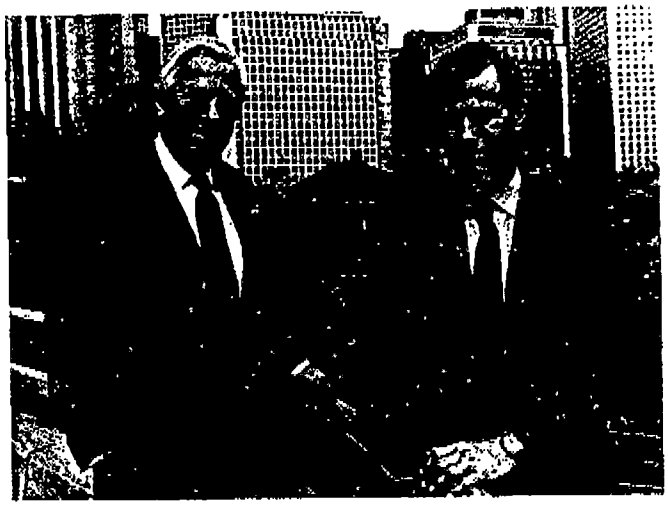
The extraordinary changes in Asia in recent years have only made the need for trans-Pacific partnership more apparent. With this in mind, the Board of Trustees has adopted a five-year Strategic Plan that calls for even stronger Asian participation at all stages and levels of Society activities.

In taking significant steps toward this goal last year, we acted to involve more of our Asian colleagues in the governance and guidance of the Society; to expand the Society's presence in Asia; to build working relationships with a broad spectrum of Asian institutions; and to organize a number of major events in Asia and the Pacific region.

In 1990–91 Asian representation on the Board of Trustees was increased with the involvement of such distinguished leaders as Joseph E. Hotung, Hong Kong financier and art patron; Koretsugu Kodama, managing director of the Bank of Tokyo, Ltd.; Sir Quo-Wei Lee, chairman of the Hang Seng Bank, Ltd. of Hong Kong; Hugh M. Morgan, managing director of Western Mining Corporation Ltd. (Australia); and Amnuay Viravan, executive chairman of the Bangkok Bank Ltd.

In addition, the membership of our International Council was doubled to include 150 prominent figures from around the Asian-Pacific region. These leaders in business, cultural affairs, the professions and government service provide invaluable assistance for Society programs both in Asia and in the United States.

The opening of our Hong Kong Center, the Society's fourth regional center and the first in Asia, was a major achievement that would not have been possible without the advice and assistance of eminent representatives of the Hong Kong community, especially those who served on the Society's International Council. Sir Quo-Wei Lee is the first chairman of the Center and Burton Levin, former U.S. Ambassador to Myanmar (Burma) and former U.S. Consul General in Hong Kong, is the first director. Programming at the Center got off to a strong start with a lecture series of interest not only to residents of Hong Kong but to anyone trying to understand fast-moving developments in East Asia. Standing-room-only audiences heard eyewitness reports on China's economic reforms and human-rights policies from Nicholas Lardy of the University of Washington and Gareth



Robin Moyer

Pictured in Hong Kong at the opening of the new Center were John C. Whitehead, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of The Asia Society, and Robert B. Oxnam, President.

While facing uncertainties about its change in status to Chinese sovereignty in 1997, Hong Kong continues to play a central role in Asian commerce and offers the Society an unsurpassed window on political and cultural developments throughout the region.

Collaboration with Asian sponsors helped make the corporate conference in Bali last March the largest of its kind ever held in the region. The conference, which dealt with the future of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), was jointly sponsored by the Society and The Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta, with the cooperation of *Fortune* and support from American and Asian firms. More than a thousand delegates and two hundred members of the regional and international press heard 38 distinguished speakers including three heads of state: President Socharto of Indonesia, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia and Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong of Singapore.

Following up the success of this meeting, the next corporate conference—scheduled for May 1992 in Taipei—will be co-sponsored by Taipei's Institute for National Political Research and *The Asian Wall Street Journal*.

