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OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Lost Fleet of Kublai Khan

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A "DIVINE WIND," known to the Japanese as kamikaze, overwhelmed a Mongol invasion fleet off Japan in 1281, reportedly sinking 4,000 ships and claiming 100,000 lives—the second such storm to turn back Kublai Khan's plans for conquest. Thus was born the kamikaze legend.

By TORAO MOZAI

Photographs by KOJI NAKAMURA

Paintings by ISSHO YADA
MONGOLIAN INVASION MEMORIAL MUSEUM, JAPAN

NEVER BEFORE in history—and perhaps never to this day—had such an armada been assembled. It numbered 4,400 ships with 142,000 troops aboard, and their orders were simple: Sail from ports in China and Korea, invade the islands of Japan, and conquer them in the name of the great Mongol emperor, Kublai Khan.

Instead, they themselves were conquered, not by naval action but by a storm so terrible that even today Japanese refer to it as *kamikaze*—divine wind. The year was 1281, the Mongol fleet was virtually destroyed, and Japan escaped foreign occupation for the next six and a half centuries, until the end of World War II.

As a student of naval history as well as a professor of engineering, I have long been fascinated by the Mongol invasion of Japan. In fact there were two invasions, one in 1274 and the second in 1281, both abruptly terminated by storms (map, opposite). The 1274 invasion was on a smaller scale than the one that followed, and thus it resulted in fewer losses. Yet together the two events cost Kublai Khan dearly and dashed his dream of an overseas empire.

The disaster of 1281 occurred at Takashima, a small island off Kyushu in the western part of my native Japan. There with a skilled team of divers, scientists, and engineers, I have spent the past three summers exploring for the sunken remains of the Mongol fleet, under a grant from the Japanese Ministry of Education. So far we have recovered a number of artifacts from the fleet and have developed promising new techniques for detection of other items buried beneath the ocean floor.

JAPANESE HISTORIES offer detailed accounts of the Mongol invasions. Both were launched by Kublai Khan, whose grandfather Genghis Khan founded the Mongol Empire. The noted 19th-century Japanese artist Issho Yada devoted a lifetime to producing such dramatic scenes from the invasions as the one shown on the preceding pages and others accompanying this article.

In 1268, having conquered northern China and Korea, Kublai Khan demanded submission from Japan. The Japanese ignored the command, and the khan prepared to invade their island stronghold. Finally, in November of 1274, a fleet of 900 ships and 40,000 Mongol, Chinese, and Korean troops arrived at Kyushu's Hakata Bay.

After a day's successful fighting, the invaders retired for the night. But that evening a storm threatened the fleet at anchor, forcing the ship captains to put to sea. The storm eventually overtook the fleet, sinking 200 ships and bringing the total cost in lives to 13,500.

Despite the toll, Kublai Khan prepared another attack. By the spring of 1281 a vast armada that would consist of 4,400 ships and 142,000 Mongol, Chinese, and Korean troops began assembling in ports of China and Korea for a second assault on Japan. (By contrast, the famed Spanish Armada three centuries later numbered only 130 ships and 27,500 men.)

This time the Japanese were well prepared. During the seven-year interval they had built a wall around Hakata Bay, a massive structure some 2.5 meters high and 20 kilometers long.

The Mongols apparently had no knowledge of the wall; they landed the advance portion of their army directly in front of it (page 649). The close quarters robbed them of their most successful tactic—the lightning cavalry charge that had routed the finest armies of Asia and Eastern Europe.

The two armies were closely matched, and skirmishes raged around Hakata Bay. Neither side could gain a clear advantage, and at length the invaders reembarked. Sailing westward, they joined the main body of their army, which had finally arrived after a two-month delay in China. At last all the ships and most of the troops were assembled. Toward the end of July the combined force attacked Takashima and prepared to invade mainland Kyushu.

Meanwhile the emperor of Japan and other high-ranking officials besought the aid of the gods, performing elaborate Shinto ceremonies at shrines throughout the country on behalf of the defending army. As if in answer to their prayers, the divine wind struck the Takashima area in August—with devastating effect.

Estimates of the Mongol losses vary, but most accounts set the ships sunk at 4,000.

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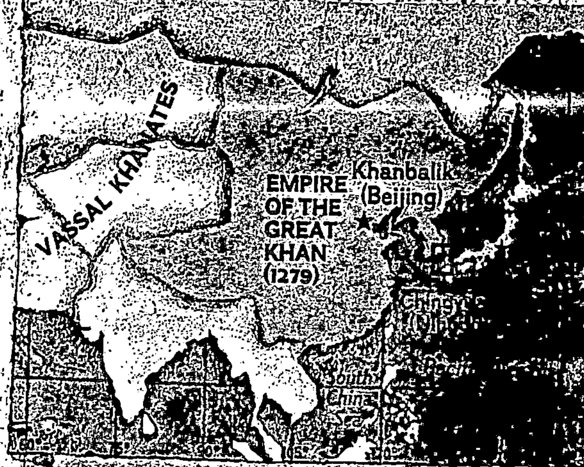
, November 1982



Kamikaze! Divine wind saves Japan

A FORTRESS with the sea its moat, *Japan has never been successfully invaded, despite the two Mongol attempts in the 13th century. U. S. invasion plans during World War II were abandoned when Japan surrendered. Japanese suicide pilots in that war adopted the legendary title of kamikaze—divine wind—hoping to imitate the storms that defeated the Mongols in 1274 and 1281.*

Happo (Masan)
Kimju
Koryo (Korea)
Chilchon Do
Koje Do
Okpo
Toyosaki
Sekaimura
1274: 900 SHIPS, 40,000 MEN
1281: 900 SHIPS, 42,000 MEN
Tsushima
Komoda
Kokufu
Tsutsu
Korea Strait
PROBABLE PATH OF KAMIKAZE
Honshu
Iki
Katsumoto
Gonoura
Shikanoshima
Hakata Bay
Hakozaki
Hakata (Fukuoka)
Imazu
Akasaka
Dazaifu
Takashima
Shipwreck sites
Hirado Jima
Imari Gulf
Goto Retto
Kyushu
1281: 3,500 SHIPS, 100,000 MEN

1274 → *The first expedition ravaged the coastal towns of Kyushu but failed to bring Japan's submission. The fleet was struck by a storm that cost 200 ships and brought the total loss of life to 13,500 men.*

1281 → *The southern fleet left from Chingyuan, China, in late spring and met the northern fleet from Korea near Iki and Hirado Jima. But in midsummer, before a combined assault could be mounted against mainland Kyushu, a typhoon struck, obliterating 4,000 ships and 100,000 men.*

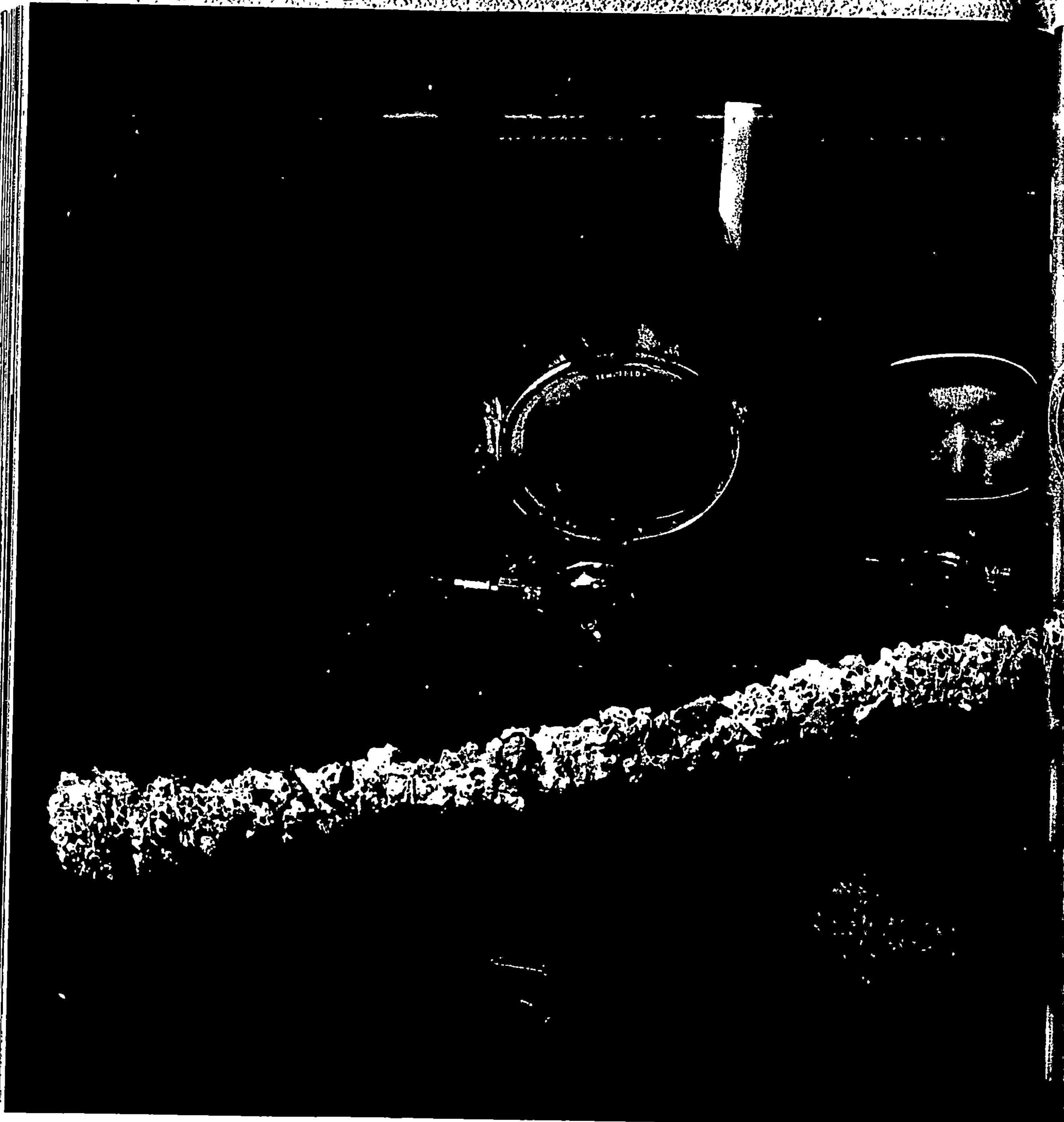
TYPHOON PATH *Winds screaming along this corridor have wreaked havoc for centuries, but the Mongols failed to heed warnings of the danger to their fleets.*

0 KM 25
0 MILES 25

✕ Battle sites

13th-century place-names shown; modern names in parentheses.

PAINTED BY DOROTHY MICHELE NOVICK AND COMPILED BY DAVID C. CHANG, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC ART DIVISION



The troop casualties probably exceeded 100,000, including those drowned at sea and others slaughtered by the Japanese on Takashima. The Mongols never seriously threatened Japan again.

FOR SEVEN CENTURIES the remains of the Mongol fleet lay largely undisturbed on the seafloor off Takashima. Fishermen occasionally brought up by hand or in their nets such items as earthenware jars, stone bowls, and fragments of porcelain, but no systematic exploration of the artifact-rich site was ever undertaken.

In 1980 I received a three-year grant from the Japanese Ministry of Education to develop experimental techniques in underwater archaeology, a field in which Japan has lagged behind many other countries. With the Mongol fleet in mind, my colleagues and I selected the waters surrounding Takashima as ideal for testing those new methods. One of the major problems in undersea exploration is the difficulty of seeing beneath the ocean floor.

Until recently, nonmetallic objects buried

Sheathed in barnacles, *a sword believed to have been carried by a Mongol cavalry officer emerges from the bottom in the hands of divers* (*left*). *Other artifacts recovered offshore fill cartons at Takashima's port* (*below*).

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beneath a foot or two of sand or silt were invisible even to the most sensitive underwater detection instruments, such as side-scan sonar and magnetometers. As a result, archaeologists could locate such objects only by choosing a likely spot on the seafloor and excavating it over a wide area.

For some years I had worked with Japan's pioneer underwater archaeologists: Professor Shinsuke Araki of Tokyo's Rikkyo University, Professor Yoshio Oe of Kyoto, and the distinguished Professor Emeritus Namio Egami of the University of Tokyo.

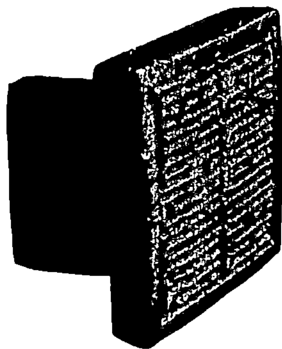
I had felt the challenge and frustrations of excavating whole areas of the ocean floor for the recovery of a few artifacts or, in some cases, no artifacts at all.

Geologists, I knew, employ a device known as a subbottom profiler, or sonoprobe, which uses sound waves to map formations of rock and sediment beneath the ocean floor. Although the instrument is designed to record massive layers of rock, I wondered if it could be used to locate smaller objects, such as buried artifacts.

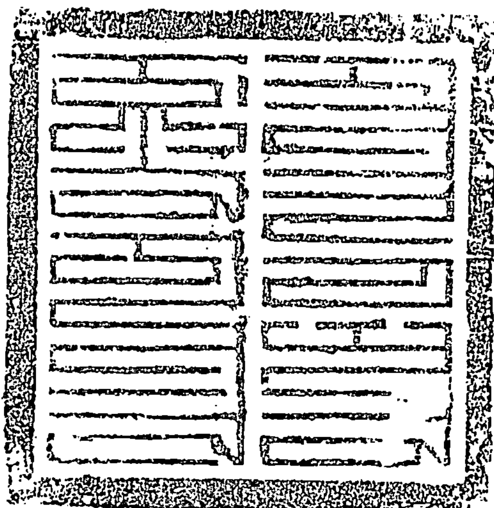
I took the question to a firm in Tokyo,

NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM, TAIWAN

The mighty Kublai Khan, *stern-faced in this portrait, ruled a domain stretching from the Black Sea to the South China Sea. His officers carried emblems of authority such as the bronze seal* ***(left),*** *proclaiming its owner a leader of as many as a thousand soldiers.*



Mongol troops ***(facing page)*** *pierce the hands of a Japanese woman to pass ropes through the wounds and hang her, along with others, from the bow of a ship.*



Kokusai Kogyo, Co., Ltd., which specializes in undersea geologic exploration. Could a sonoprobe—or a Sonostrater, as Kokusai Kogyo calls its version of the instrument—be used to locate small objects buried beneath the seafloor? Kokusai Kogyo believed it could. The firm generously loaned me one of its models, and with a small team of engineers I took it to Takashima for testing.

THE PRELIMINARY results were promising but inconclusive. With the Sonostrater mounted in a chartered boat, we crisscrossed an area where Chinese and Mongol artifacts had been brought up in the past by fishermen. As the Sonostrater scanned an area as deep as 30 meters beneath the ocean floor, its black-and-white recording paper revealed layers of subsurface rock, together with smaller features that might be artifacts, scattered debris, individual rocks, or merely buried clumps of seashells. Although the Sonostrater could indeed distinguish between massive layers of rock and smaller objects, it gave few clues as to what those smaller objects were. Clearly it needed to be modified for use in underwater archaeology.

Back in Tokyo I went to see a friend, Iso Tanaka, the vice president of Koden Electronics Co., Ltd. Several years earlier Koden had developed a type of color sonar designed to locate schools of fish and to indicate their type as well as the size of the school. If we could adapt Koden's color process to the Sonostrater, we might have a truly remarkable instrument, one that could locate buried objects and give some clue as to the materials they were made of. Such a device I call simply a color probe.

Koden's engineers took on the job, and by late 1980 they had produced an experimental model. The instrument analyzes the relative hardness of buried objects by using varying wavelengths of sound, in much the same way a prism separates light into the various colors of the spectrum.

Objects made of the hardest materials, such as stone, metal, or porcelain, register on the color probe's screen as bright red. Softer materials, such as wood, appear orange, and even softer materials, such as sand and silt, register yellow or light green. At the end of the scale in terms of softness,

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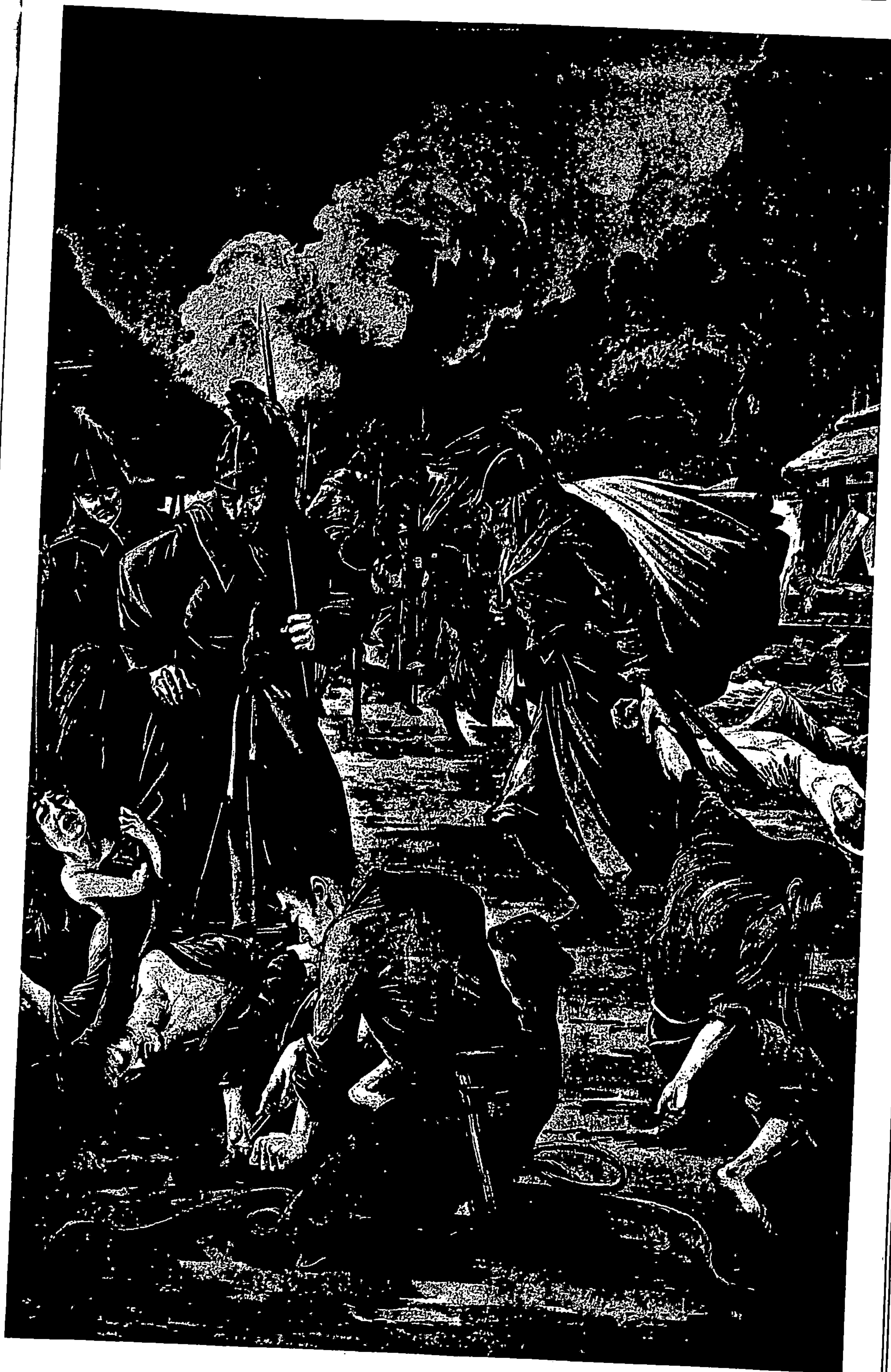

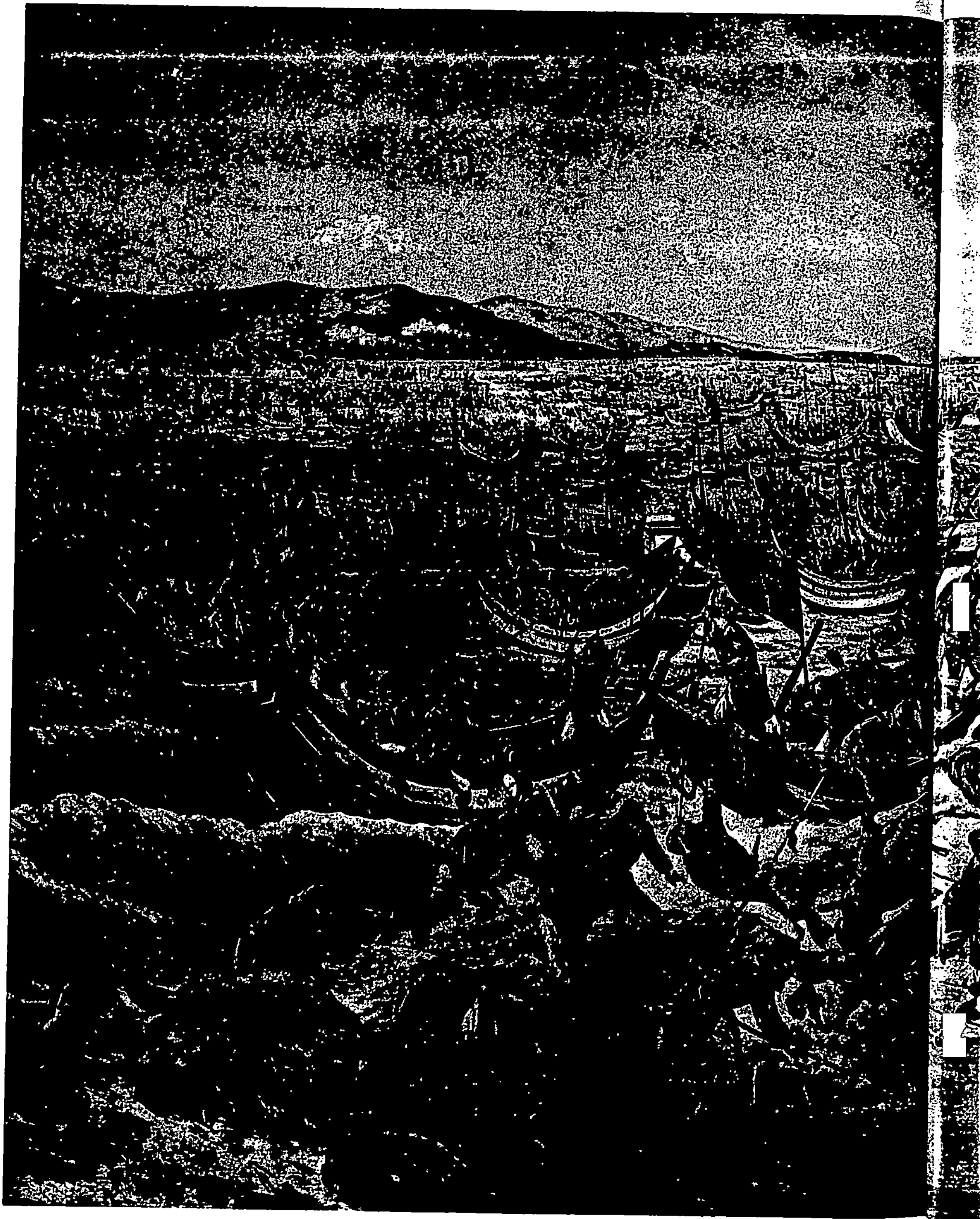

Like human surf, *wave after wave of Mongol warriors sweeps ashore at Hakata Bay on Kyushu in their second invasion of Japan. Unaware of the wall built by the Japanese after the 1274 invasion, the khan's advance forces landed at the same point and met with fierce resistance at water's edge. In the Mongol arsenal of weapons were poisoned arrows, maces, lassos, and javelins that could be hurled great*

ors sweeps ashore at Hakata
aware of the wall built by the
ce forces landed at the same
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ns that could be hurled great

distances. The Japanese fought back with bows and arrows, spears, swords, and wooden shields, and with a great fierceness inspired by defense of homeland. During the first invasion Japanese warriors were hampered by their tradition of individual combat, in contrast to the Mongols' large-scale troop maneuvers. By 1281, however, the defenders knew their enemy's ways, and proved a match for the invaders.

water appears in its natural color, blue.

In the summer of 1981 we returned to Takashima with the color probe and a volunteer team of some 30 divers, scientists, and technicians. The search for the Mongol fleet had begun.

WHILE my engineering colleagues and I experimented with the color probe, our divers began recovering sunken artifacts almost at once. By means of hand tools and air lifts they scoured the ocean floor off Takashima, bringing up a variety of items including what appear to be 13th-century Chinese and Korean tools and implements.

Not all our finds were antique. In the seven centuries since Kublai Khan's fleet went to the bottom, countless Japanese and foreign vessels have followed it, not to mention seven centuries' worth of items lost or thrown overboard. So our finds include everything from a barnacle-encrusted sword, probably worn by a 13th-century Mongol officer, to a modern *tako tsubo*—an earthenware octopus trap.

The variety of older items was nonetheless remarkable. Within less than two weeks our diving teams recovered iron spearheads, iron and copper nails, stone anchors, heavy stone bowls, curiously shaped bricks, iron ingots, and quantities of porcelain and earthenware pots, vases, bowls, and dishes. Most of the ceramic artifacts had long been reduced to fragments, but a few were recovered intact.

The condition of the artifacts provided clues to their history under the sea. In general the longer a bowl or spearhead had remained on the surface of the ocean floor, the more badly it was corroded or encrusted with marine growth.

The cavalry sword offered a perfect example (pages 638-9). It had sunk in shallow water and by chance landed upright, with its point and part of the blade embedded in the sand. The buried section was in quite good condition, while the exposed portion was so heavily encrusted that it was almost unrecognizable.

With the color probe still in an experimental stage, we continued to rely on our divers for the search and recovery of artifacts. One of their most common finds, the heavy stone bowls, intrigued me. Each bowl had a distinctive notch in its rim, obviously for the purpose of pouring.

I theorized that the bowls may have been used for mixing gunpowder, since historical accounts mention the use of stone vessels in that process.

Among our most intriguing finds off Takashima were bricks. They were slightly thinner than modern bricks, and some historians believe the Mongols used them to build small blacksmith forges aboard ship for making horseshoes and repairing weapons. Other scholars maintain that the bricks were carried by Chinese troops, perhaps to build shrines ashore as soon as they landed in order to pray for victory. In 1281 the Chinese never had time to erect shrines; the bricks went down with the invaders.

During our stay on Takashima, the 4,000 islanders became increasingly fascinated with our work. By chance we had arrived during the 700th anniversary of the invasion of 1281, an event that the islanders celebrate every 50 years with a festival.

Over the years fishermen of Takashima have brought up most of the historical treasures recovered from the Mongol fleet. Some of the artifacts were sold to private collectors, but others made their way into museums such as the one at Hakata Bay, now the site of the modern port city of Fukuoka.

In a lecture I congratulated the islanders for donating a number of their finds for public display, and I suggested the time had come for Takashima to have its own museum. The museum could be furnished with the artifacts we had recovered and with others retrieved by the islanders.

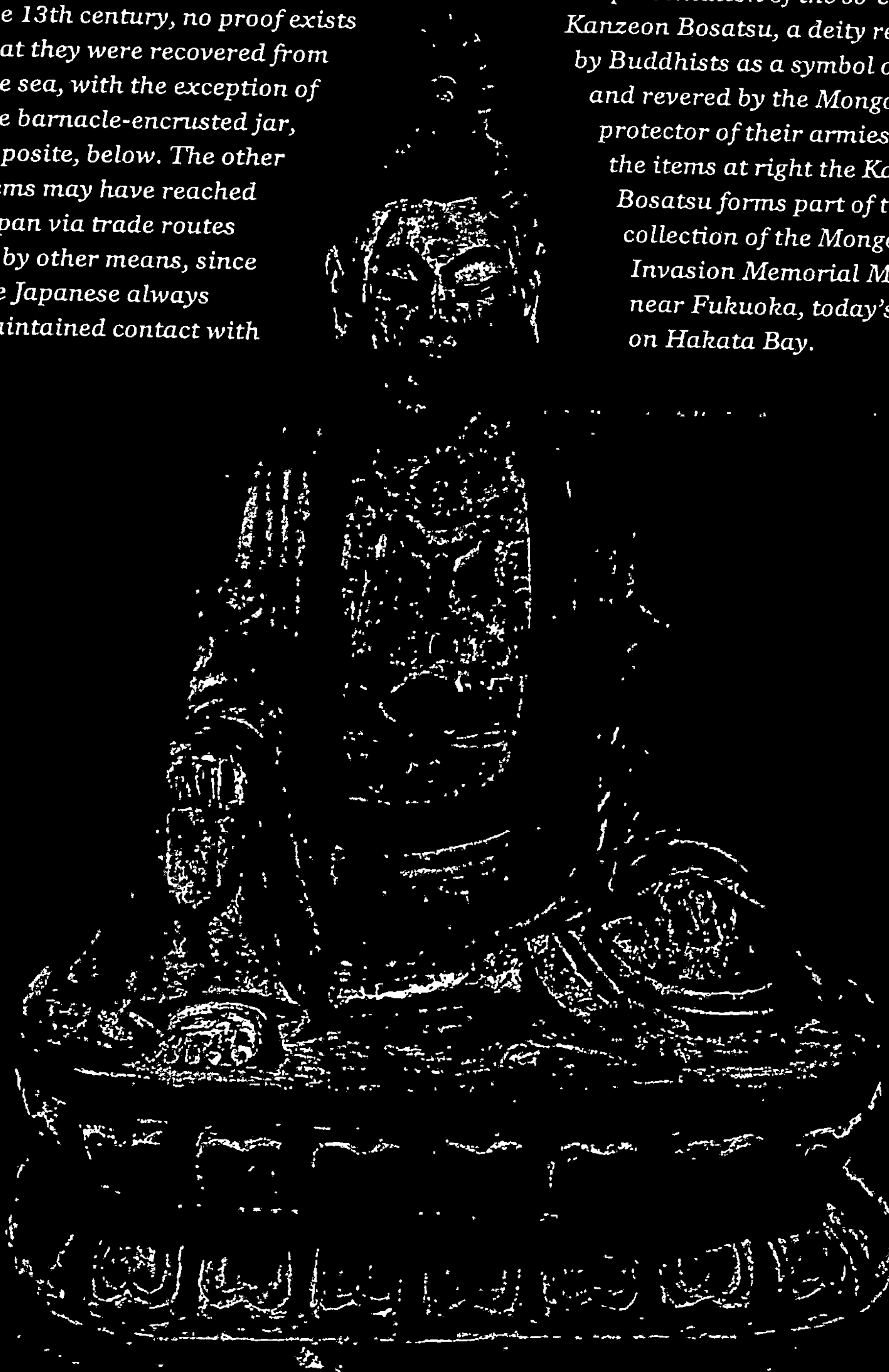
Next day an assortment of about 30

***Hit-and-run raiders** in a small Japanese boarding craft launch a lightning attack on the Mongol fleet as it lies at anchor in Hakata Bay. Lacking a large navy in 1281, Japanese authorities also enlisted local pirates to harass the enemy at sea. So successful were the raids that Chinese and Korean ship captains took to chaining their vessels together in long lines abreast to minimize boarding opportunities.*

Symbols of a doomed mission

UNTIL THE AUTHOR BEGAN a systematic search for remains of the Mongol fleet, the only artifacts recovered were those brought up accidentally in fishermen's nets. Although the historic treasures pictured may date from the 13th century, no proof exists that they were recovered from the sea, with the exception of the barnacle-encrusted jar, opposite, below. The other items may have reached Japan via trade routes or by other means, since the Japanese always maintained contact with the Asian mainland. Yet scholars agree that these artifacts are typical of the possessions the invaders carried aboard ship on an overseas campaign.

The one-foot-high statue (below) is a representation of the so-called Kanzeon Bosatsu, a deity regarded by Buddhists as a symbol of mercy and revered by the Mongols as a protector of their armies. Like the items at right the Kanzeon Bosatsu forms part of the collection of the Mongolian Invasion Memorial Museum near Fukuoka, today's port city on Hakata Bay.



