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Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13789
Folder ID Number: 13789-013

Folder Title:
Korean Assembly 1/5/92 [OA 7565] [2]

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December 23, 1991

Draft

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST
TONY SNOW

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS FOR THE ADDRESS TO THE KOREAN
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, January 6, 1992 at 1:30 p.m. you will deliver remarks to the Korean National Assembly in Seoul, Republic of Korea.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 14 minutes / teleprompter) focus on America and Korea's growing economic and political partnership, and call for the restoration of one Korea.

Your remarks challenge North Korea to join South Korea in creating a nuclear-free peninsula and renew America's pledge to keep the Republic of Korea secure.

Your remarks caution against entry into a new age of isolationism, and challenge the government of the Republic to open markets and ~~meet the test of~~ the Uruguay Round.

Work for free + fair trade in

Company Interview list
Jing
When C
great wall charm

[voter turnout very bad
didn't bother voting
\$7 meat smoothie]

-Jing -> politics

Johnston son.

(? MIT KOREAN WAR ?)
12/19

Reconciled

McGroarty/Bunton
December 20, 1991
3:00 pm
[KOREA.NA]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ADDRESS TO THE KOREAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
SEOUL, REPUBLIC OF KOREA
JANUARY 6, 1992
1:30 P.M.

Mr. Speaker, distinguished members of the National Assembly:
it is my great honor to return once more to this house -- the
symbolic center of Korean democracy. I came to this chamber just
one month after taking office, and Barbara and I still recall the
warm welcome we received from the people of Korea. //

That was nearly three years ago. In the short time since
then, we've seen our world transformed. The epic struggle
between the forces of freedom and the communist world came to a
peaceful end. Gone is the Berlin Wall / the Warsaw Pact / not
simply the Soviet empire -- but even the Soviet Union itself.
Everywhere, we see the new birth of democratic nations -- a new
world of freedom, bright with the promise of peace and
prosperity. //

Korea, too, has taken part in this change: At home -- as
your country develops its own democratic tradition. In the world
-- as Korea at long last assumes its rightful place as a full
member of the United Nations. / Mr. Speaker, as President of a
nation that fought under the UN flag to keep Korea free -- we
share your pride. //

Yes, change transforms our world -- and yet, the Cold War continues to cast its shadow over Korea. / Just 25 miles north of this capital city stands the DMZ: the ribbon of land that separates two countries -- two people yearning to live in peace. Who can calculate the human cost: 10 million Koreans separated now from family members for four decades. //

For forty years, the people of Korea have prayed for an end to this unnatural division. For forty years, you have kept alive the dream of one Korea. The winds of change are with us now. My friends, the day will come when this last remnant of the Cold War will fall. / Korea will be whole again. //

Recently, North and South have sought to ease tensions, to explore opportunities for peace. We regard the recent Non-Aggression Pact as a positive step. But we share with South Korea and its neighbors in the region a continuing concern about the aims of the regime that holds power in Pyongyang. //

North Korea's pursuit of nuclear arms stands as the single greatest source of danger to peace throughout the Pacific. The North cannot claim its actions respond to any outside threat or provocation. / The Republic of Korea has done all it can to discourage the North's pursuit of these deadly weapons. South Korea has rejected all weapons of mass destruction -- and has given its solemn pledge to remain nuclear-free. With full U.S. support, South Korea has offered to allow inspection of its military installations. //

The North has met these demonstrations of peaceful intent with inaction. Six years ago, North Korea signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Yet not once since then has the government of North Korea opened its facilities to international inspection.

Paper promises won't keep the peace. North Korea must honor its international obligations. North Korea must demonstrate to you and to the world its commitment to peace. //

I call on North Korea to join the South in creating a nuclear-free peninsula. North Korea's development of plutonium reprocessing and uranium enrichment capabilities serves no peaceful purpose. There is one purpose, and one purpose alone for these activities: to build nuclear weapons. These activities must stop. //

The U.S. will maintain its military presence on this peninsula so long as there is a clear and present danger to peace. As you know, we've postponed our plan to reduce the number of American troops stationed here in Korea. // Let there be no doubt: The people of this Republic should know that the United States' commitment to Korea's security remains steady and strong.

I renew that pledge as an ally -- as President of a nation that shares your devotion to democracy and self-determination. / Down through the decades -- from Korea to Kuwait -- from the American soldiers who gave their lives at Inchon and Pork Chop Hill -- to the Korean forces who stood with us in Desert Storm, our two nations have upheld the international ideal: that

between nations and not just within them, common interests call for common action. //

Today, in many quarters, that ideal is under siege. There are those who see the many changes in our world and say: our work is done. They urge us to declare victory -- celebrate the collapse of our common enemy -- and "come home." / They fail to recognize a fundamental fact: The Cold War era changed our world forever. We did far more than hold a common enemy at bay. Together, we built a new world: a system of collective security to keep the peace -- a system of free trade that fueled a generation of prosperity the likes of which the world had never seen. //

The passing of the Cold War must not mark the beginning of new age of isolationism. The nations of the free world share more than a common fate -- they share a common destiny. There is no going back -- // only forward.

The developments of the past forty years -- the great growth of democracy, the geometric increase in global trade -- created a system of common interests. To turn our backs now -- to walk away after this great victory for freedom, or to retreat behind high trade walls into regional blocs -- would turn triumph to tragedy. //

America is a Pacific nation. We will remain engaged in Asia, as we are in other corners of the world. // But just as the world itself stands on the threshold of a new era -- so too we now enter a new era in U.S.-Korean relations. What began in

the heat of war as a military alliance has grown into a broader relationship -- a partnership anchored in shared economic interest and common political ideals. ←

The world recognizes Korea as an economic powerhouse. We must now acknowledge the equally important strides you have made in strengthening the institutions of democracy. Even in the three years since my last visit, the change is clear for all to see. With the encouragement of President Roh, this National Assembly now plays a greater role in Korean politics. In 1992 alone, South Korea will hold three elections {at the local and national levels.} Across the country, democracy gives voice to new ideas and opinions -- since 1990 alone, ten new daily newspapers, and nearly a thousand other new publications. // Never before has the will of the people given greater shape to the policies of government. Never before has the Korean government enjoyed greater legitimacy in the eyes of the people. □

Free speech, free elections, private property: these are the cornerstones of the new world order -- fundamental freedoms that secure peace and prosperity. //

Consider your own history -- the case study in contrasts between North and South. More than four decades ago, the South -- with less land, fewer resources and more people -- set its course for free enterprise and free government. / North Korea travelled a different path. Blessed with rich resources and a stronger industrial base, the regime that ruled the North saddled its people with the communist system. Its economy stalled, its

society suffocated under one of the most repressive regimes on earth. // Today, the South is peaceful, free and prosperous -- with an average annual income four times higher than the North, and a double-digit growth rate that has propelled it into the front rank of the world's economies.

Now you must build on your success. You must sustain the conditions that fueled your phenomenal growth. / Korea did not create its wealth by closing itself off from the outside world. Today, Korea stands as America's seventh largest trade partner. America is not only Korea's largest market -- but a leading source of the technology and capital that helps fuel your economic growth.

This nation owes much of its economic miracle to open markets abroad. Korea must see clearly that prosperity in the new century ahead lies in open markets.

Pressures for protectionism are building. We see it in my country, with the new breed of economic isolationists who urge us to treat our allies as enemies. We see it here in Korea, in a short-sighted "anti-import campaign" that seeks to cloak protectionism as patriotic duty. / But wherever this impulse shows itself, we must fight back -- for trade that is free, fair and open.

We must heed the lessons of history. For the first half of this century, great nations sought refuge in isolationism and its economic accomplice, protectionism -- and the world endured the ravages of war and Depression. / Since the Second World War,

free nations, large and small, pursued a common course, forging alliances and fostering trade -- and the world has enjoyed an era of unprecedented peace and prosperity. //

The history of this century is not lost on Korea. As a founding member of APEC -- the forum for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation -- you have worked with other nations in the region to bring down barriers to trade. But the key test comes in the Uruguay Round. As an emerging economic leader, Korea can help fight the forces of reaction -- tip the balance in favor of free and fair trade policies that remain the world's one path to prosperity. ///

Our two nations share a history. The bonds forged in Cold War -- at the brink of Korea's mortal danger -- have grown stronger through the years. Forty years ago, the free world made your struggle their own. Our forces fought here for a future free from tyranny. / You did far more than survive. In the shadow of the Cold War, you showed what man can achieve -- so long as he is free.

For four long decades, Korea stood at the frontier of freedom -- vigilant / determined / never wavering in its commitment to the great cause of liberty. / Today, as we enter a new world -- the world we fought for forty years ago -- Korea stands with us: a steadfast partner, / proud, prosperous and free. //

Thank you for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the Korean people.

McGroarty/Bunton
December 19, 1991
11:30 am
[KOREA.NA]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ADDRESS TO THE KOREAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
SEOUL, REPUBLIC OF KOREA
JANUARY 6, 1992
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Everywhere, we see the new birth of democratic nations -- a new
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Korea, too, has taken part in this change: At home -- as
your country develops its own democratic tradition. In the world
-- as Korea at long last assumes its rightful place as a full
member of the United Nations. / Mr. Speaker, as President of a
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For forty years, the people of Korea have prayed for an end to this unnatural division. For forty years, you have kept alive the dream of one Korea. The winds of change are with us now. My friends, the day will come when this last remnant of the Cold War will fall. / Korea will be whole again. //

Recently, North and South have sought to ease tensions, to explore opportunities for peace. We regard the recent Non-Aggression Pact as a positive step. But we share with South Korea and its neighbors in the region a continuing concern about the hostile aims of the regime that holds power in Pyongyang. //

North Korea's pursuit of nuclear arms stands as the single greatest source of danger to peace throughout the Pacific. The North cannot claim its actions respond to any outside threat or provocation. / The Republic of Korea has done all it can to discourage the North's pursuit of these deadly weapons. South Korea has rejected all weapons of mass destruction -- and has given its solemn pledge to remain nuclear-free. With full U.S. support, South Korea has offered to open its military installations to inspection. //

The North has met these demonstrations of peaceful intent with silence. Six years ago, North Korea signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Yet not once since then has the government of North Korea opened its facilities to international inspection.

Paper promises won't keep the peace. North Korea must honor its international obligations. North Korea must demonstrate to you and to the world its commitment to peace. //

In light of the clear and present danger to peace on this peninsula, the U.S. will maintain its military presence as long as you want us here. As you know, we've postponed indefinitely our plan to reduce the number of American troops stationed here in Korea. // Let there be no doubt: The people of this Republic should know that the United States' commitment to Korea's security remains steady and strong.

I renew that pledge as an ally -- as President of a nation that shares your devotion to democracy and self-determination. / Down through the decades -- from Korea to Kuwait -- from the American soldiers who gave their lives at Inchon and Pork Chop Hill -- to the Korean forces who stood with us in Desert Storm, our two nations have upheld the international ideal: that between nations and not just within them, common interests call for common action. //

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recognize a fundamental fact: The Cold War era changed our world forever. We did far more than hold a common enemy at bay. Together, we built a new world: a system of collective security to keep the peace -- a system of free trade that fueled a generation of prosperity the likes of which the world had never seen. //

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The world recognizes Korea as an economic powerhouse. We must now acknowledge the equally important strides you have made in strengthening the institutions of democracy. Even in the

three years since my last visit, the change is clear for all to see. With the encouragement of President Roh, this National Assembly now plays a greater role in Korean politics. In 1992 alone, South Korea will hold three elections {at the local and national levels.} Across the country, democracy gives voice to new ideas and opinions -- since 1990 alone, ten new daily newspapers, and nearly a thousand other new publications. // Never before has the will of the people given greater shape to the policies of government. Never before has the Korean government enjoyed greater legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

Nothing could signal Korea's growing commitment to free government more clearly than for it to abolish the National Security Law. // For decades, the propagandists of the North have twisted this law to their own uses, to question your claims to democracy. Removing this restraint on free speech will show that in Korea, as in all free nations, democracy faces no threat from dissent. //

Free speech, free elections, private property: these are the cornerstones of the new world order -- fundamental freedoms that secure peace and prosperity. //

Consider your own history -- the case study in contrasts between North and South. More than four decades ago, the South -- with less land, fewer resources and more people -- set its course for free markets and free government. / North Korea travelled a different path. Blessed with rich resources and a stronger industrial base, the regime that ruled the North saddled

its people with the communist system. Its economy stalled, its society suffocated under one of the most repressive regimes on earth. // Today, the South is peaceful, free and prosperous -- with an average annual income four times higher than the North, and a double-digit growth rate that has propelled it into the front rank of the world's economies.

