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December 31, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISTINA MARTIN

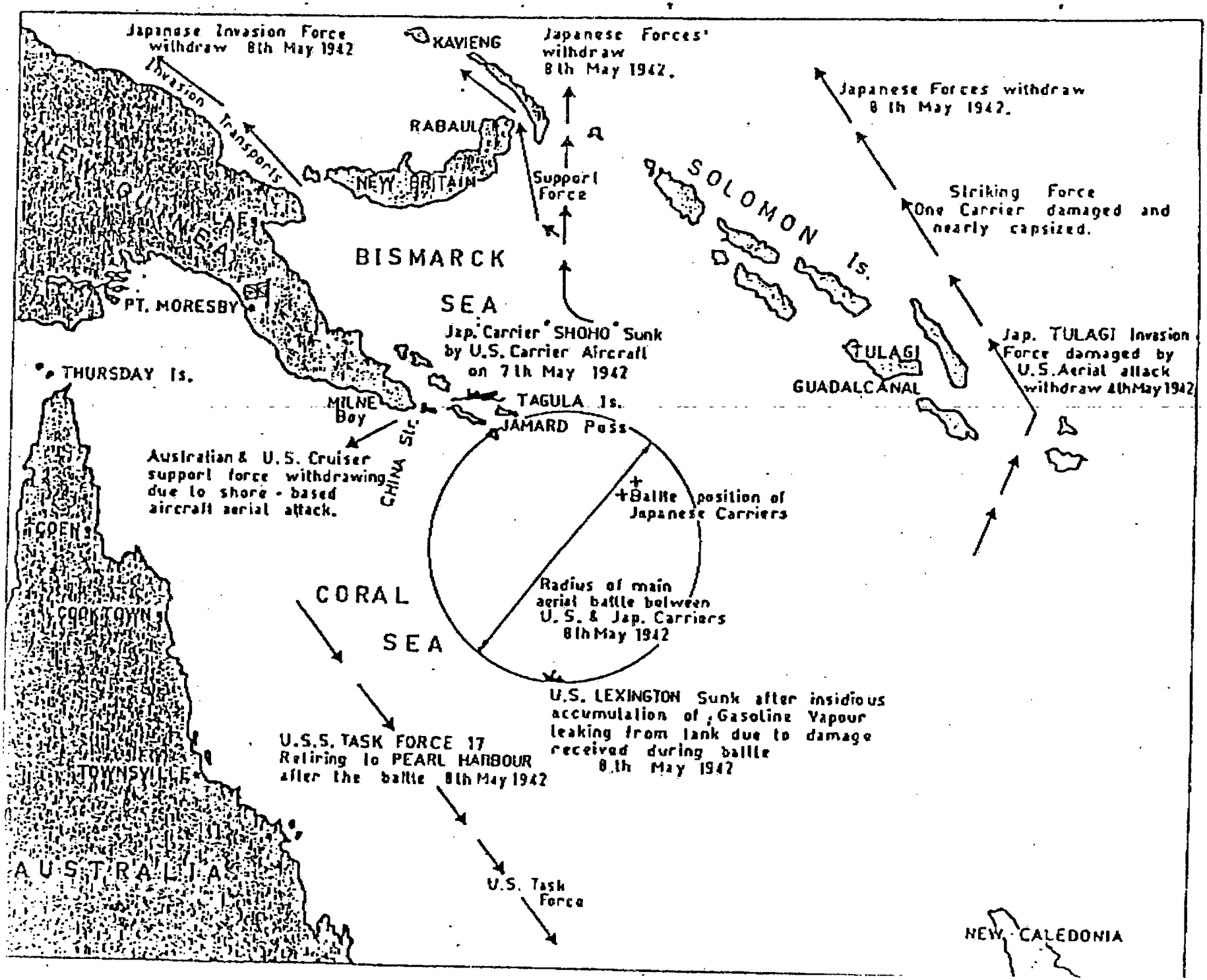
FROM: CAROL AARHUS
MICHELE NIX

SUBJECT: INFO YOU REQUESTED

Enclosed is written documentation regarding the calls you made to us early this morning. The United States **did** participate in the Battle of Coral Sea -- see attached excerpt from USIS fact sheet. The battle started May 4 and ended May 8 -- 1942. Every May a high-level delegation attends the commemoration ceremony. This year's 50th anniversary ceremony expects to draw many U.S. Coral Sea veterans. The USS Lexington was lost and still sits at the bottom of the Coral Sea floor.

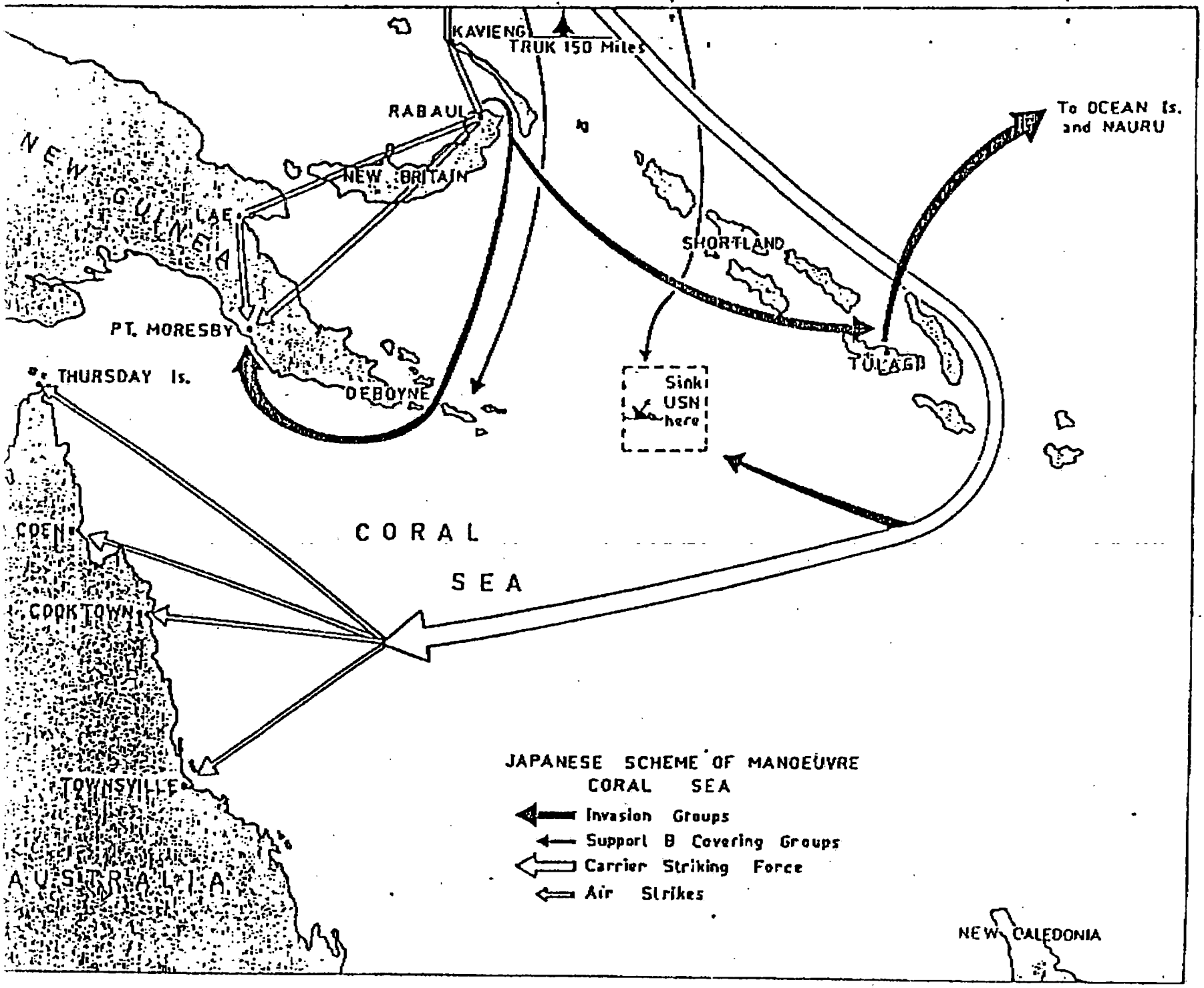
Regarding the question about Coral Sea and Midway: Australia was MacArthur's headquarters for the battle of Midway(June 1942). Logistical and strategic decisions were made there in conjunction with the Australian naval forces. If what you were asking me to verify is the sentence on the bottom of page one to the top of page two in the Maritime speech, the language is correct. This is documented by the enclosed excerpt from <u>High Command</u>, as well as verbal confirmation from both the Australian Embassy and the State Department. It is important to note that Australian ships did not go into battle in Midway. If you are more comfortable having the President say "battles of World War II", instead of specifying Coral Sea and Midway, that is fine.

# THE END OF THE BATTLE -- May 8, 1942.




Attachment 2

SENT BY: U.S. INFO. SERVICE ; 11-12-91 ; 7:30AM ; CANBERRA AUSTRALIA ; 0011202453324;#3




SENT BY:U. S. INFO. SERVICE ;11-12-91 ; 7:51AM ; CANBERRA AUSTRALIA→ 0011120245662 18;#16

Attachment 1

# THE BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA

May 4-8 1942

## THE COMBATANTS

Task Group 17 Commanded by Rear Admiral Frank J. Fletcher

TG 17.2 Attack Group

Rear Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid
- CA 'Minneapolis,' Capt. Frank J. Lowry
- CA 'New Orleans,' Capt. Howard H. Good

Rear Admiral William W. Smith
- CA 'Astoria,' Capt. Francis W. Scanland
- CA 'Chester,' Capt. Thomas M. Shock
- CA 'Portland,' Capt. Benjamin Perlman

Capt. Alexander R. Early
- DD 'Phelps,' Lt. Cmdr. Edward L. Beck
- DD 'Dewey,' Lt. Cmdr. Charles F. Chillingworth, Jr.
- DD 'Farragut,' Cmdr. George P. Hunter
- DD 'Monaghan,' Lt. Cmdr, William P. Burford
- DD 'Alywin,' Lt. Cmdr. Robert W. Rogers

TG 17.3 Support Group

Rear Admiral J. G. Crace, RN
- CA 'Australia,' Capt. H. B. Farncomb, RAN
- CA 'Chicago,' Capt. Howard D. Bode
- CL 'Hobart,' Capt. H. L. Howden, RAN

Cmdr. Francis X. McInerney
- DD 'Perkins,' Lt. Cmdr. Walter C. Ford
- DD 'Walker,' Lt. Cmdr. Thomas E. Fraser

TG 17.5 Air Group

Rear Admiral Aubrey W. Fitch
- CV 'Yorktown,' Capt. Elliott Buckmaster
- CV 'Lexington,' Capt. Frederick G. Sherman

Capt. Gilbert C. Hoover
- DD 'Morris,' Cmdr. Harry B. Jarrett
- DD 'Anderson,' Lt. Cmdr. John K. B. Giner
- DD 'Hammann,' Cmdr. Arnold E. True
- DD 'Russell,' Lt. Cmdr. Glenn R. Hartung

(continued)

Fueling Group

Oiler 'Neosho,' Cmdr. John S. Phillips
DD 'Sims,' Lt. Cmdr. Willford M. Hyman
Oiler 'Tippecanoe ) Returned to Efate May 4 after
DD 'Worden' ) completing refueling at sea.

Search Group (based at Noumea, New Caledonia)
Seaplane Tender 'Tangier' with 12 patrol planes,
Cmdr. G. H. DeBaun

TOTAL Allied Forces: 26 ships

Japanese Task Force commanded by Admiral Inouye

Port Moresby Invasion Group
11 Troop Transports
Screened by a Destroyer Squadron

Tulagi Invasion Group
Troop Transports
Destroyers and Gunboats

Support Group
1 Seaplane Carrier
5 other ships

Covering Group
1 Light Carrier 'Shoho'
4 Heavy Cruisers
1 Destroyer

Striking Force
2 Heavy Carriers, 'Shokaku' and Zuikaku'
6 Destroyers

TOTAL Japanese Forces: 62 ships

# HE BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA )

May 4-8, 1942

## PROLOGUE

The Battle of the Coral Sea was the first purely air action in the history of major naval engagements in which the issue was decided without surface ships exchanging a shot. More importantly, it was the first serious check to the amazingly rapid series of Japanese successes in the Pacific following the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor and the simultaneous attack on U.S. military facilities in the Philippines.

The battle was also crucial to Australia's continued existence as a free, democratic sovereign nation.

The battle was fought at a time when Australia boasted a total population of just over 7 million people. That total included those young men and women of the three Armed Services who were then engaged in combat on land and sea, and in the air in almost all other theatres of war.

Today our population is fast approaching 15 million people, almost 9 million of whom had not yet been born when the battle was fought.

To realise fully the significance of the battle to Australia and its people, it is necessary for the events of 4-8 May 1942 to be viewed in perspective with the events which unfolded in Southeast Asia and the Pacific in the intervening 150 days from 7 December 1941.

On that day, 86 vessels of the U.S. Pacific Fleet came under heavy aerial attack at Pearl Harbor. The Fleet suffered severe losses. In the next 18 days the fury of battle advanced quickly towards Australia's shores. In that short period Hong Kong fell. Siam, Malaya and the Philippines were invaded. The British battleships 'Prince of Wales' and 'Repulse' were sunk off the Malayan coast. The war and all its horrors had arrived in the islands to the north and northwest of Australia, and by Christmas it was being fought less than 1000 miles to the northwest of Darwin.

During January 1942 the fury of the battles in Southeast Asia and the Pacific raged unabated. By the end of that month the Malayan Peninsula had fallen. The British Forces, including the Australian Eighth Division, were under siege on the island of Singapore. In the Philippines the U.S. Forces were contained in the Bataan Peninsula. The Netherlands East Indies, which we now know as Indonesia, had been invaded and, by the end of the month, enemy forces had landed on Ambonia Island less than 500 miles to the north of Darwin, and in Lae, New Guinea, some 600 miles northeast of Cairns.

February 1942 saw the fall of Singapore and the loss to Australia of the Eighth Division. The Dutch Forces in Sumatra and the Celebes came under increasing pressure and the island of Bali was captured. More landings occurred in New Guinea and the island of New Britain. Port Moresby came under air attack at the beginning of February and on the 19th of the month the war came to the Australian mainland. Darwin suffered the first of its bombing raids.

During March enemy forces built up at Lae and Salamua in New Guinea and Rabaul in New Britain. Java, northwest of Australia, had fallen. On March 14th military forces in Australia were reinforced by troops from the United States, and on the 17th of the month General Douglas MacArthur arrived and took up his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, Southwestern Pacific Area.

On 6 April, enemy forces landed at Bougainville in the Solomon islands and three days later Bataan, in the Philippines, was overrun. At this time Australia's lines of communication were cut to the northwest, the north and the northeast. However, for complete isolation to be effected the enemy needed to occupy New Caledonia, Fiji and Samoa. To do this it was first necessary to capture Port Moresby in New Guinea and Tulagi in the Solomons.

THE COMBATANTS (see also Attachment 1)

By April 17, 1942, Allied intelligence knew the enemy were planning a major operation into the Coral Sea. It was later learned that the enemy directive read: "With the cooperation of the South Seas Army Detachment and the Navy, we will occupy Port Moresby and important positions on Tulagi and in Southeastern New Guinea. We will establish air bases and strengthen our air operations in the Australian area." The operation was designed to knock Australia out of the war. Had it succeeded, the entire Northeastern Australian coast would have been open to invasion.

The Japanese Task Force for the Coral Sea invasion under the command of Admiral Inouye comprised:

- The Port Moresby Invasion Group of eleven transports carrying both Army troops and a Naval Landing Force, screened by a destroyer squadron.
- A smaller Tulagi Invasion Group.
- A support group of one seaplane carrier and five other ships.
- A covering group consisting of light carrier "Shoho", four heavy cruisers and one destroyer.
- The Striking Force of two big carriers "Shokaku" and "Zuikaku", two heavy cruisers and six destroyers - a total of 62 ships.

The plan called for Tulagi to be occupied on 3 May and for the Port Moresby invasion to commence on 7 May. The Japanese expected the U.S. Navy and Air Force to try to stop the Port Moresby invasion. But once an Allied Task Force entered the Coral Sea, Admiral Inouye expected to destroy it in a pincer movement, while the Invasion Group slipped through Jomard Passage into Port Moresby. Then the Japanese carriers would proceed to attack Allied planes and ships at the four Queensland bases - Thursday Island, Coen, Cooktown and Townsville - as they had done so successfully at Darwin.

Meanwhile the Allied Forces assembled to counter the Japanese plan. The force consisted of two Task Forces. One, Task Force Fox, based on the aircraft carrier 'Yorktown', consisted of three heavy cruisers and six destroyers. The other, Task Force Baker, based on the aircraft carrier 'Lexington', consisted of two heavy cruisers and five destroyers. This force was later joined by the HMAS Australia and HMAS Hobart from the Anzac Squadron. The Australian ships were commanded by Rear Admiral J.G. Crace, RN. The force, which in total comprised 26 ships, was commanded by Rear Admiral Frank Fletcher, USN.

THE BATTLE (see also Attachment 2)

Events of 3 May 1942

At about 0800 hours on 3 May the Tulagi Invasion Group made an unopposed landing on the beaches which the United States Marines were to win back at great cost some three months later. The Port Moresby Invasion Group was still anchored at Rabaul, scheduled to leave at 1800 hours on 4 May.

Events 4-6 May

Task Forces Baker and Fox, joined by HMAS Australia and HMAS Hobart from the Anzac Squadron, rendezvoused at daylight May 4. TF Fox then proceeded independently to a point about 100 miles southwest of Guadalcanal Island, where 'Lexington' launched aircraft at 0700 to strike the Tulagi Invasion Group. Two subsequent air strikes were made later in the day. One Japanese destroyer was sunk, and several gunboats and other smaller craft were also sunk, but the Japanese landing was not seriously disturbed. The 'Lexington' lost three aircraft, but only one pilot.

Task Forces Fox and Baker and the Anzac Squadron ships rejoined at 0846, May 5 and refueled from the 'Neosho' on the 5th and 6th. On May 6, Admiral Fletcher organized his command into an Attack Group, a Support Group and an Air Group. The 'Neosho' and 'Sims' were detached to the south to await a later fueling rendezvous. 'Tippecanoe' and 'Worden' had departed for Efate on May 4th.

By May 5 the Japanese Port Moresby Invasion and Support Groups were steaming along a southerly course for Jomard Passage. The Striking Force was proceeding down the outer coast of the Solomons. By dawn May 6 the Japanese carriers were well into the Coral Sea. Allied intelligence confirmed the presence of the Port Moresby Invasion and Covering Groups during the afternoon of May 6. At 1930 Admiral Fletcher resumed course to the northward to be within striking distance of these Japanese forces by daylight on May 7. By midnight on May 6 the Japanese transports were almost ready to slip through Jomard Passage, protected by the Covering Group on their left flank.

Neither Admiral Fletcher nor Admiral Inouye, with his Striking Force, were aware of the presence of the other's carriers on May 6, even though they were within 70 miles at one point. The Allied Fleet, operating in an east-west weather front, was screened from the Japanese by clouds and Admiral Fletcher's attention was focussed on the Port Moresby Invasion and Covering Groups. Thus, the battle between the two main carrier groups was delayed until May 8.