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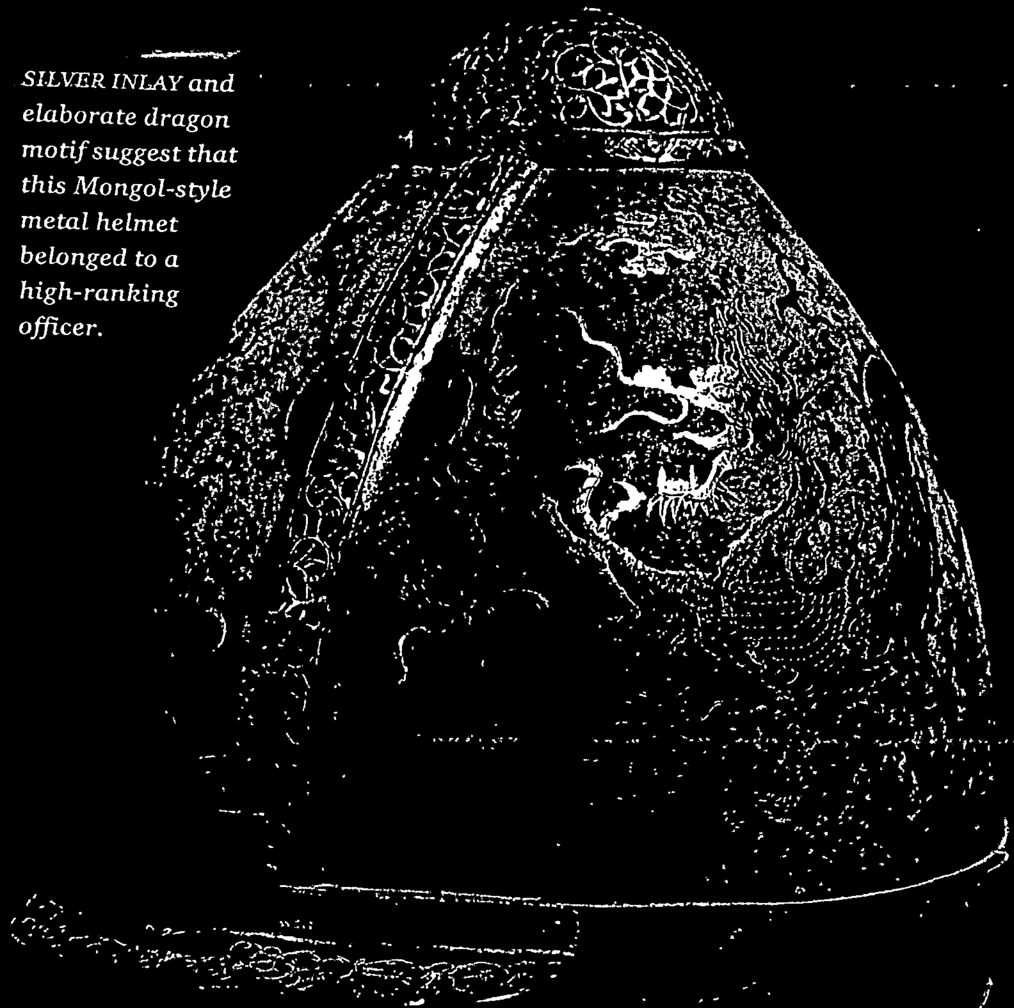
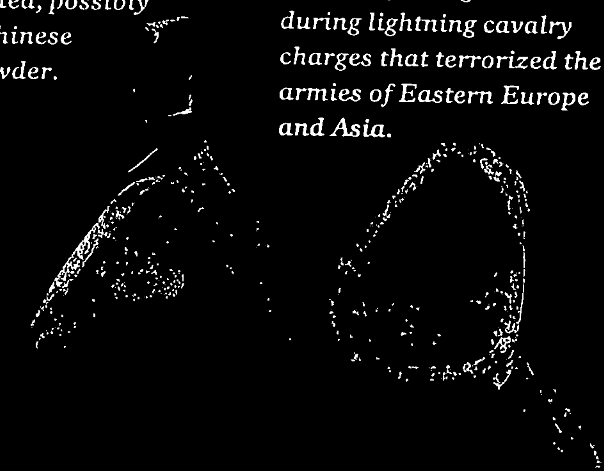


SILVER INLAY and elaborate dragon motif suggest that this Mongol-style metal helmet belonged to a high-ranking officer.

STONEWARE JAR, now barnacle encrusted, possibly held Chinese gunpowder.



IRON STIRRUPS protected the feet of Mongol horsemen during lightning cavalry charges that terrorized the armies of Eastern Europe and Asia.

ceramic artifacts retrieved from the ocean floor were donated by various islanders toward the start of a local museum.

One of the donations was an almost unbelievable treasure: a perfectly preserved bronze seal measuring 6.5 centimeters square, with an inscription engraved in the face (page 640). The seal was presented to me by an islander named Kuniichi Mukae, who had found it seven years before on one of Takashima's beaches and had tossed the curiosity into his toolbox. There the seal lay forgotten until Mr. Mukae heard my lecture, whereupon he retrieved it as something of possible interest.

Interest was immediate, for the seal was a rarity. The inscription was in a written form of Mongolian language commissioned by Kublai Khan himself. The dynasty had had no official written language until the year 1271, when the khan ordered a Tibetan monk by the name of Phags-pa to create one.

The seal must have belonged to an officer, for the inscription reads: "The seal of a leader of between one hundred and one thousand soldiers." On the back of the seal a date—"the 14th year of Zhi-yuan"—appears in Chinese characters. Zhi-yuan was the name given the era of Kublai Khan's rule, so the year was actually 1277.

From the two inscriptions we can deduce that the owner of the seal was an officer of some importance, who may have taken part in the first invasion of Japan and who probably died in the course of the second one.

AS WE PROBED the seafloor off Takashima, we gradually developed a picture of how the Mongol fleet had perished. The majority of ships, we decided, must have been anchored to the south of the island, the direction from which the divine wind had struck. As a consequence the vessels were either sunk or driven ashore along Takashima's southern coast, which is where we found nearly all the artifacts. The bronze officer's seal had also been discovered on one of the island's southern beaches.

Though Takashima's offshore waters proved to be immensely rich in artifacts, we brought up only a small fraction of what we found. Our funds were limited, and it would have been senseless to remove artifacts we knew we could not hope to preserve.

Stone and ceramic items suffer relatively little damage out of water, but those of wood or metal quickly deteriorate when exposed to air. They are safer left buried beneath the seafloor, where they have survived for centuries, and retrieved only when they can be properly cared for.

After three weeks of exploration we ceased operations and left Takashima for Tokyo, where further experiments with the color probe convinced me that the device was a potentially valuable tool in underwater archaeological research.

So it has turned out. During the past summer season the color probe has led our divers to a number of artifacts buried as much as a meter beneath the seafloor. The 1982 season has seen a variety of additional finds and has contributed substantially to our knowledge of a critical period in Japanese history.

THERE IS a great deal more to learn. We have yet to find the actual remains of a ship lost in 1281, and no one has located the 200 or more vessels that sank following the invasion of 1274. Three small islands lying between Kyushu and Korea—Tsushima, Iki, and Hirado Jima—figured prominently in one or both invasions, and their waters have yet to be explored.

The color probe has proved extremely promising, but it requires additional work. I believe that in time it can be improved to the point of defining the shape of an artifact as well as determining its location and the material from which it is made. The applications of such a device are limitless, not only in underwater archaeology but also in the other ocean sciences. The search for Kublai Khan's fleet is merely a beginning. □

Japanese counterattack *routs the Mongol invaders before the defense wall at Hakata Bay in 1281. For the second invasion the Japanese were superbly prepared, with an army of 100,000 stationed on Kyushu and 25,000 troops in reserve on the neighboring island of Honshu. The latter were unnecessary; the kamikaze dealt the final blow, putting an end to Kublai Khan's dream of an overseas empire.*

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OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY WASHINGTON, D.C.

Their nation's dynamic economic growth is shadowed by recurring civil discontent.

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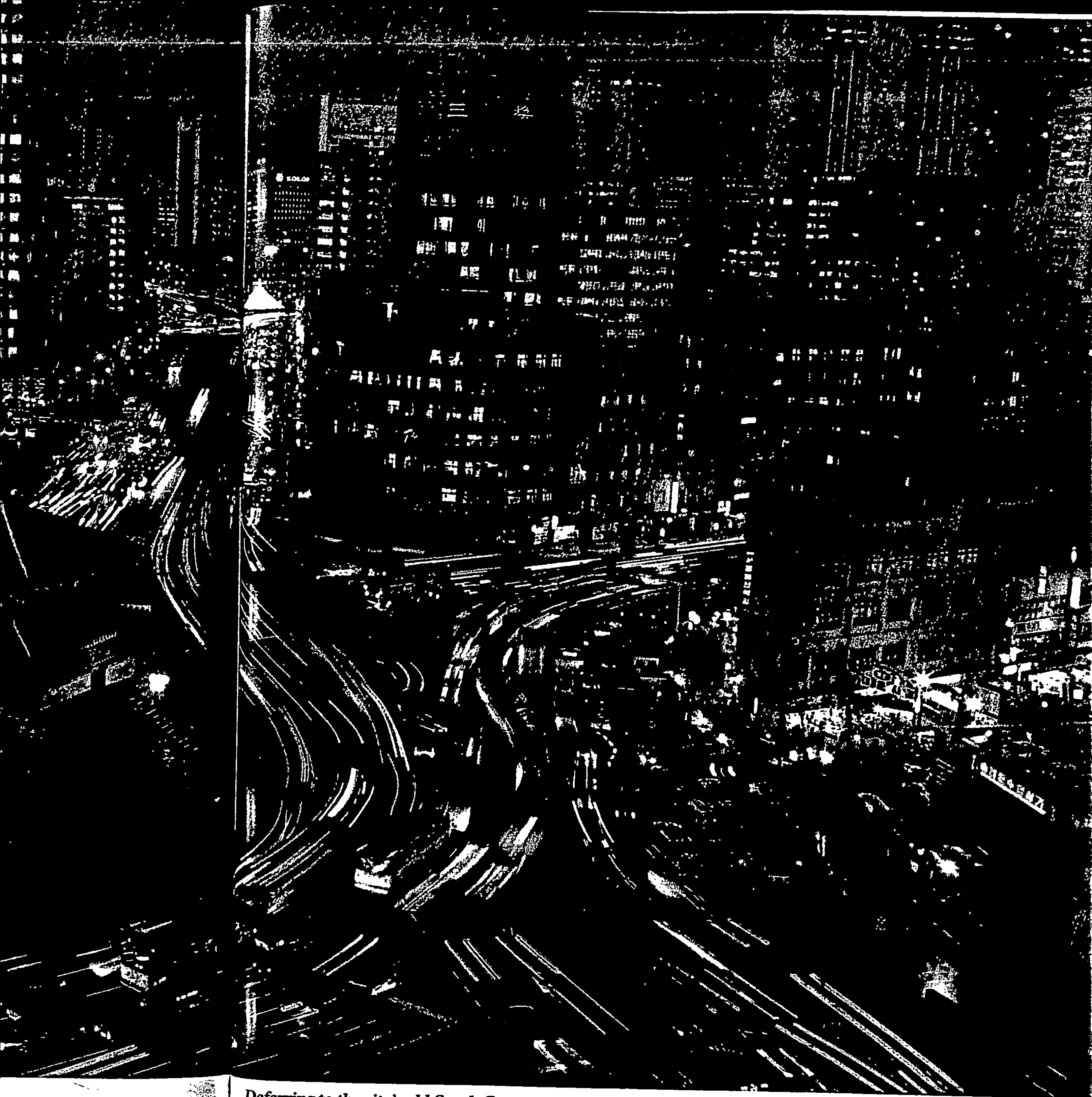

Deferring to the city's old South Gate, traffic swirls through Seoul.

THE SOUTH KOREANS

By BOYD GIBBONS
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SENIOR STAFF

Photographs by NATHAN BENN

On a rainy November morning in a village near Chiri Mountain in South Korea, I stood awkwardly outside the small room of the Organization for Respecting Elders with a bag of pears in one hand and my shoes in the other. The wet slopes were shrouded by low-hanging clouds. Inside, a group of old men, sitting cross-legged on the floor in their stocking feet, looked up from their conversation and motioned for me to enter. The floor was bonded with mulberry paper and polished to a golden sheen, and on the wall a large pendulum clock ticked quietly.

I had brought the fruit for a rice farmer who had served me some *kimchi* the previous evening—kimchi being the incendiary pickled cabbage that no Korean is without. He now smiled in greeting, indicating by his eyes who, in this status-conscious country, would do the talking: Mr. Koh, a handsome gray-haired man wearing the traditional baggy trousers tied at the waist and ankles and a green satin coat hung with large pendant buttons of glass.

Mr. Koh spoke briefly of the December election, saying that the men were for Kim Dae Jung, the opposition politician who was born in this province of South Cholla. The government party candidate, Roh Tae Woo, was "just a continuation of military rule."

Since the end of World War II, when it was freed from 35 years of Japanese occupation, South Korea has been ruled in succession by three dictators: a civilian, Syngman Rhee, and two army officers, Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan. Following Park's assassination in 1979, General Chun's coup against the military command succeeded because his close friend, Gen. Roh Tae Woo, supported him by bringing troops into Seoul. On June 10, 1987, President Chun picked Roh as his successor, touching off mass demonstrations that occupied the world media and abated only when Roh made a surprise capitulation to opposition demands for direct presidential elections, the first in 16 years, which he won—with 37 percent of the ballots—over a divided opposition.

The man next to me began complaining how the leader of the village farming cooperative was appointed, not elected—no particular surprise, as the co-ops are essentially governmental and the only elected officials in the country are the president and members of the National Assembly. All other officials, including the mayor of this village, are appointed by the central government in Seoul.

Mr. Koh interrupted him. "Don't talk of that in front of the foreigner."

"What's wrong with telling the truth? Let him know," the man said. Koh cut him off and changed the subject. Koreans are preoccupied with appearances, especially for foreigners, and they are not comfortable with saying precisely what they think or how they feel.

"If we hadn't had help from the U. S. in the Korean War," Koh said, "I don't think we would be living this kind of good life now. When we were growing up, we suffered from not having enough to eat." I asked about those days. He shifted to another theme. "Regrettably this young generation doesn't care for the tradition of showing respect for the elderly."

Centuries of Confucian culture and rule have layered an authoritarian hierarchy on Korean society—ruler over subject, parents over children, husband over wife, elder over younger. Only friends are equals. Status is reflected even in the language, with different verb endings for a higher person to use when talking to a lower, and the reverse. Young Koreans often forget these intricate linguistic subtleties when talking to elders.

The agrarian Confucian society of the village has been wrenched into this century almost overnight. It's no wonder it has been in turmoil. In 1953 the entire peninsula lay devastated by the Korean War, and millions of Koreans were dead. In the 1960s you could still see bullock carts on the streets of Seoul. The south bank of the Han River, which flows through Seoul (map, page 243), was mud flats. Today it is metastasizing with office and apartment buildings to the horizon.

Twenty-five years ago 70 percent of Koreans were farmers. Today there are an impressive number of Ph.D.'s among their bright technocrats, and 65 percent of the population is urban—a vast, sudden uprooting. One of

Patient hands tend a young girl in a working-class district of Seoul; her face seems to belie the toughness for which Koreans are known. Despite numerous invasions, and colonization by the Japanese for a third of this century, Koreans remain one of the world's most homogeneous peoples. This September South Korea will open its doors as host of the Seoul Summer Olympic Games.

every four South Koreans lives in Seoul, and more keep arriving, emptying the countryside, moving again and again—a distinctly mobile, crowded society. With the kind of frenetic traffic jams that commuters on the Hollywood Freeway would appreciate, Seoul is where the money is, the prestige, the influence, the power, the smog.

In 1961 Gen. Park Chung Hee seized power by coup and surrounded himself with economists educated in the West. They helped him make South Korea, with virtually no natural resources, a world trader. Park raised interest rates to attract money into banks, got the economy rolling by building bases and supplying troops for the U. S. in Vietnam, and borrowed deeply from abroad to go into heavy industry.

South Korea claims the world's highest annual growth rate—12 percent—in gross national product (GNP). The nation now runs a ten-billion-dollar trade surplus with the United States and a deficit with Japan, in effect buying Japanese technology with dollars but encountering U. S. protectionism for its reluctance to open its own markets.

And what markets. Next to the man selling generators a woman sells dried squid; stalls are full of conduit pipe or strawberries, tennis shoes, dried fish, tuxedos—labyrinthine markets, miles of underground arcades, a cacophonous mercantilism that makes the American shopping mall look abandoned. The irony is that Koreans have a national savings rate of 33 percent. They need it because they have no unemployment or retirement benefits and virtually no bank financing for consumers.

South Korea's economy is dominated by big conglomerates, or *chaebol*—Daewoo, Hyundai, Samsung, Lucky-Goldstar—wired to the government by money and connections. Last year the Hyundai Excel was the hottest import car in the U. S., and now the Pontiac LeMans is rolling in from Daewoo's plant in Puchon. South Korea manufactures fuselage sections for the F-16 and wing parts for the 747. It is the world's 12th largest trading nation.

Junior staff in a chaebol—that most hierarchical of institutions—salute the boss as in the military. One who is regularly saluted is

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Gutsy painters dangle from a crane above the world's biggest dry dock in the Koje Island shipyard owned by Daewoo, among the largest of the South Korean conglomerates, or chaebol. *Playing games for imaginary profits (facing page) teaches teamwork to management trainees at Sunkyong Group in Seoul. In Kumi a microchip wafer gleams at a Goldstar Semiconductor factory.*

"Without risks, how can you get chances?" asks Daewoo Chairman Kim Woo Choong (right), who prospered by buying failing companies. Presiding at a management meeting, Chey Jong Hyon (above, foreground) took over the chairmanship of the Sunkyong Group upon the death of his brother. Company leadership customarily passes to family members. Women have little chance of rising in the male-dominated business world.

Kim Woo Choong, the founder and head of Daewoo. He is 51 years of age and in motion when still. He takes no vacations, no weekends off. Kim began Daewoo just 21 years ago. It didn't hurt that he always had close connections with President Park Chung Hee, but no one denies that his energy and salesmanship have largely been the reason for the success of this highly leveraged, seven-billion-dollar conglomerate. We met one Sunday in his large office across from the Seoul Railway Station and then moved next door to the Hilton—which his wife runs—for lunch.

"In a country with a $2,800 per capita GNP," he said, "we shouldn't play golf. Poor people can't afford that. I tell my executives, 'No golf.' In Korea nobody respects businessmen because, historically, doing business was low-class, and they weren't well-educated. Now they are. Before I die, I want to see businessmen respected as much as professors.

"Korean advertising makes it appear that we are an advanced country. It's not true. We can copy, modify. Design? We buy that. It may take 20 years for basic science to develop here. The U. S. is pushing Korea hard to open our markets. We have no choice. We are a trading country and have to compete. We need the technology."

At a breakfast in the Chosun Hotel, surrounded by Westerners and Koreans cutting deals, Jack Ward of General Motors in Seoul said, "Koreans won't settle for second best. They don't think compromise. They want to win 100 percent. At the start of a business deal the Westerner is ready to do business in five minutes. I sense immediately the confusion on the Korean's face. He sees this meeting as building personal relationships. Then he begins adapting, trying to do business the Western way. Koreans know how to survive."

Allen Patrick of Ford Motor Company told me, "I've worked in Brazil, Mexico, Europe. I've never seen people work as hard as Koreans. They make the Japanese seem lazy by comparison. They can also be hardheaded."

MODERN KOREAN SOCIETY seldom reflects the Confucian ideals of serenity and calm. Koreans are intense, visceral, impatient, fractious, raucous. They touch a lot; men squeeze your knee to make a point, walk arm in arm, shove past you on the sidewalks, shoulder ahead to be first in line, and drive as if pedestrians and other cars are targets. Arguments detonate out of nowhere. This is a man's world, and they're out late every night singing, carousing, and drinking like fish. Men with status strut on their heels, chest out, arms parenthetical—"Out of my way!"

Every Korean has a group of lifelong friends toward whom loyalty is as important as affection. "Qualifications are not nearly so important as what province you come from or what school you attended," an American banker observed. "Everything's personal here! It's maddening!"

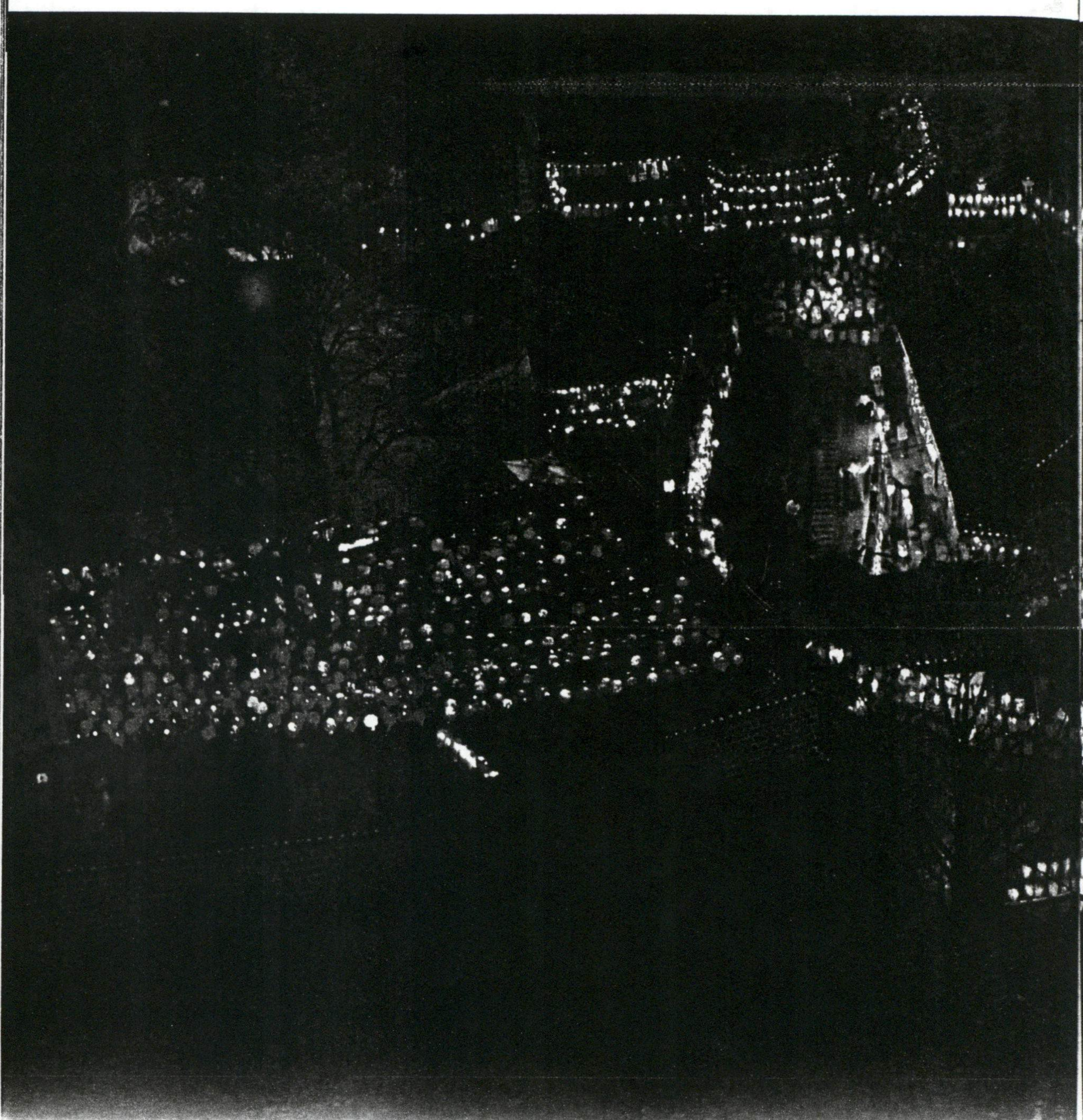
Political parties, especially among the opposition, are not aggregations of people

with similar philosophies and goals so much as factions clinging to a personality, splitting and resplitting overnight—enough cabals and vendettas to jump-start Byzantium.

The National Assembly and judiciary have been compliant to the demands of the Blue House, from which the president exercises power principally through the intelligence agencies: the KCIA (now the Agency for National Security Planning) and especially the Defense Security Command (DSC), which has agents throughout the army—the ultimate power—and beyond. Both Chun and Roh were commanding generals of the DSC.

In his inaugural address President Roh said,

Feast of the Lanterns, the celebration of Buddha's birthday, sets the night aglow at Toson Temple, north of Seoul. A common symbol in the East, the swastika was emblazoned in hopes of good fortune. During the Choson dynasty (1392-1910), the influence of Buddhism lessened as the court emphasized the teachings of Confucius. Though its active followers have dwindled in number, Confucianism with its ethic of obedience to hierarchy still deeply influences society.



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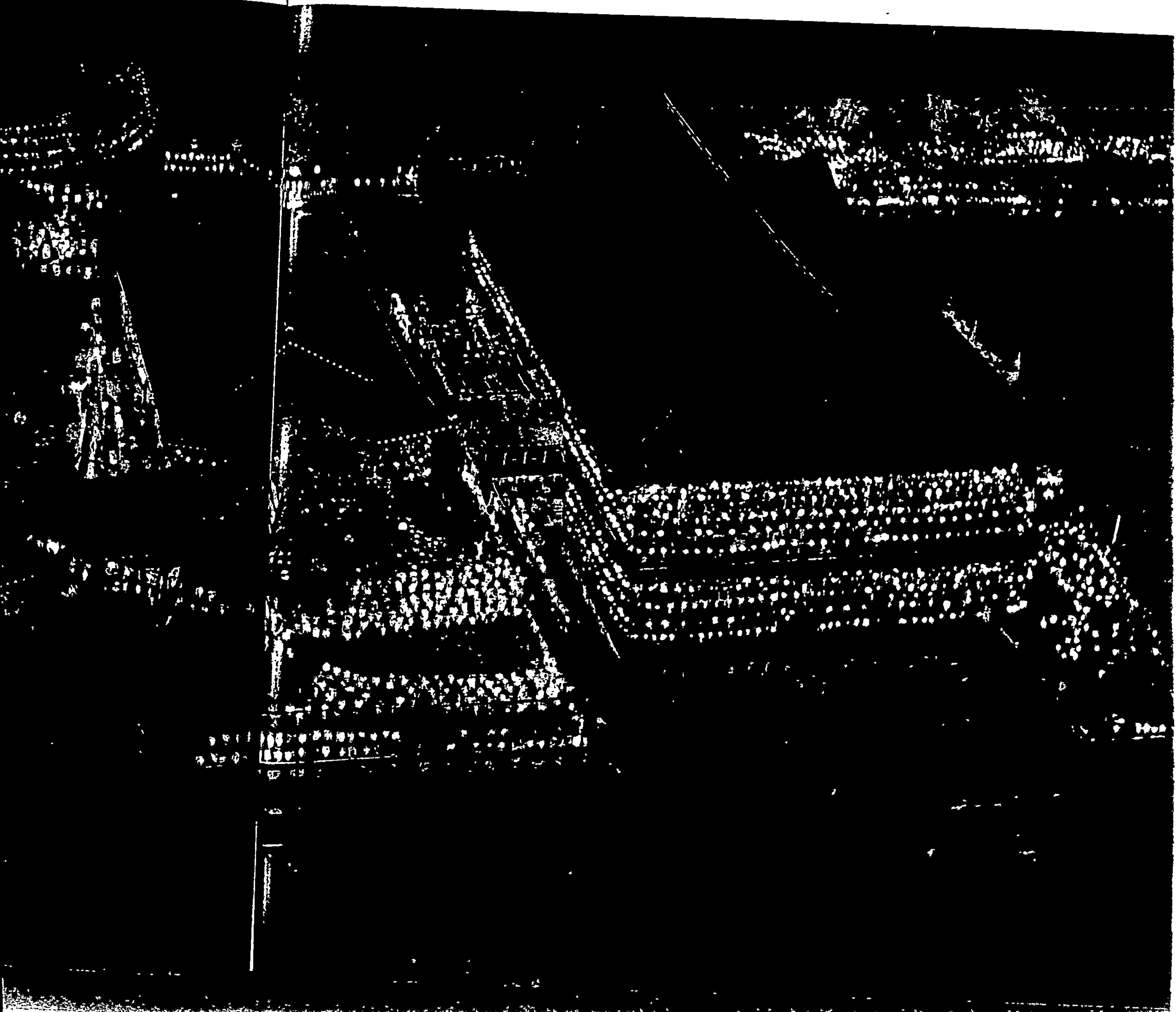
"The day when freedoms and human rights could be slighted in the name of economic growth and national security has ended. The day when repressive force and torture in secret chambers were tolerated is over." That is new language from the Blue House. South Koreans hope he means it, and can deliver.

In proper Korean fashion, I held my glass with two hands as Min filled it with beer. Then to reciprocate his gesture of friendship, I picked up the bottle—both hands again—and poured beer into his glass.

Min works for a small export company, finding Korean manufacturers for American firms that sell batteries, toys, garden tools, barbecue grills. On this Sunday afternoon we were sitting around a low table in his living room in Seoul with a group of his friends, watching a boxing match on television. Like Min, they were all middle-aged, middle-class, and male, but unlike most Korean friendships, which center around the same school class or hometown, these men were drawn together by a tennis court in the huge apartment complex where they live.

"Frankly, we don't go out with our families often," said Min, a short, rectangular man. "I love tennis too much."



Treading a well-worn path, South Korean soldiers patrol the Demilitarized Zone separating their country from North Korea. Loudspeakers on either side of the DMZ blare propaganda berating the government of the opposing nation.

A key rattled in the lock, and Min's wife entered the apartment. Compact and all direct current, she is a rarity, a working wife, managing a large crew of women who sell children's books door-to-door. In the past, women were not permitted outside the home after dusk, and today few Korean men—Min is one—encourage their wives to work.

"Have you offered anything to eat?" Mrs. Min asked. "No," said Min impishly, "because there was no woman around to serve it." She waved away their laughter, removed her coat, and bustled around the kitchen.

Professor Lee, an economist, had sold his house in Seoul before going to the States for his Ph.D., and now, having returned, he felt trapped by the soaring real estate prices. "Suppose you want to buy a $60,000 apartment," he said. "You save $30,000 and raise the other $30,000 from friends. Then, with the deed as mortgage, you borrow $30,000 from a bank to pay back your friends. But the bank wants its money back in three years. Practically speaking, there is little credit in Korea."

Mrs. Min brought in dishes of kimchi and

REPUBLIC OF

KOREA

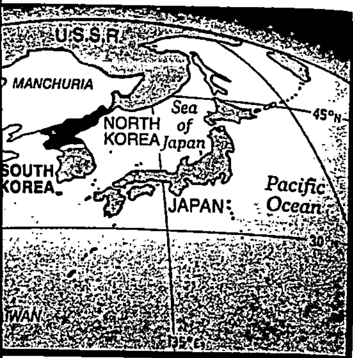
CENTURIES OF ISOLATION ended when the Hermit Kingdom opened to Western trade in the late 1800s. Japan colonized Korea from 1910 to 1945. After World War II, Soviet troops occupied the north. The U. S.-controlled south became the Republic of Korea in 1948.

The end of the 1950-53 Korean War left the two Koreas fighting a cold war that continues today. In the 1970s South Korea was alarmed by the discovery of tunnels leading from the North Korea side. The Kumgangsan Dam, begun in 1986, also raises concern. South Korea claims that areas south of the Demilitarized Zone, including Seoul, could be flooded accidentally, or even intentionally as part of an invasion. Though North Korea denies any hostile intent, South Korea is building the Peace Dam to control potential flooding.

Poor in fossil fuel deposits, South Korea augments its hydroelectric production with four nuclear power plants.

GROWING EXPORTS

Heavily dependent upon exports, South Korea sold 35 percent of its gross national product abroad in 1986. Between 1970 and 1986 the value of exports rose nearly 40-fold.



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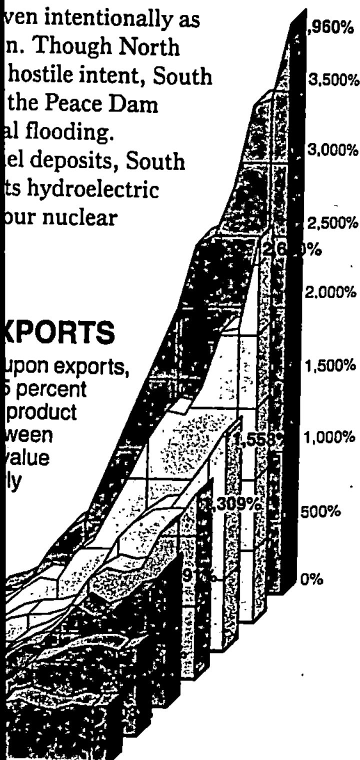


DEMILITARIZED ZONE
Boundary reflects the battle line at the end of the Korean War.

38TH PARALLEL

Yellow Sea

Sea of Japan

Cheju Strait

Korea Strait

- OLYMPIC SITE
- TEXTILES AND APPAREL
- IRON AND STEEL
- CHEMICALS
- ELECTRONICS
- MAJOR FISHING PORT
- SHIPBUILDING AND REPAIR
- MOTOR VEHICLES
- FOOTWEAR

0 50 km
0 50 mi

Cheju Island (SOUTH KOREA)

Kyongju (ancient capital) (page 258)

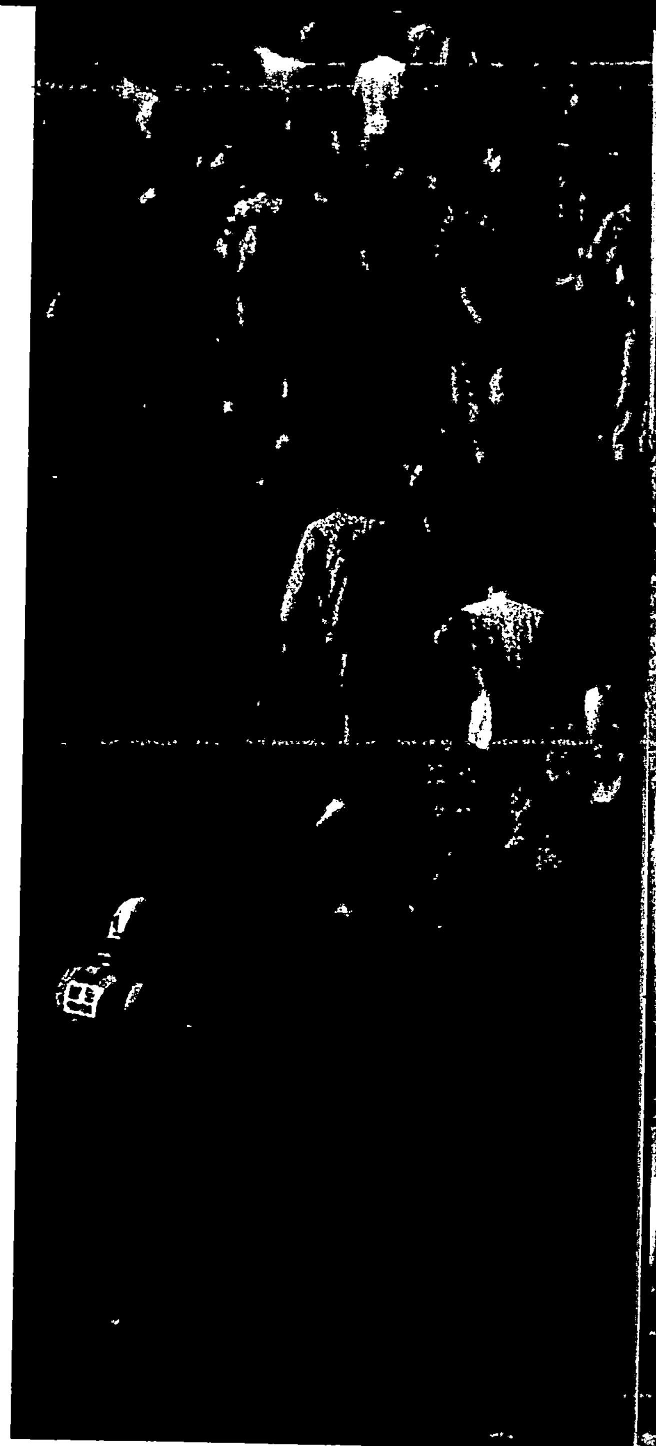
Tsushima (JAPAN)

Koje Island

Halla Mt. 1,950 m 6,398 ft

AREA: 38,291 sq mi (99,173 sq km). **POPULATION:** 42,643,000. **CITIES:** Seoul (capital), 9.8 million; Pusan, 3.6 million; Taegu, 2.1 million. **INDUSTRIES:** Electronics, textiles, motor vehicles, chemicals, shipbuilding, footwear.

