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A22 THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1992 ...

THE WASHINGTON POST

# Iraq Activates Missile Batteries To Track Allied Planes in North

## *Antiaircraft Radar Follows Flights Over Kurdish Zone*

By Barton Gellman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the latest move of a yearlong war of nerves, Iraqi forces have activated anti-aircraft missile batteries within allied-controlled airspace in the country's northern Kurdish zone, U.S. and British officials disclosed yesterday.

Ground control radars for the missiles have tracked allied planes flying out of Turkey in the last 10 days, officials said, but the radars have stopped short of "locking on" to the aircraft which would signal immediate preparation to fire.

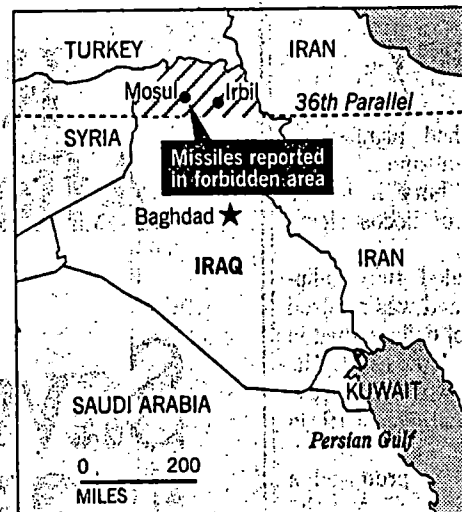
The missile deployments are seen by Bush administration officials as part of a pattern of renewed assertiveness by Iraqi military forces, more symbolic than threatening. Other recent indicators include a series of training flights this week by Iraqi jet fighters, the first since the Persian Gulf War, and a buildup of Iraqi ground forces near a strategically impor-

tant bridge linking the Kurdish strongholds of Mosul and Irbil.

National security adviser Brent Scowcroft, in an interview broadcast yesterday on Cable News Network, described the Iraqi behavior as provocative. "We are consulting with our allies about" the surface-to-air missiles, he said. "It's a matter of considerable concern."

American officers in the northern Iraqi town of Zakhu, who meet regularly with their Iraqi counterparts, also have objected to the use of the radars to track allied planes, but they have not issued an ultimatum. Officials in Washington said the Iraqis described the tracking as inadvertent.

The Iraqi deployments established batteries of Soviet-built SA-2 and SA-3 surface-to-air missiles near Mosul, a northern oil city dominated by Kurdish opponents of President Saddam Hussein, according to official Defense Department sources who spoke on condition of anonymity. Mosul is north of the 36th parallel and therefore within the zone reserved by the allies for



BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST

their own air operations, but it is south of the narrow band of territory from which Iraqi ground forces have been excluded.

The SA-2 system, used to shoot down Francis Gary Powers in his U-2 reconnaissance plane in 1960, is designed for high-altitude targets. The SA-3, which dates from the early 1970s, covers low and medium-altitude targets. Among the allied aircraft flying over northern Iraq are EF-111 electronic warfare planes, U-2 craft, and British Tornado and French Mirage fighters.

Use of ground control radars to track another nation's aircraft is typical of the cat-and-mouse game of air operations along unfriendly borders.

# State Department Backs Sale of Airbus Engines to Iran

The State Department has recommended approving the resale of U.S.-made engines and other components for two A-300 Airbus jetliners that the European manufacturer of the planes wants to sell to Iran, the department said yesterday.

The jet engines in these commercial passenger planes are made by General Electric, and U.S. government permission is required for the sale of foreign-made equipment when American technology accounts for more than 10 percent of the item's value.

Technology sales to Iran are controlled very tightly because Iran is on the list of

countries regarded by the United States as sponsors of international terrorism. However, the Commerce Department can approve licenses for such exports if State agrees to the sales.

State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said yesterday the decision does not signal a change in the U.S. policy restricting technology exports to Iran and is not meant as a gesture to the Tehran government for its help in the release late last year of the last American hostages in Lebanon.

"Our decision was made on the facts of this particular case . . . and takes into account the interest of U.S. manufacturers

to maintain their traditional supply arrangements," Tutwiler said.

The Airbus is made by a consortium originally started by France and Germany that now includes several European countries. U.S. officials said refusal to permit the Airbus sale might have caused the consortium to have second thoughts about using GE as its engine supplier and turn instead to a European manufacturer of jet engines such as Rolls Royce.

Tutwiler noted that during the past two years, the United States has approved the sale to Iran of smaller commercial aircraft made in Britain and the Netherlands but containing American components.

# Japan's Troubles Contribute to Declines Around the World

By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

Stock markets around the world fell sharply yesterday, with analysts saying that the spillover from this week's plunges in the Japanese and American markets unsettled investors.

The worst fall was in France, where an index of 40 blue-chip stocks dropped 3.4 percent. Blue-chip indexes also fell more than 1 percent in Germany, Italy, Sweden and Switzerland. The leading Hong Kong index was off 2 percent and markets in Singapore, Australia and New Zealand also fell, some hitting their lowest levels since last fall.

British blue chips fell just under a half of a percent, but they had already fallen more than 6 percent in recent weeks because of a fear that the Conservatives would lose today's general election.

But analysts also said they had yet to see signs signaling that the falls in Japan and the United States will spread around the world.

## Local Factors Important

One reason is that the declines in many markets also resulted from local factors, including the British election and the recent electoral setbacks for the ruling parties in France, Germany and Italy. Disappointment in the maiden speech of the new Prime Minister of France, Pierre Bérégovoy, was also a factor there.

Another reason is that many mar-

kets do not follow Japan's lead. Although the Nikkei index of 225 leading shares plunged 17.4 percent in the last four weeks, its decline had little impact elsewhere, even in the United States, until this week. But the 2.9 percent decline in the Dow Jones industrial average over the last two days, after it had held fairly steady all year, is a little more worrying.

This is because stock markets, especially those in Europe, follow the American market more closely, particularly when the daily moves are quite volatile. And if the United States is seen to be reacting to Japan, then the Japanese falls can take on more significance.

## U.S. Trend Watched Closely

"In terms of contagion, the United States has been more significant," said Sushil Wadhvani, the international strategist at Goldman, Sachs & Company in London. "No one really has paid any attention to Japan until this week."

But he argued that if the Dow settled down, then European stock markets, outside of Britain, should be able to recover. The British outlook depends on the election, with some analysts arguing that the Financial Times Index of 100 leading stocks could fall to the 2,200 level if the Labor Party wins. The index closed down just 11 points yesterday at 2,393.2, recovering from a steeper fall

## Around the World

|               | Change<br>Dec. 31 to<br>April 7 | Change<br>April 7 to<br>April 8 |
|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Nikkei 225    | -22.6%                          | -3.5%                           |
| Japan         | 701.000                         |                                 |
| CAC-40        | -11.9                           | -3.4                            |
| France        |                                 |                                 |
| Hang Seng     | 14.6                            | -2.0                            |
| Hong Kong     |                                 |                                 |
| DAX-30        | 10.2                            | -1.1                            |
| Germany       |                                 |                                 |
| The Dow       | 14                              | -1.0                            |
| United States |                                 |                                 |
| FTSE-100      | -3.6                            | -0.5                            |
| Britain       |                                 |                                 |

on rumors that a last pre-election poll would show the Conservatives in the lead.

In France, the market was hit by both the falls in Japan and the United States and Japan and local problems. Christian Picot, the head of equities for Paribas Capital Markets in New York, said disappointment in the first important speech by Prime Minister

Bérégovoy helped send the market down about 1.7 percent, half of the day's fall, at the end of the session. The CAC 40 index closed down 67.90 at 1,907.48.

Investors, he said, were hoping for more positive information on a savings proposal similar to the American system of individual retirement accounts and more details on the Government's effort to accelerate plans to sell state-owned or controlled companies to the public. But there were no such details.

But Mr. Picot also said the effect of the falls in New York and Tokyo had plenty of time to sink in and undermine the market. He noted that French brokers, as well as others in Europe, end their day with the news of what has happened in the United States and begin the next one with news from Japan, and that has been bad all week.

In Germany the DAX index of 30 leading shares fell 1.1 percent, or 19.41 points, closing at 1,720.01. Traders said they were relieved that the market had not fallen further. But trading ended before New York opened and the Dow fell 32.2 points, or 1 percent, which means that Germany could fall further today.

Like other countries, Germany has local problems that already made the market vulnerable. One is new inflation numbers that may delay a cut in interest rates there even into next year.

October 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR SPEECHWRITERS  
RESEARCHERS

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: ASIA PRE-ADVANCE RESEARCH

JAPAN

SCHEDULE

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

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## 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 buildings 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.

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)  
February 8, 1991 1 p.m.  
HOLOCAUST

**PRESIDENTIAL VIDEO: HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL PRESENTATION**

There are no words to describe the Holocaust. No way to express its inhumanity. Or redeem its horror.

There is only one thing we can do: we can remember. We must remember. We have no right not to remember. Because forgetting is a violation. But remembering -- is a redemption.

So Americans of all creeds are helping a Phoenix rise -- through the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Across this nation, people are joining together to envision, to create, and to endow this legacy to the eternal flame of the human spirit. \\

In 1993, when the Museum is completed, it will be the site of a pilgrimage of remembrance. By remembering, we bear witness to the victims' terrible sacrifice. To their memories we pledge eternal honor. And in their memory we pledge eternal vigilance.

The Museum will be more than our nation's official memorial to those who suffered. It will also be a constant reminder of the forces that must guide us as individuals and as nations.

Here, we will learn that each of us bears responsibility for our actions -- and for our failure to act.

Here we will learn we must intervene when we see evil arise.

Here, we will learn more about the moral lodestone by which we each must navigate our lives -- and by which countries must navigate our destinies.

Here, we will learn about the principles of humanity and morality that compel our world as urgently today as ever before. \\

By illustrating what happens when a people fails to live by these precepts, the Museum will be important not only in paying tribute to the past -- but also in shaping our nation's future. For here we will renew our determination to fight all enemies of the human spirit. We will realize that man created this ultimate horror. And that only man can keep it from happening again. \\\

The charge and example of the extraordinary Elie Wiesel should inspire us all. He wrote: "I decided to devote my life to telling the story [of the Holocaust] because I felt that having survived I owe something to the dead ... and anyone who does not remember betrays them again."

We will not betray them. We will remember them forever.

# # # #

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)  
June 10, 1991 1 p.m.  
SIMONW Draft Two

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER DINNER KEYNOTE**  
Sunday June 16, 1991 7 p.m.  
Los Angeles, California

Rabbi Hier, I'll cherish this sacred gift. To you: "I lift up the cup of redemption in thanks and gratitude." I've heard that at Seder this Cup of Elijah is filled with wine -- and with the promise of redemption. And I know the verse that says Elijah "shall turn the heart of the parents to the children, and the heart of the children to their parents." I hope this symbolic gift can challenge us to do the same -- to reclaim our soul through love for our human family. A love born of remembrance.

The extraordinary hero this center honors is our living embodiment of remembrance. The two pledges of Simon Wiesenthal's life inspire us all -- "Never Forget" and "Never Again."

He reminds us that we can do nothing that matters until we learn the lessons of the concentration camps. I've been to Auschwitz. I've seen the children's shoes. The rubble of ovens. The images of human evil. When I left, I left part of me there. But I took something away in its place -- the determination not just to remember but also to act.

I say this to you as a World War II veteran -- as an American -- and as President of the United States. We must never forget. We must never deny. The haunting images compel us to guard against tyranny and inhumanity. Remembering makes us strong. And remembering makes us act.

But we must also remember something more powerful than the

horror -- the triumph of the inextinguishable human spirit. Those who survived the Holocaust could have sunk into hate and revenge. What world would have blamed them? But, instead, they lifted themselves -- and all of humanity -- toward a greater goal. I believe that the ultimate lesson here is the transcendent glory of survival. Hope triumphed over horror. Life triumphed over death.

Elie Wiesel dedicated his life to Holocaust victims because "anyone who does not remember betrays them again." These must become our days of remembrance. This freedom we enjoy carries a terrible responsibility. The genocide of WWII is over, but the victims of other human rights abuse call to us daily from across the globe. In the memory of the 6 million who died -- we must not close our eyes. We must not block our ears. We must not hold our tongues.

Holocaust survivors lead our way. When Saddam Hussein unleashed his evil against the Kurds, Simon Wiesenthal was among the first to speak out. He said: "Silence is admittance. "We cannot tolerate silence." It was because of Saddam's unimaginable evil against fellow human beings that we made our stand in the Persian Gulf. It was a moral imperative. The world had ignored the brewing madness 50 years ago. Never forget. Never again.