Loss of 'Neosho' and 'Sims'

Japanese scout planes, however, had found the 'Neosho' and the 'Sims' early on May 7. 'Sims' was attacked at 0929 from high altitude by a reconnaissance type aircraft, which missed with its lone bomb. Shortly thereafter 15 high-level bombers overflew, were fired upon by the 'Sims' without effect, and disappeared without attempting to attack. A few minutes later this performance was repeated by 'Sims' and seven more Japanese aircraft. At 1033 hours ten twin-engined bombers made a high-level run on 'Neosho', dropping bombs which fell to starboard. At 1201, 24 enemy dive bombers arrived and began a 15-minute attack which doomed both 'Sims' and 'Neosho'.

Four of the aircraft dived on the 'Sims', dropped their bombs from extremely low level, and disappeared in the ensuing explosions. 'Sims' took at least three direct hits from 500 pounders which completely wrecked both the forward and after engine rooms. 'Sims' buckled amidships and went down slowly, stern first. As she was sinking, two heavy internal explosions wracked the ship; only 13 of her crew survived.

The remaining 20 dive bombers worked over 'Neosho'. 'Neosho's 20mm gunners shot down three aircraft and damaged several others, but she took seven direct hits and at least eight near misses. One of the shot down aircraft crashed into the No. 4 gun enclosure, causing intense fires. Despite extremely heavy damage 'Neosho' was kept afloat until May 11, when the U.S. destroyer 'Henley' arrived on the scene, removed the survivors and, at Commander Phillips' request, sank her with two torpedoes and 5-inch gunfire.

Crace's Chase

At 0625 hours, May 7, Admiral Fletcher ordered Admiral Crace's Support Group, reinforced by 'Farragut', to proceed to Jomard Passage at 25 knots to attack the Port Moresby Invasion Group. By 0840 Admiral Crace's command was being shadowed by three Japanese scout planes. A formation of 10 - 12 land-based single engine aircraft approached from astern at 1427, were fired upon and rapidly disappeared out of sight dead ahead without attacking. At 1505 a dozen land-based twin engine 'Sallys' armed with torpedoes attacked. Admiral Crace ordered radical maneuvers and all ships opened fire. Three aircraft were shot down and all eight torpedoes dropped missed. The remaining aircraft strafed the ships before retiring and two more were shot down.

As soon as this attack ended, 19 enemy 'Sallys' made a high-altitude bomb run at 15 - 20,000 feet, apparently selecting 'Australia' as their target. All bombs missed as Admiral Crace continued to maneuver his command (deployed in three columns of one, three and two vessels) at high speed. Several minutes later a "V" of three twin-engine bombers, later identified as U.S. Air Force B-26s, dropped bombs from a high altitude; all missed badly.

The Japanese attack was similar in type and strength to the one that sank HMS 'Repulse' and 'Prince of Wales'. Admiral Crace's skilful maneuvering and the well-aimed, intense anti-aircraft fire enabled the Support Group to survive the attacks without a single hit, the first time during the war that a major Japanese air attack on Allied naval vessels had been unsuccessful. More importantly, all land-based Japanese aircraft in the area were operating against the Support Group and were thus unavailable to search out and attack the Air Group which was beating up the Japanese Covering Group that day.

May 7 Attack on Japanese Covering Group

As Admiral Fletcher moved TG 17 northward on the morning of May 7, he conducted air searches to obtain information on the Japanese carriers he was certain were in the area. At 0845 the Japanese Covering Group was discovered. Admiral Inouye's Striking Force however, was then operating in a bad weather area, as the frontal system moved on, and was not spotted on the 7th. Japanese planes had located Admiral Fletcher's carriers, but the friendly frontal system covered them so well that the Japanese aircraft launched from 'Shokaku' and 'Zuikaku' never found them.

At 0925 'Lexington' launched ten fighters (F4F), 28 dive bombers (SBD) and twelve torpedo planes (TBD). At 1014 'Yorktown' launched eight fighters (F4F), 24 dive bombers (SBD) and ten torpedo planes (TBD). The 92 aircraft in two groups headed for the Japanese Covering Group. At about 1110 the 'Lexington' group found the Japanese forces twenty miles northeast of Misima

and attacked. Ten SBDs of Scouting Squadron 2, armed with one 500 and two 100 pound bombs each, made the first run, scoring two 500 pound hits on 'Shoho'. Seven minutes later a coordinated torpedo dive-bomb attack was made and at least two 1000 pound bombs scored direct hits. At this point the 'Yorktown' air group arrived and made several hits with 1000 pound bombs and torpedoes. Within three minutes of the last torpedo hit, the 'Shoho', ablaze from stem to stern, sank.

When the U.S. carriers had been sighted May 7, the Japanese Port Moresby Invasion Group had been ordered to reverse course. Thus 0900 May 7 marks the nearest that any Japanese naval force got to Port Moresby. In addition to the 'Shoho'. the Japanese lost 13 fighters, three torpedo planes, two scout bombers and one 4-engine patrol plane in air engagements. Another thirty planes went down with the 'Shoho.' U.S. losses were three SBDs and three F4Fs. During the night of May 7 - 8, 'Monaghan' was detached from TG 17 to search for survivors from 'Neosho' and 'Sims'.

Carrier Battle of May 8

Japanese carrier aircraft had located the U.S. carriers at dusk on May 7, too late for Admiral Inouye to launch an attack. Both sides spent the night fueling and arming aircraft, TF 17 moving off to the southwest. At dawn on May 8, Admiral Fletcher, uncertain of the location of the Japanese carriers, launched a 360 degree air search. At 0820 the two Japanese carriers, four heavy cruisers (from the Covering Group which had joined during the night) and several destroyers were located 170 miles northeast of TG 17, moving south at high speed. At about the same time, Japanese scout aircraft sighted TG 17.

The Japanese fleet was now operating in the frontal area while TG 17 was steaming in bright sunshine. 'Yorktown' began launching aircraft at 0900 and 'Lexington' shortly thereafter. The 'Yorktown' attack group consisted of six F4Fs, 24 SBDs and nine TBDs. All dive bombers were armed with 1000 pound bombs. As 1045 the 'Yorktown' group began a coordinated dive-bomb torpedo attack, scoring two bomb hits on 'Shokahu'. Although several torpedo hits were claimed, no damage was done below the waterline. (At this early stage of the war U.S. torpedoes were plagued by erratic steering and faulty detonators.) Fires were burning fore and aft on 'Shokaku' when the 'Yorktown' air group retired.

The 'Lexington' attack group was originally composed of nine F4Fs, 22 SBDs and twelve TBDs. It was hampered by bad navigation and poor visibility and not all aircraft located the Japanese carrier force and attacked. The three F4Fs escorting the dive bombers became separated from their charges and returned to the 'Lexington'. Eighteen of the SBDs failed to locate the enemy and returned. One TBD returned with engine trouble. The remaining eleven TBDs and four SBDs found the Japanese carriers and attacked together at 1057. One additional 1000 pound bomb hit was scored on the 'Shokaku

As the U.S. aircraft were returning 90 planes from 'Shokaku' and 'Zuikaku' were attacking the U.S. carriers. At about 1115, with TG 17 in a circular disposition with the carriers in the center and manuevering at thirty knots, the Japanese attack began. The two carriers gradually drew apart during the attack as a result of high speed manuevering to avoid bombs and torpedoes. 'Yorktown' to the north, was accompanied by 'Astoria,' 'Portland,' 'Chester,' 'Russell,' 'Hammann' and 'Aylwin.' The 'Minneapolis,' 'New Orleans, 'Morris,' 'Anderson,' 'Phelps' amd 'Dewey' followed the 'Lexington'. Japanese torpedo planes attacked 'Lexington' from both sides and scored two hits forward on the port side. Three bombs scored top-side hits. Several near misses by large bombs ruptured plates below the waterline on the port side.

Six minutes later 'Yorktown' came under attack. Skilful manuevering by Capt. Buckmaster avoided all torpedoes (at least 10 were dropped) but the subsequent attack by 18 dive bombers scored one direct hit on the flight deck with an 800 pounder which penetrated to the fourth deck before exploding. Several near misses did very little damage, and at no time were flight operations impaired. By 1140 the Japanese planes had departed and the world's first battle between carrier forces was over.

After the attack, 'Lexington' was still making 25 knots and most fires were under control; she was able to recover aircraft returning from the attack on the Japanese carriers. But at 1247 a massive internal explosion, caused by leaking gasoline, shook 'Lexington' from stem to stern. This was followed by severe fires and subsequent explosions below decks. At 1456 the fires were out of control and 'Lexington' signalled for help. She went dead in the water at 1630. 'Morris' passed two fire hoses over the side, hoping the fires could be controlled if water could be brought to bear on them, and began taking off 'Lexington's' crew. At 1707 Admiral Fitch directed Captain Sherman to abandon ship and 'Anderson,' 'Hammann,' 'Phelps' and 'Dewey,' along with small boats from the 'Minneapolis,' picked up survivors from the water. At 1853 'Phelps' was detailed to sink the 'Lexington', which went down at 1952 in 2,400 fathoms after four torpedo hits.

In the May 8 battle, 'Lexington' lost 26 officers and 190 men of a total complement of 2,951. 'Yorktown' had 40 men killed and 26 seriously injured. "Shokaku' lost 108 men killed and had 40 wounded, but with skillful damage control and handling she limped back home where repairs took two months. 'Zuikaku' was not damaged but had heavy aircraft losses. The U.S. carriers lost 23 planes in combat on May 8 and another 35 went down with the 'Lexington'. The two Japanese carriers lost 50 aircraft in combat on May 8.

POSTLOG

The Battle of the Coral Sea was the end of the beginning. The Allies lost one oiler ('Neosho'), one destroyer ('Sims') and one attack carrier ('Lexington'), while 'Yorktown' was damaged but not badly enough to keep her from participating at Midway on June 4. Sixty-six carrier aircraft were also lost and personnel losses were 543. The Japanese lost one light carrier ('Shoho') and several small ships at Tulagi. In the Coral Sea they lost 96 carrier aircraft, five floatplanes and three four-engine patrol planes and suffered personnal losses exceeding 2000. 'Shokaku' was so badly damaged and 'Zuikaku' lost so many aircraft that neither were available at Midway, which was the beginning of the end for the Japanese in the Pacific.

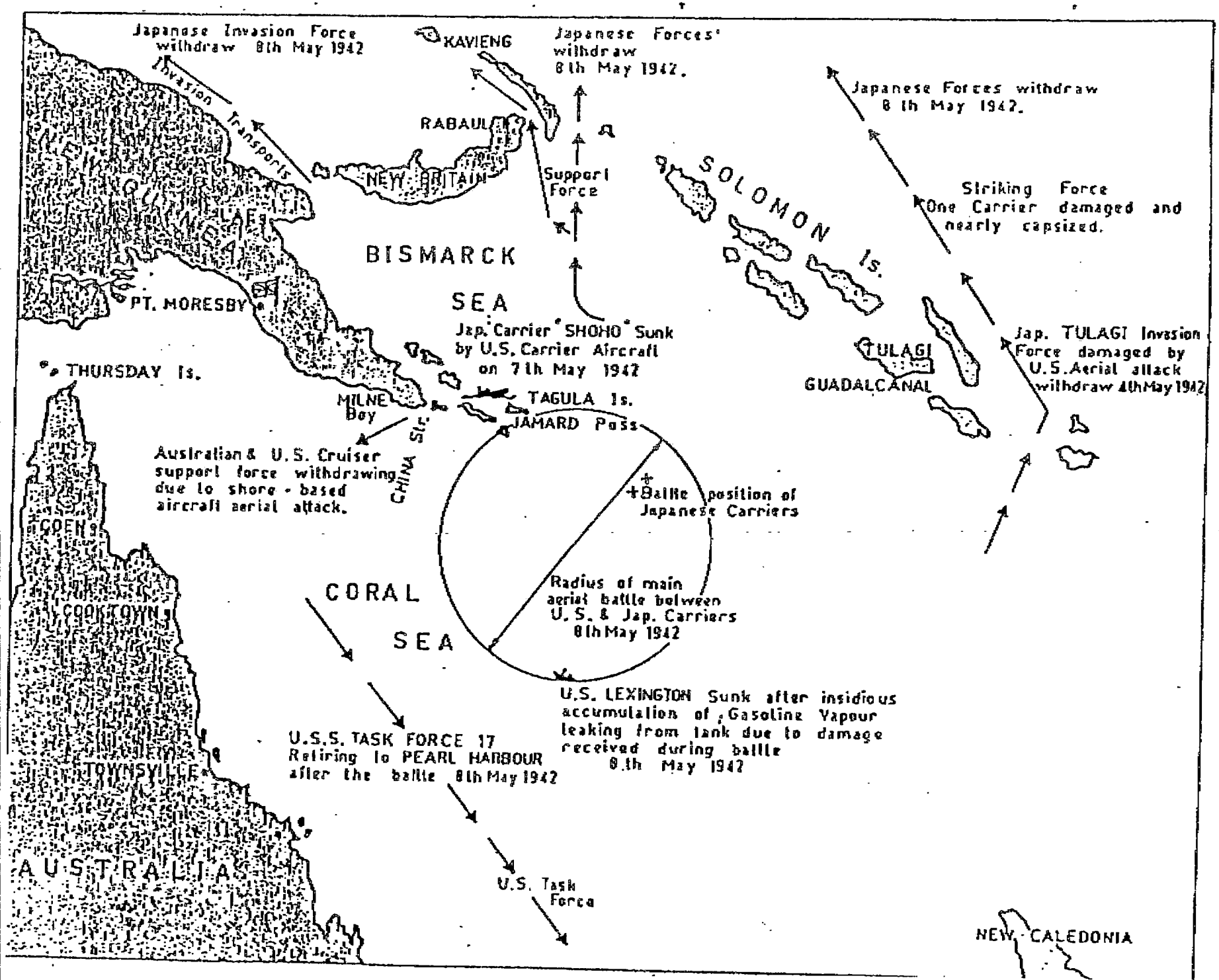
The Battle of the Coral Sea was a tactical victory for the Japanese in terms of surface unit losses. But it was a strategic victory for the U.S. and Australian forces. The capture of Port Moresby was thwarted. Australia was secured against Japanese attack. Two Japanese attack carriers which might have supplied the margin of victory at Midway were temporarily knocked out of service. The morale value of the Coral Sea action was unmeasurable to the Allies who never again lost the initiative in the Pacific.

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Attachments:

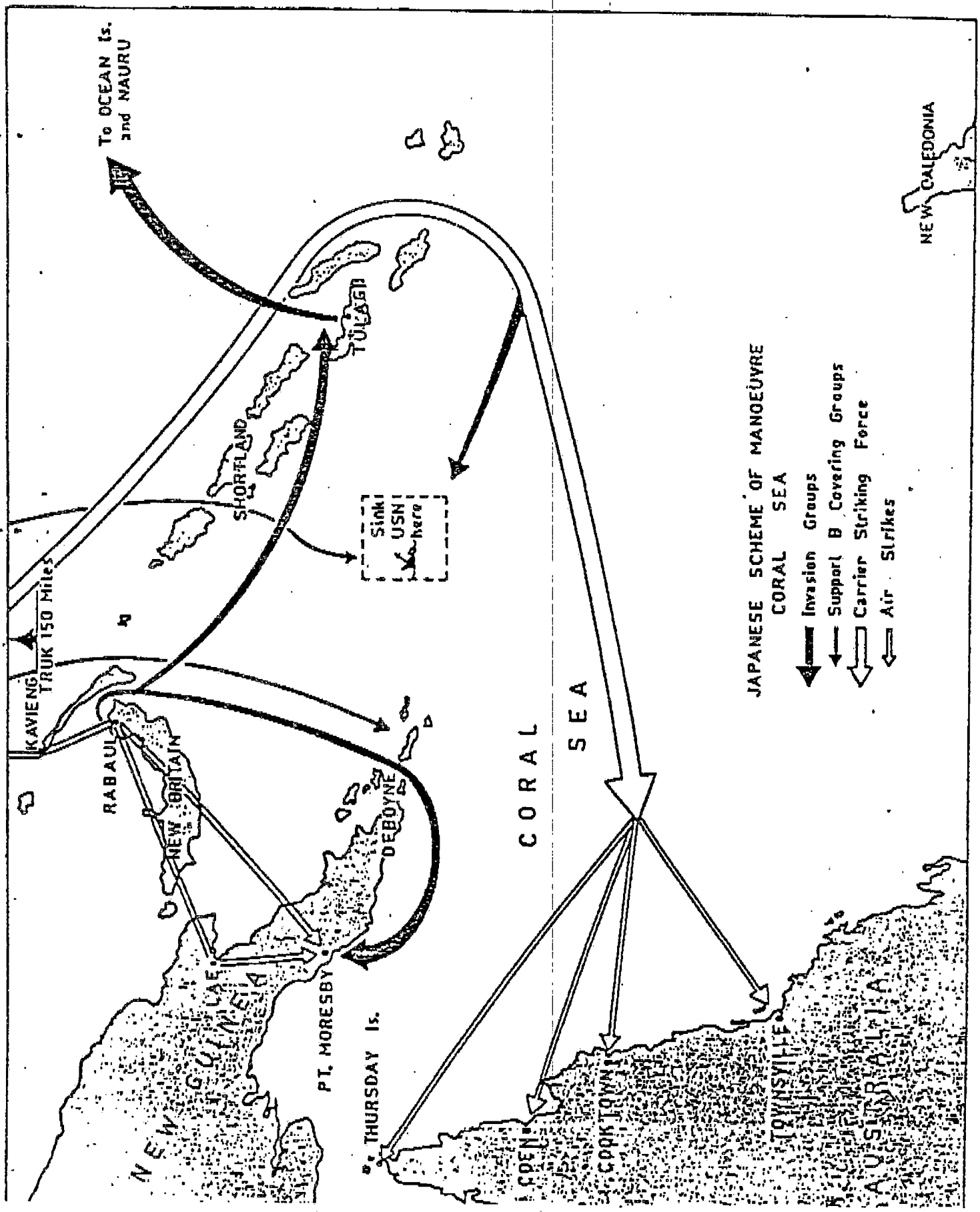
1. The Combatants
2. The End of the Battle 8 May 1942

# THE END OF THE BATTLE -- May 8, 1942.




Attachment 2

SENT BY:U.S. INFO. SERVICE ;11-12-91 ; 7:50AM ; CANBERRA AUSTRALIA→ 0011120245662181#15


To OCEAN Is. and NAURU
TULAGI
SHORTLAND
Sink USN here
KAVIENG
TRUK 150 Miles
RABAUL
NEW BRITAIN
DEBOYNE
CORAL SEA
JAPANESE SCHEME OF MANOEUVRE
CORAL SEA
Invasion Groups
Support & Covering Groups
Carrier Striking Force
Air Strikes
NEW CALEDONIA
PT. MORESBY
THURSDAY Is.
COOKTOWN
TOWNSVILLE
AUSTRALIA

Attachment 1

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May 4-8 1942

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Capt. Alexander R. Early
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(continued)

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Cmdr. G. H. DeBaun

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4 Heavy Cruisers
1 Destroyer

Striking Force
2 Heavy Carriers, 'Shokaku' and Zuikaku'
6 Destroyers

TOTAL Japanese Forces: 62 ships

May 4-8, 1942

[redacted]

**BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA 4-11 MAY 1942**

The Battle of the Coral Sea, fought only twelve hundred kilometres off the North Queensland coast, was the first naval battle in history in which the opposing surface ships did not sight each other. It was also the first major aircraft carrier engagement of World War II and the Pacific War. The clash resulted from Japanese plans to capture Port Moresby by seaborne assault, in order to secure air superiority over North Queensland and the Coral Sea. This air superiority would, in turn, have guarded the right flank of the planned Japanese advance south-eastwards towards New Caledonia and Fiji, with the objective of cutting sea and air communications between Australia and the United States.