NGS CARTOGRAPHIC DIVISION DESIGN: DAVID CHANDLER; RESEARCH: MATTHEW THARP, MARK KUMLER, KAREN ALLEN; PRODUCTION: NANCY JUNG LIM CLAPSADDLE; MAP EDITOR: THOMAS GRAY



Mortally wounded by shrapnel from a riot-police tear-gas canister, student Lee Han Yol slumps in the arms of a friend during an antigovernment rally at Seoul's Yonsei University on June 9, 1987. Another canister flies overhead. Tony Chung of Reuters news agency appears at lower left; his photograph of the scene inspired the printing of banners and cloth patches. Violent demonstrations forced the first direct presidential election in 16 years last December.

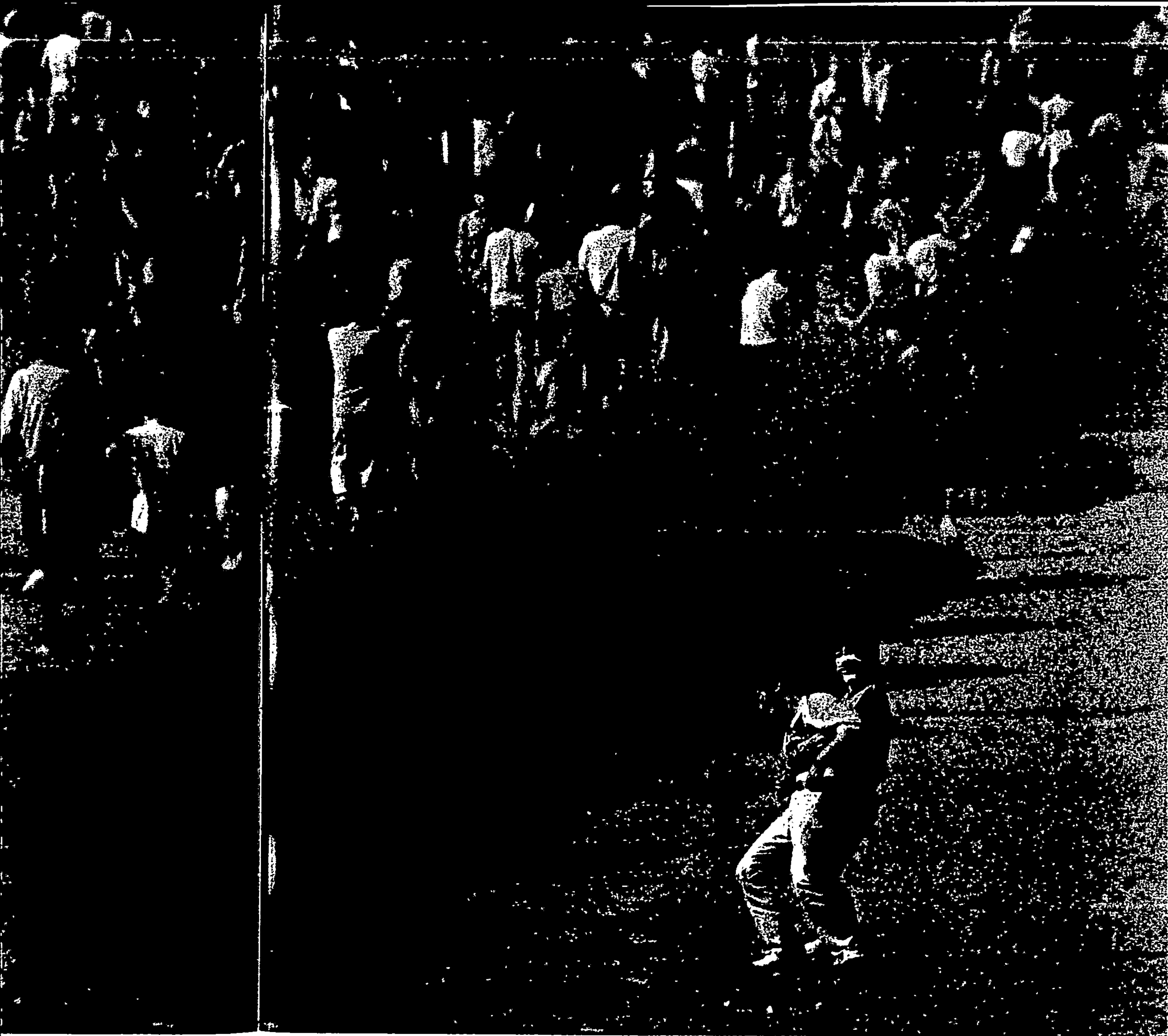
marinated beef redolent of garlic, but she ate in the kitchen with her sister and mother. Except in the *kisaeng* houses, where night after night Korean men drop an astounding amount of money for whiskey and pretty women, men socialize with men and women with women.

Professor Moon said, "Although I was Western-educated, I have never told my wife 'I love you.' Nor have these men. Right?" They nodded. "You don't express those emotions. If you hear a couple talking that way, you know their marriage is in trouble."

Hearing this, the women edged into the living room. "Yes, but all Korean women would like to hear it," said Mrs. Moon. "They want affection, at least a word of love, but the men think they don't have to."

Korean women are looked upon as men's servants and washed up if still single at age 30. A married woman is not supposed to have male friends. Some women had told me how this caused them to have romantic fantasies. "I wouldn't risk ruining my marriage by fooling around," one said, "but walled off this way, we have dreams outside the home."

The family is the preeminent influence in everything Korean. Koreans rarely divorce. A divorced woman is socially scarred, has trouble finding a job, and has few rights over her children. "That's why women will put up with a bad marriage," a woman lawyer told me. "This is a male-oriented society. If the mother wants to take her children overseas, she has to get her former husband's consent.



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But he can take them without her consent. Our entire society considers divorce a disgrace."

Korean mothers run the home, raise the children, and manage the money, investing in real estate, stocks, and especially in the informal women's savings groups called *kye.* "Middle-class Koreans," an envious American had said, "have more money in the bank than either you or I would dream of having."

At the far end of the table, Kim said he felt that the Western press was distorting South Korea with "the image of political crisis. Political protests are inevitable in a growing society. They are transitional, just as are the methods of the government in clamping down. Of course, the true Communists among the students are a very small minority."

Why then, I asked, was the government so ready to label any opposition as leftist?

"You see from where you sit," said Kim, an investigator from the prosecutor's office. "If you were a government official and saw

students adopting North Korean slogans, you would arrest and investigate them. The government is suspicious of their motives."

Sohn shook his head and said, "The government is oversensitive and overreacts."

"They have to react quickly," said Kim, "because of all this tension on the DMZ."

As "the shrimp among whales," Korea has managed to play off the major powers contending for the peninsula—China, Japan, Russia, and, most recently, the United States. But not without wounds. The Korean War, which stalemated in 1953 in a cease-fire, left the peninsula divided at the Demilitarized Zone—a euphemism if there ever was one. Two modern armies—840,000 troops in North Korea and 650,000 in South Korea, including 45,000 U. S. soldiers—face each other across a no-man's-land that is dangerous even for browsing deer. As soldiers say, "There ain't no D in the DMZ."

The roots of that war and the division of Korea into two enemy nations reach back to the closing days of World War II, when Japan collapsed and Soviet troops poured into what is now North Korea. Anxious to block the Soviets from occupying the entire peninsula, the Americans looked for a line on the map that would keep Seoul and Inchon out of Soviet hands. The 38th parallel seemed to fit, and the Soviets agreed. Unified in culture and geography for more than a millennium, Korea was freed of the hated Japanese only to be occupied and divided by the armies of the cold war.

Korea was then in ferment, as thousands of political prisoners, many of them Communists who had resisted the Japanese, were released from prisons. And millions of returning Koreans—many conscripted by the Japanese in the 1930s and '40s for their factories in Manchuria, China, and Japan—swarmed into the south, landless and discontented. Fiercely nationalistic and anti-Japanese, they were eager to establish an independent Korea and remove those Koreans who had collaborated with the Japanese: the landlords and police.

South Korea was rocked by labor strikes, a savage peasant revolt, a Communist uprising in its army, and sporadic guerrilla fighting, all crushed with help from U. S. troops. The Communists retreated into North Korea, leaving ideology divided at the 38th parallel.

The U. S. pulled out, and in June 1950, having failed to foment a Communist revolution in the south, North Korea attacked, bringing Americans, with other United Nations forces, into the Korean War. Two million North Koreans fled south, rupturing families that are still separated, a powerful voice for reunification that resonates throughout the peninsula. The war infected South Koreans—most indelibly the army—with virulent anti-Communism. "When I came here in 1954," an American told me, "my interpreter was still looking to kill his best friend, if he could find him, because he was a Communist."

The continuing threat from North Korea is manifest. Five years ago in Burma, saboteurs almost assassinated President Chun with a

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Enraged students meet an immovable police line on May 4, 1987, outside Seoul's Myongdong Catholic Cathedral, as they attempt to march in support of priests staging a hunger strike. Riot police called "grabbers" haul away a businessman during a demonstration in downtown Seoul (left). Antigovernment sentiment, spreading to the middle class, reflected the deep discontent with authoritarian rule.

bomb that killed many of his advisers. Last December a Korean Air Lines plane was blown from the sky by a time bomb apparently set by two North Korean agents, a reminder that the north, which has refused to send athletes to the Seoul Olympics, opening September 17, may try to sabotage the games.

Seoul is only 25 miles from the DMZ. Billboards on the buildings and mountains around Seoul screen guns, rockets, and radar, and the sidewalk flower planters are revetments for mortars and machine guns. There are tank traps on the way to the DMZ and boulders stacked over the rail and road cuts, primed with set charges. Buildings have thicker north walls, with tank drive-downs into basements windowed for guns. A wire fence along much of the coast is studded with painted stones arranged in coded patterns. Patrols check for rocks that have been jarred loose or incorrectly replaced and for footprints in the swept sand. Cables are stretched across the golf fairways to clothesline Pyongyang's gliders.

Three North Korean tunnels have been discovered beneath the DMZ, and U. S. military experts believe there are many more. They see the next Korean war as a "45-kilometer war," a lightning North Korean strike using its superiority in mechanized long-range artillery to pulverize everything from the DMZ into Seoul. "When the initial barrage lifts," one expert said, "we'll see caps blown off all those tunnels behind South Korean lines and North Korean troops pouring out."

THE GOVERNMENT often uses this threat in order to justify crushing political dissent. On May 17, 1980, following student protests, Chun extended martial law, closed campuses, and took over the government. He also sent Special Warfare paratroopers into the southwestern city of Kwangju, precipitating a massacre. For seven years Chun prohibited the press from mentioning the Kwangju "incident." Roh's administration, however, has tried to be conciliatory, publicly regretting the deaths, offering compensation and a monument. But Kwangju's citizens demand a full investigation and formal apology. Students

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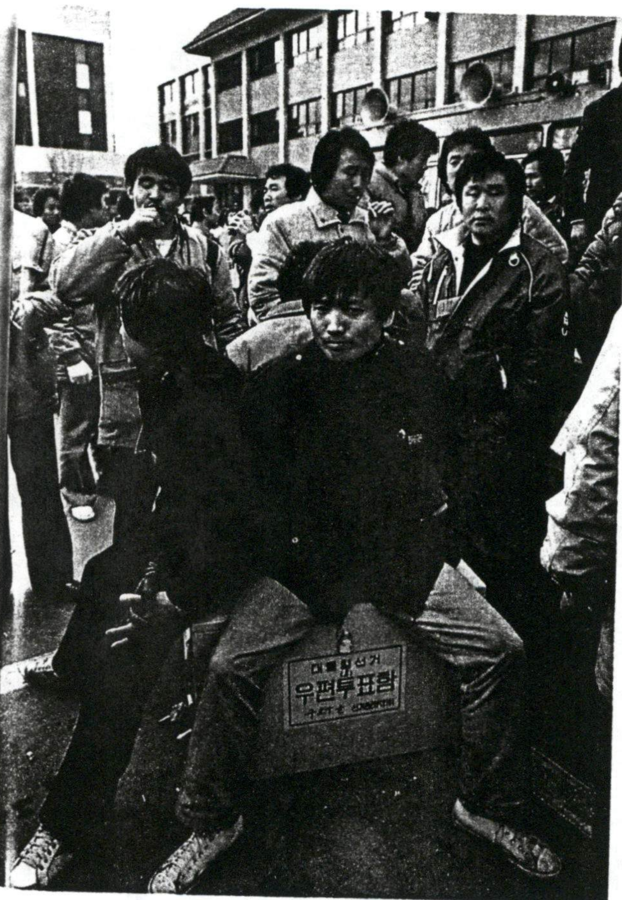
nationwide observe the anniversary with anti-government rallies. Kwangju remains one of Roh's stickiest legacies.

Through rice country I took the train down to Kwangju. South Korea has precious little level terrain. What there is of it is crowded with Koreans—in Seoul, Taegu, Pusan—or diked, cultivated, and covered with greenhouses. The rest of Korea is mountainous, the entire east coast uplifted and serrated by dramatic headlands.

Kwangju's pretty main street is shaded with ginkgo trees. The nearby mountains are softer and greener than the bouldered crags around Seoul. Kwangju is the capital of South Cholla Province. East of here is Taegu, capital of North Kyongsang Province. The antagonism between these two regions turned violent in the presidential campaign. Kyongsang has been the historical well from which Korea's ruling class has been drawn—Park, Chun, Roh, and most of the key generals and elite of Seoul—and into which the government has poured money and development. Cholla people say that Kyongsang people are brash.



Embattled victor in the December 1987 presidential vote, Roh Tae Woo vows to gradually democratize a country that has been under almost continuous dictatorship since 1948. But Roh attracted less than a majority, winning with a 37 percent plurality over a badly divided opposition in an election marred by charges of voting fraud.

In Seoul anti-Roh protestors sit on a ballot box seized as it left a municipal building hidden in a delivery truck. Election officials claimed that the box contained absentee ballots, which were to be counted elsewhere. Police later reclaimed the box, but it was not clear why it was being moved in a suspicious manner. The contents were destroyed by the authorities. In a rural schoolhouse (facing page), voting is closely observed by an election official, at right, and poll-watchers from different political parties.

In the April 1988 election of the National Assembly, Roh's party lost its majority. This surprising turnabout has, in the view of a South Korean diplomat, "given us an entirely new set of political questions" concerning how the government will deal with a duly elected opposition.

Anxious eyes watch for students to emerge from entrance exams at Yonsei University. Applicants to the nation's universities may apply to only one school at a time, and competition is keen. In Seoul a junior-high-school student takes a brief Sunday-morning break before hitting the books for 12 hours.

Kyongsang people often say that those from Cholla are too cunning and rebellious.

On the morning of May 18, 1980, Chun's Special Warfare paratroopers, told to put down a "Communist insurrection," waded into protesters, swinging iron-weighted clubs, cracking bones and fracturing skulls. For days they broke into homes and indiscriminately attacked people, chasing them down alleys, clubbing, bayoneting, and shooting them to death. Officially 193 people died, undoubtedly more. Enraged students raided an armory, leading an uprising that eventually drove the paratroopers from the city.

The army, with U. S. approval, made a surgical strike on Kwangju on May 27, securing the city—and killing about two dozen student leaders. Despite belated U. S. explanations that its operational control over the army has never extended to the Special Warfare units, anti-Americanism has festered ever since.

On the seventh anniversary of South Korea's most painful memory since the Korean War, I met at the Kwangju cemetery a trembling, emaciated young man, to all appearances a victim of cerebral palsy.

On the night of May 18, 1980, Kim—as I will call him—was studying at an institute to become a government employee, when paratroopers broke in swinging their clubs. He tried to escape, but he was clubbed and kicked

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down four flights of stairs and thrown on a bus. "Then a soldier kicked me out of the bus and said, 'Get out or we will kill you!' The doctors say that my brain is wounded, and if they operate I will die. I live with my brother. I have to depend on someone 24 hours a day.

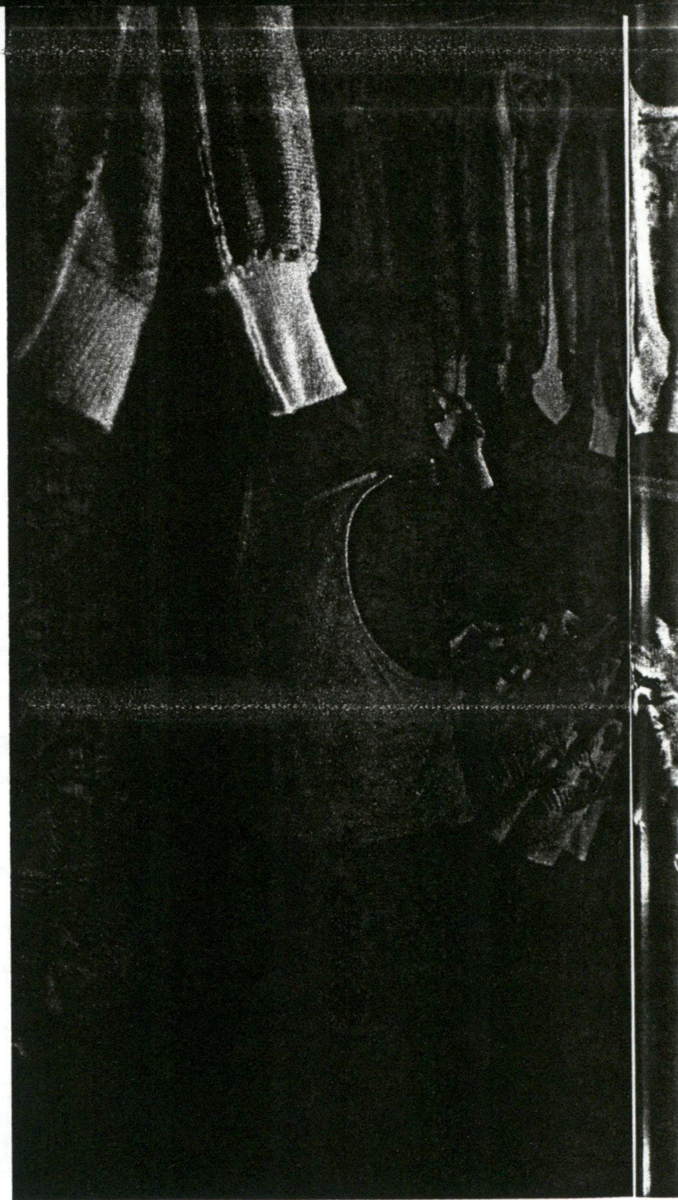
"I had my nephew write five letters to Chun Doo Hwan asking for compensation. I received nothing whatsoever, and the last reply was that if I wrote again, I would be arrested."

Brutality has a long tradition in Korea. I saw a good deal of it, by "grabbers" —the professional toughs of the riot police.

Grabbers travel light: running shoes, color-coordinated windbreakers and helmets, and open-fingered gloves for grabbing, with a coarse padding over the knuckles so punches won't slip. They are expert in tae kwon do, the Korean martial art—and they seem to enjoy using it. Grabbers gang up on individuals, fracturing wrists, cracking ribs.

For years this has been happening to opposition politicians, labor organizers, ministers, anyone who opposed the government—but

Unglamorous labor of Korean workers serves the exporters of fashionable garments. After nationwide strikes, the labor-union movement is taking aim at sweatshops, in which the workday may last 16 hours and longer.



especially students. The lucky ones are beaten up and driven out of the city to a remote garbage dump—not exactly a short stroll home in Seoul, a city of nearly ten million people. The leaders are usually imprisoned and tortured.

MY INTERPRETER, Jong, and I drove into the hills north of Kwangju to visit the grave sites of his father and ancestors. When Jong was a boy, his grandparents had wanted to have a grandson come live with them, and as he was the eldest of four boys, he was sent out to their farm for a couple of years.

"My grandparents loved me in the Korean way," Jong said. "That means I got spoiled."

Following Buddhist tradition, on the 49th day after his father's death, Jong's family prepared at the family altar fish, beef soup, and fruit wine—all foods his father had enjoyed—to keep his memory alive. Then for a year, in the Confucian way, they prepared the same foods on the 1st and 15th of each month.

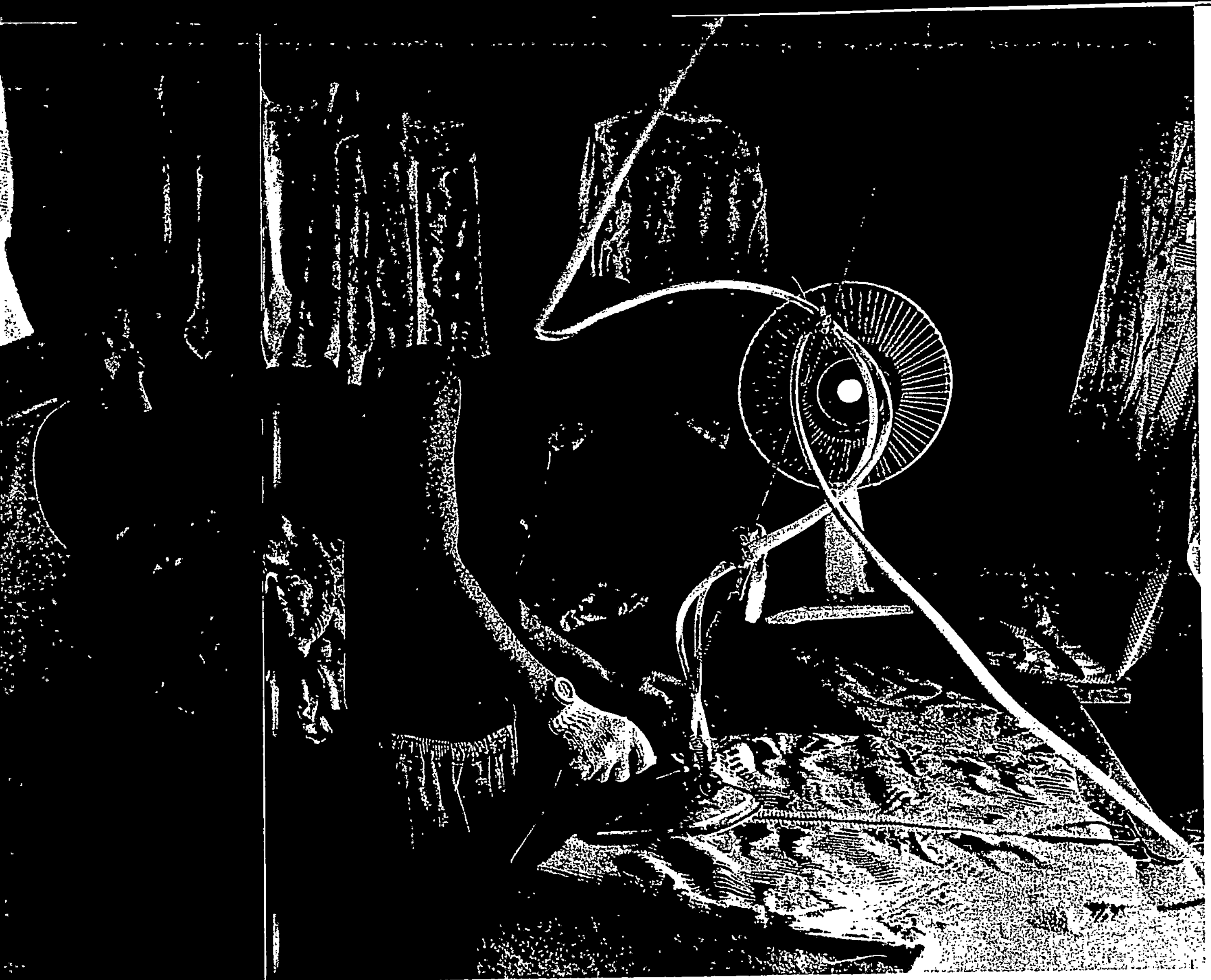
At his father's grave Jong knelt on some pine boughs he had snapped off and bowed twice. He poured a little *soju,* a liquor, in three places around the mound ("three is a good number in Korea"), then we sat and shared the rest of the soju, some dried squid, and a few ripe persimmons. "We share this as though my father were alive," Jong said.

"My brother sometimes goes to the Christian church, and Christians aren't supposed to bow to others' idols. But I tell him that he better respect this family tradition."

First unified in A.D. 668 by a predominantly Buddhist kingdom, Korea was dominated by a Confucian dynasty from the late 1300s until the Japanese occupation of 1910. By the 1880s Protestant missionaries were introducing modern education, agriculture, and medicine. At night the cities glow with red neon crosses on thousands of churches.

"By 1970 we had three million Christians in Korea." Dr. Suh Kwang Sun is a professor of theology at Ewha Woman's University in Seoul. "Now there are some ten million. Why? Buddhism had been pushed into the background by 500 years of the Choson dynasty, which had become impotent and corrupt. Koreans needed a new value system that would match the invading Japanese. Christianity became an enlightening force among Koreans, a sanctuary. Today we never know when the North Koreans will attack. So where do you get comfort, assurance? The church. Koreans have lost their communities in this rapid industrialization. The churches give the uprooted courage and confidence to work diligently to become the newly rising middle class."

For some, however, it's a long way to the middle class. For years the government has kept wages low to compete in world markets. In 25 years, per capita GNP has made a phenomenal leap from $90 to $2,800, but



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wages haven't kept up with living costs, especially for the textile girls who earn barely four dollars a day. The impressive "Miracle on the Han" factory tours bypass the pervasive "chicken-coop" sweatshops, where the 16-hour day is not uncommon.

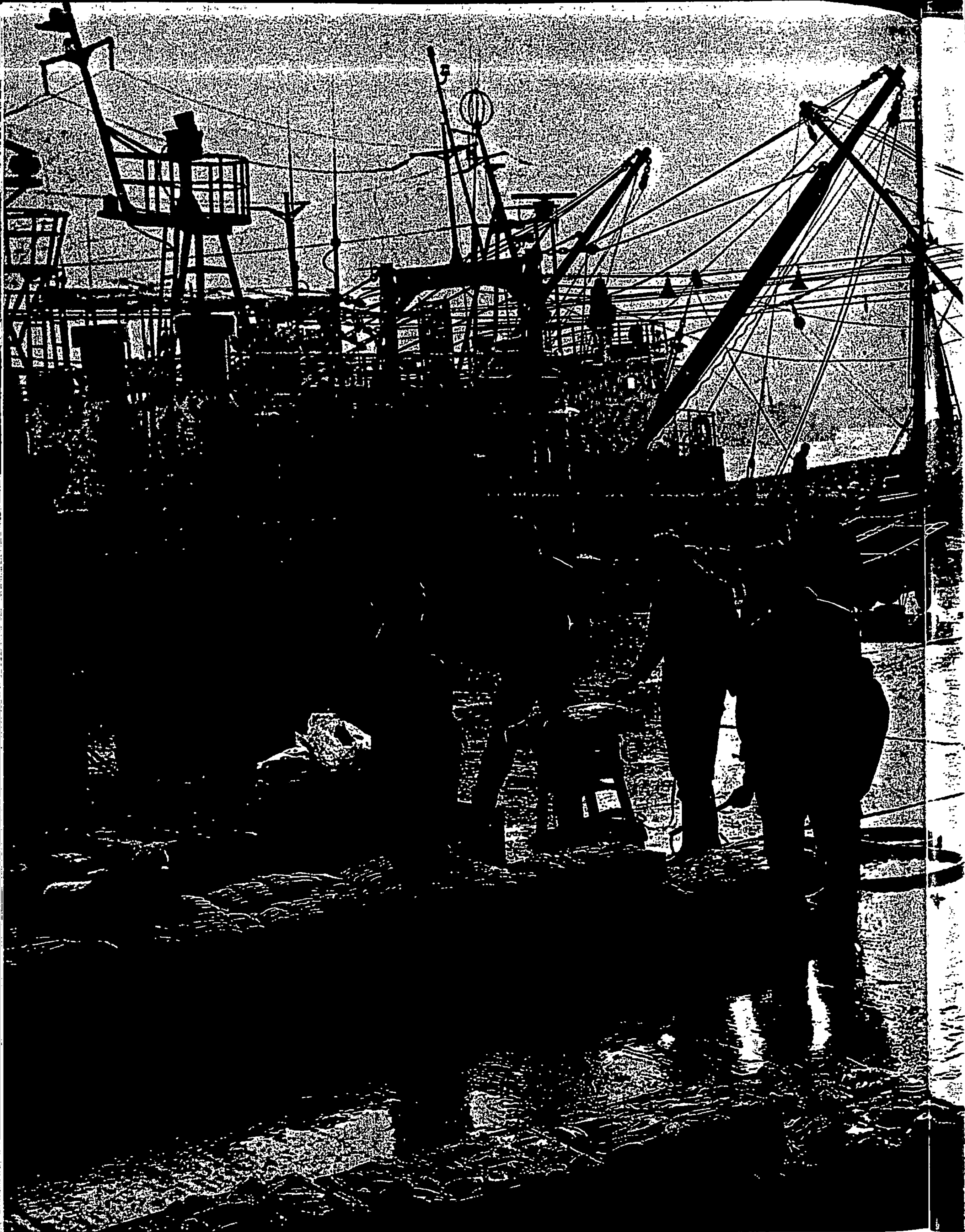
The road through the steep mountains to Taebaek, a coal-mining town, was hairpinned, and the metal mirrors at the curves were so dented from rocks that we rarely saw oncoming trucks until they were upon us.

In a restaurant I talked with Park, a thin man with a narrow chin and pronounced cheekbones, his black hair falling straight over his ears from the center of his scalp like water off a rock. He operates a pneumatic drill underground for the Hanbo Coal Company and was on the midnight shift. I asked if he would like a beer with his meal, but he refused. "The air is dirty in the mine, and if you've been drinking, you get exhausted."

Park lives in one of the rent-free apartments the company provides for employees with seniority. He earns the equivalent of $600 a month, and he expects eventually to leave the mine and set up his own business.

Hanbo was one of thousands of companies struck last summer. The labor dispute began over vacation bonuses and the number of free briquettes the company would provide to heat the apartments. "We had a union, but the head of it was working on behalf of the company, so we kicked him out. But the new union leader has no influence and gets clobbered in negotiations with the company."

Admitting that the workers hadn't shared in the country's growth, the government pressured the companies in last year's strikes to



Sorting out the catch, dockworkers prepare fish for the daily auction in Pusan, South Korea's second largest city and its biggest port. A government drive has propelled the country's deep-sea fishing fleet to the position of the world's fifth

daily auction in Pusan, A government drive has ition of the world's *fifth*

largest. Pusan was the only major South Korean city besides Taegu to escape occupation by the enemy during the Korean War, when it temporarily served as the nation's capital.

give workers substantial wage increases and the right to form their own unions. Then it labeled the organizers "impure elements"—meaning leftist—and threw them into prison.

SOUTH KOREA has one of the world's highest percentages of citizens attending college. More than a million do, half of them in Seoul. Since the days when scholars challenged the king on matters of virtue, students have held a peculiar niche in Korean society as the "national conscience." No student wants to be remembered as belonging to the class that failed to demonstrate against the government.

South Koreans admit to a profound generation gap. Almost 70 percent of them were born after the Korean War—certainly all the students, who bear neither memories nor the ideological scars of that bloody conflict and little appreciate American help then or since. Among all Koreans there is a powerful nationalism—with racial pride humming in the veins—and though older Koreans may look West with gratitude, students usually do so in anger. They see Caucasian mannequins in department-store windows, a U. S. Army golf course smack in the middle of Seoul, and are quick to fasten on any inroads of Western culture as a dilution of their own. The activists—ever high on moral certainty—will doubtless keep demonstrating.

Like the Japanese, Koreans drive their children to study in order to pass the exams to get

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s the exams to get into the top schools, such as elite Seoul National University. In South Korea education and status are as one; graduates of SNU get somewhere. Most high-school students don't make it to college, and of those who do and graduate, many have difficulty finding work. The economy hasn't absorbed the Korean passion for education. "From junior high through high school," a professor told me, "the children are studying until 2 a.m. to pass those exams. Parents have little time to see them."

"Students who fail the entrance exams feel they've failed life," his wife said. "A really sad thing. Even when they're in kindergarten, parents push them to be first in the class."

Outside a library in Taegu, I saw a line of boys and a line of girls waiting to get inside to study. The library had about 2,400 seats, and 4,500 kids had shown up. First come, first served, 15 cents a ticket. Some had begun lining up at 4 a.m. It was Sunday.

In any year a high-school graduate can apply to only one university. If his examination grade is too low, he waits until the next year, head down in a cram school. "I didn't see my niece for three years," a woman said. "She was studying seven days a week to pass the exam for entrance into Ewha University. She had failed twice before."