We leapt to action again to protect another threatened people -- the Ethiopian Jews. Rudy Boschwitz was my special emissary. It was a proud moment of my Presidency when I awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal for helping in what turned

out to be one of the most intensive humanitarian airlifts in history. We worked closely with the Israeli government, and in less than 24 hours the Falashas had been delivered from harm's way; reunited with loved ones; and given the opportunity to begin new lives in Israel.

We're here in honor of a place that drives us all toward that kind of action. It shatters our complacency by showing us what the face of human evil looks like. For the Simon Wiesenthal Center is not just a museum, although its vivid images will never let the past fade. It's also an activist organization of more than one million members. One million separate voices bound together in single purpose -- the call for all lives to have meaning, dignity, and hope.

I thought of that earlier tonight when the Holocaust survivors brought in the Mauthausen flag. It was one of the most moving moments of my life. What a story -- those men and women creating out of scraps this symbol of the values that gave them hope. Just think -- those values were the ones this country was founded on -- ones we too often take for granted. I wish every American could hear this story, could see this flag.

The values those courageous Jewish victims saw symbolized in our flag became the ones on which they founded their new homeland. These shared values unite our country and Israel in an extraordinary kinship. Values like: Freedom. Democracy. Morality. Respect. Deeply rooted traditions of tolerance. Individual rights and liberties. Our countries have forged an unprecedented bond -

- a bond of shared ideals, shared struggles, shared commitments.

Tonight, I want to return to those essential, basic values and pledge America's eternal vigilance for justice, peace, and human rights throughout the world. As your President, I say:

There is no room in our America for indifference. The Holocaust must never be dehumanized, dismissed, or forgotten. We pledge to preserve forever its memory.

There is no room in our America for evil. We must search out and expose every last Nazi fugitive or war criminal hiding in the shadows. We pledge to bring them to justice.

There is no room in this country for hate crimes. We must raise our voices and the full force of our law against every hate group, desecrater and demagogue, brown shirt or white sheet. We pledge not to be fooled by a change in disguise -- corruption and inhumanity still lie buried in their hearts.

There is no room in our America for bigotry. We must stand firm against ignorance, racism and discrimination in any form and any place -- in our cities, in our music, in our media, in our minds, in our hearts. And in subtly subversive quota bills. We pledge to point the finger of shame wherever the hatred of bigotry festers -- and to rid our land of it for our children.

There is no room in our America -- and our world -- for anti-semitism. The insidious ugliness of this cancer destroys the human spirit. We pledge to root it out and conquer it wherever it may start to grow.

There is no room in our world for persecution of a people.

We must assure that security of Jewish opportunity and identity is a reality. We pledge to give our hearts and aid to helping Jewish people in despair wherever they may be.

There is no room in our world for persecution of a nation. Israel's survival must be guaranteed. We pledge our unwavering support for her and for our joint goal of just and lasting peace.

There is no room in our world for religious intolerance. We will continue to press the human rights agenda until every oppression of Soviet Jewry has been erased. We pledge never to give up hope -- and never to cease to work for their freedom.

Above all, we must each of us embody in our lives the lesson of this center -- the lesson so brilliantly expressed by its hero, Simon Wiesenthal, who reminds us: "Freedom is not a gift from Heaven. One must fight for it every day." That, my friends, is our final -- and most important -- pledge.

Thank you for the privilege of sharing this evening with you -- and for the warmth of your friendship. May God Bless us all.

# # # # #

## **ECONOMIC THEMES FOR THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO ASIA**

### **Both the U.S. and Asia benefit from free trade and open markets:**

- o Our economic relationship is not a zero-sum game for either partner.
- o The American economy and American jobs increasingly depend on free trade and open markets.
  - In the United States, nearly half (49%) of our GNP growth between 1985 and 1990 was attributable to exports.
  - In 1991, U.S. will export close to \$700 billion worth of merchandise and services.
  - Record 7.2 million jobs were supported directly and indirectly by U.S. merchandise exports alone in 1990.
    - More than 19,000 jobs are supported per billion dollars of U.S. exports.
- o Asia's stake in the trading system is greater than ours. The export strength and economic growth of Asian economies will continue to be dependent upon open international markets for goods, services, and investment.
  - Asian economies are relatively more dependent than the U.S. economy on exports and imports.
  - In 1990, exports amounted to 32% of GNP in Korea and 15% of GNP in Japan; by comparison, U.S. figure is 10%.
- o If the open trading system cannot be preserved and expanded in the Uruguay Round, Asia's prosperity could be jeopardized by stagnant world trade.

### **Asia is increasingly important to the U.S. economy:**

- o The United States is a Pacific power, with vital economic, as well as political, interests in the region.
- o Asia is an important and growing market for U.S. exports and a source of U.S. job creation.
  - Japan (#2), Korea (#6), and Taiwan (#9) were among top 10 markets for U.S. exports in 1990.
  - In 1990, U.S. manufacturers sold \$115 billion of goods in the Asia-Pacific region (29% of total U.S. exports); by comparison, \$113 billion in goods were sold in Western Europe.

- Exports to Japan and the four Asian NIE's alone support an estimated 1.7 million U.S. jobs.
- o Trade with Asia accounts for large and growing proportion of total U.S. trade.
  - In 1980, U.S.-Asia trade accounted for 24% of total U.S. trade (imports and exports). By 1990, Asia accounted for 34% of total trade.
- o Asia is also a large consumer of U.S. services, including financial services, an area in which the United States has special expertise.
  - In 1990, U.S. sold \$22.9 billion in services to Japan and Australia alone.
- o The westward shift of U.S. population, immigration patterns, and increased cultural diversity in the United States point to ever closer economic relations with Asia and the Pacific.
  - The U.S. population is increasingly concentrated in the Western states (21.2% of total U.S. population in 1990).
  - A large and increasing share of U.S. GNP is produced in the Western states.
  - Asians represent growing share of U.S. population (6.9 million in 1990 or 2.8% of total vs. 1.6% in 1980) and growing share of U.S. immigration.

**Asia needs our exports:**

- o Asia's demand for imports -- our exports -- will increase as Asian economies grow wealthier.
- o Asian consumers need access to foreign goods and services if they are to raise their standard of living and enjoy the fruits of their labors.
  - Japanese Prime Minister Miyazawa, for example, recently stated that Japan should become a "lifestyle superpower". This will benefit our economy by increasing opportunities for U.S. exporters.

**Asian countries have cooperated with the U.S.:**

- o The U.S.-Asia relationship helps reinforce global cooperation for the benefit of citizens of all nations.
- o Several Asian nations helped shoulder the economic burden of

the international effort to counter Iraq's aggression.

- \$10.4 billion was committed by Japan (\$10.0 billion) and Korea (\$355 million) to offset U.S. military costs of Operation Desert Storm.
- \$2.8 billion in economic assistance was committed by Australia (\$14 million), Japan (\$2.7 billion), and Korea (\$115 million) to ease impact of Gulf Crisis on the frontline states in the Middle East (Egypt, Turkey, and Jordan).
- o In the G-7 and Economic Summit fora, Japan has helped foster sustainable world growth with low inflation.
- o Japan has also supported U.S. initiatives to resolve the international debt problems of the developing nations. For example:
  - It pledged \$500 million for the Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF) for Latin America, one third of total MIF funding.
  - Japan contributed almost \$500 million to international efforts to clear the arrears owed by Panama, Nicaragua, and Panama to the international financial institutions.
- o Asian countries have helped the U.S. in efforts to strengthen market forces in Eastern Europe and in developing countries. This will help open up these economies for U.S. trade and investment.

Treasury Department  
December 10, 1991

## **KOREA**

### **FINANCIAL SERVICES**

- o The Korean financial system is antiquated, over-regulated, and ill-suited to the needs of Korea's dynamic economy.
- o U.S. banks and securities firms face numerous barriers to entering and operating in the Korean market.
- o In addition, elimination of Korea's pervasive controls over interest rates, credit allocation, and capital flows is essential if U.S. financial institutions are to enjoy long-term competitiveness in Korea, and U.S. businesses are to find adequate funding sources.
- o The Treasury Department and Korean Ministry of Finance have made some progress in bilateral talks in addressing both specific national treatment issues and broader financial liberalization. However, much work remains to be done.
- o The USG has also sought Korean cooperation in bringing about a strong financial services agreement in the Uruguay Round; Korea's support thus far has been very disappointing.
- o Our specific objectives for the President's trip include:
  - A public statement by the ROKG of its commitment to financial liberalization, including support for a strong Uruguay Round financial services agreement.
  - Issuance of a comprehensive blueprint for financial market liberalization, with a clear timetable for implementation.
  - Implementation of a commitment last spring to ease restrictions on deferred payment terms for imports by the end of 1991.

**Treasury Department  
December 10, 1991**

## **JAPAN**

### **ECONOMIC THEMES**

- o The U.S. and Japan have the single most important bilateral economic relationship in the world.
  - With the world's two largest economies, their actions impact many other nations, as well.
- o Despite disputes over trade issues, Japan has cooperated closely with the U.S. (e.g. in the Economic Summit and G-7 framework) to foster sustainable world growth with low inflation, and has been very supportive of a number of U.S. initiatives, including resolving the debt crisis in developing countries.
- o However, a number of contentious economic issues in the area of trade, financial services, and investment plague the bilateral relationship, despite continuous bilateral consultations.

#### **Uruguay Round:**

- o Agriculture is the key to compromise; Japanese need to show leadership and contribute to a successful conclusion.
- o Also need liberalization in financial services area.

#### **Japan's External Surpluses:**

- o We are concerned about Japan's rising current account surplus
  - Surplus is expected to rise from \$36 billion in 1990 to \$68 billion in 1991, according to the IMF). This imbalance can disturb financial markets and feed protectionism.
- o Although the U.S. trade deficit with Japan fell from a peak of \$57 billion in 1987 to about \$42 billion last year, it is beginning to increase again and still accounted for two-thirds of the overall U.S. trade deficit through September, 1991.
- o This highlights need for Japanese to maintain economic growth and open markets.

#### **Export Dependency and Bilateral Trade:**

- o Although both the U.S. and Japan have major stakes in preserving the open trading system, Japan is somewhat more dependent on exports than the U.S.

- Japan's exports of goods and services accounted for 15 percent of GNP in 1990. For the U.S., the figure was 10 percent.
- The U.S. is Japan's most important market, accounting for almost 32% of Japan's exports and almost 22% of Japan's imports in 1990.
- Japan is the U.S.' second most important market, accounting for 12% of U.S. exports and 18% of U.S. imports in 1990.
- In finance-related service transactions (royalties and license fees, financial services and insurance) the U.S. has a surplus with Japan. U.S. receipts amounted to \$4.0 billion in 1990, compared to payments of \$1.4 billion.

#### Foreign Investment:

- o The U.S. market is far more open to foreign direct investment than Japan's. This has fed Congressional and popular concern in the U.S.
- o Cumulative direct investment inflows into the U.S. during the period 1981-90 amounted to \$355 billion (\$80 billion from Japan alone), compared with only \$6 billion in the same ten year period into Japan from all sources.
  - During the period 1981-90, cumulative foreign direct investment in the U.S. represented about 5.7% of total U.S. fixed investment. In Japan, the equivalent number was 0.1%, a difference of more than 50:1.

#### Exchange Rate:

- o Yen/dollar rate has been quite stable since October 1991 G-7 Ministers meeting.
- o U.S. believes rates in G-7 countries are consistent with balance of payments adjustment needs and underlying economic fundamentals.

#### Japanese Financial Markets:

- o Despite U.S. efforts to open up Japan's financial markets, Japanese banks are far more important in the U.S. than U.S. banks in Japan. Japanese banks in the U.S. hold 11% of U.S. banking assets; U.S. banks in Japan hold less than 1% of Japanese bank assets.

- o We have been negotiating with the Japanese since 1984 to liberalize financial markets. Significant progress has been achieved, but more needs to be done.
- o Recent financial scandals are symptomatic of the continued lack of transparency and competition in the Japanese market. Japan needs to take steps to reform its system and restore international confidence.

Structural Impediments Initiative (SII):

- o SII represents an important initiative to reduce impediments to competition and adjustment of external imbalances. SII success can help to head off protectionism.
  - For example, U.S. has urged Japan to: increase public infrastructure investment to improve economic well being; reduce monopolistic effects of keiretsu business practices; and open up distribution system to imports,
- o Some progress has been achieved, but it is essential that we re-energize the SII process by introducing new commitments on both sides.