Now you must build on your success. You must sustain the conditions that fueled your phenomenal growth. / Korea did not create its wealth by closing itself off from the outside world. Today, Korea stands as America's seventh largest trade partner. America is not only Korea's largest market -- but a leading source of the technology and capital that helps fuel your economic growth.

This nation owes much of its economic miracle to open markets abroad. Korea must see clearly that prosperity in the new century ahead lies in open markets.

Pressures for protectionism are building. We see it in my country, with the new breed of economic isolationists who urge us to treat our allies as enemies. We see it here in Korea, in a short-sighted "anti-import campaign" that seeks to cloak protectionism as patriotic duty. / But wherever this impulse shows itself, we must fight back -- for trade that is free, fair and open.

We must heed the lessons of history. For the first half of this century, great nations sought refuge in isolationism and its economic accomplice, protectionism -- and the world endured the

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For four long decades, Korea stood at the frontier of freedom -- vigilant / determined / never wavering in its commitment to the great cause of liberty. / Today, as we enter a new world -- the world we fought for forty years ago -- Korea stands with us: a steadfast partner, / proud, prosperous and free. //

Thank you for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the Korean people.

Advertising Expenditure by Medium—South Korea (U.S.\$ millions)

	(US\$ millions)	(Won millions)	
	1990	1990	1989
Television	832.2	598,191	525,991
Radio	132.6	95,318	62,682
Newspapers	1,186.2	852,663	613,792
Magazines	162.6	116,879	82,860
Other	469.0	337,082	279,590
Total	2,782.6	2,000,133	1,564,915

Source: Cheil Communications.

Seoul area. This was met with some skepticism. "People asked: Gallup doing TV ratings? It was totally unrelated, rather like Unilever producing tanks or GM producing shampoo," says Shin In-sup. The start-up of the service was a departure from the usual practice in which a committee of broadcasters and advertisers invited a firm to do the research. In the Korean case, there was no prior consultation with the industry.

Gallup's move was seen as a pre-emptive strike against rivals AC Nielsen, which has a branch doing retail index work, and Audit of Great Britain, which has a 30 percent share of Hankook Research. At present neither Kobaco nor the TV networks are buying the daily ratings report. With a three-month wait to buy TV time, few experts last year were predicting a rush to subscribe.

The number of advertising agencies recognized by Kobaco surged from 36 to 64 over the year, due largely to a relaxation in Kobaco regulations. The corporation stipulated that it would recognize agencies with paid-in capital of 50 million won (US\$70,000) and at least three clients. The Korea Publishers' Association, a private group which is more selective in according recognition, added seven new firms to its list of recognized agencies, bringing the total to 32. Industry sources expect

(#3 by 91)

Top 10 Advertisers by Brand—South Korea (U.S.\$ millions)

	(US\$ millions)	(Won millions)	
	1990	1990	1989*
1. Samsung Electronics	44.4	31,899	26,200
2. Goldstar (electronics)	35.0	25,144	19,100
3. Lucky (detergent, cosmetics)	33.3	23,911	23,900
4. Pacific Chemical (cosmetics)	31.8	22,839	22,800
5. Dongsuh Foods	23.6	16,938	11,900
6. Lotte Confectionary	20.5	14,744	11,700
7. Lotte Chilsung (soft drinks)	18.4	13,211	10,700
8. Daewoong Pharmaceutical	17.7	12,738	10,400
9. Daewoong Electronics	16.7	11,983	10,200
10. Chiel Sugar	16.4	11,812	NR

* Four media only

Source: Cheil Communications.

several of the small Kobaco-recognized firms to fold this year.

Thirty-four small and medium-sized agencies formed the Association of Independent Advertising Agencies in 1990, setting themselves apart from the more powerful Korea Association of Advertising Agencies, formed in 1986 by the leading firms, all of which are affiliated with conglomerates.

The explosion of new print media, which followed democratization in 1987, continued through 1990 with 10 new dailies bringing the total to 80. Among them was the *Korea Daily*, the country's third English-language morning newspaper. As of the end of November, the number of weeklies had risen by 194 to 1,013, monthlies by 299 to 2,436 and other publications by 227 to 1,601.

KOREA'S
NEWSPAPERS

THE PACIFIC RIM ALMANAC



Edited and Written by
ALEXANDER BESHER

Associate Editor, John Wilcock

 HarperPerennial
A Division of HarperCollinsPublishers

McGroarty/Bunton
December 18, 1991
5:00 pm
[KOREA.NA]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ADDRESS TO THE KOREAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
SEOUL, REPUBLIC OF KOREA
JANUARY 6, 1992

← TIME?? 6:30p. ✓

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it is my great honor to return once more to this house -- the
symbolic center of Korean democracy. I came to this chamber just
one month after taking office, and Barbara and I still recall the
warm welcome we received from the people of Korea. //

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then, we've seen our world transformed. The conflict we called
the Cold War -- the epic struggle between the forces of freedom
and the communist world -- came to a peaceful end. Gone is the
Berlin Wall / the Warsaw Pact / not simply the Soviet empire --
but even the Soviet Union itself. Everywhere, we see the new
birth of democratic nations -- a new world of freedom, bright
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Change has come to this Republic: At home -- as Korea
develops its own democratic tradition. In the world -- as Korea
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fought under the UN flag to keep Korea free -- we share your
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1988
pop. of
N. KOREA
21M

For forty years, the people of Korea have prayed that this unnatural division would end. The winds of change are with us now: Korea will be made whole again. //

Recently, North and South have sought to ease tensions, to explore opportunities for peace. / We support peaceful dialogue between North and South. We regard the recent Non-Aggression Pact as a positive step -- proof that this dialogue can move forward. But we share with South Korea and its neighbors in the region a continuing concern about the hostile aims of the regime that holds power in Pyongyang. //


North Korea's pursuit of nuclear arms stands as the single greatest source of danger to peace in the Pacific. The Republic of Korea has ~~has~~ done all it can to discourage the North's pursuit of these deadly weapons. South Korea has rejected all weapons of mass destruction -- and has given its solemn pledge to remain nuclear-free. With full U.S. support, South Korea has offered to open its military installations to inspection. //

The North has met these demonstrations of peaceful intent with silence. Six years ago, North Korea signed the Non-

Proliferation Treaty. Yet not once since then have they opened their facilities to international inspection.

Peace must not depend on paper promises. The time has come for North Korea to honor its international obligations -- to demonstrate to this Republic and to the world its commitment to peace. //

In light of the ["]clear and present danger ^{from clamy!"} to peace on this peninsula, the U.S. will maintain its military presence. As you know, we've postponed indefinitely our plan to reduce the number of American troops stationed here in Korea. // Let there be no doubt: The people of this Republic should know that the United States' commitment to Korea's security remains steady and strong.

I renew that pledge as an ally -- as President of a nation that shares with this Republic a devotion to democracy and self-determination. / Down through the decades -- from Korea to Kuwait -- from the American soldiers ^{who} gave their lives at Inchon  and Pork Chop Hill -- to the Korean forces who stood with us in Desert Storm, our two nations have upheld the international ideal. //

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Yes, America will remain engaged in Asia, as we are in other corners of the world. // But just as the world itself stand^s on the threshold of a new era -- so too we now enter a new era in U.S.-Korean relations. What began in the heat of war as a military alliance has grown into a broader relationship -- a partnership anchored in shared economic interest and common political ideals.

The world recognizes Korea as an economic powerhouse. We must now recognize the equally important strides you have made in strengthening the institutions of democracy. Even in the three years since my last visit, the change is clear for all to see. With the encouragement of President Roh, this National Assembly now plays a greater role in Korean politics. In 1992 alone, South Korea will hold three elections [at the local and national

Quick notation on election's work by 6:30 AM 9/2 - insight of dem know's gov to polls xx times at Nat'l & local lvl. xx election's scheduled

levels.] Never before has the will of the people given greater shape to the policies of government. Never before has Korean government enjoyed greater legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

The challenge now is to draw on this commitment to democracy -- and the confidence that comes from it -- to re-examine the policies of the past. // Nothing could signal Korea's growing commitment to free government more clearly than for it to abolish the National Security Law. // For decades, the propagandists of the North have twisted this law to their own uses, to question your claims to democracy. Removing this restraint on free speech will show that in Korea, as in all free nations, democracy has nothing to fear from dissent. //

Korea's progress toward democracy proves that economic and political freedom are inseparable. //

The two Koreas provide a case study in contrasts -- a living experiment in the strengths and weaknesses of two systems. More than four decades ago, the South -- with less land, fewer resources and more people -- set its course for free markets and free government. / North Korea travelled a different path. Blessed with rich resources and a stronger industrial base, the regime that ruled the North saddled its people with the communist system. Its economy stagnated, its society suffocated under one of the most repressive regimes on earth. // Today, the South is peaceful, free and prosperous -- with an average annual income four times higher than the North, and a double-digit growth rate

Economy (us)

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This nation owes much of its economic miracle to open markets abroad. Korea must see clearly that prosperity in the new century ahead lies in open markets.

Pressures for protectionism are building. We see it in my country, with the new breed of economic isolationists who urge us to treat our allies as enemies. We see it here in Korea, in a short-sighted "anti-import campaign" that seeks to cloak protectionism as patriotic duty. / But wherever this impulse shows itself, we must fight back -- for trade that is free, fair and open.

Korea has taken up the cause. As a member of APEC -- the forum for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation -- you have worked with other nations in the region to bring down barriers to trade. But the key test comes in the Uruguay Round. As an emerging economic leader, Korea can help fight the forces of reaction -- tip the balance in favor of free and fair trade policies that remain the world's one path to prosperity. ///

Per Renato
Armadoro
S. Korea desk
@ Commerce
377-4959

7th
(US's 6th largest market) for exports

Our two nations share a history. The bonds forged in Cold War -- at the brink of Korea's mortal danger -- have grown stronger through the years. For four long decades, Korea stood at the frontier of freedom -- a friend and ally in the great cause of liberty. Today, as we enter a new world, Korea stands with us: a steadfast partner, / proud, prosperous and free. //

Thank you for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the Korean people.

#

TORWELL → non-aggression pact - are still
tech. @ war; or over!
which is correct?
being reported has ended

Newspaper stuff

↓
12/19/91
9:35 a.
Torwell
said "the signing
of the pact has not
technically ended
the war."
JP

SHORT TAKES

Cocaine Escapes 'Andean Strategy,' Auditors Testify

Despite pouring hundreds of millions of dollars in anti-drug aid into Colombia, Peru and Bolivia over the last two years, the Bush administration's "Andean strategy" has had almost no success in disrupting the flow of cocaine from Latin America, federal auditors testified yesterday.

Sherman M. Funk, the State Department inspector general, told the House Government Operations Committee that U.S.-funded anti-drug efforts in Bolivia have managed to intercept only about 1 percent of the cocaine produced there. A State Department spokeswoman, however, later challenged the figure, saying there was no accurate way to make such an estimate.