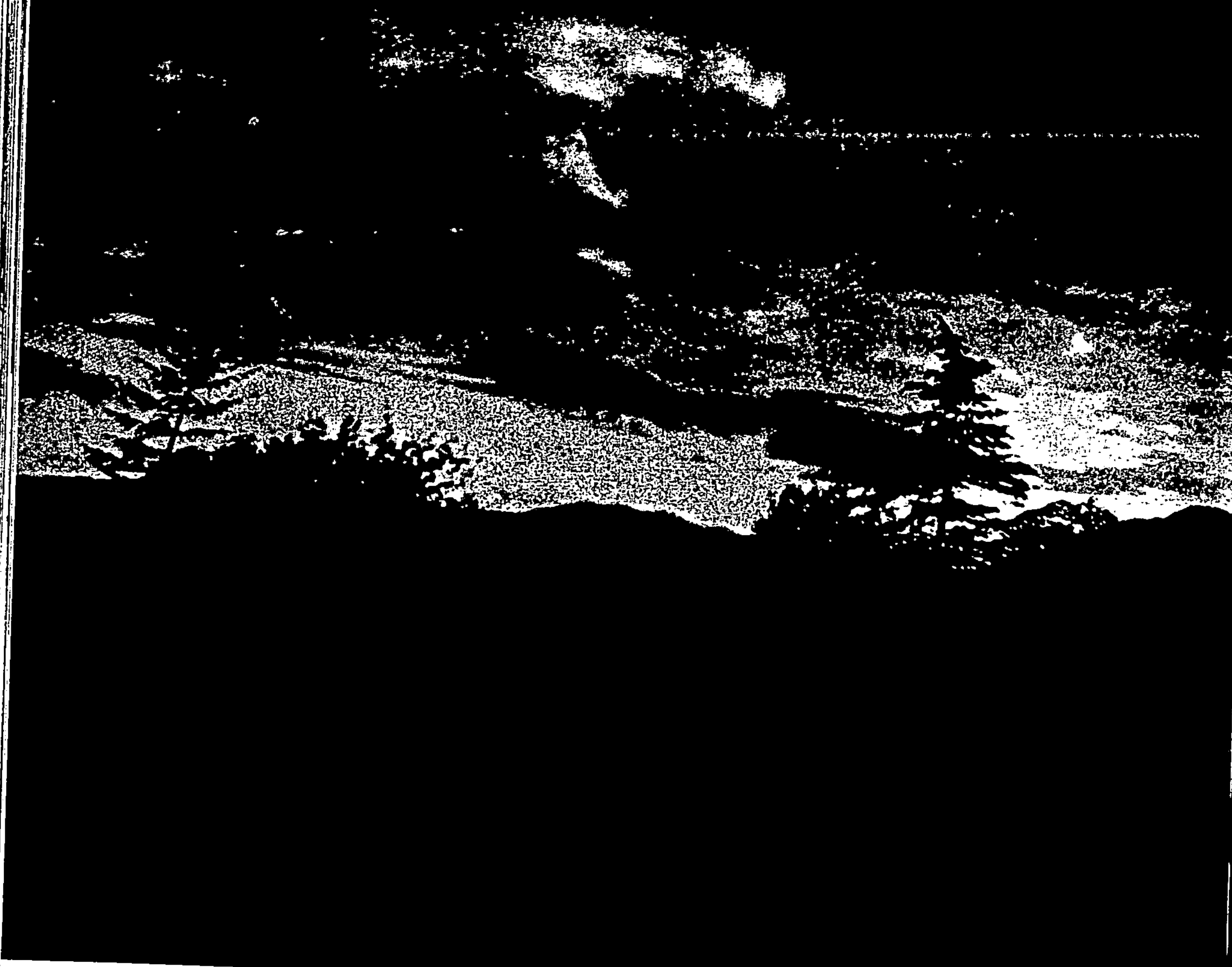
In this rote-learning, exam-driven milieu the cram schools are a big business. The one I visited in Kwangju, the Great Success Institute, kept a guard at the gate to prevent students from leaving early. A young man I met there told me that his day at the institute ran to 11 p.m. "Then I go home and study until about 1:30 a.m. I get about four and a half hours of sleep. You should not think that demonstrations are all that there is to Korea."

WINTER was closing in. Many public buildings are unheated in South Korea, but Professor Hong Sung Chick's office in chilly Korea University was warmed by a space heater. He is director of the Asiatic Research Center. "We are surrounded by big powers," he said. "The other small countries have been absorbed by either China or Russia. But Korea has persisted throughout history. Koreans are very adjustable. When told to bow by big powers, they did. But all the time they knew that they would persevere.

"You worry about the divisiveness, but I think Koreans will overcome it. They are so proud of their culture and history, so proud of being Korean. A very optimistic people. At any party, they sing. When optimism doesn't exist, you don't have that vitality.

"For the moment, politics looks like chaos, fighting. But I think the leaders will have to learn from the people, not the reverse." □

Bending his back to the task, a farmer hauls rice stalks from a field southwest of Kwangju. So intensive has been the nation's urbanization that the government now tries to woo people back to the land with incentives. But for most young South Koreans, and for their offspring, such scenes will remain a nostalgic look at a way of life they never knew.



Perhaps with a yearning to ponder the enigmatic sky, Queen

Kyongju, Where

By CATHY NEWMAN
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SENIOR STAFF

e enigmatic sky, Queen Sondok built Chomsongdae observatory in A.D. 634 in Korea's ancient capital.

here Korea Began

Y NEWMAN
RAPHIC SENIOR STAFF

Photographs by H. EDWARD KIM

OUT OF THE MIST came the sound of a flute, its notes drifting down the mountain path like ginkgo leaves sent swirling by an autumn breeze. I stopped and listened. Here in Korea's ancient capital, Kyongju, there's a legend about a king who played a jade flute that could make rain fall and wind blow. I half-expected to see some mythical figure materialize before me. . . .

From the mist emerged a figure playing a flute. He was silver haired, this apparition on the mountain path. His eyes sparkled with their own sunlight. In his fingers a bamboo flute seemed to have alighted like a butterfly. From it notes tumbled, skittering like gold and silver leaves.

That Yun Kyung Real and I should meet was no accident, for I had come to discover the wonders of this mystic place, and Yun, by turns a teacher, maker of ceramic masks, and crafts merchant, had even more compelling reasons.

"I came to Kyongju to find the spirit of Korean beauty," he began, offering me a thimble-size porcelain cup of *soju,* a throat-searing, mind-quickening liquor that is the time-honored Korean prerequisite for a tale.

As a child he had longed to see this city of enchantment where once upon a time a king had turned himself into a dragon to protect his country from its enemies. But Kyongju was far from his home in the north. "Besides, if your heart is *really* set on something, you don't reach for it right away. Precious things are not to be rushed."

As he grew to manhood, he went to Japan to learn doll-making. He was taught to paint Japanese features on the dolls' terra-cotta faces and kimonos on their figures instead of the high-waisted *hanbok* Korean women wore.

In 1945 he returned to Korea. But the nation was soon to endure its long agony of civil war. Mr. Yun, born in the north, could not go home again. He turned at last toward Kyongju.

When he stepped off the train, his eyes moistened at the sight of the royal tombs—grass mounds towering over tile roofs, miniatures of the far mountains. And everything golden: sun-burnished fields, gilded statues of Buddha, branches of forsythia flaming like torches.

"All that brightness," said Mr. Yun, his smile tender as a Korean sunrise. "Then I understood what it meant to be Korean, to come from all that beauty."

To be Korean is also to belong to a land invaded again and again, a land since 1910 either occupied or divided and at war with itself. Yet its people are among the purest ethnic strains in Asia. Their spirit has been abraded but never broken. Why? Because Korea is a feeling, a style, a sense. That spirit germinated in Kyongju, a small city on Korea's southeast coast, where 1,300 years ago Korea became a nation. Where, for a while, harmony reigned.

At its eighth-century peak Kyongju may have numbered a million. The king's four palaces, one for each season, basked in luxuries: Philippine tortoiseshell, Persian glass, Japanese pearls. In Kyongju, it was said, "foreigners who visit forget to return home."

The city, center of the Silla dynasty, produced silk-smooth paper coveted by the Chinese and bronze temple bells admired by the Japanese. But its niche in history was as birthplace of a nation. By 668 Silla had defeated neighboring rival kingdoms: Paekche to the west, Koguryo to the north. Then Silla repelled invasion from Tang China. Silla had unified Korea.

"ALL THAT CEMENT," sighed a woman teacher as a tour bus rumbled from downtown Kyongju to the Pomun resort complex, four miles away. The bus disgorged its passengers in front of a cluster of concrete-block souvenir shops. Kyongju's embrace of tourism was, her tone implied, a dreadful mistake.

A mistake? Absolutely not, declared Kim Seong Jin, president of the International Cultural Society of Korea. In the 1970s the Kyongju Tourism Comprehensive Team renovated temples and shrines and built the Pomun resort. The 270-million-dollar project produced three hotels, shops, and a 900-seat convention hall.

A sore point was the choice of material used in the renovation and new construction. "Critics complain about the concrete," Kim told me. "But wood is expensive and scarce here."

Those who miss the shabby gentility of old Kyongju grumble that the new complex displays all the charm of a barracks. Mr. Yun phrases it more gently: "Kyongju wears too much makeup."

So there are two Kyongjus. One is the Kyongju of tourist brochures, postcard pretty: a jumble of swaybacked, tile-roofed houses surrounded by rice fields, set at the foot of mountains silvered by mist. Take a road, any road. It leads to a pagoda, shrine, or tomb. More than five million tourists, mostly Korean, flock here annually.

The other is Kyongju the holy —more difficult to define, for it exists in the realm of the spirit.

Glimpses of the latter, the shining city, can tear the heart. My friend Hwang Taesik offered to climb Namsan with me. The mountain, three miles south of town, is studded with some 60 stone Buddhist figures. The trek leads over a rocky trail, and Hwang didn't want me to have to shoulder a heavy knapsack. Later he said he hadn't made the climb in years—not since his only son, scarcely a year old, had suddenly stopped breathing, no one knew why. Hwang carried his child up the slope and placed him in a grave mounded with earth. When

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I asked why he hadn't told me, he said only that it was a lovely mountain and I had come a long way to see it.

Tucking the dead into gently sloping mounds of earth has been the Korean burial custom for centuries. The 23 tombs of Silla nobles, clustered in a downtown park, that you first see looming over the city with uncontested majesty have a comforting simplicity.

excavate than it must have taken to build," Dr. Kim said. A lacquered coffin in a wooden chamber was shielded by a layer of boulders 25 feet thick. Fifteen feet of earth covered that, preserving the tomb from robbers in later centuries.

No one offered, of course, but if I had my choice of the 11,500 artifacts found in the tomb, I would indicate a tiny gold ring resembling a tendril of vine. Kyongju's

A serenity soul deep lives in the heart of Yun Kyung Real, Kyongju artist and sage. In 668 the Silla kingdom conquered its rivals and unified the Korean Peninsula. Kyongju, then known as Sorabol, became the capital and spiritual birthplace of Korea.

Perhaps Silla rulers regarded them as just another palace to move into when the time came.

In 1973 the government decided to excavate tomb number 155, one of 200 here. Some Koreans were disturbed. They tried to stop the excavation, saying that it dishonored the dead and invited bad luck.

The solution? "We excavated with utmost respect for the dead," said Dr. Kim Choungki, former director of the National Institute of Cultural Properties. "We asked the workers not to laugh or smoke, and we burned incense.

"The tomb took longer to

National Museum displays the ring beside gold bracelets, earrings, a gold-plated harness, a gold crown, and two glass cups.

But the most important find, so fragile it requires special permission to see, rests in a locked case, in a locked room, in the National Museum in Seoul. It is a quilted piece of birch bark, a fragment of a saddle mudguard, painted with a dazzling white horse. The horse is flying, tail streaming, clouds flashing by.

Harnesses had been found in Korean tombs before, but this spoke of Central Asian influences filtering through Mongolia and Manchuria down the Korean Peninsula. The find caused the tomb to be called Chonmachong—Heavenly Horse Tomb.

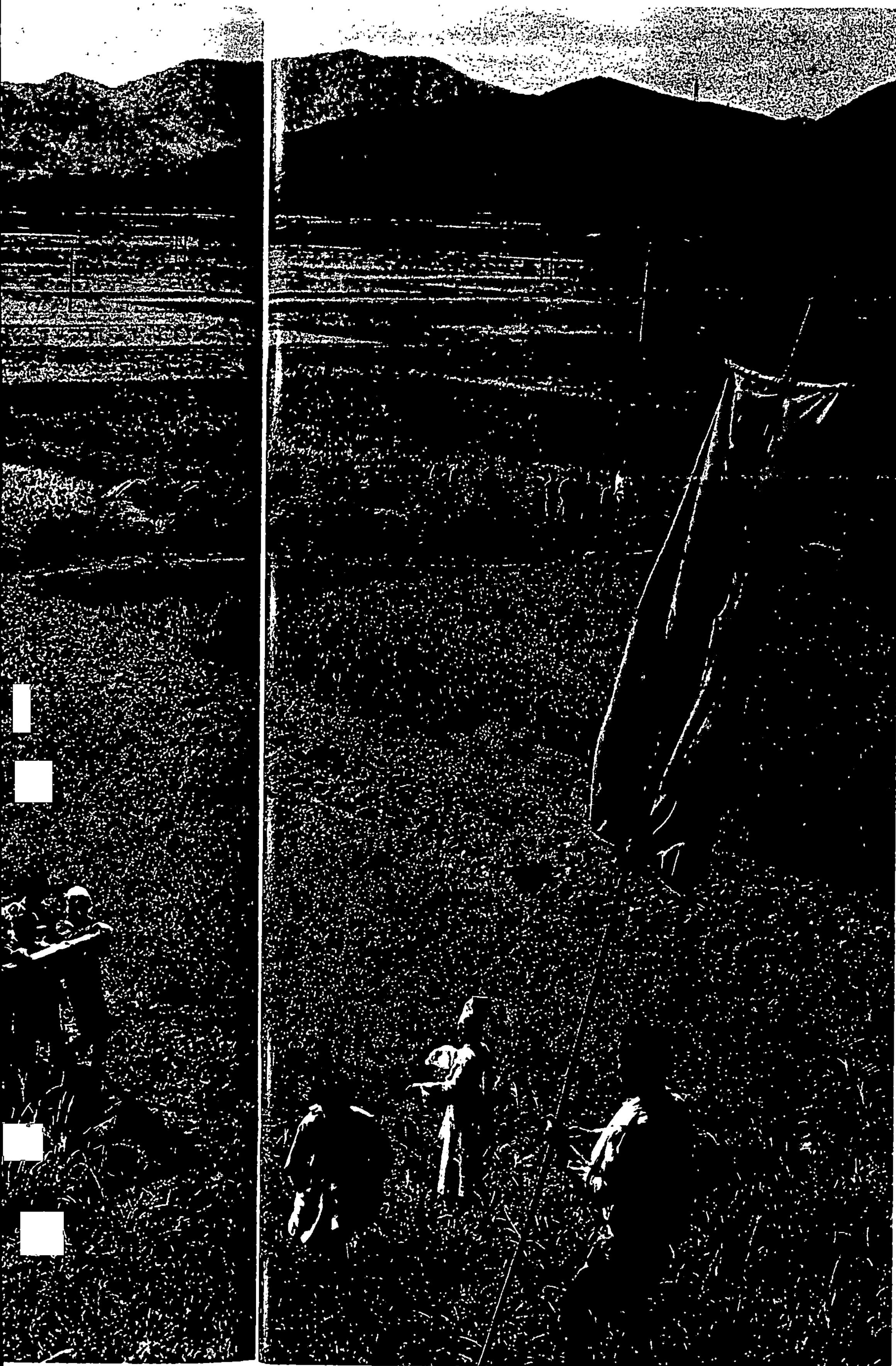
"We also found eggs in the coffin," Dr. Kim added.

"Eggs?"

"Seven eggs. One or two actually intact. To nourish the dead."

Of fragments such as eggshells do we reconstruct empires.

Archaeological and literary evidence suggests that Kyongju had arcades, so citizens could walk its streets in rain without getting wet. Kyongju lacked walls; remoteness



was its chief defense. Royalty wore rare, iridescent kingfisher feathers. Hwangyongsa, the largest temple built by the Silla, housed a 24-ton Buddha covered with gold.

BECAUSE the archaeologists were of less help on the subject of the Silla soul, I sought out So Chongju, a renowned poet inspired by Silla history. "They were a large-spirited people, living in harmony with nature," he said.

Mr. So unrolled a pen-and-ink drawing of a sage seated beneath a plum tree. A poem underneath asked: "What is a scholar?" Answer: "He who regards the earth as his garden; the sun, moon, stars as his servants; and eternity as the briefest moment."

Buddhist thought, which flowed into Silla in the sixth century, seems to focus on eternity. It is the fixed point about which humanity revolves. Time is limitless. We are limitless, reborn in endless sequence.

It is 3 a.m., dark except for the faint starshine. Already day has begun at Pulguksa, Korea's best known temple in the foothills southeast of Kyongju. Completed about 780, the temple has been reconstructed 23 times.

One by one, lights flicker on behind the rice-paper doors of the monks' cells, shedding the soft glow of paper lanterns. I see the shadows of monks as they begin their chants. Paired white shoes with upturned toes form ranks outside their rooms. A barefoot monk in a gray wool robe paces the courtyard, beating a gourd, chanting sacred texts. A bronze bell rings. Next I hear drumbeats, then the hollow clack of a wooden fish

The passage to eternity begins as family and friends shepherd a coffin to rest in a gentle mound of earth not unlike those that cover Silla kings. White signifies mourning in Korea; a banner identifies the deceased.

being struck, and finally the shimmering of a brass gong. The resonance grows, each sound to its purpose: first to wake the monks, then to wake creatures of land, sea, and air.

In front of the temple a monk stops to burn incense. Smoke curls in the air like the spirit of a newly released soul. Others gather inside to begin prayers. They bow . . . low . . . lower still . . . till they lie prone before the serene, smiling image of Buddha.

When Silla unified Korea, Buddhism was the state religion. Kyongju, it was said, had as many temples as stars, as many pagodas as geese in the fall skies. Monks, men of faith and learning, traveled to China and India, returning to enrich Korea with the influence of other cultures. Buddhism still predominates in South Korea, claiming eight million devotees.

In a hotel-lobby bar I met Seo Inh, monk and chief of protocol for Pulguksa Temple. He flashed a smile, introduced me to his woman companion, and lit a cigarette.

"I am a naughty innocent," he grinned. "They call me a modern-day Wonhyo."

Wonhyo, the most influential monk of the Silla dynasty, helped popularize Buddhism. For a Buddhist monk he led an unconventional life, fathering a son.

Seo Inh also had children. That was before he became a monk, when he was a marine colonel in the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

"It was sheer horror," Seo Inh said. He told of men decapitated by the Viet Cong, the screams of civilians caught in cross fire. One day, bereft of sanity, Seo Inh shot an aide. He passed out and woke in a straitjacket. He left the military, contemplated suicide.

"I wanted to die," he said. Instead he went to a temple where candles glowed before a Buddha. The priest offered escape from pain, but he must renounce his past, his wife, his children. "I severed all ties," he said. "It was like cutting a kite string."

Now he feeds chipmunks on the temple grounds and worships, though his unconventionality baffles his peers. But who can judge? Wasn't Wonhyo scorned by those who failed to recognize his faith?

"This is what I am," Seo Inh insists. "I care for recognition only from my chipmunks."

I'll always remember our visit to Sokkuram. The shrine is a grotto built of granite blocks dragged up Mount Toham, southeast of Kyongju. The centerpiece is a 60-ton Buddha, positioned to catch the sun's first rays on a jewel in its forehead. Seo Inh bowed before the statue. "When I see this Buddha, I feel protected," he said.

In 1971 the government of South Korea moved to do some protecting of its own. The grotto had deteriorated, so a glass wall and humidity controls were installed.

That was fine, Seo Inh said, but several years later the government proposed construction of a replica Sokkuram, which the public could visit to save wear on the real one. The Buddhist community protested. "My master Wolsae said it was bad enough Korea was divided, let alone having another division with two Sokkurams."

It always returns to division. Fragmented by the tyranny of geography, Korea has ever been squeezed by bigger, aggressive neighbors. Its history is a litany of invasion: Mongols in the 13th century, Chinese rebels in the 14th century, the Japanese warlord Hideyoshi in the 16th century, Japanese occupation in the first half of the 20th century, then the Korean War, which adjudicated a line on the map at the 38th parallel. Kyongju has suffered them all.

In a meadow I spotted a siren on a pole. "For air-raid practice. Just in case . . . ," a farmer said. He glanced north.

There is an ache for North Korea too, not unlike the phantom pain of an amputated limb. "You can't turn your back on family," my interpreter Chun Hyang Yee explained when I asked, naively, why bother about reunification if the north is so hostile.

Mr. Yun spoke of his sister in North Korea. He has not seen her for 30 years. Is she still alive? "If you write about Kyongju, write about peace," he said urgently.

It is a message I hear often. Despite fear and distrust, the longing for unity eats at the soul of Kyongju. It is particularly poignant here, for here, 1,300 years ago, Korea became whole.

WHAT WAS the magic that touched the most humble object—a roof tile, a wood door—with grace? Silla pottery is gray and plain. Yet its simplicity appeals. At dinner, scholar Son Ujo explained. It is a question of line.

"American line is sharp, unyielding: the Washington Monument, the tail fins of a car." He sliced the air with a chopstick to illustrate. "Korean line," he said, "is a curve: the softness of a woman in her hanbok, the green waves of mountains surrounding Kyongju, the jade ornaments that dangle like ripe pears from the gold Silla crowns. That is the secret of Korean art."

"I can never imitate the line," Dr. Chung Yang Mo, then director of the National Museum in Kyongju, said in frustration. He drew a line, a barely pregnant bulge that mimicked the curve of the Emille Bell. The 23-ton bell was cast in one piece in A.D. 770.

Legend says a child was tossed into the molten metal as a sacrifice after earlier castings failed; the ringing bell echoes the plaintive cry of that child. *Emille* comes from the Korean word for "mama."

Dr. Chung guided my fingers over every gash on the pitted surface of the bell, which hangs outside the museum. "Koreans are like that," he said quietly. "Rough and scarred on the outside,

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If the line between fact and legend kept blurring, I had to conclude it is often faint. Part of Kyongju's magic emanates from a rich legend lode, and the possibility a Buddha *could* materialize from a stone or the sound of a jade flute *just might* make rain fall. More marvelous was nature, worshiped by Silla's early shamanist kings. They considered the mountains, rivers, and forest living spirits.

Reverence for nature endures. "In Korea when a house is built," said Dr. Chung, "its scale must fit the surroundings. The wall must not be high. A low wall, preferably draped with flowering vines —all must harmonize."

EVEN DEATH demands harmony. Tradition decrees that a grave be located on a hill, a sweep of valley in front, sheltering trees in back. There should be mountains—one shaped like a tiger, one like a dragon. At such a site I attended a founder's day celebration for the Cho family.

Ancestor worship reflects the influence of Confucianism, a philosophy that stresses family relationships and relates them to government: Father is to son as state is to individual, symbol of unquestioned authority.

Joining some 5,000 Chos at the tomb, I discovered the ease of introductions when everyone belongs to the same family.

"I am Cho Chang of Seoul," said a man in the white robes and peaked hat of an official. "And this," he said, indicating a friend, "is Mr. Cho of Taegu. And Mr. Cho of Pusan."

"And here is . . . ," he began.

"Mr. Cho," I anticipated.

"Also of Pusan," he finished.

"This is my wife," he said, turning to an attractive woman.

"Mrs. Cho," I asserted.

"Mrs. Yun," she said, smiling. "In Korea married women use their family name."

"There are over 700,000 Chos in Korea," Cho Chang said. "And all from one grandfather long ago."

In front of an altar piled with pears, rice cakes, and other offerings, robed officials recited prayers. Everyone bowed.

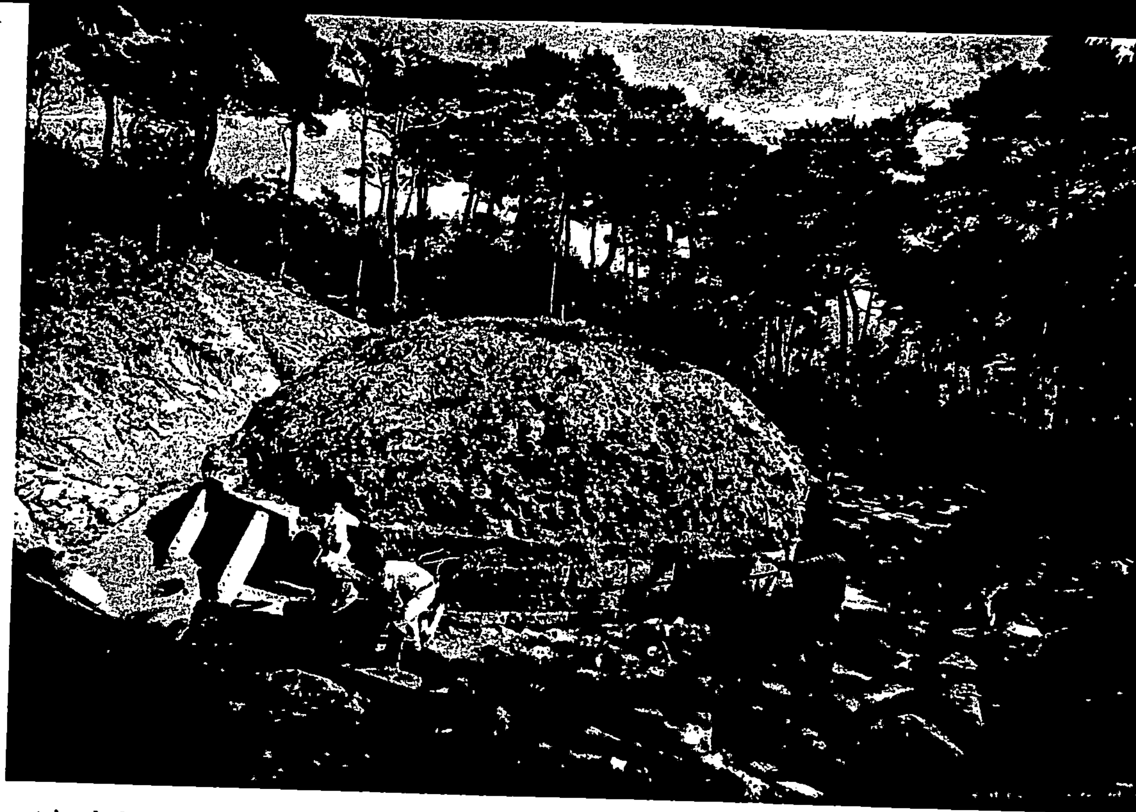
Then each delegation moved behind the altar for a photograph —like a class reunion. "Will you have your picture taken with us?" Cho Chang asked.

"I didn't know the Chos had a foreign branch," a woman shouted. Peals of laughter rippled through the crowd. I hope Grandfather Cho enjoyed the joke.

Though modern Korea is a

Rigid custom prevails at the Cho family ancestor's day feast, where yangban, the traditional nobility, follow a strict order of ceremony. Ancestor worship reflects Confucianism, which had supplanted Buddhism as the primary social force by the 15th century, imprinting on the Korean conscience the ideal of obedience to authority.

harmony



patriarchal culture, three queens ruled during the Silla dynasty. The first, Queen Sondok, 27th ruler of Silla, was successful in war, compassionate, and wise. She built Chomsongdae, a 29-foot stone tower that bulges at bottom and narrows at top (pages 258-9). "You copied from us," my guide teased, comparing it to a Coke bottle. The tower probably functioned as an observatory, recording comets, meteors, and solar eclipses. The destiny of state and ruler were linked to such phenomena.

WHERE legend rules, any excuse serves for celebration. Twelve of us gathered one October night at Panwolsong, the royal palace site, ostensibly to honor a children's art contest held earlier at the Kyongju museum—actually to honor the harvest moon.

Yun Kyung Real, who teaches history at the museum, led off, the white sleeves of his robe flapping like a schooner's sails. I can see him still, singing to love, to the moon—and most fondly to *makkolli,* a rice wine. He fills our cups and his own. "Just the teardrops of a sparrow," he says, waving aside my protest.

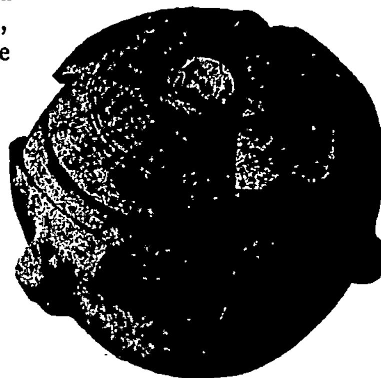
Moved by the spirit of the night, or perhaps the makkolli, we join hands and dance, celebrating nature, man, eternity, and the Silla people who melded the trinity. "Who could ask for a better temple than this?" asks Mr. Yun as he pours another thimble of makkolli. Just the teardrop of a sparrow.

Passing Chomsongdae observatory a few nights later, I conjure an astronomer scanning the stars. Was it time to plant? Would there be rain? Too much? Too little?

In the end Silla fell when a succession of weak rulers and uprisings broke the delicate harmony. The last king abdicated in 935. The succeeding Koryo dynasty moved the capital north.

Resigned to the uncertainty of the present, the Silla people fixed their sights on something beyond. In a sense they achieved this immortality. Their descendants keep faith with nature, living in a magical enclave bounded only by the Korean line that shimmers between reality and legend. □

Coaxed from a tomb by an archaeologist's trowel, a pot with a date corresponding to A.D. 818 was found during a preliminary excavation. But descendants objected to further digging. In



Korea the balance usually tips in favor of respect for family.

Internal strife and invasion from the north ended the Silla dynasty in 935, shattering the harmony of centuries. Yet harmony, so prized in a country accorded so little, somehow endures in the heart and spirit of Kyongju.

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United States Department of State

March 1986

Korea
Post Report

invited North Korean Leader Kim Il Sung to visit the South, and expressed his own willingness to visit the North. This proposal was turned down by the North. However, South and North Korea did hold talks dealing with economic, humanitarian and sports issues in 1984–85, and direct contacts between the parliaments of both states have also been agreed upon. The ROK is pursuing South-North dialog vigorously as the key to reduction of tensions on the Korean peninsula.

Arts, Science, and Education

Korea's rich cultural heritage is evidenced in hundreds of specified national treasures such as buildings, books, documents, fine arts, sculptures, and handicrafts.

From ancient times, Korean literature consisted of poetry set to music for singing and dancing. The introduction of Western culture saw the emergence of a new school of writers who adopted Western forms and styles.

The art works of the Koguryo Kingdom, still found on the walls of ancient tombs, reflect Chinese influence. Buddhist, Shilla and Koryo left numerous stone Buddha images and other religious art objects. The Confucian Yi Dynasty saw the flowering of Korean painting and calligraphy as elegant as any found in China. Korean calligraphy is still held in high esteem. The National Museum houses numerous ancient masterpieces, some dating back to the Silla Dynasty and beyond to the neolithic era.

Western art has spread rapidly in the atmosphere of modern education and from the training of artists abroad. Many young architects also study abroad, and their contemporary designs, modified by purely Korean influences, are steadily gaining international respect and admiration.

In Korea, music originally was part of religious rituals, along with prayer and dance. Gradually it evolved into refined and well-balanced music. To this day it is cherished by young and old. Traditional music declined with the introduction of Western music, but it is being revived through the activities of the National Classical Music Institute and by private institutions. Western music was introduced into Korea toward the end of the last century and rapidly became popular. Koreans are musically oriented; recitals, concerts, and operas usually have large audiences. Seoul has three symphony orchestras.

Traditional dance and modern ballet are popular in Korea. Classes in traditional and modern dance are available to all school children and advanced courses are offered by many colleges.

Like most drama traditions, Korean drama had its origins in ancient religious rites. The early form of theatrical art is the mask play of the Silla era. Other forms are puppet shows staged with wooden dolls manipulated to the accompaniment of music, and the Pansori, which is the dramatization of well-known tales and narratives to the accompaniment of traditional drums. Modern drama was introduced into Korea early in this century, and a Drama Center has been established to encourage the increasing interest in this art form. Korean dramatists are not only adapting foreign works for local audiences, but are also producing original plays.

Films have contributed much to the modernization of Korean life and have introduced foreign cultures to the Korean people. Korea's first movie was produced in 1921, and now moviemaking is an important industry in this country. Korean productions are entered in various international film festivals. About 24 foreign films are imported each year.

Korean research and development activities are centered in scores of research institutes located mostly in Seoul. These include the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST), the Korea Institute of Industrial Economics and Technology (KIET), the Agency for Defense Development (ADD), and the Korea Educational Development Institute (KEDI). High technology research and development institutes are rapidly being relocated to the new science city of Daeduk, about 60 miles south of Seoul.

Education has expanded rapidly at all levels since 1945, and today Korea's students constitute more than one-quarter (27%) of the total population. Both public and private schools are subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Education.

The law stipulates that every person is entitled to at least 6 years of elementary education. As a result, literacy is well over 95%, and all children ages 6–11 now attend school. Secondary education covers 6 years beyond elementary school and consists of two stages: 3 years of middle school (junior high school) and 3 years of high school. All elementary school graduates are entitled to admission to middle school, provided they can afford the school fees. Graduates of middle school must pass a qualifying examination for admission to high school and must be able to pay school fees. As might be expected in a country whose primary economic resource is its people, investment in education is heavy, particularly in technical and vocational education and at the college level, both of which have expanded tenfold in the last two decades.

Numerous institutions of higher education have been established through missionary assistance, including Ewha Womans University (Methodist), Yonsei University (Interdenominational), Soongjun University (Presbyterian), and Sogang University (Jesuit). Western culture has been introduced to Korea through the universities, and many national leaders have received their education from them. Of the "big 5" major universities in Seoul (Yonsei, Sogang, Ewha, Korea, and Seoul National), the most prestigious is Seoul National University (SNU).

Commerce and Industry

Korea used U.S. and other economic aid very well after the war, changing its position from one of the world's poorest ex-colonies to one of

American Embassy personnel of all agencies are authorized use of APO facilities. The mail address is:

(Name)
American Embassy
APO San Francisco 96301

First-class letter mail to and from the U.S. moves on a daily basis at U.S. domestic postal rates. It usually takes 7–8 days each way.

