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Folder Title:
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ASIA AND PACIFIC

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Executive Office of the President

Washington, D.C. 20506



Date: 12/31/91

No. Of Pages: 1

(Excluding cover page)

TO: NAME:	Co./AGENCY:	PHONE #:	FAX #:
Michelle Nix	White House	456-7750	456-6218

FROM:

- ☐ Sandra Kristoff, AUSTR (202) 395-3430
- ☐ Nancy Adams, DAUSTR (202) 395-4755
- ☑ Laura Kneale Anderson, South Asia and Pacific (202) 395-6813
- ☐ Peter Collins, South East Asia and India (202) 395-6813
- ☐ Terence Mulligan,Special Assistant, Asia and Pacific (202) 395-6813
- ☐ Tommie Johnson (202) 395-3430
- ☐ Diane Parker (202) 395-6813

FAX #: (202) 395-3512

CONTACT: If There are any problems please call: (202) 395-3430, 4755, 6813

SUBJECT: Asia Statistics

TO: Michelle Nix

FROM: Laura Anderson

Following are the relevant statistics on our trade with Asia that you requested:

Bilateral U.S. trade with Singapore
(merchandise exports plus imports)

1990: $17.8 billion
1980: 4.9 billion
1978: 2.6 billion

U.S. merchandise exports in 1990

Singapore: $8.0 billion
Italy: 8.0 billion
Spain: 5.2 billion
Switzerland: 4.9 billion
Israel: 3.2 billion
Greece: $765 million

Indonesia: $1.9 billion
Eastern Europe: 1.1 billion
(not including USSR)

Bilateral U.S. trade in 1990

ASEAN: $46.1 billion
Germany: 47.0 billion (approx.)

Bilateral trade with former FRG in 1990: $46.8 billion
Bilateral trade with former GDR in 1989: 0.2 billion

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: Michelle Nix

FAX No.: 456-6218 TEL No.: 456-7750

FROM: EAP/IMBS - Pepper Richhart

FAX No.: 647-7350 TEL No.: 647-3276

DATE: 12/12/91 TIME: 20:20

SUBJECT: Themes for "Singapore Lecture"

This Transmission Consists of a Cover Sheet plus 10 Page(s)

Notes:

Phyllis

THEMES FOR SPEECH IN SINGAPORE (THE "SINGAPORE LECTURE")

Introduction

- 31 years ago this month, on a cold, snowy day in Washington, newly elected American President John Kennedy articulated America's commitment to our friends and allies throughout the world. That we would stand with them in their efforts to resist Communism, embrace freedom and support efforts to develop economically and thus improve the lives of their people.

- It was a commitment that was to exact a heavy price, over 58,000 dead in Indochina and billions of dollars spent on assistance and maintaining a military presence in the region.

- But it was a commitment that has been shared by Republican and Democratic presidents alike.

- It is appropriate that standing here now in a country which represents one of the most remarkable economic success stories in the world, we can look back and see that the outcome we all worked and sacrificed for has indeed become a reality.

- It is with great pride that I say that history will record that America did indeed keep its commitment to its friends in SE Asia and that together we have built a region which is at once free, at peace, and experiencing unprecedented prosperity, part of the new world order which offers the promise of enduring global stability.

- To judge just how far we have come and to see what we have accomplished, it is instructive to look back 25 years and recall the situation in SE Asia at the time Singapore was first charting its independent course.

- In January 1967, the concern was about the rapid spread of Communist ideology. Almost every country in SE Asia had or was about to have an active Communist insurgency.

- As the war in Vietnam raged, from Jakarta to Rangoon and from Bangkok to Manila, the worry was about falling dominoes. The nightmare vision was of a radical ideology being imposed throughout the region.

- It is important to keep in mind that while there was a large U.S. military presence in the region in the mid 60's, U.S. economic interaction with Southeast Asia was still rather small.

- On the eve of the Tet offensive, the U.S. had a higher trade turnover with Latin America than with East Asia.

- Today, the situation is dramatically reversed. The steadfastness of our military commitments and the stability which they promoted, gave the countries of the region time to grow economically and deal effectively with the political challenge. Having collapsed in Europe and the Soviet Union, Communism is no longer a viable threat, and is acknowledged as a failed and bankrupt economic and political philosophy.

- Democracy, personal freedom and free market economies are demonstrably the keys to real improvement in the quality of people's lives.

- And this has been accompanied by an explosion in trade between the U.S. and Southeast Asia, particularly the six ASEAN countries.

  -- U.S. two way trade with Singapore grew from 2 billion dollars to 20 billion dollars since the end of the Vietnam War.

  -- In the same period, trade with Thailand went from 700 million dollars to 9 billion dollars.

- This has made the U.S. ASEAN's number one customer. We take one fifth of all of ASEAN's exports, while ASEAN imports from the U.S. have increased 1600 percent since 1975.

- As a result, today U.S. two way trade with ASEAN stands at over 46 billion dollars - just about equal to our commerce with Germany - and exceeded by only three other U.S. trading partners.

- To put it in better perspective, in 1990 the U.S. exported:

  -- More to Singapore than to Italy or Spain

  -- More to Thailand than to India

  -- More to Malaysia than the Soviet Union

  -- More to Indonesia than all the rest of Eastern Europe put together.

- But it is not just trade that has brought us closer together.

- Satellites and the expansion of telecommunication technology mean that more messages and images are going back and forth between our people than ever before.

-- In 1975 there were about 300,000 T.V. sets in Indonesia, today there are 7 million (and it seems at least that many more for sale in all of Singapore shopping malls.)

-- Direct dial long distance phones and FAX machines means someone in Manila, the Philippines can place an order in Manila, Iowa in less than a minute.

o We understand each other because of the flow of people between us.

-- In 1975 there were only slightly more than a million Americans of Southeast Asian origin.

-- Today that figure has quadrupled to more than 4 million, including one senior member of my White House staff Sichan Siv who survived the horrors of the Khmer Rouge run Cambodia.

-- Based on this population of SE Asian origin, the U.S. would rank as the fifth largest ASEAN country.

-- There are more Lao in the U.S. than in Vientiane

-- There are more Filipinos in California than in Cebu.

o All of these developments - the flow of people, telecommunications, jet aircraft, trade, investment, security commitments, and common belief in economics and freedom have created a web of interaction, knitting us together as never before.

o Our challenge is to use this structure to promote continued peace, stability and increased economic progress. And common efforts to deal with the challenges we face in terms of the environment, narcotics, human rights and other scientific and technical areas such as public health.

o There are two mechanisms which promote and enhance this new reality:

-- The ASEAN-Post Ministerial Dialogue in which our foreign ministers and those of ASEAN's other dialogue partners meet to discuss issues and coordinate approaches to dealing with problems;

-- And APEC, which offers the increasingly real promise of cooperation on the full range of economic issues across the entire Asian-Pacific region.

- Having invested so much in this region in terms of American lives and national treasure and having attained, together with you, so many of our policy goals, the U.S. is not now going to turn its back on South East Asia.

- The U.S. is committed to meeting its obligations in SE Asia and will continue to play this positive role by maintaining our military presence.

  -- Our new Access Agreement with Singapore contributes importantly to this goal.

- The U.S. is committed to a successful transition to a freely elected government in Cambodia.

- The U.S. is prepared to move forward in our relationship with Vietnam, provided that progress continues to be made in Cambodia and on our POW/MIA issue.

  -- The countries of Indochina have real promise for economic growth if there can finally be an end to violence and they join the rest of the region in emphasizing development.

- We are truly embarking on a new era - one in which the last remnants of the Cold War are being put behind us

- For America, our Vietnam syndrome is a thing of the past.

Security/New World Order

- My generation fought a world war -- in Asia and the Pacific, in Europe, in North Africa. Those of us who experienced that war vowed that it would be the last world war, that the forces of totalitarianism must be resisted and their aggressive designs frustrated. As visionaries, we founded the United Nations; as prudent men and women, we also established a structure of alliances to contain totalitarianism.

- In the largest sense, we have achieved our goals. Despite -- and perhaps in some ways because of -- the advent of weapons of mass destruction, the threat of global war today is smaller than at any time since 1945; indeed, it has almost vanished. The specter of world communism has disappeared; state-controlled economies are discredited; the democratic tide is higher than it has ever been, with elected governments in many nations on all continents; the advantages of the free-market system are evident worldwide.

- For many years the United States, by its military presence and its influence, has fostered stability in several parts of the world. Nowhere have the benefits of that stability been greater than here in East Asia, where many nations have prospered to a degree beyond anything that might have been imagined 20 years ago: first Japan; then the dynamic Asian economies of Singapore, Hong Kong, the Republic of Korea and Taiwan; and now Malaysia and Thailand. Others such as Indonesia are following rapidly. Economic growth in East Asia today far outstrips growth anywhere else in the world.

- The alliance structure succeeded in containing totalitarianism and preventing global conflict, but it did not preclude smaller wars or other kinds of regional or local conflict. We are still dealing with some of those situations, but the end of superpower rivalry has made the search for solutions more productive. We have reached a stage at which we can realistically discuss what I have called the New World Order, under which nations will resolve their disputes without resort to the use of force.

- We have already seen a revitalized United Nations take on the role its founders intended for it, most notably in rolling back the invasion of a small state, Kuwait, by a much larger one, Iraq. We have enjoyed good cooperation from the Soviet Union in convening a historic Middle East peace conference.

- Here in Southeast Asia multilateral diplomacy has achieved what we trust will be a notable and lasting success: the case of Cambodia. I will not try to trace here the history of that unhappy country -- a history in which the United States itself is of course involved. But I want to record my appreciation for the solidarity of Singapore and four other ASEAN members with Thailand, the nation immediately threatened in the 1970s and 1980s by the potential

spillover of combat. More recently, another ASEAN member, Indonesia, together with France, has led the search for a settlement, in which the four other Permanent Members of the Security Council have joined, together with the United Nations, Australia, Japan and other governments. That long search reached a milestone ten weeks ago in Paris with the signing of the settlement documents.

- o A settlement in Cambodia truly means the start of a new era. For virtually the first time since World War II, Southeast Asia is without serious conflict. For the United States, that settlement makes possible a process of healing in our relations with the states of Indochina: representation in Cambodia for the first time since 1975, accredited to the Supreme National Council headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk; a restoration of our diplomatic relations with Laos -- never broken -- to the pre-1975 level; and the start of the process of normalization with Vietnam. Just how far and how fast we move in that process with Vietnam will depend on progress in resolving the cases of our military personnel missing in action -- but the trend in recent months has been decidedly positive.

- o For the people and the governments of Indochina, the settlement in Cambodia holds great promise. The embargos on trade and investment which many governments imposed can now be lifted; travel and communications can be opened up; the international financial institutions will be able to lend freely for worthwhile projects. Most important, perhaps, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia will be able to emerge from their isolation and, if they choose, free themselves of the policy constraints that have hindered their development. In fact, Laos and Vietnam in recent times have both shown a receptiveness to foreign private investment. The United States looks forward to this new era, as, I am sure, do the peoples of Singapore and the other five ASEAN nations.

- o Clearly, then, the situation in East Asia has improved in recent months, as has the world situation generally. But we remain in a transitional phase; we cannot wish away continuing threats to peace and stability such as North Korea, and we cannot rule out sudden threats to world peace and the rule of law such as the one that arose in the Persian Gulf only sixteen months ago.

- For those reasons, the United States will remain engaged militarily in East Asia and the Pacific for the foreseeable future. Here, as in Europe, we will take advantage of reduced levels of threat and of increases in the speed, range and lift capability of our ships and aircraft to slim down our forward-deployed forces and the number of our bases. The character of our presence will change; we will place more reliance on access to a larger number of facilities owned and controlled by others. Our total numbers may be reduced, but our presence in the region could be more widespread and more frequent.

- The agreement signed in Tokyo a year ago by then-Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew and Vice President Dan Quayle exemplifies this new type of arrangement. Under its terms, our ships and aircraft -- based elsewhere -- are making increased use of Singaporean military facilities. They exercise jointly with Singapore's forces as well as on their own. They are gaining familiarity with the geography and the operating conditions of this part of Asia. We are open to the possibility of similar arrangements with other nations of the region.

- The eruption of Mount Pinatubo in the Philippines in June settled the fate of Clark Air Base there. If we are able to remain at Subic Bay, we shall do so, but if not we shall continue to honor our treaty commitments. We have already relocated headquarters, troops and equipment to Guam. Meanwhile, United States forces will remain in Japan and Korea. Our treaty relationship with Australia, the country I shall visit next, is stronger than it has ever been. We hope the day will come when New Zealand allows us to resume defense cooperation under the historic ANZUS alliance.

- In short, we will stay on the scene in East Asia. The test of our security policy, or of any nation's, is not the size or location of its forces; rather, it is the ability to deal with any and all likely threats to the peace, and to deal quickly and decisively with unpredictable crises, and that is precisely how the United States and its partners in the multinational coalition -- acting through the United Nations -- dealt with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Economic Cooperation

- Interdependence and cooperation are equally important in the world economy. That lesson is fully understood here in Singapore, where total trade is more than three times the value of your gross domestic product. If the prosperity that so much of East Asia already enjoys is to continue and spread, we must have an open global trading system. To reach that goal, we need a framework for economic integration, and we must avoid regional fragmentation.

- Trade across the Pacific has expanded dramatically in recent years, in step with dramatic economic growth in many East Asian countries. Some ten years ago America's trade with the Pacific surpassed our trade across the Atlantic; today, it is nearly one-third larger. The ASEAN countries, taken together, constitute America's fifth-largest trading partner. Singapore alone is a bigger export market for U.S. goods than Italy, Spain or the USSR. Nations on the eastern rim of the Pacific, from Mexico to Chile, are eager to join in this booming trans-Pacific commerce. I urge U.S. firms take advantage of these dynamic markets and to redouble their efforts to export to and invest in the ASEAN countries.

- The Pacific Basin is a natural trading region, and it is logical that the governments of the region concert to promote that trade by eliminating barriers and establishing common policies. An excellent forum for doing so already exists: the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, or APEC, grouping. The concept had occurred to a number of people in several countries, but it was Prime Minister Bob Hawke of Australia who developed the idea and convoked the first APEC ministerial meeting in Canberra two years ago.

- APEC has since met twice more, here in Singapore last year and again last month in Seoul. Its original group of twelve participants has grown substantially with the simultaneous addition of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, and APEC can look forward to further growth in the years ahead.

- APEC is performing many useful functions, but none is more important than mobilizing the support of all fifteen participants for a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations to update and extend the system known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The nations of APEC are convinced that the GATT system must cover world trade in agricultural products, as it has long covered manufactured goods, and that it must be extended to

new realms such as intellectual property rights, services, and investment.

- o The alternative is a likely failure of the global trading system, a reversion to exclusionary trading blocs, and, eventually, the constriction of world trade. It is incumbent on all of us -- in North America, in Asia, in Europe -- to overcome parochial interests, abandon protectionist rules and tactics, and expose our economies to the rigors of competition.

- o Even while we pursue reform of the global system in the Uruguay Round, we can reduce and eliminate barriers to trade with our immediate neighbors. That is what the United States and Canada are doing right now, and what we and Canada propose to do with Mexico, thereby creating a North American Free Trade Area, or NAFTA, which will have few internal barriers and will be more accessible than at present to other world traders such as Singapore.

  - -- There is concern in the region that NAFTA is an exclusive trade bloc; this is not the case.

  - -- NAFTA is not a policy body but a free trade area, simply eliminating trade barriers among its members.

  - -- The East Asian initiative comparable to NAFTA is the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). The ASEAN Economic Ministers have set a goal of completing the AFTA by 2005; we wholeheartedly support the ASEAN FTA.

  - -- NAFTA is also consistent with the GATT and will eliminate substantially all trade barriers among its members, while creating no new trade barriers. Free trade areas meeting these conditions stimulate growth among members and, overall, liberalize trade flows. This should increase ASEAN exports to the U.S.

<u>The Spread of Democracy</u>

- o The most inspiring single event of the last few years was the tearing down of the Berlin Wall. The Wall symbolized the worst of totalitarianism, and its destruction stands for the desire of people everywhere to control their destinies and to be governed only by their own consent.

- To a gratifying degree, that is happening. The democratic impulse is alive, whether fed by relative prosperity, as seemed to be the case in China, or by economic failure, as in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. And in many places the impulse is flourishing. In recent years elected governments have come to office everywhere from the Philippines to Poland and from Nicaragua to Mongolia.