Treasury Department  
December 10, 1991

## **AUSTRALIA**

### **ECONOMIC THEMES**

- o Australia has been an invaluable negotiating partner in the Uruguay Round, especially on agricultural issues like the CAP.
- o Facing its fourth year of declining agricultural income, Australia has pressed the U.S. on farm issues:
  - It has complained about U.S. subsidized wheat sales, is unhappy with having to negotiate with the U.S. a voluntary restraint agreement on beef, and is concerned about a 34% cut in its sugar import quota due to increased U.S. production.
- o Australia's financial markets have been relatively closed to foreign entry. However, under reforms recommended to Parliament in November, foreign banks would be allowed easier entry and operation.

Treasury Department  
December 10, 1991

## **SINGAPORE**

### **FINANCIAL SERVICES**

- o Singapore is an important offshore financial center, and maintains a relatively open market for foreign firms.
- o However, U.S. firms face discrimination in the significantly smaller domestic market.
- o The U.S. seeks Singapore's support for a strong financial services agreement in the Uruguay Round. At a minimum, the U.S. would like to see Singapore stop blocking progress and play a more constructive leadership role.
  - The lack of support from Singapore and the other ASEAN countries for a strong financial services agreement in the Uruguay Round has been very disappointing.
- o In the bilateral financial services negotiations, the U.S. seeks a commitment from Singapore for a level local playing field in both the banking and securities sectors.

Treasury Department  
December 10, 1991

## SII - U.S. Commitments

### Issue:

GOJ officials have criticized the USG for not following through on as many of its commitments as the GOJ has done. By their count, Japan has completed 80 percent of its commitments, while the USG has completed 20 percent, at best.

### Suggested Talking Points:

- What matters most in SII is the significance of the undertakings, not the quantity.
- The U.S. deserves credit for making substantial progress on its commitments, which, in many respects, have been more difficult politically than those that Japan has undertaken.
- There is an asymmetry to U.S. and Japanese undertakings. In many cases, Japan is being asked to open up its economy and improve the lifestyle of its people, while the U.S. is trying to cut public expenditures to reduce its budget deficit and stave off protectionist pressure to close the U.S. market.
- The GOJ may have passed a larger number of pieces of SII legislation than in the U.S., but the U.S. has resisted a larger number of protectionist and budget-busting bills than Japan.
- In both countries, we are trying to deal with ingrained structural problems in a way which will have a lasting effect, even if it takes some time for their effects to be felt.
- The two most important efforts by the United States include:
  - o undertaking major budget reforms, which are holding the line on deficit spending, even in a difficult recession year;
    - This package included tax increases that were undertaken at great political cost, and an even tighter rein on discretionary spending.
    - We haven't seen a sustained reduction in the deficit numbers yet; nor has Japan in its trade numbers. The U.S. budget deficit will come down, though, and the reduction will be lasting.
    - In comparison, the parallel Japanese commitment to increase public infrastructure spending benefits numerous Japanese constituencies and is politically popular.

o **vigorously defending open investment policy;**

- Administration has maintained its open investment policy in the face of numerous protectionist proposals and growing mood of isolationism.
- In contrast, Japan's commitments are aimed at opening its markets, with benefits for the consumer.

[May wish to note Presidential Statement strongly reaffirming open investment policy, if released.]

-- In addition, U.S. has taken a number of other measures:

- o **intensified export promotion efforts, with a particular focus on Japan;**
- o **embarked on an ambitious program to improve workforce education and training;**
  - In April 1991, President Bush outlined strategy to achieve national education goals, called "America 2000," which involves major reforms to primary and secondary education system.
- o **increased Federal support for research and development efforts;**
  - The FY 1992 budget proposed to allocate about \$76 billion for R&D in 1992, an increase of over \$8 billion, or 13 percent over 1991 levels. This is the highest level ever.

and

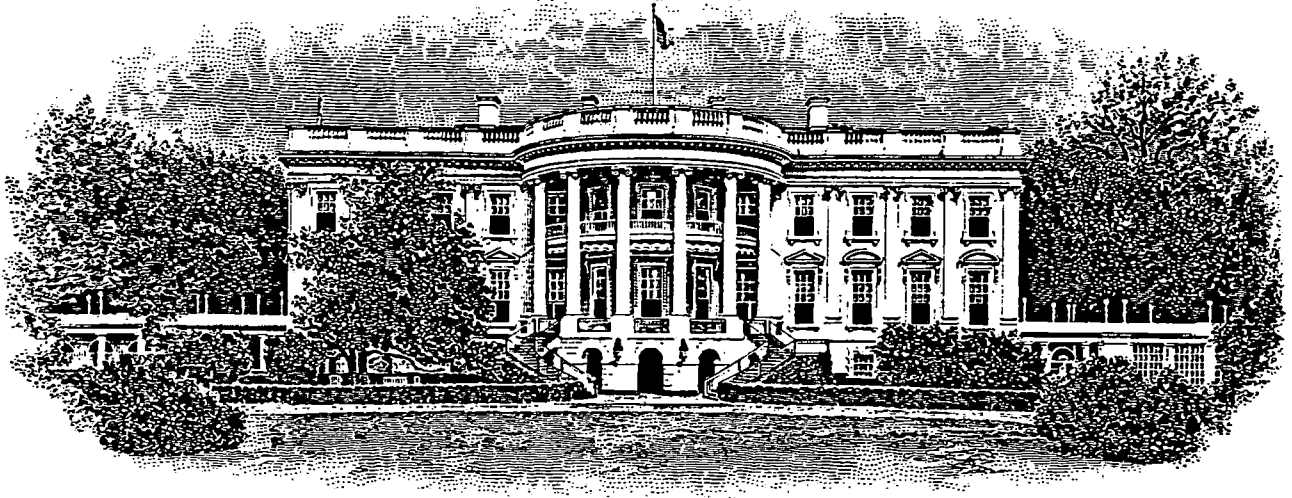
- o **continued to work toward strengthening incentives for private saving and long-term investment (e.g., reduction of capital gains tax; enhanced IRAs; Family Savings Accounts), despite strong political resistance.**

-- U.S. intends to intensify these efforts.

12/9/91  
Treasury

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 12, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MATSUMOTO

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
WHITE HOUSE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO JAPAN

As discussed, I am sending you a list of the speeches I'm working on for President Bush's upcoming trip to Japan. I am adding notes on the kind of research I'm looking for in each speech. Whatever you can send me today or tomorrow would be greatly appreciated. If your suggestions fit, I will insert them into the speeches. Ultimately, I will try to send you copies of the speeches after the trip so that you can see your contributions. Again, I want to express my deepest gratitude for your attention and help in this matter on such short notice.

1) After Dinner Toast at Prime Minister's Residence:

--any proverbs or quotes by famous/historical Japanese figures on friendship, cooperation, progress, the future, world peace, or any other topic appropriate to such an event.

--any historical anecdotes about Japanese/American friendship, cooperation.

--any anecdotes you may know of about Miyazawa

2) Mita Senior High School: (The President will visit this high school in Tokyo, and then deliver brief remarks to the students there and students around Japan via satellite hookup.)

--quotes about the importance of education? The importance of sharing knowledge?

--what kinds of things could the President say that might have resonance with Japanese youth? Could he talk about the differences and similarities between Japanese and American young people or their lifestyles?

--Is there anything that would be appropriate as humour?

3) Welcoming Reception Hotel New Otani: (this will be the major speech in Japan, with an audience of major political and business leaders)

THEMES AND TOPICS FOR PRESIDENT'S AUSTRALIA SPEECHES  
(November 26, 1991)

There will be two opportunities for the President to make major speeches while in Australia. The first will be in Canberra on Thursday, January 2, when he addresses a joint session of parliament. The general focus of this address should be on the bilateral relationship, although global regional themes should also be included. A second speaking engagement will be on Friday, January 3, in Melbourne, where he is invited to speak on regional/global themes at a luncheon for business executives and others hosted by Victoria State Premier Joan Kierner.

Parliament Address on U.S.-Australia Bilateral Relations  
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Themes to Include: Though largely focused on bilateral issues, global themes should be included. The address should recognize the close strategic relationship that has existed bilaterally, the success of this relationship, and the need to maintain our partnership in the face of post-Cold War era challenges. Bilateral, regional and global economic issues should also be touched upon. Finally, there should be reference to expanding cooperation in other areas of particular relevance to younger (post-WW II) Australians such as culture and education, the environment, economics and narcotics.

Continuing Importance of the Alliance:

- o Our long-standing strategic alliance has served us well. Next year we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Battle of the Coral Sea. It will be a special commemoration of the close and special defense partnership that had origins in the Second World War. (The President's personal involvement in the Pacific theater during that war can lend special significance to this testimonial.)
- o However, looking ahead over the next fifty years, the post-Cold War Era presents new challenges for our alliance. While East-West tensions have diminished, other problems such as ethnic rivalries, nationalist aspirations and territorial or political disputes -- suppressed during the Cold War period -- are now arising.

- o In these endeavors, Australia has and continues to play an important role:
  - Note contributions to the Gulf War, refugee assistance and the ongoing naval interdiction effort in the region. Express appreciation for Australian public support during the Gulf War for the Coalition and its policies.
  - Note Australia's active role in developing a framework for the current peace process which is taking place in Cambodia, as well as Australia's contribution to the peace keeping force.
  - Note strong efforts on proliferation issues, particularly regarding nuclear and chemical weapons proliferation.
- o Our partnership on these and other issues has become increasingly important, especially in the wake of the tremendous changes that have occurred in the world over the last two years.

Stress Cooperation on Multilateral Trade Issues:

- o The New Order that is being shaped encompasses not just the political realm but the economic. Both our countries have been at the forefront, pushing hard for free and open markets in the world. We must avoid the creation of trading blocs. And we must continue our joint efforts to shape an international trading system which will foster rather than obstruct free trade, particularly through a successful conclusion of the GATT Uruguay Round.
  - Acknowledge Australia's leadership in establishing APEC and in shaping its development as an important international economic entity.
  - Note Australia's bipartisan efforts to press the EC to end agricultural subsidies and for a successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round.
  - Note that what we are pursuing in the NAFTA is not a bloc. We intend to lower internal barriers, not create external barriers. NAFTA will be GATT consistent.

Reassure on U.S. Engagement in the Region:

- o Our reasons for remaining engaged and active in Asia and the Pacific are obvious. The Asia-Pacific region is now America's largest trading partner, with trans-Pacific commerce totalling more than \$300 billion in annual two-way trade. This is nearly one-third larger than that across the Atlantic.
- o We will remain committed to our allies and to fulfilling our security obligations. The U.S. will remain engaged in Asia and the Pacific.
- o Our bilateral and multilateral arrangements in this region have worked well. These arrangements will continue to be key to our mutual security in the decades ahead.
- o The regional partnerships which the U.S. enjoys with Australia and other countries have provided the foundation for economic and political stability in the region.

Future Relations Between Australia and the U.S.

- o We have points of differences, but overall our relations are excellent. We share common histories and similar values. And we see this relationship strengthening further in the years ahead. Some trends to point to:

In culture and education:

- Australian culture increasingly influences American music, cinema and sports.
- There is also a solid basis of bilateral academic interchange, including the 40-year-old Fulbright program in Australia and numerous private exchanges involving younger Australians at the secondary level.
- The U.S. 4-H organization, Future Farmers of America, and Rotary are among the groups with active exchange programs with Australian counterparts.

In bilateral economic relations:

- The importance of bilateral trade: after Japan, the U.S. is Australia's largest trade partner. Annual bilateral trade exceeds US\$ 13 billion.
- U.S. firms have over US\$ 15 billion invested in Australia, the second highest in Asia after Japan, much of it in leading edge technology in telecommunications, aviation, and informatics, as well as manufacturing, mining, agriculture, and energy.
- Tourism remains very big business for both countries. Nearly one-half million people travel each way each year. United Airlines and Northwest both inaugurated new routes to Australia in 1991.
- We are broadening economic dialogue, this year initiating bilateral consultations on agricultural issues and continuing our consultations and joint efforts in important international economic fora such as APEC and the GATT.

In environmental and resource management:

- Cooperation in conservation and environmental protection is expanding; we have many shared interests and similarities in resource endowments (i.e., coal, oil, gas, hard rock minerals) and topography. There are many recent examples of cooperation:
- Our two governments have established a High Level Group on Energy to exchange information on energy policy, programs, demand; to review ongoing research and development; and to engage in joint research efforts.
- US Interior Department (DOI) Minerals Management Service has recently signed a bilateral MOU with Australia's Department of Primary Industries and Energy (DPIE) for sharing data on offshore minerals development, including environmental protection aspects.