Packages marked Space Available Mail (SAM) and bearing regular parcel post rate postage will be given airlift service to and from the overseas address and Seattle or San Francisco, on a space available basis. PRIORITY mail is given first priority, PAL is second and SAM is last. Packages of not more than 70 pounds in weight and 100 inches in length and girth combined can be sent and received by SAM. The sender should request SAM service. It normally takes 4–6 weeks.

Parcel Airlift (PAL) provides commercial airlift for parcels between the APO and the post office in the continental U.S. Domestic parcel post rate applies plus a fee from $1.20–$6.00, depending on weight, for all service between the U.S. city address and the overseas base. Parcel Airlift packages must weigh no more than 30 pounds, and measure no more than 60 inches in length and girth combined. PAL takes about 2 weeks.

Packages can also be sent PRIORITY mail. Airmail postage rates apply and the packages go by commercial air all the way to their destination. PRIORITY parcels must weigh no more than 70 pounds, and measure no more than 108 inches in length and girth combined. PRIORITY mail takes 5–7 days.

Personnel should be aware that regulations regarding Space Available Mail (SAM), PRIORITY Mail, and Parcel Airlift (PAL) are subject to change at any time; questions should be addressed to local U.S. postal authorities.

Stamp sales, mail registry, money orders, and other regular postal services are available at the APO.

Items received via APO for your personal use are not subject to duty charges. APO regulations prohibit importing gifts for donation to persons or organizations not authorized the use of APO facilities. Those with APO privileges cannot import merchandise to carry on business ventures with authorized or nonauthorized users of APO facilities. APO facilities can be used to obtain items for gifts to others with APO privileges.

International mail can be used by all employees to correspond with persons in other countries, particularly other Far East countries. International postage rates apply. The address is:

(Name)
American Embassy
82 Sejong-ro, Chongro-Ku
Seoul, Korea. 110

Radio and TV

The Armed Forces Korea Network (AFKN) broadcasts news, music, sports, and some U.S. feature radio programs 24 hours daily on both AM and FM stations. Voice of America programs are also received in Korea. Several Korean radio stations offer good musical programs on both AM and FM.

AFKN–TV transmits selected U.S. television programs and live newscasts (via satellite) in color about 18 hours daily. Three Korean networks also telecast (in Korean) throughout Korea several hours daily in color.

The National Television System Committee (NTSC) system is used, so color TV's bought in the U.S. can receive local broadcasts.

Home video machines are common in the Embassy community. They can also be purchased and serviced inexpensively in the local PX. Several video-tape centers rent tapes at reasonable prices. VHS and BETA tapes are available, however, the largest selection of tapes is VHS.

Newspapers, Magazines, and Technical Journals

Two English-language newspapers, the *Korea Times* and the *Korea Herald*, are published in Seoul. Both concentrate on Korean news. The U.S. military newspaper, the *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, published daily in Japan and flown to Seoul, is available by subscription for daily home delivery, as are the Far East editions of *Time* and *Newsweek*. *The International Herald Tribune* (Asia edition), and *Asian Wall Street Journal* arrive 1 day late, from Hong Kong. Most popular American magazines are available at the post exchange, with about 1 month delay from publication.

The main post library in Seoul has excellent, newly remodeled facilities. Army Special Services libraries have reading rooms with magazines and newspapers. These libraries carry a comprehensive assortment of current technical journals and have microfilms on numerous subjects. The libraries will make every effort to secure materials not immediately available.

USIS libraries are in Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, and Kwangju.

Health and Medicine

Medical Facilities

The Health Unit in the Chancery, staffed by a State Department Foreign Service nurse practitioner and a Korean registered nurse, is available to all Mission employees and their dependents. Medical services provided by the Health Unit include first aid treatment and treatment of minor illnesses, immunizations, assistance with health problems and referral for further medical attention to a hospital or dentist.

The U.S. Army 121st Medical Evacuation Hospital is an adequately equipped, 207-bed military hospital and out-patient clinic on South Post. Embassy employees and their dependents are authorized to use these facilities. The hospital is staffed by U.S. Army Medical Corps personnel. Although the scope of treatment is limited, obstetrical cases, routine surgery, and most illnesses can be treated here. Patients requiring extensive, prolonged, or unusual treatment or procedures not available in Korea are evacuated to the U.S.

Seoul Military Hospital does refractions, but at times appointments are difficult to obtain. Optometrists and facilities for grinding lenses are available locally, though some people prefer to send their prescriptions to the U.S. Frames can be repaired and replaced locally or at the PX. Soft, extended wear and hard contact lenses can be purchased locally.

Religious Activities

Both Protestant and Catholic chapels hold regular church services on base. Other English, Protestant services are available off post.

Education

Dependent Education

A DOD dependents school (kindergarten, elementary, and high school) is located on the Hialeah compound, which Embassy children are now authorized to attend. Children's activities include Scouts, the Explorer's Club, and chapel youth groups. Other youth activities develop from time to time.

An international school, whose curriculum is based on the British system, opened recently. Embassy dependents are authorized to attend this school. Tuition and transportation fees are currently covered by the educational allowance. The school is for preschool and primary grades, ages 3–11. To enter grade 1 (equivalent of U.S. kindergarten) a student must be 5 years old by December 31. In 1984–85, the school had 5 full-time teachers and 60 students: 25% Americans; 75% Western Europeans and other nationalities.

Special Educational Opportunities

The University of Maryland has a branch on the compound, although only a few courses are now available. The University of Southern California, University of Oklahoma and University of Maryland have more extensive course offerings in Seoul.

Recreation and Social Life

Sports

Recreational facilities include a swimming pool, bowling alley, ball field, gymnasium, racquetball court, steam bath, tennis courts, movie theater, and library.

Personnel in Pusan can become members of the Hialeah Officers and Civilians Club. Currently, no dues are required. The club has a dining room, game room, bar, and room for private parties and floor shows. Pusan has two 18-hole golf courses with memberships available at either the Dong-Nae or Pusan Country Clubs. However, dues are prohibitively expensive. Reasonably priced golf courses are located at both Chinae and Camp Walker, about 1 hour's drive from Pusan. Golf is very popular in Korea and weekends are extremely crowded, particularly Sundays.

Entertainment

Pusan's symphony orchestra gives concerts periodically, and occasionally cultural attractions from Seoul are presented. Several movie theaters show foreign films; the original soundtracks are retained and subtitles are in Korean. AFKN broadcasts AM radio and TV programs daily. Pusan has one FM stereo station. Radios and TV's can be purchased at the PX.

Social Activities

Among Americans. Female spouses can participate in the International Women's Association, the U.S. Army Officer's Wives' Club, American Red Cross, USO, Army Community Services, and can volunteer as teachers, chaperones, program coordinators, and counselors for the schools, chapels, or recreation center. The military has a Masonic lodge, and the Rotary, Lions, etc. have branches here with regular meetings conducted in Korean.

International Contacts. Contact with the Korean community is possible through opportunities to teach English and serve as advisors to student groups and clubs.

Vietnam Underlines Cooperation on MIAs

Deputy Foreign Minister Points Out That U.S. Is Receiving Classified Data

By David Ignatius and William Branigin
Washington Post Foreign Service

HANOI—Vietnam is providing classified information to the United States about its wartime antiaircraft operations in an effort to help resolve disputes about American MIAs, according to Deputy Foreign Minister Le Mai.

The document the Vietnamese are providing is an 84-page summary of attacks on U.S. planes in the region surrounding the Demilitarized Zone between 1968 and 1973. The Vietnamese initially gave the United States 12 pages of this document last July, and they are planning to provide the remaining 72 pages at a meeting on Thursday, Vietnamese officials said.

"This is a very great effort on the Vietnamese side, because it relates to military security," Le Mai said. He explained that American experts who have been working here to account for U.S. servicemen listed as missing in action (MIA) "read and photocopied these documents" and are now checking them against classified U.S. records about American air operations during the war.

Garnett Bell, who heads the U.S. office dealing with MIA matters here, said the documents "have been very useful for specific cases, because they give shootdown incidents."

Hanoi's decision to turn over previously secret military records illustrates the Vietnamese government's eagerness to resolve the prickly MIA issue and speed the process of normalization between the two countries.

The Vietnamese, for now, are trying to follow China in opening their economy to the West and adopting free markets while keeping the Communist Party's tight grip on political and cultural life. But Vietnamese officials appear reconciled to the fact that economic liberalization will mean some loosening of the political system.

"Alongside economic reforms, it is a matter of course that freedom and democracy should be broadened," Le Mai said. "We are trying our best to broaden democracy."

Even hard-liners such as Thai Ninh, deputy chairman of the party's ideology and culture committee and its leading ideologue, appear willing to accept the necessity of normalizing relations with the United States. "Our policy is to be open," he said in a separate interview here.

The next step in the normalization process is a meeting tentatively set for late November in New York between senior U.S. and Vietnamese diplomats. At this meeting, Vietnam hopes the United States will continue its slow, step-by-step lifting of the trade embargo on Vietnam by allowing resumption of direct telephone links.

Le Mai said that the Vietnamese telecommunications authorities had already reached a tentative commercial agreement to restore service, and was only

See HANOI, A28, Col. 1

Photocopy-Preservation

Vietnam Stresses Cooperation With U.S.

HANOI, From A23

"waiting for a green light from the U.S. government."

Successful repatriation from Hong Kong of Vietnamese "boat people" who do not qualify for refugee status, as foreseen in an agreement signed there Tuesday, would help remove another of the roadblocks to normalization of Vietnam's relations with neighboring countries and the West.

The Vietnamese offer of classified information on the MIA issue began last July when Hanoi sought to discredit a photograph that purported to show three American MIAs still held in a Vietnamese prison camp. The Vietnamese provided classified documents on the downing of a U.S. F-4 in which they insisted that a missing pilot was killed. They also provided the 12 pages of previously secret reports detailing their antiaircraft operations in Quang Binh Province, just north of the Demilitarized Zone along the border of what were then North and South Vietnam.

The documents summarized daily reports from the field to regional commanders, noting such things as the number of American warplanes hit by antiaircraft fire and whether the pilots had survived, Le Mai said.

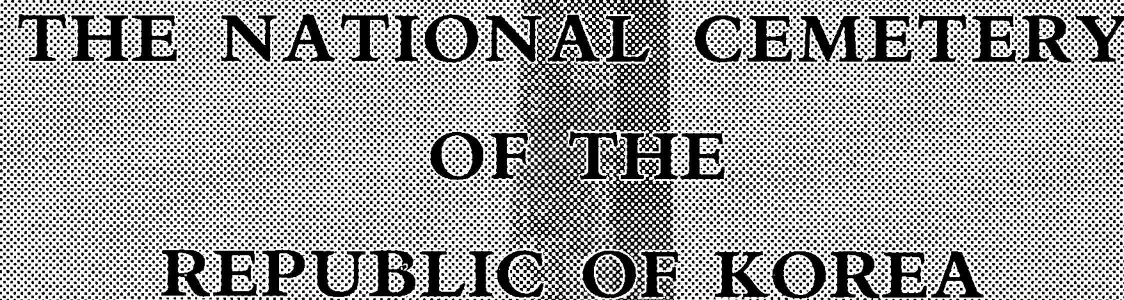
Vietnam plans to make available the additional 72 pages of documents at a meeting with U.S. experts set for Thursday, according to Le Bang, acting director of the North American department of the Foreign Ministry. The additional documents will provide information from Quang Binh Province, as well as neighboring Ha Tinh and Quang Tri provinces, the scene of the heaviest U.S. air operations of the war.

Le Mai complained, however, that the MIA effort has been complicated by the U.S. refusal to reciprocate Vietnam's release of old war secrets. "It would be better if the U.S. gave its classified information about how many planes were shot at, how many were shot down, how many were missing," he said.

"Maybe the U.S. has a big bureaucracy," he remarked.

Another move toward normalizing relations with the United States and ending the trade embargo was quietly taken earlier this year, according to the Foreign Ministry's Le Bang. He said that on Feb. 8 the United States had informed Vietnam that American banks would be allowed to send remittances from Vietnamese in the United States back to Vietnam.

Le Bang called this "a small step on the way to lifting the embargo."



THE NATIONAL CEMETERY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

THE NATIONAL CEMETERY MANAGEMENT OFFICE

THE NATIOAL CEMETERY, NATION'S HOLY GROUNDS

The National Cemetery, as nation's holy grounds where rest the departed patriots and war dead who threw their precious lives for the defense and prosperity of their fatherland, is the centripetal point of strong national spirit where we can meet with one mind and feel patriotism of those deceased who defended our country.

This cemetery in its rear side adjoins the ridges of Tongjak hills which are spread like three–fold screens, whose main peak is Mt. Kongjak, alongside the foot of Mt. Kwanak, and in its front side flows the Han River divinely, and encompasses the soft and comfortable soils covering 1,430,000m^2 (351acres)of area surrounded with the meandering hills, and watches the glorious history of this country.

The National Cemetery was founded on July 15, 1955 as the military cemetery and enshrined only the military officers, enlisted men and military employees, but 10 years thereafter it was elevated as today's national cemetery on March 30, 1965 and now some 162,000 patriotic spirits are enshrined including patriotic martyrs, patriots, meritorious individuals, military officers and enlisted men, police officers and reservists.

As people's self–independence spirit become elevated, some million prayers visit this cemetery yearly throughout the four seasons, and a nationwide memorial ceremony is yearly observed on June 6 to pray the heavenly bliss for those departed patriotic spirits that defended this country throwing their lives and so contributed to what this country is today.

Hyun–Choong Gate and Hyun–Choong Tower

Hyun-Choong Gate was erected after the models of ancestral shrines built at the end of the Koryo Dynasty and in the middle of Yi Dynasty, and Hyun–Choong Tower was built to commemorate the loyalties of those patriots who threw their minds and bodies for their fatherland to the everlasting dèscendants, and to console their souls.

Hyun-Choong Tower symbolizing the National Cemetery, nation's holy grounds

Inside the Tower, memorial tablets of those intrepid soldiers who died but whose bodies were not found, and remains of those unknown soldiers whose bodies were found, during the tragic Korean War(1950.6.25~1953.7.27), are both enshrined.

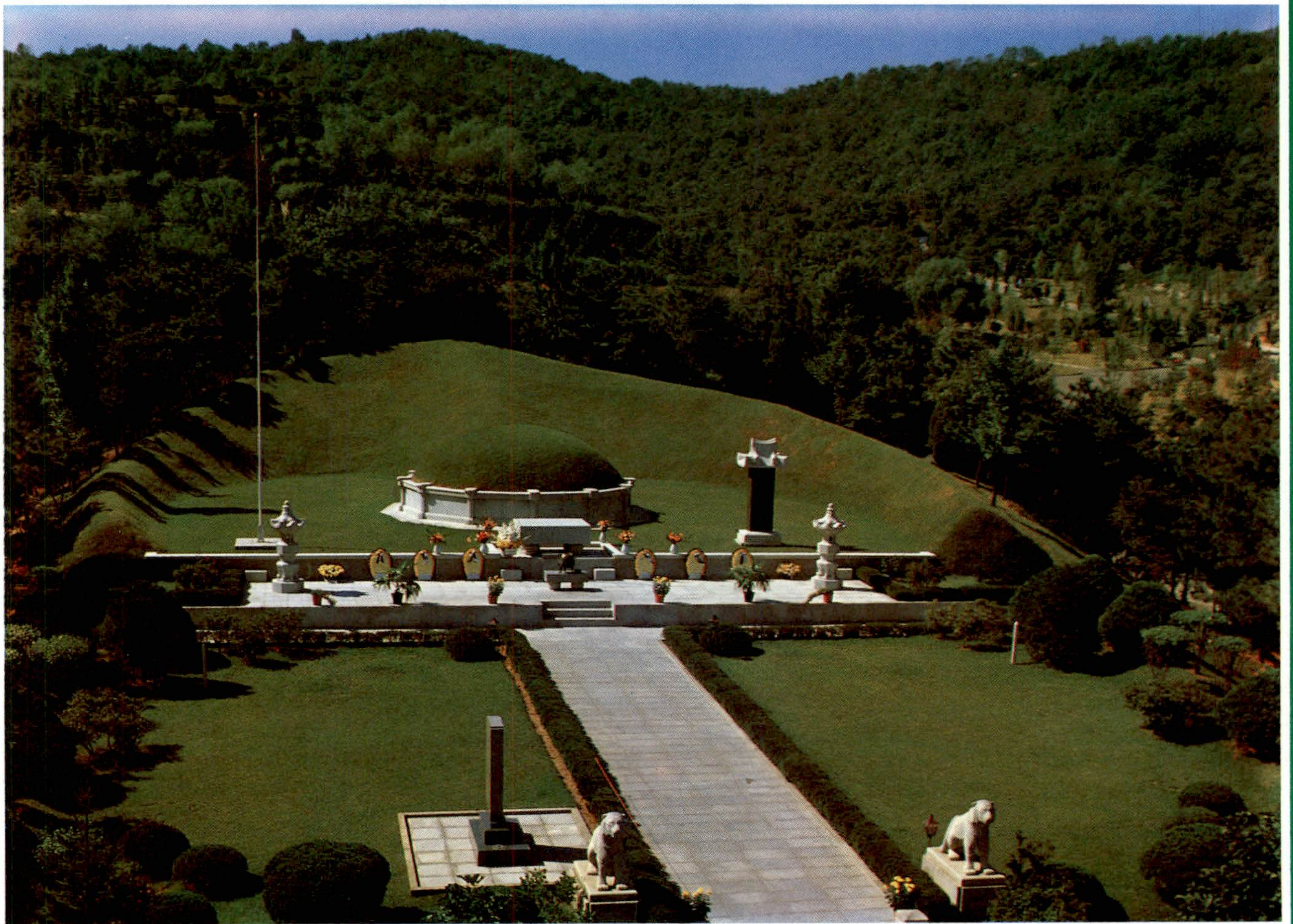
애국지사 홍병기의묘

Graveyard for Patriots(Choong–Youl Dae)

This graveyard, which is located on the sunny hillside right back of Hyun-Choong Tower, enshrines those patriots who devoted their whole lives to the national independence and the restoration of national sovereign rights, home and abroad.

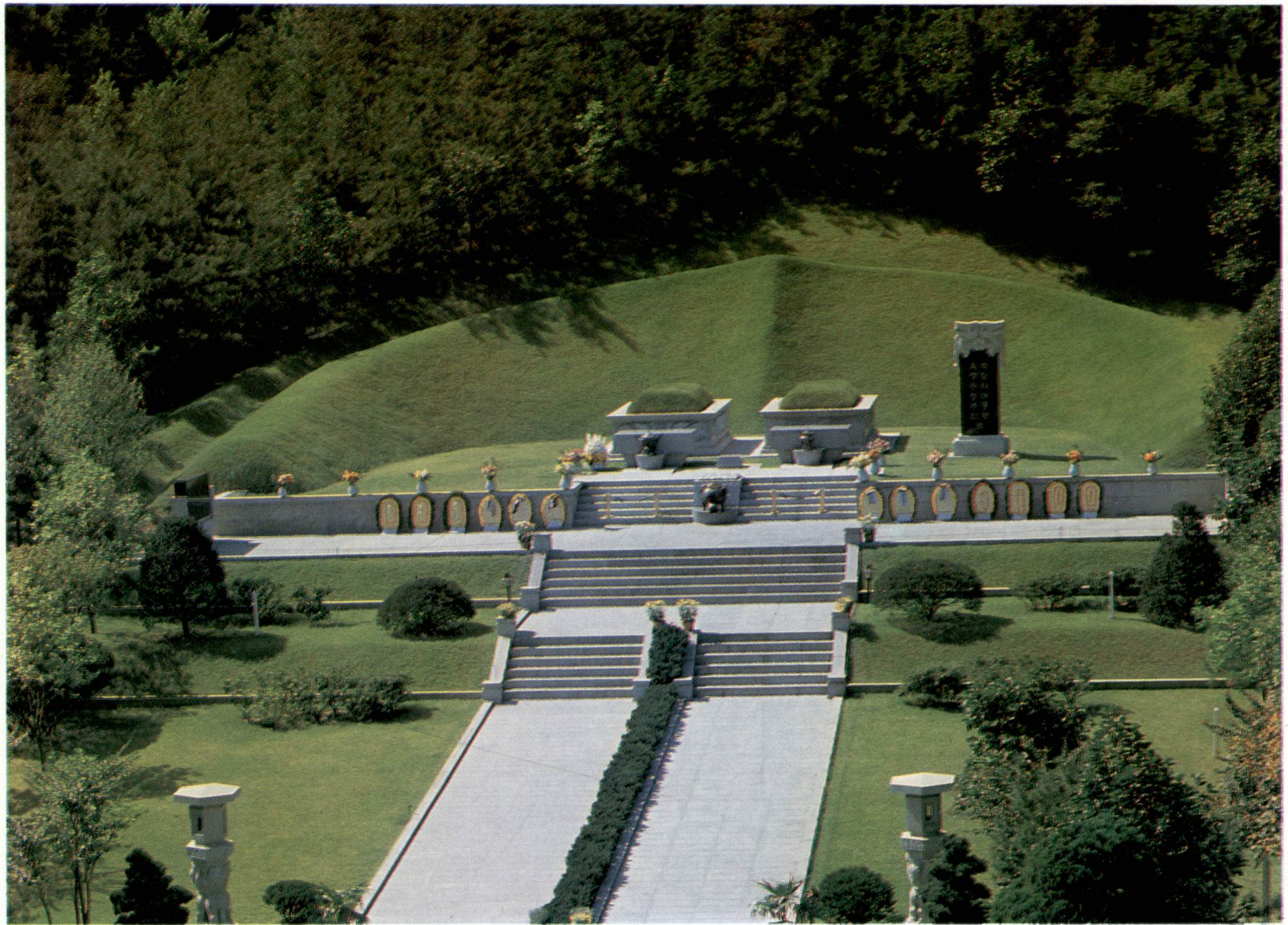
Altar of the Heirless Patriots

This altar, which is located right back of Choong-Youl Dae, was erected as a means of 30–year memorial program of the national independence, and enshrines those patriots who were heirless and without individual tombs. On August 15, Korea's Independence Day, the government yearly holds a memorial service to pay nation's tribute to the noble deeds of those patriots.



Tomb of The Late President Syng–Man Rhee

President Syng-Man Rhee devoted half his lifetime to the independence of this country, living in exile abroad since Japanese persecution of Korea. He, as the first President, also contributed much to the establishment of government and anti–communist system in this country, passed away in Hawaii on July 15, 1965, and was enshrined in this graveyard.



Tombs of The Late Mr. and Mrs. President Chung–Hee Park

This graveyard enshrines President Chung-Hee Park who established the self–supporting economy and self–defensive power in this country and passed away on October 26, 1979, and Mrs. President Yong-Soo Yook who was shot to death by a communist under the instigation of North Korea in the celebrating hall of Korea's Independence Day on August 15, 1974.

Graveyard for Meritorious Citizens

This graveyard is divided into three zones and some 40 meritorious citizens are enshrined there, who devoted their whole lives to the development and prosperity of their fatherland.

Graveyard for Generals of the Army, Navy and Air Force

This graveyard enshrines those generals of the ROK Armed Forces who performed the central roles of the foundation and development of the Armed Forces in the early days, and those who died rendering meritorious services during the Korean War, the Vietnamese War and counter–espionage operations.

Graveyard for Military officers, Enlisted men and Policemen

This graveyard enshrines those military officers, enlisted men and policemen who have thrown their lives for the defense of freedom and the security of their fatherland ever since the foundation of the ROK Armed Forces and the National Police, and those patriotic military employees and reservists.

22
21

Graveyard for Soldiers dead in the Vietnamese War

It is the first oversea dispatch of our national army to support the Republic of Vietnam on the van of free allies and it is really significant for all of us in Korea

However, unfortunately, the Republic of Vietnam was communized eventually, caused on disruption of public opinions, terrible social confusion, rotting, distrust including the slackening of anti–communism although our youngmen helped them with much of sweats and bloods.

無名勇士靈顯
학도의용군의묘

Monument for the Unknown Volunteer Students

This monument was erected to perpetuate the noble self–sacrificing spirit of those young students who voluntarily participated in the Korean War in their school-uniforms to save this country when it was in peril, and died making brilliant military achievements.

Monument for the Volunteer Students residing in Japan

This monument was erected by the Organization of Korean Residents in Japan to console their souls and to perpetuate their noble sacrifices of 51 Korean volunteer students, then residing in Japan, who sailed across Korea Strait to save their fatherland when its fate was like a flickering candle in the wind during the Korean War, and died fighting bravely at the district battles.

Monument for the Ten Human Bombs

This monument was erected to honor the patriotic loyalties and military achievements of the 10 combatants who dashed into enemy' s totschka with bombs and hand grenades and died finally destroying it to recover a hill on Mt. Songak that was illegally occupied by North Korea on May, 1949, just one year before the outbreak of the Korean War.

Monument for the Ranger Commandos

This monument was erected to perpetuate the noble sacrifices and the distinguished services of those patriotic young students, then residing in the districts of North Korea, who performed guerrilla warfares without service numbers to defend the peace and freedom of this country during the Korean War and died as guardian angels of their fatherland.

Monument for the Police officers

This monument, standing aloft looking down the west side of the graveyard for police officers, was erected to perpetuate the loyalties of those police officers who threw their lives in defense of the prosperities and security of this country from the communist aggression.

The Fountain Tower of Loyalty

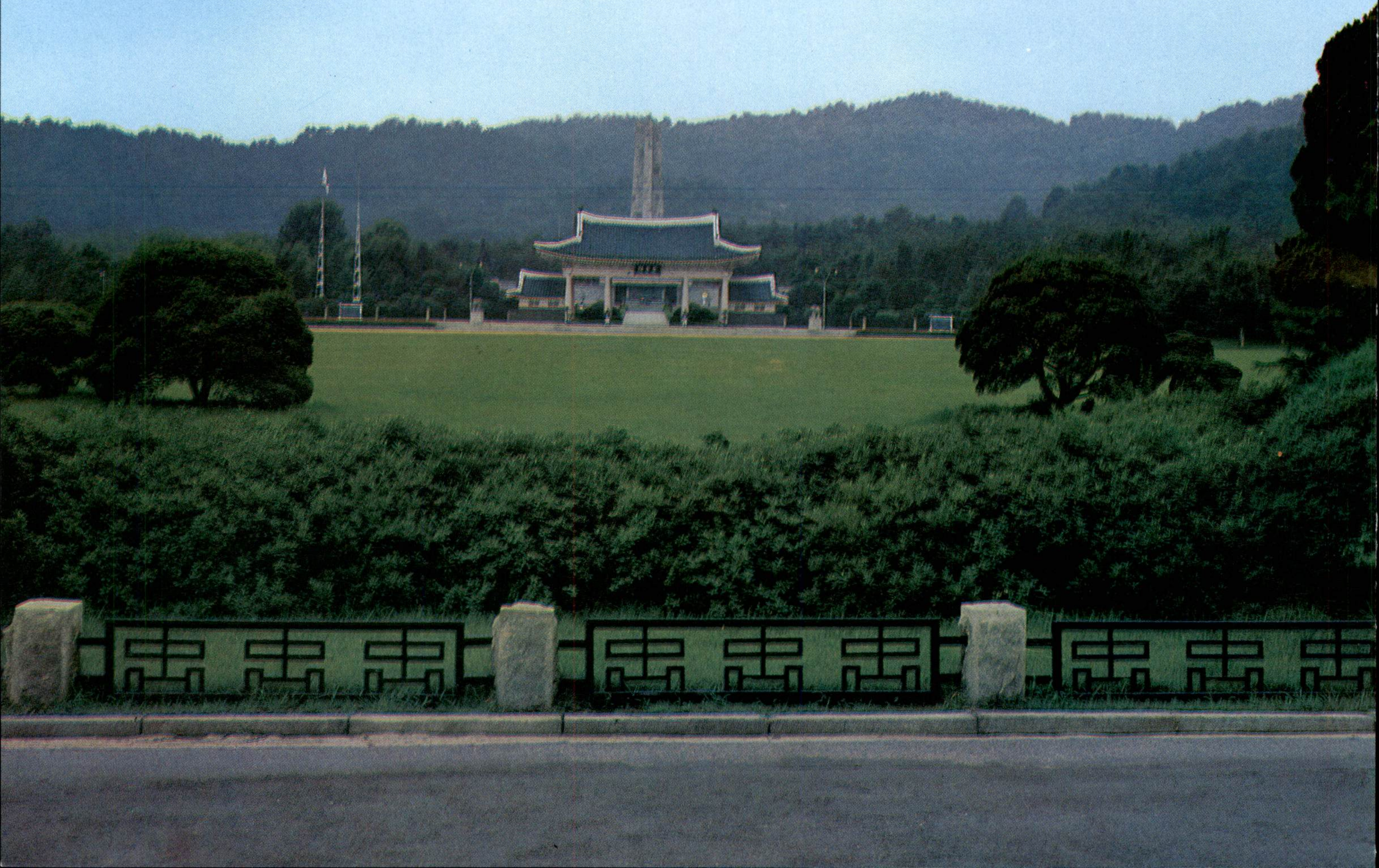
This fountain tower symbolizes that people from various circles accomplish their duties with energetic spirits.

Hyun-Choong Pond

This pond was completed on October 30, 1986 by using 1,200 tons of natural stones from Ka Pyung-Gun, Kyung Gi-Do and has been widely used by many people as the resting spaces since its surroundings were beautified and several resting facilities were installed.

Golden Lawn Plaza

The Golden Lawn Plaza is located in front of Hyun-Chung Gate to form the atmosphere of holy grounds and the memorial ceremony was held at this place for quite a time .to comfort the souls of the dead for the protection of this country.



Farm of Deers and Birds

One Day Worth while in the Holy Grounds

The features of students' praying in the graveyard, before conducting the beautification drive of the holy grounds.

Features of students' servicing activities

Numerous people visit this holy grounds constantly and they have been performing various service activities to make up the holy atmosphere, recalling the great loyalties and merits of those departed patriots who died for their fatherland.

Major Educational Facilities

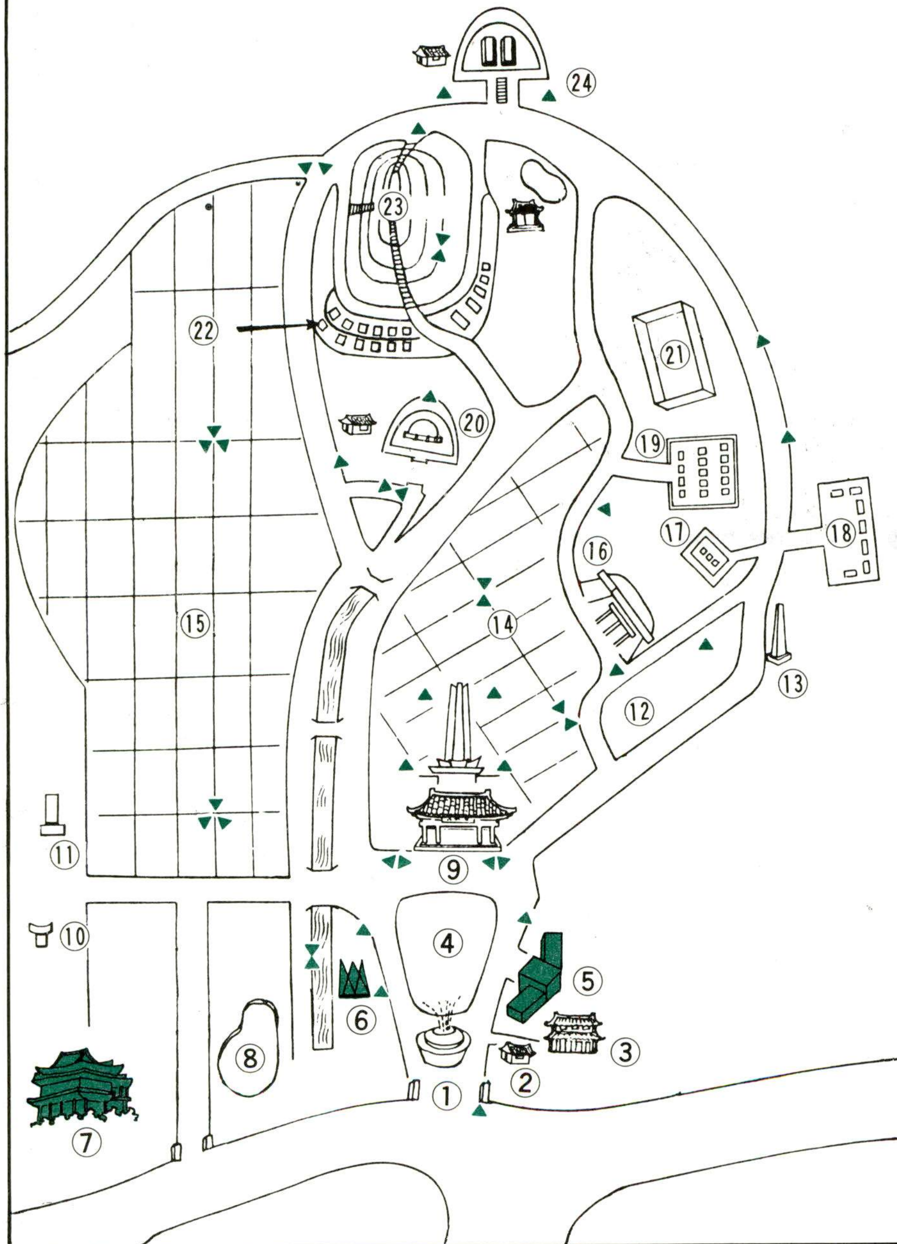
The National Cemetery has been offering the extensive relaxation space to citizens as the park of grounds with the area of over 1,430,000㎡(351 acres),and on the other hand, it recalls the holy meaning involved in this national holy grounds for annual over 6,000,000 people, students and general worshipers, also, it provides a part of national spiritual education through the instillation of anti- communism and patriotism.