American codebreakers intercepted Japanese Navy signals preparing for Operation MO (the capture of Port Moresby), and were aware that a Japanese troop convoy was to be escorted by a light escort carrier and other ships in close support. The two heavy aircraft carriers of the Fifth Carrier Division, *Zuikaku* and *Shokaku*, were to enter the Coral Sea from the east, to give protection from any major American attempt to intercept the convoy. The carriers were to be escorted by a force of cruisers and destroyers. The invasion convoy was due to sail from Rabaul at the end of April, with four and a half thousand Army and Navy assault troops. USS *Yorktown* was already in the South Pacific area and Admiral Nimitz, Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet, ordered USS *Lexington* to rendezvous with her and form a combined task force by 1st May.The Australian heavy cruiser HMAS *Australia* and light cruiser HMAS *Hobart* were ordered north from Sydney to join the American ships.

American carrier aircraft attacked the newly landed Japanese forces at Tulagi, in the southern Solomon Islands on 4 May, inflicting only light losses on the Japanese. The Japanese Fifth Carrier Division rounded the eastern tip of the Solomons the following day. Australian and American aircraft based in North Queensland, but often operating from Port Moresby, flew many hours of reconnaissance missions over the Coral Sea and waters adjacent to Papua and New Guinea, looking for the Japanese invasion convoy and its escorting forces. No definite contacts were obtained by either side on 6 May and those which were reported did not always cross the barrier of divided command between Admiral Nimitz's Pacific Fleet Command and General MacArthur's South West Pacific Command. A number of mistaken identifications of ships characterized 7 May. Japanese carrier aircraft, searching for the main American force, located and attacked the American tanker USS *Neosho* and her escorting destroyer, USS *Sims*, mistaking them for the carrier force. *Sims* was sunk immediately and *Neosho* was heavily damaged. The crippled *Neosho*, abandoned by part of her crew, drifted northwestwards towards the Queensland coast until sighted by Allied aircraft. The survivors from *Sims* and *Neosho* were rescued when USS *Henley* found the *Neosho* almost sunk on 11 May. All but four of the 68 men who hastily abandoned *Neosho* on the day of the attack were lost. Only fourteen of *Sims'* crew survived and 109 from the *Neosho*.

American carrier aircraft found the escort carrier *Shoho* and sank her early on 7 May, just north of the Louisiade Archipelago. The Australian cruisers, together with USS *Chicago* and three escorting destroyers were detached by the American Task Force commander, Admiral Fletcher,and ordered to block the exit route of the Japanese invasion convoy into the Coral Sea. The American and Australian ships came under heavy air attack from Japanese land based aircraft and narrowly missed heavy damage by the use of their anti-aircraft armament, and vigorous manoeuvring to avoid the torpedoes launched against them. As a result of the attack on the *Shoho* and the detection of the cruiser force, the invasion convoy was ordered to remain north of Jomard Passage and postpone the Port Moresby attack by two days. Japanese and American carrier aircraft clashed briefly in the fading light of the late afternoon of 7 May, with an American loss of two planes against a Japanese loss of nine. More

Japanese aircraft were lost attempting night landings on their carriers after some mistook the American ships for their own. Vice Admiral Takagi took the brave and dangerous measure of turning on his carriers' searchlights to provide some assistance to his lost fliers.

By first light on 8 May, the Japanese carrier force was partly sheltered by the heavy cloud of a cold front, while the American ships were sailing in clear sunny weather only two hundred kilometres to the south. Each force quickly discovered the presence of the other by air reconnaissance. Both sides mounted major attacks by dive-boming and torpedo carrying aircraft, the two air fleets virtually passing each other on the way to their targets. *Shokaku* sustained heavy damage, while *Zuikaku*, hidden by a heavy rain squall, escaped serious attention. *Lexington* took heavy punishment from both bombs and torpedoes, while *Yorktown*, with her greater speed and manoeuvrability escaped with less, but still serious damage. Aircraft losses on both sides were heavy—sixty-four American against seventy Japanese. *Shokaku's* damage was so serious that Takagi ordered her back to Truk, taking her half of the escorting force. She eventually reached Japanese home waters after a perilous voyage during which she nearly capsized and entered dockyard hands for a three month repair period. *Lexington* was just working back up to full speed, with damage control measures becoming effective, when an explosion occurred in her forward section. Petrol vapour which had built up after aviation fuel tanks had been damaged by torpedo hits was ignited by an overheating motor-generator. Many of her damage control personnel were killed or disabled in the massive explosion. Fire spread through the ship and all attempts to save her failed. Admiral Fletcher considered the possibility of getting her to the Queensland coast, but as the day wore on it became increasingly apparent that the "Lady Lex" was doomed. All surviving personnel were taken off by her escorting force and the carrier was torpedoed and sunk by USS *Phelps*. She lies 2400 fathoms deep at the bottom of the Coral Sea about 1100 kilometres east of Cooktown.

That same night, Admiral Inouye, Japanese Fourth Fleet Commander, ordered the Port Moresby invasion fleet to return to Rabaul. Vice-Admiral Takagi, with fuel supplies dangerously low and only thirty-nine operational aircraft left, sought and received permission to leave the battle area. The loss of the *Neosho* had removed the safe margin of available fuel oil for the American ships and Nimitz ordered Fletcher to take his ships out of the Coral Sea area until Admiral Halsey, sent speeding south to reinforce Fletcher with USS *Enterprise* and USS *Hornet*, was able to join him. Shortly after the end of the Coral Sea action, Nimitz ordered all his carriers back to Pearl Harbour, where clear indications were becoming apparent from Japanese intercepts that the main Japanese naval thrust was to be directed against Midway, in an attempt to entrap and destroy the American carrier force once and for all.

Admiral Yamamoto, Japanese Fleet Commander, was furious when he learned late on 8 May that Inouye had allowed Takagi to retreat. He at once ordered the latter to return to the Coral Sea and complete the destruction of the Allied naval forces. Takagi's remaining force of *Zuikaku*, four cruisers and six destroyers, dutifully turned south again to seek battle. This force continued to search until noon on 10 May, when even Yamamoto had to admit that the American ships had left the area. The force turned about to make the long voyage back to Truk at a point about thirteen hundred kilometres east of Cooktown (15 degrees 10 minutes South 157 degrees 20 minutes East). This point marks the farthest advance south of Japanese surface ships in World War II.

Left without any clear orders from his American superior, Admiral Crace RN, commanding the cruiser group south of Papua, continued his patrol in case the invasion convoy resumed its attempt to approach Port Moresby, until dwindling fuel reserves forced him to detach HMAS *Hobart* to escort USS *Walke* (destroyer), suffering engine trouble, back to Brisbane. HMAS *Australia* and USS *Chicago*, with their remaining destroyers returned to the North Queensland coast at Grafton Passage (off Cairns) and anchored at Cid Harbour (Whitsunday Group) on 11 May 1942.

The Battle of the Coral Sea ended in ". . . a tactical victory for the Japanese but a strategic victory for the Allies" (Gill II:53). The Port Moresby seaborne invasion plan was ultimately abandoned, and an attack by land across the Owen Stanley Range was substituted later in 1942. The carrier arm of the Japanese Navy lost valuable aircraft and found it difficult to replace highly trained crews. These experienced fliers, and their two ships, were to be sorely missed by the Japanese Fleet at Midway a few weeks later. At Midway, the Japanese lost four carriers, many aircraft and aircrew and with their loss, the initiative and striking power which had supported the rapid transocean advances made in the first six months of the Pacific War. The Coral Sea Battle saved Port Moresby and the intensification of Japanese attacks on North Queensland. It had a direct effect on the American victory at Midway, which in turn balanced the odds in the bitter naval battles around the Solomon Islands during the latter half of 1942. Coral Sea did not directly 'save' Australia, but it marked the beginning of the period of rapidly diminishing threat of a direct heavy assault by Japanese forces on the Australian coast.

COPY

MK, JOE and Christina --

How the heck are ya?! A few changes to note in a couple of the speeches.

- Australian Parliament Address (Jan. 2) -- pgs. 3, 4, 7

- Singapore Lecture Series -- Be sure date has been changed to January 4 (not 7); time 12:15 p.m. (Also hotel name is Westin-Stamford, not just Westin -- in case it makes any diff). There are spelling errors on pages 6, 7, 10, and 11.

I have enclosed copies of these pages with the correction made.

MK -- I sent a few of the pages from the FAX I received this morning from our embassy in Canberra. You said you guys were working on jokes; maybe some of this will be useful.

Have a great time!

Michele
12/30/91

percent growth. Singapore has one of the most open economies on earth, and I appreciate Singapore's leadership in pressing for even greater market freedom around the world.

Together, nations committed to democracy and free markets have brought the world to the brink of a new era, one that promises unprecedented freedom from violence and deprivation. But we can achieve that future only if we work together to create it. This world will not simply happen: It will require hard work, tough negotiation, sacrifice, and the courage of our convictions.

Yet if we cast our lot with the forces of enlightment over the counsels of defeatism and ignorance; if we cast our lot with the forces of freedom; we will build a better world. We will build a world bound by common interests and goals; a world united in its determination to avoid depression and global war.

I know I have covered an enormous amount of ground in my talk. So let me describe in concrete terms what the United States seeks -- in its own interests -- from the new world we will build.

Americans want a world at peace, one in which no American will have to shed blood for the ideals we all share. Americans want to maintain a vigorous security presence in order to prevent despots from fomenting war, and to stall tyrants who want to roll back the triumphs of freedom and democracy.

Americans want to live in a world enriched and enlightened by international trade -- in goods, in ideas, in cultures, and in

many countries maintain trade barriers for cultural or political reasons, those barriers make no more sense than the wall that once divided the city of Berlin.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will play a crucial role in expanding freedom's frontiers. A successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round can prepare the way for even greater trade liberalization in years to come -- and greater prosperity for everyone.

GATT ensures that the world will continue moving toward broad economic integration -- and not toward trade blocs. We in the United States have no desire to break into trade factions. There's a huge difference between a free trade zone -- an oasis of free trade -- and a trade bloc that attempts to hold the rest of the world at bay. We resolutely oppose efforts to create economic "fortresses" -- anywhere.

On the other hand, we wholeheartedly endorse free-trade agreements. Our North American Free Trade Agreement will beckon all nations to make the best of the resources and opportunities that the United States, Canada and Mexico have to offer. And we support efforts to build free trade agreements elsewhere.

Consider your own experience. A regime of free trade has enabled Singapore to become one of the Four Tigers of Asia, and one of the fastest developing nations on earth. When other nations' economies falter, you suffer. The worldwide economic slowdown has slowed your rate of economic growth this year -- although most nations would be overjoyed to settle for six-

democracy has suffered -- and so has the Chinese economy. This is only natural. People who fear for their futures aren't likely to engage in the kinds of activities -- hard work, savings, education, planning -- that keep an economy and a society moving.

In any event, the United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate, while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity. You have lifted yourselves up. Through hard work and dedication, you have transformed this region. Today, the United States conducts more trade with the Asian-Pacific region than with Europe.

Our trade with Singapore has increased tenfold during the past 16 years. We exported more to Singapore last year than to Italy or Spain; more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. And our trade with ASEAN nations now approaches our total trade volume with Germany.

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, initiated the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process two years ago. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free, market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

This is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of merchandise exports can support more than 19,000 good

Indochina. Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, democracy and open markets, form the building blocks for what I have called the New World Order.

This victory for democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political and military isolationism threaten to destabilize the world. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism -- protectionism -- can be at least as devastating.

The protectionist wars of the 1920s and 1930s deepened the Great Depression, and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War. The collapse of the international economic system enabled demagogues to sell the poisons of socialism and state control -- and to enslave whole nations for decades.

During the past half century, on the other hand, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity -- here, in Singapore; throughout free Asia; in Europe and the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to democracy -- a fact that illustrates the indivisible relationship between security, democracy and individual liberty.

Consider the recent history of China. Economic reforms in 1978 set off a decade of rapid economic growth -- with average annual growth rates of ten percent. This prosperity also fostered hopes of democracy -- hopes that were crushed brutally in Tienanmen Square. Since that horrifying moment, Chinese

SNOW/NIX
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DRAFT THREE
December 27, 1991

Stanford Advance 12/23

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE SINGAPORE LECTURE
SINGAPORE WESTIN ~~HOTEL~~
JANUARY ~~7, 1991~~ 4, 1991
~~1 P.M.~~ 12:15 p.m.

Prime Minister Goh, Senior Minister Lee, thank you for that very kind introduction. It's an honor to deliver this lecture, following such distinguished thinkers as Henry Kissinger and Milton Friedman and such accomplished leaders as Brian Mulroney, Helmut Schmidt, Rudd Lubbers, Bob Hawke, Mahathir bin Mohamad and Valery Giscard D'Estaing. [additional acknowledgments]

The addresses in this series reflect the changes in our world. Your first lecturers focused on the ideological and military struggle between socialism and democratic capitalism -- and especially between the United States and what we used to call the Soviet Union.

Think of that phrase for a moment -- "what we used to call the Soviet Union." When citizens pulled down the hammer and sickle last week, and hauled up a new tricolor of freedom over the Kremlin, the Soviet Union ceased to exist -- and the prospect of a new world blossomed before us.

That act culminated a decade of liberation -- a time in which we witnessed the death throes of totalitarianism, and the triumph of systems of government devoted to individual liberty, democratic pluralism, free markets and international engagement.

(Duggan/Nix)
December 27, 1991
Draft Four
Parliament

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT
CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA
JANUARY 2, 1992
[time]

Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you for that warm welcome. I am deeply grateful for the honor of appearing before the Houses of the Australian Parliament. I know that Members of Parliament have gone to extraordinary lengths to arrange this special session. I want to offer special greetings and thanks to the members of the Australia/USA Parliamentary Group, who have done so much to deepen the friendship between our countries. [Also acknowledge: PM Keating, President of the Senate Sebraa, others?]

Any visitor from the United States cannot help but feel a warm kinship with Australia. We share ancient traditions and far-sighted optimism. Explorers, pioneers, and immigrants built each of our young nations. Australia and America have been destinations of freedom and opportunity for yearners and toilers from Britain and Ireland, Poland and Italy, Vietnam and Cambodia and dozens of other places on the globe.

This Parliament Building displays an original copy of the Magna Carta -- one of only four such manuscripts to have survived to this day. The United States National Archives is home to another of these original manuscripts. I can think of no stronger symbol of our shared commitment to the rights of the

for American tourists. But more than this, it is the spirit of your country that earns Australia so much admiration in America and around the world. Your artists' contributions to film, dance and music have whetted my countrymen's appetites for more and more things Australian. ((One of the sports television networks in the U.S. carries "Australian rules football," and many Americans enjoy the rough and tumble of hard hitting with reckless abandon. \ We have something similar, but we call it politics. \\ ))

I credit the clear air of Australia for its effect on one of the freshest minds now working in Washington -- our Secretary of Education, Lamar Alexander. In 1987, after completing eight years as Governor of Tennessee, Lamar Alexander ~~decided to take~~ took his wife and children ~~and~~ to spend half a year in Australia.

For six months the Alexanders enjoyed the beauty and comfort of Australia's coastal cities and the adventure of the bush country. They succeeded splendidly in getting to know one another better as a family. For all the difference in setting, though, Lamar Alexander continually was struck with a powerful sense of kinship between Australians and Americans.

Now that he has joined my Cabinet as Secretary of Education, Lamar Alexander is working for revolutionary changes to improve our schools. He is promoting innovative ideas he saw in practice in Australia -- for instance the large measure of freedom Australians have in choosing among private, religious, or state-

in the United Nations have been a major factor in the progress toward peace and self-government in Cambodia.

Both the United States and Australia have renewed diplomatic representation in Phnom Penh in order to move the peace process forward. Australia is making an additional contribution by sending one of its senior military officers to head the new U.N. peacekeeping force in Cambodia. While Cambodia still faces a difficult transition, I am confident that years of horror and dictatorship there will give way to peace and representative government. [Placeholder for any further statements about Cambodia, e.g. lifting of trade embargo]

The coming era promises unparalleled opportunities for economic growth in the nations of the Pacific. In 1990, the Asia-Pacific region accounts for ~~more than~~ a total of $300 billion in ~~annual~~ two-way commerce with the United States -- a total nearly one-third larger than America's volume of trade across the Atlantic.

My highest priority as President of the United States is to promote economic growth and jobs for Americans. \\ Happily, that goal is fully consistent with economic growth and jobs for Australians. \\ You and I know that free and fair trade is not a zero-sum game. \\ All nations share the responsibilities and the rewards of a vibrant and growing international trading system. \\

Australia indeed is a leader in efforts to reach a successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations. Australian leaders have employed great skill and energy in seeking deep reductions in trade-distorting

partners to carry out a joint boarding exercise to enforce the United Nations resolutions were Australians from the HMAS Darwin and Americans from the USS Brewerton. During the war, our joint defense facilities played an invaluable role in detecting launches of Iraqi Scud missiles. These facilities will continue to serve our global aims for nonproliferation. And today, two of the three navies represented in operations enforcing the embargo against Iraq are Australia's and America's.

Let me assure you: The United States will continue to work in firm alliance with Australia, no matter what changes may come about in our defense expenditures or in the makeup of threats to international peace.

The ANZUS alliance is fundamental to the future stability of the Asia-Pacific region. \\ I am solidly committed to keeping our defenses strong and remain engaged with you in this region of such vital and growing importance to America. \\

Australia is more than a friend and an ally to the United States. Australia is a good citizen of the world community. \\ I want to salute especially Australia's leadership in stemming the threat of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. \\

A moment ago I recalled the sacrifices Australians made during our long involvement in opposing communist expansion in Southeast Asia. No matter how disappointing and thankless that military engagement may have seemed, Australians have never lost sight of their aim of advancing freedom and human rights in Southeast Asia. Principled diplomatic initiatives by Australia




# NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 1991




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AUGUST 1991

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# Preface

## *A NEW WORLD ORDER*

A new world order is not a fact; it is an aspiration — and an opportunity. We have within our grasp an extraordinary possibility that few generations have enjoyed — to build a new international system in accordance with our own values and ideals, as old patterns and certainties crumble around us.