- DOI Bureau of Land Management has initiated a dialogue with DPIE that is focused on the need to balance the extraction of minerals, oil, gas, and timber with the growing demands for recreation, and management of cultural resources, and wildlife and fisheries habitats. Plans include an exchange of technical personnel between our countries.
- USDOC/NOAA officials have recently met with their Australian counterparts to discuss ways in which our two nations can strengthen efforts regarding the important environmental problems of driftnet fishing, endangered species, and the monitoring/assessment of the global warming threat.
- In APEC, where Australia leads the Energy Working Group, our two governments are cooperating closely to establish a regional clean coal technology utilization center.
- The U.S. and Australia recently co-sponsored the creation of an International Forestry Research Institute to focus on issues related to the conservation of tropical forests and the arrest of deforestation and environmental degradation.

In fighting illicit narcotics:

- Australia has done much to assist regional countries in their counternarcotics efforts and is an active member of the "Dublin Group" of donor nations that coordinates counternarcotics aid to producer nations.
- Our countries are united in the worldwide fight against drug abuse and trafficking, which is becoming a security threat of the 1990s.

Other issues:

- o There are some issues on which we do not meet eye-to-eye but which should also be mentioned.
  - Encourage continued Australian support for an ambitious Uruguay Round package including disciplines on Trade Related Investment Measures (which Australia continues to oppose) and services, where Australia has been more forthcoming recently.
  - Australia remains on the Special 301 Priority Watch list for local content requirements on television broadcasting. This is barrier to cultural interchange. We hope to see a phase-out, not a phase-in, of local content requirements.
  - IPR: On parallel import of books, there have been slight improvements in this area, but we urge the GOA to adopt provisions that would completely exempt foreign textbooks from parallel imports.
  - IPR: We also are concerned by the Australian Attorney-General's rejection of a proposed amendment to the copyright law to provide an exclusive rental right for sound recordings. While Australia works for stronger standards for IPR in the Round, its actions at home are not consistent with this.
- o One particularly difficult issue is Australian continuing concern over the impact on Australian farmers of the U.S. Export Enhancement Program for agriculture. This issue should be confronted sympathetically but directly:
  - Note the plight of American as well as Australian farmers, our legitimate stake in world grain markets, our intention to continue EEP as leverage on the EC, and our hope that export subsidies will be sharply reduced in the Uruguay Round.

- Recognize and regret that EEP is a factor affecting Australian farmers, but note other factors -- especially EC dumping, higher global production, Australia's transport/port inefficiencies affecting competitiveness, the drought, the high cost of agricultural inputs, and the simultaneous collapse of the wool market.
- Stress that we take Australian interests into account in implementing EEP, including setting up a bilateral consultative mechanism that met in August for the first time, and will continue.

Melbourne Luncheon Speech on Global/Regional Issues  
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*Also emphasize business*

Overall themes: Begin with the changes in Europe and move on to the latest initiatives in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. While addressing the changing political winds in the world, the President should also assure continued U.S. commitment to regional stability in Asia and the Pacific. Finally, focus should be placed upon international economic issues of mutual concern.

Recognize Australia's Growing International Role:

- o Express appreciation for the leadership role Australia has assumed in the world.
  - Australia's contribution to the Gulf War
  - Active role in working toward a settlement in Cambodia
  - Leadership in forming APEC
  - Strong efforts on proliferation issues, particularly regarding nuclear and chemical weapons
- o Our partnership has become increasingly important, especially in the wake of the tremendous changes that have occurred in the world over the last two years.

U.S. Regional Role to Remain Strong:

- o The regional partnership which the U.S. has enjoyed with Australia and other countries has been the foundation for economic and political stability in the region.
- o Despite the changes elsewhere in the world, the U.S. will remain engaged, concerned and active in Asia and the Pacific, both in strategic and economic terms.

Facing Challenges Ahead:

- o This is not to say that there are no challenges ahead:
  - The proliferation of chemical, nuclear and biological weapons of mass destruction remains a problem; Australia's role in achieving international safeguards to reverse the proliferation trend has been critical to this effort.
  - We share a common view that the formation of protective trading blocs must be avoided, and support for cooperative frameworks such as APEC must be vigorously continued.
  - We should do all we can to open markets and foster free trade in order to strengthen international economic cooperation, confidence and recovery.

POSSIBLE LANGUAGE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S AUSTRALIA SPEECHES  
(NOVEMBER 26, 1991)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

-- This is only my second visit to Australia, but my impressions of your vast and beautiful country will always be very special ones.

-- (Insert complimentary remarks on Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne -- depending on itinerary. Could also make reference to Australia's size by noting that several states the size of Texas would fit in Western Australia.)

THE ALLIANCE

-- It isn't just Australia's natural beauty that draws Americans "down under." We share a long-standing friendship established by the special alliance that has served our two countries so well.

-- I was deeply moved by my visit to the Australian War Memorial. It evoked memories of the sacrifices that both our countries have made, often side by side.

-- Yanks and Aussies fought together in World War I, helping to liberate France. The first U.S.-Australian military cooperation took place when elements of the U.S. 33rd Division joined Australian troops in the capture of Le Hamel, France.

-- And in World War II, our troops again fought side by side, and half a million U.S. military men and women served in Australia through that war.

-- Together, U.S. and Australian forces fought throughout the Pacific, in tough land, sea, and air combat. Our alliance and partnership has been solid ever since -- in Korea, Vietnam, and most recently in the Persian Gulf.

RECOGNIZING AUSTRALIA'S INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL ROLE

-- While our close and important strategic relationship will continue to be of great mutual benefit, Australia has matured to become a positive force of its own in world affairs. We welcome this; your views are valued and while we may not see eye-to-eye on every issue, the direction of your policies are complementary to our own. Let me cite some examples:

-- In the post-Cold War era, we are witnessing a reinvigorated role for the United Nations. Much credit goes to Australia for facilitating this.

-- Your initiative and persistence was key to shaping the framework for the Cambodia peace settlement finally agreed to by all warring factions last October. And Australia continues to ensure that the process toward democracy and lasting peace in Cambodia does not falter.

-- You were among the first to dispatch aid and technical support under the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), to which an Australian was appointed by the UN Secretary General to command.

-- Australians also serve under the UN banner in the Western Sahara and are a vital part of the Multinational Interdiction Force, ensuring that UN sanctions against Iraq are enforced under international law. In the Middle East, as in Cambodia, you have been quick to provide humanitarian relief. Last May your defence force provided medical teams and water purification equipment and services to Kurds and Iraqis fleeing Saddam's oppression.

-- But even long before the Gulf War, Australia had the foresight to focus world attention on the problems which are now emerging as key concerns for the world community. Thanks to your efforts, the "Australia Group" was established in 1984, and is currently comprised of 22 nations dedicated to preventing the use and spread of chemical and biological weapons throughout the world.

-- Australia also plays a lead role in international economics. It was Prime Minister Hawke who pushed the idea of a regional effort to promote freer trade by eliminating trade barriers and establishing common policies. Through his vision and efforts was born the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, a key economic forum we know as APEC. And since its first ministerial in Canberra two years ago, APEC has succeeded in mobilizing the support of all fifteen participants to push for substantive progress in this key GATT Uruguay Round.

-- Clearly, Australia has established itself as a strong promoter of multilateral solutions to important international problems, be they military, social, political or social in nature. And in large measure, your goals are shared by the United States.

#### ASSURING CONTINUED U.S. ENGAGEMENT IN THE REGION

-- Let me take this opportunity to assure you that we, too, are committed to remaining engaged throughout the world. There are some naysayers who wrongly predict that recent events in Europe and Asia will lead to a more isolationist America. This could not be farther from the truth.

-- America tried to politically isolate itself from the world in the past, and we ended up fighting two bloody world wars. We also tried economic isolation that only helped to set off a devastating world depression.

-- Current trends point to our strengthened engagement in Asia and the Pacific in the decades ahead. This region has become our largest and fastest growing trade partner. Two-way trade between the region and the U.S. now amounts to more than \$300 billion, nearly one-third larger than that across the Atlantic.

-- American firms have invested more than \$61 billion in the region, and that will certainly grow. On the other hand, investors from the Asia-Pacific have invested more than \$95 billion in the U.S.

-- Our bilateral trade relationship with Australia is strong and growing. Total bilateral trade exceeds US\$ 13 billion, having grown over 20 percent in the last five years. After Japan, the U.S. is Australia's most important trading partner, taking 12 percent of her exports, and providing 23 percent of her imports. At US\$ 14 billion, Australia is the largest recipient of total U.S. direct investment in the Asia-Pacific region, again next to Japan.

-- In everything from automobiles to microchips, from baseball to Australian rules football, we grow closer -- not isolated -- with each day.

-- Cooperation and dialogue on economic issues can only benefit our respective economies. We must continue this openness in our relationship, and indeed work for greater openness in our trade relations, particularly as we both continue to face economic difficulties on the domestic front.

#### REMARKS ON THE EXPORT ENHANCEMENT PROGRAM

-- But while we generally agree on the goals, we sometimes differ on the means. Our use of the Export Enhancement Program to counter the agricultural subsidies of the European Community is one point of difference.

-- Let me be clear in stating that I don't favor subsidy programs. They are a burden to the taxpayer. They weaken the mechanism and reduce the benefits of a free trading system. And subsidies take the competitive edge out of industry.

-- But let me be equally clear in pointing out that we did not start the wheat war. Talks with the EC on this issue had previously led nowhere. And it is our farmers in the U.S. and Australia who have been badly hurt by continued EC subsidies of wheat.

-- We must both remember that the root cause of depressed international agricultural prices, which have been hurting both our farm sectors, lies with the European Community.

-- We are now seeing glimmers of hope. And I believe it is because we have countered EC subsidies with the EEP.

-- The U.S. will be unwavering in its efforts to counter EC subsidies with our EEP. I believe it is in the long-term interest of all non-subsidizing nations that this pressure on the EC be maintained.

-- At the same time, I have promised to do my utmost to limit the harm that our EEP does to non-subsidizers like Australia. I have also agreed to greater bilateral dialogue on this and other economic issues of bilateral concern. On both points, I have kept my word and will continue to do so.

-- Any mature relationship, even between close allies, cannot be without differences. We must continue to seek understanding and work to iron out our differences.

#### THE NEXT FIFTY YEARS

##### The Environment

-- We can be proud as we look back over the accomplishments of the last five decades. But we can and must do more to expand our bilateral relationship in ways which will be beneficial to future generations of Australians and Americans. A key area is the environment.

-- We share common energy interests which are derived from our large domestic energy resource bases. Together, we are the world's largest coal exporters. Ministerial meetings were held here last year to discuss upgrading our cooperative research and development efforts in the area of energy.

-- At the ensuing high level group meeting held in Washington last April, Australia and the U.S. agreed on the importance of pursuing energy policies that will help promote our energy exports while addressing environmental issues.

-- Together, U.S. Energy Department officials are working with their Australian counterparts to develop clean coal technology, energy efficient technologies, and other programs of importance to the environment.

-- Our governments also have agreed to share information on offshore minerals development, which include environmental protection aspects. And there is an increase in our sharing of experiences in balancing the extraction of minerals, oil, gas, and timber with the growing demands for recreation, better management of cultural resources, and environmental preservation.

-- Our scientists also are working alongside your scientists to better understand the global climate system. The U.S. National Oceanic Atmospheric Administration, NOAA, collaborates with Flinders University of South Australia in tidal research. NOAA and the University of Tasmania also have a cooperative arrangement for climate and global change research.

-- We are collaborating on providing regional governments much needed information and training in preserving endangered forests. Toward this end, the Australian and U.S. Governments are co-sponsoring an International Forestry Research Institute to address conservation, deforestation, and environmental degradation.

-- And in managing the delicate balance of our ocean fisheries, Australia and the United States have shared concerns over driftnet fisheries for albacore and other tuna in the South Pacific. We have joined other nations in remedying this serious conservation threat to tuna stocks in the Pacific.

#### Cultural and Educational Interchange

-- I began my remarks today noting that Australia is a country graced with much natural beauty. But it is really the spirit of your people which has made it a country so admired by Americans and others throughout the world.

-- We see this in the arts, with the creative works of Australians in all media, including painting, sculpture, dance and, of course, film making. And we hear it in your music, where Australian artists remain extremely popular in the United States.

-- We must continue to facilitate this rich interchange between our people. Let me give you one recent example. Our Consul General in Perth last November invited American musical artist Paul Simon, who was in Australia then on tour, to meet with a number of West Australian Aboriginal musicians in his residence. After the guests had arrived, it was the Australians who made the first move, setting up their

traditional instruments on the coffee table. Soon, Mr. Simon and his fellow American musicians were receiving didgeridoo lessons. And by the end of the evening, he was sharing a few of his own skills with the guitar, completing an evening of musical fellowship.