- There are basic human rights, universally recognized though not universally observed, but there is no copyright on democracy and no one form of government or set of practices to which every nation must adhere. The United States recognizes the legitimacy of diversity.

- What the United States cannot condone, however, is the suppression of the popular will -- and that is what has occurred in Burma, where the military leadership permitted elections last year but, when the results proved not to the military's liking, refused to allow the winners to take their rightful seats and organize a government. So long as this situation continues, the people of Burma will remain victims, subject to torture and intimidation and deprived of the chance to share in the general prosperity and well-being which so many of their neighbors already enjoy.

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

BUREAU OF EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS

FAX COVER SHEET

SMN/TS:
This is a bootleg.
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Do not distribut

DATE: December 6, 1991

TO: White House - Attention: Ms. Carol Aarhus

FAX NUMBER: 456-6218

ADDRESSEE'S PHONE: 456-7750

FROM: EAP/ IMBS - Richard W. Teare

FAX NUMBER: 202-647-7350

SENDER'S PHONE NUMBER: 202-647-3276

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET: ~~Nine~~ Ten

REMARKS:

As promised, I am forwarding two separate sets of suggested themes for the Singapore Lecture, which is envisioned as a regional (Southeast Asia) foreign-policy address and is the major speech of the Singapore stop. (On January 4)

Both documents were passed to the NSC Asia staff some time ago, but we've had no reaction.

Others as available.

RWT

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-- 31 years ago this month, on a cold, snowy day in Washington, newly elected American President John Kennedy articulated Americas commitment to our friends and allies throughout the world. That we would stand with them in their efforts to resist Communism, embrace freedom and support efforts to develop economically and thus improve the lives of their people.

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-- It is appropriate that standing here now in a country which represents one of the most remarkable economic success stories in the world, we can look back and see that the outcome we all worked and sacrificed for has indeed become a reality.

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-- The U.S. is committed to meeting its obligations in SE Asia and will continue to play the positive role by maintaining our military presence, even with our three year phase out from Subic Bay.

Our new Access Agreement with Singapore contributes importantly to this goal.

-- The U.S. is committed to a successful transition to a freely elected government in Cambodia. In that regard, I am today announcing that the U.S. has lifted its trade embargo and all other economic restrictions against Cambodia. This should permit increased economic activity which will help solidify and maintain the process.

-- The U.S. is prepared to move forward in our relationship with Vietnam, provided that progress continues to be made in Cambodia and on our POW/MIA issue.

The countries of Indochina have real promise for economic growth if there can finally be an end to violence and they join the rest of the region in emphasizing development.

-- The U.S. is committed to working productively with our friends in addressing global problems and so therefore I am today announcing a new environmental initiative aimed at enhancing our work together in preserving our planet and natural resources.

-- We are truly embarking on a new era - one in which the last remnants of the Cold War are being put behind us

-- For America, our Vietnam syndrome is a thing of the past.

POSSIBLE THEMES FOR SPEECH IN SINGAPORE

Security/New World Order

-- My generation fought a world war -- in Asia and the Pacific, in Europe, in North Africa. Those of us who experienced that war vowed that it would be the last world war, that the forces of totalitarianism must be resisted and their aggressive designs frustrated. As visionaries, we founded the United Nations; as prudent men and women, we also established a structure of alliances to contain totalitarianism.

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-- We have already seen the United Nations take on new vitality and begin to exercise the role its founders intended for it, most notably in rolling back the invasion of a small state, Kuwait, by a much larger one, Iraq. We have enjoyed good cooperation from the Soviet Union in convening a historic Middle East peace conference.

-- Here in Southeast Asia multilateral diplomacy has achieved what we trust will be a notable and lasting success: the case of Cambodia. I will not try to trace here the history of that

unhappy country -- a history in which the United States itself is of course involved. But I want to record my appreciation for the solidarity of Singapore and four other ASEAN members with Thailand, the nation immediately threatened in the 1970s and 1980s by the potential spillover of combat. More recently, another ASEAN member, Indonesia, together with France, has led the search for a settlement, in which the four other Permanent Members of the Security Council have joined, together with the United Nations, Australia, Japan and other governments. That long search reached a milestone six weeks ago in Paris with the signing of the settlement documents.

-- A settlement in Cambodia truly means the start of a new era. For virtually the first time since World War II, Southeast Asia is without serious conflict. For the United States, that settlement makes possible a process of healing in our relations with the states of Indochina: representation in Cambodia for the first time since 1975, accredited to the Supreme National Council headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk; a restoration of our diplomatic relations with Laos -- never broken -- to the pre-1975 level; and the start of the process of normalization with Vietnam. Just how far and how fast we move in that process with Vietnam will depend on progress in resolving the cases of our military personnel missing in action -- but the trend in recent months has been decidedly positive.

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-- Clearly, then, the situation in East Asia has improved in recent months, as has the world situation generally. But we remain in a transitional phase; we cannot wish away continuing threats to peace and stability in such areas as the Korean peninsula, and we cannot rule out sudden threats to world peace and the rule of law such as the one that arose in the Persian Gulf only sixteen months ago.

-- For those reasons, the United States will remain engaged militarily in East Asia and the Pacific for the foreseeable future. Here, as in Europe, we will take advantage of reduced

levels of threat and of increases in the speed, range and lift capability of our ships and aircraft to slim down our forward-deployed forces and the number of our bases. The character of our presence will change; we will place more reliance on access to a larger number of facilities owned and controlled by others. Our total numbers may be reduced, but our presence in the region could be more widespread and more frequent.

-- The agreement signed in Tokyo a year ago by then-Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew and Vice President Dan Quayle exemplifies this new type of arrangment. Under its terms, our ships and aircraft -- based elsewhere -- are making increased use of Singaporean military facilities. They exercise jointly with Singapore's forces as well as on their own. They are gaining familiarity with the geography and the operating conditions of this part of Asia. We are open to the possibility of similar arrangements with other nations of the region.

-- The eruption of Mount Pinatubo in the Philippines in June settled the fate of Clark Air Base there. If we are able to remain at Subic Bay, we shall do so, but if not we shall continue to honor our treaty commitments. We have already relocated headquarters, troops and equipment to Guam. Meanwhile, United States forces will remain in Japan and Korea. Our treaty relationship with Australia, the country I shall visit next, is stronger than it has ever been. We hope the day will come when New Zealand allows us to resume defense cooperation under the historic ANZUS alliance.

-- In short, we will stay on the scene in East Asia. The test of our security policy, or of any nation's, is not the size or location of our forces; rather, it is the ability to deal with any and all likely threats to the peace, and to deal quickly and decisively with unpredictable crises, and that is precisely how the United States and its partners in the multinational coalition -- acting through the United Nations -- dealt with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Economic Cooperation

-- Interdependence and cooperation are equally important in the world economy. That lesson is fully understood here in Singapore, where total trade is three (77) times the value of your gross domestic product. If the prosperity that so much of East Asia already enjoys is to continue and spread, we must have an open global trading system. To reach that goal, we need a framework for economic integration, and we must avoid regional fragmentation.

-- Trade across the Pacific has expanded dramatically in recent years, in step with dramatic economic growth in many East Asian countries. Some ten years ago America's trade with the Pacific surpassed our trade across the Atlantic; today, it is nearly one-third larger. The ASEAN countries, taken together, constitute America's fifth-largest trading partner. Singapore alone is a bigger export market for U.S. goods than Italy, Spain or the USSR. Nations on the eastern rim of the Pacific, from Mexico to Chile, are eager to join in this booming trans-Pacific commerce. I urge U.S. firms take advantage of these dynamic markets and to redouble their efforts to export to and invest in the ASEAN countries.

-- The Pacific Basin is a natural trading region, and it is logical that the governments of the region concert to promote that trade by eliminating barriers and establishing common policies. An excellent forum for doing so already exists: the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, or APEC, grouping. The concept had occurred to a number of people in several countries, but it was Prime Minister Bob Hawke of Australia who developed the idea and convoked the first APEC ministerial meeting in Canberra two years ago.

-- APEC has since met ~~twice~~ more, here in Singapore ~~last year~~ in 1990 and again last ~~month~~ in Seoul. Its original group of twelve participants has grown substantially with the simultaneous addition of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, and APEC can look forward to further growth in the years ahead.

-- APEC is performing many useful functions, but none is more important than mobilizing the support of all fifteen participants for a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations to update and extend the system known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The nations of APEC are convinced that the GATT system must cover world trade in agricultural products, as it has long covered manufactured goods, and that it must be extended to new realms such as intellectual property rights, services, and investment.

-- The alternative is a likely failure of the global trading system, a reversion to exclusionary trading blocs, and, eventually, the constriction of world trade. It is incumbent on all of us -- in North America, in Asia, in Europe -- to overcome parochial interests, abandon protectinist rules and tactics, and expose our economies to the rigors of competition.

-- Even while we pursue reform of the global system in the Uruguay Round, we can reduce and eliminate barriers to trade with our immediate neighbors. That is what the United States and Canada are doing right now, and what we and Canada propose

to do with Mexico, thereby creating a North American Free Trade Area, or NAFTA, which will have few internal barriers and will be more accessible than at present to other world traders such as Singapore.

-- Thailand has proposed that ASEAN establish a free-trade area of its own over the next fifteen years, and the other five governments have agreed. Such action is the direct parallel of what we in North America are doing in NAFTA, and the United States applauds this decision by the ASEAN nations.

The Spread of Democracy

-- The most inspiring single event of the last few years was the tearing down of the Berlin Wall. The Wall symbolized the worst of totalitarianism, and its destruction stands for the desire of people everywhere to control their destinies and to be governed only by their own consent.

-- To a gratifying degree, that is happening. The democratic impulse is alive, whether fed by relative proposerity, as seemed to be the case in China, or by economic failure, as in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. And in many places the impulse is flourishing. In recent years elected governments have come to office everywhere from the Philippines to Poland and from Nicaragua to Mongolia.

-- There are basic human rights, universally recognized though not universally observed, but there is no copyright on democracy and no one form of government or set of practices to which every nation must adhere. The United States recognizes the legitimacy of diversity.

-- What the United States cannot condone, however, is the suppression of the popular will -- and that is what has occurred in Burma, where the military leadership permitted elections last year but, when the results proved not to the military's liking, refused to allow the winners to take their rightful seats and organize a government. So long as this situation continues, the people of Burma will remain victims, subject to torture and intimidation and deprived of the chance to share in the general properity and well-being which so many of their neighbors already enjoy.

(NEEDS CONCLUSION)

MORE SOUTHEAST ASIA SPEECH IDEAS

-- 31 years ago this month, on a cold, snowy day in Washington, newly elected American President John Kennedy articulated Americas commitment to our friends and allies throughout the world. That we would stand with them in their efforts to resist Communism, embrace freedom and support efforts to develop economically and thus improve the lives of their people.

-- It was a commitment that was to bear a heavy price, over 58,000 dead in Indochina and billions of dollars spent on assistance and maintaining a military presence in the region.

-- But it was a commitment that has been shared by Republican and Democratic presidents alike.

-- It is appropriate that standing here now in a country which represents one of the most remarkable economic success stories in the world, we can look back and see that the outcome we all worked and sacrificed for has indeed become a reality.

-- It is with great pride that I say that history will record that America did indeed keep its commitment to its friends in SE Asia and that together we have built a region which is at once free, at peace, and experiencing unprecedented prosperity, part of the new world order which offers the promise of enduring global stability.

-- To judge just how far we have come and to see what we have accomplished, it is instructive to look back 25 years and recall the situation in SE Asia at the time Singapore was first charting its independent course.

-- In January 1967, the concern was about the rapid spread of Communist ideology. Almost every country in SE Asia had or was about to have an active Communist insurgency.

-- As the war in Vietnam raged, from Jakarta to Rangoon and from Bangkok to Manila, the worry was about falling dominoes. The nightmare vision was of a radical ideology being imposed throughout the region.

-- It is important to keep in mind that while there was a large U.S. military presence in the region in the mid 60's, U.S. economic interaction with Southeast Asia was still rather small.

-- On the eve of the Tet offensive, the U.S. had a higher trade turnover with Latin America than with East Asia.

-- Today, the situation is dramatically reversed. The steadfastness of our military commitments and the

stability which they promoted, gave the countries of the region time to grow economically and deal effectively with the political challenge. Having collapsed in Europe and the Soviet Union, Communist is no longer a viable threat, and is acknowledged as a failed and bankrupt economic and political philosophy.

-- Democracy, personal freedom and free market economies are demonstrably the keys to real improvement in the quality of people's lives.

-- And this has been accompanied by an explosion in trade between the U.S. and Southeast Asia, particularly the six ASEAN countries.

U.S. two way trade with Singapore grew from 2 billion dollars to 20 billion dollars since the end of the Vietnam War.

In the same period, Thailand went from 700 million dollars to 9 billion dollars.

-- This has made the U.S. ASEAN's number one customer. We take one fifth of all of ASEAN's exports, while ASEAN imports from the U.S. have increased 1600 percent since 1975.

-- As a result, today U.S. two way trade with ASEAN stands at over 46 billion dollars - just about equal to our commerce with Germany - and exceeded by only three other U.S. trading partners.

-- To put it in better perspective, in 1990 the U.S. exported:

More to Singapore than to Italy or Spain

More to Thailand than to India

More to Malaysia than the Soviet Union

More to Indonesia than all the rest of Eastern Europe put together.

-- But it is not just trade that has brought us closer together.

-- Satellites and the expansion of telecommunication technology mean that more messages and images are going back and forth between our people than ever before.

In 1975 there were about 300,000 T.V. sets in Indonesia, today there are 7 million (and it seems at least that many more for sale in all of Singapore shopping malls.)

Direct dial long distance phones and FAX machines means someone in Manila, the Philippines can place an order in Manila, Iowa in less than a minute.

-- We understand each other because of the flow of people between us.

In 1975 there was only slightly more than a million Americans of Southeast Asian origin.

Today that figure has quadrupled to over 4 million, including one senior member of my White House staff Sicwan Siv who survived the horrors of the Khmer Rouge run Cambodia.

Based on this population of SE Asian origin, the U.S. would rank as the fifth largest ASEAN country.

There are more Lao in the U.S. than in Vientiane

There are more Filipinos in California than in Cebu.

-- All of these developments - people telecommunications, jet aircraft, trade, investment, security commitments, and common belief in economics and freedom have created a web of interaction, knitting us together as never before.

-- Our challenge is to use this structure to promote continued peace, stability and increased economic progress. And common efforts to deal with the challenges we face in terms of the environment, narcotics, human rights and other scientific and technical areas such as public health.

-- There are two mechanisms which promote and enhance this new reality:

The ASEAN-Post Ministerial Dialogue in which our foreign ministers and those of ASEAN's other dialogue partners meet to discuss issues and coordinate approaches to dealing with problems;

and

APEC, which offers the increasingly real promise of cooperation on the full range of economic issues across the entire Asian-Pacific region.

-- Having invested so much in this region in terms of American lives and national treasure and having attained, together with you, so many of our policy goals, the U.S. is not now going to turn its back on South East Asia.

-- The U.S. is committed to meeting its obligations in SE Asia and will continue to play the positive role by maintaining our military presence, even with our three year phase out from Subic Bay.

Our new Access Agreement with Singapore contributes importantly to this goal.

-- The U.S. is committed to a successful transition to a freely elected government in Cambodia. In that regard, I am today announcing that the U.S. has lifted its trade embargo and all other economic restrictions against Cambodia. This should permit increased economic activity which will help solidify and maintain the process.

-- The U.S. is prepared to move forward in our relationship with Vietnam, provided that progress continues to be made in Cambodia and on our POW/MIA issue.

The countries of Indochina have real promise for economic growth if there can finally be an end to violence and they join the rest of the region in emphasizing development.

-- The U.S. is committed to working productively with our friends in addressing global problems and so therefore I am today announcing a new environmental initiative aimed at enhancing our work together in preserving our planet and natural resources.

-- We are truly embarking on a new era - one in which the last remnants of the Cold War are being put behind us

-- For America, our Vietnam syndrome is a thing of the past.

Korea

National Assembly-Speech themes (DRAFT)

- Thank you for providing me with this opportunity to speak to you again. Since I last spoke here in February 1989 the world has changed immensely. We have in fact entered a new era in world history.

- We are very pleased with the triumph of freedom and free enterprise economics throughout most of the world, and with the continued progress, economically and politically, of the Republic of Korea. However, we remain saddened by the persistent conflicts in many parts of the world, and by the continued division of the Korean peninsula, a situation that is anachronistic in the post-Cold War world.