In addition, Assistant Comptroller General Frank C. Conahan released reports by the General Accounting Office concluding that U.S. efforts in Peru have been hindered by corruption and lack of coordination and that U.S. officials have failed to monitor military aid and equipment sent to Colombia.

Committee Chairman Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) said, "The reality is that the drug war abroad is not succeeding." But Melvyn Levitsky, assistant secretary of state for international narcotics matters, defended the strategy and said Congress was partly to blame for the plan's limited success.

Bush Itinerary Reviewed

White House officials are considering shaving a few days off President Bush's nearly two-week swing through Asia and the South Pacific later this month amid complaints in Japan that he wasn't going to spend enough time there and complaints at home that he spends too much time on foreign affairs, administration officials said yesterday.

The changes are aimed at soothing Japanese protests that Bush would be giving their nation short shrift by visiting for

only two days, the officials said. As a result, Bush's stops in South Korea, Singapore and Australia are being curtailed.

"The duration of the president's state visit to Japan has not been fully determined," White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater told reporters yesterday. "We are satisfied with the arrangements we have been able to work out. We expect to be able to meet most of the desires of both sides."

The president leaves Monday for Madrid where he will meet with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and speak at the opening session of the Middle East peace conference. The next week, Bush goes to Rome for a two-day NATO summit and to the Hague to meet with European Community officials.

Bush had wanted to spend Thanksgiving Day with U.S. troops in South Korea, but new plans now call for the president to leave the United States on that day. The trip will end in Hawaii on Dec. 7 with Bush addressing a ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the event that brought the United States into World War II.

Photocopy-Preservation

North Korea insists on non-aggression pact with South

By Edward Neilan
THE WASHINGTON TIMES 10/22/91

TOKYO — North Korea renewed its objections yesterday to a South Korea-proposed treaty for improved relations between the two states and urged that they adopt a non-aggression declaration first.

The North Korean position was stated in a commentary in the Rodong Shinmun, the newspaper of the ruling Workers [Communist]

Party, published on the eve of a meeting between the prime ministers of the two countries, the first after an eight-month break.

Radio Pyongyang, the official voice of North Korea, said in a broadcast monitored here that Rodong Shinmun denounced the basic treaty proposed by South Korea as a bid to perpetuate Korea's division into two states.

"The proposal originated from a criminal purpose of freezing and le-

galizing Korean division," the paper said. It said the two Korean states must first end their political and military confrontation with a non-aggression declaration.

South Korean Prime Minister Chung Won-shik will enter the North today and begin a new round of talks tomorrow with his counterpart, Yon Hyong-muk, in Pyongyang, the northern capital.

The two leaders began talks in Seoul, the South Korean capital, in

September 1990 seeking a rapprochement between the two Koreas, divided in 1945 at the end of World War II. A second round took place in Pyongyang last October 1990, and a third in Seoul in December.

The fourth session, scheduled for February, has been delayed for eight months. North Korea unilaterally postponed it to protest annual joint military exercises by U.S. and South Korean military forces.

An agreement was reached to resume the talks in August, but North Korea put it off again, citing a cholera outbreak in the South.

At the previous meetings, South Korea offered a comprehensive basic treaty in which the two states would recognize each other as legal entities and encourage cooperation and exchanges. North Korea has insisted instead on first announcing a nonaggression agreement.

This week's talks are expected to

center on the same issues, although South Korea will also propose open trade, travel and communications between the two states. The South will also urge North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program and accept international inspections of its nuclear facilities.

Since the last meeting, both states have been accepted as members of the United Nations. They joined the world body at the start of the current General Assembly in September.

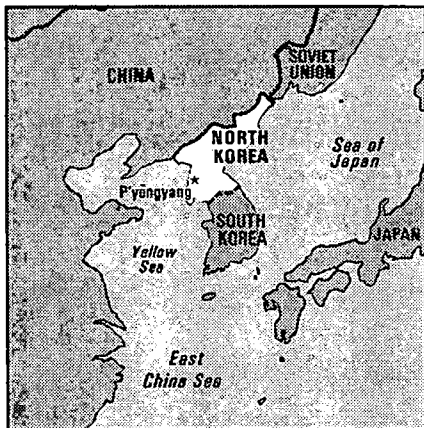
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[North] Korea



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

July 1989



Official Name:
Democratic People's Republic
of Korea

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 121,730 sq. km. (47,000 sq. mi.), about the size of Mississippi. **Cities:** *Capital*—Pyongyang. *Other cities*—Chongjin, Wonsan, Nampo, and Kaesong. **Terrain:** Numerous ranges of moderately high and partially forested mountains and hills separated by deep, narrow valleys, and small cultivated plains. **Climate:** Temperate.

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Korean(s). **Population** (1988 est.): 21 million. **Annual growth rate:** 2.3%. **Ethnic groups:** Korean; approx. 50,000 Chinese; some 1,800 Japanese

spouses of Korean returnees from Japan. **Religion:** Buddhism, Shamanism, Chongdogyo, Christian; religious activities have been virtually nonexistent since 1945. **Language:** Korean. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—11. *Attendance*—3 million (primary, 1.5 million, secondary, 1.2 million, tertiary, 0.3 million). *Literacy* (est.)—99%. **Health:** Medical treatment is free; 1 doctor for every 700 inhabitants; 1 hospital bed for every 350. *Infant mortality rate*—30/1,000. *Life expectancy*—65.5 yrs.

Government

Type: Communist state, one-leader rule. **Independence:** September 9, 1948. **Constitution:** 1972.

Branches: *Executive*—president (chief of state); premier (head of government). *Legislative*—Supreme People's Assembly. *Judicial*—Supreme Court, Provincial, city, county, and military courts (subordinate to Supreme People's Assembly).

Subdivisions: 9 provinces, 4 province-level municipalities—Pyongyang, Kaesong, Chongjin, Nampo.

Political parties: Korean Workers' (communist) Party. **Suffrage:** Universal at age 17.

Defense (1987 est.): Approx. 24% of GNP, with about 12% of men ages 17–49 in the regular armed forces.

Holidays: National Day, Independence Day, September 9; Kim Il Sung's birthday, April 15; other holidays.

Flag: Two blue horizontal stripes at the top and bottom; two white narrow stripes; and a wide center band on which appears a red star in a white circle.

Economy*

GNP (1986 est.): \$17–\$25 billion. **Per capita** (1986): \$860–\$1,200.

Agriculture (including forestry and fishing, 1982—25% of GNP): *Products*—rice, corn, potatoes, fruits, vegetables, tobacco.

Industry (including mining and manufacturing, 1982—70% of GNP): *Types*—steel, cement, textiles, petrochemicals, machines.

Trade (1986): *Exports*—\$1.5 billion: machinery and equipment, military hardware, iron, steel, metal ores, nonferrous metals, nonmetallic minerals, textile fibers, chemicals, foodstuffs. *Imports*—\$2.1 billion: machinery and equipment, petroleum, foodstuffs, coking coal. *Major partners*—U.S.S.R., P.R.C., Middle East, East European countries, Japan, F.R.G., France. (About 70% is with communist countries.)

Official exchange rate: 2 won = U.S.\$1.

Membership in International Organizations

UN (official observer status). UN-related agencies, including the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), International Postal Union (IPU), UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), International Telecommunications Union (ITU), UN Development Program (UNDP), UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Health Organization (WHO), World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), World Meteorological Organization (WMO), International Maritime Organization (IMO); International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Nonaligned Movement.

*In most cases, the figures used here are estimates based upon incomplete data and projections.

GEOGRAPHY

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K., North Korea) occupies the northern portion of a mountainous peninsula about 966 kilometers (600 mi.) long and 217 kilometers (135 mi.) wide, projecting southeast from China, between the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea. Japan lies about 193 kilometers (120 mi.) east of the peninsula, across the Sea of Japan. North Korea shares borders with the People's Republic of China along the Yalu and Tumen Rivers—and, with the Soviet Union—along the Tumen River. The military demarcation line (MDL), marking the line of separation between the belligerent sides at the close of the Korean war, forms the boundary with the Republic of Korea (R.O.K., South Korea). A demilitarized zone (DMZ) extends for 2,000 meters (just over 1 mile) on either side of the MDL. Both the North and South Korean Governments hold that the MDL is only a temporary administrative line, not a permanent border.

North Korea's terrain consists of numerous ranges of moderately high and partially forested mountains and hills separated by deep, narrow valleys and small cultivated plains. The most rugged areas are the north and east coasts. Good harbors are found on the eastern coast. Pyongyang, the capital, near the country's west coast, is located on the Taedong River.

The climate is temperate. July and August are normally the warmest months, with temperatures averaging 30 °C (85 °F) at Pyongyang. January is the coldest; temperatures often drop below -20 °C (-4 °F). Rainfall is concentrated in the summer months, usually occurring in June and July. Snowfall is generally light, but the ground is covered for long periods.

PEOPLE

Korea was first populated by a Tungusic branch of the Ural-Altaic family, which migrated to the peninsula from the northwestern regions of Asia. Some of these peoples also populated parts of northeast China (Manchuria), and Koreans and Manchurians still show physical similarities. Koreans are racially and linguistically homogeneous. Although there are no indigenous minorities, there is a small Chinese community (about 50,000) and an estimated 1,800 Japanese wives who accompanied the approximately 93,000 Korean returnees from Japan around 1959-62.

Beginning in the mid-1920s, the Japanese colonial administration concentrated its industrial development efforts in the comparatively underpopulated and resource-rich north, resulting in a considerable movement of people northward from the agrarian southern provinces. This trend reversed after the end of World War II, when more than 2 million Koreans moved from the north to the south following the division of the peninsula into Soviet and American military zones of administration. This southward exodus continued after the establishment of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in 1948 and during the Korean war (1950-53). Korea's population is now unevenly divided; with 42 million people in the geographically smaller south (38,000 sq. mi.) and 21 million in the north (47,000 sq. mi.).

Language

Korean is a Uralic language, remotely related to Japanese, Mongolian, Hungarian, and Finnish. Although there are dialects, the Korean spoken throughout the peninsula is mutually comprehensible. Chinese characters were used to write Korean before the invention of the Korean Hangeul alphabet in the 15th century. Unlike in the south where these characters are still in limited use, the north uses Hangeul exclusively. A number of specialized terms have been introduced in the north, especially in written usage, creating a distinctive vocabulary becoming increasingly difficult to understand in the south.

Religion

Korea's traditional religions are Buddhism, Shamanism, and Chongdogyo. Christian missionaries arrived in the 19th century and founded schools, hospitals, and other modern institutions throughout Korea. Major centers of missionary activity included Seoul and Pyongyang. Although religious groups nominally exist in North Korea, most available evidence suggests that the government severely restricts religious activity, allowing these groups to exist only for the sake of its international image.

HISTORY

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

divided into the kingdoms of Silla, Koguryo, and Paekche. In A.D. 668, the Silla kingdom unified the peninsula. The Koryo dynasty (from which is derived the Western name "Korea") succeeded the Silla kingdom in 918. The Yi dynasty, which supplanted Koryo in 1392, lasted until the Japanese annexed Korea in 1910.

Throughout most of its history, Korea has been invaded, influenced, and fought over by its larger neighbors. Korea was under Mongolian occupation from 1231 until the early 14th century and was devastated by a large number of Chinese rebel armies in 1359 and 1361; Hideyoshi launched major Japanese invasions in 1592 and 1597. To protect themselves from such frequent buffeting, the Yi kings finally adopted a closed-door policy, earning Korea the title of "Hermit Kingdom." Although the Yi dynasty paid nominal fealty to the Chinese throne, Korea was, in fact, independent until the late 19th century. At that time, Japanese, Chinese, and Russian competition in Northeast Asia led to armed conflict. Having defeated its two competitors, Japan established dominance in Korea. The Japanese colonial era was characterized by tight control by Tokyo and by ruthless efforts to replace the Korean language and culture with those of the colonial power. Japan formally annexed Korea in 1910.