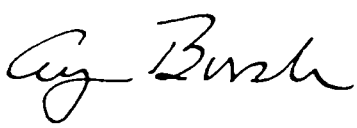
In the Gulf we caught a glimmer of a better future — a new world community brought together by a growing consensus that force cannot be used to settle disputes and that when that consensus is broken, the world will respond. In the Gulf, we saw the United Nations playing the role dreamed of by its founders, with the world's leading nations orchestrating and sanctioning collective action against aggression. But we remain in a period of transition. The old has been swept away, the new not yet fully in place. The obstacles and uncertainties before us are quite real — the daunting problems confronting the hopes for reform in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, trade disputes and burdensharing debates among the industrial democracies, and the turmoil and dangers in the developing world.

Yet, the Gulf crisis showed what the world community is now capable of, and in the very act of meeting that challenge the world community strengthened itself. I hope history will record that the Gulf crisis was the crucible of the new world order.

It is up to us — our generation in America and the world — to bring these extraordinary possibilities to fruition. And in doing this, American leadership is indispensable. That is our challenge.

Our response, outlined in this Report, is shaped by what we are as a people, for our values are the link between our past and our future, between our domestic life and our foreign policy, between our power and our purpose. It is our deepest belief that all nations and peoples seek political and economic freedom; that governments must rest their rightful authority on the consent of the governed, and must live in peace with their neighbors. The collapse of the Communist idea has shown that our vision of individual rights — a vision imbedded in the faith of our Founders — speaks to humanity's enduring hopes and aspirations.

It is this abiding faith in democracy that steels us to deal with a world that, for all our hope, remains a dangerous place — a world of ethnic antagonisms, national rivalries, religious tensions, spreading weaponry, personal ambitions and lingering authoritarianism. For America, there can be no retreat from the world's problems. Within the broader community of nations, we see our own role clearly. We must not only protect our citizens and our interests, but help create a new world in which our fundamental values not only survive but flourish. We must work with others, but we must also be a leader.



# I. The Foundations of National Strategy: Interests and Goals

## *NEW ERA*

The bitter struggle that divided the world for over two generations has come to an end. The collapse of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe means that the Cold War is over, its core issue resolved. We have entered a new era, one whose outline would have been unimaginable only three years ago.

This new era offers great hope, but this hope must be tempered by the even greater uncertainty we face. Almost immediately new crises and instabilities came upon us. The Gulf War was a forceful reminder that there are still autonomous sources of turbulence in the world. In the Soviet Union, while we have seen a healthy retrenchment in foreign policy, we also see a continuing internal crisis, with a danger of violence overhanging the hopes for internal reform. We face new challenges not only to our security, but to our ways of thinking about security.

For over 40 years, the American grand strategy of containment has reflected an era of expanding Soviet power, Soviet aggression and Soviet Communism. We now find, however, that the Soviet Union is far more inwardly focused as it wrestles with its internal crises. We do not know what path the Soviet Union will ultimately take, but a return to the same superpower adversary we have faced for over 40 years is unlikely.

That said, the Soviet Union remains the only state possessing the physical military capability to destroy American society with a single, cataclysmic attack and, in spite of severe economic strains, the modernization of Soviet strategic forces continues virtually across the board. Even with a START Treaty, the Soviets will retain more than 6,000 strategic weapons. The Soviets will also — despite the heartening reductions we have seen in their conventional capabilities — retain some three million men in their armed forces. These enduring realities cannot be ignored.

Shaping a security strategy for a new era will require an understanding of the extraordinary trends at work today — a clear picture of what has changed and what has not, an accurate sense of the opportunities that history has put before us and a sober appreciation of the dangers that remain.

*Politically,* a key issue is how America's role of alliance leader — and indeed our alliances themselves — will be affected, especially in Europe, by a reduced Soviet threat. The positive common basis of our alliances — the defense of democratic values — must be reaffirmed and strengthened. Yet, differences among allies are likely to become more evident as the traditional concern for security that first brought them together diminishes in intensity. We need to consider how the United States and its allies can best respond to a new agenda of political challenges — such as the troubled evolution of the Soviet Union or the volatile Middle East — in the framework of the moral and political values we continue to share.

In the realm of *military* strategy, we confront dangers more ambiguous than those we previously faced. What type and distribution of forces are needed to combat not a particular, poised enemy but the nascent threats of power vacuums and regional instabilities? How do we reduce our conventional capabilities in ways that ensure we could rebuild them faster than an enemy could build a devastating new threat against us? How does the proliferation of advanced weaponry affect our traditional problem of deterrence? How should we think about these new military challenges and what

capabilities and forces should we develop to secure ourselves against them?

America will continue to support an international *economic* system as open and inclusive as possible, as the best way to strengthen global economic development, political stability and the growth of free societies. But how can these goals best be attained, especially if they are not completely shared by all of our economic competitors? How will the end of the Cold War and the increased economic strength of our major trading partners influence economic, political and even security relationships? In addition to working actively to conclude successfully the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations, what other market-opening objectives should the United States pursue, and with whom should we pursue them?

In the emerging post-Cold War world, international relations promise to be more complicated, more volatile and less predictable. Indeed, of all the mistakes that could be made about the security challenges of a new era, the most dangerous would be to believe that suddenly the future can be predicted with certainty. The history of the 20th century has been replete with surprises, many unwelcome.

In many ways, if there is a historical analogy for today's strategic environment, it is less the late 1940s than it is the 1920s. In the 1920s, judging that the great threat to our interests had collapsed and that no comparable threat was evident, the Nation turned inward. That course had near disastrous consequences then and it would be even more dangerous now. At a time when the world is far more interdependent — economically, technologically, environmentally — any attempt to isolate ourselves militarily and politically would be folly.

Despite the emergence of new power centers, the United States remains the only state with truly global strength, reach and influence in every dimension — political, economic and military. In these circumstances, our natural desire to share burdens more equitably with newly-strong friends does not relieve us of our own responsibilities.

America's role is rooted not only in power, but also in trust. When, in the aftermath of the invasion of Kuwait, the Saudis invited foreign forces onto their soil, King Fahd observed:

> I trust the United States of America. I know that when you say you will be committed, you are, in fact, committed. I know that you will stay as long as necessary to do what has to be done, and I know you will leave when you are asked to leave at the end, and that you have no ulterior motives.

We cannot be the world's policeman with responsibility for solving all the world's security problems. But we remain the country to whom others turn when in distress. This faith in us creates burdens, certainly, and in the Gulf we showed that American leadership must include mobilizing the world community to share the danger and risk. But the failure of others to bear their burden would not excuse us. In the end, we are answerable to our own interests and our own conscience — to our ideals and to history — for what we do with the power we have. In the 1990s, as for much of this century, there is no substitute for American leadership. Our responsibility, even in a new era, is pivotal and inescapable.

The Gulf crisis interrupted a time of hope. We saw a new world coming, a world freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, more secure in the quest for peace. Democracy was gaining ground as were the principles of human rights and political and economic freedom. This new world is still within reach, perhaps brought closer by the unprecedented international cooperation achieved in the Gulf crisis.

But even after such a success, we face not only the complex security issues outlined above, but a new agenda of new kinds of security issues. Our national power, for example, ultimately rests on the strength and resilience of our economy, and our security would be badly served if we allowed fiscal irresponsibility at home to erode our ability to protect our interests abroad, to aid new democracies or to help find solutions to other global problems. The scourge of illegal drugs saps our vitality as a free people, diverts our energies from more positive pursuits and threatens friendly democratic governments now plagued by drug traffickers. The environmental depredations of Saddam Hussein have underscored that protecting the global ecology is a top priority on the agenda of international cooperation — from extinguishing oil fires in Kuwait to preserving the rain forests to solving water disputes to assessing climate change. The upheavals of this era are also giving rise to human migrations on an unprecedented scale, raising a host of social, economic, political and moral challenges to the world's nations.

A security strategy that takes the Republic safely into the next century will tend to these as well as to more traditional threats to our safety and well-being.

## *OUR INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES IN THE 1990s*

We need, then, an approach to security broad enough to preserve the basic sources of our national strength and focused enough to deal with the very real threats that still exist. Such an approach begins with an understanding of our basic interests and objectives, interests and objectives that even in a new era are enduring:

**The survival of the United States as a free and independent nation, with its fundamental values intact and its institutions and people secure.**

The United States seeks, whenever possible in concert with its allies, to:

- deter any aggression that could threaten the security of the United States and its allies and — should deterrence fail — repel or defeat military attack and end conflict on terms favorable to the United States, its interests and its allies;
- effectively counter threats to the security of the United States and its citizens and interests short of armed conflict, including the threat of international terrorism;
- improve stability by pursuing equitable and verifiable arms control agreements, modernizing our strategic deterrent, developing systems capable of defending against limited ballistic-missile strikes, and enhancing appropriate conventional capabilities;
- promote democratic change in the Soviet Union, while maintaining firm policies that discourage any temptation to new quests for military advantage;
- foster restraint in global military spending and discourage military adventurism;
- prevent the transfer of militarily critical technologies and resources to hostile countries or groups, especially the spread of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and associated high-technology means of delivery; and
- reduce the flow of illegal drugs into the United States by encouraging reduction in foreign production, combatting international traffickers and reducing demand at home.

**A healthy and growing U.S. economy to ensure opportunity for individual prosperity and resources for national endeavors at home and abroad.**

National security and economic strength are indivisible. We seek to:

- promote a strong, prosperous and competitive U.S. economy;
- ensure access to foreign markets, energy, mineral resources, the oceans and space;
- promote an open and expanding international economic system, based on market principles, with minimal distortions to trade and investment, stable currencies, and broadly respected rules for managing and resolving economic disputes; and
- achieve cooperative international solutions to key environmental challenges, assuring the sustainability and environmental security of the planet as well as growth and opportunity for all.

**Healthy, cooperative and politically vigorous relations with allies and friendly nations.**

To build and sustain such relationships, we seek to:

- strengthen and enlarge the commonwealth of free nations that share a commitment to democracy and individual rights;
- establish a more balanced partnership with our allies and a greater sharing of global leadership and responsibilities;
- strengthen international institutions like the United Nations to make them more effective in promoting peace, world order and political, economic and social progress;
- support Western Europe's historic march toward greater economic and political unity, including a European security identity within the Atlantic Alliance, and nurture a closer relationship between the United States and the European Community; and

- work with our North Atlantic allies to help develop the processes of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to bring about reconciliation, security and democracy in a Europe whole and free.

**A stable and secure world, where political and economic freedom, human rights and democratic institutions flourish.**

Our interests are best served in a world in which democracy and its idfeals are widespread and secure. We seek to:

- maintain stable regional military balances to deter those powers that might seek regional dominance;
- promote diplomatic solutions to regional disputes;
- promote the growth of free, democratic political institutions as the surest guarantors of both human rights and economic and social progress;
- aid in combatting threats to democratic institutions from aggression, coercion, insurgencies, subversion, terrorism and illicit drug trafficking; and
- support aid, trade and investment policies that promote economic development and social and political progress.

# II. Trends in The World Today: New Opportunities and Concerns

## *FUNDAMENTAL TRANSFORMATIONS*

Despite the uncertainties that remain, we see a fundamental transformation of the global strategic environment in several areas. Our policies and strategy for the decade ahead must be designed to adapt to these changes, and to shape them in ways that benefit the United States and its friends and allies.

## The Soviet Future

If Central and Eastern Europe was the scene of the peaceful Revolution of 1989, the dramatic story of 1991 is the deepening crisis within the Soviet Union. The old system of Communist orthodoxy is discredited, yet its diehard adherents have not given up the struggle against change. Fundamental choices — of multi-party democracy, national self-determination and market economic reform — have been postponed too long. The economy is deteriorating. The painful process of establishing new, legitimate political and economic institutions has much farther to go.

If reform is to succeed, Soviet leaders must move decisively to effect institutional change. When invited and where appropriate, we will offer our cooperation. But it is clearly not in our interest to offer assistance in a way that allows the Soviet government to avoid the hard choices that in the longer run are the only hope for the people of that country. At the July 1991 London Economic Summit, the participants announced their support for special associate status for the Soviet Union in the IMF and World Bank. This will give the Soviets access to the technical advice they need to formulate and implement their reform program.

The processes of reform inside the Soviet Union have already had a revolutionary impact on Soviet foreign policy. With former ideological imperatives giving way to a new pragmatism, areas of cooperation have expanded. The end of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe was a transforming event. Soviet policy toward the unification of Germany was constructive. The reduced role of ideology in Soviet foreign policy has diminished the importance of many developing areas as arenas of conflict with the West. Soviet support in the UN Security Council for the resolutions against Iraqi aggression was an important contribution to the international effort. We are hopeful that such cooperation can be expanded. Of course, the Soviets would pay a severe political price for any return to practices of an earlier era, exploiting regional disputes and instabilities for their presumed advantage.

Today, the threat of a U.S.-Soviet military conflict is lower than at any time since the end of World War II. With the ongoing withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe, the unilateral reductions now underway and the recently signed CFE treaty (if faithfully implemented), the threat of a sudden, massive offensive against NATO will have been eliminated. Despite uncertainty over the Soviet internal evolution, any attempt by the Soviets to restore such a threat would require lengthy preparation and be enormously costly and virtually impossible to conceal. Moreover, the START Treaty signed at the Moscow Summit will significantly reduce US and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals.

But Soviet military power is hardly becoming irrelevant. The Soviet Union is and will remain a military superpower. Beyond its modernized strategic arsenal, the Soviet Union's conventional forces west of the Urals will dwarf any other national force in Europe. While they no longer pose the threat of a short-warning, the-

ater-wide offensive, they could still pose a potent threat to a single flank or region. The size and orientation of Soviet military forces must therefore remain critical concerns to the United States and the overall health of the European system will still require a counterweight to Soviet military strength.

It is our responsibility as a government to hedge against the uncertainties of the future. Elements of the U.S.-Soviet relationship will remain competitive, and there is always the danger that confrontations will re-emerge. Our evolving relationship is also not immune to Soviet attempts to lay the problems created by decades of domestic tyranny, misrule and mismanagement at the feet of "foreign enemies". Nor is it immune to the implications of the forceful repression of democratic forces, slowing the Soviet Union's progress on a road that must be taken if it is to successfully meet the challenges before it. The internal order of a state is ultimately reflected in its external behavior. We will remain alert to the potential strategic consequences of a return to totalitarian policies.

## The Growing Roles of Germany and Japan

One of the most important and far-reaching strategic developments of a new era — and a major success of America's postwar policy — is the emergence of Japan and Germany as economic and political leaders. The United States has long encouraged such a development, and our close ties with these democracies have created the climate of reassurance necessary for their evolution as stable and powerful countries enjoying good relations with their neighbors. As these countries assume a greater political role, the health of American ties with them — political, military and economic — will remain crucial to regional and even global stability. These links are not relics of an earlier period. They are all the more needed in a new era as these countries' roles expand.

But we frequently find ourselves competitors — sometimes even bitter competitors — in the economic arena. These frictions must be managed if we are to preserve the partnerships that have fostered reconciliation, reassurance, democracy and security in the postwar period. In this sense, ongoing trade negotiations now share some of the strategic importance we have traditionally attached to arms talks with the Soviet Union.

The Gulf crisis has also reopened, with a new sense of urgency, the question of responsibility-sharing — not only with respect to sharing the costs and risks of Gulf operations, but also with regard to sharing the costs of U.S. forces defending Europe and Japan. Our allies are doing more, as befits their economic strength, but the issue may grow more acute as we and they adjust to a new era.

## The New Europe

It is Europe more than any other area that has held the key to the global balance in this century, and it is this continent more than any other that is experiencing fundamental change. The unification of Germany last October quickened the pace to a new, more promising era and a continent truly whole and free. As Europe is being transformed politically, we are also lifting the military shadows and fears with which we have lived for nearly half a century.

All across the Continent, the barriers that once confined people and ideas are collapsing. East Europeans are determining their own destinies, choosing freedom and economic liberty. One by one, the states of Central and Eastern Europe have begun to reclaim the European cultural and political tradition that is their heritage. All Soviet forces are gone from Czechoslovakia and Hungary and withdrawals from Germany and Poland are underway. The military capability of the Soviet forces still remaining in Eastern Europe is rapidly diminishing and the Warsaw Pact has been dissolved.

Basic to the new structure of peace we seek to build throughout Europe is the continued vitality of the North Atlantic Alliance — the indispensable foundation of transatlantic cooperation. To keep the Alliance strong and viable in a new environment we must recognize that there are important tasks beyond the changed — but still important — requirement to balance and deter Soviet military power. NATO must deter and defend against the threat of aggression from any state against the territory of a NATO member. NATO will also be essential in promoting a stable security environment throughout Europe, an environment based on democratic institutions and the peaceful resolution of disputes, an environment free of intimidation or attempts at hegemony. Finally, NATO still serves as an indispensable transatlantic forum for consultations on issues that affect common political and security interests.

As the European Community heads toward the new milestone of a single market by the end of 1992, we enter a revolution of relations in the West, perhaps ultimately as important strategically as the revolution taking place in the East. It is no accident that Europeans are contemplating greater West European cohesion in the security field, even while preserving the vital transatlantic framework. We will work to adapt NATO's structures to encompass European desires for a distinct security identity within the Alliance and we will encourage greater European responsibility for Europe's defense. While European governments will naturally take the lead in developing their own institutions, these efforts will enjoy our full support as long as they strengthen the Alliance. We will also work to adapt Alliance command structures to new realities — the reassessment of risks, a new NATO strategy, a different force structure — in ways that sustain the unique contribution of NATO's integrated military command.

The continued freedom, vitality and national independence of the new Eastern European democracies are also critical to the new structure of peace we seek to build throughout Europe. Any reversal of the present positive trend in Soviet policy would have serious implications. As the North Atlantic allies declared in June: "Our own security is inseparably linked to that of all other states in Europe. The consolidation and preservation throughout the continent of democratic societies and their freedom from any form of coercion or intimidation are therefore of direct and material concern to us." We and our NATO allies have established a program of contacts with the militaries of these states to support military establishments that will sustain newly won freedoms and we have extended our bilateral International Military Education and Training (IMET) program to strengthen military professionalism and to promote the principle of civilian oversight of the armed forces.

It is important that we not let euphoria over the easing of East-West confrontation blind us to the potential security problems within a new Europe. Historical enmities in Western Europe have been largely consigned to the past but disputes between and among some Eastern European states and ethnic groups appear to have been merely frozen in time by decades of Cold War. In the interwar period, the politics of these states were often dominated by economic hardship, competing nationalisms and overlapping territorial claims. We have reason to be more hopeful today, but security problems could emerge in the East in the course of the 1990s. The powerful centrifugal forces in Yugoslavia are particularly worrisome.

The overall structure of peace in Europe must be made solid enough to withstand the turmoil that looms ahead. We need to develop the processes and principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and perhaps other mechanisms to ease ethnic and national tensions and to dampen and resolve conflicts.

Europe also may be about to face a new problem, not new in kind, but in scope: mass migrations and flows of refugees in response to the breakdown of the communist world and the magnetic attraction of Western European prosperity. From the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, from North Africa and the Near East, we could see thousands fleeing economic hardship and seeking a better life. For Western European countries, there could be enormous economic, social and political strains — an unprecedented challenge to the new Europe, testing its moral and political character.

## *REGIONAL TRENDS*

While Europe remains a central strategic arena, the Gulf crisis reminded us how much our interests can be affected in other regions as well.

As the effects of the Cold War recede, regional disputes are less likely automatically to be perceived as part of a permanent — frequently dangerous, sometimes violent — global competition, thus allowing broader international cooperation in their resolution.