-- In Sydney, at a more institutional level, we have recently initiated a Fulbright-supported American studies lecture series at the University of Sydney American Studies Center. The lecture series is a program which developed from Prime Minister Hawke's initiative to begin a similar program at the Edward A. Clark Center for Australian Studies at the University of Texas, Austin, in 1989.

-- While we may have our differences over the EEP program, our young people look beyond the present. In preparing for this trip I was very pleased to learn that our 4-H program and our Future Farmers of America have active exchange programs with young people in your farm communities.

#### Easing Travel Access

-- Nearly one-half million Australians visit the U.S. each year, and an equal number of Americans come here.

-- To facilitate freer travel between our countries, which should be of help to both our tourism industries, my government has offered to extend the privilege of waiving the issuance of visitor visas to Australian nationals if the Australian government agrees to allow reciprocal treatment for U.S. nationals. Our offer stands, and I hope we will be able to provide this benefit to our respective publics in the near future.

-- And to help Australian investors who seek to do business in the U.S., we are prepared to extend "E" visa privileges to your citizens provided U.S. nationals are accorded reciprocal nonimmigrant treatment.

-- These examples are real indications of the cooperative spirit that exists between our two nations as we seek to strengthen our economic, cultural and educational ties. They are positive signs of the shape which our bilateral relationship will take over the next five decades.

-- Let us continue to work closely together to ensure that the future of our relationship will be as productive a partnership as it has been over the last fifty years.

## POSSIBLE THEMES FOR SPEECH IN SINGAPORE

### Security/New World Order

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Economic Cooperation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### The Spread of Democracy

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

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

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

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

(NEEDS CONCLUSION)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

More to Singapore than to Italy or Spain

More to Thailand than to India

More to Malaysia than the Soviet Union

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There are more Filipinos in California than in Cebu.

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

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

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

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

and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Korea

National Assembly-Speech themes (DRAFT)

- o Thank you for providing me with this opportunity to speak to you again. Since I last spoke here in February 1989 the world has changed immensely. We have in fact entered a new era in world history.
- o We are very pleased with the triumph of freedom and free enterprise economics throughout most of the world, and with the continued progress, economically and politically, of the Republic of Korea. However, we remain saddened by the persistent conflicts in many parts of the world, and by the continued division of the Korean peninsula, a situation that is anachronistic in the post-Cold War world.
- o As we have stated on numerous occasions, the United States supports the peaceful unification of Korea on terms agreeable to all Koreans. We believe that North/South dialogue offers the best path toward eventual discussion of unification and related issues. Consequently, we support strongly the Prime Ministerial dialogue that has been in progress for more than a year, and stand ready to facilitate in any appropriate way.
- o Our support for the process of peace does not, however, blind us to reality and to the threat from the North that still remains. Therefore, our commitment to the security of South Korea remains as strong as ever, and we will continue to consult on matters that affect our mutual interest. To further strengthen security in the region, both of us should also consult and cooperate with our friends the Japanese, who have the economic power to play a vital role in promoting regional stability.
- o We continue to regard the unsafeguarded nuclear program of North Korea as the greatest threat to security in region, and call upon the leaders of that country to meet the international obligations it accepted when it acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1985.
- o North Korea should know that neither the United States nor the Republic of Korea poses a threat to its society or way of government. However, we cannot ignore the situation as North Korea builds nuclear weapons, and will use all diplomatic means to assure that it meets its international obligations under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).
- o As we begin this new era in international relations, U.S.-Republic of Korea relations are growing in many areas. With the Cold War behind us, we are transforming our relations from a security relationship to a broader-based security, economic, and political partnership.

- o Of crucial importance in this transformation is your own progress toward democracy, well illustrated by the enhanced prestige and power of this body. The ROK's movement to a democratic government, with the military clearly subordinate to civilian government, has been crucial in winning for you the respect of the international community and the stability and credibility necessary for an influential world role.
- o The challenge now is to continue down the road toward full democratization. You have won the political contest with the North and should consider amending your National Security Law, which provides a propaganda advantage to the North, to take account of your strength and confidence.
- o Further steps in democratic development might include greater accountability for public officials and greater transparency in both your political and economic systems. Initiatives in these areas would be consistent with your overall economic and political modernization, and would further strengthen your position vis-a-vis the North.
- o The ROK's democratization is but one of the features that distinguishes it from North Korea, but it is one of the most important, and it is an achievement which should make all Koreans proud.
- o Another of the ROK's greatest accomplishments has been membership in the United Nations. Your entry in the United Nations was long overdue, and your ultimately success is due in large part to wise leadership and persistent effort. However, South Korea's emergence as a full member of international political and economic institutions, carries with it added responsibilities.
- o Over the years, the Korean people have gained tremendously from the open international trading system. Indeed open markets for exports have been a major contributor to your new prosperity. Korea has now become an economic power in the region and the world.
- o Now it is time for the ROK to lend its support to the open international trading system from which it has prospered by actively supporting the Uruguay Round of negotiations, opening its own domestic market to foreign products, and liberalizing its financial system. Your support is vital to assure that the international trade system remains open and that countries like Korea can continue to prosper.
- o The U.S.-ROK friendship has now endured more than four decades of dramatic world events. Yet in the beginning, our close relationship was not one that either of us sought, but rather one into which we were both thrust as a result of World War II.

- o In those years the U.S. entered into its relations with Korea with a keen sense of responsibility, and with determination to preserve the benefits of freedom for the Korean people. It demonstrated its commitment during the Korean War, when more than 33,000 American soldiers and thousands more Koreans, both military and civilian, died to keep freedom alive.
- o Clearly, over the past forty years the American role in Korea has not always been a easy one, and the political environment in East Asia has frequently been one of crisis. Consequently, in carrying out what we perceived to be our responsibilities we have made mistakes.
- o Yet we entered the relationship with the Republic of Korea with the highest ideals, and we have, I believe, pursued the correct path in the long run. Therefore, we too are enourmously proud when we see the great nation you have built from the ruins of war.
- o Today, we again approach the future in the aftermath of a war--a Cold War, and together we have the opportunity to shape and influence a new era as much as we did nearly 50 years ago. We can also define for the next generation a new relationship, a partnership that encompasses much more than merely security cooperation.
- o Our new partnership should be political, economic, nad cultural, as well as security. I urge the people of both countries to look toward the future rather than the past, and to seize the moment to build on our excellent relations, to expand cooperation so we all benefit, and to march into the future as friends and neighbors working together to build a safer and more prosperous world community.

Sensitive issues which the Embassy thinks should be addressed explicitly:

1. Make clear our willingness to continue consulting with the ROK on security issues.
2. Describe how we see the Japanese role in the region complementing ours and that of the ROK.
3. Make it clear that transparency and accountability are important to Korea's economic relations with the rest of the world.
4. State clearly what the DPRK must do for improved relations with the U.S.
5. Make it clear that the National Security Law plays into Pyongyang's hands and can be counterproductive to the ROK's North-South goals.

## Remarks to American Chamber of Commerce

Themes could include:

- Strong support for the work of the U.S Chamber of Commerce, which has been vital to U.S. business interests in the ROK.
- Korean economic maturity and U.S./Korean economic/trade interdependence have brought the two nations to a new era of partnership.
- Mutual interest in further development of open, liberal international trade and financial regimes, in particular, successful conclusion of UR.
- Responsibility on both countries to ensure that their domestic trade and financial markets are open and liberal for the other; that domestic markets are fully integrated into international trade and financial regimes; and that their producers and consumers understand the benefits of two-way open, liberal markets.

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

- The long history of U.S. support for Korean science and technology; nuclear energy is a good example.
- Our admiration for the great strides Korea has made in developing its technological base;
- Recognition that scientific and technological development can only flourish where the economic value of the intellectual property associated with discovery is protected for the benefit of the discoverer.
- Our willingness to continue and enhance cooperation with Korea, symbolized by the U.S.-ROK Science and Technology Agreement;
- Our confidence that Korea will be able to make significant contributions to world scientific research and technological development.
- Recognition that Korea can now assume rights and responsibilities shared by other industrialized countries in world scientific research and technological development through;
  - a. Greater contributions to the world scientific knowledge by increased basic research funding and
  - b. Cooperation with U.S. and other countries through participation in basic megaprojects such as the Superconducting Super Collider (SSC)

## Themes/Phrases for Presidential Speeches

### Camp Casey

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Key Elements for the Presidential Speech in Japan

## Historical Setting

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

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

## The enduring importance of cooperation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### America as a Pacific player

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

#### America's View of Japan

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

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

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

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

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

## Managing US-Japan Relations for the Future

### Global Partnership

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

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

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

### Addressing Economic Issues

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### The US Domestic Agenda

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

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

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

#### The Human Connection

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

#### Concluding Flourish

## **THEMES FOR ASIA TRIP**

### **Overall**

- America is an Asia-Pacific partner for the long haul  
(America will not retreat into isolationism/protectionism)
  - Economically
  - Politically
  - Security

- As outlined in the President's Asia Society speech, there are six keys to America's long-term vision for the Asia Pacific. The trip will highlight each of these:

### **I. PROGRESSIVE TRADE LIBERALIZATION**

- Aggressively pursue Uruguay Round Settlement (if still pending) (Japan, Korea, Australia)
- Promote APEC (All countries)
- Push access for American products and services (Japan, Korea)
- Encourage American investment in the region (Singapore, Japan, Korea)

### **II. SECURITY COOPERATION**

- Maintain pressure on DPRK nuclear program. Stress need for united action against DPRK nuclear program (all countries; encourage Singapore to get ASEAN action during upcoming ASEAN Summit)
- U.S. will restructure, but remain engaged
  - Continued air and naval presence at current levels in Japan for the foreseeable future
  - Korea presence dependent on progress for lasting peace on the peninsula; however, envision long-term air presence for regional deterrence into the future
  - Singapore agreement as model for access arrangements of the future in other parts of the region

### **III. A SHARED COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

- Continue pressure on ROK (last visit by Pres. Bush made a difference).
- Lay out position on Vietnam (Singapore)
- Highlight China if necessary

**IV EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC INNOVATION**

- Show link between domestic agenda and foreign policy
- Highlight S&T progress (all countries)
- Examine educational differences that we can learn from (Japan, Korea)

**V RESPECT FOR THE ENVIRONMENT**

- Note progress made and areas for improvement (Japan, Korea)
- Announce SE Asia initiative (if ready)

**VI APPRECIATION OF DISTINCT CULTURAL HERITAGES**

- Announce various cultural exchange initiatives (all countries)

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. 7
- 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, with ultimately hampers true growth on both sides. (Note: GB visited Korea after he went to Hirohito's funeral)

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

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

## 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.

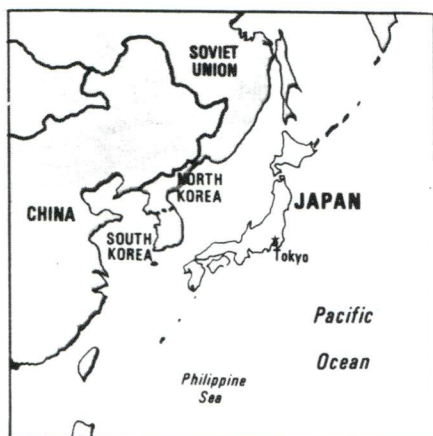
# background notes

# Japan



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

February 1989



**Official Name:**  
Japan

## PROFILE

### Geography

**Area:** 377,765 sq. km. (145,856 sq. mi.); slightly smaller than California. **Cities:** *Capital*—Tokyo. *Other major cities*—Yokohama, Osaka, Nagoya, Sapporo, Kobe, Kyoto. **Terrain:** Rugged, mountainous islands. **Climate:** Varies from subtropical to temperate.

### People

**Nationality:** *Noun and adjective*—Japanese. **Population** (mid-1987 est.): 122,090,000. **Annual growth rate** (1987): 0.5%. **Ethnic groups:** Japanese; Korean 0.6%. **Religions:** Shintoism and Buddhism; Christian 0.8%. **Language:** Japanese. **Education:** *Literacy*—100%. *Life expectancy* (1987)—males 75.6 yrs., females 81.4 yrs. **Work force** (60.7 million, 1988): *Agriculture*—7.9%. *Trade, manufacturing, mining, and construction*—32.4%. *Services*—43.3%. *Government*—7.2%.

### Government

**Type:** Parliamentary democracy.

**Constitution:** May 3, 1947.

**Branches:** *Executive*—prime minister (head of government). *Legislative*—bicameral Diet (House of Representatives and House of Councillors). *Judicial*—Civil law system with Anglo-American influence.

**Subdivisions:** 47 prefectures.

**Political parties:** Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Japan Socialist Party (JSP), Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), Komeito (Clean Government Party), Japan Communist Party (JCP). **Suffrage:** Universal over 20.