- As we have stated on numerous occasions, the United States supports the peaceful unification of Korea on terms agreeable to all Koreans. We believe that North/South dialogue offers the best path toward eventual discussion o unification and related issues. Consequently, we support strongly the Prime Ministerial dialogue that has been in progress for more than a year, and stand ready to facilitate in any apppropriate way.

- Our support for the process of peace does not, however, blind us to reality and to the threat from the North that still remains. Therefore, our commitment to the security of South Korea remains as strong as ever, and we will continue to consult on matters that affect our mutual interest. To further strengthen security in the region, both of us should also consult and cooperate with our friends the Japanese, who have the economic power to play a vital role in promoting regional stability.

- We continue to regard the unsafeguarded nuclear program of North Korea as the greatest threat to security in region, and call upon the leaders of that country to meet the international obligations it accepted when it acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1985.

- North Korea should know that neither the United States nor the Republic of Korea poses a threat to its society or way of government. However, we cannot ignore the situation as North Korea builds nuclear weapons, and will use all diplomatic means to assure that it meets its international obligations under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

- As we begin this new era in international relations, U.S.-Republic of Korea relations are growing in many areas. With the Cold War behind us, we are transforming our relations from a security relationship to a broader-based security, economic, and political partnership.

- Of crucial importance in this transformation is your own progress toward democracy, well illustrated by the enhanced prestige and power of this body. The ROK's movement to a democratic government, with the military clearly subordinate to civilian government, has been crucial in winning for you the respect of the international community and the stability and credibility necessary for an influential world role.

- The challenge now is to continue down the road toward full democratization. You have won the political contest with the North and should consider amending your National Security Law, which provides a propaganda advantage to the North, to take account of your strength and confidence.

- Further steps in democratic development might include greater accountability for public officials and greater transparency in both your political and economic systems. Initiatives in these areas would be consistent with your overall economic and political modernization, and would further strengthen your position vis-a-vis the North.

- The ROK's democratization is but one of the features that distinguishes it from North Korea, but it is one of the most important, and it is an achievement which should make all Koreans proud.

- Another of the ROK's greatest accomplishments has been membership in the United Nations. Your entry in the United Nations was long overdue, and your ultimately success is due in large part to wise leadership and persistent effort. However, South Korea's emergence as a full member of international political and economic institutions, carries with it added responsibilities.

- Over the years, the Korean people have gained tremendously from the open international trading system. Indeed open markets for exports have been a major contributor to your new prosperity. Korea has now become an economic power in the region and the world.

- Now it is time for the ROK to lend its support to the open international trading system from which it has prospered by actively supporting the Uruguay Round of negotiations, opening its own domestic market to foreign products, and liberalizing its financial system. Your support is vital to assure that the international trade system remains open and that countries like Korea can continue to prosper.

- The U.S.-ROK friendship has now endured more than four decades of dramatic world events. Yet in the beginning, our close relationship was not one that either of us sought, but rather one into which we were both thrust as a result of World War II.

- In those years the U.S. entered into its relations with Korea with a keen sense of responsibility, and with determination to preserve the benefits of freedom for the Korean people. It demonstrated its commitment during the Korean War, when more than 33,000 American soldiers and thousands more Koreans, both military and civilian, died to keep freedom alive.

- Clearly, over the past forty years the American role in Korea has not always been a easy one, and the political environment in East Asia has frequently been one of crisis. Consequently, in carrying out what we perceived to be our responsibilities we have made mistakes.

- Yet we entered the relationship with the Republic of Korea with the highest ideals, and we have, I believe, pursued the correct path in the long run. Therefore, we too are enourmously proud when we see the great nation you have built from the ruins of war.

- Today, we again approach the future in the aftermath of a war--a Cold War, and together we have the opportunity to shape and influence a new era as much as we did nearly 50 years ago. We can also define for the next generation a new relationship, a partnership that encompasses much more than merely security cooperation.

- Our new partnership should be political, economic, nad cultural, as well as security. I urge the people of both countries to look toward the future rather than the past, and to seize the moment to build on our excellent relations, to expand cooperation so we all benefit, and to march into the future as friends and neighbors working together to build a safer and more prosperous world community.

Sensitive issues which the Embassy thinks should be addressed explicitly:

1. Make clear our willingness to continue consulting with the ROK on security issues.

2. Describe how we see the Japanese role in the region complementing ours and that of the ROK.

3. Make it clear that transparency and accountability are important to Korea's economic relations with the rest of the world.

4. State clearly what the DPRK must do for improved relations with the U.S.

5. Make it clear that the National Security Law plays into Pyongyang's hands and can be counterproductive to the ROK's North-South goals.

Remarks to American Chamber of Commerce

Themes could include:

-- Strong support for the work of the U.S Chamber of Commerce, which has been vital to U.S. business interests in the ROK.

-- Korean economic maturity and U.S./Korean economic/trade interdependence have brought the two nations to a new era of partnership.

-- Mutual interest in further development of open, liberal international trade and financial regimes, in particular, successful conclusion of UR.

-- Responsibility on both countries to ensure that their domestic trade and financial markets are open and liberal for the other; that domestic markets are fully integrated into international trade and financial regimes; and that their producers and consumers understand the benefits of two-way open, liberal markets.

At a science/education/technology event themes could include:

-- The long history of U.S. support for Korean science and technology; nuclear energy is a good example.

-- Our admiration for the great strides Korea has made in developing its technological base;

-- Recognition that scientific and technological development can only flourish where the economic value of the intellectual property associated with discovery is protected for the benefit of the discoverer.

-- Our willingness to continue and enhance cooperation with Korea, symbolized by the U.S.-ROK Science and Technology Agreement;

-- Our confidence that Korea will be able to make significant contributions to world scientific research and technological development.

-- Recognition that Korea can now assume rights and responsibilities shared by other industrialized countries in world scientific research and technological development through;

a. Greater contributions to the world scientific knowledge by increased basic research funding and

b. Cooperation with U.S. and other countries through participation in basic megaprojects such as the Superconducting Super Collider (SSC)

Themes/Phrases for Presidential Speeches

Camp Casey

Thirty years ago, in 1961, President John F. Kennedy spoke within sight of the Berlin Wall and lamented the divisions between people there at the front line of the Cold War.

As he spoke, the barrier a few miles from here, the DMZ, stood as a parallel tragic division between peoples.

As we celebrate the end of the Cold War and the overcoming of barriers between peoples throughout the world, it is tragic that that barrier remains, the last remnant of the Cold War.

It also stands as a visible reminder of the ideological battles which once divided the world, and now continue sadly to divide the Korean people from one another.

For over forty years the United States has been proud to have played a role in assuring that that barrier against renewed aggression was strong and steadfast.

All Korean war veterans and the men and women who have participated in this important and vigilant effort to protect freedom should be proud of their contribution to Korea's security.

Throughout that effort, the United States has consistently looked forward to the day when that barrier would no longer be necessary, when the very real threat of North Korean aggression would be no more.

As I stand here today within sight of the Berlin Wall of Asia, I renew that hope and that appeal, that someday soon there will no longer be barriers between peoples striving for unification and reconciliation.

The atmosphere for leaving behind the fears and hatreds of the Cold War has never been better. The support of the international community for a peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula has never been stronger.

I can look forward to the day when it is no longer necessary for U.S. troops to be stationed in Korea to defend against the threat of North Korea, when that threat is relegated to the history books, when North Korea becomes fully committed to resolving its differences with our good friend and ally in the South.

Until that time, I assure the North that our commitment to the security of the South remains rock-solid and unwavering. Nothing will ever change that commitment or the equal commitment to have available the means to protect our ally, the Republic of Korea against aggression.

But there remains a parallel commitment to move toward improved relations with North Korea, as long as it remains an independent state, and to cooperate in ways which can enhance the security of this region and the welfare of its people. The North knows what it will take to achieve that objective, and I hope to see significatn movement in that direction in the near future.

I know that the people of South Korea and North Korea both are committed to unification, and I assure them that the people of the United States are in full and complete support of that objective.

Earlier today I endorsed President Roh's call for a multilateral approach to resolving the security problems of this region. The United States will do all in its power to make this endeavor a success. We can do no less to enhance the security of our Korean brothers, both South and North.

Thus I call on North Korea to come out from behind those barriers, from the bastions of military strength, to present to your countrymen the hand of peace and reconciliation.

I for my part offer my hand to North Korea across the divide. Come, work with us for peace and security on the Korean peninsula, in the Northeast Asia Region, and in the world.

Key Elements for the Presidential Speech in Japan

Historical Setting

-- Friendship between the two nations has deep roots. Even before Commodore Perry sailed into Shimoda with his black ships in 1853, a young man from Kyushu named John Monjiro had found his way to Boston and begun the process of cross-cultural communication. It is important to remember that except for the dark period of the 1930s and early forties, productive relations between the two countries have been the norm.

-- It is in this context that the American people approached the commemoration in Hawaii of the fiftieth anniversary of Pearl Harbor. We see this event and the war that followed as an aberration in the long positive history of our relationship. As we pay tribute to those who died in the conflict, we will take pride in the strong US-Japan alliance relationship that both countries have built since the end of the war which has made a major contribution to the prosperity of both countries and is the foundation of peace and stability in Asia today.

The enduring importance of cooperation

-- Rarely in history have two nations with such different geographic and cultural roots formed such an enduring relationship. This relationship is based on shared interests and values and an appreciation of the mutual strategic, economic, and political benefits both countries derive from close cooperation.

-- The basis for cooperation is stronger today than it has ever been.

- The US-Japan Security Treaty remains the cornerstone of stability in East Asia, a region that still has a range of unresolved conflicts. This treaty allows the US to maintain forward deployed forces in East Asia which serve American, regional, and we believe, Japanese interests. Close cooperation between our military forces and the two-way flow of defense technology makes the most efficient use of our defense resources and helps maintain a strong political link between the two countries.

-- Our economies are increasingly interdependent; Japan will sell about $90 billion worth of goods and services to the US this year and the US will sell more than $40 billion to Japan, making each country the others' largest overseas trading partner; Japanese investment in the US creates more than jobs

and is an important source of technology and management innovation for the American economy.

-- The US and Japan are the world's two largest donors of foreign economic assistance and are destined to play key roles in addressing regional and global issues by virtue of their economic strength and political interests. These roles can best be performed by working together rather than independently.

-- The human connections between us are growing. There are more Americans working and studying in Japan than ever before and there are more Japanese residing in the US.

America as a Pacific player

-- The US has been a major player in the Pacific throughout the twentieth century but it is only recently that Americans have become aware that their country's future orientation will be as much toward the Asia-Pacific region as toward Europe. America's trade with Asia exceeds our trade with Europe. Asian-Americans are the most rapidly increasing ethnic group in America and are becoming political active. And American security continues to be vitally linked to the security and stability of the Asia-pacific region.

America's View of Japan

-- For America, Japan is the center of Asia, and US relations with Japan are the heart of our policy toward the Asia-Pacific region.

-- As seen from Japan, there may be the impression that most Americans see Japan in negative terms. Polls show the "Japan challenge" ranking ahead of the "Soviet challenge"; and various books and articles predict a crisis in US-Japan relations.

-- These opinions are present in the US, but the vast majority of Americans admire Japan's economic performance, have warm feelings toward the Japanese people, and regard Japan as an indispensable partner for the post-Cold War era.

-- Let me say a word about the impact of the Gulf crisis on American views of Japan. There was considerable criticism in the US press and in the Congress of what was seen by some as Japan's slow and reluctant support of the coalition effort, but this negative impression has all but disappeared. In fact there is now widespread appreciation

of Japan's extremely generous $13 billion contribution to the effort, $10 billion of which went to the United States, and to the strong political support of your government. We know the Gulf crisis raised many fundamental questions in Japan about your country's appropriate role in such coalition efforts and that reaching a consensus takes time. This is an issue for the Japanese people and the Japanese political process to decide, but we welcome efforts Japan has made to participate more directly in peace keeping operations.

Managing US-Japan Relations for the Future

Global Partnership

-- We see a "global partnership" between Japan and the United States in which the two countries will work in close collaboration to bring their political, technical, and economic resources to bear to address regional and global issues.

-- Global Partnership will be an "equal partnership" -- we will work together to define common objectives and our respective approaches to these objectives.

-- Global Partnership will not be exclusive, nor will it represent a US-Japan condominium. We will welcome the participation of other like-minded countries and international organizations.

Addressing Economic Issues

-- Global partnership can only succeed if we manage the competitive aspects of our relationship, notably in the economic area.

-- We have made great progress in the last few years in addressing various sectoral problems and the Structural Impediments Initiative (SII) talks have broken new ground in addressing the sources of tension in our trading relationship, but more needs to be done. We welcome the agreement of your government to reinvigorate efforts in these areas.

-- Nothing is more important to sustaining the free trade system that the success of the Uruguay Round. Japan and the United States benefit greatly from free trade and we bear a special responsibility for the successful conclusion of the round. We look to Japan

-- Fifty years ago we fought a tragic war. Today we are each others' indispensable partners in trade, investment, defense, and regional and global affairs.

-- The Cold War helped create this partnership, but cooperation between the US and Japan does not depend on the external pressure of the communist challenge. Rather our alliance is based on fundamental shared interests in virtually all fields, and the reasons for cooperation are stronger today than ever before.

-- It is up to the leadership in both countries to ensure that the competitive aspects in our relationship are managed effectively so that this cooperation can go forward. If we fail, we will have missed an historic opportunity; if we succeed, our citizens, and the citizens of the world can look forward to a more prosperous and stable future. I welcome the commitment of Prime Minister Miyazawa to this joint enterprise and I make the same commitment.

to play a leadership role as we tackle the last remaining, and the most difficult, issues, including agricultural liberalization.

The US Domestic Agenda

-- We recognize that our bilateral trade imbalance reflects far more than the impact of remaining market barriers in Japan. Japan's products are competitive around the world because Japan has saved and invested at a rate double that of the US, focused on applied research and development and new manufacturing technologies, established the world's best quality control systems, developed a highly educated labor and managerial force, and taken a long term view to developing markets abroad. There is much that America should emulate in Japan's example. We are taking steps to improve our competitiveness -- reducing our budget deficit, improving education, and enhancing our productivity.

-- The United States is going through a difficult economic period, but we have tremendous fundamental strengths to draw on. American basic research is still the best in the world; our best universities are the world's best; American technology in such advanced fields as computers and biotechnology is at the leading edge; and we have a diverse, energetic, creative, and talented population.

-- But we need make more productive uses of these basic strengths to prepare our economy and society for the competitive challenge of the 21st century.

The Human Connection

-- For all of our interaction and interdependence, the US and Japan need to know a great deal more about each other. Much is already being done in this area. There are more than 1000 young Americans teaching in Japanese schools under the JET program, and thousands of Japanese are studying in the US. We welcome the Abe fund to support greater exchanges between the US and Japan and we are committed to supporting this and other initiatives. Thanks to these programs, by the end of this century both Japan and the United States will have a much larger group of people who have lived in each other's country, speak each other's language, and understand more fully the great importance of our bilateral relationship.

Concluding Flourish

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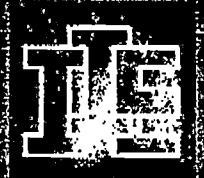
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REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE



INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Foreign Student Enrollment by Country or Other Place of Origin, 1989/90-1990/91

Region/Locality	1989/90	ASIA 1990/91			
	Extrapolated Count	Base Number	% Distribution	Extrapolated Count	% Change
EAST ASIA					
China	33,390	35,482	9.7	39,600	18.6
Japan	29,840	32,807	9.0	36,610	22.7
Taiwan	30,960	30,047	8.2	33,530	8.3
Korea, Republic of	21,710	20,934	5.7	23,360	7.6
Hong Kong	11,230	11,313	3.1	12,630	12.5
Macao	140 *	212	0.1	240	†
Korea, Dem. People's Republic of	31 *	45			45.2
Mongolia	2 *	4			100.0
East Asia Total	127,320	130,844	35.8	146,020	14.7
SOUTH AND CENTRAL ASIA					
India	26,240	25,858	7.1	28,860	10.0
Pakistan	7,070	6,922	1.9	7,730	9.3
Bangladesh	2,470	2,270	0.6	2,530	2.4
Sri Lanka	2,210	2,079	0.6	2,320	5.0
Nepal	610	600	0.2	670	9.8
Afghanistan	220	202	0.1	230	4.5
Bhutan	29 *	28			-3.4
Maldives	3 *	5			66.7
South and Central Asia Total	38,840	37,964	10.4	42,370	9.1
SOUTHEAST ASIA					
Malaysia	14,110	12,192	3.3	13,610	-3.5
Indonesia	9,390	8,534	2.3	9,520	1.4
Thailand	6,630	6,355	1.7	7,090	6.9
Singapore	4,440	4,028	1.1	4,500	1.4
Philippines	4,540	3,829	1.0	4,270	-5.9
Vietnam	1,850	1,251	0.3	1,400	-24.3
Laos	460	417	0.1	470	2.2
Myanmar	340	367	0.1	410	20.6
Cambodia	145 *	144			-0.7
Brunei	15 *	18			20.0
Southeast Asia Total	41,850	37,135	10.2	41,440	-1.2
ASIA, GRAND TOTAL	208,110	205,943	56.4	229,830	10.4

** This is the base number, which is too small to be extrapolated.*

†Percentage change was not calculated from the 1989/90 base number to the 1990/91 extrapolated count.