Less happily, in some regions this overall positive trend could unleash local, destructive forces that were formerly kept in check. As we saw in the Gulf, there is the danger of locally dominant powers, armed with modern weaponry and ancient ambitions, threatening the world's hope for a new era of cooperation. We see regimes that have made themselves champions of regional radicalism, states that are all too vulnerable to such pressures, governments that refuse to recognize one another, and countries that have claims on one another's territory — some with significant military capabilities and a history of recurring war. A key task for the future will be maintaining regional balances and resolving such disputes before they erupt in military conflict.

If the end of the Cold War lives up to its promise and liberates U.S. policy from many of its earlier concerns, we should be able to concentrate more on enhancing security — in the developing world, particularly — through means that are more political, social and economic than military. We must recognize the stark fact that our hopeful new era still has within it dislocations and dangers that threaten the fragile shoots of democracy and progress that have recently emerged. Malnutrition, illiteracy and poverty put dangerous pressures on democratic institutions as hungry, uneducated or poorly housed citizens are ripe for radicalization by movements of the left and the right. Our response to need and turmoil must increasingly emphasize the strengthening of democracy, and a long-term investment in the development of human resources and the structures of free markets and free governments. Such measures are an investment in our own security as well as a response to the demands of simple justice.

## The Western Hemisphere

Nowhere is this more true than in our own hemisphere, where our fundamental aims are to deepen the sense of partnership and common interest.

Latin Americans have long argued that U.S. interest has waxed and waned with the rise and fall of extra-hemispheric threats to regional security. Our policy has sought to allay these fears, as it is founded on the principle of a common destiny and mutual responsibility. The Western Hemisphere is all the more significant to the United States in light of today's global trends, political and economic.

The resurgence of democracy, the worldwide phenomenon that is such an inspiration to us, is heading toward a dramatic achievement — a completely democratic hemisphere. This drive gained momentum last year with the election of democratic governments in Nicaragua and Haiti, the restoration of democracy in Panama, and several other democratic elections. The electoral defeat of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua is especially noteworthy as it has led to the end of Soviet and Cuban military assistance, thereby increasing the security of all of Central America. The United States has provided political and economic support for the new government and its program for reconstruction and long-term development. Despite these successes, we realize that democratic institutions in much of Latin America remain fragile, and we are seeking ways to strengthen them.

In our military-to-military relations, we will continue to promote professionalism, support for civilian authority and respect for human rights. With recent legislative changes, we can more easily include civilian officials in our IMET program. Effective civilian control of the military will become a reality only when there is a cadre of competent civilian resource managers with the expertise to take the lead in defense issues.

Cuba remains a holdout in the hemisphere's transition to democracy but it is simply a matter of time before fundamental change occurs there, too. We will continue to press the Soviet Union to reduce its aid and presence in Cuba and we will enlist our friends in the hemisphere in pressing Cuba to accept the inevitable peacefully. In Central America, we support the regional trend toward negotiation, demilitarization and demobilization. The nations most severely threatened by guerrilla forces or narco-terrorists — El Salvador, Colombia and Peru — will receive appropriate support from the United States.

As many countries make the transition to democracy, a strong tide of economic realism and dedication to market-oriented reforms is also sweeping the region. Our interest in supporting both democratic and economic transitions in Latin America and the Caribbean is demonstrated by the new Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. This Initiative, which has been warmly welcomed in the region, sets out a vision of hemispheric prosperity achieved through expanded trade, increased investment, reduced debt burdens and important support for protection of the hemisphere's vital natural heritage. Concrete steps have been taken toward a hemispheric free trade area, including work on trade and investment framework agreements and a Free Trade Agreement embracing both Mexico and Canada. We are also encouraging countries to take steps to compete for capital and are working to reduce bilateral official debt of countries committed to strong economic reforms. We are seeking prompt Congressional approval of enabling legislation. In addition, we have proposed a specific trade preference system (patterned after the successful Caribbean Basin Initiative) to help Andean countries break out of their dependence on illegal drug crops. We will also work with our friends to develop the initiatives that make up the Partnership for Democracy and Development in Central America.

# East Asia and the Pacific

East Asia and the Pacific are home to some of the world's most economically and politically dynamic societies. The region also includes some of the last traditional Communist regimes on the face of the globe. Regional hotspots tragically persist on the Korean peninsula and in Cambodia, and there are territorial disputes in which progress is long overdue, including the Soviet Union's continued occupation of Japan's Northern Territories.

In this complex environment, an era of Soviet adventurism is on the ebb, even while its effects linger. This is placing new stresses on Vietnam, Cambodia and North Korea as Soviet military and economic aid declines and Moscow seeks to improve relations with Seoul, Tokyo and other capitals. China is coming to view its neighbors in a new light, and is gradually adjusting to a changing perception of the Soviet threat.

Through a web of bilateral relationships, the United States has pursued throughout the postwar period a policy of engagement in support of the stability and security that are prerequisites to economic and political progress. U.S. power remains welcome in key states in the region, who recognize the pivotal role we continue to play in the regional balance. We remain a key factor of reassurance and stability. By ensuring freedom of the seas through naval and air strength and by offering these capabilities as a counterweight in the region's power equations, we are likely to remain welcome in an era of shifting patterns and possible as new frictions.

Today's basically healthy conditions cannot be taken for granted. We will continue to be a beacon for democracy and human rights. We will meet our responsibilities in the security field. We will also remain actively engaged in promoting free and expanding markets through Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation, recognizing that economic progress is a major ingredient in Asia's political stability and democratic progress.

As noted earlier, our alliance with Japan remains of enormous strategic importance. Our hope is to see the U.S.-Japan global partnership extend beyond its traditional confines and into fields like refugee relief, non-proliferation and the environment.

On the Korean peninsula, we and the Republic of Korea seek to persuade North Korea of the benefit of confidence-building measures as a first step to lasting peace and reunification. We firmly believe that true stability can only be achieved through direct North-South talks. At the same time, the United States remains committed to the security of the Republic of Korea as it continues to open its economic and political systems. We are increasingly concerned about North Korea's failure to observe its obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and consider this to be the most pressing security issue on the peninsula.

China, like the Soviet Union, poses a complex challenge as it proceeds inexorably toward major systemic change. China's inward focus and struggle to achieve stability will not preclude increasing interaction with its neighbors as trade and technology advance. Consultations and contact with China will be central features of our policy, lest we intensify the isolation that shields repression. Change is inevitable in China, and our links with China must endure.

The United States maintains strong, unofficial, substantive relations with Taiwan where rapid economic and political change is underway. One of our goals is to foster an environment in which Taiwan and the Peoples Republic of China can pursue a constructive and peaceful interchange across the Taiwan Strait.

In Southeast Asia, there is renewed hope for a settlement in Cambodia. Only through resolution of the conflict in Cambodia can there be the promise of our restoring normal relations with that beleaguered nation and with Vietnam. Hanoi and Phnom Penh have sadly delayed the day when they can enjoy normal ties with us or their Southeast Asian neighbors. Of course, the pace and scope of our actions will also be directly affected by steps that are taken to resolve the fate of Americans still unaccounted for. The resolution of this issue remains one of our highest priorities.

Even with the loss of Clark Air Base, we remain committed to helping the Philippines make a success of its new democracy and to fulfilling our legitimate defense function there as allies and equals. In the South Pacific, we are demonstrating renewed interest in and assistance for the island states. Australia retains its special position as a steadfast ally and key Pacific partner. We

look forward to the day when New Zealand will choose to resume its responsibilities to the ANZUS alliance and rejoin Australia and the United States in this important regional structure.

## The Middle East and South Asia

The reversal of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait was a watershed event. Nonetheless, our basic policy toward the region shows powerful continuity. American strategic concerns still include promoting stability and the security of our friends, maintaining a free flow of oil, curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, discouraging destabilizing conventional arms sales, countering terrorism and encouraging a peace process that brings about reconciliation between Israel and the Arab states as well as between Palestinians and Israel in a manner consonant with our enduring commitment to Israel's security.

The regional environment since Desert Storm presents new challenges and new opportunities. Even as we provide badly needed relief and protection to refugees, we will work to bring about greater security and a lasting peace.

- We will help states in the Middle East to fashion regional security arrangements that bolster deterrence and encourage the peaceful resolution of disputes.

- We will work with parties inside and outside the region to change the destructive pattern of military competition and proliferation. This will involve confidence-building and arms control measures as well as more global forms of control over the supply of arms, especially weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them.

- We will encourage economic reconstruction and recovery, using the political and economic strengths of the victorious coalition to support economic openness and cooperation. We will also encourage regional states to evolve toward greater political participation and respect for human rights.

- We will continue the effort to bring about a comprehensive peace and true reconciliation between Israel and the Arab states and between Israel and the Palestinians.

- We will continue to demand that Iraq comply fully and unconditionally with all relevant UN resolutions, including Security Council Resolution 687 and its stipulation that Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile-related facilities be destroyed.

- We remain open to an improved relationship with Iran. However, meaningful improvement can only occur after Iran makes clear it is lending no support to hostage-taking or other forms of terrorism.

- We will also continue to monitor Libyan behavior, including terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and attempts to destabilize neighboring governments.

In South Asia, as elsewhere, we strongly believe that security is best served by resolving disputes through negotiations rather than military pressure. The dangers of intermediate-range missile deployments and nuclear proliferation in the sub-continent persist, however, and this year we were unable to certify Pakistan's nuclear program under the Pressler Amendment. We will continue to encourage Indo-Pakistani rapprochement and the adoption of confidence-building measures and other concrete steps to moderate their military competition. We also remain committed to achieving a comprehensive political settlement in Afghanistan.

## Africa

The end of the Cold war should benefit Africa in that it will no longer be seen as a battleground for superpower conflict. In a world at peace, more attention and resources should be freed to help the world's poorest. Nonetheless, many Africans now fear that the outside world will lose interest in their troubled continent, just at the moment when many negative trends from economic decline to AIDS to environmental degradation are likely to accelerate.

In a continent as diverse as Africa, democracy — as it emerges, reemerges, or begins its development — may take different forms, and its progress will be uneven. But we need not be inhibited in supporting values that have proved universal — political and human rights, democratic limits on the powers of government, judicial independence, free press and free speech. To those who think these goals are out of reach because of

Africa's poverty and disparate cultures, we say that democracy remains the political system most open to cultural diversity and most conducive to economic advance. Freedom, in its universal meaning, is Africa's birthright as much as it is anyone else's.

In the economic realm, hope lies in reducing the burden of statism and encouraging indigenous enterprise and human talent, especially in agriculture. The most important steps are those that must be taken by Africans themselves. Concepts of democracy and market economics must be applied in a continent where initially these concepts were rejected because socialism was fashionable. That failed experiment has now run its course, and political elites across Africa are rediscovering basic truths about political and economic freedom as the source of progress. We need to support this growing realism, which recognizes the failures from the past and which has produced pragmatic new leaders ready to move in new directions. Benign neglect will not suffice.

Africa is not without its beacons of hope. The efforts of white and black leaders in South Africa to move that country into a democratic, constitutional, post-apartheid era merit our active support and we have provided it. We have made clear our firm and enthusiastic support for the brave endeavor on which they have embarked.

Elsewhere in Africa, we can be proud of the role we played in bringing to an end civil wars in Angola and Ethiopia. We continue to play an active role in helping to resolve other conflicts such as those in Liberia and Mozambique.

Africa is now entering an age in which it can benefit from past mistakes and build a realistic, self-sustaining future. It is in our interest, for political as well as humanitarian reasons, to help that process.

# III. Relating Means to Ends: A Political Agenda for the 1990s

## *ALLIANCES, COALITIONS AND A NEW UNITED NATIONS*

Our first priority in foreign policy remains solidarity with our allies and friends. The stable foundation of our security will continue to be a common effort with peoples with whom we share fundamental moral and political values and security interests. Those nations with whom we are bound by alliances will continue to be our closest partners in building a new world order.

As our response to the Gulf crisis demonstrated, our leadership in a new era must also include a broader concept of international community and international diplomacy. If tensions with the Soviet Union continue to ease, we will face more ambiguous — but still serious — challenges. It will be difficult to foresee where future crises will arise. In many cases they will involve states not part of one or another bloc. Increasingly we may find ourselves in situations in which our interests are congruent with those of nations not tied to us by formal treaties. As in the Gulf, we may be acting in hybrid coalitions that include not only traditional allies but also nations with whom we do not have a mature history of diplomatic and military cooperation or, indeed, even a common political or moral outlook. This will require flexibility in our diplomacy and military policy, without losing sight of the fundamental values which that diplomacy and policy are designed to protect and on which they are based. To this end, we are well served to strengthen the role of international organizations like the United Nations.

For over 40 years political differences, bloc politics and demagogic rhetoric have kept the UN from reaching the full potential envisioned by its founders. Now we see the UN beginning to act as it was designed, freed from the superpower antagonisms that often frustrated consensus, less hobbled by the ritualistic anti-Americanism that so often weakened its credibility.

The response of the UN to Iraq's unprovoked aggression against a member state has truly vindicated and rejuvenated the institution. But even before that, the UN had distinguished itself in fostering democratic change in Namibia and Nicaragua. In the near future, we hope to see it play a constructive role in Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Western Sahara, El Salvador and elsewhere, assisting with elections and the return of displaced persons, as well as with peacekeeping.

The role of the UN in improving the human condition and ameliorating human suffering — development, aid to refugees, education, disaster relief — will continue to attract our leadership and resources. High on our agenda for international cooperation are the global challenges posed by illegal drugs, terrorism and degradation of the environment.

The costs of a world organization that can effectively carry out these missions are already significant and will increase as new tasks are undertaken. We have re-stated our intention to pay in full our annual assessments and are now paying arrearages. We intend to complete arrearage payments no later than 1995 and to pay our share of any new peacekeeping requirements. In voluntary funding, we will pay our fair share and encourage others to do the same.

# *THE CONTEST OF IDEAS AND THE NURTURING OF DEMOCRACY*

Recent history has shown how much ideas count. The Cold War was, in its decisive aspect, a war of ideas. But ideas count only when knowledge spreads. In today's evolving political environment, and in the face of the global explosion of information, we must make clear to our friends and potential adversaries what we stand for.

The need for international understanding among different peoples, cultures, religions and forms of government will only grow. In a world without the clear-cut East-West divisions of the past, the flow of ideas and information will take on larger significance as once-isolated countries seek their way toward the international mainstream. Indeed, information access has already achieved global proportions. A truly global community is being formed, vindicating our democratic values.

Through broadcasts, academic and cultural exchanges, press briefings, publications, speakers and conferences, we engage those abroad in a dialogue about who and what we are — to inform foreign audiences about our policies, democratic traditions, pluralistic society and rich academic and cultural diversity. We will increase our efforts to clarify what America has to contribute to the solution of global problems — and to drive home democracy's place in this process.

# *ARMS CONTROL*

Arms control is an important component of a balanced strategy to ameliorate the deadly consequences of global tensions as well as to reduce their fundamental causes. Our goal remains agreements that will enhance the security of the United States and its allies while strengthening international stability by:

- reducing military capabilities that could provide incentives to initiate attack;
- enhancing predictability in the size and structure of forces in order to reduce the fear of aggressive intent;
- ensuring confidence in compliance, through effective verification.

Our pursuit of these goals has profited from the recent, positive changes in East-West relations. With renewed commitment to conscientious implementation and the resolution of remaining issues, we are within reach of completing an arms control agenda that few imagined possible.

Much has already been accomplished. Within the past year we and the Soviets have agreed to cease production of chemical weapons and to destroy, using safe and environmentally-sound procedures, the vast majority of our chemical weapons stocks. We have agreed to new protocols to treaties on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests and nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, incorporating unprecedented on-site verification of compliance with the limits set by the treaties. At the Paris Summit last November, the United States, the Soviet Union and the other nations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) endorsed new measures to promote transparency in military dispositions and practices.

Also in Paris, the United States, our North Atlantic allies, the states of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union signed the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), a historic agreement that will establish numerical parity in major conventional armaments between East and West from the Atlantic to the Urals. The treaty will require thousands of weapons to be destroyed and includes unprecedented monitoring provisions. Submitting the treaty to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification was delayed by Soviet claims — made after the treaty was signed — that some of its ground force equipment held by units like naval infantry and coastal defense was not covered by the agreement. The satisfactory resolution of this question has opened the way for us to move forward.

Soviet behavior on CFE complicated the completion of a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. However, during the London Economic Summit, Presidents Bush and Gorbachev were able to overcome the last few obstacles on START, ending nine long years of difficult, technical negotiations. Signed in Moscow, this agreement will mark a fundamental milestone in reducing the risk of nuclear war — stabilizing the balance of strategic forces at lower levels, providing for significant reductions in the most threatening weapons and encouraging a shift toward strategic systems better suited for retaliation than for a first strike.

Our efforts to improve strategic stability will not stop here. We and the Soviets have pledged further efforts to enhance strategic stability and reduce the risk of nuclear war. We will seek agreements that improve survivability, remove incentives for a nuclear first strike and implement an appropriate relationship between strategic offenses and defenses. In particular, we will pursue Soviet agreement to permit the deployment of defenses designed to address the threat of limited ballistic missile strikes, a growing mutual concern. We are also consulting with our NATO allies on the framework that will guide the United States in future discussions with the Soviet Union on the reduction of short-range nuclear forces in Europe.

The United States has long supported international agreements designed to promote openness and freedom of navigation on the high seas. Over the past year, however, the Soviet Union has intensified efforts to restrict naval forces in ways contrary to internationally recognized rights of access. We will continue to reject such proposals. As a maritime nation, with our dependence on the sea to preserve legitimate security and commercial ties, freedom of the seas is and will remain a vital interest. We will not agree to measures that would limit the ability of our Navy to protect that interest, nor will we permit a false equation to be drawn between our Navy and regional ground-force imbalances that are inherently destabilizing. Recent events in the Gulf, Liberia, Somalia and elsewhere show that American seapower, without arbitrary limits on its force structure or operations, makes a strong contribution to global stability and mutual security.

## *STEMMING PROLIFERATION*

As we put the main elements of European and East-West arms control into place, attention will increasingly turn to other regional and global arms control objectives. None is more urgent than stopping the global proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as well as the missiles to deliver them.

The Gulf crisis drove home several lessons about this challenge:

- International agreements, while essential, cannot cope with the problem alone. Iraq is a party to both the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Notwithstanding its treaty obligations, Iraq has used chemical weapons and pursued nuclear ambitions.

- Export controls must be strengthened. Chemical weapons facilities in Libya and Iraq received technology and equipment from Western companies. Iraq used the deadly product of its facilities against its own people. Iraqi and several other nations' nuclear efforts and missile programs have also benefited from outside assistance.

- A successful non-proliferation strategy must address the underlying security concerns that drive the quest to obtain advanced weapons and must encompass contingency planning to deal with these weapons should prevention fail.

We are pursuing a three-tiered non-proliferation strategy: to strengthen existing arrangements; to expand the membership of multilateral regimes directed against proliferation; and to pursue new initiatives — such as the Chemical Weapons Convention and the initiative the President launched in May for the Middle East.