**Flag:** Red sun on white field.

## Economy

**GNP** (1988): \$2.865 trillion. **Real growth rate:** 6.0% (1988); 4.3% (1978–88). **Per capita GNP** (1988): \$23,356.

**Natural resources:** Negligible mineral resources, fish.

**Agriculture:** *Products*—rice, vegetables, fruits, milk, meat, silk.

**Industry:** *Types*—machinery and equipment, metals and metal products, textiles, autos, chemicals, electrical and electronic equipment.

**Trade** (1988): *Exports*—\$266.2 billion: motor vehicles, machinery and equipment, electrical and electronics products, metals and metal products. *Major markets*—US 33.8%, EC 21.1%, developing countries 33.6%, communist countries 5.2%. *Imports*—\$187.5 billion: fossil fuels, metal ore, raw materials, foodstuffs, machinery and equipment. *Major suppliers*—US 22.4%, EC 16.3%, developing countries 42%, communist countries 7.4%.

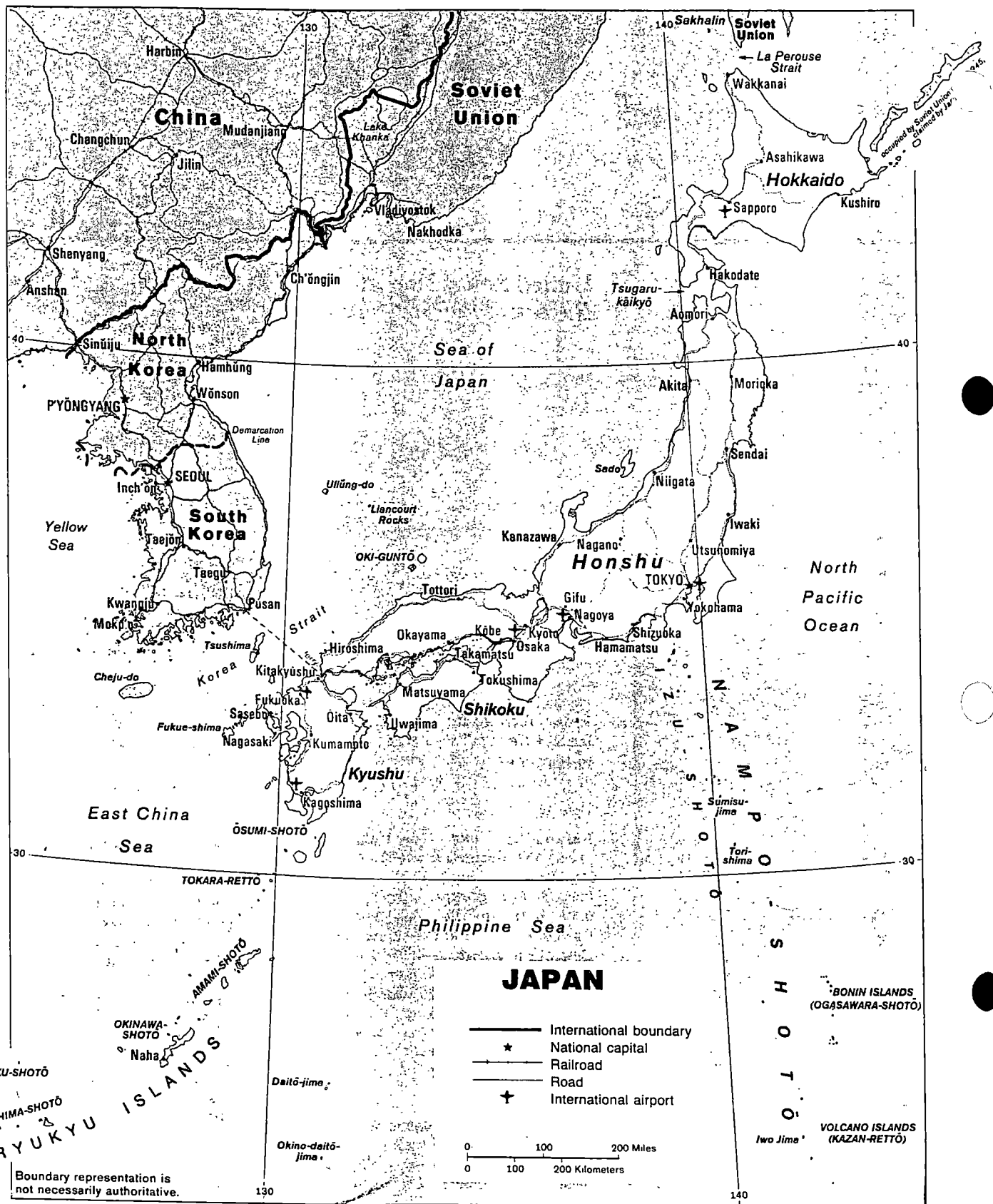
**Fiscal year:** April 1–March 31.

**Exchange rate** (avg. 1988): 128.5 yen = US\$1.

**Total net official development assistance:** \$7.4 billion (1987 disbursements 0.31% of GNP).

## Membership in International Organizations

UN and several of its specialized and related agencies, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Court of Justice (ICJ), General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), International Labor Organization (ILO), International Energy Agency (IEA), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), INTELSAT.



## GEOGRAPHY

Japan, a chain of rugged islands, lies in a 3,200-kilometer (2,000 mi.)-long arc off the east coast of Asia. It comprises four main islands—Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu—and more than 3,900 smaller islands, at about the same latitudes as the United States.

About four-fifths of the country is mountainous, including many dormant and a few active volcanos. Japan's unstable geological position causes occasional earthquakes; about 1,500 seismic occurrences—mostly tremors—take place in and around Japan every year.

Japan's climate ranges from subtropical on Okinawa, similar to southern Florida, to cool on Hokkaido, like southern Maine. Most of Japan is dominated by the Asiatic monsoon, which brings a pronounced summer rainy season (most intense in early July) and mild, sunny winters. Rainfall throughout the country is at least 100 centimeters (40 in.) per year.

## PEOPLE

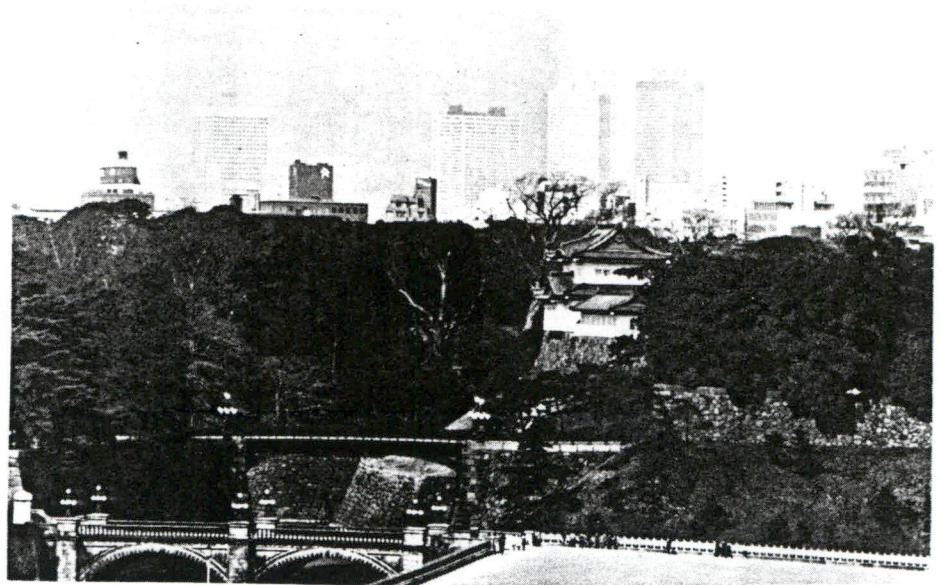
Japan is one of the most densely populated nations in the world, with 317.7 persons per square kilometer (822.9 persons per sq. mi.). The growth rate has stabilized at about 0.5% in recent years, due in part to government support of birth control and family planning programs.

The Japanese are a Mongoloid people, closely related to the major groups of East Asia. However, some evidence also exists of admixture with Malayan and Caucasoid strains. About 675,000 Koreans and much smaller groups of Chinese and Caucasians reside in Japan.

## Religion

Buddhism is important in Japan's religious life and has exerted profound influence on fine arts, social institutions, and thought. Most Japanese still consider themselves members of one of the major Buddhist sects.

Shintoism is an indigenous religion founded on myths, legends, and ritual practices of the early Japanese. Neither Buddhism nor Shintoism is an exclusive religion; most Japanese observe both Buddhist and Shinto rituals, the former for funerals and the latter for births, marriages, and other occasions. Confucianism, more an ethical system than a



Shinjuku skyscrapers tower above the famous "double bridge," entrance to the Imperial Palace grounds.

religion, continues to have a basic and pervasive influence on Japanese thought.

About 1.5 million people in Japan are Christians, of whom approximately 60% are Protestant and 40% Roman Catholic.

## Education

Japan provides free public schooling for all children through 6 years of elementary school and 3 years of junior high school. Ninety-four percent of students go on to 3-year senior high schools, and those able to pass the difficult entrance examinations enter 4-year universities or 2-year junior colleges. Students may attend either public or private high schools, colleges, and universities, but they must pay tuition. Japan enjoys one of the world's highest literacy rates; nearly 90% of Japanese students complete high school.



Buddhist monk at Asakusa Temple, Tokyo. (Photo courtesy U.S. Embassy)



Inokashira Park, Kichijoji.



The Noh Theater, oldest dramatic form preserved by the Japanese, attained its contemporary form during the 14th century. A principal character and a secondary figure recite and dance, while a seated chorus chants the story to the solemn music of a flute and drum.

### Communications

Mass communications in Japan are more extensive than those of most other advanced, industrial nations. The mass media are highly competitive, even though they are considerably dominated by four national daily newspapers—the *Yomiuri*, the *Asahi*, the *Mainichi*, and the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*—with individual circulations of 4–14 million (combined morning and evening editions). These newspapers and several smaller ones publish weekly magazines and have interests in commercial radio and television. The combined circulation of Japan's 178 newspapers totals more than 65 million (in a nation of 120 million people), and Japan publishes more than 3,500 magazines.

Radio and television follow the British pattern, with a nationwide, government-owned network competing with commercial networks. The Japanese motion picture and publishing industries rank among the largest in the world. With more than 31,000 new titles published in 1983, the Japanese publishing industry creates more new titles each year than the United States.

### Social Welfare

In Japan, as in other parts of Asia, care of the sick, aged, and infirm until recently has been the responsibility of families, employers, or private organizations. However, to meet the needs of

an urbanized, modern industrial society, this system has changed greatly, and the government conducts a broad range of modest, but successful, social welfare programs. These include health insurance, old-age pensions, a minimum wage law, and the operation of various hospitals and institutions for orphans, the handicapped, and the elderly. All major political parties are committed to providing increased and more effective social welfare services.

### HISTORY

Traditional Japanese records contain the legend that the nation was founded in 600 B.C. by the Emperor Jimmu, a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess and ancestor of the present ruling imperial family. About A.D. 405, the Japanese court officially adopted the Chinese writing system. During the sixth century A.D., Buddhism was introduced. These two events revolutionized Japanese culture and marked the beginning of a long period of Chinese cultural influence, which resulted in a strong affinity for China.

From the establishment of the first fixed capital at Nara in A.D. 710 until 1867, the emperors of the Yamato dynasty were the nominal rulers, but actual power was usually held by powerful court nobles, regents, or "shoguns" (military governors).

### Contact With the West

The first contact with the West occurred about 1542, when a Portuguese ship, blown off its course to China, landed in Japan. During the next century, traders from Portugal, the Netherlands, England, and Spain arrived, as did Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan missionaries. During the early part of the 17th century, growing suspicions that the traders and missionaries were actually forerunners of a military conquest by European powers caused the shogunate to place foreigners under progressively tighter restrictions. This culminated in expulsion of all foreigners and severing of all relations with the outside world, except severely restricted commercial contacts with Dutch and Chinese merchants at Nagasaki. This isolation lasted for 200 years, until Commodore Matthew Perry of the U.S. Navy forced the opening of Japan to the West and negotiated the Convention of Kanagawa in 1854.

Renewed contact with the West profoundly altered Japanese society. In 1868, the shogun was forced to resign, and an emperor was restored to power. The feudal system subsequently was abolished, and many Western institutions were adopted, including a Western legal system and constitutional government along quasi-parliamentary lines.

The Meiji Constitution initiated many reforms. Eventually, in 1898, the last of the galling "unequal treaties" with Western powers was removed, signaling Japan's new status among the nations of the world. In a few decades, by creating modern social, educational, economic, military and industrial systems, the Emperor Meiji's "controlled revolution" had transformed a feudal and isolated state into a world power.