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The New York Times

December 27, 1991, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 12; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 868 words

HEADLINE: AFTER THE SOVIET UNION;
Russians Greet Raising of New Flag With Expressions of Pride and Relief

BYLINE: By JAMES F. CLARITY, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: MOSCOW, Dec.26

BODY:

The 149 million people in this country woke up today living under the Russian flag in a land called Russia for the first time in 74 years.

Some marked the transition as an event of national pride, some viewed it as a reminder of an agonizing rebirth that was still under way, while others ignored it in their daily struggle with food shortages and hunt for presentable New Year's gifts.

While the hammer-and-sickle red flags disappeared overnight, the Cyrillic equivalents of the initials U.S.S.R. were still visible everywhere, not yet replaced by the Cyrillic letters representing the Commonwealth of Independent States. These letters form the sounds for S, N and G, leading some to call the new Government "sneg," the Russian word for snow, with the implicit idea that it too might melt by the spring.

The newspapers, which gained wide freedoms under Mikhail S. Gorbachev and his policy of glasnost, were kind to him as he departed.

"He left his high position looking at us directly and frankly in the eyes," Izvestia said on the front page. "He did all he could."

Pravda said Mr. Gorbachev left "an indelible mark on the annals of our society and the whole world."

Nezavisimaya Gazeta, the growing and popular daily whose name means independent newspaper, said Mr. Gorbachev was "one of the key historic figures of the 20th century and the most outstanding political leader that has ever emerged on the territory of the former U.S.S.R."

As Mr. Gorbachev tried to "heal the nation," the newspaper said, "his choice of cures was commendable -- glasnost, democratization and the like -- but in the end, even a small dose of these proved fatal to the patient."

On the evening news, an announcer declared: "The flag of Russia has been raised over the Kremlin. Today, it's a new day, a new state. We meet it with hope and God forbid that the sad errors of our history are repeated."

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The screen showed the flag that had been raised Wednesday night above the Kremlin walls 33 minutes after Mr. Gorbachev resigned as President of the Soviet Union, which expired with his departure.

The change of national symbols evoked complex and contradictory feelings.

"The flag is a symbol, and in this case, the symbol of changes," said Yevgeny Rein, a poet. "A great era is finished, a period tightly connected with my life. From this point of view, I feel nostalgic."

A Symbol of Fear

For Natalya Trauberg, a literary critic and translator, it provided a sense of relief. "They lowered the flag," she said. "That's great. I had enough of it. I'm very happy, because under the Soviet flag I always felt only fear."

Aleksandr N. Yakovlev, a confidant of Mr. Gorbachev who had helped him form the restructuring plan known as perestroika, said: "I am firmly convinced that Gorbachev wanted good for society and the people. I know this for sure. He wielded absolute power but began giving it up voluntarily." He said Mr. Gorbachev was "a man of compromise" and added that if he had lacked this quality "intolerance would have reached an explosive force."

But Roy Medvedev, a Communist historian, saw things quite differently. He said the passing of Mr. Gorbachev, who forced the party to yield its exclusive grip on power, was not a loss to the nation. Even Stalin, Mr. Medvedev said, "against whose ideology and practice I always struggled, took the country in an apalling state in 1924 and left it as a superpower."

"I think no one needs to prove that the country that was the Soviet Union in 1985 when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power was incomparably better, given all its deficiencies, than it is today."

A Glass of Vodka

At a reception with journalists today, Mr. Gorbachev raised a glass of vodka, something that he was loath to do when as President he campaigned against the consumption of hard spirits.

He said that he was not leaving public life, but that "for the next two weeks I'm gone."

"But I'm not physically exhausted," Mr. Gorbachev said. "I just need to recover." He declined to say exactly what he would be doing in the coming months.

"Society is tired," he said. "It hates all politicians, and because of that, it hates everything that has been achieved during perestroika, because people's everyday life is so hard."

Such hardships, including widespread price increases beginning Jan. 2, impelled a coal miner to write to the newspaper Trud to complain that "glasnost and perestroika have impoverished everybody."

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"I can't eat or wear glasnost," the miner said, adding that he would rather have food than freedom. The paper rebuked him, saying even Roman slaves knew freedom was priceless.

At dusk, on Red Square, only a handful of people watch the changing of the guard at the Lenin Mausoleum. None seemed to take special interest in the new white-blue-red striped flag waving just behind the red Kremlin wall. Across the square, in the huge GUM department store, several hundred people, mostly women, pushed and elbowed and shouted from time to time as someone tried to cut in on those waiting in line to buy small cut-glass vases. Most counters displayed drab, shoddy goods that were ignored, including brown plastic passport covers stamped U.S.S.R.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Mikhail S. Gorbachev making a toast at his farewell party at the Oktyabrskaya Hotel in Moscow yesterday. (Associated Press); Symbols of the Soviet Union began disappearing around the world in the wake of Mikhail S. Gorbachev's resignation. The hammer and sickle was removed from the side of a cruise ship docked in Santa Cruz, the Canary Islands, and the new Russian tricolor was raised atop the Kremlin. Agate for Symbol one on left (Reuters, Agence France-Presse)

SUBJECT: FLAGS, EMBLEMS AND INSIGNIA; INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS; SUSPENSIONS, DISMISSALS AND RESIGNATIONS; NEWS AND NEWS MEDIA

NAME: GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S; CLARITY, JAMES F

GEOGRAPHIC: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR)

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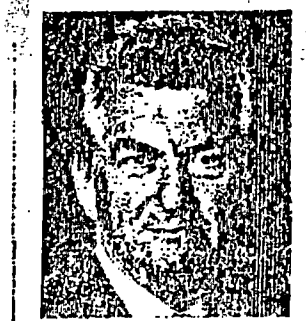
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• THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION • November 28, 1990

Foreign Students in U.S. Reach a Record 386,000

Rise in number of Asians fuels a 5.6% increase

By ROBIN WILSON

More than 386,000 foreign students attended U.S. colleges and universities in academic 1989-90—5.6 per cent more than in the year before. The increase was the largest in seven years.

Those figures are being released this week by the Institute of International Education, which conducts an annual survey of foreign students at 2,891 U.S. institutions. The count of 386,851 foreign students was a record.

Marianthi Zikopoulous, the I.I.E.'s research director, said the increase in the number of Asian students traveling to the United States had fueled the increase. Academic 1989-90 marked the third consecutive year in which Asians made up more than half of all foreign students studying here. The number from Asian countries rose by about 9 per cent, to 208,110.

China Leads the Way

The largest number of foreign students came from China, despite new regulations by the Chinese government that limit overseas study. In all, 33,390 Chinese students attended U.S. institutions last year, an increase of 15 per cent over 1988-89.

Since February of this year, China has been requiring students to work for five years after college before they can attend graduate school in the United States. But Chinese students who have relatives here need not fulfill the work requirement.

Taiwan sent the next largest number of students to America, 30,960, followed by Japan, with 29,840. The number of students from Japan increased by 24 per cent over the previous year, a bigger jump than any other country's.

Latin America and Europe also sent more students to the United States last year, while the number from Middle Eastern and African countries continued on a decline that started in the early 1980's. Last year 37,330 Middle Eastern students enrolled at American institutions, 7 per cent fewer than during the previous year. African students numbered 24,570, also a 7-per-cent decline.

Ms. Zikopoulous said the drops were due primarily to the decline in students from Iran and Nigeria. "It is a plain and simple lack of money," she said. "The riches from oil are no longer that great."

Miami-Dade Enrolled 5,500

Ninety-six U.S. institutions enrolled more than 40 per cent of all foreign students in the country. Miami-Dade Community College enrolled the largest number, with 5,500, followed by the University of Southern California, and the University of Texas at Austin.

Foreigners made up 32 per cent of the student population at the University of California at San Francisco, the largest proportion on U.S. campuses. They accounted for 24 per cent of the students at the New Jersey Institute of Technology and 22 per cent of the enrollment at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

For the first time in the 40 years in which the institute has conducted surveys of foreign students, business ranked ahead of engineering as the most popular field of study. After engineering, the next most popular fields were mathematics and computer sciences.

About 55 per cent of all international students attending U.S. institutions were enrolled in undergraduate programs.

In addition to its report on foreign students, the institute conducted a new survey of foreign scholars working at U.S. colleges and universities. The 176 Ph.D granting institutions that responded to the survey reported that they employed 46,479 foreign scholars. As with students, the largest proportion of foreign scholars—47 per cent—came from Asia.

About 72 per cent of the foreign scholars focused on research while 13 per cent spent most of their time teaching and 15 per cent took part in some combination of the two. Roughly 60 per cent were employed in the sciences.

Of the institutions surveyed, Harvard University reported the largest number of foreign scholars with 2,132. The University of California at Berkeley reported employing 1,882 foreign scholars and Stanford University reported 1,880.

Copies of the 200-page report, "Open Doors, 1989-90," are available for $34.95 from I.I.E. Books, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York 10017-3580.

Foreign Students on U.S. Campuses

From	1989-90	1-year change
Asia	208,110	+8.7%
Latin America	48,090	+6.8%
Europe	46,040	+7.6%
Middle East .	37,330	−7.1%
Africa	24,570	−7.0%
North America	18,590	+11.1%
Oceania	4,010	+11.1%

SOURCE: INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

For the first time in the 40 years in which the institute has conducted surveys, business ranked ahead of engineering as the most popular field of study.

Vietnam Vets

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SPECIAL SECTION

Service and Casualties In Major Wars and Conflicts

(As of Sept. 30, 1990)

		NUMBER SERVING	BATTLE DEATHS	OTHER DEATHS	WOUNDS NOT MORTAL
Revolutionary War 1775-1783	Army	—	4,044	—	6,004
	Navy		342		114
	Marines	—	49	—	70
	Total		4,435		6,188
War of 1812 1812-1815	Army	—	1,950	—	4,000
	Navy		265		439
	Marines	—	45	—	66
	Total	286,730	2,260	—	4,505
Mexican War 1846-1848	Army	—	1,721	11,550	4,102
	Navy		1	—	3
	Marines	—	11	—	47
	Total	78,718	1,733	11,550	4,152
Civil War (Union Forces Only) 1861-1865	Army	2,128,948	130,154	221,374	280,040
	Navy		2,112	2,411	1,710
	Marines	84,415**	148	312	131
	Total	2,213,363	140,414	224,097	281,881
Spanish-American War 1898	Army	280,564	369	2,061	1,594
	Navy	22,875	10	—	47
	Marines	3,321	6	—	21
	Total	306,760	385	2,061	1,662
World War I Apr. 6, 1917- Nov. 11, 1918	Army***	4,057,101	50,510	55,868	193,663
	Navy	599,051	431	6,856	819
	Marines	78,839	2,461	390	9,520
	Total	4,734,991	53,402	63,114	204,002
World War II Dec. 7, 1941- Dec. 31, 1946****	Army***	11,260,000	234,874	83,400	565,861
	Navy	4,183,466	36,950	25,664	37,778
	Marines	669,100	19,733	4,778	68,207
	Total	16,112,566	291,557	113,842	671,846
Korean Conflict June 25, 1950- July 27, 1953	Army	2,834,000	27,709	N.A.	77,596
	Navy	1,177,000	458	939	1,576
	Marines	424,000	4,267	1,261	23,744
	Air Force	1,285,000	1,302	243	368
	Total	5,720,000	33,736	N.A.	103,284
Vietnam Conflict Aug. 5, 1964- Jan. 27, 1973	Army	4,368,000	30,907	7,273	96,802
	Navy	1,842,000	1,631	527	4,178
	Marines	794,000	13,082	1,754	51,392
	Air Force	1,740,000	1,739	442	931
	Total	8,744,000	47,359	10,797	153,303

*Estimates for the Confederate forces are not available. **Estimates of the number who served range from 600,000 to [illegible]. ***Based upon a Report of the Provost Marshal General, 1863-1866, indicated 133,821 Confederate deaths (74,524 battle and [illegible]). ****Based upon incomplete returns. In addition, an estimated 26,000 to 31,000 Confederate personnel died in Union [illegible]. *****Army and Air Force. ******Includes Army Air Forces. *******Preliminary.

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4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1991 Globe Newspaper Company;
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November 10, 1991, Sunday, City Edition

SECTION: METRO/REGION; Pg. 31

LENGTH: 1248 words

HEADLINE: A time to reflect;
Four Americans, four wars, four perspectives on Veterans Day

BYLINE: By David Arnold, Globe Staff

KEYWORD: WARFARE US HISTORY HOLIDAY

BODY:

Fifty years ago tomorrow, Charles Cosby of Everett was on maneuvers outside Pearl Harbor aboard the USS Arizona. He was destined to become one of the few hundred survivors aboard a vessel whose twisted hulk lives on as testament to the consequence of ill-preparedness.

Forty years ago tomorrow, William Rogers of Methuen had recently helped capture Hill 749 in Korea. A platoon sergeant, he had entered the fray with 67 comrades; three hours later, he was one of 12 men in the platoon still alive.

Twenty years ago tomorrow, Leslie Feldstein of Wellesley was a nurse in the 91st Evacuation Hospital at Chu Lai, south of Danang. She was working 12-hour shifts, six days a week, anesthetizing civilians and soldiers, be they Americans, North Vietnamese or South Vietnamese.

One year ago tomorrow, Jeffrey Mullin was on tank duty in Saudi Arabia, having been called overseas before he could meet his first-born child. Sgt. Mullin, a Weymouth native, never met little Karla Danielle. He never fought the nation's "high-tech" war. He was one of 108 people who died just preparing for it.

Tomorrow is Veterans Day. For Cosby, for Rogers, for Feldstein and for Mullin's family, the day is less a holiday than a holy day from which the word evolved. Tomorrow needles memories that have become easier to shoulder, but never fade.

Veterans Day commemorates the 1918 armistice of World War I, marked, with brief exception in the 1970s, on Nov. 11 each year. The holiday was created to celebrate the end of a war that was to end all wars. Some 31 million Americans have served and 520,100 Americans have died in subsequent wars.

"Veterans Day is not the world as it is but perhaps the world as it should be," says Cosby, today a retired planner for General Electric.

"Veterans Day honors those who served. It honors the living, not the governments that prolong war," adds Feldstein, 45, now a nurse at Milton Hospital.

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What follow are glimpses at four Veterans Days and four participants during four wars.

November 11, 1941

The nation was still almost four weeks from the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. For Cosby, conflict seemed a distant affair.

The day was chilly and clear in Boston, the Evening Globe reported. The lead editorial predicted the end might be near for a war now 801 days old in Europe. The news overseas was encouraging. "Reds Holding Moscow" a headline blared; the Germans were pinned down in the deteriorating Russian winter weather.

On this day President Roosevelt honored the dead of World War I at Arlington National Cemetery. The Globe published a picture of Major Gen. George S. Patton modeling the Army's new helmet "designed to protect like never before." In Brookline, members of the local chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women discussed whether "the Nazi's bark was worse than its bite."

Nine homeless men died in Fall River after drinking denatured alcohol. And in Washington, government officials awaited the arrival of Japan's special envoy Kurusu.

Cosby had spent the day on maneuvers aboard the dreadnought Arizona outside Pearl Harbor. He had boarded the previous year at Bremerton, Wash.

The war he believed would never come smacked him in the face on Dec. 7.

A seaman first class, he was swabbing a deck. "It was about 7:55 a.m. when I looked above and all I remember is thinking: I'm not going to finish this job. Half of Honolulu was blowing up," he recalled.