The Society's Korean Peninsula Project benefited from an extensive collaborative network that paved the way for a 13-member American study mission to visit Beijing, Pyongyang, Seoul, Tokyo and Moscow. In each capital, research and policy institutes worked with the Society to set the agenda for the mission, which explored prospects for unification of North and South Korea. The study mission was chaired by Robert A. Scalapino, Robson Research Professor Emeritus at the University of California at Berkeley and a longtime trustee of The Asia Society.

Close cooperation with Asian institutions was a hallmark of our major cultural presentations during the year. The National Museum of Indonesia worked with the Society to launch *Court Arts of Indonesia*, an exhibition of 150 works representing 12 centuries of creativity by the peoples of the Indonesian archipelago. The exhibition, which was curated by Dr. Helen Ibbitson Jessup with Drs. Bambang Sumadio as co-curator in Indonesia, opened in Jakarta prior to its American debut at The Asia Society.

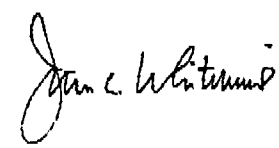
In a project that broke new ground in international sponsorship of the arts, the Society and Yayasan Seni Berdaftar, a Malaysian foundation, presented an evening of theater based on that country's traditional performing and martial arts, some of which are in danger of disappearing. Manuel Alum, an American choreographer with extensive experience in Asian dance, was asked to go to Malaysia to work with the finest traditional performers. The resulting production, *Made in Malaysia/ A Shamanic Journey*, drew enthusiastic audiences and laudatory reviews during its run at The Asia Society.

Three major collaborations are now in the planning stages: An exchange of art works between Tokyo's Idemitsu Museum and the Society's Rockefeller Collection of Asian Art; an exhibition of art treasures from 18th-century Korea organized with The National Museum of Korea; and an international conference in Bangkok that will bring together scholars, government officials and community leaders interested in the preservation of art objects and folk cultures throughout Asia.

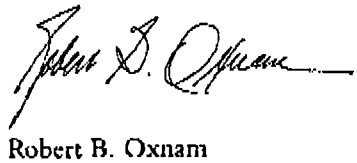
The 19th annual Williamsburg Conference, dedicated to fostering exchanges of opinion among decision makers from the entire Pacific region, convened in Sydney, Australia, a setting that symbolized the key roles played in the region by Australia and neighboring New Zealand. The conference was hosted by the Australian Institute of International Affairs.

While expanding our contacts with senior people in Asian research institutes, universities, museums, the arts, business and government, we are also concerned with reaching out to rising young leaders. A conference on environmental advocacy brought grassroots activists from seven Asian countries to New York in April to discuss goals and tactics with American environmental groups. Preparations are under way for similar conferences to deal with citizen action on women's issues and urban problems. The Society's commitment to closer collaboration with Asian individuals and institutions extends to our three regional program centers. For example, the Southern California Center has developed strong ties with Asian American communities and Asian-owned businesses in the Los Angeles area; the Houston Center has worked closely with several Asian Consulates General and with local businesses that maintain ties with Asia; and as always, the Washington Center has been instrumental in opening lines of communication with Asian government officials and with American officials who deal regularly with Asia.

The Asia Society has thrived over the years by drawing on the imagination and energy of large numbers of dedicated volunteers in this country. Now large numbers of Asians who share our vision of a peaceful and prosperous Pacific Community are generously offering their time, money and talents. This expanded partnership of concerned individuals from different backgrounds working toward a common good is both a confirmation of past success and an auspicious omen for the future.



John C. Whitehead
Chairman



Robert B. Oxnam
President

★8678★ THE ASIA SOCIETY (Asian) (TAS)
725 Park Ave.
New York, NY 10021
Phone: (212) 288-6400
Dr. Robert B. Oxnam, Pres.
Founded: 1956. **Members:** 5600. **Staff:** 90. **Budget:** $9,000,000. **Regional Groups:** 3. Seeks to increase American understanding of Asia and "its growing importance to U.S. and world relations." Serves as consultant on curriculum development and multimedia materials; offers services to educators to develop new ways of teaching about on Asian peoples and cultures; offers special programs and services to the public, the media, and business and professional audiences. Operates The Asia Society Galleries for exhibitions of Asian art; houses the Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III Collection of Asian Art. Conducts national program on Asian films and performing arts. **Telecommunications Services:** Fax, (212)517-8315. **Divisions:** Cultural Progams; Education and Contemporary Affairs. **Absorbed:** (1990) China Council (founded 1975). **Convention/Meeting:** none.