This latter effort reflects all the elements of our non-proliferation strategy. It includes promising new approaches, such as a proposed set of guidelines for responsible conventional weapons transfers to the region and a proposal to freeze acquisition, production and testing of surface-to-surface missiles. It also seeks to expand the membership of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Biological Weapons Convention, and to strengthen the application of these and other agreements where they are already in force.

In other areas, we have already tightened export controls, streamlining export-licensing procedures while taking full account of security needs. New standards will ensure that the export of supercomputers will be subject to stringent safeguards against misuse. Criminal penalties and other sanctions against those who contribute to proliferation will be expanded.

To thwart the export of chemical and biological weapon-related materials and technology, we have expanded our own controls over precursor chemicals and proposed stringent international controls, recognizing that only multilateral measures will be truly effective in a competitive global marketplace. This multilateral approach bore fruit in the twenty-nation Australia

Group of major chemical suppliers, which agreed in May to control common lists of chemical weapon precursors and equipment usable in chemical weapons manufacture. The best non-proliferation measure, of course, would be a completed Chemical Weapons Convention.

Our efforts to stem the proliferation of threatening missiles center on the multinational Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), strengthened last year by the inclusion of several new members. Since missile proliferation efforts will surely persist, we and our MTCR partners must improve controls, broaden membership further and reinforce the emerging international consensus against the spread of missile technology.

In the nuclear sphere, last year's review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty produced a large measure of consensus that the NPT remains essential to global stability, although intransigence by a few delegations blocked unanimous agreement to a final conference declaration. The United States remains steadfast in support of the NPT and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which provides technical assistance for civilian uses of nuclear energy while safeguarding materials essential for the development of nuclear weapons. Although trouble spots remain, progress has been made. Iraqi nuclear efforts have been set back substantially, while the UN Special Commission implementing Security Council Resolution 687 seeks dismantlement of all nuclear weapon-related activities in Iraq. Argentina and Brazil have agreed to accept IAEA safeguards on all their nuclear facilities and to take steps toward bringing into force the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which creates a Latin American nuclear-weapons-free zone. Agreement by India and Pakistan to ban attacks on each other's nuclear facilities also helped ease the tense nuclear rivalry in that part of the world.

The proliferation of advanced weapons poses an ominous challenge to global peace and stability. To meet it, we will work with our allies to address the causes of strife while curbing exports to builders of weapons of mass destruction.

## *INTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS*

The unprecedented scope and pace of change in today's world — and the increasing number of actors now able to threaten global peace — highlight the need for reliable information and a sophisticated understanding of events and trends. The global reach of American intelligence capabilities is a unique national asset, crucial not only to our own security, but also to our leadership role in responding to international challenges.

The Soviet Union necessarily remains a major concern of U.S. policy. While changes in the Soviet Union promise hope, the turbulence of change itself demands that we monitor events and assess prospects for the future. Our monitoring of Soviet military capabilities and the effective verification of arms control treaties will remain the bedrock of any effort to build confidence and a safer world.

In a new era there are also new tasks and new priorities. Regional turmoil will place growing burdens on intelligence collection, processing and analysis. At the same time, we must track the threats posed by narcotics trafficking, terrorism and the proliferation of advanced weapons. We must also be more fully aware of international financial, trade and technology trends that could affect the security of the United States, including its economic well-being.

Sweeping political and economic changes also make for a more challenging counterintelligence environment. Warmer relations between the United States and former adversaries will open new opportunities for the intelligence services of those countries. Growing international economic competition and potential regional instabilities vastly broaden the scope of the potential intelligence threat. Our traditional openness, combined with recent changes in immigration laws and the sheer volume of information flow in the United States, affords great access to sensitive information and facilities as well as to individuals who may be targets for intelligence collection.

## *ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE*

Foreign assistance is a vital instrument of American foreign policy. Now — as we look forward to expanded cooperation with our prosperous fellow democracies, with a growing number of regional organizations and with a revitalized United Nations — we are revisiting the direction and priorities of our foreign assistance program. We will focus our efforts and resources on five major challenges:

- Promoting and consolidating democratic values: Our programs will be an increasingly valuable instrument for fostering political choice, human rights and self-determination. From Central America to South Africa to Eastern Europe, we have used our influence to advance these universal goals.

- Promoting market principles: U.S. assistance must encourage economic reform and sustainable development. Multilaterally — through institutions like the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade — we foster policies that break down statist barriers to enterprise and unleash the productive forces within every society.

- Promoting peace: The bonds of collective defense can be strengthened through economic and security assistance. Such programs allow friendly states to achieve the security and stability essential for political freedom and economic growth. They are also an indispensable tool in cementing our alliance relationships — enhancing interoperability, promoting needed access and reaping goodwill.

- Protecting against transnational threats: International terrorism, narcotics, AIDS and environmental degradation threaten all peaceful nations. Our aid helps combat these dangers.

- Meeting urgent human needs. We will respond quickly and substantially to the suffering caused by natural or man-made disasters.

Managed wisely, our aid programs can play a key role in fostering a world order that comports with our fundamental values. But we must ensure that our resources are adequate, that our programs pursue well-defined goals, and that we retain the flexibility to respond to change and unforeseen requirements and opportunities. The changes we have recently proposed to the Foreign Assistance Act will eliminate obsolete and inconsistent provisions and set a solid foundation for cooperation with the Congress on a program that can respond to fast-moving events in the world as quickly as they occur. Such reform is urgently needed if our aid program is to be relevant to today's necessities.

## *ILLICIT DRUGS*

The international trade in drugs is a major threat to our national security. No threat does more damage to our national values and institutions, and the domestic violence generated by the trade in drugs is all too familiar. Trafficking organizations undermine the sovereign governments of our friends and weaken and distort national economies with a vast, debilitating black market and large funding requirements for enforcement, criminal justice, prevention and treatment systems. Demand reduction at home and an aggressive attack on the international drug trade are the main elements in our strategy. They must be pursued together.

During the 1990s, cocaine traffickers will likely try to develop new markets in Europe — particularly in light of the impending relaxation of border controls between EC countries — and in those nations of East Asia experiencing rapid economic growth. We can also expect increasingly energetic efforts to import cocaine and heroin into the United States, including the use of longer-range aircraft entering U.S. airspace via Canada and of drug-laden cargo containers transhipped to the United States via Europe and the Pacific. Renewed assaults on the U.S. market by increasingly sophisticated traffickers remind us of the need to also attack the drug trade at the source — its home country base of operations.

Such an effort begins with bolstering the political commitment of drug producer and transit countries to strengthen their laws, legal institutions and programs to prosecute, punish, and — where appropriate — extradite drug traffickers and money launderers. In the Andean region, where most of the world's cocaine is cultivated and refined, we seek to enhance the effectiveness of host-nation law enforcement and military activities against powerful and well entrenched trafficking organizations, and to increase public and leadership awareness of the drug threat. Our trade, aid and investment programs aim to strengthen and diversify the legitimate economies of the drug- producing Andean nations to enable them to overcome the destabilizing effects of eliminating coca and its derivatives, major sources of income. Our heroin strategy will foster cooperation with other countries, to engage their resources to dismantle their own cultivation and refining industries, and reduce demand for drugs. We will solicit the assistance of others in influencing producers to whom we have limited access.

# *IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES*

As a nation founded by immigrants and refugees, the United States has a strong tradition of taking in those who flee persecution and seek a better life. We open our doors annually to tens of thousands of refugees and hundreds of thousands of immigrants, welcoming both for the diversity and strength they bring the Nation. We also have a commitment to help the uprooted who are in danger or in need, a commitment demonstrated in the past several months by our role in the international effort to assist Iraqi refugees and our reaching out to Africans and others.

In 1990 the United States welcomed refugees from all regions of the world. As in the past several years, the majority came from the Soviet Union and Asia. In Vietnam, we are dismayed by continued human rights abuses. Hanoi is, however, allowing former political prisoners to emigrate. The United States resettled 14,000 former political prisoners and their family members from Vietnam in 1990 and the number will increase this year. But we cannot take in everyone. We must look to other countries to be more receptive to those in need. Nor can the United States Government fund and provide for every refugee in this country. As in the past, our private sector has an important role to play.

As noted earlier, economic hardship, political uncertainty and ethnic strife may generate large numbers of refugees in Europe. Some will be true refugees and others will be economic migrants, those who move to escape economic misery. Though international responses must differ between these two categories — to be able to protect those who flee persecution and may be in physical danger — the world's nations must be ready to respond quickly and humanely to both.

For 16 million refugees worldwide, the United States offers assistance through international programs and recognizes the critical role of nongovernmental organizations in providing care. Our budgeted refugee assistance levels have increased, and we will do our fair share. We will also meet our responsibility to search for diplomatic solutions to the problems that spawn refugee flows.

A period of turmoil and transition is often a period of dislocation. If our diplomatic efforts and our aid programs prove inadequate, the volume of refugees and migrants will be an index of our failure. The world community will need to be prepared.

# IV. Relating Means to Ends: An Economic Agenda for the 1990s

Events of the past year have reaffirmed the critical link between the strength and flexibility of the U.S. economy and our ability to achieve national objectives. Indeed, strong macroeconomic performance on the part of the United States is not only an economic objective but a prerequisite for maintaining a position of global political leadership.

## *ECONOMIC CHALLENGES*

Even as we now see a transformation of the global economy along lines consistent with policies we have pursued for many years, new challenges — the crisis in the Gulf and its aftermath, the political and economic transformation in Eastern Europe and potentially in the Soviet Union, the resurgence of democracy and market economies in Central and South America — have placed new demands on our management of economic policy. We must ensure that our domestic economy and our economic involvement abroad are responsive to a changing economic landscape.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and actions taken by the international coalition to resist Iraqi aggression, especially tested our economic strength and our ability to help manage international economic forces. Economies around the world were affected by the volatility of oil prices and the disruption of economic ties to countries in the Gulf. Egypt, Turkey and Jordan were particularly hurt. We must continue to work to ensure the economic health of these countries as well as others that have suffered markedly from this crisis. The United States will provide leadership, but in close collaboration with major donors and creditors and with international financial institutions, particularly the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

As always, a dynamic domestic economy plays a critical role in helping us achieve national objectives in all spheres. Policies to control inflation, reduce the Federal deficit, promote savings, improve the labor force and encourage competitiveness and entrepreneurial initiative remain critical to our overall well-being and security. As economies expand worldwide, the economic strength of others will, of course, grow in relative terms. This is not a threat to us, but rather a success of Western policies. That said, Americans must realize that the economic strength vital to our national interests comes from investing for the future, thus putting a premium on domestic saving. Today's labor force and management, and those of tomorrow, must also be committed to quality and innovation. These are the fruits of hard work — and a prerequisite for continued global leadership.

We continue to pursue a strategy that expands and strengthens market economies around the world. This will require international efforts to open markets and expand trade; to strengthen cooperation among major industrial countries and with international financial institutions; and to apply imaginative solutions to the problems of developing countries.

## *MAINTAINING ECONOMIC GROWTH*

Clear signs are emerging that the U.S.economy is pulling out of its brief recession but uncertainty remains over economic performance in much of the rest of the world. Therefore, macroeconomic policies in all the major countries must be designed to sustain global economic recovery with price stability. Global growth is needed in order to create a favorable economic and trade environment for reform and reconstruction in

Eastern Europe and the USSR, and ensure as well the success of the democratic, market-oriented measures that have been adopted worldwide. The major countries must continue to strengthen global coordination of economic policies to achieve these aims.

## GLOBAL IMBALANCES

While the U.S. trade deficit has continued to decline, trade imbalances with Japan and many other countries remain substantial. Reducing these imbalances remains a priority. For the United States this requires a sustained effort to reduce and ultimately eliminate budget deficits while also encouraging private savings and investment in order to preserve U.S. competitiveness. Countries with large trade surpluses bear a special responsibility for maintaining adequate growth in domestic demand and opening their markets further to imports.

## DEBT

The aggregate debt of developing countries was projected to reach $1.3 trillion in 1990, according to the World Bank. Inappropriate domestic policies in debtor countries — overvalued exchange rates, large budget deficits, investment in inefficient public enterprises and restrictions on trade and investment — were major causes of this debt accumulation and contributed to capital flight. External shocks, high international interest rates and recession in the 1980s also hurt. Recently this burden has been exacerbated by the economic dislocations and fluctuations in energy prices resulting from the Gulf crisis.

In March 1989, the United States proposed a new international debt strategy that advanced voluntary reduction of commercial bank debt and debt service to help restore debtor financial health and pave the way for new commercial bank lending. Implementation of a strong economic reform program supported by the IMF and World Bank is a prerequisite. So far, Mexico, Costa Rica, Nigeria, the Philippines, Venezuela, Morocco, Uruguay and Chile have negotiated agreements under these proposals. Others are undertaking reforms to obtain such support.

Creditor governments have also made substantial contributions to relief through rescheduling of official bilateral debt and have recently offered new treatment for the official debt of lower middle income countries, as mandated by last year's Houston Economic Summit, and for Poland and Egypt. The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative also promotes growth in Latin America by emphasizing official debt reduction and investment reform.

## TRADE

Countries accept as natural that trade and investment should flow freely within national boundaries or within special regional groupings in order to improve economic and social welfare. Internationally, this concept has met varying degrees of acceptance. Countries have protected certain sectors for national security, economic, industrial or social reasons.

For the last 50 years, significant efforts have been undertaken, primarily through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), to expand trade among all nations by opening markets and resolving trade disputes. The latest and most ambitious effort has been the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations, begun in 1986. The Uruguay Round is distinguished from previous efforts by the intention of GATT members to extend GATT rules to areas such as agriculture, services, investment, the protection of intellectual property and textiles. At the Houston Economic Summit in 1990, the United States, Canada, Japan, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the European Community committed to removing trade barriers in these politically difficult areas. The wise action of Congress in extending "fast track" procedures for trade agreements is evidence of America's commitment to responsible leadership.

The promise of the Uruguay Round has yet to be fulfilled, however, primarily because of strong differences over the scope and pace of efforts to dismantle the enormous barriers to trade in agricultural goods. Given the interdependence of modern economies, and the need to expand trading opportunities for emerging democracies and other developing countries, it is important that the Round be brought to a successful conclusion. This is a test of the ability and willingness of all countries to rise to the challenges of a new world order and will require compromise on all sides. The United States will do its part. A successful Round will not end bilateral trade disputes but it will enable countries to resolve them in a multilateral context and on the basis of internationally agreed rules.

The United States will continue its efforts to expand trade further. We are working with Japan under the Structural Impediments Initiative to lower trade barriers. As noted earlier, we are building on the successful U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement by undertaking discussions with Mexico and Canada which we expect will lead to a trilateral free trade agreement linking all three economies. The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative and preferential trade programs for the Caribbean basin and the Andean region will also foster trade liberalization.

## TECHNOLOGY

The interrelationship of economic and military strength has never been stronger. Both are affected by the way technology transfer is handled, particularly with respect to export controls. Balances must be struck. Loss of technological leadership can undermine military readiness and strength. Not participating freely in worldwide markets constrains economic growth. Recent changes to our strategic trade policies reflect a new balance between these competing factors.

In cooperation with our Western partners in the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM), we have completely overhauled export controls, reducing them to a core list of only the most strategically significant goods and technologies. This action reflects the emergence of democratic governments in Eastern Europe as well as a reduced military threat to the United States and our allies from a dissolved Warsaw Pact and a Soviet army that is withdrawing. The result has been a two-thirds reduction in the licenses that industry is required to obtain prior to exporting.

Treating the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe differently from the Soviet Union, we and our COCOM partners have adopted a wide-ranging special procedure for Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia that ensures that controlled technology imports are used for purely civilian applications. We look forward to the day when we can remove these countries completely from the list of proscribed destinations. We have a strong interest in promoting the growth of free markets in democratic societies. At the same time we must be sure that the easing of COCOM controls does not result in the proliferation of dangerous technologies to other areas like the Middle East. For that reason, we have — in close cooperation with other supplier nations — significantly improved controls on technologies useful in developing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them.

## ENERGY

Secure, ample, diversified and clean supplies of energy are essential to our national economic prosperity and security. For the foreseeable future, oil will remain a vital element in our energy mix. For geological and economic reasons, U.S. oil imports are likely to increase in coming years. The rate of increase, however, could be reduced by improving the efficiency with which oil is used in the economy and by substituting alternative fuels.

Security of oil supplies is enhanced by a supportive foreign policy and appropriate military capabilities. We will work to improve understanding among key participants in the oil industry of the basic fundamentals of the oil market. We will also maintain our capability to respond to requests to protect vital oil facilities, on land or at sea, while working to resolve the underlying political, social and economic tensions that could threaten the free flow of oil.

The stability of the Gulf region, which contains two-thirds of the world's known oil reserves, is of fundamental concern to us. Political and military turbulence in the region has a direct impact on our economy, largely through higher oil prices and potential supply disruptions. Diversification of both productive and spare capacity is important to providing a cushion to the oil market. Increased production, in an environmentally sound manner, from other areas would also contribute to the security of oil supplies.

Because energy markets — particularly the oil market — are global, our energy security requires close cooperation among energy consumers. The aftermath of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait demonstrates the need to improve strategic stock levels within oil-consuming countries and the value of international cooperation to help mitigate damage brought about by sudden, serious disruptions of supply. The United States should develop creative mechanisms to fill its Strategic Petroleum Reserve to the statutorily required one billion barrels, consistent with sound budgetary practices and avoiding an unnecessary burden on the oil market.

Our use of oil is the key source of our vulnerability to world oil supply disruption. To reduce this vulnerability, we must work to both reduce oil consumption and to use oil more efficiently. The efficient use of energy in all sectors of our economy is of particular importance. We must intensify the development of alternative sources of energy (nuclear, natural gas, coal and renewables) and support aggressive research and development of advanced energy technologies to provide the clean, affordable, reliable energy supplies we will need in the mid-21st century.

To meet pressing environmental concerns, we must limit the harmful effects of energy production, transportation and use. The increased, safe use of nuclear power, for example, can significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

## THE ENVIRONMENT

We must manage the Earth's natural resources in ways that protect the potential for growth and opportunity for present and future generations. The experience of the past half-century has taught that democratic political institutions and free market economies enhance human well-being. But even as we experience political and economic success, we cannot ignore the costs that growth, unguided by wisdom, can impose on our natural environment. A healthy economy and a healthy environment go hand-in-hand. Solutions must be found that protect our environment while allowing for the economic development needed to improve the living standards of a growing world population.

Global environmental concerns include such diverse but interrelated issues as stratospheric ozone depletion, climate change, food security, water supply, deforestation, biodiversity and treatment of wastes. A common ingredient in each is that they respect no international boundaries. The stress from these environmental challenges is already contributing to political conflict. Recognizing a shared responsibility for global stewardship is a necessary step for global progress. Our partners will find the United States a ready and active participant in this effort.

## SPACE

The time has come to look beyond brief space encounters and to commit to a future in which Americans and citizens of all nations live and work in space. We have developed a plan to make this vision a reality and the National Space Council, under Vice President Quayle, is charged with bringing coherence, continuity and commitment to our efforts. We have made solid progress in the five key elements of our space strategy:

- Developing our space launch capability as a national resource: This infrastructure will be to the 21st century what the great highway and dam projects were to the 20th. Reliable space launchers will provide the "highway" to space and the solar system in the next century.