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

In the North, the Soviets initially transferred the administrative powers of the former Japanese colonial government to "people's committees," and later to a five-province administrative bureau, under the nationalist, Cho Man-Sik. Cho was later purged for opposing the decision of allied foreign ministers at the Moscow Conference for a 5-year trusteeship, during which a Korean provincial government would prepare for full independence. The joint Soviet-American commission provided for by the Moscow Conference met intermittently in Seoul but deadlocked over the issue of free consultations with representatives of all

Korean political groups for establishment of a national government. In September 1947, the United States submitted the Korean question to the UN General Assembly.

Korean Conflict

The Soviet Union and the Korean authorities in the North refused to comply with the UN General Assembly resolution of November 1947, which called for UN-supervised elections throughout Korea. Elections, nonetheless, were carried out under UN observation in the south, and on August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea was established. A Korean nationalist leader, Syngman Rhee, became the Republic's first president. On September 9, 1948, the Soviet Union established the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north under Kim Il Sung, a former guerrilla who, after fighting against the Japanese in Manchuria during the 1930s, served with the Soviet Army in the Far East during World War II. Although Kim claimed authority over the entire peninsula, the UN General Assembly, on December 12, 1948, declared the Republic of Korea the only lawful government in Korea.

Sporadic guerrilla fighting between South and North Korea intensified during the spring of 1948. After the United States withdrew its military forces from Korea in the spring of 1949, border clashes commenced.

On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations, in accordance with the terms of its Charter, engaged in its first collective action, establishing the UN Command (UNC), to which 16 member nations sent troops and assistance. At the request of the UN Secretary General, the United States, which contributed the largest contingent, led this international effort.

UN forces initially fell back to the Pusan perimeter but, after a successful surprise landing at Inchon, rapidly advanced up the peninsula. As the main UN force approached the Yalu, large numbers of Chinese "people's volunteers" intervened, forcing UN troops to withdraw south of Seoul. The battle line fluctuated back and forth until the late spring of 1951, when a successful UNC offensive was halted to enhance cease-fire negotiation prospects. The battle line thereafter stabilized north of Seoul near the 38th parallel.

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

The armistice called for an international conference to find a political solution to the problem of Korea's division. This conference met at Geneva in April 1954 but, after 7 weeks of futile debate, ended without agreement or progress.

Reunification Policy

North Korea has pursued its goal of reunification by regular and irregular military measures, by terrorism, and by negotiations.

Military Measures. North Korea took no military action during the political turmoil in the South in the early 1960s, but subsequently perpetrated a number of violent acts directed both at U.S. and South Korean forces and South Korean Government officials. These efforts included the 1968 infiltration into Seoul by a 31-agent team, which attempted to assassinate President Park Chung Hee; the seizure 2 days later of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* in international waters and the subsequent imprisonment and torture of its crew; and the shooting down in 1969 of an unarmed U.S. EC-121 reconnaissance aircraft in international airspace. In 1976, North Korean troops, wielding axes wrested from an UNC work party, killed two U.S. Army officers in the DMZ.

In the early 1970s, as the North scaled back its sabotage and infiltration efforts against the South, it began a major long-term conventional military buildup. The extent of this buildup went undetected until the late 1970s. The disparity between the North and South Korean forces, which resulted from this military expansion, led the U.S. Government in mid-1979 to cancel further planned withdrawals of U.S. ground combat forces from South Korea.

The comparative military balance continues to favor the North. The North has more than 1 million armed personnel, compared to about 630,000 in the

South. North Korean forces are well equipped and have a substantial advantage (approximately 2 or 3 to 1) in several key categories of offensive weapons—tanks, long-range artillery, and armored personnel carriers. The North has perhaps the world's second (after the Soviet Union) largest commando force (55,000) designed for insertion behind the lines in wartime. North Korea now has the fifth largest army in the world. It also has more than twice as many combat aircraft as the South, although South Korean-U.S. forces have a slight qualitative edge. North Korean exercises suggest an impressive sophistication in terms of joint and combined forces operations.

In addition to their size and capabilities, factors of time and distance compound the challenge posed by North Korean forces. The North (and the South) deploys the bulk of its forces well forward, along the DMZ. Over the last several years, North Korea has moved even more of its rear echelon troops to hardened bunkers closer to the DMZ. Given the proximity of Seoul to the DMZ (some 25 miles), South Korean and U.S. forces are likely to have little warning of any attack. Consequently, a high state of readiness is required at all times. The United States and R.O.K. continue to believe that the U.S. troop presence remains an important deterrent against North Korean aggression. Recent North Korean infiltration efforts include construction of several military tunnels under the DMZ. This tunneling effort continues.

Terrorism. North Korea also is believed to have dispatched the assassin who, while attempting to kill President Park in 1974, killed Mrs. Park. In October 1983, North Korean Army officers set off a bomb in Rangoon, Burma, killing 17 members of an official South Korean delegation and four Burmese. Although former President Chun Doo Hwan escaped harm, four South Korean cabinet ministers and several senior advisers were among those slain. Most recently, on November 29, 1987, two North Korean agents sabotaged a Korean airliner (KA-858) causing the death of all 115 persons on board.

Negotiating efforts. Throughout the postwar period, both Korean Governments have repeatedly affirmed their desire to reunify the Korean Peninsula, but until 1971 the two governments had no direct, official communications or other contact.

In August 1971, North and South Korea agreed to hold talks through their

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

South Korea maintains that a meaningful dialogue should be based on *de facto* recognition of each other's existing political, social, and economic systems. South Korea supports the recognition of both Koreas by the major powers in the region (United States, U.S.S.R., P.R.C., and Japan) and the admission of both Koreas to the United Nations, pending peaceful reunification. North Korea rejects these ideas, although it applied for UN membership in 1949 (following the lead of the R.O.K.) and supported a Soviet Union draft in 1957, resubmitted in 1958, which called for "simultaneous UN admission." The North now argues that this proposal would perpetuate the peninsula's division.

Tension between North and South Korea increased dramatically in the aftermath of the October 9, 1983 Rangoon bombing. North-South sports talks the following spring broke down in acrimony over Rangoon; Pyongyang ultimately boycotted the Los Angeles Olympics in a show of support for the Soviet Union.

South Korea's suspicions of the North's motives were undiminished by Pyongyang's proposal for "tripartite" talks on the future of the Korean Peninsula. This initiative, made public on January 10, 1984, called for negotiations with the United States, in which "South Korean authorities" would be permitted to participate. The North's tripartite agenda would include replacing the armistice agreement with a peace treaty, providing for withdrawal of all U.S. troops, and drafting a declaration of non-aggression between North and South.

North Korea's offer to provide relief

goods to victims of severe flooding in South Korea in September 1984, and South Korean acceptance, led to revived dialogue on several fronts—Red Cross talks to address the plight of separated families, economic and trade talks, and parliamentary talks. In January 1986, the North unilaterally suspended all talks, arguing the annual R.O.K./U.S. Team Spirit military exercise was inconsistent with dialogue. The North also announced a unilateral moratorium on large-scale military exercises and called upon the United States and R.O.K. to do the same, which responded by reiterating their longstanding offer to allow D.P.R.K. officials to observe Team Spirit and by proposing prenotification of military exercises. These proposals were rejected by the North, and, in 1987, the North resumed large-scale exercises.

In a major new initiative on July 7, 1988, South Korean President Roh Tae Woo called for new efforts to promote South-North exchanges, family reunification, inter-Korean trade, and contact in international forums. He also said South Korea was willing to cooperate with the North to promote relations with the United States and Japan and that the South would seek better relations with the U.S.S.R. and China. North Korea initially responded negatively, calling it a "splitist" proposal designed to legalize a two-Koreas policy.

President Roh's initiative provided renewed momentum to South-North dialogue. Later in July 1988, the National Assemblies of each side exchanged letters over the South's request to discuss participation in the 1988 Summer Olympics. (North Korea, which had demanded to cohost the games and had rejected Seoul's offer to host five events, declined to participate and asked fellow socialist countries to join a boycott. Only seven obliged.) Small parliamentary delegations met at Panmunjom several times from August to December in an inconclusive attempt to arrange a joint meeting of the two assemblies, to which each had agreed in principle. The North insisted the assemblies adopt a mutual nonaggression declaration; the South argued that this was properly the role of the executive branch. At year's end, when the two sides were nearing agreement on an agenda and arrangements for a joint session, the North introduced a new demand to discuss the annual U.S.-R.O.K. Team Spirit military exercise. In early February 1989, North Korea refused to attend further preparatory meetings until Team Spirit ended.

The Roh and Chun administrations have repeatedly suggested a summit meeting with President Kim to discuss any and all proposals, an agreement to

normalize inter-Korean relations as a step toward reunification, and other specific measures to reduce tensions and promote humanitarian and cultural exchanges. President Roh, in a speech to the UN General Assembly in October 1988, offered to go to Pyongyang at any time to discuss any issue, including North Korea's call for a mutual declaration of nonaggression. In turn, Kim Il Sung has periodically reiterated proposals for a North-South confederation, first proposed in 1960. In his September 9, 1988 National Day address, Kim Il Sung repeated that a summit must first take up the confederation plan and withdrawal of U.S. forces. In his 1989 New Year's address, Kim suggested that Roh come to Pyongyang as a party head in a group with southern opposition and dissident leaders.

In early 1989, as other dialogue proposals made little progress, both sides expressed hopes for high-level talks headed by the respective prime ministers. Two preliminary meetings to discuss arrangements were held in February. In other forums, the two National Olympic Committees met to discuss forming a joint team for the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing. But in April, North Korea suspended both sets of talks, blaming South Korea's arrest of a dissident clergyman who visited North Korea without government approval.

Following the R.O.K. Government's 1988 decision to allow trade with the D.P.R.K., South Korean firms have begun to import North Korean goods, all via third-country contracts. The D.P.R.K. has denounced and denied this trade. By contrast, the North publicized a late January 1989 visit by Hyundai founder Chong Chu Yong as well as the protocol he signed to develop tourism and other projects in the North. In April 1989, these projects were put on hold amidst the acrimony following the dissident clergyman's visit.

GOVERNMENT

North Korea has a centralized government under the rigid control of the Korean Worker's (communist) Party (KWP). It is dominated by one man, Kim Il Sung, who, in addition to his titles of general secretary of the KWP and president of North Korea, is generally referred to as "Great Leader." A few minor parties are allowed to exist in name only, presumably to present a facade of representative government to the outside world.

In December 1972, the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) ratified a new constitution replacing that of 1948. The 1972 document created the position of president and a super-cabinet called the Central People's Committee (CPC). In theory, the SPA is the highest organ of state power. Its members are elected every 4 years. Usually only two meetings are held annually, each lasting a few days. A standing committee of 19 members elected by the SPA performs legislative functions when the assembly is not in session. In reality, the assembly serves only to ratify decisions made by the ruling KWP. The constitution designates the Central People's Committee (CPC) as the government's top policy-making body. Headed by Kim Il Sung, who also nominates the other 24 committee members, the CPC makes policy decisions and supervises the cabinet (State Administration Council). The council is headed by a premier and is the dominant administrative and executive agency. The judiciary is subordinate to the Supreme People's Assembly. The SPA's Standing Committee appoints judges to the highest court for 4-year terms concurrent with that of the assembly.

Politically, North Korea is divided into nine provinces and four provincial-level municipalities—Pyongyang, Chongjin, Nampo, and Kaesong. It also appears to be divided into nine military districts.