Publications: *Annual Report.* ● *Archives of Asian Art*, annual. ● *Asia Newsletter*, quarterly. Contains chapter news and calendar of events. **Price:** Included in membership dues. **Circulation:** 8000. **Advertising:** not accepted. ● *China Briefing*, annual. ● *India Briefing*, annual. ● *Korea Briefing*, annual. ● Also publishes performing arts monographs, books, educational guides and videotapes, brochures, study reports, media briefings, and catalogues of TAS exhibitions.

★8679★ ASIAN BENEVOLENT CORPS (ABC)
2423 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, No. 100
Washington, DC 20037
Phone: (202) 331-0129
Dr. Dwan Tai, Bd.Chm.
Founded: 1963. **Members:** 3000. Organized for artistic, cultural, educational, and commuity service activities.

Publications: *Asian Voice*, periodic.

★8680★ ASIAN CULTURAL COUNCIL (ACC)
280 Madison Ave.
New York, NY 10016
Phone: (212) 684-5450
Richard S. Lanier, Dir.
Founded: 1980. Promotes mutual understanding and respect between U.S. and Asian countries through cultural exchange in the visual and performing arts. Believes that direct contact between Americans and Asians is essential in gaining a true and lasting appreciation of each other's traditions, values, and beliefs. Provides fellowship awards to artists, scholars, students, and specialists in the visual and performing arts and to arts organizations and educational institutions involved in cultural exchange between the U.S. and Asian countries. **Telecommunications Services:** Telex, 4995359 ACCNY. **Supersedes:** Asian Cultural Program of the JDR 3rd Fund (founded 1963). **Convention/Meeting:** none.

Publications: Brochure.

★8681★ ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF CENTRAL ASIAN RESEARCH (AACAR)
Univ. of Massachusetts
Herter Hall
Amherst, MA 01003
Phone: (413) 545-1330
Audrey L. Altstadt, Ph.D., Treas.
Founded: 1988. Scholars and institutions interested in the study of central Asia. Works to bring together scholars, students, and others interested in collecting, analyzing, and disseminating information and research results on the history, literature, language, anthropology, sociology, and archaeology of the region. Seeks to improve knowledge and understanding of central Asia among scholars in related fields and serves as a clearinghouse and bridge between other regional study groups, such as those interested in the Middle East, east and south Asia, and Russia and the USSR.

Publications: *AACAR Bulletin*, 2-4/year. **Price:** $25/year. **ISSN:** 0898-6827. **Circulation:** 1500. **Advertising:** accepted. **Alternate Formats:** online ● *AACAR Monograph Series*, periodic. ● Also publishes *Alpamysh: Central Asian Identity Under Russian Rule* (book).

Convention/Meeting: Plans to hold meetings.

★8682★ CONFERENCE ON ASIAN HISTORY (CAH)
c/o Prof. George M. Wilson
Indiana Univ.
East Asian Studies Center
Bloomington, IN 47405
Phone: (812) 855-3765
Prof. George M. Wilson, Chm.
Founded: 1953. **Members:** 100. Asian historians at North American universities and colleges. Dedicated to the exchange of information on Asia. Sponsors luncheon and panel discussions on Asian history during American Historical Association (see separate entry) meeting.

Convention/Meeting: annual conference - always Dec. 28-30.

★8683★ CULTURAL INTEGRATION FELLOWSHIP (Asian) (CIF)
360 Cumberland
San Francisco, CA 94114
Phone: (415) 626-2442
Mrs. Bina Chaudhuri, Pres.
Founded: 1951. **Members:** 300. **Staff:** 10. Individuals interested in the concepts of universal religion, cultural harmony, and creative self-fulfillment. Promotes intercultural understanding between Asia and America; emphasizes the "spiritual oneness of the human race"; applies fundamental spiritual principles in daily living. Activities include weekly lectures and study groups, a summer seminar on Oriental philosophy, and a student essay contest. Operates bookstore. **Committees:** Universal Religion.