- Expanding human presence and activity beyond earth orbit and into the Solar System: We are well underway with unmanned exploration of the Solar System. Magellan, Viking and Voyager have been spectacular successes, Galileo is on its way to Jupiter, Ulysses has launched on its wide-ranging orbit of the sun and soon we will begin missions to Saturn and the Asteroid Belt. The Space Exploration Initiative will build on the successes and expertise developed in the Apollo, Skylab, Space Shuttle and eventually the Space Station Freedom programs, ultimately establishing permanent human settlements on the Moon and putting humans on Mars.

- Obtaining scientific, technological and economic benefits and improving the quality of life on earth: Communications satellites already link people around the globe; their contribution to the free flow of information and ideas played a part in the Revolution of '89. We also use space systems to verify arms control treaties. But the potential of space to improve life on earth has barely been tapped. A very promising application is in the area of the environment — monitoring and helping to understand the process of ecological change, and holding significant promise for new sources of energy, material and products.

- Capitalizing on the unique environment of space to foster economic well-being: Private investment in space will create jobs, boost the economy and strengthen our scientific, engineering and industrial base. New commercial markets will be created, and existing industries will become stronger and more competitive in the world marketplace. The recently approved commercial launch policy is a first step in this process.

- Ensuring the freedom of space for exploration and development: There are now some ten significant spacefaring nations, with others on the way. Space will become in the future what oceans have always been — highways to discovery and commerce. But as with sea lanes, space lanes can be closed and can even be used as springboards for attack. We must ensure the freedom to use space for exploration and development, for ourselves and all nations.

Assured access to space requires a healthy military space program. We must be able to monitor events in space, warn of threats and intervene to protect important space assets. This protection may take the form of passive measures to enhance the survivability of critical systems. We must also have the option of active defense systems, including an anti-satellite system, to stop an aggressor before he can use a space system to threaten objects or people in or from space.

# V. Relating Means to Ends: A Defense Agenda for the 1990s

As the war to liberate Kuwait clearly showed, the essential demands on our military forces — to deter conflict whenever possible but to prevail in those that do arise — are certain to endure. Nonetheless, the specific challenges facing our military in the 1990s and beyond will be different from those that have dominated our thinking for the past 40 years.

In a world less driven by an immediate, massive threat to Europe or the danger of global war, the need to support a smaller but still crucial forward presence and to deal with regional contingencies — including possibly a limited, conventional threat to Europe — will shape how we organize, equip, train, deploy and employ our active and reserve forces. We must also have the ability to reconstitute forces, if necessary, to counter any resurgent global threat.

As the war in the Gulf made clear, the easing of the Soviet threat does not mean an end to all hazards. As we seek to build a new world order in the aftermath of the Cold War, we will likely discover that the enemy we face is less an expansionist communism than it is instability itself. And, in the face of multiple and varied threats to stability, we will increasingly find our military strength a source of reassurance and a foundation for security, regionally and globally.

In the face of competing fiscal demands and a changing but still dangerous world, we have developed a new defense strategy that provides the conceptual framework for our future forces. This new strategy will guide our deliberate reductions to no more than the forces we need to defend our interests and meet our global responsibilities. It will also guide our restructuring so that our remaining forces are appropriate to the challenges of a new era. The four fundamental demands of a new era are already clear: to ensure strategic deterrence, to exercise forward presence in key areas, to respond effectively to crises and to retain the national capacity to reconstitute forces should this ever be needed.

## *NUCLEAR DETERRENCE*

Deterrence will indeed be enhanced as a result of the START Treaty and U.S. force modernization efforts can go forward with greater knowledge and predictability about future Soviet forces. Nevertheless, even with the Treaty, Soviet nuclear capabilities will remain substantialf. Despite economic and political difficulties, the Soviet Union continues its modernization of strategic forces. Even in a new era, deterring nuclear attack remains the number one defense priority of the United States.

### Strategic Nuclear Forces

The modernization of our Triad of land-based missiles, strategic bombers and submarine-launched missiles will be vital to the effectiveness of our deterrent in the next century. We need to complete the Trident submarine program with the eighteen boats and modern missiles necessary to ensure a survivable force. The B-2 strategic bomber must be deployed so that the flexibility traditionally provided by the bomber force will be available in the future. The B-2 will also firmly plant our aerospace industry in a new era of low-observable technology and the bomber itself will have unique value across the spectrum of conflict. Finally, we must continue the development of land-based, mobile ICBMs in order to keep our deployment options open.

Our command, control and communications capabilities are critical to nuclear deterrence and to ensuring the survivability of our constitutional government under

all circumstances of attack. Our civil defense program is still needed to deal with the consequences of an attack, while also providing important capabilities to respond to natural and man-made catastrophes.

The safety, security, control and effectiveness of United States nuclear weapon systems are also of paramount importance. We are incorporating the most modern safety and control features into our deterrent stockpile as rapidly as practicable and developing new safety technologies for future weapons. Older weapons that lack the most modern safety features are being replaced or retired.

Testing of nuclear weapons plays a key part in assuring the safety and effectiveness of our deterrent forces. While we test only as much as is required for national security purposes, testing is essential to ensure the reliability and effectiveness of our weapons, to identify any safety issues and to prove any corrective measures. A halt to nuclear testing would not eliminate weapons or increase security, but it would erode confidence in our deterrent and severely restrict our ability to make improvements, especially in nuclear safety.

Just as our weapons must be safe, the facilities that produce them must be safe, efficient, economical, and environmentally sound. Our current facilities are being renovated and brought up to modern standards. At the same time we are moving forward to consolidate and reconfigure the current large and older complex, looking toward one that will be smaller, more flexible and more efficient. Our production complex must be able to respond to potential needs ranging from accelerated production to accelerated retirement of weapons, depending on the security environment in the years ahead.

We must also recognize that the deterrence issues of a new era are now at hand. Despite the threat still posed by the existence of Soviet nuclear weapons, the likelihood of their deliberate use by the Soviet state is declining and the scenario which we frequently projected as the precursor of their use — massive war in Europe — is less likely than at any other time since World War II. These developments affect questions of nuclear targeting, the alert status and operational procedures of our forces and ultimately the type and number of weapons sufficient to ensure our safety and that of our allies. We have already begun to make adjustments to our nuclear forces and to the policies that guide them in recognition of the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and changes in the Soviet Union itself. Beyond this, while we have traditionally focused on deterring a unitary, rational actor applying a relatively knowable calculus of potential costs and gains, our thinking must now encompass potential instabilities within states as well as the potential threat from states or leaders who might perceive they have little to lose in employing weapons of mass destruction.

## Non-Strategic Nuclear Forces

Below the level of strategic forces, we have traditionally maintained other nuclear forces for a variety of purposes. They have highlighted our resolve and have helped to link conventional defense to the broader strategic nuclear guarantee of the United States. This has helped remove incentives that otherwise might have accelerated nuclear proliferation. These systems have also served to deter an enemy's use of such weapons and they have contributed to the deterrence of conventional attack. These needs persist.

In Europe, we and our allies have always sought the lowest number and most stable types of weapons needed to prevent war. Indeed, NATO has unilaterally reduced thousands of nuclear weapons over the past decade, in addition to the elimination of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet weapons as called for in the Treaty on Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces. Changes in Europe have now allowed us to forgo plans to modernize our LANCE missiles and nuclear artillery shells and we will work to implement the commitments of the London Declaration with respect to short-range nuclear weapons currently deployed in Europe.

Even with the dramatic changes we see in Europe, however, non-strategic nuclear weapons remain integral to our strategy of deterrence. They make NATO's resolve unmistakably clear and help prevent war by ensuring that there are no circumstances in which a nuclear response to military action might be discounted. In practical terms, this means greater reliance on aircraft armed with modern weapons. As the principal means by which Alliance members share nuclear risks and burdens, these aircraft and their weapons must be based in Europe. Such a posture is not designed to threaten any European state but to provide a secure deterrent in the face of unforeseen circumstances.

## Missile Defenses

Flexible response and deterrence through the threat of retaliation have preserved the security of the United States and its allies for decades. In the early 1980s, we began the Strategic Defense Initiative in the face of an unconstrained Soviet ballistic-missile program and a significant Soviet commitment to strategic defenses. SDI was intended to shift deterrence to a safer, more stable basis as effective strategic defenses would diminish the confidence of an adversary in his ability to execute a successful attack.

Notwithstanding the continued modernization of Soviet offensive forces and the pursuit of more effective strategic defenses, the positive changes in our relationship with the Soviet Union and the fundamental changes in Eastern Europe have markedly reduced the danger of a war in Europe that could escalate to the strategic nuclear level. At the same time, the threat posed by global ballistic-missile proliferation and by an accidental or unauthorized launch resulting from political turmoil has grown considerably. Thus, the United States, our forces, and our allies and friends face a continued and even growing threat from ballistic missiles.

In response to these trends, we have redirected SDI to pursue a system providing Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS). With adequate funding, it will be possible to begin to deploy systems that will better protect our troops in the field from ballistic-missile attack by the mid-1990s and that will protect the United States itself from such attacks by the turn of the century. GPALS is designed to provide protection against a ballistic missile launched from anywhere against a target anywhere in the world. The system will be based on technologies which SDI has pioneered, but would be both smaller and less expensive than the initial deployment originally projected for SDI.

GPALS offers many potential advantages: the United States would be protected against limited strikes by ballistic missiles; our forward-deployed forces would be better defended against missile attacks; and our allies, many of whom lie on the edge of troubled areas, could also be better protected. The record of the PATRIOT against Iraqi SCUDs highlights the great potential for defenses against ballistic missiles, the critical role of missile defenses and the need to improve such defenses further.

GPALS could also provide incentives against further proliferation of ballistic missiles. If these missiles did not hold the potential to cause certain and immediate damage, nations might be less likely to go to such great lengths to acquire them. Access to U.S. assistance in defenses may also provide an incentive for countries not to seek ballistic missiles or weapons of mass destruction.

## *FORWARD PRESENCE*

Maintaining a positive influence in distant regions requires that we demonstrate our engagement. The forward presence of our military forces often provides the essential glue in important alliance relationships and signals that our commitments are backed by tangible actions. Our presence can deter aggression, preserve regional balances, deflect arms races and prevent the power vacuums that invite conflict. While our forward deployments will be reduced in the future, the prudent forward basing of forces and the prepositioning of equipment reduce the burden of projecting power from the continental United States. Indeed, certain regions — like Europe and East Asia — represent such compelling interests to the United States that they will demand the permanent deployment of some U.S. forces for as long as they are needed and welcomed by our allies as part of a common effort. But even in these regions, the size of our forward deployments can be smaller as the threat diminishes and the defense capabilities of our allies improve. In other regions our presence, while important, can take less permanent forms.

## Across the Atlantic: Europe and the Middle East

In Europe, Soviet reductions and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact allow us to scale back our presence to a smaller, but still significant, contribution to NATO's overall force levels. This presence will include the equivalent of a robust army corps, with a corps headquarters, associated corps units, and two ground force divisions supplemented by several air wings, appropriate naval forces, and sufficient infrastructure to support a return of additional forces. Such a force will preserve the operational, not just symbolic, significance of our presence.

As called for in July at the London NATO Summit, we will work with our allies to make our forces in Europe

more flexible and mobile and more fully integrated into multinational formations. NATO will establish a multinational Rapid Reaction Corps to respond to crises and we expect Alliance forces, including those of the United States, to be organized into multinational corps that would function in peacetime, and not just be contingent structures activated in a crisis. We will also exploit the prospect of longer warning time in the event of a major crisis by backing up our deployed forces with the ability to reinforce them with active and reserve units from the United States, supported by the ability to reconstitute larger forces over time should the need arise.

The aftermath of the crisis in the Gulf portends a need for some measure of continuing presence in that region consistent with the desires and needs of our friends. While the United States will not maintain a permanent ground presence, we are committed to the region's security. We will work with our friends to bolster their confidence and security through such measures as exercises, prepositioning of heavy equipment and an enhanced naval presence. Our vital national interests depend on a stable and secure Gulf.

## Across the Pacific

Our enduring interests in East Asia and the Pacific also demand forces sufficient to meet our responsibilities and to sustain our long-term relationships with friends and allies. While East Asia has been considerably less affected by the Revolution of '89 than Europe, the growing strength and self-reliance of our friends in the region permit some reduction in our presence.

A phased approach, responding to global and regional events, is the soundest. We have announced our intent to adjust military personnel levels in the Philippines, the Republic of Korea and Japan. This phase is designed to thin out existing force structure and reshape our security relationships. Before this phase ends in December 1992, over 15,000 U.S. personnel will be withdrawn. Later phases will reduce and reorganize our force structure further, as circumstances permit.

Korea represents the area of greatest potential danger, and reductions there must be carefully measured against North Korean actions. However, we have judged that the growing strength of our Korean allies permits us to reduce our presence and begin to move toward a security partnership in which the Korean armed forces assume the leading role. We are also encouraged by the progress of the Japanese Government in rounding out its own self-defense capabilities.

## The Rest of the World

In other regions, as the need for our presence persists, we will increasingly rely on periodic visits, training missions, access agreements, prepositioned equipment, exercises, combined planning and security and humanitarian assistance to sustain the sense of common interest and cooperation on which we would rely in deploying and employing our military forces. As the Gulf crisis clearly showed, our strategy is increasingly dependent on the support of regional friends and allies. In fact — during crises — the cooperation and support of those local states most directly threatened will be critical factors in determining our own course of action.

# *CRISIS RESPONSE*

Despite our best efforts to deter conflict, we must be prepared for our interests to be challenged with force, often with little or no warning. The Gulf crisis was ample evidence that such challenges will not always be small or easily resolved. Because regional crises are the predominant military threat we will face in the future, their demands — along with our forward presence requirements — will be the primary determinant of the size and structure of our future forces.

The regional contingencies we could face are many and varied. We must be prepared for differences in terrain, climate and the nature of threatening forces, as well as for differing levels of support from host nations or others. We must also be able to respond quickly and effectively to adversaries who may possess cruise missiles, modern air defenses, chemical weapons, ballistic missiles and even large armor formations. Although our forward deployed forces speed our ability to respond to threats in areas like the Pacific or Europe, there are other regions where threats, while likely to be less formidable, may prove no less urgent.

## Mobility

In this new era, therefore, the ability to project our power will underpin our strategy more than ever. We must be able to deploy substantial forces and sustain

them in parts of the world where prepositioning of equipment will not always be feasible, where adequate bases may not be available (at least before a crisis) and where there is a less developed industrial base and infrastructure to support our forces once they have arrived. Our strategy demands we be able to move men and materiel to the scene of a crisis at a pace and in numbers sufficient to field an overwhelming force. The 100-hour success of our ground forces in the war to liberate Kuwait was stunning, but we should not allow it to obscure the fact that we required six months to deploy these forces. As our overall force levels draw down and our forward-deployed forces shrink, we must sustain and expand our investment in airlift, sealift and — where possible — prepositioning. We must also ensure unimpeded transit of the air and sea lanes and access to space through maritime and aerospace superiority. Our security assistance must, among other things, enhance the ability of other nations to facilitate our deployments. And, over the longer term, we must challenge our technology to develop forces that are lethal but more readily deployable and more easily sustained than today's.

## Readiness and Our Guard and Reserve Forces

For almost two decades, our Total Force Policy has placed a substantial portion of our military manpower in high-quality, well-trained, well-equipped and early-mobilizing Guard and Reserve units. Compared to maintaining such a force in the active component, this was a cost-effective strategy, a prudent response to an international security environment where the predominant threat was major conflict in Europe or global war with the Soviets, with warning of such a conflict measured in weeks or even days.

That environment has been transformed. Today we must reshape our Guard and Reserve forces so that they can continue their important contributions in new circumstances. While we still face the possibility of sudden conflict in many of the regional contingencies that could concern us, these threats — despite their danger — will be on a smaller scale than the threat formerly posed by the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies. This will allow a smaller force overall, but those units oriented towards short-warning, regional contingencies must be kept at high readiness.

Over time we will move to a Total Force that permits us to respond initially to any regional contingency with units — combat and support — drawn wholly from the active component, except for a limited number of support and mobility assets. Since many support functions can be more economically maintained in the reserve component, we will still rely on reserve support units in any extended confrontation. The primary focus of reserve combat units will be to supplement active units in any especially large or protracted deployment. To hedge against a future need for expanded forces to deal with a renewed global confrontation, which — though possible — is less likely and clearly less immediate than previously calculated, some reserve combat units will be retained in cadre status.

This approach will allow us to maintain a Total Force appropriate for the strategic and fiscal demands of a new era: a smaller, more self-contained and very ready active force able to respond quickly to emerging threats; and a reduced but still essential reserve component with emphasis on supporting and sustaining active combat forces, and — in particularly large or prolonged regional contingencies — providing latent combat capability that can be made ready when needed.

Even as we restructure for a new era, we will continue to place a premium on the quality of our military personnel, the backbone of any effective fighting force. True military power is measured by the professional skills and dedication of our young men and women. In six weeks and 100 decisive hours, today's military proved it is the most skilled and effective fighting force this Nation has ever possessed. As we make the adjustments appropriate to a new environment, we will preserve this precious resource.

## *RECONSTITUTION*

Beyond the crisis response capabilities provided by active and reserve forces, we must have the ability to generate wholly new forces should the need arise. Although we are hopeful for the future, history teaches us caution. The 20th century has seen rapid shifts in the geopolitical climate, and technology has repeatedly transformed the battlefield. The ability to reconstitute is what allows us safely and selectively to scale back and restructure our forces in-being.

This difficult task will require us to invest in hedging options whose future dividends may not always be

measurable now. It will require careful attention to the vital elements of our military potential: the industrial base, science and technology, and manpower. These elements were easily accommodated in an era when we had to maintain large standing forces, when we routinely invested heavily in defense R&D and when new items of equipment were broadly and extensively produced. We will now have to work much more deliberately to preserve them.

The standard by which we should measure our efforts is the response time that our warning processes would provide us of a return to previous levels of confrontation in Europe or in the world at large. We and our allies must be able to reconstitute a credible defense faster than any potential opponent can generate an overwhelming offense.

## Manpower

Reconstitution obviously includes manpower. Relatively large numbers of personnel, trained in basic military skills, can be raised in one to two years. But skilled, seasoned leaders — high-quality senior NCOs and officers — require many years to develop and we must preserve this critical nucleus to lead an expanding military force. This must be reflected in how we man active, reserve and cadre units over the long term.

## Defense Technology

Another challenge will be to maintain our edge in defense technology, even as we reduce our forces. Technology has historically been a comparative advantage for American forces, and we have often relied on it to overcome numerical disparities and to reduce the risk to American lives.

Our technological edge in key areas of warfare will be even more important at lower levels of forces and funding, and in the complex political and military environment in which our forces will operate. But maintaining this margin will become increasingly difficult as access to advanced weaponry spreads and as our defense industry shrinks. Even in regional contingencies it will not be uncommon for our forces to face high-technology weapons in the hands of adversaries. This spread of advanced systems will surely erode the deterrent value of our own — and our competitive edge in warfare — unless we act decisively to maintain technological superiority.