Little is known about the actual lines of power and authority in the North Korean Government despite the formal structure set forth in the constitution. It is clear, however, that 77-year-old Kim Il Sung, who has ruled North Korea continuously since 1948, wields dictatorial power. Kim and a dwindling number of long-time loyalists, all ranking members of the Korean Workers' Party, dominate the political system and the economy through an elaborate party structure and through the civilian and military bureaucracies. At the innermost circle are the three members of the Standing Committee of the KWP Political Bureau: Kim Il Sung, his son Kim Chong Il, and Armed Forces Minister O Chin U. Kim Il Sung is the object of an intensive and far reaching personality cult. A similar cult is developing around Kim Chong Il, 47, who has been groomed to succeed his father. Many observers now credit the younger Kim with day-to-day management of domestic affairs. Should this father-to-son transition succeed, North Korea would become the first country ruled by a Marxist hereditary dynasty.

Principal Party and Government Officials

President, KWP Politburo Standing Committee (1 of 3), KWP General Secretary, Supreme Commander of the People's Armed Forces—Kim Il Sung
 KWP Politburo Standing Committee, KWP Secretary (1 of 10), son of Kim Il Sung and de facto heir apparent—Kim Chong Il
 KWP Politburo Standing Committee, Minister of the People's Armed Forces—O Chin U
 Premier, Politburo Full Member (1 of 12)—Yun Hyong Mok
 Vice President (1 of 3), Politburo—Pak Song-ch'ol
 Vice President, Politburo—Yi Chong-ok
 Politburo, Chairman KWP Inspection Comm—So Ch'ol
 Politburo, KWP Secretary—Kye Ung-t'ae
 Vice Premier, Foreign Minister, Politburo—Kim Yong-nam
 KWP Politburo, KWP Secretary, Chairman of Comm. for Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland—Ho Tam
 Politburo, KWP Secretary—Chon Pyong-ho
 Chairman, Supreme People's Assembly Standing Committee—Yang Hyong-sop

ECONOMY

The division of the Korean Peninsula in 1945 resulted in imbalances of natural and human resources, with disadvantages for both the North and the South. By most economic measures, after partition the North was left better off in terms of industry and natural resources. The South, however, had two-thirds of the work force. In 1945, about 65% of Korean heavy industry was in the North but only 31% of light industry, 37% of agriculture, and 18% of the peninsula's total commerce.

North and South both suffered from the massive destruction caused by the Korean war. Since that time, North Korea's command economy has concentrated its labor force (estimated at 8.4 million in 1986) and natural resources in an effort to achieve rapid economic development. Large amounts of aid from other communist countries, notably the Soviet Union and China, assisted the regime. In the years immediately after the end of the Korean war the North's economy experienced a high growth rate.

During the early 1970s, North Korea, probably noting the more rapid economic development of the South, attempted a large-scale modernization program through the importation of Western technology, principally in the heavy industrial sectors of the economy. By the end of 1986, the North's hard-currency debt had reached more than \$4 billion. It also owed nearly \$2 billion to communist creditors. Unable to finance its debt through exports, it became the first communist country to default on its loans from free market countries. In 1979, North Korea was able to renegotiate much of its international debt, but in 1980 it defaulted on all of its loans except those from Japan. In 1986, however, the Japanese also declared the North in default of more than \$200 million.

Largely because of these debt problems but also because of a prolonged drought and governmental mismanagement, North Korea's industrial growth slowed in 1976. In that same year, for the first time, the North's per capita GNP fell below that of the South, and by the end of 1979, per capita GNP in the North was about one-third of that in the South. The causes for this relatively poor performance are complex, but a major factor is the disproportionately large percentage of GNP (more than 20%) that the North devotes to the military.

In April 1982, Kim Il Sung announced a new economic policy giving priority to increased agricultural production through land reclamation, development of the country's infrastructure—especially power plants and transportation facilities—and reliance on domestically produced equipment. Recently, there have been signs of a shift in policy emphasis toward expanding trade. In September 1984, North Korea promulgated a joint venture law to attract foreign capital and technology. Currently, North Korea's default on its foreign debt is largely responsible for scant foreign interest in joint ventures. The new verbal emphasis on expanding trade and acquiring technology, however, has not shifted internal economic priorities away from support of military industry.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

After 1945, the Soviet Union supplied the economic and military aid that enabled North Korea to mount its invasion of the South in 1950. Soviet aid and influence continued at a high level during the war; the Soviet Union was, in large part, responsible for rebuilding North Korea's economy after the cessation of

hostilities. However, the assistance of Chinese "volunteers" during the war and the presence of these troops until 1958 gave Beijing considerable influence in Pyongyang. In 1961, North Korea concluded formal mutual security treaties with the Soviet Union and China, which continue in force.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, the Soviet-backed Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan created strains in North Korea's relations with each of the two major communist powers.

Pyongyang generally has tried to maintain an equidistant position between Moscow and Beijing, obtaining aid from both and avoiding dependence on either. Since Kim Il Sung's 1984 and 1986 visits to Moscow, Pyongyang has markedly strengthened its ties with Moscow. Over the last 4 years, the Soviets have dramatically increased assistance, providing a comprehensive array of advanced military hardware to North Korea. In return, the North allows Soviet overflights and port calls, as well as adhering more closely to the Soviet line on important international issues. Still, Pyongyang and Beijing continue frequent leadership consultations.

Despite reliance on Soviet military and Chinese economic aid and its recent parroting of Soviet positions, North Korea proclaims a militantly independent stance in its foreign policy in accordance with President Kim's continued emphasis on the doctrine of self-reliance ("Juche"). Pyongyang seeks to enlarge its representation abroad wherever possible and has had some success. However, following the October 1983 assassination attempt on the South Korean President in Rangoon, Burma broke relations with North Korea, and several other countries followed suit. Similarly, after KA-858, two other governments broke ties with the D.P.R.K., and several more took other diplomatic measures against the North. Moreover, various incidents, mostly smuggling and blackmarketing offenses by North Korean diplomats, have caused some countries to be reluctant to open relations with North Korea and others to expel or decline to admit North Korean missions. North Korea has increasingly emphasized its relations with Third World nations and aspires to a leadership role in the Nonaligned Movement. As of May 1989, North Korea had diplomatic relations with 103 countries, South Korea with 131, and 72 nations had diplomatic relations with both Koreas.

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U.S. POLICY TOWARD NORTH KOREA

The U.S. Government supports the peaceful reunification of Korea on terms acceptable to the Korean people. Recognizing that the North's isolation is an inherently destabilizing factor in the Northeast Asia region, and an impediment to the peaceful reunification of Korea, the United States is committed to drawing the D.P.R.K. out of its isolation and bringing it more fully into the world community.

To advance this goal and in support of President Roh's 1988 reunification initiatives, the U.S. Government on October 31, 1988, announced the following steps regarding relations with the D.P.R.K.

- Authorize U.S. diplomats to hold substantive discussions with D.P.R.K. officials in neutral settings;
- Encourage unofficial, nongovernmental visits from the D.P.R.K. in academics, sports, culture, and other areas;

- Facilitate the travel of U.S. citizens to the D.P.R.K. by permitting travel services for exchanges and group travel on a case-by-case basis; and

- Permit certain commercial exports to the D.P.R.K. of goods that meet basic human needs (food, clothing, medical supplies, etc.) on a case-by-case basis.

The United States recognizes that the future of the Korean Peninsula is primarily a matter for the people of Korea to decide. The U.S. Government, therefore, believes that a constructive and serious dialogue between the authorities of South and North Korea is necessary to resolve the issues on the peninsula, and that concrete steps to promote greater understanding and reduce tension are needed to pave the way for reunifying the Korean nation. Because the fundamental decisions must be taken by the Korean people themselves, the United States refuses to be drawn into separate negotiations with North Korea, as Pyongyang insists, on replacing the 1953 armistice agreement with a peace treaty. The U.S. Government remains prepared to participate in negotiations between the representatives of North and South Korea, if so desired by

the two Korean Governments and provided that both are full and equal participants in any such talks.

The United States does not recognize the Government of North Korea and maintains no diplomatic, consular, or trade relations with authorities there. North Korea has been included on the U.S. list of states supporting international terrorism since January 1988, when investigations revealed that agents of North Korea had sabotaged KA-858 on November 29, 1987, causing the deaths of 115 persons. U.S. law prohibits almost all financial and commercial transactions with North Korea by persons or firms subject to U.S. jurisdiction. Exceptions were made in 1988 for informational material and commercial export of goods meeting basic human needs. Export of such goods, whether as a sale or donation, requires a specific license by the U.S. Treasury Department.

There are no restrictions on travel by private U.S. citizens to North Korea. However, they may only spend money in North Korea to purchase items related to travel, and may not use credit cards. In addition, \$100 worth of merchandise for personal use may be brought back into the United States as unaccompanied baggage. The U.S. Government is unable to accord consular protection services to U.S. citizens in North Korea. U.S. citizens and residents wishing to travel to North Korea must obtain visas in third countries. ■

Published by the United States Department of State • Bureau of Public Affairs • Office of Public Communication • Editorial Division • Washington, D.C. • July 1989
Editor: Juanita Adams

Department of State Publication 8396
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Dumb set

October 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR SPEECHWRITERS
RESEARCHERS

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN
SUBJECT: ASIA PRE-ADVANCE RESEARCH

JAPAN

SCHEDULE

- FRIDAY: --arrival ceremony with Emperor (open press, troop review), then courtesy call on Emperor at Imperial Palace
--meeting with Prime Minister Miyazawa at Akasaka Palace
--Imperial Banquet, Imperial Palace, after dinner toast
- SATURDAY: --tennis and breakfast with the Emperor
--visit Mita Senior High School (visit geography lab, then nationally televised 5 min. remarks followed by Q&A with students from around the world).
--major speech at Japanese Diet, lower house. 15-20 minutes, focusing on the responsibilities of interdependence, and maybe Japan's role in NWO.
--brief remarks at Kodak R&D plant in Yokohama. First, lunch with U.S. business leaders, Visit Kodak Laboratory, then address to U.S. business leaders and Kodak staff.
--one on one meeting with PM, then expanded bilaterals, then joint press statement
--welcoming reception at Hotel New Otani with brief remarks to 2000 -- a kind of welcoming committee of business leaders, politicoes, etc. Tone should be real upbeat.
--Dinner with PM at PM's residence, after dinner toast
- SUNDAY: --private breakfast
--Emperor makes goodbye call to POTUS
--attend church (maybe)
--Embassy greetings
--AF1 to Kyoto, accompanied by PM
--walking tour of Imperial Palace
--lunch with PM at Omiya Palace, (Secretary Alexander may simultaneously lunch with Stanford students and JET, Japan English Teaching Program, teachers).
Walking tour of Omiya gardens. Brief remarks to American and Japanese students.
--may visit Nijo Castle

JAPAN

POLICY THEMES

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

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

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

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

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

TOKYO SITES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KYOTO SITES

- 1) Kyoto Imperial Palace (FYI, I don't think there are any remarks): Originally built as the Emperor's second palace, Kyoto Imperial Palace was used as the Imperial Palace from 1331-1867 after the original main palace burnt down. The Imperial Throne and the August Seat of the Empress, still used for coronations, are located here. Each rests on a platform, and is covered with an octagonal canopy, decorated with a large phoenix and eight small phoenixes.
The last "Ceremony of the Enthronement of His Majesty the Emperor at the Seiden" took place in the Imperial Palace on November 12, 1990
- 2) Omiya Palace: remarks to students should focus on building bridges between our two countries through education, facing the future together. See proverbs.
Some of the students are with the Stanford Japan Center, established by Stanford University, "for the purpose of educating future generations of Americans about Japan. The Center also will provide an institutional link between American and Japanese research in science, technology, and social science with the aim of opening up crucial channels of information and by embarking on new cooperative initiatives in research between the two nations."
- 2) Nijo Castle (again, no remarks): The castle was originally built in 1603 to be the official Kyoto residence of the first Tokugawa Shogun Ieyasu, and it was completed in 1626 by the third Shogun Iemitsu. The lavishly decorated castle stands as a symbol of the power of the Tokugawa military government. It contains the famous "Nightingale Corridor," whose floors are designed to creak with birdlike noises when tread upon, thus foreboding an enemy approach.