### Wars With China and Russia

Japanese leaders of the late 19th century, alert to internal and Western "power politics," regarded the Korean Peninsula as a "dagger pointed at the heart of Japan." It was over Korea that Japan became involved in war with the Chinese Empire in 1894-95 and with Russia in 1904-05. The war with China established Japan's dominant interest in Korea, while giving it the Pescadores Islands and Formosa as well. Japan defeated Russia in the 1904-05 war, and the resulting Treaty of Portsmouth awarded Japan certain rights in Manchuria and in southern Sakhalin, which Russia had received in 1875 in exchange for the Kurile Islands. Both wars gave Japan a free hand in Korea, which it formally annexed in 1910.

### World War I to the Present

World War I permitted Japan, which fought on the side of the victorious Allies, to expand its influence in Asia and its territorial holdings in the Pacific. The postwar era brought unprecedented prosperity to the country. Japan went to the peace conference at Versailles in 1919 as one of the great military and industrial powers of the world and received official recognition as one of the "Big Five" of the new international order. It joined the League of Nations and received a mandate over Pacific islands north of the Equator formerly held by Germany.

During the 1920s, the country progressed toward establishing a democratic system of government. However, parliamentary government was not rooted deeply enough to withstand the

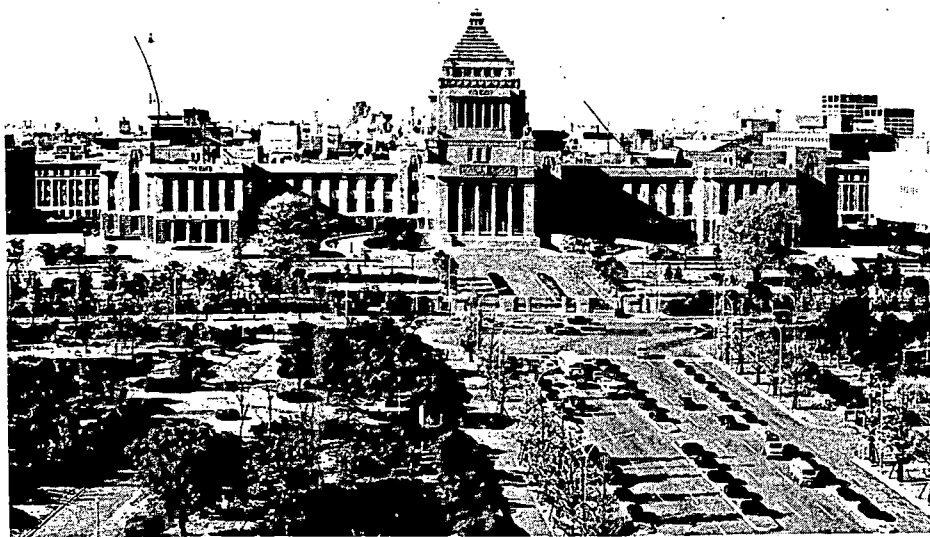
economic and political pressures of the 1930s. During this period, military leaders were increasingly influential.

Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and set up the state of Manchukuo. In 1933, it resigned from the League of Nations. The Japanese invasion of China in 1937 followed Japan's signing the "anti-Comintern pact" with Nazi Germany the previous year and was

part of a chain of developments culminating in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. After 3 years and 9 months of war, resulting in the loss of 3 million Japanese lives and including the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan signed an instrument of surrender on the



Kaneiji pagoda in Tokyo's Ueno Park framed by April's cherry blossoms.



Diet building, seat of Japan's two-house parliamentary government.

U.S.S. *Missouri* in Tokyo Harbor on September 2, 1945.

As a result of World War II, Japan lost all of its overseas possessions and retained only the home islands. Manchukuo was dissolved, and Manchuria was returned to China; Japan renounced all claims to Formosa; Korea was granted independence; southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles were occupied by the U.S.S.R.; and the United States became the sole administering authority of the Ryukyu, Bonin, and Volcano Islands. The United States returned control of these islands to Japan by 1972 with the reversion of Okinawa.

After the war, Japan was placed under international control of the Allied Powers through the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Gen. Douglas MacArthur. U.S. objectives were to ensure that Japan would become a peaceful nation and to establish democratic self-government supported by the freely expressed will of the people. Political, economic, and social reforms were introduced. The method of ruling through Japanese officials and a freely elected Japanese Diet (legislature) afforded a progressive and orderly transition from the stringent controls immediately following the surrender to the restoration of full sovereignty when the treaty of peace with Japan went into effect on April 28, 1952.

Since then, Japan has been ruled by conservative governments that maintain close cooperation with the West.

The institutions of parliamentary democracy have become progressively stronger. The post-treaty period also has been marked by tremendous economic growth.

## GOVERNMENT

Japan's parliamentary government—a constitutional monarchy—operates within the framework of a constitution that became effective on May 3, 1947. Sovereignty, previously embodied in the emperor, is vested in the Japanese people, and the emperor is defined as the symbol of the state. Japan has universal adult suffrage with a secret ballot for all elective offices. The government consists of an executive branch, responsible to the Diet, and an independent judicial branch. The government is essentially patterned on the British parliamentary model, with a House of Representatives and a House of Councillors.

Executive power is vested in a cabinet composed of a prime minister and ministers of state, all of whom must be civilians. The prime minister, who must be a member of the Diet, is appointed by the emperor on designation by the Diet and has the power to appoint and remove ministers, the majority of whom must be from the Diet.

Japan's judicial system, based on the model of Roman law, consists of several levels of courts, with the Supreme Court as the final judicial authority. The Japanese constitution

includes a bill of rights similar to the U.S. Bill of Rights, and the Supreme Court has the right of judicial review. Japanese courts do not use a jury system, and there are no administrative courts or claims courts. Because of the system's basis in Roman law, court decisions are made in accordance with statute law, and only Supreme Court decisions have any direct effect on later interpretation of points of law.

The constitution requires that regulations for the organization and administration of local governments be "in accordance with the principle of local autonomy." However, Japan does not have a federal system, and its 47 prefectures are not sovereign entities in the sense that U.S. States are. Most are not financially self-sufficient but depend on the central government for subsidies. Governors of prefectures, mayors of municipalities, and prefectural and municipal assembly members are popularly elected for 4-year terms.

## Principal Government Officials

Prime Minister—Noboru Takeshita

### Cabinet

Justice—Masami Takatsuji

Foreign Affairs—Sousuke Uno

Finance—Tatsuo Murayama

Education—Takeo Nishioka

Health and Welfare—Junichiro Koizumi

Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries—

Tsutomu Hata

International Trade and Industry—

Hiroshi Mitsuzuka

Transportation—Shinji Sato

Posts and Telecommunications—Seiichi

Kataoka

Labor—Hyosuke Niwa

Construction—Hikosaburo Okonogi

Home Affairs—Shigenobu Sakano

Chief Cabinet Secretary—Keizo Obuchi

Management and Coordination—Saburo

Kanemaru

National Land—Hideo Utsumi

Defense—Kichiro Tazawa

Economic Planning—Koichiro Aino

Science and Technology—Moichi

Miyazaki

Environment—Masahisa Aoki

Hokkaido/Okinawa—Chikao Sakamoto

### LDP Officers

Secretary General—Shintaro Abe

Chairman, Executive Council—

Masayoshi Ito

Chairman, Policy Affairs Research

Council—Michio Watanabe

Ambassador to the United States—

Nobuo Matsunaga

Ambassador to the United Nations—

Hideo Kagami

Japan maintains an embassy in the United States at 2520 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20008 (tel. 202-939-6700). Consulates general are in Anchorage, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Guam, Honolulu, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York City, Portland, San Francisco, and Seattle; honorary consulates general are in Buffalo, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Miami, Minneapolis, Mobile, Philadelphia, Phoenix, St. Louis, San Diego, and San Juan; and an honorary consulate is in American Samoa.

The Japan National Tourist Organization, at 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10111, also maintains offices in Chicago, Dallas, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Honolulu.

## POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Japan is one of the most politically stable of all postwar democracies, ruled for more than 35 years by moderate and conservative political interests. A generally close cooperation among politicians, an efficient and dedicated bureaucracy, and the business community have given cohesion to national policymaking. The political organization representing Japanese moderate conservatism is the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). The party is actually a coalition of several well-organized factions, the success of which depends on the factional leader's ability to obtain a position of power in the cabinet or party. Interest in sustaining conservative control of the government has maintained the unity of these LDP factions since the party's founding in 1955 through the merger of two smaller parties.

The largest of the four opposition parties is the Japan Socialist Party (JSP). Continuing ideological conflict between the Marxist class-struggle approach of its left wing and the more pragmatic approach of the right wing has kept the JSP from strengthening its own position in the Diet, while disputes with other opposition parties have frustrated attempts to form more than temporary, local-level alliances. The JSP's main support comes from the 3 million-member General Federation of Trade Unions (Sohyo). Although opposed to Japan's security relationship with the United States, the JSP is moving to strengthen its ties with the United States.

The Komeito (Clean Government Party) is a political affiliate of the Buddhist Soka Gakkai sect but has attempted to expand its base beyond the

sect. The party grew rapidly in its early years but membership has leveled off. The Komeito is moderate but has joined the other opposition parties in parliamentary maneuvers against the LDP.

The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) is a moderate socialist party patterned after the European social democrats. Its membership broke away from the JSP in 1960. Much of its support is from private sector labor unions.

No longer stridently revolutionary, the Japan Communist Party (JCP) rejects close ties with the Soviet Union and espouses a parliamentary road to power like the major West European communist parties. However, it remains hostile to the United States. It is unlikely that the JCP will ever have a broad electoral base.

The LDP has ruled Japan continuously since its founding in 1955. Although Japanese politics are stable, the LDP cannot take its parliamentary majority for granted. In the 1983 Lower House elections, the LDP lost its majority and was able to form a working majority within the Diet only after successful independent candidates joined the party and the New Liberal Club (now disbanded) joined the LDP in a coalition government. The LDP counts on the inability of its opponents to unite. Its excellent overall performance in the economy has improved the lot of the people in the postwar era, and it is still the only party that a majority of the public seems to trust to manage the economy.

This was reflected in the LDP's overwhelming victory in the July 1986 "double" elections for the Upper and Lower Houses of the Diet—it won 49.4% of the popular vote and 304 of the 512 Lower House seats. In the less powerful Upper House, the LDP now controls 143 of the 252 seats. All other political parties lost seats in the Lower House except the JCP, which remained even at 27, and the United Social Democratic party, which gained a seat, to 4. The JSP, the largest opposition party, fell from 113 to 86 seats, while the Clean Government Party (Komeito) dropped 2 seats to 57. The Democratic Socialist Party fell from 39 to 26, and the New Liberal Club from 8 to 6. It subsequently disbanded, and 5 of its 6 Lower House members rejoined the LDP.

Noboru Takeshita became prime minister in November 1987. In his selections for both senior party positions

and cabinet ministers, Takeshita demonstrated continuity in policy from the preceding Nakasone administration. Takeshita also reaffirmed that U.S.-Japan relations would remain the cornerstone of Japan's foreign policy.

## ECONOMY

Japan has few natural resources, and only 19% of its land is suitable for cultivation. The agricultural economy is highly subsidized and protected. With great ingenuity and technical skill, resulting in per hectare crop yields among the highest in the world, Japan maintains an overall agricultural self-sufficiency rate of about 70% on fewer than 5.6 million cultivated hectares (14 million acres). Japan produces a slight surplus of rice but imports large quantities of wheat, sorghum, and soybeans, primarily from the United States.

Hydroelectric power, although highly developed, accounts for only about 5% of Japan's energy supplies. Coal is found principally on Hokkaido and Kyushu but supplies only 15% of Japan's requirements. Coal mining is expected to decline further as industrial users refuse to continue to purchase domestic coal at two to three times the price of imported coal. Gold,

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## Travel Notes

Japan is one of the countries participating in the Nonimmigrant Visa Waiver Pilot Program. As such, visitors to Japan for either tourism or business for a period of less than 90 days who possess round-trip or onward tickets on a participating carrier do not need visas. This program expires September 30, 1991, unless it is extended by legislation. Meanwhile, for all other types of travel, including official business, a visa is required and must be obtained from a Japanese consulate or embassy before departure.

Travelers transiting Japan for less than a 72-hour stay may routinely apply for a special landing permit upon arrival, provided their passport is properly visaed for onward travel and entry and departure are from the same international airport. If travelers are in any doubt regarding specific transit plans, a visa should be obtained before departure. No immunization is necessary for travel to Japan from the United States.