Bombs started hitting the Arizona. There was smoke and fire everywhere, then the call to abandon ship. He dove through water frosted with flames and swam, often underwater, several hundred yards to shore. He found a rifle. He started shooting at Japanese Zeros. He doubts he ever hit one.

Of 1,550 sailors stationed aboard the Arizona, Cosby was one of 289 survivors. He spends Veterans Day quietly thinking about those men.

November 11, 1951

The Korean war was less than half spent. It would eventually claim more than 54,000 lives and leave another 8,000 missing.

The big news in the Boston area was that Rocky Marciano of Brockton was home after several successful New York bouts. "The Rock of Brockton had made the sock more famous than the shoe," city fathers declared.

In Nahant, Veterans Day services involved a memorial to 14 sons killed in World War II. Judy Garland had just suffered another nervous collapse in Scollay Square, one John Finn of the Back Bay was robbed of $ 5, and a Globe editorial predicted Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower would not run for president.

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A ceasefire agreement in Korea appeared imminent after the establishment of a buffer zone, and 34-year-old US Rep. John Kennedy, just returned from a tour of Korea, declared: "The hills, the weather, they all go to make things pretty nasty."

Rogers recalls being somewhere in central Korea 40 years ago, regrouping after taking tremendous losses during the victorious battle for Hill 749.

Rogers had celebrated his 17th birthday at Parris Island boot camp. His tour of duty was in the Pacific during World War II; his first stop was Iwo Jima. Everything, however, paled in comparison to Korea - frozen limbs, modern warfare and jets, and an unclear sense of where it was going.

"Veterans Day means I've lost an awful lot of good buddies," said Rogers, a 65-year-old retired stone mason.

November 11, 1971

The death toll in Vietnam was 55,000. The country was 14 months and 3,000 American deaths from the end of the war.

The most controversial film in the theaters was "Together." It put "the poetry back in love" and showed "how beautiful physical love can be," Boston critics said.

The Dow Jones average stood at 814, Elvis was playing the Boston Garden, Black Panther Huey Newton was on trial in Oakland, Army officer David Storms testified he knew of no civilian deaths at My Lai while serving under Lt. William Calley, Martha Mitchell had not spoken to her husband in two weeks, and Massachusetts automobile insurers were recommending an 18.5 percent drop in the 1972 rate.

President Richard Nixon was calling on Congress to boost war spending by $ 1 billion, and Leslie Feldstein was finishing a two-year tour in Vietnam as a nurse-anesthesiologist.

No Hollywood production, no verbal description could match the realities of serving as a nurse in an evacuation hospital, the first stop and triage center for the wounded.

"Veterans Day is a very private day for me," said Feldstein, who recently retired from a three-year seat on the National Board of Veterans For Peace, which seeks to discourage war as a means of resolving conflicts.

November 11, 1990

Pope John Paul II publicly prayed for a cure to the AIDS virus and the New England Patriots "come up empty again" after a loss to the Indianapolis Colts.

Iraq was offering new conditions to avert war. It would attend a proposed Arab summit - but only if the Palestinian question was put on the agenda.

Democratic leaders in Congress were questioning President Bush's deployment of an additional 200,000 troops to the gulf. And Army Sgt. Jeffrey Mullin, a 24-year-old native of Weymouth, was serving tank duty in Saudi Arabia.

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Mullin was killed during a training accident in the desert on Jan. 14; two days later, the 43-day war began. Of the 378 American dead, 230 would die outside of combat.

For Mullin's survivors, Veterans Day remains a very private matter and the spirit of armistice and the war to end all wars very distant indeed.

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9TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

October 24, 1991, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 17; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 919 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Open to Talks on Ties to Vietnam

BYLINE: By STEVEN GREENHOUSE, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: PARIS, Oct. 23

BODY:

Eighteen years after American troops withdrew from Vietnam in humiliation, Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said today that the United States was prepared to begin talks with Hanoi next month to normalize relations.

Mr. Baker said progress in the talks would depend on Vietnam's willingness to furnish information that Washington has long sought about 2,300 Americans who were prisoners of war or are listed as missing in action.

With the Soviet Union cutting its aid to Hanoi, Vietnam's Communist Government has been eager to restore diplomatic relations with the United States to end an American trade embargo and get international aid to rebuild an economy ravaged by war and mismanagement. Vietnam is also eager to end its international isolation.

But the United States has refused to normalize relations as long as a Vietnamese-backed Government in Cambodia resisted a negotiated settlement to its civil war. After Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978 to oust the Khmer Rouge, the United States supported a rebel movement that sought to topple the regime in Phnom Penh.

Baker May Visit Vietnam

In Paris today, for the signing of a 19-nation peace treaty intended to end two decades of civil war in Cambodia, Mr. Baker said he was taking into account Hanoi's support for the settlement in agreeing to pursue normalized relations.

American officials have said it is possible that Mr. Baker will visit Vietnam at the end of November as part of a previously scheduled trip.

"The scope and pace of these discussions of course will be governed by the degree with which Vietnam continues to cooperate with the United States on the very, very important issue of our prisoners of war and our missing in action," Mr. Baker said.

Re-establishing relations with Vietnam remains a sensitive issue for many Americans who remember the wrenching war in which more than 58,000 Americans died. Many Americans accuse Hanoi of continuing to conceal information about Americans missing in Vietnam as a result of the war.

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Timing for Normalization

In 1975, two years after American troops withdrew, the Communists captured Saigon, now called Ho Chi Minh City, putting an end to America's efforts to keep a non-Communist Government in what was then South Vietnam.

Mr. Baker said the normalization talks could begin "in the next month or so." Showing how sensitive the subject is, Mr. Baker talked in gingerly terms, saying Washington was "prepared to begin discussions with Vietnam concerning the issues and modalities that would be involved in normalizing relations."

One American official said normalizing ties could take several years, but Vietnamese officials said they hoped diplomatic relations could be established much sooner.

After decades of battling the Japanese, French and Americans, Vietnam is one of the world's poorest countries, with a per capita income of about $200 a year. Vietnamese officials were irritated last week when the United States blocked a French proposal calling for the International Monetary Fund to lend money to Vietnam.

'Progress' Needed on M.I.A.'s

Washington's icy relations with Hanoi thawed a bit in July when Hanoi allowed a M.I.A. liaison office to open in the Vietnamese capital. In addition, there have been several joint American-Vietnamese searches for the missing soldiers.

An American official said today that in meeting Vietnam's Foreign Minister, Nguyen Manh Cam, Mr. Baker said "substantial progress" in the missing-in-action issue was needed as a condition for normalizing ties.

Signaling the improvement of relations, Mr. Baker said today that he would ease the trade embargo against Vietnam by allowing "U.S.-organized" travel to Vietnam by individuals and groups like veterans, journalists, business executives and tourists. Washington began the embargo against North Vietnam in 1964, and extended it to the whole country in 1975.

He also said he would lift the travel ban that prohibits Vietnamese diplomats to the United Nations from traveling more than 25 miles from New York.

A Four-Step Process

Mr. Baker said the moves toward normalized relations would be a step-by-step process. In April the State Department outlined a four-step process for normalizing relations with Vietnam. The signing of a Cambodian peace agreement was the initial step required to begin normalization talks. For the second step, after a cease-fire was begun in Cambodia and the United Nations transitional administration was established in Phnom Penh, Washington would partially lift its trade embargo.

The department said the third phase would start after six months of United Nations administration in Cambodia. In this phase, the trade embargo would be lifted, and Hanoi and Washington would exchange diplomatic missions.

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In the fourth phase, Washington would establish full diplomatic and economic relations after elections in Cambodia, scheduled for early 1993, were held under the supervision of the United Nations.

Mr. Baker also met today with China's Foreign Minister, Qian Qichen. An American official said Mr. Baker had discussed weapons policy, human rights and trade policy. The officials said Mr. Baker had voiced his concerns about China's plans to sell missiles to Syria and about China's practice of selling goods made by prison labor.

Mr. Baker told reporters that he was keeping open the option of visiting China, a position that American officials say helped make the Cambodian peace treaty possible.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d with Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam of Vietnam yesterday in Paris, where Mr. Baker announced a willingness to begin talks with Hanoi to normalize relations. (Reuters)

SUBJECT: DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; US-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS- VIETNAM; FOREIGN AID; VIETNAM WAR; UNITED STATES ARMAMENT AND DEFENSE; PRISONERS OF WAR; MISSING IN ACTION ; DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION; EMBARGOES; ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TRENDS; INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

NAME: GREENHOUSE, STEVEN; BAKER, JAMES A 3D (SEC)

GEOGRAPHIC: VIETNAM ; UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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The Associated Press

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December 28, 1991, Saturday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 155 words

HEADLINE: Americans Warned Against Travel to Cambodia

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: BRF--U.S.-Cambodia

BODY:

Americans should make only essential visits to Cambodia because of dangers posed by anti-government rioting, the State Department advises.

The travel advisory issued Friday said that while foreigners apparently aren't being targeted by demonstrators, "travelers may inadvertently get caught up in a demonstration or riot."

"Moreover, the United States mission in Phnom Penh is not in a position to accord normal consular protective services to U.S. citizens and would be able to provide only limited emergency services," the advisory said.

The United States reopened its embassy in Phnom Penh last month. The embassy was closed 16 years ago when the capital was taken over by the communist Khmer Rouge faction.

In October, the Cambodian factions signed a U.N.-brokered peace treaty ending a 13-year civil war. Last month's return of a hated Khmer Rouge leader to the capital ignited rioting in which six people have died.

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Foreign Affairs

1991, Winter

SECTION: Pg. 1

LENGTH: 6964 words

HEADLINE: AMERICA IN ASIA: EMERGING ARCHITECTURE FOR A PACIFIC COMMUNITY

BYLINE: James A. Baker, III; James A. Baker, III is Secretary of State.

BODY:

In Asia as in Europe we are in the midst of the first transformation of the international system this century that is not the direct result of global conflagration. This rare moment presents us with new possibilities for reshaping international relationships in Asia to meet the challenges of the post-Cold War world.

President Bush's trip to East Asia marks a point in time when disparate historical lines are intersecting: the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor; the end of the U.S.-Soviet confrontation; and the prospect of laying to rest the Vietnam War era. The end of 1991 should see the closing off of several tragic, defining episodes of the American experience in Asia and open a new chapter of U.S. engagement in the region as we approach the 21st century.

I have presented elsewhere the administration's ideas about the new post-Cold War architecture of the Euro-Atlantic community. n1 But America's destiny lies no less across the Pacific than the Atlantic. We have fought three major wars over the past half-century in the Asia-Pacific theater. U.S. economic involvement and defense commitments in the region have been -- and remain -- defining realities. We also have large and growing interests in the human and material development of the region, as well as in its security. Our success in forging a new international system will require sustained engagement in this diverse and dynamic part of the world, just as it does in Europe and the Americas.

n1 See James A. Baker, III, "A New Europe, A New Atlanticism: Architecture for a New Era," speech to the Berlin Press Club, Dec. 12, 1989; and "The Euro-Atlantic Architecture: From West to East," speech to the Aspen Institute, Berlin, Germany, June 18, 1991.

The global trends that are reshaping Europe and the Soviet Union have also been at work in the Asia-Pacific region: the bankruptcy of communism as an economic and political system; a movement toward democracy and market-oriented economics; global economic integration of markets for trade, capital and information; and the emerging recognition that transnational challenges in such areas as narcotics, the environment and migration are important components of a comprehensive approach to security. At the same time the dark countertrends that President Bush pointed to in his September 1991 speech to the U.N. General Assembly are also evident in Asia: the reemergence of ethnic rivalries, nationalist aspirations and territorial or political disputes which were suppressed during the Cold War years.

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II

These global factors for change are playing themselves out in Asia amid the region's particular historical, cultural and political circumstances. In contrast to central and eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R., where change has been driven by the failure of a system of political economy, much of the ferment in Asia is a product of the region's unique and dramatic economic success. Barely twenty years ago East Asia was engulfed in war and great-power confrontation, burdened with poverty and challenged by insurgent communist movements. Our trade with the region in the early 1970s was less than that with Latin America.

But the subsequent two decades brought unrivaled progress. Throughout the 1980s East Asia led the world in the innovations of a new economic age. Japan emerged as an economic superpower. New industrial economies of South Kora, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore achieved rapid high-technology growth. China opened economically. And the Philippines, Korea and Taiwan each took strides toward democracy. As a result the combined economies of East Asia are now roughly equal in size to that of the United States.

International political developments have also contributed to a more positive environment. These include the Sino-Soviet rapprochement, the opening of Soviet relations with the Republic of Korea, the admission to the United Nations of both Korean states, the birth of a democratic Mongolia and a political resolution of the Cambodia conflict based on a U.N. settlement plan. The latter, if realized, will bring a new era of peace to Indochina.

For all the region's progress, however, some legacies of the past could impede a promising future. The heavily armed standoff on the Korean peninsula is still one of the world's most dangerous flashpoints, a confrontation now intensified by the ominous threat of nuclear proliferation. In Burma the tyranny of a brutal military dictatorship endures, despite the clear expression of popular will in the elections of 1990 for civilian democratic government. China, along with the other residual communist regimes in Asia, continues to resist democratic political reform. And despite President Gorbachev's historic visit to Tokyo last April, the dispute over Japan's Northern Territories remains an impediment to a major improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations.

These Asian realities -- the elements of a promising future and the difficult remnants of times past -- now shape the challenges before us. The successes of our policies and those of our friends in the region mean that many of our partners have also become robust economic competitors. Allies such as Japan, South Korea and Australia have become important political and economic players in the emerging international system.

Given the challenges and opportunities we now face in Asia, a viable architecture for a stable and prosperous Pacific community needs to be founded on three pillars. First we need a framework for economic integration that will support an open global trading system in order to sustain the region's economic dynamism and avoid regional economic fragmentation. Second, we must foster the trend toward democratization so as to deepen the shared values that will reinforce a sense of community, enhance economic vitality and minimize prospects for dictatorial adventures. Third, we need to define a renewed defense structure for the Asia-Pacific theater that reflects the region's diverse security concerns and mitigates intra-regional fears and suspicions -- a

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prerequisite for maintaining the stability required for continuing economic and political progress.

III

In formulating American policy toward the Asia-Pacific region, we should recognize our historical and continuing interests. Since 1784, when the merchant ship Empress of China sailed for Canton from New York, the United States has consistently pursued an open door approach to the Asia-Pacific region. Our interest has resided in maintaining commercial access and preventing the rise of any single hegemonic power or coalition hostile to the United States and its allies and friends. In today's world a shred focus and the development of an active partnership among the nations of the Pacific Rim are essential to the success of the emerging global system.

The Asia-Pacific region is now America's largest trading partner. America's trans-Pacific commerce is now more than $ 300 billion in annual two-way trade -- nearly one-third larger than that across the Atlantic. The United States exports more to Thailand than to the Soviet Union, more to Indonesia than to central and eastern Europe and more to Singapore than to Spain or Italy. Moreover, U.S. firms have invested more than $ 61 billion in the region, with over $ 95 billion of Asian investments in the United States.

Our closest bond to Asia is the growing number of Asian-Americans, some seven million strong, who are America's fastest growing group of immigrants. There are more Laotians today in the United States than in the Laotian capital of Vientiane; more Filipinos in California than in Cebu. These people, along with hundreds of thousands of other Asian-Americans -- Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Koreans, Thai and Samoans among them -- enrich our society, strengthen our engagement with the region and give us a growing mutuality of interests in an emerging Asia-pacific community.

What has fostered stability and secured economic dynamism in East Asia for the past four decades is a loose network of bilateral alliances with the United States at its core. Our military presence, our commitment, our reassurance has constituted the balancing wheel of an informal, yet highly effective, security structure that emerged after World War II and endured throughout the Cold War years.

To visualize the architecture of U.S. engagement in the region, imagine a fan spreadwide, with its base in North America and radiating west across the Pacific. The central support is the U.S.-Japan alliance, the key connection for the security structure and the new Pacific partnership we are seeking. To the north, one spoke represents our alliance with the Republic of Korea. To the south, others extend to our treaty allies -- the Association of Southeast Asian (ASEAN) countries of the Philippines and Thailand. Further south a spoke extends to Australia -- an important, staunch economic, political and security partners. Connecting these spokes is the fabric of shared economic interests now given form by the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) process. Within this construct, new political and economic relationships offer additional support for a system of cooperative action by groups of Pacific nations to address both residual problems and emerging challenges.