Publications: *Ashram Bulletin*, quarterly. ● *Special Cultural Events*, quarterly. ● Also sponsors and publishes books and monographs.

★8684★ EAST-WEST CULTURAL CENTER (Asian) (EWCC)
Sri Aurobindo Center
12329 Marshall St.
Culver City, CA 90230
Phone: (213) 390-9083
Robert R. Dane, Sec.-Treas.
Founded: 1953. **Staff:** 4. **Budget:** Less than $25,000. **Nonmembership.** Artists, philosophers, scientists, musicians, dancers, and teachers of other spiritual movements and religions. Seeks to relate and integrate the cultural and spiritual values of the East (primarily India) with those of Western civilization. Conducts lectures; holds performances. Sponsors study groups based on the teachings of Sri Aurobindo, an Indian mystic. Offers classes in Hindi, Punjabi, Sanskrit, and Yoga. Maintains 2000 volume library which covers Eastern religion, philosophy, history, literature, language, and culture. Sponsors the work at Auroville, the City of Human Unity being built in Pondicherry, and Tamil Nadu, India.

Publications: *First Lessons in Sanskrit Grammar and Reading* and *The Language of the Gods.*

★8685★ NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ASIAN-AMERICAN PROFESSIONALS (NAAAP)
PO Box 772
New York, NY 10002
Phone: (212) 533-9335
John Chang, Pres.
Founded: 1982. **Members:** 600. **Regional Groups:** 3. Works to enhance cultural and educational awareness of the Asian community in the U.S. Provides resources and assistance to the Asian community. Develops social and professional networking programs. **Formerly:** National Association of Young Asian Professionals.

Publications: *Current Asian*, semiannual. Includes member news and updates. **Price:** Free to members. **Advertising:** accepted.

Convention/Meeting: annual.

★8686★ BET NAHRAIN (Assyrian) (BN)
PO Box 4116
Modesto, CA 95352
Phone: (209) 522-3229
Dr. Sargon Dadesho, Executor
Founded: 1974. **Members:** 5000. Individuals united internationally to perpetuate the heritage of the Assyrian people through radio, television, printed material, and athletic and cultural programs. Conducts seminars and classes in ancient Assyrian language. Sponsors Assyrian broadcasting radio station and television network. **Committees:** Athletic; Educational; Khamatit Bet Nahrain (women's auxiliary); Mass Media; Radio and TV.

Publications: *Journal*, monthly.

Convention/Meeting: monthly.

★8687★ AMERICA AUSTRALIA INTERACTION ASSOCIATION (Australian) (AAIA)
7873 Heritage Dr., No. 123
Annandale, VA 22003
Phone: (703) 750-1234
Joseph Farkas, Exec.Dir.
Founded: 1989. **Staff:** 2. North American and Australian businesses, organizations, and individuals seeking to strengthen the economic, social, and cultural contacts between their countries. Conducts educational programs including: youth/professional internships, lectures, and symposia. Holds social functions including embassy receptions, art promotions, sports outings, festivals, themed formal dinners, and commemorative functions. Provides liaison programs and international visitors' welcome services. Sponsors research and charitable projects; bestows awards; maintains speakers' bureau, library, and placement and immigration guidance service. Compiles statistics. Plans to establish the National Australian American Chamber of Commerce. **Computerized Services:** Mailing lists. **Telecommunications Services:** Fax, (301)229-4381. **Committees:** America Australia Business Council; Social and Cultural Membership Communications.

Publications: *Australian-American Migration In Brief: A Bilateral Guide* **Price:** Free to members; $3 to nonmembers. ● *Interchange*, quarterly. Newsletter. **Price:** Included in membership dues. **Advertising:** accepted. ● Also publishes brochures.

Convention/Meeting: annual, (with exhibits). Also sponsors the Annual National Australian Wine Exposition - 1991, November, Washington, DC.