JAPANESE COLOR:

- 1) Finding humor is difficult. Most people I've spoken to say that the Japanese aren't big on jokes, humor. Moreover, they will not know to laugh if POTUS tells a joke.
- 2) The "Japan Series" (similar to our 'world series') in baseball has just started. This years favorites are the Hiroshima Carp and the Seibu Lions.
- 3) Sumo wrestling is Japan's national sport. Recently an exhibition tournament was held in London. Two very popular wrestlers are a pair of American brothers from Hawaii -- Konishiki, who's the biggest Sumo wrestler (600 lbs), and Ake Bono, who's the tallest. Who knows, maybe we could make a joke about "gross national products" to an American audience -- large American exports.
- 4) American movies, rock, and rap music are very popular. Disneyland opened in Japan 6 years ago; Japanese love Mickey Mouse.
- 5) Karaoke is a popular Japanese social activity. Literally meaning "empty orchestra," karaoke bars play music without lyrics so that the patrons can star on vocals. Maybe there's a joke about Barbara wanting to go Karaoke.
- 6) Women control the finances in Japanese families -- when to buy the car, when to invest, etc. The husband often asks his wife for money for his expenses; this allowance is called "Kozu Kai." Maybe POTUS can say, "I wanted to buy some souvenirs, but Barbara cut my kozu kai."
- 7) Of all their qualities, Japanese are proudest of their perseverance, endurance, called "gamman." They rate harmony as highest on their scale of social values.
- 8) Relevant to Omiya in Kyoto: a handbook called A Look into Japan tells us "The Japanese garden is designed to be a faithful representation of nature and to impart a sense of simple, unspoiled beauty."
- 9) December 23 is the Emperor's birthday.
- 10) The speechwriting god (Curt, sit down): Benten, one of the seven deities of good fortune, is the goddess of eloquence, music and wisdom.
- 11) "Banzai," literally meaning 'ten thousand years,' is the Japanese equivalent of 'three cheers.' It's usually expressed at the high point or end of a celebration.

12) Japanese proverbs:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KOREA

POLICY THEMES

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

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

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

POTUS SCHEDULE

- SUNDAY: --AF1 to Korea for 3:30 arrival
--wreath laying ceremony at National Cemetery, no remarks
--American community greetings at Collier Field House
--private dinner with President Roh at the Blue House
- MONDAY: --breakfast with US and Korean business community at Hotel Shilla, 5-10 min. remarks (themes similar to Kodak speech: U.S. can compete, we're working together to expand trade, importance of GATT
--Arrival ceremony at Blue House
--one on one with President Roh, expanded bilaterals, joint press statement at Blue House
--State Luncheon at Blue House hosted by Korean President, after lunch toast
--Address to the National Assembly, 15 minutes
--travel to Camp Casey, press the flesh with American soldiers, 5 min. remarks. Jovial, what a great job you're doing, last of the front lines type speech. Acknowledge difficulty of 1 year unaccompanied tour

SITES

- 1) Blue House: not on walkthrough, but the scoop as far as I know is that the Blue House is the official residence of the President of ROK. The Blue House was constructed in 1927 as the Japanese government's residence for its Governor-General. It occupies the grounds of the Yi-Koong palace of the Koryo Dynasty.
In '48, when ROK was established, the building was designated the Presidential Residence. After the student revolution of 1960, it was renamed Chong Wa Dae (Blue Tile House), a name derived from its unique blue roof tiles.
- 2) National Assembly: not on walkthrough, but apparently it's your usual, rococo, elaborate parliamentary style. I'm told there's a large symbol behind where POTUS will be standing: the Flower of Eternal Life framing a Korean character.
The Assembly building is located on Yoido, a large island on the Han River. Completed in 1975, it houses offices, meeting rooms, and the Assembly's library. The current National Assembly is composed of 299 members from two political parties. It is the thirteenth National Assembly since the founding of the Republic in 1948. The Assembly Speaker is Park, Jyun Kyu.
- 3) Camp Casey: not on walkthrough, but this base houses U.S. servicemen on a one-year unaccompanied tour. Their duty is an uneasy vigil at one of the world's last front lines. Part of their work is to patrol the DMZ (demilitarized zone) often camping out in no man's land.

While we honor the returning heroes of Desert Storm, we should remember also courage and commitment of our men in Korea -- whose courage and commitment often go unacknowledged. POTUS should recognize the difficulty of a one year unaccompanied tour; Camp Casey is what is commonly referred to as a "hardship post."

CONTACTS: --AmEmbSeoul, 82-2-732-2106

COLOR

- 1) Koreans, I'm told, like the Japanese, would have trouble knowing how to respond to a joke by POTUS. One way, however, to break the ice and establish rapport, would be to mention family -- his family, the American family, family values, whatever.
- 2) POTUS was here in '89, and also in '82 as vice president.

SINGAPORE

POLICY THEMES

Singapore is the only ASEAN country we'll visit -- therefore we'll want to touch on issues common to those countries. (ASEAN is made up of Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, and the Phillippines.) Singapore is our strongest ally in the region. Singaporeans welcome us as a balance to Japanese investment. They have a longstanding fear that Japan eyes them with military interest.

We'll want to talk about South East Asia and Cambodia, setting the stage for future dealings with Viet Nam. Instability in the region: Thailand just had a coup, Burma has a dictatorship. Cambodia, however, is soon to have UN sanctioned elections. Ultimately, we'll want to resolve the POW/MIA question -- an issue some unscrupulous people in the are have exploited for profit. Resolution will require that Viet Nam be completely open so we can scrutinize all the records. Until we get to the bottom of POW/MIA, we can't really say that Viet Nam is truly over.

I believe there are also some human rights concerns in Singapore itself.

POTUS SCHEDULE

MONDAY: --AF1 to Singapore

TUESDAY: --Breakfast meeting at Raffles with U.S. ambassadors to ASEAN countries, no formal remarks
--Arrival ceremony at Istana Palace

--POTUS makes courtesy call on President and Mrs. Wee Kim Wee at the Istana Palace
--meeting with Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, then expanded bilaterals
--15 min. speech at lecture series to the Singapore/American Business community, held in Westin Hotel (Security and Trade: U.S. engagement in the region; importance of working together towards the future)
--Business Roundtable meeting at Hewlett-Packard, no formal remarks .
--groundbreaking ceremony for new American Chancery, embassy greetings type remarks
--courtesy call on Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew.
--State Dinner at Istana Palace hosted by President Wee Kim Wee, after dinner toast

WEDNESDAY:--view static display at Changi airport
--AF1 to Australia

SITES

- 1) Raffles Hotel (just FYI, no formal remarks planned at this point). Wrote Rudyard Kipling, "Feed at Raffles when visiting Singapore." Established in 1887, the hotel symbolizes the exotic charm and colonial nostalgia often associated with the area. The hotel was named after Sir Stamford Raffles, founder of modern Singapore in 1819.
Celebs who added their aura to Raffles': Joseph Conrad, Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, Somerset Maugham, Nowel Coward, and sundry sultans, kings, and politicians. Raffles embodied colonial high life: tea-dances, Charleston, jazz bands, and billiards. Raffles is the birthplace of the Singapore Sling. In 1902, the last tiger to be shot in Singapore was pursued in Raffles, and finally dispatched under the Bar & Billiard Room.
The hotel was declared a protected monument in 1987.
- 2) Westin Hotel: the hotel is supposedly the tallest hotel in the world. The lecture series in which the President takes part is designed to give political, academic, and financial eminentoes the opportunity to visit Singapore and mouth off. Singapore gets to bask in their wisdom.
The series, inaugurated in 1980, is organized by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Previous speakers include Henry Kissinger, Milton Friedman, Brian Mulroney, Raymond Barre, and Giscard D'Estang. 1,500-2,000 will attend speech.
- 3) Groundbreaking ceremony for new American Chancery: this event will basically take the place of Embassy Greetings/American community remarks. Projected completion for new embassy is 1995-6. 150-200 embassy staff, loads of

Singaporean schoolchildren. 2,000 guests in all. Site is basically just a hill. Use your imagination. Building metaphors applied to broader scope of U.S.-Singapore relations might be appropriate.

The U.S. Ambassador in Singapore is Robert Orr. DCM is Arthur Kobler.

- 4) Istana Palace: previously called Government House, the Istana was built in 1869 to house the British Governor of Singapore. The grounds had been the nutmeg estate of Charles Robert Princep. A statue of Queen Victoria was installed in the drawing room to mark her jubilee in 1889. Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh stayed there in February 1972. The edifice itself looks like a cross between a mini-Versailles and a southern plantation. Adorning the entry foyer are a matching set of tusks presented by the Sultan of Singapore to the British government.

The staff of the President, the Cabinet Office, and a section of the Prime Minister's office work at the Istana.

CONTACTS: --DCM, AmEmbSingapore, Arthur Kobler, 338-0251, ext. 217
--USIS, Dennis Donahue, 244-5233

COLOR

- 1) Singapore is a country of many races, languages and cultures. The population is made up of Chinese, Malays, Indians and Eurasians. Harmonious multiculturalism. One often hears the phrase, "many races, one people." Maybe we can make some "E Pluribus Unum" connection.
- 2) The first American consul in Singapore, Joseph Balestier, came to the area in 1834 and took up his post in 1837 -- inaugurating 154 years of diplomatic relations. His wife, Maria Revere Balestier, was the daughter of Paul Revere. Balestier's memory lives on in a bell, now in Singapore's National Museum, cast in Boston's Revere Works. Mrs. Balestier, presented the bell to the original Church of St. Andrew.
- 3) American Embassy Singapore suggests a Pearl Harbor footnote to our Singapore stop: POTUS will be at Pearl Harbor on Saturday, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Japanese attack, and honoring the resultant 2,400 Americans dead or missing. We might also remember that on the same day, but on Singapore's side of the international dateline, the war began for the Philippines, for Thailand, for Malaysia, and for Singapore. Bombers appeared over Clark Field and over Singapore. Ground troops landed at Songkhla and Pattani (Thailand) and at Kota Baharu (Malaya). Singapore did not then have an army (British and Australian forces were

there); Singaporeans who were either killed or injured were civilians.

- 4) Singaporean suffrage is universal and compulsory.
- 5) Orchids are a major Singaporean product (and they're beautiful).
- 6) While there is no compulsory education in Singapore, attendance is 94% and the literacy rate is over 87%.
- 7) POTUS and FLOTUS visited Singapore when Bush was Vice President.
- 8) When the President called Orr to offer him the ambassadorship, one of his selling points was to tell the future ambassador how comfy the Residence is. (Orr was previously Governor of Indiana).
- 9) Quayle was here on May 22.
- 10) The origin of the name "Singapore" comes from the 13th century's appellation of "Singapura," meaning "Lion City."

AUSTRALIA

POLICY THEMES

The last President to go down under was LBJ, 21 years ago. Australia feels left out. They've been a strong ally -- there in WWII, there in Nam, there in the Gulf. The Australians have been very grateful to us for saving them from the Japanese in WWII. But those warm feelings are now being tried by their anger over trade policies (agricultural subsidies).

Oops on EEPS: Our Economic Enhancement Programs (an American domestic subsidy so that we can export our products abroad at a lower price) and the EC's strict protectionist policies have left Aussies demonstrably furious -- riots, strikes. Need some stroking action. POTUS needs to show himself as a champion of free trade, "that's why the Uruguay round is so important," blah, blah. Hopefully we'll have GATT progress we can highlight by that time.

Generally, stress "harmony/kinship with the Australians."