This system has been successful precisely because its flexibility has respected the vast geographic expanse, political and cultural diversity, as

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well as the geopolitical realities of East Asia and the Pacific. Unlike Europe there has been no single threat commonly perceived throughout the region. Instead, there is a multiplicity of security concerns that differ from country to country and within the subregions of this vast area.

Today the overlay of U.S.-Soviet competition has been removed from Asia, so the enduring diversity of regional interests and security concerns stand out with even greater clarity. What was a secondary aspect of our Cold War-era security presence is becoming the primary rationale for our defense engagement in the region: to provide geopolitical balance, to be an honest broker, to reassure against uncertainty.

Our forward-deployed military presence and bilateral defense ties to Japan, South Korea, the allies within ASEAN and Australia are widely accepted as the foundation of Asia's security structure. Yet in the post-Cold War world, the enhanced capabilities of our allies and friends -- and new security challenges -- require adjustments in our force structure, defense activities and in the means of sustaining regional stability.

Asian security increasingly is derived from a flexible, ad hoc set of political and defense interactions. Multilateral approaches to security are slowly emerging. As we have seen in the Cambodian peace process, the combined efforts of the ASEAN countries, Japan, Australia and the U.N. Security Council's Permanent Five have tailor-made a conflict-resolution process. A semiofficial forum on the contested islands of the South China Sea, hosted recently by Indonesia, also reflects such an ad hoc, multilateral approach. Guaranteeing stability on the Korean peninsula may increasingly assume a multilateral form -- a solution suited to the character of the problem. At this stage of a new era we should be attentive to the possibilities for such multilateral action without locking ourselves in to an overly structured approach. In the Asia-Pacific community, form should follow function.

IV

While Asian security concerns have a diverse, decentralized character, burgeoning intra- and trans-Pacific trade and investment provide areas of broad common interest. Commerce offers the most natural approach to fostering greater regional cohesion. This is why the United States and 11 other Pacific basin economies came together two years ago to initiate the APEC process. We see APEC as an important mechanism for sustaining market-oriented growth, for advancing global and regional trade liberalization and for meeting the new challenges of interdependence. The APEC agenda is expansive. It includes, for example, assessment of regional needs in telecommunications, human resource development, energy, trade and investment, marine resources and tourism, among others.

APEC is as much the hallmark of American engagement in the region as are U.S. security ties. Indeed, one could raw a 21st-century Pacific analogy from a nineteenth-century experience: the development of the American continent. As the pattern of expansion and influence in the American West was determined by the location of telegraph lines and railroads, so the infrastructural links we are building across the Pacific in areas such as telecommunications and transportation will shape the economic and political character of the region and our ties to it.

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With the anticipated addition to APEC's membership of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan at November's third ministerial meeting in Seoul, APEC's potential as a major trans-Pacific forum is becoming a reality. The efforts of APEC's ten working groups are laying a solid foundation of economic cooperation on a broad range of issues. n2 APEC is ready to emerge as a key forum that can forge the greater sense of Asia-Pacific community needed to meet the challenges of the post-Cold War world.

n2 APEC's ten working groups are: trade promotion, expansion of investment and technology transfers, human resource development, regional energy cooperation, marine resource conservation, telecommunications, transportation, data, tourism and fisheries. In addition APEC has begun regional trade liberalization discussions.

Let me also leave no doubt about what APEC is not: it is not a regional economic bloc. To the contrary, it is a product of -- and catalyst for -- economic integration and trade liberalization. These developments will not cut off the Asia-Pacific community from the rest of the globe. In fact, by stressing the gains that have been made from open multilateral policies, and by enhancing economic efficiency, APEC should help the Pacific region contribute to a more open trading system. APEC's outlook is inclusive, not exclusive. APEC's members include a number of the great trading nations and offer excellent investment opportunities. The intent of the APEC participants is to overcome barriers and inefficiencies within the region while working for a more open global system.

Similarly, the emerging North American Free Trade Area will support both APEC and the global, multilateral systems for trade and financial flows. Unlike a customs union, NAFTA will not establish common barriers to those outside. Rather it will lower barriers among its participants -- a governmental response to the accelerating economic integration already taking place among neighbors. Heightened integration and efficiency will increase the productivity of the U.S., Mexican and Canadian economies. Growth will bring expanding markets for Asia traders and investors, thus strengthening, not weakening, trans-Pacific economic links. Indeed, I believe Mexico views the NAFTA as a vehicle for better integrating its formerly autarkic economy into the global system; more efficient patterns of trade and investment with the United States and Canada will strengthen Mexico's ties with a competitive world economy, not weaken them. This view is supported by Mexico's recent membership in the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) and its interest in participating in both APEC and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Of course the logic of regional integration is more widely applicable. Indeed, Thailand's proposal for an ASEAN free trade area is a welcome initiative that could strengthen ASEAN and, by stimulating ASEAN growth, also reinforce U.S.-ASEAN economic relations.

The economic future of the United States depends on strong ties with all the regions of the world. As a nation generating some 24 percent of the world's GNP, we cannot operate effectively or efficiently through any other strategy. This is why the United States has demonstrated an unwavering commitment to advancing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) through the Uruguay Round. It is also why we are seeking to complement that effort through a network of initiatives designed to reduce market barriers and support a more open, competitive and growth-oriented system. The NAFTA, the Enterprise for

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the Americas Initiative, the U.S.-European Community declaration, our trade enhancement initiative for the emerging central and east European democracies, our agreements with ASEAN and APEC each reflect our customized attempts to reach out to all major markets, not to exclude any of them.

Each initiative is tailored to meet special circumstances and to maintain momentum for liberalization by pressing forward simultaneously on a large number of fronts. Our logic is that gains from increasing trade and investment are not calculated according to any zero-sum formula -- instead, greater competition leads to efficiencies and growth that benefit the system as a whole. This is a logic that will profit the dynamic economies of Asia, especially if they join with us to reduce barriers that threaten political support for a liberalized global trading system.

The natural partner of market-oriented economics is political pluralism. The public accountability that is the hallmark of democratic political systems is also the best check against tyranny and aggression. As the history of the past two centuries demonstrates, democratic nations rarely engage in armed conflict against each other. Not long ago some argued that democratic politics were unsuited to Asian cultures and traditions. Yet the political developments of the past decade in the Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan demonstrate that economic growth naturally tends to promote democratization.

Perhaps most remarkably, the powerful appeal of the democratic ideal is evident in Mongolia's rejection of its Leninist past and its turn to political pluralism and economic reform. Once the oldest communist government in Asia, Mongolia is the first Asian communist state to purposefully undertake the challenge of a democratic transition.

In sharp contrast, the democratic ideal has been brutally thwarted in Burma. The socialist military regime, by suppressing the results of its own 1990 election, has betrayed the people in their quest for representative government. This denial of the expressed will of the Burmese people will leave Burma mired in isolation and stagnation until the military leadership reverses its repressive policies and transfers authority to the elected civilian leaders of the country. The awarding of this year's Nobel Peace Prize to Aung San Suu Kyi will give the Burmese people hope that the world is not ignoring their plight.

China, Vietnam and Laos have embarked on a course of market-oriented economic reform while retaining a Leninist monopoly of political power. But economic reform can be sustained only when it is accompanied by political reform. The tragic violence at Tiananmen Square in 1989 was a reflection of the social and political pressures generated by a decade of rapid economic expansion unaccompanied by concurrent political transformation.

Democratic reform in China and Vietnam, as well as in North Korea, would have a major impact on the character of international relations in Asia. As generational change unfolds in all three of what might be called "Confucian-Leninist" societies, the interplay between economic expansion and the striving for political reform can only become more pronounced.

V

Our ability to help realize the economic and security architecture of the Asia-Pacific community we envisage will rest in no small measure on the

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successful management of a number of critical relationships with our allies, friends and regional groups. Our ties with Japan, South Korea, ASEAN and Australia are the stabilizing and strengthening spokes in the fan.

U.S.-Japan Relations

The keystone of our engagement in East Asia and the Pacific is our relationship with Japan. Nothing is more basic to the prosperity and security of the region, and indeed to the effectiveness of the post-Cold War system, than a harmonious and productive U.S.-Japan relationship.

But U.S.-Japan relations have changed profoundly over the past decade. Our dealings have become more equal, and their form and substance must now be adjusted to reflect this reality if we are to address the sources of tension. I see four basic, interrelated elements as necessary to accomplish this adjustment.

First, the foundation of our relationship -- the U.S.-Japan security alliance -- must be strengthened. We have been pleased with our growing security cooperation with Japan. Japan is continuing to progress toward fulfilling our agreed-upon division of defense roles and missions. Japan's ability to secure its air and sea lanes out to 1,000 miles from its shores, the growing interoperability and joint training of our forces -- along with generous host nation support, which will increase to 73 percent of the non-salary costs for our forward-deployed forces -- are a major contribution to the stability of the region. One area which requires greater cooperation, however, is the goal of a more balanced two-way flow of defense-related technology, as codified by our 1983 Memorandum of Understanding.

Second, we must work to reduce the economic tensions in our increasingly interdependent relationship. The $ 140 billion in annual two-way trade, the investment and the burgeoning network of private sector linkages between the world's two largest and most technologically advanced economies underscore the importance of this aspect of our relations.

A solid, balanced economic foundation, with open markets on both sides, is needed if we are to sustain and advance our partnership -- one now of truly global dimensions. This requires greater market-opening efforts by Japan, a more competitive U.S. economy and an intensification of the detailed economic dialogue we have begun in the Structural Impediments Initiative. Removing the impediments to external adjustment and building more balanced economic ties -- thus creating fair opportunities for traders and investors -- are essential to the new harmony we seek.

The SII talks could assume a particularly important role in this process of economic adjustment. Two nations, recognizing the extensive interconnection of their respective economies, have agreed to analyze and pursue microeconomic adjustments in order to harmonize an economic relationship vital to each other and to global economic growth. This makes the SII a microeconomic complement to the Group of Seven leading industrialized nations (G-7), which is designed to improve the coordination of macroeconomic policies among highly interdependent economies.

For its part, the United States is enhancing its competitiveness, as is evident in an 87 percent increase in its exports to Japan since 1987. This

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export expansion reflects, in part, Japan's removal of structural barriers to market access for goods, services and investment. But many aspects of the Japanese economy are still constructed by exclusionary business practices, to the detriment of new players in the marketplace -- both foreign and Japanese -- and of the Japanese consumer. And at home we still have much work to do -- from further reducing the cost of capital to American business to encouraging more aggressive marketing of U.S. products abroad -- if we are to carry out our part of the SII equation.

Third, we must fulfill the promise of the global partnership called for by the president at the Palm Springs summit last year. As democracies and market-oriented economies that together generate nearly 40 percent of the world's GNP, the United States and Japan have the potential to marshal unrivaled resources in support of a better future -- if our foreign policies are effectively coordinated. On issues from the Uruguay Round to reform in central and eastern Europe, from preserving the environment to Third World debt relief, we must engage together globally.

For the international system to work, leading powers must lead. This is the lesson we learned from our own reluctance to play an active role in world affairs in the period between the two world wars. This is why today we seek to build a global partnership with Japan -- with Tokyo assuming a greater leadership role in a system from which it deserves significant benefits. Our broadly convergent interests have already led us to pursue similar policies on many issues. We are committed to developing better consultative mechanisms in order to give greater synergy to our foreign policies.

Finally, we must deepen our understanding of each other's culture. Japanese youth must be introduced to more about American life and values. Fast-food, rock and rap music and Hollywood style are one image we project in the modern world, but America has much else to offer. Similarly, more Americans must gain knowledge of, and appreciation for, Japan's rich history and traditions -- in particular, they should learn the Japanese language. The recently created Abe Fund offers one important opportunity to expand a host of exchanges and interactions -- intellectual, scientific, cultural and people-to-people -- needed to deepen our mutual appreciation and ability to work together.

U.S.-Korean Relations

Another pillar of our engagement in the Pacific is our alliance with the Republic of Korea. South Korea's economic and political achievements rival those of Japan. Economically the R.O.K. has converted itself from a poor agricultural society devastated by the war into the world's thirteenth largest economy. Its industry is now on the cutting edge of high-tech growth. Within a generation South Korea's per-capita income has trebled. And its success in building democratic institutions and the accomplishments of Nordpolitik in forging new international relationships underscore the significance of our firm support for the R.O.K. over the past four decades.

South Korea's dynamism helps us meet the challenge of transforming what has been primarily a military alliance into a more equal political, defense and economic partnership. This is the logic of the U.S. force restructuring now under way, of Seoul's increased support of our defense presence there, of our economic dialogue and enhanced political consultations.

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South Korea's success is all the more remarkable as it has been achieved in the face of unrelenting military and political confrontation with North Korea. Indeed the very real danger of nuclear proliferation on the Korean peninsula is now the number one threat to stability in the Asia-Pacific community.

North Korea's repeated failure to meet its international obligations under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty -- requiring it to implement full-scope International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards inspection of its nuclear facilities -- has raised serious questions about its intentions. Widespread suspicions about a nuclear weapons program cannot enhance North Korea's security. President Bush's recent initiative in withdrawing worldwide U.S. tactical nuclear weapons renders Pyongyang's preconditions for fulfilling its NPT obligations more specious than ever.

Yet, as important as the NPT regime is, we have seen in the case of Iraq that even IAEA safeguards cannot ensure that a maverick regime will not seek to acquire a nuclear weapons capability. The only firm assurance against nuclear proliferation in Korea is a credible agreement by both Seoul and Pyongyang to abstain from the production or acquisition of any weapons-grade nuclear material on the Korean peninsula.

The key to reducing tensions on the peninsula -- and ultimately to the reunification of Korea -- is an active North-South dialogue. The Koreans themselves must traverse the road to peace and reunification. President Roh Tae Woo's initiatives to advance the free flow of trade, people and communications between North and south are important steps in this direction. For real progress to occur, a climate of trust and confidence must be established. The recent admission of both Koreas to the United Nations and the ongoing prime ministerial talks are hopeful signs that the last glacier of the Cold War in Asia is at last beginning to melt. For our part, we are prepared to enhance our dealings with Pyongyang as the Democratic People's Republic meets its responsibilities as a global citizen.

There is potential for European-style confidence-building measures and, ultimately, Conventional-Forces-in-Europe-type arms reduction on the Korean peninsula. As in Europe, large and heavily armed ground forces confront each other across a clearly demarcated demilitarized zone. Korea is a place in East Asia where arms control initiatives seem particularly timely.

The process of reconciliation and, eventually, reunification on the Korean peninsula need to be based on Korean initiatives; yet the four major powers -- the United States, Soviet Union, China and Japan -- have important interests that intersect there. As the North-South dialogue progresses, we will explore the possibilities for a forum for the two Koreas and the four major powers in Northeast Asia that will support the dialogue, help in the easing of tensions, facilitate discussion of common security concerns and possibly guarantee outcomes negotiated between the two Koreas.

U.S.-Southeast Asian Relations

Our relations wit the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations are at the core of our engagement in this dynamic subregion. Over the last fifteen years, we have built an impressive structure of economic, political and security cooperation with our ASEAN colleagues. Indeed, just fifteen years ago many feared that countries such as Thailand, Marlaysia and Indonesia would

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become "dominoes" in a communist assault on Southeast Asia. Today the talented, industrious people and market-oriented economies of the ASEAN states are setting global standards for development.

ASEAN today is America's fifth largest trading partner, rivaling U.S. commerce with Germany; and America is ASEAN's largest export market. ASEAN has a leader in launching the Uruguay Round of the GATT, and we look to ASEAN for support in successfully completing the current negotiations. We have worked hard to keep ASEAN at the core of our efforts at regional economic integration, and we will continue to do so.

In the political realm a decade of cooperative efforts with ASEAN has led to the successful conclusion of a comprehensive agreement to end the conflict in Cambodia. In the wake of the Paris Conference we look to the building -- under U.N. auspices -- of a just and durable peace in Cambodia. This should make possible a new era in Southeast Asia, including the integration of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos into the mainstream of the region.

The culmination of the Cambodian peace process -- free and fair elections, the installation of a legitimate government in Phnom Penh, along with substantial resolution of our POW/MIA concerns -- will finally provide a durable basis for the United States to normalize relations with Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

Two of ASEAN's members, the Philippines and Thailand, are also bilateral treaty allies. Today there is much uncertainty about the future of our military presence in the Philippines. I want to emphasize two points in this regard: our overriding concern is to sustain good relations with a democratic and economically resurgent Philippines. And second, regardless of the future of our military presence at Subic Bay, our security engagement in Southeast Asia will remain undiminished, even if realized through other arrangements.