★8688★ AUSTRIAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE (ACI)
Cultural Affairs Sect.
Austrian Consulate Gen.
11 E. 52nd St.
New York, NY 10022
Phone: (212) 759-5165
Dr. Wolfgang Waldner, Dir.
Founded: 1962. **Staff:** 8. **Nonmembership.** Austrian government agency in charge of cultural and scientific relations between America and Austria. Maintains 10,000 volume reference library on Austrian history, art, and literature. **Telecommunications Services:** Fax, (212)319-9636; telex, 177142. **Formerly:** (1989) Austrian Institute.

Publications: *Austrian Cultural Institute—Calendar of Events*, 10/year.

October 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR SPEECHWRITERS
RESEARCHERS

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: ASIA PRE-ADVANCE RESEARCH

JAPAN

SCHEDULE

FRIDAY: --arrival ceremony with Emperor (open press, troop review), then courtesy call on Emperor at Imperial Palace
--meeting with Prime Minister Miyazawa at Akasaka Palace
--Imperial Banquet, Imperial Palace, after dinner toast

SATURDAY: --tennis and breakfast with the Emperor
--visit Mita Senior High School (visit geography lab, then nationally televised 5 min. remarks followed by Q&A with students from around the world).
--major speech at Japanese Diet, lower house. 15-20 minutes, focusing on the responsibilities of interdependence, and maybe Japan's role in NWO.
--brief remarks at Kodak R&D plant in Yokohama. First, lunch with U.S. business leaders, Visit Kodak Laboratory, then address to U.S. business leaders and Kodak staff.
--one on one meeting with PM, then expanded bilaterals, then joint press statement
--welcoming reception at Hotel New Otani with brief remarks to 2000 -- a kind of welcoming committee of business leaders, politicoes, etc. Tone should be real upbeat.
--Dinner with PM at PM's residence, after dinner toast

SUNDAY: --private breakfast
--Emperor makes goodbye call to POTUS
--attend church (maybe)
--Embassy greetings
--AF1 to Kyoto, accompanied by PM
--walking tour of Imperial Palace
--lunch with PM at Omiya Palace, (Secretary Alexander may simultaneously lunch with Stanford students and JET, Japan English Teaching Program, teachers).
Walking tour of Omiya gardens. Brief remarks to American and Japanese students.
--may visit Nijo Castle

JAPAN

POLICY THEMES

Torkel Patterson of the NSC has advised me that while the main focus of the President's trip here will obviously be on trade issues, there will be a strong effort to tie in American domestic concerns wherever possible. The context: the global neighborhood; interdependence in communication/technology revolutionized, politically post-modern (Pinkerton) new world order.

Two challenges. One: selling a responsible trade policy toward Japan back home, when the protectionist/isolationist harangues from the right and left offer such politically hysterical appeal. Two: eliciting concessions and continued progress from the Japanese at a time when tolerance for continued American Japan-bashing is reaching its limits.

A couple of notes on first challenge. Japanese buy more per capita from America than Americans buy per capita from Japan (the "trade deficit" as commonly heralded fails to account for population ration, i.e. far greater U.S. pop than Japan pop). The Japanese buy more from the United States than they buy from the U.K., France, and Italy combined.

When addressing trade issues with the Japanese we might stress "the opportunities **and** responsibilities of interdependence." We want to challenge Japan to have the most open market by the year 2000. (Incidentally, in technical terms, tariff barriers for instance, Japan's market is more open than ours. Impenetrability more often comes from hidden barriers -- like regulation size paper or car manufacturing standards -- and on Japanese consumer preferences for the familiar.) Anecdote: Japan used to exclude American baseball bats because they didn't carry the right seal, a seal only available to Japanese firms.

Encouraging continued Japanese progress on rectifying environmental abuses: While industrializing, Japan was one of the worst environmental offenders internationally. Since then, they have made great strides in cleaning up their act. For instance, all their taxicabs run on natural gas. While the Japanese are generally willing to move forward on environmental issues, intransigence stems from anxiety over "keeping your rice bowl filled," i.e. concern over loss of jobs in professions with incidental abuse (e.g. fishermen, tortoise shell craftsmen). The Japanese usually ask for "transition time" to retrain, relocate those put out of work by conservation measures, while we want change "now."