Hyun-Choong Hall(Education and Movie Hall)

National Defense Hall(Photos Exhibited)

Memorial Museum(Relics and War Trophies Exhibited)

THE NATIONAL CEMETERY GUIDE MAP



Introductory Remarks

① Main Gate
② Information
③ Management Office
④ Golden Lawn Plaza
⑤ Memorial Museum
⑥ National Defense Hall
⑦ Education and Movie Hall
⑧ Hyun—Choong Pond
⑨ Hyun—Choong Gate and Tower
⑩ Monument for the Ranger Commandos
⑪ Monument for the Ten Human Bombs
⑫ Police officers Graveyard
⑬ Monument for the Police officers
⑭ West Graveyard for Soldiers
⑮ East Graveyard for Soldiers
⑯ Graveyard for Patriots
⑰ Second Graveyard for Generals
⑱ Second Graveyard for Meritorious Citizens
⑲ Third Graveyard for Generals
⑳ Tomb of The Late President Syng—Man Rhee
㉑ Farm of Deers
㉒ First Graveyard for Meritorious Citizens
㉓ First Graveyard for Generals
㉔ Tombs of The Late Mr. and Mrs. President Chung—Hee Park
▲ Speaker Installation

Improving ties in Asia is seen as goal of U.S.

By Edward Neilan
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

TOKYO — Secretary of State James A. Baker III's visit to China, Japan and South Korea illustrates the shifting of U.S. attention from the Middle East to problems in Asia.

Centerpiece of the focus on the Asia-Pacific region will be President Bush's visit to Japan at the end of the month. Then he will go on to South Korea, Singapore and Australia before leading 50th anniversary observances of the December 7, 1941, Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii.

There had been speculation among Western and Japanese diplomats here that a trip by Mr. Baker was in the works as relations with Beijing seemed to be increasingly strained.

"Although the president has been criticized at home for spending too much time on foreign affairs, the administration has been neglecting Asia," said a Western diplomat here. "This trip will correct the second part of that image." Mr. Baker will be the highest-ranking U.S. government official to go to China since the 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing.

Washington imposed political, military and economic sanctions on Beijing as a result of the Tiananmen incident and relations have remained icy.

"There will be no progress toward improvement in relations unless the two countries discuss the problems," Mr. Baker said in Madrid, Spain, in announcing his trip.

Last week the U.S. Congress voiced concern over China's reported cooperation with Iran in developing nuclear weapons. Chinese officials responded that the cooperation is only for peaceful purposes.

In advance of Mr. Baker's visit, China released more information yesterday about its nuclear cooperation program with Iran in an effort to convince U.S. critics that its purposes are peaceful.

A Foreign Ministry statement issued by the state-run Xinhua News Agency said China provided Iran with an electromagnetic separator for isotope production and a small reactor.

It said Chinese and Iranian companies signed commercial contracts for the sales in 1989 and 1991, respectively.

"These facilities are used for nuclear medical diagnosis and nuclear physics research, isotope production, education and personnel training," the statement said.

China acknowledged last week it had cooperated with Iran in a non-military nuclear program but gave no details.

President Bush will deliver a major speech on U.S.-Japanese relations in the Diet, or parliament, during his visit to Japan late this month, Japanese diplomatic sources told newspapers here yesterday.

The Diet address forms part of at least two principal statements that are expected to define the thrust of Mr. Bush's view of a global partnership between the United States and Japan in the post-Cold War world.

The other statement, the substance of which is now in the works among Japanese and U.S. officials, will come in the form of what is known here as a joint "Tokyo Declaration."

Kiichi Miyazawa, who will be sworn in officially as Japan's prime minister today, has expressed a personal interest in this project.

Diplomatic sources said the joint statement, if released as expected, will focus on the shape of long-range relations between allies that boast the world's two largest economies. But an advance version of Mr. Bush's vision on Asia and the Pacific will come earlier.

The president is scheduled to deliver what has also been billed as a major speech in New York on Nov. 12 on his administration's policies on the Asia-Pacific region.

James Baker will help President Bush get oriented for his trip.

11/4/91

World Economies

	U.S.		Japan		Germany		Britain		Canada		Mexico	
	Latest	Prev.	Latest	Prev.	Latest	Prev.	Latest	Prev.	Latest	Prev.	Latest	Prev.
Industrial production (monthly % change)	0.1 Sept.	0.0 Aug.	0.5 Sept.	–2.6 Aug.	–1.2 Aug.	–1.4 July	–1.5 Aug.	–0.3 July	–0.2 Aug.	0.2 July	0.32 July	0.32 June
Real G.N.P./G.D.P. (qtr.-% chg. annualized)	2.4 III	–0.5 II	2.0 II	11.0 I	–2.4 II	10.1 I	–1.8 II	–2.4 I	4.9 II	–4.7 I	5.3 II	4.3 I
Current Account (billions, local currency)	3.0 III	10.5 II	5.5 Aug.	6.0 July	–3.2 Aug.	–5.8 July	–0.5 Sept.	–0.6 Aug.	–5.5 II	–5.5 I	–0.8 June	–0.9 May
Unemployment rate (% of work force)	6.8 Oct.	6.7 Sept.	2.2 Sept.	2.2 Aug.	6.4 Sept.	6.4 Aug.	8.7 Sept.	8.5 Aug.	10.2 Sept.	10.6 Aug.	2.7 July	2.1 June
Consumer inflation (monthly % change)	0.4 Sept.	0.2 Aug.	0.3 Aug.	0.0 July	0.3 Oct.	0.2 Sept.	0.4 Sept.	0.2 Aug.	–0.2 Sept.	0.1 Aug.	1.0 Sept.	0.7 Aug.
10-year Government bond (weekly %)	7.46	7.60	5.98	5.95	8.20	8.16	9.73	9.78	8.71	8.00	17.9	17.4
Exchange rate (weekly per $)	—	—	130.2	131.5	1.657	1.712	0.572	0.584	1.120	1.126	3,082	3,079

Data are for the most recent period reported, compared with the previous period. G.D.P. figures for Mexico show growth over 12 months. Current account balances are reported monthly except for the U.S. and Canada, which are reported quarterly; figures for Japan and Mexico are reported in billions of U.S. dollars. The Mexican unemployment rate is for urban areas. Bond rates for Japan, Germany and Britain are adjusted to be consistent with U.S. and Canada; Mexican rates are for a 28-day bill.

Sources: Salomon Brothers; Mexican Government; S. G. Warburg & Company; J.P. Morgan Global Research

Photocopy-Preservation

Foreign Affairs

New York Times 10/9/91

LESLIE H. GELB

The Asia Test for Mr. Bush

President Bush will soon face his biggest and most challenging test in shaping a new world order since the Persian Gulf war. Beginning in mid-November, Secretary of State Baker and later Mr. Bush himself will spend the better part of a month traveling in Asia, ending symbolically on Dec. 7 in Pearl Harbor.

They will be trying to pull together a policy for the Asian-Pacific rim, an area of the world that will probably have a greater impact on America than all the latest Soviet-American arms control announcements and the Middle East negotiations.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker will be dealing with the core issue of any new world order — foreign economic policy — in the largest, most dynamic economic region of the globe.

The Bush-Baker challenge will be to replace the historic anti-Soviet focus of U.S. Asian policy with a new emphasis on geoeconomics, to forge new economic bonds and use them to resolve political problems and prevent economic disputes from exploding into political confrontations.

The stakes are investment, jobs, growth, trade and trade wars, and — most delicate and dangerous of all — relations with China and Japan. Washington's troubles with these two Asian giants edge ever closer to a blowup.

No country is more important to the U.S. than Japan, and with no other country are its economic ties so strained. Mr. Bush has managed to keep things together through his personal relationship with the departing Prime Minister, Toshiki Kaifu, but personal friendships will not substitute for the tough political decisions needed in both capitals to sidetrack economic warfare. The two sides are talking about the right issues (American budget deficits and education and Japanese restrictive trade and investment practices), but they just are not getting anywhere.

Learning how to do geoeconomics.

Japan will be Mr. Baker's principal stop in a trip that will begin with a Nov. 12 meeting with Asia's leading free-market countries. Later in November Mr. Bush will journey to Japan, South Korea, Indonesia and Australia. Neither now plans to stop in China.

Chinese leaders are approaching a full boil over Congressional pressures on human rights, Mr. Bush's visit with Tibet's Dalai Lama and a host of other such matters. U.S. leaders are steaming over China's $15 billion trade surplus with the U.S., some of it the fruits of slave labor.

Some China experts would like Mr. Baker to stop in Beijing and defuse the tension. But the Secretary and the President worry that such a high-level contact would send American human rights watchers into orbit. The solution, and Administration diplomats are working on it secretly, is to see if Beijing will agree in advance to certain concessions to be announced during a Baker visit.

America's hold on China turns on trade, technology and investment, all of which Beijing requires to modernize. That hold, tragically, has done little to alleviate Beijing's human and political rights abuses. But Washington has used its leverage well to gain China's critical neutrality at the U.N. during the war against Iraq, pressure on Communist rebels to end the fighting in Cambodia and agreement to restrict missile sales to the volatile Mideast and elsewhere.

The power of the purse is everywhere evident in Asia. Japan is using it to pry its northern islands away from the Soviet Union. Tokyo is employing the same bait to persuade North Korea to halt its none-too-secret nuclear arms program. North Korea is coming out of its nasty and dangerous shell because it is an economic basket case. Vietnam will also sink into economic oblivion without aid, which explains its recent help in concluding Cambodia's civil war.

Overarching all this are the worldwide GATT free-trade negotiations, a vast multilateral gabfest now in an ominous stalemate. A breakdown in these talks could lead to Western European and North American trade blocs. To guard against such possibilities, some Asians are flirting with establishing their own trade bloc.

Fortunately, Asian nations still depend on free trade, oppose protectionism and fear Japanese domination if America is excluded. Every Pacific rim nation wants full American involvement in the region, which gives the U.S. an inherent long-term advantage that Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker can start using next month to mold the emerging geoeconomic order. □

ister. China, which arms the Khmers Rouges, and the Soviet Union, which arms the Hun Sen government, say they will stop only when the other does. Even an imperfect arms embargo would increase the chance of a deal.

Second, the top leaders of the Khmers Rouges must disappear. The government will never accept a plan that would allow Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan and Ta Mok to return to Cambodia, let alone stand in an election. Mr Hun Sen's advisers talk of trying these men for genocide before an election is held, a certain way to put off an election indefinitely. But supposing Pol Pot and the others went into retirement in China? The Khmers Rouges are more like a religious sect than a political party; without their charismatic leaders, they would start to wither away. At least, that's the hope.

China might accept such a proposition. A return to power by the Khmers Rouges would be bad publicity, but China's honour would be safe if just one extreme-left party, made up of the rump of the Khmers Rouges, were allowed to stand at the election.

Success in Jakarta will depend on the skill of Mr Hun Sen's negotiating team. Mr Hun Sen would have the best chance of success if he had a free hand. But two of the six members of his team have been replaced by henchmen of Chea Sim, Mr Hun Sen's main rival for power. This somewhat divided team will be up against Mr Khieu Samphan, the Khmers Rouges' frontman, who is a master at blocking progress while ensuring the other side takes the blame.

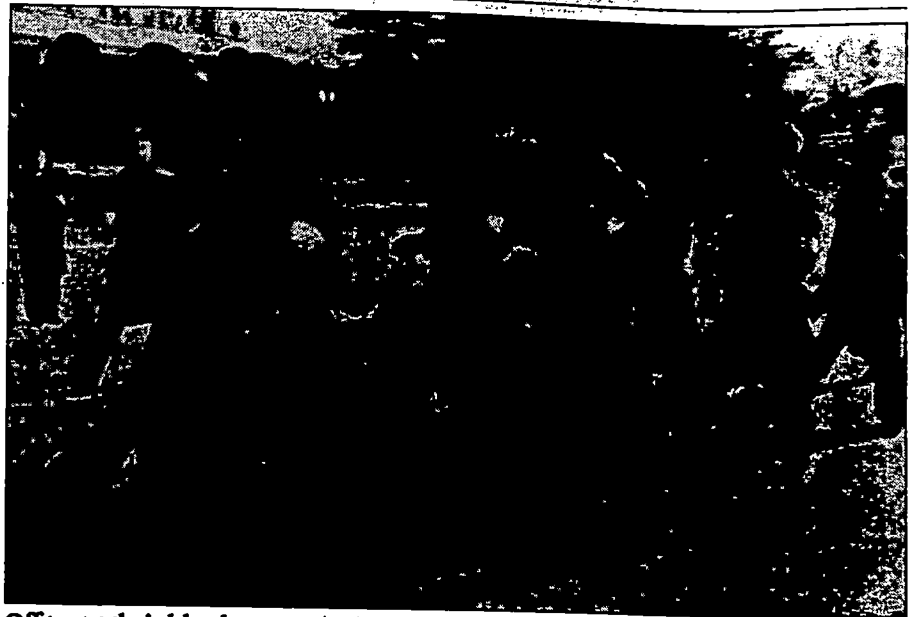
The Koreas

Divided nations, United Nations

FROM OUR ASIA CORRESPONDENT

LISTENING to official North Korean radio can be edifying as well as inevitable (radios in North Korea are fixed to prevent listeners from tuning in to any other station). On May 28th a broadcast announced that the North would follow South Korea's lead and apply for membership of the United Nations. The North had always resisted the idea of both Koreas having UN seats: it would perpetuate the division of the peninsula, it argued (not to mention giving the South's government the sort of recognition that the North has long fought to deny it). But now, said the radio broadcast, the North "had no choice." If the South got in while the North stayed out, Korean matters would be "dealt with in a biased manner."

Why the humiliating reversal? The North has been cornered by the skilful diplomacy of the South's President Roh Tae Woo. The idea of his *Nordpolitik* was to build links to North Korea's patrons, China and the Soviet Union, that would make it impossible for the North to continue shunning the South's government and any who dealt with it. The North's only counterthrust, an attempted opening to Japan, failed last weekend in Beijing: talks on possible diplomatic relations broke down over Japan's insistence that North Korea should open its nuclear plants to international inspection.



Off to get their blue berets?

No such misfortunes have befallen the South's strategy. In Mikhail Gorbachev, weary of North Korean intransigence and eager for South Korean money and technology, Mr Roh found a more-than-willing partner. The two presidents first met, in San Francisco, a year ago. Within months, diplomatic relations had been established and ambassadors exchanged. Mr Roh went to Moscow in December; Mr Gorbachev returned the favour (and made the North Koreans livid with rage) by stopping off in South Korea on his way home from Japan in April. The South, having concluded that its sporadic talks with the North were getting nowhere, decided earlier this year to wait no longer to make its UN bid. The Soviet Union promised not to veto it.

The problem was China. The Chinese have good economic relations with South Korea, but they fought alongside the North in the Korean war and are not about to ditch their old friends as unceremoniously as Mr Gorbachev did. The South's political overtures to China have been received politely, no more; and China would give no hint whether it might use its Security Council veto to block South Korea's UN application.

Until this week, anyway. The likeliest explanation of the North's change of tune is that when Li Peng, China's prime minister, visited Pyongyang early in May, he took aside the North's "Great Leader", Kim Il Sung, and told him the veto would not be used. Now China, too, it seems, has accepted the logic of Mr Roh's *Nordpolitik*.

What next? A South Korean newspaper has reported that secret talks about direct commercial flights between South Korea and China were held in Beijing last week. It was, said the report, at China's request.

Japan

A country retreat

FROM OUR TOKYO CORRESPONDENT

YOU would not know it from all the fuss the Japanese government makes to protect its rice growers from foreign competition—but Japan is running out of farmers. A survey by the National Research Institute of Agricultural Economics has just found that 83% of farming communities in Japan now have idle rice paddies—up from 48% five years ago. By 1995 two out of five villages expect to have serious difficulty finding people to work the land.

Counting everyone with a cabbage patch and up, Japan has 3.8m farming households (out of 38m all told), almost 10% fewer than in 1985. But only 3m of Japan's farming households till the soil commercially; the rest grow things for their own kitchen (they might be called gardeners elsewhere). Hardcore professional farmers—those for whom agriculture is their sole source of income—number no more than 470,000. It is among Japan's 2.5m part-time farmers that the attrition is taking place: the sons have left the land for better-paying jobs in nearby factories and offices. Few cherish the thought of taking over the family plot—other than to use it for a weekend cottage. Those who do face pretty lonely pros-

Loyal—but older with each election

pects, unless they manage to import a bride from the Philippines.

Nowhere, in other words, is the greying of Japan happening faster than down on the farm. In 1960 half of Japan's farming population were still under 42 years old (see chart). By 1990 the median had soared to 60—retirement age for the rest of Japan. Demographers reckon that, by 2000, as much as a third of Japan's farming population will have died of old age.

The morbid implications have not escaped policy-makers within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). They have been dusting down plans for electoral reform. Because electoral boundaries have failed to keep pace with the migration over the years of people to the cities, some country districts now have more than three times the voting clout of their city counterparts.

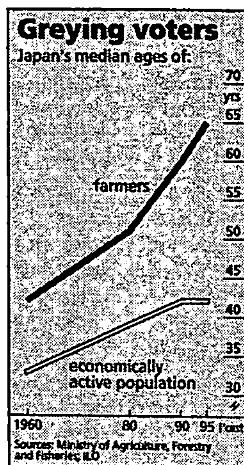
Such disparities are illegal. In May the Osaka High Court ruled that the 1990 general election was, in fact, unconstitutional. The presiding judge criticised the Diet (parliament) for failing to correct disparities that had been evident since the 1985 census—but he rejected a citizens' request that the poll be declared null and void, saying it would cause too big a rumpus.

The LDP, however, now has its own reasons for wanting to correct the imbalances. Ever since the Recruit shares-for-favours scandal two years ago, it has been convenient to blame the electoral system, in which most constituencies have between three and five seats, for the LDP's insatiable appetite for money. To maintain its majority in the Diet, the LDP has to field three or four candidates in each constituency. That takes money, and lots of it. With close on 300 candidates at roughly Y1 billion ($7m) apiece, an LDP general-election campaign costs four times more than an American presidential election.

Toshiki Kaifu, the prime minister plucked from untainted obscurity in the wake of the Recruit affair, has staked his career on ending his party's money-grubbing habits. A plan has been drafted that would introduce smaller constituencies in the powerful lower house along with a measure of proportional representation. Mr Kaifu has been pressing his party bosses to let him convene an extraordinary session of the Diet (in recess since early May) to get some reforms adopted.

He may get his way (August seems the most likely time) simply because it now suits the party's interests. The LDP owes its majority in the lower house to the loyalty of the over-represented farmers. However, with as many as three out of five LDP members being elected by voters who are literally dying out, party officials know it cannot be much longer before they will have to dump the farmers in favour of the wage-earning city dwellers.

Switching to a fairer electoral system would at last allow the LDP to stand up to the country's vociferous farming lobby—and so quieten American complaints over agricultural imports, or rather the lack of them. Just as usefully, it would reduce the ludicrous cost of rice, meat and milk. At the moment a Japanese family spends more than 30% of its disposable income on food, compared with the 20% spent by a European family and the 17% spent by an American one. Bright people in the LDP know that cheaper shopping could buy a lot of votes.



Australia

Hawke flies again

FROM OUR CANBERRA CORRESPONDENT

IF AUSTRALIA is indeed the lucky country, who is its luckiest man? It must be Bob Hawke. The prime minister had been awaiting grim news from New South Wales. According to the opinion polls, his Labor Party was going to take a beating in the state election on May 25th. Mr Hawke, already deeply unpopular, would be under further pressure to resign—not just from the electorate but from his own party colleagues.

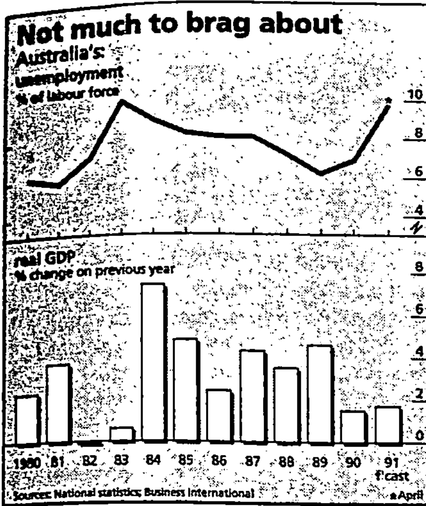
Either the polls were wrong or the mulish voters of New South Wales decided that they were not going to be taken for granted. When most of the counting had finished, it became clear that Labor had done pretty well. Because of Australia's complex voting system, it was not immediately known whether the Liberal (conservative) government would continue to run the state, but at least Labor had reason to celebrate.

New South Wales is Australia's most populous state. The Liberals were hoping that a big win there would lay the groundwork for a conservative victory for the Liberal-National Party coalition in the federal general election due by March 1993. The disappointed Liberals blame the state premier, Nick Greiner, for running a bland campaign against Labor's Bob Carr, who fought hard. One big issue was whether the Liberals planned to bring in a consumption tax.

Mr Hawke, though, will be less interested in local factors than in the big picture. He will see the New South Wales result as a turning-point in his fortunes. He certainly needs one. Apart from being the federal government, Labor runs five of Australia's six states, but has been growing increasingly pessimistic about retaining its grip at either national or state level. The party has been behind in opinion polls nationally and in every state except Queensland.

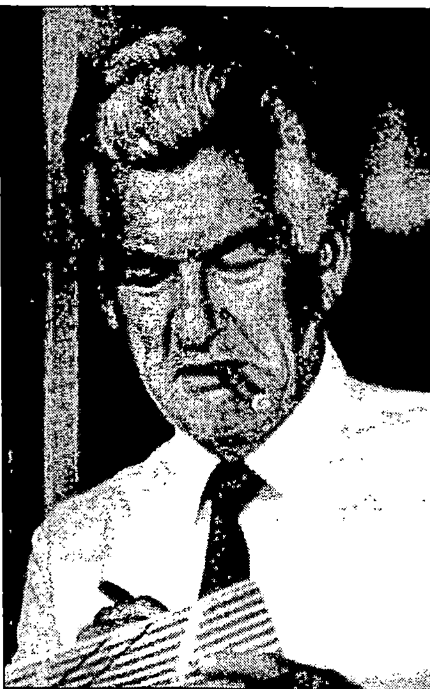
Much of the blame is put on the recession, at least as severe as that of 1981. In the three months to March, company profits slumped 29%; in April unemployment rose to 9.9%. Mr Hawke's chief rival for the top job, Paul Keating, is even more unpopular than the prime minister. The recession is worldwide, but Mr Keating, the treasurer (finance minister), is generally supposed to have made things worse for Australia by mishandling—or at least misjudging—the economy. In 1987 he allowed it to overheat; he then had to use high interest rates to cool it down. But Mr Keating's supporters argue that, however much he is disliked, only he has the drive to lead Labor to victory again.

Mr Keating showed his bounce this week when he declared: "There's definitely a recovery coming through." Economic growth in the year from July would, he said,



rise to 3.75% from this year's 2%. True, unemployment would have to rise to 10.75%, but an annual inflation rate as low as 4% was now within grasp. Whatever Mr Keating's failings, he does not lack confidence.

What, then, will he do next? On May 30th his supporters claimed that Mr Hawke had broken a promise made in 1988 to step aside for Mr Keating after the 1990 election. Mr Hawke's camp say the promise became null and void after Mr Keating told reporters last Christmas (supposedly "off the record") that he would make a better leader than Mr Hawke. An open challenge by Mr Keating, perhaps at a party meeting on June 4th, seems inevitable—and Mr Keating's followers claim the prime minister no longer has enough support to retain the party leadership. But Mr Hawke has led Labor to four general-election victories in a row. At Labor's centenary celebrations this month Mr Hawke can claim credit for the party's most successful years since it was founded. By implication, Mr Keating is sowing discord for the sake of his own ambition.



A lucky bloke?

Apart from nursing a sick economy, Labor needs to limit the damage from disclosures to a royal commission into possible corruption in Western Australia. Mr Hawke has successfully answered claims that the government took a soft line on the taxation of gold companies in return for political donations, but the fact that the allegation was made has not helped him. He refused to sack the man at the centre of the allegation, Brian Burke, Australia's ambassador to Ireland and formerly premier of Western Australia. Mr Burke eventually resigned.

Nothing much has been heard from the commission for the past week or two, but it will undoubtedly trigger off more juicy headlines in the future. Those headlines will assuredly hurt Labor. Mr Hawke, though, should not be written off. In politics, luck is the most powerful of assets.

IT IS unclear whether the Austrian airliner that came down in the jungles of Thailand this week was the victim of a bomb or not. But whatever the investigation into the crash shows, security procedures at Bangkok airport, the aircraft's last port of call, were plainly unsatisfactory. An official at the airport said the airline let luggage be put in the aircraft's cargo hold without being x-rayed. All 223 people died in the Boeing 767, which was owned by a firm run by Nikki Lauda, a former racing driver. The wreckage was stripped of useful bits by looters, and many of the bodies were robbed. For Thais in this bone-poor part of the land, the crash was seen as a gift from the rich world.

Tibet

Power of the monkey king

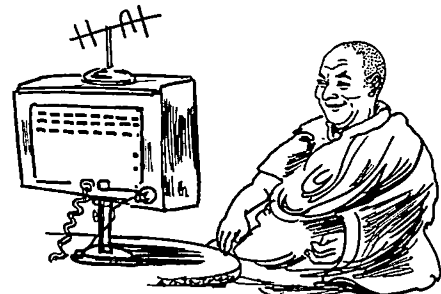
FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN LHASA

THE talk in the Tibetan capital Lhasa is how much the telly has improved over the past week or two. Instead of tedious programmes about five-year plans and heroic work units, the local station has been showing Chinese soap operas. On May 23rd, so-called Liberation Day, Tibetans were so riveted by the latest episode of "The Monkey King", a kung-fu epic, that they seemed to have forgotten to go outside and throw stones at the Chinese liberators.

Someone high up in the administration has realised that there are more artful ways of subduing people than shooting or jailing them, as has happened in Tibet in the past. As well as making television more entertaining and providing an all-day service instead of a few hours in the evening, the Chinese cut the price of alcohol. A bottle of Chinese brandy, normally 12 yuan ($2.25), could be had for about half the price. Factory workers were given extra money to buy new clothes. Lhasa was spruced up and two golden figures of yaks were installed in the town centre. The local postmark now carries words in Tibetan as well as Chinese.

Tibetan nationalists, unimpressed by television, might claim that Liberation Day, marking 40 years of Chinese communist rule, passed quietly because there were so many security men in Lhasa. It is true that a lot of them were about, in the streets and on the roofs of buildings. This correspondent was arrested, and held for an hour or so, for walking about without an official guide. But the security men mostly wore civilian clothes, and few guns were in evidence.

Even so, anti-Chinese demonstrations are unlikely to be a thing of the past in Tibet. At least 500 students are said to be prepared to take to the streets brandishing Tibetan flags. But some new thinking is clearly going on among the Chinese bosses of resentful Tibet. Many Tibetans, weary of years of mindless oppression, consider this to be a change for the better.



Here comes Farmer Giles-san

FROM OUR TOKYO CORRESPONDENT

Now nice rice price

FORGET cars and electronic wizardry for the moment. The new surprise that Japan has for the world is farm products. A keenly competitive industry is in the making. Japanese farmers are producing four times as much livestock as they did in the 1960s. Their dairy farms today are as big as those in the European Community, and yielding a third more milk. Beef producers not only operate successfully at home—the southern parts of Kyushu and Hokkaido are the most favoured—but have copied the car makers, setting up farms in Australia and America.

These are early days. A few luxury items (Wagyu beef, matsutake mushrooms) aside, agriculture is unlikely to be a big export earner for Japan for some time. But the home market is on the move. Rice is the most topical example, and an example too of how adaptable Japan can be. Foreign producers will not find it all that easy to cash in on Japan's reluctant, but inevitable, ending of its ban on rice imports.

Until recently the ban looked unshiftable. "Not a single grain of imported rice," Japanese politicians used to promise their farming constituents. But Japan does not want to be blamed for the possible collapse of the Uruguay round of GATT negotiations by seeming to be immovably protectionist. By the reckoning of the OECD, Japan's "producer subsidy equivalent" (the organisation's measure of agricultural protection) stood at 71% in 1989, down only three percentage points from 1988. The average for the OECD as a whole was 41%, down five points from the year before. This year the Japanese have something to crow about. Though still high by international standards, Japan's subsidy for agriculture had fallen to 68% while the European Community's had risen from 41% to 48%.

Haloes shining, Japanese officials arrived at the ministerial meeting of the OECD in Paris on June 4th carrying permission from their government to accept GATT's "minimum access" proposal for rice imports. No agreement on rice has yet been reached, but as much as 500,000 tons a year of foreign rice could soon start flowing into Japan. For all of America's pains in getting Japan to yield on rice, the bulk of it is likely to come from Thailand. Cheap Thai rice sells well in the region.

The changing nature of Japan's rice growers should enable the government to concede 5% or so of the market to foreigners without too much political cost. Five out of six of Japan's 3m commercial farmers till plots of an average size of 1.2 hectares (three acres). Britain's average farm is 60 times that size, and America's 150 times. But the country's 2.5m part-time farmers have started leaving the land in droves. Most of them are aged 60 or so, the usual retirement age in Japan. Within a decade, half of them will be dead from hard work and old age. Brutal though it sounds, this is leaving the 470,000 hard-core professional farmers with more land to lease. Average field sizes are rising dramatically, bringing substantial improvements in productivity.

The government has been quietly nudging along these demographic developments. Since 1986 professional farmers have been given incentives to use combine harvesters and other machinery to transplant five rows of rice plants at a time. Crop rotation—from rice to wheat, barley and soyabeans—has also been encouraged. The aim is to reduce the cost of growing rice by 40-60% by 1995. The target is not unrealistic.

At the same time the government has been doing what it can to reduce the price of rice in the shops. This is fearfully expensive compared with, say, Thailand's, but the gap should narrow. Regulations for marketing rice have been relaxed during the past three years. As a result, the number of shops licensed to sell rice has increased substantially. More than 60% of the rice in the shops nowadays is bought direct from farmers and co-operatives instead of through the government's Food Agency. Since October 1990 spot prices have been set by monthly auctions in Tokyo and Osaka.

Suddenly, the unthinkable has happened: regions that grow inferior rice are finding no one wants their produce—least of all the government agency. Meanwhile, the tasty Koshihikari rice from Niigata and the cheaper Akita-komachi variety from Akita are proving hugely popular. With the beginnings of a free market for rice, price differentials are encouraging growers to become innovative as well as selective. Some have started growing the long-grained Indica variety used in Chinese and Indian cooking. Kirin, a beer company, which entered the rice-growing business in 1988, is expecting Japan's Indica harvest to be ten times bigger this autumn than last.

Although no one seriously expects Japan ever to export rice, its more liberal market is not going to be a pushover for foreign growers. Other farm products, however, will offer opportunities for all. Some high-quality exports, like Wagyu beef, may become even more desirable because of American competition (see box, next page). While the Americans are putting more hamburgers on

Beefing about American Wagyu

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN SEATTLE

THE Americans still find it hard to sell beef to Japan, even though the Japanese lifted beef import quotas on April 1st. The Japanese, who eat most of their beef sliced thinly and quickly fried or boiled, prefer meat that has ripples of fat running through it. American beef tends to be leaner, with fat that surrounds the meat. Good for a barbecue, but not sukiyaki.

Enter Alvin, a cross-bred bull from Texas. Alvin is fifteen-sixteenths Wagyu, a Japanese breed. In May a team from Washington State University, where Alvin now lives, took some carcases from Wagyu cross-breeds to beef markets in Tokyo and Osaka.

The American meat's quality astonished Japanese butchers, and was expected to fetch nearly $30 a pound in the shops. That is some 30% higher than the price paid for samples from Angus and Longhorn cattle—mainstays of the American beef industry—taken to Japan at the same time for comparison.

Alvin and 50 other cross-bred Wagyu cattle at the university are descendants of four Wagyu bulls bought 15 years ago by a Texas rancher in a still somewhat mysterious transaction. The bulls produced several offspring, as well as semen now worth about $2m. Any American Wagyu industry will have to be built from those meagre resources. It is unlikely that Japanese ranchers will allow any more of their precious ruminants to leave Japan. However, Ray Wright, an animal-sciences professor at Washington State University, says it might be possible to obtain the meat the Japanese like from cattle that are as little as half Wagyu.

Alarmed by this prospect, some Japanese are claiming that their cattle, which are massaged and given beer to drink, produce better beef. But Mr Wright believes that American Wagyu will succeed. "If Japanese butchers can make money on it," he says, "they will sell our product."

Japanese tables, the Japanese cattlemen have their eyes on America—even Iowa, home of perhaps the best corn-fed beef in the United States. With Toshiki Kaifu's government under pressure to dismantle other bits of its agricultural protection, the era of the Japanese agri-businessman has arrived. Just wait for American complaints.

South Korea

Gingerbread man

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN SEOUL

IT WAS another spring weekend in Seoul. The usual Sunday evening crush of traffic returning from the country was crushed even more when 10,000 demonstrators and their firebombs met the riot police and their tear-gas canisters. Next evening, June 3rd, a dazed Chung Won Shik, South Korea's prime minister-designate, was escorted out of a university lecture hall looking like an unfinished gingerbread man, dusted with the flour and spattered with the eggs that students had thrown at him.

That is probably it for this year's riot season. There was never any chance of the government being brought down, though the incident that set off South Korea's biggest series of demonstrations since 1987—the beating to death of a student by police on April 26th—earned the radicals a greater degree of public tolerance than usual. They lost any residue of that with their attack on Mr Chung, but it was time to leave the streets anyway: university examinations were due to start at the end of the week.

This will leave Korean politics free to return to its democratic channels. These seem as clogged as the roads. The radicals have little hold on Korean sympathies—no more than 10% even of students are demonstrators. But then neither do elected politicians. The government of President Roh Tae Woo usually has approval ratings of less than 20% in the opinion polls.

The riots this spring seemed more momentous than they were because, for a time, the many elements of dissatisfaction with Mr Roh's government came together. Mr Chung's predecessor as prime minister, Ro Jai Bong, had antagonised both the leader of the opposition, Kim Dae Jung, and the head of one of the factions in the ruling Democratic Liberal Party (and a former opposition leader himself), Kim Young Sam. The two Kims were happy to co-operate in using the unrest to bring down Mr Ro.