We are exploring ways to enhance defense cooperation with our friends throughout the subregion in order to sustain an adequate security presence on a more diversified basis. The base-access agreement reached earlier this year with Singapore is a reflection of our commitment to sustaining a defense capability in Southeast Asia -- as well as the region's widespread desire for an active U.S. security presence.

U.S.-Australian Relations

Australia is the southernmost spoke in the fan I described earlier, serving as the southern anchor for our links across the Pacific. Moreover, Australia is a bridge between Southeast Asia and the South Pacific island states. Canberra's activism in both global and regional affairs -- from efforts to rid the world of chemical weapons to elimination of agricultural subsidies via the Cairns group in the GATT -- demonstrates its importance as an ally. In its contributions to the Cambodian peace process, and in its role of honest broker and catalyst for development in the South Pacific, Australia plays a vital part in regional affairs.

In addition, Canberra has been an important bridge to New Zealand, as we have sought to encourage policy changes in Wellington that will make possible a reactivation of the ANZUS alliance. President Bush's nuclear disarmament initiative has created a favorable context that we hope will elicit a positive

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response from New Zealand.

China

The tragic violence at Tiananmen Square in the summer of 1989 shattered the bipartisan consensus in the United States -- carefully constructed over two decades by five administrations -- for engagement with China. Rebuilding that consensus is in our national interest, but it is proving to be a daunting task.

Looking back over more than 150 years of American contacts with China -- since the time of the first missionaries and traders -- our views of China have oscillated between extremes of fascination and confrontation. Indeed the influence of the missionary experience in China -- evident in the work of novelists, scholars and diplomats -- has shaped our romantic perception of this land and its people. We have admired China's exotic culture and its hard-working and long-suffering people.

When the Chinese seemed to adopt our principles -- either religious or secular -- we enthusiastically welcomed them into the fold. But when periodic upheavals led to disappointment and frequently bloodshed, Americans felt the anger of rejection -- of a conversion that failed.

Even in recent years, no foreign event seemed to capture the American public's interest and excitement more than the effort in the 1980s to reform China's Soviet-style economy and to open up the country to the modern world. And then, overnight, our hopes for a new, democratic China turned to revulsion at the sight of tanks crushing unarmed students. The subsequent advance of political reform in the Soviet Union has made China's setback all the more poignant.

We cannot forget those who were halted by a backlash of fear, but we will not help the eventual success of their cause by again turning our backs on China. The pendulum of U.S. relations with China must stop its sharp swings. China is home for almost a quarter of mankind. We cannot simply wish away their problems.

That is why President Bush has pursued a policy of engagement toward the People's Republic. We can eventually solve our problems with China only if we maintain the ability to make our case to the Chinese. Our agenda is open for all, Chinese and American, to see. We want to protect human rights and advance liberty. We want to counter the threat of nuclear and missile proliferation. We want free and fair trade that benefits both countries and the region.

Our ideals and values must be an essential part of our engagement with China. We will fight against political repression and religious persecution. Yet political liberty is not easily or long separated from economic freedom. As President Bush pointed out at Yale University in June, no nation has yet discovered a way to import the world's goods and services while stopping foreign ideas at the border. It is in our interest that the next generation in China be engaged by the Information Age, not isolated from global trends shaping the future.

That is why we believe it is important to maintain China's most-favored-nation trading status. MFN has been a critical catalyst in the growth of our bilateral ties and in the overall expansion of China's foreign

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trade during the 1980s to more than $ 100 billion annually. MFN has also facilitated development of a large market-oriented sector -- in Guangdong province it now exceeds the state sector. This engagement has led to the integration of China's coastal provinces with Hong Kong, Taiwan and the global economy.

Of course, if China is to become fully drawn into the world economic system it must further deregulate its economy, adopt the transparency needed to enter the GATT and protect foreign intellectual property rights. Resolving these issues -- and additional ones on our bilateral economic agenda, such as market access and the export of prison-labor products -- can only be pursued through a policy of active engagement.

Finally, China's international role spans a growing range of global and regional issues affecting our interests: from concerns about missile and nuclear proliferation, to cooperation in the gulf crisis, to resolving regional conflicts. This underscores the need for sustained engagement with China on issues of common concern. Our recent experiences in working with Beijing on the Cambodian peace process and in reducing tensions on the Korean peninsula suggest that our engagement can produce results.

In sum we need to recognize that China is in a time of transition. An anachronistic regime has alienated us by lashing out, by seeking to repress an irrepressible spirit. A return to hostile confrontation will not help the people of China nor serve our national interests. The only sensible course is to move ahead with our agenda, secure improvements where possible and create the context for managing the change that will come some day.

The U.S.S.R. in Asia

Any discussions of the future of the Asia-Pacific region would be incomplete without mention of the Soviet Union and Russia, which have interests in Asia as well as in Europe. Increasingly we see the Russian Republic taking a more active role in the Asia-Pacific region. And despite the turmoil in the U.S.S.R, MOSCOW has been playing an increasingly positive role in the region. Soviet cooperation on Cambodia and in the Persian Gulf, as well as the normalization of relations with South Korea, illustrate the potential for new forms of cooperation on Asian issues between Washington and Moscow.

Yet Soviet forces in the Far East still remain large, and market reforms that are the prerequisite for participation in the Asian economic miracle have yet to be implemented in the Soviet Union. No nation that spends 20 percent or more of its GNP on the military can expect to compete economically in the dynamic Asian region.

We welcome the growing interest in forging new economic ties between Soviet Asia and the nations of the Pacific Rim. The opening of Vladivostok, the establishment of a free trade zone at Nakhodka and resolution of the Northern Territories issue are important steps that can pave the way for greater participation in the Asia-Pacific community. As Soviet market reforms take shape, the potential for economic exchange with the market-oriented economies of the Pacific Rim will undoubtedly grow. In this regard I am pleased to welcome Soviet membership in the semi-official Pacific Economic Cooperation Council.

VI

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President Bush's trip to East Asia and the Pacific highlights our hopes for the future of this promising region. Sustaining American engagement in East Asia and the Pacific is vital to U.S. interests -- not just in the region, but to the international system we are trying to forge. Our defense commitments remain at the core of the Asia-Pacific security structure, but they will evolve to reflect new circumstances and partnerships based on the enhanced capabilities of our allies and friends. Supporting democratic trends and helping to shape a framework for economic integration are key policy goals which will enhance the sense of Asian-Pacific community.

Yet we cannot fully enter the future while still burdened by legacies of the Cold War era, particularly the military confrontation on the Korean peninsula and the dispute over the Northern Territories. Moving from the Korean armistice to a stable peace and advancing Soviet-Japanese bilateral ties to make possible a peace treaty would be major steps in transcending those legacies. Only when true peace comes to Cambodia, when all the state of Indochina have normal relations with the rest of the world, when Korea is unified on terms acceptable to all Koreans and when the Northern Territories are returned to Japan can we finally turn a new page in the history of the Asia-Pacific region.

For the next millennium to be one of the Pacific, a strong sense of community must emerge based on shared prosperity and common values. The agenda and architecture I have discussed here hold the promise of building that sense of community. By accommodating Asia's diversity in security, uniting around shared principles and interests, and forging the economic ties that bind the region, our vision can be realized and a new trans-Pacific partnership achieved.

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September 16, 1990, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: HOME; Pg. 23; ZONE: NW

LENGTH: 570 words

HEADLINE: Blue and white
The broad range of china is as hot as ever

BYLINE: Country Living, a Hearst Magazine

BODY:

George Washington was one of its first customers in America, James McNeill Whistler almost went broke buying it, and blue and white china remains a collector's item today.

The range of china blues is great and includes rare hand-painted porcelain vases dating to the Ming Dynasty, Dutch Delft tiles that surrounded Colonial fireplaces, huge transfer-printed Staffordshire platters and even the willowware that Grandma assembled at the 5-and-dime.

The first shipment of blue and white porcelain from China reached Europe by about 1530 and has been coveted, collected and copied ever since. In Holland, potters developed Delft, a tin-glazed earthenware decorated with cobalt overglaze. English potters followed suit, marketing their own imitations.

Until late in the 18th Century, American colonists had to be satisfied with the Chinese wares that Dutch and English merchants permitted to trickle into our harbors.

On Feb. 22, 1784, the Empress of China, America's first merchant ship bound for Canton, left New York loaded with furs, silver coins and ginseng. She returned in May 1785 with a trade agreement and crates of blue and white porcelain.

George Washington was among the first customers, buying 302 pieces of blue and white tableware bordered in the Fitzhugh pattern. The cost: $150, not inexpensive at the time.

The luxury china was an extravagance desired by royalty and celebrated by artists. American-born painter Whistler portrayed the wares in his work and is said to have bought enough of it to thrust himself to the brink of bankruptcy.

Luckily, Europe's potters developed blue and white pottery that would not break the bank.

If the earthenware body of these imitation wares lacked the translucent quality of porcelain, and their motifs were not quite as painstakingly rendered, at least they provided more color than the crude earthenware, treenware or pewter services to which Europe's country tables had once been limited.

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By 1756, potters at Bow and Worcester adopted the process of transfer-printing designs onto tableware. It involved producing a design on an engraved copper plate, transferring the image to paper, then fusing the impression to the pottery's white surface.

Josiah Spode perfected the technique in the 1780s, adding a final transparent glaze to protect the decoration. By the late 18th Century, Staffordshire potteries including Enoch Wood, Caughly and Lowestoft, supported entire departments devoted specially to the creation of blue transferware.

The sole holdout was Josiah Wedgwood. Wedgwood shipped creamware to be transfer-printed with lovely scenes in other colors, but his company turned out none of the blue and white transfers until after Josiah's death in 1795.

Faster and cheaper than painting by hand, transfer-printing revolutionized Europe's ceramic industry. Using the technique to decorate stoneware, soft-paste porcelain and finally bone china, English manufacturers made blue and white "china" their own.

Staffordshire's potters designed millions of pieces of blue transferware specially for the U.S. market, often appealing to the American pocketbook with patriotic or nostalgic images.

Most antiques dealers agree that as exports continued, standards declined in China as well as in Europe. For this reason Amanda Broomer of A.R. Broomer in New York City focuses on Chinese export porcelains of the Kangxi period, 1662-1722.

TERMS: CHINA; PRODUCT; HISTORY; COST; SALE; DATE

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USA TODAY

December 30, 1991, Monday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4A

LENGTH: 337 words

HEADLINE: U.S. set to quit Philippines

BYLINE: Juan J. Walte

KEYWORD: SUBIC BAY NAVAL BASE: MILITARY BASE CLOSING:PHILIPPINES US RELATIONS

BODY:

The Stars and Stripes will be lowered for the last time over a Philippine military base in one year and one day, when the United States makes a faster than expected departure from Subic Bay Naval Base.

U.S. and Philippine officials say Dec. 31, 1992, will mark the end of nearly a century of American military presence in the Philippines and possible economic hardship for more than 30,000 Filipinos directly and indirectly employed by the U.S. Navy.

''We're prepared to execute the one-year withdrawal and make that as orderly a process as possible,'' said Pentagon spokesman Navy Cmdr. Gregg Hartung.

But both the Pentagon and the State Department made clear that despite the accelerated departure from the Philippines, the United States wants to remain a Pacific and Indian oceans power.

''Our departure from the Philippines will not affect our overall interest in and commitment to regional stability and security,'' the State Department said in a statement issued over the weekend.

The decision by the U.S. Navy to abandon its largest foreign base came after Washington and Manila failed to agree on terms for a gradual withdrawal over three years during which the United States was to pay $ 203 million annually.

Subic Bay, 50 miles northwest of Manila, is one of two large bases used by the United States since the Philippines became a U.S. possession after the 1898 Spanish-America War.

The other was Clark Air Base, north of Subic Bay. Clark was vacated by the U.S. Air Force on Nov. 26, chased out not by politics but by the eruption of nearby Mount Pinatubo volcano, which heavily damaged the base.

The Subic base encompasses about 60,000 acres. About 5,800 U.S. service members are stationed there, along with 4,500 dependents.

Subic is the largest U.S. Navy training, supply and repair base in the Pacific. But some of its operations have already been moved to places like Guam and Japan. Shipyards in Singapore and Malaysia are regarded as likely naval

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ABC NEWS

SHOW: WORLD NEWS TONIGHT WITH PETER JENNINGS

OCTOBER 23, 1991

LENGTH: 4175 words

BODY:

ANNOUNCER: From ABC, this is World News Tonight with Peter Jennings.

PETER JENNINGS: Good evening. We begin again tonight with the state of the economy. A very influential survey from the Federal Reserve Board concludes that it is at best anemic. Every six weeks the Federal Reserve issues its so-called Beige Book. It's an overview of economic conditions around the country which the nation's central bank uses as a guide to influence monetary policy like raising and lowering interest rates, and so the Beige Book has enormous political as well as economic impact. Our first report tonight is from our economics editor Stephen Aug.

STEPHEN AUG: [STORE SCENE] The survey by the Federal Reserve Bank says retail sales have shown little improvement, in some areas they are slowing down. [FACTORY INT] Manufacturing growth is slowing down, demand for loans from both businesses and consumers remain weak. [OFFICE INT] While economists have been saying the recession is over, the Fed survey confirms what corporate executives have been saying for months: business is still rotten.

ANDRE SIGLER / CHAMPION: We're in the paper and wood business, so it's construction and advertising dollar and our business is terrible.

JAMES ROBINSON / AMERICAN EXPRESS: We've certainly seen a slowness on the consumer side as reflected on the spending on their American Express card.

STEPHEN AUG: And consumers are voicing the same worries they've had for months.

WOMAN: We're not about to buy until some of these things turn around such as the unemployment level.

WOMAN: I'm not even spending money on things that aren't a necessity right now because you don't know, two years from now you may not have the job security you have now.

STEPHEN AUG: [HA STORE INT] Many consumers simply don't have enough money to spend. One reason is that over the past year taxes have gone up. Some economists say to get the economy moving the nation needs a tax cut.

MICHAEL EVANS: Because this year the combination of federal, state and local tax increases has amounted to about 30 billion dollars taken out of consumer pocketbooks. You send every middle-class American family a check for 1,000 dollars, I'll guarantee you that will bring the recession to an end.

STEPHEN AUG: [SU] Next week government figures are expected to show the economy began growing again during the summer, but in the streets and in the stores

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and in the boardrooms, people do not see much evidence of that. Stephen Aug, ABC News, Washington.

PETER JENNINGS: Well in political terms, the Democrats clearly believe there is political mileage to be made on the economy. They will keep the House of Representatives in session all night tonight to make speeches accusing Mr. Bush of failing to come to grips with the recession. The Democrats are closing ranks behind some form of tax cut aimed primarily at the middle class. The President's plans are still in the talking stage. Here's ABC's Brit Hume at the White House.

BRIT HUME: [BUSH] At the White House today, the President was talking about doing something for the economy.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'm talking about jobs and I'm talking about inflation and consumer prices.

BRIT HUME: He was talking though about long-term reforms to curb lawsuits which he thinks are helping choke the economy, he was not talking about taxes or the current recession. [FITZWATER] As spokesman Fitzwater acknowledged today, Mr. Bush and his team haven't decided what if anything to do about those matters. [DARMAN] Fitzwater, budget chief Darman and other top Bush advisers have been talking for days about a bill to stimulate the economy, but so far they can't agree on what should be in it or whether it's even worth trying. [BUSH-QUAYLE] Mr. Bush would still love to get his cherished capital gains tax cut passed, but with a month to go in the congressional session there's doubt it would ever come to a vote and certainty Democrats would blast Mr. Bush for pushing it. [HOUSE FLOOR] On Capitol Hill today, there was evidence that view is correct.

CONGRESSMAN RICHARD GEPHARDT: What concerns me today is not the promises he's broken, it's the one he's trying to keep: his capital gains tax cut for the rich.

BRIT HUME: [QUAYLE] As Vice President Quayle suggested by satellite to a group of truckers today, the Administration may just wait and hope and cheer for the economy to improve.

VICE PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE: We know the economy has gone through some difficult times, but we also know that next week we feel the statistics will show that the recession has concluded. So let's get on with buying more automobiles, purchasing more homes, more development, more loans, more economic activity and more jobs.