CANBERRA

POTUS SCHEDULE

WED., DEC 4: --arrival ceremony
THUR., DEC 5: --Embassy greetings, hosted at Ambassador Sembler's residence
--luncheon hosted by Prime Minister in Australian Parliament Building's Great Hall. Toasts after lunch; PM's toast/speech will be 5-10 mins., intro

POTUS for 3-5 mins. (may have to stretch if PM's speech is longer).

--15-20 min. remarks to Australian Parliament

--meeting with Australian academic community;
talking points (don't know if we're responsible)

--Australian War Memorial

--Governor General Hayden's State Dinner at the Government House;

--RON Canberra

SITES

- 1) Embassy Greetings: The Ambassador's Residence is 50 years old, as are formal Australian-American diplomatic relations. The ground lease for the mansion was signed while the Japanese were bombing Australia. The house was built during the war, and completed in 1943. Mrs. Roosevelt had a personal interest here, and came out after the building's completion to plant a tree.

The current Ambassador to Australia is Mr. Mel Sembler. Ambassador and Mrs. Sembler are from Treasure Island, Florida. In addition to the Embassy in Canberra, the U.S. has three Consulates General in Australia -- one in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth -- and a Consulate in Brisbane. There is also a Consular Agent in Adelaide.

- 2) Address to Australian Parliament:

The building itself is a striking postmodern palace, designed by Roman Giurgola, and completed for the Australian Bicentennial in 1988. The structure incorporates many symbolic features which strive to reflect certain Australian values, and resonate with Australian history, geography, and culture.

For instance, on one side the earth, rather than meeting the building at a right angle, runs gradually from a distance and at an angle right up to the building's peak flagpole. This design twist represents the accessibility and accountability of Australian government -- that the government are subservient to those they serve.

Another example: in the forecourt of the Parliament, along the walkway POTUS will follow, is a mandelic mosaic design called "Meeting Place" which represents a meeting place for all races and cultures. The work also celebrates Australia's earliest settlers, so it is appropriate that an Aboriginal artist, Michael Nelson Tjakamara, was asked to create the centerpiece. It's pointillist strokes are reminiscent of his tribes sand paintings.

Also neat: one of the original copies of the Magna Carta is housed in the Parliament building.

POTUS will be greeted by the PM, walk up to the mosaic in the middle, walk over and shake some Australian hands. He then goes to lunch (check) in the Great Hall with the ugly tapestry.

Parliament speech: POTUS starts out, "Thank you, Mr. Speaker." (Speaker is Leo McLeay. Speech is not teleprompted. House of Representatives: amphitheater-like, modern, bathroom-tile-green. NOTE: this will be the first time a foreign head of state has addressed a joint session of parliament -- ever (POTUS should stress what a great honor it is).

VERY IMPORTANT: We were going to do an event with the Australia/USA Parliamentary Group which has now been cut -- so a specific reference should be included as to who they are, what they do, kudos. The group is not a standing committee or anything like that, just an association of upper and lower house parliamentarians working to promote US-Australian friendship ties. The group was formed under the auspices of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Australian National Group in May '88. The bipartisan group is the most active of all Parliamentary Friendship groups. For more info, contact: Nonda on MP Eamon Lindsay's staff at 077-724844.

- 3) Australian War Memorial: (No remarks, just FYI) Built roughly in the shape of a Byzantine church, the memorial is the most popular tourist attraction in the nation's capital.

Event will take place in the rectangular, central courtyard, which includes a commemorative stone, a pool of reflection, the Eternal Flame, a commemorative area, and then, enclosed, the Hall of Memory. The dome inside the Hall bears a radial pattern which represents the spirits of the war dead rising towards the central circle (heaven).

The memorial also contains a museum, whose galleries evoke and explain the Australian experience of war. Australians in combat: New Zealand (1860); Sudan (1885), South Africa (1899-1902); China (1900-01), WW1 (1914-18), WWII (1939-45), Korea (1950-53), Malaya (1950-60), Malaysia (1963-66), Vietnam (1962-72), Persian Gulf (1991) -- we might remember that the Aussies responded immediately in the Gulf, needing no prompting.

Plaque in memorial reads: "The Australian War Memorial commemorates those 100,000 Australians who have died in war and recalls the service and sacrifice of all Australians in wartime." Also, museum holds a mini-copy of Eugeni Vouchetich's famous statue, "Beat the swords into ploughshares." NOTE: Australian repatriation hospitals are still treating men wounded in WWI. 496 Australians died in Viet Nam; 2,398 were wounded.

- 4) (no remarks, just FYI) After dinner, when POTUS toasts, the only thing he says is: "Ladies and Gentlemen, Her Majesty the Queen of Australia," in response to the Governor General's "Ladies and Gentlemen, the President of the United

States of America." Hayden is Queen Elizabeth's representative; there is a such a representative in each of the 6 Australian states (Australia is a commonwealth). Governor Generals are Australian citizens; their posts are purely ceremonial. Hayden is Australia's former Foreign Minister.

The Government House is an old cattle "station," or property. It is a simple, classical mansion on the rim of Lake Burley Griffin.

CONTACTS: --Lew Luchs, Media Counsellor, AmEmbCanberra, 270-5872
--Ray Burson, USIS, (062)705966
--Marilyn Meyers, DCM, 270-5000
--AmEmbCanberra, after hours, 270-5900

SYDNEY

POTUS SCHEDULE

FRIDAY (DEC. 6th):

- noon arrival at Sydney airport (QANTAS Jet Base)
- Sydney Convention and Exhibition Centre: 12:30-12:45 pre-lunch reception with South Wales Premier Grenier's 50 guests, 1:00 p.m. State Luncheon with remarks after remarks and intro by Premier, 15-20 mins., 1,000 guests
- post-lunch reception with Australian American Coral Sea Commemorative Council
- visit Australian National Maritime Museum, visit American Gallery, brief remarks in dedication of museum.
- harbor cruise on John Cadman III to Sydney Opera House
- press conference at Sydney Opera House
- over to Kirribilli House for dinner?
- RON Sydney

SITES

- 1) State Luncheon at Convention Centre: Both anthems played, grace said, lunch served. After lunch, Premier Grenier speaks then intros POTUS. Audience will be a cross-section of the New South Wales Community. Centre is beautiful, yet modern and antiseptic. Themes focus on our trade, joint longterm commitments, the global marketplace, the coming century, thread of education, etc.

If we touch on Asian topics, we might note that, for more than a year, Australia has taken a leading role in seeking a comprehensive solution to the Cambodian conflict under UN auspices.

- 2) Australian National Maritime Museum: Present are Prime Minister and Mrs. Hawke, Chairman and Mrs. Doyle, Premier and Mrs. Grenier, Ambassador and Mrs. Sembler. The event serves as the official opening and USA Gallery Dedication.

2-3 min. remarks required, after brief remarks by Prime Minister.

The building occupies a waterfront site on an arm of Sydney Harbor, described by Mark Twain as "the darling of Sydney and the wonder of the world." The sweeping curves of the museum's white painted roof are reminiscent of waves, clouds, and sails. It's interior is kind of split-level, post-modern white. Almost warehouse looking, with hanging mobiles and high ceilings. Out front, next to the museum's sign, is a large mobile with fluctuating signal flags, the kind used for intership communication. In one section is a model of the Endeavor, presented as a gift by Queen Elizabeth. The Endeavor was the ship commanded by Captain Cooke when he discovered Australia. Also, there's a section with surfboards (joke material?)

The American Gallery was our 1988 bicentennial gift to Australia. Here, POTUS will unveil a plaque and then briefly tour the gallery. The opening exhibit is called: "Linked by the Sea," and that name is carved into the wall. It explores the similar origins of our two countries. We might use that as a theme, touching upon how our two maritime traditions, among many other bonds, help contribute to our mutual sense of kinship. One of the most powerful links: The Australian and US navies fought side by side to turn back the Japanese military advance in WWII. Five months after the outbreak of war in the Pacific, the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942 was a crucial strategic victory for the allies, and the first reverse for the Imperial Japanese Army.

FUN FACTS: *Australia has a long maritime heritage, going back at least 50,000 years to the probable arrival of the first humans from Asia.
 *There were three Americans on board Endeavor when Cook discovered the east coast of Australia in 1770 (but they were British loyalists).
 *The first foreign merchant vessel to arrive in New South Wales was a US ship with a welcome cargo of rum and other supplies.
 *The first person to ride a surfboard in Australia was a Hawaiian -- Duke Kahanamoku.

****Note: The exhibit houses two periscopes, one of which is from the same class of submarine as the one which collected the President after he was shot down in WWII. More information is on the way via fax.

CONTACTS: --Margaret Eubank, Public Affairs Officer (USIS) 261-9244
 --Consulate General (after hours) 963-1209
 --Ian Wilcock, Asst. Sec. Americas Branch, Australian Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Trade, (06)261-2711

--John Wade, Sr. Curator, Australian National Maritime
Museum, (02)552-7728

AUSTRALIA COLOR

(among other materials, files include extensive info on above
sites, speech excerpts from American Ambassador Sembler

GENERAL

- 1) Australians in film: Errol Flynn, Mel Gibson, Paul Hogan
(one of screenwriters and main actor in "Crocodile Dundee"),
Dean Semler (cinematographer of "Dances with Wolves.")
- 2) Australians in music: Olivia Newton John, Men At Work, Bee
Gees.
- 3) Washington Post cartoonist Patrick Oliphant is from
Australia.
- 4) James Tuckey, a lieutenant aboard the ship which took the
first unwilling settlers into Port Phillip Bay (the future
Melbourne) in 1803 wrote:

"I beheld a second Rome rising from a coalition of banditti.
I beheld it giving laws to the world, and superlative in
arms and in arts, looking down with proud superiority upon
the barbarous nations of the northern hemisphere."
- 5) Maybe POTUS could do a joke about vegemite, or vegemite
sandwiches. There's potential for humor in the fact that
Australians love the stuff while we think it's yucho. Maybe
at a luncheon, "Despite our many similarities, Americans
have never really developed a taste for your vegemite. In
fact, when I asked about today's menu, I was assured -- no
vegemite. \ Actually, I was worried about the broccoli."
- 6) On Australian TV there's a very famous show called, "Skippy
the Bush Kangaroo." Everyone knows about Skippy, he's kind
of equivalent to our Lassie. Maybe a joke about, "I hear
that here in Australia, you have 'Skippy the Bush Kangaroo.'
Well, back home we have 'Millie the Bush Canine.' (Tony
Mauro: Millie the Bush Scoobydoo). Or, "I was a little
nervous about playing golf here, what with all the kangaroos
running around. \ Fortunately, I've got Skippy on my side."
- 7) In May 1836, President Jackson appointed J.H. Williams as
the first American Consul in Australia. The "Colonist," a
newspaper of the day, welcomed his arrival, praising America
thus: "Scarcely is there a sea which their ships do not
plough, or a port in which they do not ride..." (maybe for
Maritime Museum?)