Detailed tourist information can be obtained from the Japan National Tourist Organization, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10111.

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Above: The port of Tokyo is one of the leading in Japan. Much of its land area has been reclaimed.

Right: Hitachi Tohoku factory—VCR assembly line.

Below: Fish shop, Kichijoji.



magnesium, and silver meet current minimum requirements, but Japan is dependent on foreign sources for many of the minerals essential to modern industry. Iron ore, coking coal, copper, and bauxite must be imported, as well as many forest products.

Japan's exports earn only about 13% of its gross national product (GNP), much less than the percentage of other trading nations. Although small in terms of GNP, the Japanese traditionally have seen this trade as necessary for earning the foreign exchange needed to purchase raw materials for their advanced economy.

Japan's reservoir of industrial leadership and technicians, its intelligent and industrious work force, its high savings and investment rates, and its intensive promotion of industrial development and foreign trade have resulted in a mature industrial economy. Along with North America and Western Europe, Japan is one of the three major industrial complexes among the market economies.

Compared with the performance of most industrial nations over the past several years, the Japanese economy has performed well. Oil imports have declined steadily as Japan has adjusted to the higher price levels, and real economic growth has continued. Japan's era of double-digit growth appears to be over, although its growth rates still are among the highest of the developed countries.

### Transportation

Japan has a well-developed international and domestic transportation system, although highway development still lags. Tokyo and Osaka International Airports and the ports of Yokohama, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya are important terminals for air and sea traffic in the western Pacific.

The domestic transportation system depends on the government-owned rail network. Rail transportation is supplemented by private railways in metropolitan areas, a developing highway system, coastal shipping, and several airlines. The rail system is efficient and well distributed and maintained throughout the country. The super express "bullet trains" take as little as 3 hours between Tokyo and Osaka, a distance of 520 kilometers (325 mi.).

### Labor

Japan's labor force consists of approximately 60 million workers, 40% of whom are women. Members of labor unions number about 12.2 million, or about 27% of the nonagricultural labor force.



Rengo (Japanese Private Sector Trade Union Confederation), formed in November 1988, represents 5.5 million workers. Sohyo (General Federation of Labor) consists mainly of unions in the public sector; it has 3 million members. Under an agreement reached in 1988, Sohyo and Rengo are to merge in late 1989.

### U.S.-Japanese Trade

The U.S. and Japanese economies are increasingly interdependent. Japan is the United States' largest trading partner after Canada, with more than \$130 billion worth of goods flowing between the two countries in 1988. Japan purchased about \$38 billion in U.S. products in 1988, more than U.S. exports to the United Kingdom and West Germany combined. Japan is the best market for U.S. farm products, buying more than \$5 billion annually. U.S. exports to Japan are not just raw materials and food; however, nearly half are manufactures. Japan is the first or second best market for many U.S. manufactures, including chemicals, pharmaceuticals, photo supplies, commercial aircraft, nonferrous metals, plastics, and medical and scientific supplies.

However, the growing U.S. trade deficit with Japan is a source of major concern. The deficit in 1988 is expected to be \$54 billion, down from \$60 billion in 1987. Nevertheless, an important and troubling part of the deficit with Japan is caused by Japanese market restrictions.

Strong protectionist pressures and the desire for greater access to the Japanese market have spurred intensive U.S. Government efforts to urge Japan to continue opening markets. At their January 1989 meeting in Washington, President Bush and Prime Minister Takeshita reviewed progress achieved in balancing both economies, and in further opening Japan's market to U.S. goods and services. Both recognized the need for additional efforts in these areas.

U.S.-Japan trade talks have focused on four sectors where U.S. products are highly competitive—telecommunications, electronics, forest products, and medical equipment/pharmaceuticals. Although important progress has been made, more action is required in order to strengthen the U.S.-Japanese trade relationship. Additional sector talks will continue.

Impediments to trade in services have become prominent on the U.S.-Japan agenda in recent years as barriers to trade in goods have fallen.

Major success has been achieved in securing Japanese commitments to foreign participation in Japan's legal services, public works, telecommunication network services, and financial markets. A number of restrictions in civil aviation and other services are the subject of ongoing talks.

Concerned by foreign criticism of its large current account surpluses, Japan has taken steps to reorient its economy away from exports toward greater reliance on domestic demand for economic growth. Over time, structural change should redress many of the root causes of Japan's trade imbalance with the United States and other trading partners.

There are considerable investment flows between the United States and Japan. U.S. direct investment in Japan rose by \$3 billion from 1986 to 1987, much of it largely in finance, banking, and manufacturing. The total stock of U.S. direct investment in late 1987 totaled \$14.3 billion. Japanese direct investment in the United States expanded by \$6.6 billion in 1987 over 1986 with substantial increases in real estate, finance, and manufacturing. The total stock of Japanese direct investment in the United States at the end of 1987 was \$33.4 billion.

### DEFENSE

After World War II, the Allies disarmed and occupied Japan. Article IX of the Japanese constitution provides that "land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained." During the Korean war, this position was modified by the establishment of a national police reserve force. Before the end of the occupation in April 1952, the first steps had been taken to expand and transform the force into the Self-Defense Force (SDF). At the same time, the Japanese Government derived from Article 51 of the UN Charter the doctrine that each nation has the right of self-defense against armed attack and that this right is consistent with Article IX of the Japanese Constitution.

In 1954, the Japan Defense Agency was created with the specific mission of defending Japan against external aggression. Ground, maritime, and air self-defense forces were established under a joint chiefs of staff organization patterned after that of the United States.

The United States and Japan are allied under the terms of the 1960 Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. The security relationship dates

from the early 1950s, when Japan was virtually defenseless. A security treaty and the peace treaty were negotiated in 1952. The present treaty, revised on a broader basis of equality, came into force on June 23, 1960, and became subject to abrogation by either party upon 1 year's notice in June 1970. At the time, both governments declared their intention to extend the treaty indefinitely.

The bases and facilities provided by Japan under the treaty do not exist solely for the defense of Japan. They are especially important to U.S. ability to maintain commitments to Japan and other allies in East Asia. U.S. military assistance to Japan was terminated at the end of 1967. Since 1952, U.S. military forces in Japan have decreased from more than 260,000 to the present level of about 60,000, more than half of whom are stationed in Okinawa. For Japan, the treaty provides a strategic guarantee against external attack.

As U.S. forces were withdrawn, the Japanese SDF expanded its capabilities and has assumed primary responsibility for the immediate conventional defense of Japan. Japan's defense roles and missions, which the United States supports, are the defense of its homeland, territorial seas and skies, and sea lines of communication out to 1,000 nautical miles. Japan has been increasing its defense budget annually and continues to make qualitative force improvements. Japanese forces are barred by law from overseas operations. As a matter of policy, Japan has foresworn nuclear armaments and forbids arms sales abroad.

In addition to support for its own forces, Japan also provides bases and facilities to U.S. forces in Japan and contributes more than \$2.5 billion annually to maintain them, or more than \$40,000 per service member.

In recent years, the Japanese public has shown a substantially greater awareness of security issues and increasing support for the security treaty and the SDF. However, there are still significant political and psychological constraints on strengthening Japan's defense. An important minority in Japan advocates strict interpretation of Article IX of the constitution. More generally, there continues to be a strong underlying antipathy, resulting from Japan's experience in World War II, toward military matters.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

Japan is a major economic power not only in Asia but in the world. Japanese foreign policy since 1952 has aimed at promoting peace and prosperity for the Japanese people by working closely with the West and through strong support for the United Nations. Japan has diplomatic relations with nearly all independent nations and has been an active member of the United Nations since 1956.

Although a military role for Japan in international affairs is precluded by its constitution and government policy, Japanese cooperation through the U.S.-Japan security treaty has been important to the peace and stability of East Asia. All Japanese governments in the postwar period have relied on a close relationship with the United States as the foundation of their foreign policy and on the mutual security treaty for strategic protection. In recent years, within the context of a close relationship with the United States, Japan has diversified and expanded its ties with other nations.

### Further Information

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

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Japan's primary interests traditionally have been in Asia, and good relations with its neighbors continue to be of vital interest to Tokyo. After the signing of the peace and friendship treaty with China in 1978, ties between Tokyo and Beijing developed rapidly. The Japanese have extended significant economic assistance to the Chinese in various modernization projects. At the same time, Japan has maintained economic but not diplomatic relations with Taiwan and with South Korea, where a strong bilateral trade relationship thrives.

Although the Japanese have sought to improve relations with the Soviet Union, relations between Tokyo and Moscow have never been close, because the Soviets continue to occupy the Northern Territories—small islands off the coast of Hokkaido that have been occupied by the U.S.S.R. since the end of World War II. The Japanese reacted strongly to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and supported various initiatives, including boycotting the Moscow Olympics, to express criticism of this action.

The Japanese have pursued a more active foreign policy in recent years, recognizing the responsibility that accompanies Japan's economic strength. Japan has expanded its ties with the Middle East, which provides most of its oil. The Japanese also have been increasingly active in Africa and Latin America and have extended significant support to multilateral development projects in both regions.

Development assistance is one of the three pillars of Prime Minister Takeshita's foreign policy. Japan is likely to become the world's largest aid donor in 1989, surpassing the United States. In 1987, Japan disbursed \$7.4 billion in development assistance, or 0.31% of Japan's GNP.

### U.S.-JAPANESE RELATIONS

The close and cooperative relationship with Japan is the cornerstone of U.S. policy in Asia and the basis of a strong, productive partnership in addressing global issues. Despite different social and cultural traditions, Japan and the United States have much in common. Both have open, democratic societies, high literacy, freedom of expression, multiparty political systems, universal suffrage, and open elections. Both have highly developed, free market industrial economies and favor an open and active international trading system.

President Bush and Prime Minister Takeshita reaffirmed the vital importance of U.S.-Japan relations to peace and prosperity in the world. Given Japan's economic power and its growing international role, it clearly has become one of the most important countries to the United States.

Bilateral trade problems attract significant attention and often generate considerable controversy within the relationship. The United States is working hard to achieve greater access to Japan's markets and has made some progress. At the same time, trade problems represent only one part of an extremely broad and important relationship. Overall U.S. policy toward Japan transcends these issues and is based on three principles.

First, the United States has worked to achieve a close bilateral relationship with Japan as an equal partner. The past decade has brought a significant expansion of Japan's economic and technological prowess, an increase in its defense awareness and capability, and a greater interest and involvement in international political and economic affairs. Although there still are differences in their relative political, economic, and military positions in the world, both nations approach and conduct their relationship as equals.

Second, because of the two countries' combined economic and technological impact on the world—together accounting for 40% of world GNP and 60% of the Western industrialized nations' GNP—the U.S.-Japan relationship has become global in scope. Although in the past the partnership has been measured primarily in economic and technological terms, in the future it will have a larger political dimension as Japan assumes a greater international role and associates itself more actively and closely with Western political and security goals.

Third, Japan is becoming increasingly assertive in global matters and is forging a wider international role. During most of the postwar period, Japan played an international role similar to that followed throughout most of American history—pursuing economic interests while eschewing political involvement. But particularly since the events in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the Japanese have come to realize that their own well-being is affected directly by political and security developments elsewhere in the world.

The United States encourages this trend toward a broader international political and economic role by Japan, within the framework of a continued close bilateral relationship. The United States has called for an "international partnership" with Japan, in which the combined efforts of the two countries can be utilized to promote peace and prosperity throughout the world.

#### Principal U.S. Officials

Charge d'affairs ad interim—L. Desaix  
Anderson  
Economic Minister-Counselor—Aurelia  
E. Brazeal  
Political Minister—Rust M. Deming  
Public Affairs Minister—Robert L. M.  
Nevitt  
Administrative Minister—Jose J.  
Cao-Garcia

Commercial Minister—Keith R. Bovetti  
Agricultural Minister—Bryant H.  
Wadsworth  
Consul General—M. Patricia Wazer  
Labor Counselor—John J. Lamazza  
Financial Attache—John K. Hartzell  
Science Attache—Richard W. Getzinger  
Defense Attache—Capt. S. A.  
Van Hoften  
Customs Attache—Gary Waugh  
Mutual Defense Office Director—Capt.  
Walter T. Dziedzic

The U.S. Embassy in Japan is located at 10-5 Akasaka 1-chome, Minato-ku, Tokyo (107); tel. 224-5000; fax 505-1862; mailing address: American Embassy Tokyo, APO San Francisco

96503. U.S. Consulates General are in Osaka, Sapporo, and Naha, and a Consulate is in Fukuoka. The American Chamber of Commerce in Japan is at 7th floor, Fukide No.2 Bldg., 1-21 Toranomon 4-chome, Minato-ku, Tokyo (105). ■

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