Ruling-party bureaucrats are upset at what they see as the preference given to people from Mr Roh's home region of Taegu in the making of government appointments. Businessmen are displeased with erratic economic policy-making, and everyone is unhappy about high inflation (edging into double figures), especially in the price of land, which rose in Seoul last year by 30%.

Despite the introduction of democracy three years ago, the rivalries of the authoritarian years seem hardly to have changed. They dominate politicians' thinking to the exclusion of most other things, certainly of policy-making. Mr Roh's term ends early in 1993, and the constitution prohibits him from succeeding himself. The ruling party has talked of switching Korea to a parliamentary system under a strong prime minister but, for now anyway, lacks the votes to do it. If the National Assembly election early in 1992 does not change that, the only political prize really worth having is the presidency.

Kim Dae Jung, who has been the main opposition leader since the early 1960s, will certainly be one candidate for the job. Within the ruling party—an uneasy amalgam of the former military party and two ex-opposition parties—Kim Young Sam is the front-runner. Indeed, the assumption is that the price this Mr Kim (another veteran of the 1960s) demanded from Mr Roh to throw in his lot with the government was a promise of the ruling party's presidential nomination in 1992.

This will be resisted by the former military faction within the ruling party. But, as Mr Kim Young Sam taunts, that faction will have a hard time finding anybody with ballot-box appeal. A split in the ruling party is not out of the question, though it is unlikely; that is the only thing that could open the way for Mr Kim Dae Jung.

These are the ambitions that whirl around the country's local elections due on

The prime minister anointed

Hun Sen and royal friend

at the ready, to pay for arrangements made by others. The Japanese, who want to play host to the next Cambodian pow-wow, have held several meetings with Mr Hun Sen; their idea is to exclude from the election any faction that breaks a UN-verified ceasefire.

But that assumes progress in the meantime. As Indonesia's foreign minister, Ali Alatas, his head doubtless spinning from meeting factions too hostile to discuss their differences face-to-face, said at a final press conference, "Time is running out. Haven't there been killing and shooting and refugees and maiming and separation of families for long enough?"

Myanmar

That's friendship

IT MAY seem strange that Thailand, a nice place (though it finds it hard to stick to democracy), is so amiable towards the dictatorship of Myanmar (Burma). On June 4th Thai officials rounded up 185 Burmese who had found sanctuary in the town of Mae Sot and returned them across the border to whatever cruelties Myanmar devises for dissidents. Critics of the Thais say that the soldier-politicians who took control in Thailand in a military coup in February get on well with the Myanmar junta; and that their fellowship is strengthened by the pickings from cross-border smuggling.

But it is not that simple. Governments in South-East Asia, and not only Thailand's, are reluctant to endorse the West's general condemnation of the junta. That was evident at a meeting on trade in Luxembourg between officials of the European Community and the Association of South-East Asian Nations that ended on May 31st. The British foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd, used the word "grotesque" to describe the junta's policies. He said Asian countries should ban arms sales to Myanmar, as the Community had done. But Asians, already wary of the Community's growing hold on world trade, resent what they see as bossiness. Whatever they may think of the Myanmar regime, they prefer to defend its right to run the country as it thinks fit. Europeans and Asians view the world differently, said one official. Anyway, Myanmar gets most of its arms from China, which does not condemn a government just because it is authoritarian.

Even so, the Chinese must be puzzled, as others are, that the junta allowed a general election to take place in May last year if it did not propose to honour the result. The Australian foreign minister, Gareth Evans, says the election was a fraud designed to flush out dissidents. The majority of the 392 candidates of the National League for Democracy who won seats in a proposed 485-seat parliament are in jail or dead or have gone into hiding.

An alternative reason for the election is that the soldiers did not expect to lose. They thought they had managed the country well, an illusion common to all vain and stubborn officer corps, and assumed that the people would agree. Myanmar, anyway, has a tradition of submissiveness. In the 1,850 years since Ptolemy mentioned the place in his "Geography", Myanmar has had a freely elected government for only 14 years. That was from 1948, when Britain granted independence to Burma, to 1962, when General Ne Win seized power.

The general, who has officially retired but is thought still to govern Myanmar, believed that the disturbing ideas about social progress that caused trouble elsewhere had hardly penetrated the backwater of Myanmar. The buildings of Yangon had decayed a little but otherwise the capital had scarcely changed since it was the Rangoon of British times. An election, he decided, would gain favour with the outside world. A fair one? Yes, he told his lieutenants. Just lock up some students and other trouble-makers. I know my Burmese. They will back the people who have brought them security.

A general's daughter

For the army the result of the election was a shock that still hurts a year later. The junta decided that the army's best way to salvage its pride was to try to discredit members of the victorious League. Many women have been among those persecuted. Women have high status in Myanmar and did well at the polls. The League's Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of a soldier-politician assassinated in 1947, is simply its most famous figure, and its most privileged. She is under house arrest, but the army has made it clear that, as a general's daughter, she will not be harmed. They would like her to leave the country, hoping her "freedom" will be taken as a sign that the junta is humane after all. Perhaps for that reason alone, she has declined to go.

Australia

Keating watches the clock

FROM OUR CANBERRA CORRESPONDENT

FEW Australians believe that Paul Keating is finished. True, he said, after Bob Hawke had beaten off his challenge on Monday, "I had only one shot in the locker. I have fired it, and the result is there for all to see." But the result that Australians see is that, although Mr Keating lost, he did not lose hopelessly.

The 110 Labor members of the federal Parliament voted on June 3rd to keep Mr Hawke as their leader, and thus prime minister, by 66 votes to Mr Keating's 44. Sentiment for the man who has led the party to victory four times in succession, together with pressure by Mr Hawke's managers on possible waverers, kept the challenge at bay. But it may not have gone away.

The eventual undoing of Mr Hawke, one theory goes, will come not from another direct challenge from Mr Keating, but simply by his remaining on the backbenches of Parliament as an alternative leader. Sooner or later Mr Hawke will stumble, fall into disfavour and be persuaded to stand down for Mr Keating. In particular, Mr Hawke will be haunted, the argument goes, by what is coming to be described as his "great lie"—the promise he admits he made to Mr Keating that he would make way for him during the present Parliament.

However, such theorising presupposes that Mr Keating knew he was going to lose, but accepted that losing, and resigning as

treasurer (finance minister), was part of a grand strategy that would eventually take him to the top. It seems as likely, though, that he thought he would win. His ambition is great, and he may have made the mistake of believing his fans: every newspaper of note in Australia that expressed a view on the contest backed Mr Keating for the leadership.

By this reckoning he may have made an error of judgment, and not for the first time. Mr Keating is a clever fellow who has helped to bring about some much-needed financial reforms. But Australia's present deep recession is partly due to Mr Keating's misjudgments as treasurer, honestly arrived at but blunders nevertheless. In 1987 he allowed the economy to overheat and then had to use high interest rates to cool it down. He is liked by political writers because his robust style provides them with lively copy. But his following in the country at large is less sure. Even Australians may have reservations about a senior politican, with ambitions for statesmanship, who calls his opponents "scumbags". And Labor's present poor showing in the opinion polls—18 points behind the Liberal-National opposition—is blamed mostly on Mr Keating.

Mr Hawke does well in the polls. In a recent one Mr Hawke was preferred as prime minister by 44% of respondents, compared with 41% for the opposition leader, John Hewson. Clearly, though, Mr Hawke and Labor have been wounded by the challenge.

On his first appearance in Parliament as the new treasurer, John Kerin acquitted himself well, with measured answers and pertinent political responses. The quick judgment of Mr Kerin, the former energy minister, is that he may bring a slight softening of economic policies. But he is a competent administrator, who will be strongly advised by the Treasury to maintain firm policies. He is unlikely to relinquish the government's reputation—albeit somewhat tarnished—for economic honesty.

India

A congress of prime ministers

FROM OUR DELHI CORRESPONDENT

IN POLITICS it can be wise to start counting your chickens before they are hatched. The Congress Party is by no means certain to win the Indian general election—polls take place on June 12th and 15th—but in the leaderless atmosphere after Rajiv Gandhi's killing, various partymen are already pressing their claims to the prime ministership. They fear that if they wait till the elections are over, they may be too late.

One such claimant is P.V. Narasimha Rao, a lightweight chosen as president of the party after Rajiv's widow, Sonia, refused. The choice was meant to create an impression of party unity; it was not meant to be permanent. Mr Rao has other ideas. He has pooh-poohed suggestions of poor health, and thrown himself into campaigning—proof that in Indian politics there is no tonic as potent as a whiff of power.

Mr Rao was briefly chief minister of the southern state of Andhra Pradesh in the early 1970s, but was never a power in state politics. Erudite and well-read, he is considered uncorrupt and gentlemanly, characteristics by no means universal in the party. He has served in several top cabinet posts, and had two stints as foreign minister. He is also from the south, which is irked that all India's prime ministers so far have been from the north. His hope, therefore, is that he can capitalise on the Congress's strength in the south (although in the 1989 election he chose a safe seat in the western state of Maharashtra).

But his reputation is not without stain. He is said to have been party to an attempt, in 1989, to discredit the son of the Janata Dal Party leader, Vishwanath Pratap Singh (there was talk of a secret and illegal bank account in the Caribbean). It speaks volumes for his party that it regards this episode as no more than fun and games before the 1989 general election, and that Mr Rao is considered a most upright politician.

Rao sees his chance

Of the other contenders, Sharad Pawar, chief minister of Maharashtra, looks the most formidable. He bucked the anti-Congress trend in the 1989 election, and is a capable administrator able to keep on good terms with even his political foes. He is not fluent in either Hindi or English, but that may not be an insuperable problem. His main drawback is that he defected from the party in the late 1970s to head a non-Congress government in his state. He later rejoined Congress, but is regarded as undependable by many partymen. He is a good friend of the prime minister, Chandra Shekhar, and would be well placed to arrange a post-election alliance between Congress and Mr Shekhar's Socialist Janata Dal.

Another strong candidate is Narain Dutt Tiwari, formerly Rajiv's finance minister and once the chief minister of India's largest state, Uttar Pradesh. He is acceptable to the leftist parties, whose support may be needed in a hung parliament. However, Mr Tiwari failed to lead his party to victory in the state in 1989, and could lose again.

The same problem faces Arjun Singh, former chief minister of Madhya Pradesh. Once part of Rajiv Gandhi's inner circle, he has a wide network of friends in the party, but his state is currently ruled by the Bharatiya Janata Party. The dark horse is Madhav Rao Scindia, scion of the Gwalior royal family. He was an outstanding railway minister in Rajiv Gandhi's cabinet, is Oxford-educated, an economic liberaliser and appeals to those who feel the Congress old guard lack charisma. True, he has no strong base in any part of the country, but he could emerge if the other candidates fail to find support.

The contenders have dispersed to enthuse voters already bored by a long campaign. Congress had hoped to benefit from a wave of sympathy for Rajiv. However, reports from the states speak only of a ripple. Mr Rao attracted crowds of just a few thousand in his recent tour of the north, minuscule by Indian standards. Many partymen believe (and opinion polls confirm) that Sonia Gandhi would have been far more likely to attract the sympathy vote. Whatever intellectuals may say, voters seem to like political dynasties. Polls in Waryana and Delhi showed that 77% and 79% respectively of Congress supporters favoured Sonia.

That is why some in Congress still hope that she will stand for a by-election in her husband's constituency. They could then cluster around her to form a rival centre of power. Already they are trying to make Rajiv's 20-year-old daughter, Priyanka, the head of the Youth Congress. Reports of the demise of the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty may turn out to be premature.

Japan's peculiar ways, contd

Modern financial markets need an effective regulator. Tokyo still lacks one

THE new season for Japan-bashing has begun. The country's trade surplus is growing again. Top of Tokyo's list of best-sellers is an American book called "The Coming War With Japan"; number two is yet another edition of "The Japan That Can Say No". These books tell what many in America think about Japan and vice versa. Now Japan-bashers, who accuse the world's second-largest economy of playing by its own peculiar rules, have more ammunition. The presidents of Japan's biggest and third-biggest securities firms have resigned after their firms admitted to dealing with gangsters and to making good the investment losses of favoured clients (see page 65).

Japan's critics will see this latest scandal as proof that all the country's markets are rigged, allowing it to prosper at others' expense. As a judgment on the economy as a whole, that is absurd. In cars and electronics, which account for most of Japan's trade surplus, Japanese companies thrive because they make better products than their competitors. American trade negotiators like to talk of "structural impediments" to trade, such as the *keiretsu* system of co-operation among companies, but the significance of such practices is exaggerated, and they can hardly be labelled as "unfair". By and large, the popular American view of Japan is driven more by paranoia than by knowledge or common sense.

A reckless and seedy system

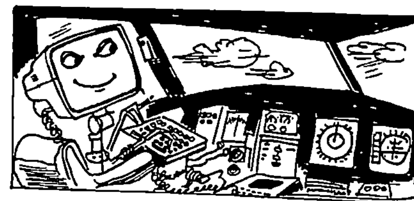
But Japan's financial markets really are a case apart. In some ways the latest scandals, and others in the past few months, are typical of what happens when speculative booms turn to busts. Remember Ivan Boesky and the thrift scandals in America, or the Guinness and Blue Arrow affairs in London? Japan is now in such a transition. Roughly ¥200 trillion has been wiped off share values since the Tokyo stockmarket began falling early last year, a sum equivalent to half Japan's GNP. Japan's bear market, however, has exposed something that is not merely cyclical. Tokyo suffers from financial abuse which is deeper and more systemic than that found in London and New York. It permeates much of the financial establishment. This will come as no surprise to seasoned (and therefore cynical) observers of the Tokyo markets. It will be most shocking to ordinary Japanese people.

Compensating favourite investors against losses is widespread in Japan. It is also legal (though the promise to do so is not) and is regarded as a good way to procure business. Like some of the people in the Lloyd's insurance market, Japanese investors take a rather one-sided view of risk. Widespread manipulation and guarantees against losses helped to push the Tokyo market to its silly levels in the late 1980s, since investors were consequently much more eager to invest. Business dealings with organised crime are also fairly common. Give any Japanese financial journalist a few beers and he will tell stories he dare not write about how the country's most hallowed banks and brokerages deal with gangsters.

This seedy underside of Japanese finance needs a thorough airing. That will not happen so long as the regulator, the Ministry of Finance, is cosy with those it is meant to regulate. Instead, as often in the past, big names will be sacrificed in an effort to stop scandals spreading. The ministry's banking and securities bureaus see their task as advancing the interests of their own industries, not regulating them. America's former thrift regulators made exactly the same mistake.

Japan needs an independent securities regulator like America's Securities and Exchange Commission. General Douglas MacArthur gave it one in 1948, but when the Americans left in 1951 it was abolished and its powers were absorbed by the finance ministry. In an old-boy financial system like Japan's, an independent regulator was seen as an unnecessary nuisance. But the system can no longer be left, in effect, to supervise itself. Japan has already freed interest rates; it now has a modern, deregulated financial market. The competitive pressures released by liberalisation mean that, moral issues aside, the friendly old ways of doing business can no longer be left unsupervised. The Ministry of Finance has yet to wake up to that.

Have a safe flight



Might hackers be better than pilots at flying high-tech airliners?

THERE is something reassuring about a silver-haired airline captain, with lashings of gold braid on his epaulettes. For most of the time, though, it will not be the captain or even his co-pilot who will actually fly your aircraft. It will be a computer. The crash of a Lauda Air Boeing 767 in Thailand on May 26th with the loss of 233 lives has again raised fears about the increasing automation of airliners. There will be more crashes to come, but that is no reason to take computers out of the cockpit. Pilots, maybe.

New technology is not making flying more dangerous—quite the opposite. If you travelled in an early 1960s Comet IV you had a one-in-100,000 chance of being killed. Board any jet built in the past ten years and, despite crowded skies and radar screens, your chances of being killed are just one in 500,000. Crashes are so rare that when they happen they are likely to be caused by unusual, even unique, combinations of events.

Such a puzzle faces the investigators of the Lauda Air crash. They are trying to determine why an engine thrust-reverser,

FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY

If you can choose everything else, why not your government too?

Yes, they do march together, but sometimes out of step

For the past 25 years Asia has had the world's fastest-growing economies. It has not had the best democracies. Just a coincidence?

FOR anyone who believes, as this newspaper does, that the sort of freedom which allows people to lift themselves out of poverty is not long divisible from the sort of freedom that allows them to choose their rulers and speak their minds, a glance at Asia can be disconcerting. Of the six Asian countries whose GNP per person grew fastest in the quarter of a century after 1965, one (China) was a communist dictatorship. One (Indonesia) was for a time a military dictatorship, and for the rest of the time a one-party authoritarian state whose government was closely linked to the army.

Two (South Korea and Taiwan) were authoritarian states that have only now begun to liberalise. One (Singapore) had an elected authoritarian government. The sixth (Hong Kong) had better civil liberties than the rest, but its colonial government was undemocratic: only this September will the first handful of Hong Kong's legislators be chosen by a vote of ordinary citizens. In none of the six, during these 25 years of dazzling economic success, was there a single transfer of power to another political party.

Against these set such doughty champions of democracy as India, Sri Lanka and (more recently) the Philippines. Since 1965 India's GNP per person has grown at little more than a third of the rate of China's, Sri Lanka's at little more than half the rate of Taiwan's. The Philippines, which under the presidency of Cory Aquino has been probably the freest country in South-East Asia, has also turned in the region's worst economic performance (but then that also happened under Ferdinand Marcos, when it was just as authoritarian as its neighbours).

What of Japan, paragon of both wealth and elections? True, it has been as free as any of the 24 members of the OECD, the rich countries' club, and the fastest-growing of all of them. But Japan has had no change of government during the 25 years since 1965.

Let there be land reform

To understand what is distinctive about Asia, begin with what is undistinctive about it. First, if the white man's outposts of Australia and New Zealand and a few dots in the Pacific are left aside, only one Asian country, Japan, ranks with Europe and North America in the quality of its political rights and civil liberties. Free countries are (apologies to India) almost always rich countries. Japan is Asia's only rich country. As others become rich, they can be expected to become free. This has already begun happening with South Korea and Taiwan.

Nor is Asia's present all that different from Europe's past. Apart from Britain, as Margaret Thatcher takes frequent delight in pointing out, the big European countries have no long tradition of democracy and civil liberties. During their own rise to wealth, most of them were just as authoritarian as Asia's are today. The economic development of Germany under Bismarck was guided just as firmly as the contemporaneous development of Japan under Meiji; and Germany's present-day democracy is no older than Japan's. In fact, only the United States and a handful of other countries can claim to have created a modern economy wholly under democratic rule.

In any event, it is possible that the economic success of Asian authoritarianism is something of an illusion. Firm government produces disasters as well as miracles. For every Taiwan there is a Myanmar, for each South Korea a North Korea.

Surprisingly little research has been done on the link between growth and democracy. But what has been done suggests that, even though there is no firm evidence linking democracy with successful economic reform or fast economic growth, democracy does not harm growth. And there does seem to be a strong connection between freedom and other things that are known to boost growth: education—especially of girls—and falls in infant mortality.

Still, there is something striking about the broad coexistence of authoritarian rule and fast economic growth in Asia. Does Asia have something special that makes it fertile ground for authoritarian-led growth?

Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's prime minister until last autumn and an unapologetic authoritarian, thinks there is (see box on next page). He points to the need, early in the process of economic development, to generate an agricultural surplus that can be used to feed the industrialisation of the towns. For any society, this is a most disruptive period.

The right economic policies for this period (and others) are straightforward: paying heed to market signals, a realistic exchange rate, positive real interest rates, no discrimination against exports, and no heavy taxation of farmers. In theory, an intelligent democratic government should

delivering the goods. Conversely, none of the poor countries of Asia, save for India, seems to have much of an attachment to democracy for its own sake. Thailand, for instance, showed itself fairly indifferent to the military coup that deposed the elected government of Chatichai Choonhavan in February. Mr Chatichai's government had reeked of corruption. The cabinet that took over after the army had shown Mr Chatichai the door is an impressive group of businessmen and technocrats. Even those who did not like the coup were not, in the end, distressed that it had happened.

The skilled can't be drilled

It would, however, be a mistake to think that, because authoritarian development has had some remarkable successes in Asia, those Asians who are now rich can continue to thrive without democracy. They can't.

The reason, as Singapore's Mr Lee points out in his interview with us, is that once the habit of blind obedience is broken on the factory floor, as it must be in more sophisticated economies, it will be called into question in social and political life as well. The most telling examples of this are South Korea and Taiwan.

In 1987, after a quarter-century of 9% annual growth in real GNP, Korean street riots backed by the middle class drove the military dictatorship out of office. In the early 1980s Taiwan's authoritarian President Chiang Ching-kuo, having seen the writing on the wall, began a subtle from-the-top-down political reform that, by the time of his death in 1988, had peacefully prepared the country for the end of martial law and for a much freer electoral system.

Yohei Kohno, a leading member of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, argues that his country's post-1945 economic miracle proves a similar point. Japan's economic rise started a long time ago, with the Meiji Restoration of 1868. This was an undoubted case of authoritarian economic development. But by the second third of this century Japan was no longer a poor country. How, Mr Kohno asks, can anyone contend that the authoritarian policies of 1930s Japan were better at enriching the place than the democratic ones of post-1945 Japan?

Yet not everyone agrees that modern Japan is really democratic. Masao Kunihiro, a member of the Japanese parliament's upper house, echoes the criticism of several western observers when he argues that his country's public life is run by an overweening bureaucracy that regards elected politicians as mere "passers-by" unfit to be trusted with responsibility. Mr Kunihiro also points out that the Liberal Democrats have been in power uninterruptedly since the early 1950s, and that many Diet members (more than 40%, he says) "inherited" their seats from fathers or grandfathers who had filled them before. What sort of democracy is that?

Certainly, the deeper features of a nation's life—how its society is organised, what its people believe, the origins of its political life—are more powerful and persistent influences on its behaviour than is the type of government it has. The habits formed in Japan's Meiji years (cash- and family-based politics, an opposition whose permanent job was to oppose, never govern) descended intact to modern Japan, despite all the other changes in the way the place was governed.

South Korea shows this too. In 1987-88 it suddenly veered from military dictatorship to more-or-less full democracy. Yet what exactly has changed? Civil liberties now tend to be respected, rather than infringed, and the security agencies are less powerful. But the bureaucracy remains the same, the politicians who were at the top (if behind the scenes) in the military government are still at the top, and in the next presidential election, due late in 1992, unless the ruling party splits, it is a sure bet that its man will win.

Korea riots on, taking new liberties

So long as they can choose . . .

Italy apart, this is not the way things normally work in the West. But is it different enough to justify the conclusion that Korea, Japan and other East Asians are not free and democratic? No. The test of democracy is simple. As the University of California's Mr Scalapino puts it, a country is democratic if every adult has the chance to choose (ie, vote) in a genuine political competition, and has enough civil liberties to make the choice meaningful.

But whom the voters choose reflects the sort of people they are: an Asian people's preferred government is not necessarily what the French or the Americans would want. In both economics and politics, people have different tastes. It would be an odd market and an odd democracy that did not go with the grain of the society in which they operated: the point of markets and democracies, after all, is to reflect what ordinary people want. And what they want has a lot to do with who they are.

A study of Japan's ruling Liberal Democrats by Takashi Inoguchi, a professor at Tokyo University, suggests how different forms can produce the same benefits that an alternation of parties does in the West. Almost alone among the industrialised world's conservative parties, the Liberal Democrats managed to hold on to office throughout the 1970s, despite the economic pain of two oil shocks and high inflation.

This was not because Japan was unaffected by these events: in 1975-76 the economy shrank and inflation zoomed. But the Liberal Democrats managed to retain power, and indeed strengthened their position, by doing three things. They applied the right economic policies: tight money, macroeconomic stability (ie, no attempt at countercyclical demand stimulation) and an immediate pass-through of higher energy prices. They took care of their special-interest groups—farmers and small businessmen—through tax breaks and the like; this had an economic cost but did not interfere with sensible overall management of the economy. And they snatched opposition policies (on environmental protection, for example) that were becoming popular, and made them their own.

Westerners think an alternation of parties is needed to accomplish such things. Japan produced them in a different way, while still following the basic democratic rules of free elections and free speech.

The conclusion all this points to is one that idealists are reluctant to accept. The economic policies that make for success are well enough known for anyone to be able to apply them: invest a lot in education and infrastructure, be open to trade, let the market have its way. When these policies are applied, people the world round respond the same way, and their countries flourish.

What is not the same the world round is the ability of governments to adopt these policies. That depends on the societies they govern. In Asia, authoritarian governments may find it easier than democratic ones to haul countries out of poverty. But, once Asian countries are thus hauled out, they too will want more freedom and democracy.

Within obvious limits, the precise form of a country's government matters less than its culture: only the looniest of governments do not in some deep way embody that. The world's great economic and social engines are not governments but huge numbers of people acting individually and in relatively small organisations like families. That, sad to say for those who like their lessons universal, is probably where the secret of East Asia's success should be sought.

the interior minister, and Nguyen Duc Tam, the head of the powerful Organisation Committee of the party. The triumvirate were close to Le Duc Tho, the party's strongman who died last year.

The changes in the Politburo do not portend any significant shift in policy. The old men who have retired will continue to influence policy through an advisers' council, which is to be established. More importantly, Do Muoi, the party's new secretary-general, is a chip off the same block.

Mr Muoi, who at 74 is one year younger than Mr Linh, joined the party in 1939 and was elected to the Central Committee in 1960. His appointment as prime minster in 1988 was seen at the time as a victory for the conservative wing of the party. But during three years in the job, he pushed ahead with economic reforms. Mr Muoi is not rated highly by Hanoi's intellectual snobs. "He's no Chernenko-style zombie, but nor is he gifted," says one. His main qualification for the job is a clean record, unlike some other former Politburo members. Mr Thach, for example, was criticised at the congress for appointing relations to plum jobs in the foreign ministry.

The congress accepted plans to give the secretary-general more authority, akin to the presidential powers now wielded by Mikhail Gorbachev. Much of the day-to-day work will, however, be done by Mr Muoi's two main lieutenants on the Politburo, Vo Van Kiet, the new prime minister, and Phan Van Khai, Mr Kiet's deputy. Both are from south Vietnam, where people tend to be more enterprising than in the stolid north.

The task facing the new team is how to operate the "multi-sector economy under the socialist option" decreed by the congress. Economic reforms introduced over the past five years have won praise from the IMF. Price subsidies have been cut, hyperinflation tamed and, most impressively, agricultural production has soared, thanks to a U-turn on collective farming.

One crucial element in the reform programme has been missing: investment. The World Bank said last year that Vietnam does not have the capacity to absorb large flows of capital. However, without modest foreign investment of, say, $250m a year to rebuild the country's shattered infrastructure, sustained growth will be impossible.

One problem is America, which maintains an embargo on American firms doing business with Vietnam and a veto on lending by the World Bank and the IMF. The Americans have yet to come to terms with losing the war in Vietnam; they want more co-operation on soldiers listed as missing in action. Formally, however, they say they will not lift the embargo until a peace settlement has been reached in Cambodia. Peace in Cambodia depends to a large degree on the Chinese, hence the sacking of Mr Thach, who used his last speech to a congress to make a fierce attack on China. By sacrificing the widely respected Mr Thach to China, the party presumably hopes it will bring a Cambodian solution closer, which in turn should lead to success in the main priority of Vietnamese foreign policy—getting cash from foreigners.

The party faithful do not seem sure that any of this will work as planned. Instead of waiting five years before holding another congress, the plan is to hold a "national cadres' conference" in two or three years' time. A replacement will then be chosen for Mr Muoi, an effective way to cripple his leadership of the party from the start and encourage sterile debates on the nature of socialism. But, just maybe, a leader chosen from a younger generation two years from now will be able to face the truth—that the party has sometimes been mistaken and wrong.

Japan

Appeasing Kaifu's soul

FROM OUR TOKYO CORRESPONDENT

IT MAY be hard to believe, but at last Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party is seriously contemplating electoral reform. The crunch has come with the publication of proposals by the Electoral Reform Commission to change the method of electing members to the lower house of parliament, the more powerful of Japan's two legislative chambers.

The ostensible aim of reform is to end the sleazy money politics associated with the Recruit shares-for-favours scandal of 1988. As it happens, the commission's report coincides with disclosures of a new fi-

North Korea's latest riddle

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

IN THE art of waging a war of nerves, North Korea remains the master. Is it making a nuclear weapon? Or is it just pretending? No one has been reassured by its offer on June 13th to the International Atomic Energy Agency to negotiate an agreement that would allow the North's nuclear plants to be inspected. At first this offer seemed to be unconditional, but on June 19th the North said inspection would be allowed only if America's bases in South Korea were also inspected for nuclear weapons.

The Americans refuse to confirm or deny whether they have nuclear weapons in the South. But in an attempt to soothe the North they said they would not use nuclear arms against any state that signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which aims to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. The North signed the treaty in 1985.

What is known about the North's nuclear ambitions is that in 1980 work began on a 20-30MW research reactor at Yongbyon, 100km (62 miles) north of Pyongyang. The Americans suspect that there is also a nuclear-fuel reprocessing plant at Yongbyon, which could produce plutonium. One guess is that a bomb could be ready in less than two years from now. It is possible that a second, much larger, reactor is being built at Yongbyon. If true, it would enable the North to become an exporter of nuclear weapons.

It is all a bit iffy. Andrew Mack, of Australian National University, writes in the June issue of *Foreign Policy* that public information about the North's possible bomb remains "fragmentary, contested and often contradictory". That phrase sums up much of the North's foreign policy. On June 24th it surprised the United States by handing over the bodies of 11 Americans killed in the Korean war, and said it would help to look for 9,000 soldiers listed as missing. The bomb scare could be a dummy to strengthen the North's hand in talks with the South over future co-operation.

On the other hand, if the North did have the bomb, it would provide an alternative to conventional arms. At present 20-25% of the North's GNP is spent on defence; the South spends 5%. The bomb offers a cheap "strategic equaliser", says Mr Mack.

Iraq has shown that inspection agreements are no guarantee that a country will not develop the bomb. The only sure way to stop the North from doing so would be to dismantle whatever is at Yongbyon. But the nuclear plant, real or spurious, is much too useful to the North for that to happen.

Doi takes the blame

nancial scandal with political overtones. On June 24th the presidents of two top stockbroking firms, Nomura and Nikko, resigned after both companies had admitted to business dealings with organised crime and making good the losses of favoured clients, including a government pension fund. For more about that see page 65.

The push for reform is not harmed by the support of Japan's underestimated prime minister, Toshiki Kaifu. Mr Kaifu is regarded by Liberal Democratic power brokers as a nonentity. But he has remained in power for nearly two years, outlasting most expert predictions. Mr Kaifu has said that his soul will not rest unless electoral reform is passed during his term in office. This may not be pure claptrap. Mr Kaifu would benefit politically from reform. He is from the weakest, poorest and also cleanest party faction.

It is the faction system, and the politicians who have invested the most time and money in it, that will be threatened if reform takes place. Some people think that the proposed reforms, if they actually came to pass, could lead to the demise of factional politics altogether and even the division of the Liberal Democratic Party.

The commission suggests creating 300 new single-seat constituencies for the lower house. Another 171 members would be elected by proportional representation. Each voter would be able to cast two votes, one to pick a candidate for the local constituency and the other to select a party via proportional representation.

At present there are 130 constituencies which each elect three, four or five candidates. This has meant the real rivalry is between Liberal Democratic members competing for votes within the same constituency. Hence the development of factional politics rather than conflict between parties offering differing policies. The main purpose of each faction is to raise money for election campaigns.

Present constituency boundaries favour rural districts. Politicians compete to see who can bag the best building project for the most remote area. This entrenches the feudal aspect of Japanese politics, with people inheriting constituencies rather as grandee politicians in 18th-century England sat for rotten boroughs. One third of the Liberal Democratic members of the lower house are either the sons of politicians or married to the daughters of politicians. The commission wants the constituency boundaries to be redrawn.

With politicians' very futures at stake it may be thought improbable that the ruling party will pass the commission's proposals into law. However, as things stand, about a third of the ruling party's members of parliament are opposed, a third are in favour and the rest are waiting to jump to whichever side looks like winning. Those in favour tend to be from under-represented urban constituencies and do not share the attitude of free-spending colleagues representing rural areas.

Politicians are also aware that the public wants them to do something about reform, even though the Liberal Democrats seem entrenched in power, now that their main rival, the Social Democrats, formerly the Socialists, have lost so much support. Their leader, Takako Doi, offered her resignation on June 21st to take responsibility for the party's defeat in the April local elections.

Electoral reform is unlikely to be enacted in the session of the Diet due to begin in late July. In any event, the opposition parties, which at present control the upper house, favour multi-member constituencies and would no doubt oppose the reforms unless a deal was offered. Still, if an electoral-reform bill were left pending at the end of this session, it would give Mr Kaifu an excuse to run for a further term of office in the party elections in October.

Australia

Doing the splits

THE split in Australia's ruling Labor Party was advertised this week in a clear, and rather absurd, way. On June 24th, the first day of the party conference at Hobart, two men stood for party president, a job that carries a lot of symbolism as Labor celebrates its centenary, although it has little power. Stephen Loosley, a senator regarded as a right-winger, was opposed by Barry Jones, a former government minister with leftish views. Each man got 50 votes, but one additional ballot paper was incorrectly filled in, presumably by a delegate who had been celebrating too well.

Mr Loosley claimed that this vote was his, making him the winner. Mr Jones said the vote was invalid, and the party executive agreed with him. However, next day, before a second ballot was held, Mr Jones withdrew his candidature—"I love my party too much"—and Mr Loosley was made president amid cheers from the right and boos from the left. "A farce," said Mr Jones, and most Australians agreed. The outgoing president, John Bannon, had been given support from left and right. He gave warning that Labor would lose the next general election, due by March 1993, if it did not show unity.