- 8) "The Australians did not seem to me to differ noticeably from Americans, either in dress, carriage, ways...or general appearance."
--Mark Twain, 1895.
- 9) Another link between Australia and the United States during the 19th century: from 1897-1898, Herbert Hoover, later to become the 31st U.S. President, worked in Western Australia as a young mining engineer.
- 10) "Next to our own nation we place our kindred in America."
--Alfred Deakin, 1905 (Australian statesman?)
- 11) In September 1918, Australian and American troops fought alongside each other in the main attack on the Hindenburg Line which ended World War I, a battle experience to be shared again in WWII, Korea and Vietnam.
- 12) In 1969, an Australian radio telescope and an American antenna brought us the historic television pictures of the first manned landing on the moon. The picture everyone remembers -- Neil Armstrong's leg searching for the surface -- was first seen in a tracking station briefing room near Canberra. As a compliment to Australia, NASA in 1971 named Apollo 15 "Endeavor after Captain Cook's Endeavor.
- 13) Australia's coat of arms consist of a shield containing the badges of the 6 states. The supporters are native Australian fauna -- a kangaroo and an emu. A yellow-flowered native plant, wattle, also appears in the design.
- 14) Note: Australia taxes capital gains. (Individuals and companies pay at different rates)
- 15) Bush has called the Australian-American relationship "an intimate partnership between two peoples."
- 16) In the Persian Gulf, the first combined boarding to enforce UN resolutions was by the USS Brewton and the HMAS Darwin.
- 17) 300,000 US tourists visit Australia annually.
- 18) "It will be a very poor day when little Australia won't be able to summon up its traditional impudence by looking at the U.S. and saying, 'What do you mean, you big stiff?'"
--Sir Robert Menzies in the Sydney Morning Herald, 27 June 1964. (Possible rejoinder: "Well, Australia is not all that little, and I hope that America is not all that stiff." Could be relevant re. trade disputes)
- 19) "You must be the most beautiful people in the world."
--Duke Ellington, in the Sydney Morning Herald, 7 Feb. 1970.

- 20) Every year, America sends a high level delegation to participate in the Coral Sea Commemoration. Dan Quayle was here in '89 and Bush was here in '82.
- 21) Rugby and Cricket are Australian national pastimes. Rugby's World Cup will be over by the end of October. It will be the first time an American team has participated.
- 22) One of the most popular Australian television shows is called "The Flying Doctor." Joke potential? LA Law is the most popular American TV show here. The Civil War series was also very popular.

CANBERRA

- 1) American architect Walter Burley Griffin designed Australia's capital. Griffin was from Chicago; studied under Frank Lloyd Wright.
- 2) Canberra is known as "The Bush Capital." I think there is joke potential here, e.g. 'I know Australians and Americans are close, but you didn't have to name your capital after me.')
- 3) Canberra's detractors often refer to the capital as "Monumentsville," "a city without a mind," "the city of the gray flannel mind," and "a great waste of sheep country." Canberra's fans call her "the garden city of the Commonwealth" or "the front window of the nation." They also say that "to know Canberra is to love it."
- 4) The name "Canberra" comes from "Canberry," an Aboriginal word meaning "meeting place."
- 5) In Canberra, the kangaroos have a habit of falling people's swimming pools (don't worry, they don't drown) joke potential?
- 6) Australia has the 10 most popular snakes in the world, starting with the Death Adder.
- 7) POTUS visit coincides with the annual advent of fly season. Aussies are constantly waving off the insects, a gesture so common it's nicknamed the "Australian Wave." Maybe POTUS can joke: "Australians have a reputation for warmth and hospitality. In fact when I got off the plane, I told Barbara how flattered I was that they were all waving to me. She said, 'Sorry to burst your bubble, George, but it's fly season.'"

- 8) Kangaroos abound on tennis courts, golfing greens. Maybe there's a joke about POTUS asking PM what kind of penalty you get for hitting a roo.

SYDNEY

- 1) In the bay cradled by Darling Harbor stands a little rook named Fort Denison. It was built in the 1840's to keep Americans away at a time when the colonists in Sydney were concerned about possible American aggression springing from Anglo-American contention. It's a cute, little-known fact, which reflects the loyalty of the early Australian colony.
- 2) During World War II, Japanese submarines actually made it in to Sydney Harbor. This illustrates what a mortal threat Japan posed at the time, and provides a sharp contrast with present relations.
- 3) Looking out upon Sydney Harbor, the eye is drawn to the Pacific horizon. Given our policy themes, we might want to talk about Australia's "window on the Pacific," geographically as well as politically and economically.
- 3) Aside from the Sydney Opera House, the Sydney Harbor Bridge is also considered a famous symbol of the City.
- 4) On the state crest of South Wales appear a latin motto that translated means: "Newly Risen, How Brightly We Shine."

HONOLULU

THEMES: The stop centers around the 50th Commemoration of Pearl Harbor. We want to recognize the sacrifice of those who lost their lives and those who lost their loved ones on December 7, 1941. Lt. Gen. Fields talked of creating a realization for the American people that the attack changed America forever. We went from being an isolationist nation to an international superpower.

POTUS SCHEDULE

FRI, 12/6: --evening AF1 to Honolulu

SAT, 12/7: --7:30 helo to naval base, barge to USS Arizona for memorial ceremony. Presidential honors, brief remarks by Admiral Larson, Rear Admiral White, Moment of Silence, ship whistle, missing man flyover, national anthem, flag raising, 5 min. remarks.
--8:20 depart for K-8 (Kilo 8, it's like a pier), honors arrival, Joo intros POTUS, remarks 15-20 mins.

--9:00 depart for Hickam AFB, proceed to Kenney Conference room for brief remarks to Asian Ambassadors (in Honolulu attending annual meeting of Chiefs of Missions Conference).

--depart Honolulu

SITES

- 1) USS Arizona: The memorial itself is a bier-like structure, white, with open windows on the sky. Supported above the water, it straddles the midsection of the sunken Arizona, whose bow and stern are marked by buoys. Toward the back of the memorial is a chapel-like enclosure housing a wall with all the names of Arizona's drowned. POTUS's back will be to this wall, in front of him is a cutaway section in the memorial's floor, where one can peer down on the submerged starboard.

Remarks here are brief, as they are part of a larger, hour-long ceremony. Here, as in the longer speech, **acknowledgments are key**: both sites are far too small to accommodate the vast number of veterans, families, and guests. POTUS will be introduced by a survivor. Acknowledgements should be handled with care to make sure that no group (particular ship vets, vet organizations, etc.) are slighted.

In particular, while the memorial is for the Arizona, mentions should be made of USS Utah. The two downed ships are the only that have people entombed in them (1,177 went down with the Arizona, 58 went down with the Utah). Also, while the longer speech contains a more general Pearl Harbor focus, the memorial speech should be more specific to those who went down with the Arizona and other ships, more of a naval aspect.

Notes on the Arizona:

*One-third of all those who died at Pearl Harbor went down with the Arizona.

*USS Arizona is still commissioned.

*USS Nevada, there during the attack, will be in port to take part in the ceremony.

*Over 34 sets of brothers were killed on the Arizona.

*While I was there, I saw old women throwing leis in the water; they were crying. I'm told Japanese visitors also make their own pilgrimage to give leis.

*There is still oil leaking from the wreck; its viscous iridescence coats the water under and around the memorial.

*In the same harbor as the memorial is the Bowfin -- the sister submarine to the one that picked up POTUS when shot down.

*It's possible that commemoration will include the same vintage plane that POTUS flew in WWII.

*Sec. Cheney might take part in the day's events.

To come: I'm having faxed extensive detail on the memorial, a history of the attack, letters sent by those aboard Arizona shortly before it was bombed, letters written by family members of the fallen, letters written by contrite Japanese, survivor quotes on reconciliation, and more.

Research: get book, The Day of Infamy. Also, look for recent Approach magazine with Bush on cover; it has a detailed description of his involvement in WWII.

- 2) Major speech at K-8: Kilo 8 is a fairly nondescript pier, though apparently they'll fix it up for the commemoration. These longer remarks will be teleprompted. POTUS will be speaking with his back to the water, historical battleship row, and then Ford Island. Behind his right shoulder is the Arizona, behind his left, the Missouri. Note: look at above, Arizona info for color, etc.
- 3) Remarks to Asian Ambassadors: Conference room within AFB administrative building. Building exterior retains strafed pocks of Japanese attack. Remarks are kind of wrap up of themes and policy objectives of whole Asia swing. Asst. Secretary for East Asia Solomon is the host of the ambassadors, but he probably won't be in on meeting. Remarks are brief; wouldn't be surprised if talking points get substituted.

TOAST TO MIYAZAWA

In 1939, a young, 20 year old Japanese was chosen to participate in the sixth Japan-America Student Conference. On his way to the United States he met a young woman who helped him with his English, so well that she later became his wife. That young man still speaks excellent English, and he has just become the 49th Prime Minister of Japan.

The Japan-America Student Conference, which first brought prime Minister Miyazawa to the U.S., is now in its 43rd year. It is the longest-running exchange program between the United States and Japan. Planning for the 44th conference, to be held in the United States, is already underway. This year, the 80 participants explored the challenges of global citizenship.

This year - for the first time - the White House and this pioneer exchange organization have, in a way launched a new program together which will involve 15 Presidential Management Interns now with the U.S. government and 15 Japanese counterparts from various Japanese ministries. Each will work in his counterpart ministry or department for three weeks.

Thus, Mr. Prime Minister, exchanges of the past between us are ever blossoming into new programs to deepen understanding between our people and our governments.

Below is a start on some "local color" for the President's speeches in Japan. This is just a beginning; we will continue coming up with other materials asap. Regards.

Differences and similarities

There are a lot of differences between our two countries
-- you drive on the left side of the road, we drive on the right
-- you pull the saw, we push it
-- you soap up outside of the bathtub, we do it in the bathtub
-- your traffic lights are horizontal, ours are vertical
-- your unlucky number is 4, ours is 13
-- you see a rabbit in the moon, we see a man.

-- Yes, there are many differences, but there are perhaps even more similarities

-- we both face the Pacific
-- we both have extremes of climate, hot and cold, from Hokkaido to Okinawa or from Minnesota to Texas
-- we both came to world prominence in this century
-- we both have capitalist, market economies
-- we both enjoy democratic countries with a vigorous, free press
-- we both have modern, fast changing societies
-- we both have superior educational systems
-- we are both crazy about baseball -- in fact, your Seibu Lions and our Minnesota Twins both won the championships in the last game of their respective tourneys
-- and our political leaders are generally poor linguists--few Americans can speak Japanese and few Japanese can speak English--except for Mr. Miyzawa

*some say
can't even speak my
own language --*

Manjiro

There is an example in the life of Manjiro Nakahama, the 14-year old youth who 150 years ago was rescued at sea by American whalers before the Meiji Restoration and taken to the United States via Hawaii, landing there in 1841, then sailing into the U.S. and Fair Haven, Mass. After several years of education he returned to Japan where he advised the offices of the Tokugawa government and became the interpreter to Japan's first good will mission to the U.S. in 1860. He also interpreted for important visitors, taught in Tokyo and served as a bridge between Japan and the United States in the earliest years of our relationship.

The Manjiros of the 20th century may be those young Japanese and Americans who have volunteered to go to the other country to teach in high schools. These people play an important role in cultivating good relations between our two countries thanks to their participation in the JET program in Japan, and the REX and TAP programs in the United States. These adventurous young Japanese and Americans live in the smaller communities across our countries, teaching their own language and learning the other, immersing themselves in the local culture, and making lifelong friends. They return home with a new dedication to and enthusiasm for cordial US-Japanese ties.

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OCT 25 1991

FINAL
PROOF

James A. Baker, III

AMERICA IN ASIA:
EMERGING ARCHITECTURE FOR
A PACIFIC COMMUNITY

[Handwritten notes in blue ink]
BAKER
ASIA
File

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.¹ 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.

The global trends that are reshaping Europe and the Soviet Union have also been at work in the Asia-Pacific region: the

¹See 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.

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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.

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 Korea, 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.

AMERICA IN ASIA 3

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 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 com-

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mercial 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 shared 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 spread wide, 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 partner. Connecting these spokes is the fabric

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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 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 our-

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selves 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 draw 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.

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.² 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.

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

²APEC'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.

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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 Asian 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

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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 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

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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 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-

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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 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 constricted by exclusionary business practices, to the detriment of new players in the market-

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place—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 *sum* 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 derives 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

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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.

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

1990 figures
CIA Statistical
Handbook

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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~~ *formula* 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 with 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, Malaysia and Indonesia would 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 was 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

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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 of 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

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alliance. President Bush's nuclear disarmament initiative has created a favorable context that we hope will elicit a positive 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

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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 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

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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

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 frame-

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work 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 states 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.