TOKYO SITES

1) Imperial Palace: I was unable to go on this walk-through but here's what I gather from other sources. The imperial banquet will be held in a room called Homei-Den Hall. From

postcards, it looks kind of like a hotel ballroom, with some kind of abstract Japanese painting of clouds on the wall. This, apparently, is the way much of the palace looks. The palace is actually only about 20 years old. The initial greeting will take place in the Asahi-no-ma, or "Room of the Rising Sun."

We had bombed the original Imperial Palace in World War II; it was rebuilt in '69. The palace surrounds a huge courtyard. The overriding characteristic of the place is a vast emptiness -- large rectangular rooms with little or no furniture, walls with sliding panels. The dining room table will be a big U-shaped deal.

2) Mita Senior High School: President will tour a couple of classrooms, go to larger room with Mita students where he will deliver brief remarks nationally televised. Then he will field questions from students around the country via a satellite hook-up. FYI: There's a concern that Japanese students, generally not encouraged to participate or ask questions in class, will be so awed by presidential presence that they'll simply clam up. Perhaps there's some way (joke? comparison to American students?) that we can sensitively circumvent such a scenario.

School itself not much different looking from American high schools. 1,100 students. Was founded as a public girls' school in 1923. Became coed in 1950, renamed Tokyo Public Mita Senior High School. In 1977, Mita opened a class for students returning from abroad. On a couple of bulletin boards I saw improvised scrawled student demands manifestos, requesting more interesting classes, more understanding teachers, etc. These were the work of such returning students, who are generally more outspoken and participatory than their colleagues.

While part of our purpose is to show admiration for Japanese academic excellence, it's ironic that the Japanese themselves are quite critical of their own system. They in turn look to our institutions for inspiration. The Japanese criticize their schools for their emphasis on rote memorization, aversion to innovation, and lack of encouragement for independent, critical analysis by their students. Recently they even passed legislation to stop Saturday schooling.

I suggest we deal with this by stressing a theme of "we have so much to learn from each other," rather than, "we have so much to learn from you." Moreover, we can touch on several non-school factors that account for Japanese academic excellence -- strong family support, recognition of the link between learning and success, early engendered work ethic, etc.

3) Japanese Diet, lower house: parliamentary amphitheater style hall with large balcony. Rich wood detailing and

carving. POTUS to address reps from podium. 500 Diet members. See pictures. In the entrance hall/lobby, there are four pedestals in each corner. Three support statues of great Japanese statesmen/historical figures, the fourth is left empty as a symbol of hope, i.e. looking forward to the great statesmen to come.

4) Kodak, Yokahama: POTUS will see several gee-whiz high tech developments in progress, like a super high definition TV. Brief remarks to Kodak staff. Kudos; America can compete; appreciation for their hard work and investment; POTUS is taking steps to improve America's competitiveness.

5) Prime Minister's residence: unable to go on walkthrough.

CONTACTS: --Blair Hall of AmEmbTokyo, (03)3224-5336
--Hiroshi Furusana, MOFA 3581-3802

KYOTO SITES

1) Kyoto Imperial Palace (FYI, I don't think there are any remarks): Originally built as the Emperor's second palace, Kyoto Imperial Palace was used as the Imperial Palace from 1331-1867 after the original main palace burnt down. The Imperial Throne and the August Seat of the Empress, still used for coronations, are located here. Each rests on a platform, and is covered with an octagonal canopy, decorated with a large phoenix and eight small phoenixes.

The last "Ceremony of the Enthronement of His Majesty the Emperor at the Seiden" took place in the Imperial Palace on November 12, 1990

2) Omiya Palace: remarks to students should focus on building bridges between our two countries through education, facing the future together. See proverbs.

Some of the students are with the Stanford Japan Center, established by Stanford University, "for the purpose of educating future generations of Americans about Japan. The Center also will provide an institutional link between American and Japanese research in science, technology, and social science with the aim of opening up crucial channels of information and by embarking on new cooperative initiatives in research between the two nations."

2) Nijo Castle (again, no remarks): The castle was originally built in 1603 to be the official Kyoto residence of the first Tokugawa Shogun Ieyasu, and it was completed in 1626 by the third Shogun Iemitsu. The lavishly decorated castle stands as a symbol of the power of the Tokugawa military government. It contains the famous "Nightingale Corridor," whose floors are designed to creak with birdlike noises when tread upon, thus foreboding an enemy approach.