BRIT HUME: [SU] Quayle denied the President's been neglecting the domestic agenda, but if Mr. Bush does decide to back an antirecession bill he may not announce it next week because he's leaving for Madrid and the start of the Mideast peace talks and that's the first of three foreign trips in a 30 day period. Brit Hume, ABC News, the White House.

PETER JENNINGS: On Wall Street today, the Dow Jones industrials gained just over a point to close at 3,040 and the trading was heavy. When we come back, the new debate on civil rights: the focus on sex as well as race; on the American Agenda tonight, how Oregon tries to provide health care for all its citizens and finally, Native Americans who are fed up with the tomahawk chop.

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[Commercial break]

PETER JENNINGS: We're going to go back to Washington again. It's become apparent this evening that there is little hope for any new civil rights bill this year, a bill designed to make it easier for minorities and women to prove discrimination in the workplace and collect damages for it is in trouble. President Bush had already vetoed one bill and threatened to veto another passed by the House on the grounds that they would require racial quotas. Republicans in the Senate have been meeting with the White House for several days, they've been trying to work out a compromise the way...Hill and the White House could both live with, but they have failed. ABC's Cokie Roberts joins us tonight from Capitol Hill. Cokie, what's gone wrong?

COKIE ROBERTS: [SPLIT SCREEN] Well the White House would say that they've compromised enough on all kinds of technical matters in the bill, but the people here on the Hill, including the Republicans who have been trying to get some sort of compromise, say that the White House simply doesn't want a bill, that the political operatives in the White House are much more eager to have the issue of quotas to take into the election campaign rather than to have a civil rights bill.

PETER JENNINGS: So in a phrase, politics not substance?

COKIE ROBERTS: [LAUGHTER] Well, that's hardly anything new.

PETER JENNINGS: Okay, what about the effect though of the Thomas hearings and the so-called Anita Hill effect?

COKIE ROBERTS: Well there were people who hoped that that had been so unpleasant here that you could get a civil rights bill quickly to sort of smooth everything over, but that doesn't seem to be happening. Instead what is happening is much more emphasis on the fact that this bill is for women as well as for minorities and that it has provisions for sexual harassment in it. And there's a hope that by emphasizing sex that even without the White House approval that the Senate can get 67 votes to override a presidential veto, but that's going to be very tough Peter.

PETER JENNINGS: Okay Cokie, thanks very much. Cokie Roberts on Capitol Hill. To take that a little further, because one of the casualties for the civil rights bill may be an effort to help those women who are the victims of sexual harassment as Cokie says, the Senate was considering a provision in the bill which would for the first time have allowed those women to collect monetary damages for their humiliation. And as ABC's Kathleen Delaski reports tonight, a lot of women believe it is something which is very much overdue.

PAT SWANSON: He would come in, oh several times a week and try to unhook my bra.

KATHLEEN DELASKI: Pat Swanson took her boss to court for sexual harassment.

PAT SWANSON: He would run up behind me in the hallway and try to grab me or reach under my skirt.

KATHLEEN DELASKI: [DEALERSHIP EXT] But looking back, she says the lawsuit wasn't worth it. She won her case at the car dealership where she used to work, but was awarded only one dollar in damages. And when her boss appealed the case,

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the higher court took away even that dollar saying that federal law allows for no damages for sex discrimination.

AMY WIND: Even if you win a discrimination case, any kind of discrimination case rarely does the person who perpetrated the acts suffer. They just go along their merry way.

KATHLEEN DELASKI: [PAT AT WORK] Since many states do not offer protection against harassment, most cases are filed in federal court where a victim can only win back pay and reinstatement.

PAT SWANSON: Well I feel the court system let me down, I feel the law let me down.

KATHLEEN DELASKI: [GRAPHICS] Many in Congress agree that the system needs to be changed. The civil rights act would give victims of sexual harassment the right to sue employers for damages and the right to jury trials. Many lawyers say juries would be more likely to award higher damages to victims than judges would. [HILL AT HEARING] The bill supporters say the attention the Thomas hearings brought to the issue of sexual harassment will work to their advantage.

PAT IRELAND / NOW VP: We're going to hold the senators' feet to the fire by playing back to them the tapes of their own comments about how seriously they take sexual harassment.

KATHLEEN DELASKI: [LS JUDICIARY COMMITTEE] But many senators who express concern about the issue...

SENATOR ALAN SIMPSON: [THOMAS HEARING] I believe sexual harassment is a terrible thing...

KATHLEEN DELASKI: ...are expected to vote against the bill. [SU] And now with the compromise effort between Congress and the White House collapsing, it appears that despite all the talk the laws on sexual harassment will not be changed. Kathleen Delaski, ABC News, Capitol Hill.

PETER JENNINGS: Still in Washington, Clarence Thomas formally became a Court justice today, Court justice on the Supreme Court that is, a rather unusual private ceremony in the Chief Justice's conference room. It was supposed to take place in public next week, but a spokesman says Justice Thomas asked to be sworn in early so that he can get a head start on the heavy work load facing the Court. Back in just a moment.

[Commercial break]

PETER JENNINGS: Two very significant developments for Southeast Asia tonight which will remind Americans of the long US involvement there. A peace treaty designed to end the civil war in Cambodia was signed today in Paris. And partly because the United States thinks that Cambodia's neighbor Vietnam has contributed to that agreement, Washington says the US will finally talk to Vietnam about normalizing relations. We begin with the Vietnam connection. Here's ABC's John McWethy.

JOHN MCWETHY: [LS MEETING] In Paris today, Secretary Baker announced the first steps toward normalizing relations: lifting travel restrictions on

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Vietnamese diplomats at the UN and dropping a ban on US organized tours to Vietnam. [BAKER] Further progress he says will depend on the Vietnamese.

SECRETARY JAMES BAKER: [AT MEETING] The pace and the scope of the normalization process will be directly influenced by the degree of cooperation on the POW-MIA and other humanitarian issues.

JOHN MCWETHY: [STREET SCENES] After decades of punishing Vietnam, the US is now finding enough cooperation from Hanoi on Cambodia and the POW-MIA issue that Washington is getting ready to ease up. That could lead to the end of a US trade embargo that has crippled Vietnam with the US blocking Hanoi's efforts to get international bank loans to rebuild the country. A factor influencing the US is the growing irritation among America's allies in the region at how slowly the Bush Administration has moved, another is pressure from American business.

FREDERICK BROWN: Our airline industry, communications, information and certainly the oil sector can do business in Vietnam and over the next few years should be able to make a profit.

JOHN MCWETHY: [SU] But perhaps most important, there now seems to be a willingness by the Bush Administration to bury the bitter memories of a war that caused so much suffering by both sides. John McWethy, ABC News, the State Department.

PETER JENNINGS: Well as we mentioned, the Cambodian peace treaty was signed today in Paris. [SIGNING CEREMONY] The plan is for the United Nations to help run Cambodia until free elections can be held. [SIHANOUK] That's Prince Sihanouk. After 12 years of civil war there are understandably a number of fears: will the Khmer Rouge, who killed more than a million Cambodians when they ran the country, play by the rules now? There is more than a hint of concern among thousands and thousands of Cambodians who spent much of the last 15 years huddled in refugee camps along Cambodia's border with Thailand. ABC's Mark Litke is there.

MARK LITKE: [REFUGEES] For 350,000 Cambodian refugees, the peace treaty brings both joy and anxiety.

DENNIS MCNAMARA / UN: People obviously want to go back, they want to return home like everybody does, but they're very apprehensive about the security. The country they're going to back to is devastated. The countryside in western Cambodia is on its knees.

MARK LITKE: [CAMP SCENES] UN officials say it will take months to organize the repatriation, the most complex they've ever undertaken. [INTERVIEW] Every refugee family must be interviewed, allowed to choose which part of Cambodia they'll return to. [KIDS] There's an entire generation here that has known only life in the camps. [MAIMED MAN] They have to be taught how to raise crops and special efforts are being made to teach children how to avoid land mines. [CU MINEFIELD CHARTS] More than 35,000 Cambodians have been maimed by mines in the last decade. [SOLDIERS/TANK] Then there are the four heavily armed Cambodian armies operating in different areas. The UN has yet to come up with the money or a peacekeeping force and the refugees fear that without adequate security the brutal Khmer Rouge will reassert their power. [SU] Just two weeks ago it appeared the Khmer Rouge were preparing to forcibly repatriate refugees from one of the camps into an area of Cambodia under their control. An immediate

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international outcry halted the attempt but the camp, called site eight, is still controlled by Khmer Rouge soldiers who want refugees to follow them home. [SOLDIERS] The more people they control, the more clout they may have in reshaping the country.

SUSAN WALKER / RELIEF WORKER: There have been Khmer Rouge military, some of them armed in the camp, coming in the camp at night and intimidating people and telling them they need to get ready to go back and go back soon.

MARK LITKE: [PEOPLE COOKING] The refugees not only fear the Khmer Rouge's policies, they worry because the areas they control are the poorest in the country with little food, water and medicine. Just across the border from Thailand, ABC News found this Khmer Rouge village. [SOLDIERS] The soldiers passing through were clearly well cared for, the civilians were not, including these women who had just walked through the countryside for four days looking for food. [WOMEN] Clearly the road back home for Cambodian refugees is going to be long and dangerous. [CU BARE FEET ON MUDDY ROAD] Mark Litke, ABC News, on the Thai-Cambodian border.

PETER JENNINGS: One last note from overseas, in Israel Prime Minister Shamir has now decided that he will lead the Israeli delegation to the peace talks in Madrid next week and he is bringing along a number of Israel's most prominent opponents of giving up Arab land for Arab peace. In a moment, the American Agenda.

[Commercial break]

PETER JENNINGS: On the American Agenda tonight, a radical new experiment in providing health care. Last night we reported on the Agenda that the state of Florida, because it is short of money, is removing thousands of poor people from the Medicaid rolls. In other words, taking medical care away from those who could least afford it. Tonight, the case of Oregon: same budget troubles as Florida, but a completely different approach. Our Agenda reporter is Tim Johnson.

DR. TIMOTHY JOHNSON: [DEBBIE ENTERING CLINIC] Debbie Holton has fallen through the cracks in our health care system for the poor. She is not covered by Medicaid.

DEBBIE HOLTON: [TO DOCTOR] Once it gets to about there, it hurts a lot.

DOCTOR: [EXAMINATION] I'm going to try to bring it up further.

DR. TIMOTHY JOHNSON: Holton has reinjured a shoulder that was operated on five years ago, she needs to see an orthopedic surgeon.

DEBBIE HOLTON: [TO DOCTOR] I called to make an appointment and it was 100 dollars up front just to go and I didn't have insurance, so I just came back here.

DR. TIMOTHY JOHNSON: She is now being treated at a clinic that will accept patients without insurance. [INJECTION] They can only give her a shot for pain, but if Oregon's radical plan to revolutionize its Medicaid system goes into effect Holton will have health insurance which will allow her to see a specialist.

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JEAN THORNE: What we will be able to bring to the poor in this state is an assurance that they won't get cut out of the system, they'll have an assurance that they will have a right to basic health care and they don't have that now.

DR. TIMOTHY JOHNSON: [EXAMINATION] In Oregon, 120,000 poor people have no health insurance. [WAITING ROOM SCENE] Like the poor in every state they are cut out of the Medicaid system by categories that exclude single women without children, all men and children over the age of eight. Under Oregon's controversial new plan, all of the poor will get basic health care, but to pay for it the state will eliminate their access to some treatments. Here's how it works. [HEARING] After 18 months of public hearings, Oregon drew up a list of 709 medical conditions and treatments and ranked them in the order of their medical and social importance. [LIST GRAPHICS] Preventive care and treatable life-threatening conditions are given high priority, minor conditions and incurable diseases are given lower priority. [AIDS PATIENT] For example: full treatment of early AIDS infections is high on the list, but intensive care that won't save lives is not; prenatal and obstetrics care gets high priority, but many infertility treatments do not. [PRENATAL WARD] With these priorities set, the state then figured out how much money it can spend on health care for the poor each year, which meant drawing the line for the first year at option 587. [CU LIST] The net result is that everyone who meets federal poverty guidelines is eligible for any treatment up to that number, meaning that treatment for heartburn at 587 would be covered, but this disease where surgery is not essential at 588 would not be covered. [SU] So if this state has developed a plan which they say will provide basic health care to over 100,000 of its citizens who now get nothing, who could be against that? Some worry about the treatments that would not be covered if the state's Medicaid budget should face more cuts. [SURGERY] For example, a ten percent budget cut would move the line of coverage from 587 to 475, eliminating such treatments as medication for the most common arthritis in adults and treatment for hearing loss in young children. And there is a persistent uneasiness about focusing on the poor and not forcing hard choices on other health care consumers. [DOCTOR WITH BABY]

CONGRESSMAN HENRY WAXMAN: They're singling out the lowest income women and children because if they get scrunched down and without care, I think they realize that they're not a powerful enough group to scream loudly and get any attention.

JEAN THORNE: We keep turning around and saying, what's your alternative? You can criticize Oregon all you want, but what's your alternative? And we keep getting hit with well, we don't have one, but if we let you do this we won't come up with one.

DR. TIMOTHY JOHNSON: [HOSPITAL INT] In the absence of a national solution to growing Medicaid costs, many states are responding to tight budgets by cutting people off Medicaid rolls entirely. In Oregon, the experiment is clearly focused on trying to provide at least some health care for everyone, especially those who now have nothing. [DEBBIE] Dr. Timothy, Johnson, ABC News, Portland.

PETER JENNINGS: The Oregon plan still needs to be approved by the federal government which has not yet made a decision. Our final report in a moment.

[Commercial break]

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PETER JENNINGS: Finally here this evening, the Braves. Some Native American groups have been upset this year as they watch the World Series and see what they regard as racial stereotypes, it has been the case before. Stanford University and Dartmouth College for a couple, used to have teams nicknamed the Indians. Not any more. Native Americans say it is now time for the pros, not only the Braves, but the Washington Redskins, the Kansas City Chiefs and the Cleveland Indians to do the same. But for obvious reason this week the focus is on Atlanta. Here's ABC's Dick Schaap.

DICK SCHAAP: [AMERICAN INDIANS PROTESTING] They march to different drummers, the small band of Native Americans who demonstrated their anger outside the stadium last night and the thousands of Braves fans who demonstrated their delight, who put on war paint and headdresses and swung tomahawks to celebrate the first World Series game ever played in Atlanta. [FANS] .

CLYDE BELLECOURT: So I challenge you to get rid of those tomahawks, to get rid of that silly looking paint on your face, to get rid of those chicken feathers.

MAN: Nobody is making fun of you.

DICK SCHAAP: [FANS DRESSED AS INDIANS] The Indians say they are being made fun of, are being stereotyped, portrayed as savages. They say it is demeaning and racist to use a race of people as mascots. They've already had an impact. [FONDA CHOPPING] A week ago Ted Turner who owns the team and his fiance Jane Fonda, who used to champion Indian causes, were doing the tomahawk chop, a ritual during Braves games. [TED-JANE AT GAME] But in response to the protest, Ted and Jane have stopped chopping.

JIMMY CARTER: I'll be doing the tomahawk chop. You watch Wednesday night I'll be doing the tomahawk chop.

DICK SCHAAP: Former President Jimmy Carter says the chop is a compliment to Indians.

JIMMY CARTER: This is a you know, brave, courageous, successful team and I think we can look upon our American Indians as brave, successful and attractive.

ANDREW YOUNG: I see it as a respect for Native American culture. It's sort of like the fighting Irish, I mean it never hurt Notre Dame.

AARON TWO ELK: But you don't see people dressing up as priests and nuns and every time they score a football...a touchdown or a home run out there sprinkling holy water on the drunks.

DICK SCHAAP: Not all Native Americans are offended.

MAN: Here in Cherokee, we're all rooting for the Braves.

DICK SCHAAP: [FACTORY SCENE] The Indians of Cherokee, North Carolina have a vested interest, they make tomahawks. They're selling well in Atlanta to the dismay of protesters.

MAN: There's always what we call "hang around the fort Indians".

DICK SCHAAP: Clearly most of the Braves fans are not trying to offend, they're

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trying to have fun. [CU LITTLE GIRL WITH WAR PAINT]

MAN: But it's not funny to us.

DICK SCHAAP: [CU PROTEST SIGNS] Just as clearly, some people are offended and they feel they found a perfect time to spark a dialogue. Dick Schaap, ABC News, Atlanta.

PETER JENNINGS: And that's our report on World News Tonight. I'm Peter Jennings, good night.

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