The prime minister, Bob Hawke, has been the party's great unifier, leading Labor to victory four times in succession, but he may be losing his appeal. He was tested in the week before the party conference when the federal cabinet had to make a decision about a place called Coronation Hill, in a national park in the Northern Territory. Gold, platinum and palladium are said to exist there in substantial quantities. Mining groups are anxious to dig them out. But the hill is regarded as a sacred place by aborigines. Disturbing it, they say, could upset an ancestral being

A farce, said Jones

called Bule. Sickness and earthquakes would engulf perhaps all of Australia.

When the cabinet sat down to consider the matter on June 18th, most ministers were apparently in favour of allowing the mining to go ahead. No one in the Labor government wishes the aborigines anything but a g'day; Bule, however, does not have much sway in the party, and ministers did not want to upset the mining companies and perhaps deter possible foreign investors. The new treasurer (finance minister), John Kerin, spoke in favour of mining. This was, he said, "a totem issue" for Australian business. At least the mining companies should be allowed to continue to negotiate with the aborigines.

Mr Hawke, though, insisted that mining should be banned on the hill. The previous day, during a visit to a girls' school in Sydney, he said that a Christian society should not be contemptuous of the beliefs of the aborigines. Mr Hawke's attitude is said to be partly a reflection of the views of his son Stephen, a strong defender of the aborigines.

After six hours the cabinet gave in to Mr Hawke, albeit reluctantly. Had he lost the day, the prime minister would have been further weakened. Earlier in June he had just about fought off a strong challenge for the party leadership from the former treasurer, Paul Keating.

Mr Keating was not at the party conference. His friends said he was lying low. But one of his strongest supporters was prominent—the new president, Stephen Loosley.

Fiji

Not so sweet

THE pleasant myth that the South Seas are a haven of peace and goodwill is slowly being destroyed by events in Fiji, the most populous of the small island-states. In 1987 the elected government was overturned in a military coup, and an uneasy atmosphere has pervaded Fiji since. Now a national strike has been called for July 16th.

Fiji has two main groups of people: ethnic Fijians, who are mostly Melanesian or Polynesian, and Fijians of Indian origin. The Indians were brought in during the 19th century by the British to work the sugar plantations. In 1987 a partly Indian coalition won a general election. It was this government that the army deposed. The present, unelected, government is supported by the army in its policy of Fiji-for-the-Fijians, meaning Fijians of non-Indian origin. Many Indians in the professions have left Fiji. But most Indians do not have the money or qualifications to make a new life elsewhere. They have, however, discovered that they do have a strength. It lies in sugar, still, despite the growth of tourism, the backbone of Fiji's economy. The majority of Fiji's sugar farmers are of Indian origin.

The sugar farmers and the government are in dispute over what the farmers are paid. In normal times goodwill on both sides would have settled the matter. But as a result of misunderstanding and distrust many farmers are refusing to harvest the cane. In May the government, suspecting trouble ahead, issued decrees that imposed jail sentences of up to 14 years on anyone convicted of disrupting Fiji businesses, including the sugar business. The July strike is to protest against proposed new laws that the Fiji Trade Union Congress says would, among other things, harm unions and cut wages. Many unionists are Indian.

Contemplating this mess is Major-General Sitiveni Rabuka, who overthrew the government in 1987. On June 7th he hinted that he might do it again. He then apologised to the Fijian president, who is also his chief, by presenting him with a whale's tooth, a tribal symbol. That seemed to end the matter. However, on June 23rd the general said that he wants to remove chiefs from politics, leaving government to commoners, which must have made the chiefs running the country a touch uneasy.

No hope for the boat people?

WILL the Vietnamese boat people ever leave Hong Kong? They may instead join the long and melancholy list of problems that, at best, can only be managed rather than solved: Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, famine in Africa, and so on. By this week there were 61,000 boat people in Hongkong, and the camps were almost full. Of these, some 6,000 have so far been judged to be refugees, rather than economic migrants, and can expect to make a fresh start in other countries. What of the rest, and others still to arrive?

Some will return to Vietnam, homesick and weary of camp life. It is possible that the remainder will be sent back by force, kicking and screaming. But this is unlikely. Britain was pilloried when a sample load of 51 boat people was deported in December 1989, and does not want its good name muddied again. Vietnam, anyway, will not have them forcibly returned because the Americans, whom the Vietnamese are wooing, have told them not to. There are various schemes to dump the boat people in "holding camps", but in truth no one wants them. The probability is that many thousands will still be in Hong Kong camps when the colony is handed over to China in 1997.

Senior Hong Kong officials agree privately that this may be so. They are concerned that China will deal severely with the remaining boat people. The Chinese have told Hong Kong that it must empty the camps by 1997. This, though, may be just another ploy by China to worry Hong Kong and Britain. Many of the boat people reached Hong Kong through China, making only the final part of the journey by boat. The new masters of Hong Kong will have a range of minorities to deal with, including Indians, Japanese and Anglo-Saxons. It is unlikely that they will single out the boat people for their displeasure. Quite likely they will release them from the camps and tell them to find work.

Hong Kong's voters, intriguingly remarked that whoever was elected would have "a measure of influence over Hong Kong's future policy".

Some people say that Mr Lee, for his part, has already begun trimming his sails in preparation for dealing with China. In a place as practical as China, some accommodation can be expected from both sides. Still, it is hard to imagine the present-day Chinese government making much room for a man capable of saying, as Mr Lee did at a meeting this week, that he could not directly answer a question as to whether China would go the way of the Soviet Union because the matter was simply too sensitive. However, he went on, "the pope has said that communism is finished, and the pope is infallible."

Japan and North Korea

Far from normal

FROM OUR TOKYO CORRESPONDENT

ONE of Stalinism's last refuges, Kim Il Sung's impoverished regime in North Korea, is finally facing up to the inevitable. The momentous events in the Soviet Union have ended any hopes that its old comrades might bail out North Korea's economy. The North is instead reduced to pleading with China for enough food and heating oil to get it through the coming winter. And it is doing its best to be friendly to Japan.

Alas for the rulers in Pyongyang, their timing is all wrong. A year ago, the Chinese would have been more sympathetic to North Korea's distress; now they are busily courting the rich countries, especially Japan. A year ago, the Japanese would have agreed (reluctantly perhaps) to hand over billions of dollars to the North Koreans to compensate for Japan's 36 years of colonial rule. Today Japan is learning to say no.

It said no this week at the fourth round of talks aimed at normalising relations between North Korea and Japan, held this time in Beijing. The Japanese delegation made it clear there could not be normal relations between the two countries (and thus no billions of dollars and soft loans) until some nasty little matters are cleared up first. The North Koreans have been taken aback by the intransigence of the Japanese, who had appeared so acquiescent and apologetic when reminded of their colonial misdeeds by the Chinese. About the only thing the two sides agreed to after four days of wrangling that ended on September 2nd was to meet again, in November.

One of the nasty little matters has been the case of a Japanese bar girl who, Japan says, was kidnapped 13 years ago and taken to North Korea to train terrorists to impersonate Japanese tourists. According to the Japanese police, she helped to train a North Korean woman who was convicted of blowing up a South Korean airliner in 1987. The North denies having given an earlier promise to investigate the case. Japan is equally adamant in pressing for an investigation.

Then there is the North's reluctance to allow unconditional inspection of its nuclear sites—especially Yongbyong, where, it is believed, a nuclear weapon is being made. The North claims that the question of inspection has nothing to do with normalising relations. But the Japanese do not want any more nuclear-armed neighbours. At a more mundane level, the North brushed aside a request for Japanese wives of North Koreans to be allowed to visit relatives in Japan. One way and another, the Beijing meeting was most unpleasant.

At a meeting in Pyongyang last year with a group of Japanese led by Shin Kanemaru, an influential politician, the North got the impression that Japan would be a pushover. The North came away from that meeting believing that Japan would pay "damages" for the 46 years of "hostility" since the second world war, as well as compensation for Japan's colonial rule.

So far the North has got nothing. The professional diplomats handling the negotiations have told the North the best it can expect is what South Korea received when it normalised its relations with Japan. A figure of $5 billion in cash has been mentioned, along with an unspecified amount of aid and development loans. Before any of this is forthcoming, a lot of negotiation lies ahead. But even in Pyongyang, the word is getting round that Stalin is dead.

Sri Lanka

Himself surprised

FROM OUR SRI LANKA CORRESPONDENT

IN COLOMBO, a capital with the soul of a small town, a political secret rarely remains hidden for long. But President Ranasinghe Premadasa appears to have had no advance warning of the revolt against him. When a motion calling for his impeachment was handed to the speaker of Parliament on August 28th, Mr Premadasa was apparently as surprised as anyone. Either the organisers were amazingly successful in preventing leaks from normally garrulous members of Parliament or Mr Premadasa was totally out of touch.

The petition accuses the president of gross abuse of power. It is said to contain 120 signatures, many of them from his own United National Party. Parliament has 225 members. An impeachment motion, if it is to be debated, needs the signatures of at least half the members and the speaker's

Athulathmudali points a finger

consent. Mr Premadasa's reaction was to suspend Parliament until September 24th, to give him time to persuade some of the rebels to change their minds. On September 3rd it was claimed that 116 of the 125 United National Party parliamentarians had signed a resolution rejecting the impeachment motion. Puzzlingly, some names appeared on both the impeachment motion and on the motion rejecting it. The speaker said he would look into the matter.

The rebels may be less interested in bagging Mr Premadasa himself than in ending the executive presidency and restoring parliamentary power. They want a national referendum on this issue. The presidential system has eroded democracy in Sri Lanka, they say. Mr Premadasa runs a centralised form of government. Civil servants who report directly to him often have greater influence than ministers. His critics accuse Mr Premadasa of treating his cabinet as no more than a rubber stamp for directives.

Two leaders of the rebel faction, Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake, are members of Mr Premadasa's party and former ministers. Both are ambitious and have been sidelined by the president. Their challenge comes just as Mr Premadasa was thought to be more securely in power than at any time in the two and a half years of his presidency. The economy is picking up, and the army had just handed him what it regarded as an important victory against the secessionist Tamil Tiger rebels, at Elephant Pass, in the north of the country.

The Tigers are delighted by the trouble in Colombo. Their commander, Vellupillai Prabhakaran, says from Jaffna that he is watching events in Colombo with great interest. As he should. Mr Premadasa's challenger, Mr Athulathmudali, was formerly in charge of national security and is a hardline enemy of the Tigers. Mr Premadasa has always expressed a willingness to negotiate and compromise with the Tigers. If he were to fall from power any prospect of peace talks might well recede.

ARRIVAL STATEMENT
OF
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
KIMPO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
SEOUL, KOREA
SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 1982

I'M VERY GLAD THAT BARBARA'S AND MY FIRST VISIT TO THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA COINCIDES WITH THE CELEBRATION OF THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF OUR HISTORIC FIRST TREATY. WHAT IS PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT TO ME IS THAT THE 1882 TREATY OF PEACE, AMITY, COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION WAS ONLY THE FIRST OF A LONG SUCCESSION OF TREATIES AND INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS WHICH HAVE BOUND OUR TWO NATIONS AND OUR TWO PEOPLES TOGETHER OVER THE YEARS. IN A VERY REAL SENSE, WE ARE CELEBRATING A RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS PROVED STRONG, CLOSE AND VITAL AND WHICH HAS BROUGHT SO MANY BENEFITS TO OUR PEOPLE.

THESE TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS ARE THE FORMAL RECORD OF A FRIENDSHIP THAT HAS ENDURED THROUGH ADVERSITY AND TRIUMPH. THE KOREAN-AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP IS ONE THAT HAS WITHSTOOD THE TEST OF TIME. THIS IS IN NO SMALL PART DUE TO THE COURAGE, TENACITY AND RESILIENCE OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES. THEIR HARD WORK AND DETERMINATION ARE LEGENDARY AND ARE TRAITS WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ADMIRE AND SHARE.

OUR PEOPLE SHARE THE SAME GOALS. WE WANT CONTINUED PEACE AND A PROSPEROUS FUTURE, NOT ONLY FOR THE KOREAN PENINSULA BUT THE PACIFIC REGION AS WELL. OUR PEOPLE ARE COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY, TO REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

BARBARA, MY COLLEAGUES AND I HAVE COME TO CELEBRATE A CENTENNIAL, AND TO HONOR A RELATIONSHIP THAT HAS EVOLVED WELL BEYOND THE SCOPE OF THE DOCUMENT THAT FRAMED THE BEGINNINGS OF OUR FRIENDSHIP.

SO WE HAVE COME TO PAY RESPECT TO OUR BEGINNINGS BUT ALSO TO PLEDGE OURSELVES TO OUR FUTURE. PRESIDENT REAGAN ASKED ME TO CONVEY TO YOU HIS BEST WISHES. I AM PROUD TO BE A PART OF THIS CELEBRATION OF OUR PAST, AND ESPECIALLY PROUD TO BE HERE AS WE INAUGURATE OUR SECOND HUNDRED YEARS.

# # # # # #

TOAST OF VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
SHILLA HOTEL
SEOUL, KOREA

SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 1982

Mr. P.M.

I HAD HEARD A GREAT DEAL ABOUT KOREAN HOSPITALITY BEFORE I ARRIVED HERE TODAY. BETWEEN THE AIRPORT AND THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, I WAS GREETED BY THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE. NOW I KNOW WHY THIS COUNTRY HAS SUCH A REPUTATION FOR GENEROSITY AND GRACIOUSNESS. YOU'VE MADE ~~ME AND~~ BARBARA AND ME FEEL WONDERFULLY WELCOME HERE.

I'M PROUD AND

I'M PROUD AND HONORED TO BE ANOTHER IN A LONG LINE OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE COME TO KOREA. AND I'M ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO BE HERE MARKING ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. PRESIDENT REAGAN ASKED ME BEFORE I CAME TO CONVEY HIS BEST WARM WISHES TO YOU ALL. HE ALSO ASKED ME TO ASSURE ALL OUR KOREAN FRIENDS THAT THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO REMAIN A CONSTANT AND RELIABLE ALLY.

THE TREATY OF

THE TREATY OF PEACE, AMITY, COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION SIGNED IN ~~1982~~ 1882 WAS A LANDMARK IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY AND A MAJOR EVENT IN KOREAN HISTORY. IT ENDED THE CENTURIES OF SECLUSION THAT KOREA HAD MAINTAINED UP TO THEN. IT WAS KOREA'S FIRST TREATY WITH A WESTERN POWER. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, THE UNITED STATE'S INITIAL INTEREST IN A TREATY WITH KOREA STEMMED FROM A DESIRE TO PROVIDE FOR SHIPWRECKED AMERICAN SAILORS, AND TO EXTEND AMERICA'S COMMERCE. WE'VE COME A LONG WAY FROM THE DAYS OF SHIPWRECKED SAILORS.

BOTH OUR COUNTRIES

BOTH OUR COUNTRIES HAVE CHANGED GREATLY SINCE 1882. YOURS HAS EXPERIENCED ONE OF THE GREATEST POST-WAR BOOMS OF THIS CENTURY. POLITICAL SCIENTISTS NOW STUDY THIS COUNTRY AS A MODEL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. YOUR SUCCESS STORY IS KNOWN ALL OVER THE WORLD. WHAT I WANT TO TALK ABOUT TONIGHT ARE THE TIES THAT BIND US.

WE'VE BEEN THROUGH

WE'VE BEEN THROUGH TWO MAJOR CONFLICTS TOGETHER, CONFLICTS THAT TESTED OUR RESOLVE AND OUR WILL. WE'VE SHARED MANY HARDSHIPS. HAVING SHARED THEM GIVES US BOTH CONFIDENCE THAT WE CAN FACE WHATEVER CHALLENGES THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR US. OUR RELATIONS ARE HARMONIOUS, BUT WE LIVE IN DISHARMONIOUS TIMES. WE ARE REMINDED OF IT EVERY DAY. TODAY I VISITED HILL 229 ON THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE, AND LOOKED ACROSS TOWARD THE COMMUNIST NORTH. I SAW THROUGH BINOCULARS KIM IL SUNG'S LOUDSPEAKERS. I WAS GRATEFUL THAT THEY WERE QUIET, PLEASINGLY QUIET, AT THE TIME.

KOREANS AND AMERICANS

KOREANS AND AMERICANS HAVE A COMMON STAKE IN THE FUTURE, AND WE'LL WORK TOGETHER, AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST, SO THAT THOSE WHO FOLLOW US WILL INHERIT A BETTER FUTURE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESERVE OUR FREEDOM, A FREEDOM BOUGHT BY THOSE, AMONG OTHERS, WHO FOUGHT NOT SUCH A LONG TIME AGO ON HILL 229. WE WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR THE DEMOCRACY THAT WILL ENSURE THAT OUR FREEDOMS WILL NOT PERISH; THE DEMOCRACY THAT WILL ENSURE THAT THOSE WHO DIED WILL NOT HAVE DIED IN VAIN.

AND SO LET

AND SO LET ME ASK ALL OF YOU TO JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO THE ENDURING TRADITIONS OF YOUR COUNTRY AND MINE, AND TO CONTINUED PEACE AND PROSPERITY; TO A SECOND HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE AND AMITY; AND TO THE WARM AND GRACIOUS HOSPITALITY AND GOOD HEALTH OF ~~PRESIDENT AND MRS. CHUN~~. P.M. Yoo and Mrs. Yoo - and to the health of President Chun and to the Korean Re[illegible]

Toast of Vice President George Bush
at the Luncheon by
President Chun Doo-Hwan

Mr. President, Madam President, Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Yoo, Mr. Foreign Minister and Mrs. Lho, Ambassador and Mrs. Loo, and other distinguished friends.

I'm privileged and happy to be here with you today. Barbara and I want to thank you for this enormously hospitable occasion you've provided for us. As you know, I'm here on behalf of President Reagan and all Americans. And I want to extend to you once again his and their greetings on this centennial year of our relations.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD HAVE WATCHED THE POST-WAR SOUTH KOREAN ECONOMIC MIRACLE. WE'RE OF COURSE PROUD THAT WE'VE BEEN, IN MANY RESPECTS, YOUR PARTNER IN THIS EXCITING TIME. WE'VE WATCHED YOU TACKLE SOME OF THE SAME PROBLEMS THAT AFFECT US, SUCH AS INFLATION. IT'S ADMIRABLE THAT IN 1981, WHEN MOST OF THE WORLD WAS REGISTERING NEGATIVE ECONOMIC GROWTH, YOU HAD A MORE THAN SEVEN PERCENT GROWTH IN YOUR NATIONAL ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE.

IN MY SHORT TIME HERE, MR. PRESIDENT, I'VE SEEN AN ATMOSPHERE OF GREAT ENERGY AND VITALITY. IT WAS APPARENT FROM THE MOMENT I SET FOOT ON KOREAN SOIL.

((POSSIBLE AD LIB: FLYING OVER OLYMPIC SITE... LOOKING FORWARD TO 1988 OLYMPICS))

WE'RE AWARE, MR. PRESIDENT, OF YOUR IMAGINATIVE INITIATIVE TOWARD THE NORTH. WE HOPE THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL COME TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. WE ALSO APPRECIATE THAT YOUR OTHER DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES, INCLUDING YOUR TRIPS TO THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, ARE A WAY OF REACHING OUT TO THE WORLD, FURTHER REVERSING KOREA'S IMAGE OF OLD AS "THE HERMIT NATION."

KOREA IS ONE OF AMERICA'S VITAL ALLIES. I SAW THAT YESTERDAY ALL ALONG THE DMZ WHERE I SAW ROK AND US TROOPS WORKING TOGETHER IN THE CLOSEST SPIRIT OF COOPERATION. THEIR UNSTINTING EFFORTS TO KEEP THE PEACE THAT HAS PREVAILED FOR MORE THAN 28 YRS ON THIS PENINSULA PROVIDE THE FOUNDATION FOR OUR CONTINUED PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE.

I'M GLAD I HAD THE CHANCE TO SEE THOSE SOLDIERS YESTERDAY. I'LL BRING BACK TO THE STATES WITH ME THE MEMORY OF THEIR VIGILANCE AND LONELY LABORS, JUST AS I'LL BRING BACK MANY MEMORIES OF THE FREINDSHIP AND WARMTH AND GRACIOUSNESS THAT I'VE BEEN TENDERED BY YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND THE KOREAN PEOPLE.

TOAST TO: THE CONTINUED FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND KOREA, AND TO THE CONTINUED GOOD HEALTH OF PRESIDENT CHUN...

DRAFT REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

KOREA, APRIL 26

Speaker Chung, Vice Speakers Choe and Kim, distinguished members of the National Assembly.

Let me begin by thanking you for your ~~most~~ gracious invitation to address this august body.

We celebrate this year ~~one hundred years~~ century of friendship ((or: relations?)) between the government and peoples of the United States and Korea. One hundred years. That is not such a long time, perhaps, in the ~~context~~ march of human history; but a hundred years is one half of the United States' ~~existence~~ life as a nation. That we have been friends ((?)) so long, in a world that, in those hundred years has seen enough conflict and hatred to last a millenium, is cause for great joy. ~~Let's consider those hundred years the bedrock for another hundred years of friendship.~~

INSERT A, PAGE 2/2/2

Long ago, Simon Bolivar, one of the great liberators of the Western hemisphere, said that "...the majority of men hold as a truth the humiliating principles that it is harder to maintain the balance of liberty than to endure the weight of tyranny." This is ever true of our own times.

I ~~bring~~ carry with me the greetings and the friendship of the people of the United States and of President Reagan. What I have to say ~~here today is ((--I hope--))~~ here today I say on their behalf. I am glad to be able to give my message to you, ~~who~~ representing, as you do, the Korean people. ~~and~~ I am honored that you called this body into special session in order to hear it. We are public servants, you and I; and today, especially, the people's messengers.

Legislative bodies such as this ((does it have a proper name?)) are where the people's business of democracy is conducted. I myself am well enough acquainted with legislatures ((right word?)) to know that they are not always tranquil. Indeed, sometimes they are quite noisy. (INSERT A) Our own Congress is sometimes full of noise. But who would have it any other way?

In the North, there is no ((proper name for leg. body)). There is instead a great silence: the silence of despotism and one-man rule. This silence is broken only ~~only~~ by the occasional fusillade of gunfire, as it was last week when four who sought freedom were gunned down by their own countrymen (as they made their way to freer soil). May I suggest a moment of silence in their ~~honor~~ memory? ((Pause for ten seconds.))

what to say? This -CB

The occasion of one hundred ~~good~~ years of ~~friendship~~ relations is a fitting time to emphasize the continuity of our friendship. We will remain a faithful ally. We will remain a reliable ally. We are partners in the Free World ((or what's left of it)). That especially makes our bond a sacred one. If America once lectured ~~his~~ her friends and apologized to her adversaries, that day is over.

INSERT A, page 3/3/3

There are right now 92,000 Kampuchean refugees in United Nations refugee camps in Thailand; and 200,000 refugees who move back and forth across the border.

During the height of the Vietnam War, a message was passed to President Nixon. It was from Henry Kissinger, then a professor at Harvard. The message said, "The word is going to go out that it may be dangerous to be America's friend, but it is fatal to be her friend." As long as Ronald Reagan sits in the Oval Office of the White House, no one will be able to say this about the United Stat

That war, the second war this century in which Koreans fought alongside Americans, came to a tragic end. ~~The legacy of~~ Ho Chi Minh is legacy has been re-education camps, the boat people, and Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea. (INSERT A) In its sustained aggression against the ~~long-suffering~~ Kampuchean people, Vietnam is ~~undertaking a~~ acting as proxy ~~role~~ on behalf of a superpower. Let me take this occasion to invite that superpower to instruct its proxy to withdraw from Kampuchean borders. ~~On the other hand, if I were to invite that superpower to withdraw its agents (of its imperial designs from every country they are in, list is you and I would be here all day ((morning?/afternoon?/evening?)).~~

I mention these tensions because they affect us, just as they affect the prospects for peace ~~everywhere~~ in the world. ~~((Perhaps a reference here to the Falklands, if warranted.))~~ In the face of ~~them,~~ these tensions, let us ~~celebrate, and~~ re-dedicate ourselves to the many ties that bind us.

INSERT A, page 4/4/4

Between 1970 and 1980, the volume of trade between our two countries has increased by seventeen times: from $531 million to $10 billion.

The U.S. is, of course, a vital market for Korean goods; and vice versa. President Reagan has made it clear that he will do all he can to keep the U.S. market open. There few other advocates of free trade as ardent as the President. His job in persuading those who regulate the market to keep it open will be made easier if our trading partners are prepared to make the same pledge. Korea is our ninth largest trading partner, and we expect it will become even more important in the years ahead. Because, among other things, your economy is expanding so rapidly.

The United States is proud to have as its friend and ally a country such as Korea, where economic miracles occur. Twenty years ago this was a poor country, where people starved in the spring before the new crops came in. It is now Asia's second major success story. Now political scientists study South Korea as a model for economic development. Kim Kyung Won (secretary general to President Chun) has explained part of the Korean success this way: "It is," he said, "the culture of discipline and postponing immediate satisfaction for the future--even for posterity." ((Fortune Mag, 8/10/81; p. 179))

According to an International Labor Organization study, South Koreans work longer hours than any other people on earth. This industriousness has given you one of the most dynamic economies ~~on the face of the earth~~ of the 20th century. INSERT A Your growth rate last year was fourteen percent. By sharp contrast, the North has one-fourth the output of the South. One half of the North's work force is required to feed its people; in the South, little more than one-third are needed fulfill that task.

Against this background of extraordinary economic achievement, the prospects for pluralism are strong. President Chun, the first head of state President Reagan ((~~officially-state visit~~)) received at the White House, spoke of a new era in the Republic of Korea, an era of "renewal of the spirit of national harmony, replacing the old chronic and internecine battles between those who take rigid and extreme positions." ((lunch toast, 2/2/81)) He spoke of an era of "dialog"

and consensus-building." He spoke of a "freer, more abundant, and democratic society in our midst."

We support this philosophy with all our hearts. And we look to President Chun and to this assembly ((right word?)) to build on such a commitment, the foundation stones of which have already been laid.

Since you have been so gracious in inviting me to speak here, I should like to repay you with a short speech. ((Possible insert on Jaruzelski/Castro/Kim Il Sung-length speeches, if you'd like.)) In the length of time we have left, let me offer a few thoughts on matters that affect us all.

The United States seeks no domination (and no monopoly) is this part of the world. It does, however, seek to stand by its friends. And it will. Have no doubts concerning that. The message recently delivered by Secretary of Defense Weinberger should dispel any uncertainty as to the commitment of peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. ((He pledged $2 billion in case of attack by N. Korea.)) The United States is a Pacific power. The ASEAN countries wish it to remain so; and so it shall. We are here to stay.

The very close cooperation between the United States and the ASEAN countries is a matter of record. The United States will try ~~continue to seek other partners and to~~ to build on new relationships, such as the one we have with the People's Republic of China, but not at the expense of our ~~more~~ other long-standing friendships. Long after we here are all gone, ASEAN will be celebrating its 100th anniversary; if, that is, we are followed by prudent ~~statesmen.~~ leaders.

There is an ancient Chinese curse that says, "May you live in interesting times." We live today in interesting times--though I think that is more of a challenge than a curse. The most important task facing us, as partners in the Free World, is preserving the peace.

A great American poet once wrote that, "Most of the change we think we see in life is due to truths being in and out of favor." The policy of deterrence has served us well in the past; why should it not continue to serve us well in the future? I sympathize with those in intellectual quarters who devote themselves to the search for new solutions. But that does not mean the old solutions are no longer ~~useful.~~ valuable. The essence of deterrence is that where there is balance, there is safety. This policy has kept the peace in Korea since 1954. The world has seen

a great many wars in our time. ~~in the last twenty eight years.~~ Since NATO was founded in 1948, for instance, about 150 wars have broken out, ~~none of them on this peninsula~~. In this troubled century, 28 yrs of peace on this peninsula ~~that~~ amounts to a proud legacy.

Deterrence has also prevented direct conflict between the superpowers. There has been a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding recently about the aims of the President Reagan vis a vis the Soviet Union. No one is more interested in maintaining peace between the United States and the Soviet Union--between the United States and all countries, for that matter--than President Reagan. The fact that some have assumed President Brezhnev is more interested in peace than President Reagan may be the supreme irony of our time. It is fine to talk about peace, but if your troops are warring against ~~killing~~ Afghan men, women and children with chemicals outlawed by all decent societies, the words are empty. It would be prudent for those who take the Soviet Union at its word in such matters to watch what they do, not what they say. ~~Fair enough? ((too colloquial~~

President Reagan is willing to explore all reasonable--and verifiable--approaches in the matter of reducing the world's arsenal of nuclear weapons. His zero-option proposal of last November was the single most sincere and dramatic overture to the Soviet Union in a long while. Unfortunately, fields of SS-20 missiles continue to sprout like asparagus ((get from USEmbassy name of fast-growing Korean veg)), even as those who tend those fields talk of ~~freezing the deployment of such~~ ending such deadly ~~harvests.~~ crops.

8/8/8

It is no secret that during the 1970's the United States greatly reduced the number of its nuclear weapons in Western Europe. ~~In fact~~ our stockpile there is at its lowest level in 20 years. Over the last ten years, the U.S. engaged in a de facto freeze. The record is clear. But since 1975, the Soviet Union has deployed 250 multiple warhead SS-20's. On top of that they've begun modernization of their tactical nuclear forces with an entire new generation of shorter range missles. It is precisely for that reason that European leaders don't want a freeze--and have told us ~~exactly that~~.

I mention this here because it is so ~~crucial~~ that all our friends, indeed, even our adversaries understand the lengths to which President Reagan has gone to persuade the Soviet Union to put a stop to this madness. There will be no anti-nuclear demonstrations in Red Square, or in Pyongyang ((can get name of famous square there?)), I guarantee you that. Nor will ~~these~~ words reach the people of those countries. Certainly they will not reach the 105,000 political prisoners that Mr. Sung ((Kim?)) has found necessary to jail.

Until such a time as the Soviet Union decides to reduce international tension, to cease encouraging and abetting aggression in Southeast Asia, in Southwest Asia, and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ elsewhere the United States has ~~no~~ choice but to be strong.

INSERT A, page 9/9/9

Too many men and women, Korean and American, have already died protecting this land from his troops. And we saw all too recently what communist reunification brings to the reunified.

9/9/9

Twenty-two years ago in the United Nations, ((Ambassador?)) Henry Cabot Lodge said to the Soviet delegate in the Security Council, "Do not touch us, (and) do not touch those whith whom we are tied; do not seek to extend Communist imperialism. This is very simple and ought to be easily understood by everybody." ((7/20/60)) That concept is just as simple today; if as readily misunderstood.

At the same time that the United States will maintain its strength, and that of its friends, we are anxious to explore ways ~~((other ways?))~~ to reduce existing tensions. Mr. Sung ((Kim?)), to judge from his rather lengthy speeches -- lengthier, even, than mine -- is adamant on the subject of withdrawal of United States peace-keeping forces. I ~~would~~ should like to take this opportunity to ~~admonish~~ advise him to redirect his rhetorical energies elsewhere. (INSERT A) ~~Because~~ The United States is not simply going to step aside so he can set the clock back thirty-two years and launch another invasion--an invasion which as sure as I stand here would result in the horrors of war, camps ((re-education/concentration?)), and a new generation of boat people.

The Republic of South Korea has demonstrated over the years that it is willing to address the question of reunification. The United States will continue to encourage meaningful dialogue on the matter. It is our earnest hope that Mr. Sung ((Kim?)) will eventually see the logic of negotiations. But we, as you, are prepared to wait, and to prosper, in the meantime, as we begin our second hundred years of friendship.

DEPARTURE STATEMENT
OF
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
KIMPO AIRPORT
SEOUL, KOREA
TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1982

I'M SORRY TO BE LEAVING KOREA. MY VISIT HERE WAS A SHORT ONE, BUT A FULL ONE. I WOULD HAVE LOVED TO STAY LONGER TO SEE MORE OF YOUR BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY.

AS I MENTIONED YESTERDAY,

AS I MENTIONED YESTERDAY, I'VE COME HERE NOT SO MUCH TO CELEBRATE THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF KOREA AND THE UNITED STATES--BUT THE START OF THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS. OUR RELATIONSHIP IS MARKED BY A CONTINUITY OF SYMBOLS. COMMODORE SHUFELDT ARRIVED AT THE PORT OF INCHON IN 1882. IT WAS AT THAT SAME PORT THAT KOREAN, AMERICAN AND UNITED NATIONS FORCES ARRIVED AT HIGH TIDE SOME THIRTY YEARS AGO. OUR FRIENDSHIP HAS BEEN TESTED AND HAS ENDURED.

WE'VE BEEN TREATED WITH

WE'VE BEEN TREATED WITH EXTRAORDINARY GRACIOUSNESS AND COURTESY. I'LL REMEMBER IT ALWAYS. I'VE HAD THE PLEASURE OF MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CHUN, PRIME MINISTER YOO AND OTHER OFFICIALS. WE HAVE HAD EXCELLENT TALKS. I'VE BEEN HEARTENED BY THE SPIRIT OF COMMON PURPOSE AND COOPERATION WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN THE LEADERS AND PEOPLES OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES

THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO TAKE PRIDE IN BEING AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE FORCES ALONG THE DMZ, WHICH HAVE BEEN THE KEY ELEMENT IN PRESERVING PEACE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. I WAS EXTREMELEY GLAD TO HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO VISIT CAMPS RED CLOUD AND LIBERTY BELL, WARRIOR BASE AND HILL 229. FROM THE TOP OF THAT HILL I STARED ACROSS INTO NORTH KOREA. THE DAY MAY COME WHEN KOREA IS NO LONGER DIVIDED, WHEN KIM IL SUNG ACCEPTS THE SOUTH'S INITIATIVE TOWARD A JUST REUNIFICATION. BUT AS I SAID YESTERDAY AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, KOREA AND THE UNITED STATES ARE PREPARED TO WAIT PATIENTLY FOR THAT DAY, AND PROSPER IN THE MEANTIME.

GOODBYES SHOULD NOT GO

GOODBYES SHOULD NOT GO ON FOREVER, SO WITH NO FURTHER ADO, LET ME SAY, AS THEY DO HERE, ON-YOUNG-EE-KAY-SAY-O.

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