JAPANESE COLOR:

1) Finding humor is difficult. Most people I've spoken to say that the Japanese aren't big on jokes, humor. Moreover, they will not know to laugh if POTUS tells a joke.

2) The "Japan Series" (similar to our 'world series') in baseball has just started. This years favorites are the Hiroshima Carp and the Seibu Lions.

3) Sumo wrestling is Japan's national sport. Recently an exhibition tournament was held in London. Two very popular wrestlers are a pair of American brothers from Hawaii -- Konishiki, who's the biggest Sumo wrestler (600 lbs), and Ake Bono, who's the tallest. Who knows, maybe we could make a joke about "gross national products" to an American audience -- large American exports.

4) American movies, rock, and rap music are very popular. Disneyland opened in Japan 6 years ago; Japanese love Mickey Mouse.

5) Karaoke is a popular Japanese social activity. Literally meaning "empty orchestra," karaoke bars play music without lyrics so that the patrons can star on vocals. Maybe there's a joke about Barbara wanting to go Karaoke.

6) Women control the finances in Japanese families -- when to buy the car, when to invest, etc. The husband often asks his wife for money for his expenses; this allowance is called "Kozu Kai." Maybe POTUS can say, "I wanted to buy some souvenirs, but Barbara cut my kozu kai."

7) Of all their qualities, Japanese are proudest of their perseverance, endurance, called "gamman." They rate harmony as highest on their scale of social values.

8) Relevant to Omiya in Kyoto: a handbook called A Look into Japan tells us "The Japanese garden is designed to be a faithful representation of nature and to impart a sense of simple, unspoiled beauty."

9) December 23 is the Emperor's birthday.

10) The speechwriting god (Curt, sit down): Benten, one of the seven deities of good fortune, is the goddess of eloquence, music and wisdom.

11) "Banzai," literally meaning 'ten thousand years,' is the Japanese equivalent of 'three cheers.' It's usually expressed at the high point or end of a celebration.

12) Japanese proverbs:

"The past is not to be blamed." (Ki-o wa togamezu) English parallel would be: "let bygones be bygones."

"The lantern-bearer should go ahead." (Chochin-mochi wa saki ni tate) Meaning, he who bears the light, whether material, intellectual, or spiritual, should lead the way.

"A treasure decaying in one's hands." (Takara no mochi-kusare) Meaning, those with talent or money should but them to good use, or else they will rot away.

"To the upper hand there is an upper hand." (Uwate ni wa uwate ari). In other words, everyone has to answer to someone. Maybe there's a first lady joke in here.

"Seven falls and eight rises." (Nana-korobi-ya-oki) Perseverance will win in the end.

"There are no national frontiers to learning." (Gakumon ni kokkyo nashi) i.e. scholarship knows no boundaries.

"To study penmanship at eighty." (Hachiju no te-narai) Meaning, it's never too late to learn. Could apply to lifelong learning, or joke on POTUS computer lessons.

"Books are preserved minds." (Shomotsu wa hozon-sareta kokoro nari) Reminiscent of Highet quote, 'Books aren't lifeless lumps of paper, but minds alive on a shelf.'

KOREA

POLICY THEMES

Korea wants to have its cake and eat it too. On one hand, it wants to have a close relationship with U.S., play the big league with the big boys. On the other hand, it claims the fragility of a developing economy to justify protectionist policies. We think they're strong enough to forgo such a handicap, with ultimately hampers true growth on both sides. (Note: GB visited Korea after he went to Hirohito's funeral)

Politics: Korea only recently became democratized. We want to encourage democracy, praise them for ongoing efforts and progress in that direction.

(War)Heads up: North Korea is developing a nuclear weapon. There are fears of his becoming the region's Saddam Hussein. This issue requires some delicacy because a) we support reunification and b) South Koreans regard their northern neighbors as brethren. Kim Il Sung, the 82 year old "Great Leader" of North Korea, will pass the reigns to his son, Kim Jung Il, widely regarded as less than competent. Fears of a military coup against the latter complicate the situation.