We will, of course, have to decide which technologies we want to advance and how we will pursue them. Our focus should be on promising, high-leverage areas, especially those that play to our comparative advantages and exploit the weaknesses of potential adversaries, whoever and wherever they may be. Stealth, space-based systems, sensors, precision weapons, advanced training technologies — all these proved themselves in the Gulf, yet when these programs (and others) were begun, no one foresaw their use against Iraq. Our investment strategies must hedge against the unknown, giving future Presidents the flexibility that such capabilities provide.

We must be able to move promising research through development to rapid fielding when changes in the international environment so require. The "generation leaps" in technology and fielded systems that some have suggested may not be possible. We will have to build some systems, as the early production effort is a vital component of technology development. Production, even in limited numbers, will also facilitate the development of innovative doctrine and organizational structures to make full use of the new technologies we field. In an era of tight fiscal constraints, our development efforts must also strive to make our weapons less expensive as well as more effective.

In the competition for scarce resources, emphasis on technology development — to pursue those new capabilities that may be most decisive in the longer term — may mean accepting some continued risk in the near term. But accepting such risk may well be prudent in a period of reduced East-West tensions.

## The Industrial Base

Providing and sustaining modern equipment to support a rapid expansion of the armed forces is an equally difficult proposition. We will need a production base to produce new systems and a maintenance and repair base to support them. These requirements pose unique problems, as reduced defense budgets are shrinking the defense industrial sector overall. As we make procurement and investment decisions, we will have to place a value on the assured supply and timely delivery of defense materials in time of crisis.

In the near term, some of these problems can be ameliorated by retaining and storing equipment from units being deactivated. Over the longer term, however, as

stored equipment becomes obsolete, the issue becomes our capability to expand production or use alternative sources of supply. We will need the capacity for industrial surge, accelerating orders that are already in the pipeline. We will also have to plan for production from new or alternative industrial capacity. It may also be possible to reduce unneeded military specifications to make greater use of items that can be created by the commercial production base. Above all, we must continue to involve the creative resources of our national economy and ensure that corporations continue to have incentives to engage in innovative defense work.

## *A SMALLER AND RESTRUCTURED FORCE*

Our future military will be smaller. Assuming there are no unforeseen, worrisome trends in the security environment, by mid-decade our force can be some 25 percent smaller than the force we maintained in the last days of the Cold War. The changes we have seen in the overall international environment have made this smaller force possible, and the increasing demands on our resources to preserve the other elements of our national strength have made it necessary.

## Minimum Essential Military Forces — The Base Force

Yet these planned reductions will cut our forces to a minimally acceptable level — to a Base Force below which further reductions would not be prudent. These minimum forces represent our national security insurance policy and consist of four basic force packages: *Strategic Forces, Atlantic Forces, Pacific Forces and Contingency Forces.*

Our *Strategic Forces* must continue to meet the enduring demands of nuclear deterrence and defense. The conventional force packages provide forces for forward presence as well as the ability to respond to crises. Our *Atlantic Forces* will be postured and trained for the heavy threats characteristic of Europe and Southwest Asia and must be modern and lethal enough to deal with these threats. *Pacific Forces* will be structured for an essentially maritime theater, placing a premium on naval capabilities, backed by the essential air and ground forces for enduring deterrence and immediate crisis response. U.S.-based reinforcements will be lighter than those we envisage for the Atlantic, as befits the potential contingencies in the Pacific. *Contingency Forces* will include the Army's light and airborne units, Marine expeditionary brigades, special operations forces and selected air and naval assets. They will be largely based in the United States and — since they must be able to respond to spontaneous and unpredictable crises — they will largely be in the active component. At times, the quick deployment of such a force in itself may be enough to head off confrontation. At other times, we may need actually to employ this force to deal with insurgencies, conduct anti-drug or anti-terrorist operations, evacuate non-combatants or — as we did in Desert Shield — be the first into action while heavier forces are alerted and moved.

The reductions projected by the mid-1990s are dramatic. It will be important to manage their pace rationally and responsibly. We must accommodate the actions taken in support of Desert Storm and Desert Shield and we must be attentive to the professional skills of the armed forces that have been built up over the past decade — and which, as the war made clear, remain vital to our national security. But now that the war has been won, and as long as no unanticipated ominous trends emerge, we will get back on the spending path agreed to before hostilities began. Highly effective military forces can be supported within the levels agreed to by Congress in the 1990 Budget Agreement if we can end unneeded programs, consolidate bases, streamline procedures and adjust overall manpower levels without arbitrary restrictions.

# VI. Toward the 21st Century

The 20th century has taught us that security is indivisible. The safety, freedom and well-being of one people cannot be separated from the safety, freedom and well-being of all. Recently, the Gulf crisis strengthened this sense of international community. Many of the underlying forces now at work in the world are tending to draw that global community even closer together. Technology, especially the explosion of communication and information, has accelerated the pace of human contact. The growing acceptance of the democratic ideal — evidenced in the erosion of totalitarianism and the expansion of basic human freedoms — has also brought the world closer together. The expansion of commerce and the growing acceptance of market principles have accelerated the movement toward interdependence and the integration of economies. Even the threats posed by the proliferation of weapons of enormous destructiveness have begun to draw the community of nations together in common concern.

As we move toward the 21st century, this interdependence of peoples will grow and will continue to demand responsible American leadership. Guided by the values that have inspired and nurtured our democracy at home, we will work for a new world in which peace, security and cooperation finally replace the confrontation of the Cold War, and overcome the kind of threat represented by Iraq's aggression.

Developments in the Soviet Union and elsewhere have set in motion a change in the strategic landscape as dramatic as that which the Nation experienced when Soviet policy first forced the Cold War upon us. The great threat to global peace has ebbed and we now see a Soviet state and society struggling to overcome severe internal crisis. Notwithstanding the uncertainties about the future course of the Soviet Union, that state's willingness — indeed, in many ways, its ability — to project power beyond its borders has been dramatically reduced for the foreseeable future. Our strategy for this new era recognizes the opportunities and challenges before us, and includes among its principles:

- reinforcing the moral ties that hold our alliances together, even as perceptions of a common security threat change;
- encouraging the constructive evolution of the Soviet Union, recognizing the limits of our influence and the continuing power of Soviet military forces;
- supporting the independence and vitality of the new Eastern European democracies even as we deal with the uncertainties of the Soviet future;
- championing the principles of political and economic freedom as the surest guarantors of human progress and happiness, as well as global peace;
- working with others in the global community to resolve regional disputes and stem the proliferation of advanced weapons;
- cooperating with the Soviet Union and others in achieving arms control agreements that promote security and stability;
- reducing our defense burden as appropriate, while restructuring our forces for new challenges;
- tending more carefully to our own economic competitiveness as the foundation of our long-term strength; and
- addressing the new global agenda of refugee flows, drug abuse and environmental degradation.

We are a rich and powerful nation, and the elements of our power will remain formidable. But our wealth and our strength are not without limits. We must balance our commitments with our means and, above all, we must wisely choose *now* which elements of our strength will best serve our needs in the *future*. This is the challenge of strategy.

In this country we make such choices for peace just as we make the awful choices of war — as a democracy. When President and Congress work together to build an effective security posture and policy — as was done in the 1980s — we are successful. In the Gulf, our armed forces benefitted from the legacy of investment decisions, technological innovations, and strategic planning that came in the decade before. Today's planning decisions will determine whether we are well or ill prepared for the contingencies that will confront us in the future.

This is a heavy responsibility, shared between the President and Congress. We owe our servicemen and women not only the best equipment, but also a coherent strategy and posture geared to new realities. This coherence can only come from a partnership between the Branches. Divided, we will invite disasters. United, we can overcome any challenge.

In the Gulf, the dictator guessed wrong when he doubted America's unity and will. The extraordinary unity we showed as a Nation in the Gulf assured that we would prevail. It also sent the message loud and clear that America is prepared for the challenges of the future, committed and engaged in the world, as a reliable ally, friend and leader.

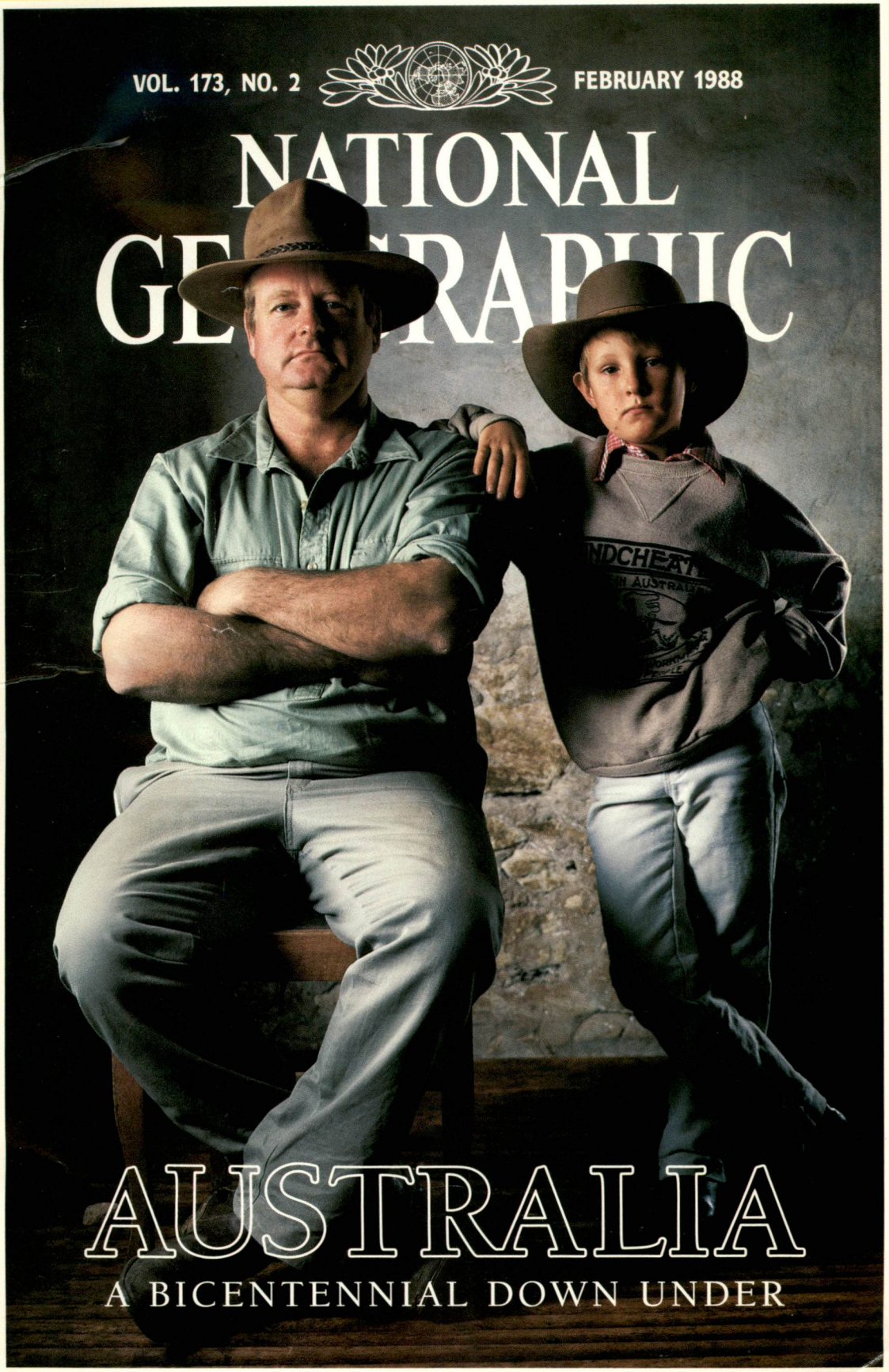
# NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF THE UNITED STATES

THE WHITE HOUSE

SPECIAL DOUBLE SUPPLEMENT: AUSTRALIA

VOL. 173, NO. 2 FEBRUARY 1988

# NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC



# AUSTRALIA

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P E R F O R M A N C E

# Did you almost forget to take your blood pressure medicine today?

When your doctor tells you that you have high blood pressure, he may also tell you that control of it starts with *never* forgetting to take your medicine.

Yet, of the 18 million people in the United States who are under treatment for hypertension, approximately 6 million *do* forget. And many more can't even remember if they did take their medicine.

If you are one of them, you undoubtedly have your reason. Perhaps it's because you travel a lot. Or you work different shifts, so you're either getting up when others are going to bed... or vice versa. Or you're raising teen-agers who occupy all your time and mind. Then again, you may have to take several medications, so you sometimes forget one.



Understandable! But not one of these excuses will ever help your health.

Today, however, science has found a way to help you remember. It's high blood pressure medicine you wear, for a week at a time. It comes in an adhesive patch that's easy to apply to your skin.

Like any medication, however, patch therapy is not for everyone. Ask your doctor about it. If he says yes and your body agrees, the patch can help you remember.

**Ask your doctor about this form of medicine: you wear it...a week at a time.**

Boehringer Ingelheim Pharmaceuticals, Inc., Ridgefield, CT 06877

# Partners in preserving the natural world

ENDANGERED SPECIES like the rabbit-eared bandicoot of Australia (right) have long found a friend in the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN). Among its many activities, this unique organization publishes the authoritative "red data books," which monitor the status of threatened animals around the world.

Composed of 592 members from 117 countries, the IUCN this month celebrates 40 years of conservation leadership. Its members include grass-roots organizations as well as high-level government agencies in both developed and developing nations. This past year, I am proud to say, the National Geographic Society was accepted for membership, joining such organizations in the United States as the National Park Service, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Audubon Society.

The central purpose of the IUCN is to help nations take advantage of natural resources without destroying those that are irreplaceable. Recognizing that people suffering from hunger, poverty, and disease cannot make endangered wildlife their top priority, it promotes economic improvement through the sustainable use of natural resources.



BOTH BY JEAN-PAUL FERRERO/ARDEA LONDON

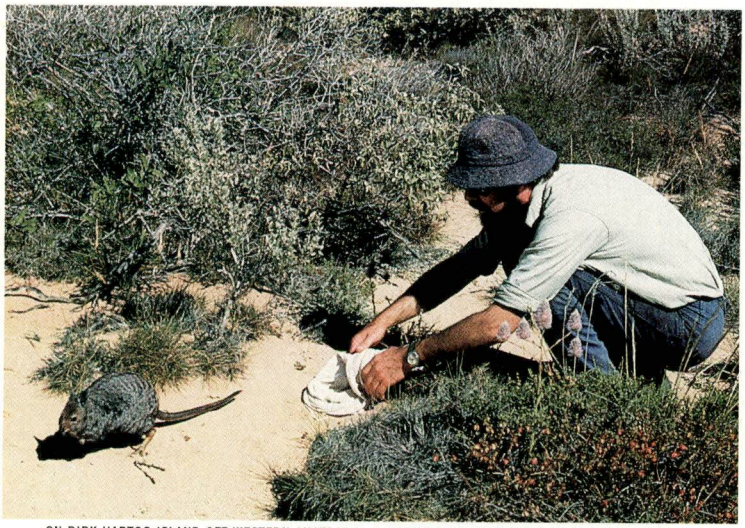
From its headquarters in Gland, Switzerland, the IUCN operates six international commissions of experts on topics such as national parks and protected areas and species survival. It maintains computer centers in Cambridge and Kew, England, and Bonn, West Germany, to monitor wildlife and natural areas. And in 1980 it published the *World Conservation Strategy,* offering specific guidelines for national and regional conservation policies.

Our membership in the IUCN is a natural extension of the Geographic's century-long concern for the environment. Over the years the Society has supported the creation of Redwood, Sequoia, Canyonlands, and North Cascades National Parks in the United States, and the Gombe Stream National Park in Tanzania. Through our magazines, books, and films we have stimulated public awareness of conservation issues such as acid rain, wildlife smuggling, and poaching. By sustained funding of research programs, now exceeding five million dollars annually, we have widened the world's knowledge of endangered species from mountain gorillas to black-footed ferrets.

As a member of the Society, you can take pride in this tradition, just as you can look forward to our new participation in world conservation. As the members of the IUCN gather in San José, Costa Rica, this month to plan activities for the next few years, we will be there to represent you.

Gilbert M. Grosvenor

PRESIDENT, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY



ON DIRK HARTOG ISLAND OFF WESTERN AUSTRALIA, A RESEARCHER RELEASES A RARE BANDED HARE WALLABY.




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# Members Forum

## Women of Saudi Arabia

I was overjoyed to see the cover article on women of Arabia in the October 1987 issue. As an 18-year-old Saudi woman studying in the United States, I try to explain the situation of my sisters to Western friends, often without success. This article said almost everything I wanted to say and then some. People do not realize how much more the veil means to us than a covering. Saudi Arabia would not be Saudi Arabia without the veil.

IZDIHAR MANSUR
*Troy, New York*

I have just returned from Saudi Arabia, where I encountered heightened criticism of the Western press stemming from your October article, specifically the pictorial coverage. Some pictures caused great offense, in particular those of Princess Jawharah's banquet and the aerobics class. The main objection was that Jodi Cobb took those pictures on the understanding that they were for personal record only or without the knowledge of her hostesses. She abused the hospitality and betrayed the trust placed in her by those who opened their doors, possibly out of regard for Marianne Alireza. I feel that she could not have agreed to the published pictures.

H. ST. JOHN ARMITAGE
*East Horrington, Somerset*



*Jodi Cobb and Marianne Alireza made it clear to all that the photographs, such as this one of Mai Yamani in Jiddah, were for publication in the GEOGRAPHIC. Mrs. Alireza's opinions were also sought during picture layout. Many women pictured have not only expressed their pleasure with the photographs but also requested prints.*

Your article glossed over many of the realities of women's rights in Saudi Arabia. I spent several years there as an American wife to a Saudi I met in graduate school in Ohio. It wasn't until we set up housekeeping in the kingdom that my Saudi realized the full extent of his power over his family. Under Islam, he was allowed to beat me in front of our children to encourage discipline. Since our marriage contract did not address my future rights to divorce or alimony, I had no religious or legal right to separate myself from my abusive husband. I fled with my two children and filed for divorce in the States. My ex-husband then kidnapped our toddlers, even though Islam grants a woman custody of minor children. In 1983 I was allowed to reenter the kingdom to be near my children, yet police would not enforce written decrees by various ministries granting me visitation rights because my ex-husband would not agree to them.

There are 47 American-born children held in Saudi Arabia under similar circumstances. The government is losing control over individuals who take the law into their own hands.

KRISTINE UHLMAN
*Arlington Heights, Illinois*

A fine article, but the veil and ways of culture must not be presented as something the Saudis must do away with. Women of our Western culture would be shocked if Saudi women advised them to wear the veil. All cultures have shed blood to retain their identity. If change comes from within, by their women, let them deal with it as they may.

SPYROS CHIONOS
*Windsor, Ontario*

Having lived in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, for four and a half years, I know that this is a very difficult subject to tackle. Marianne Alireza knows the subject well, having been there off and on for 40 years. When I met her a few years back, I was surprised at her love and enthusiasm for the Saudi people. I asked her how she had obtained a visa. She smiled and said, "No problem; I just cabled the king." It's amazing she could write a book banned there and write this article, also no doubt banned, and still freely come and go.

MARTI IATRIDIS
*Tulsa, Oklahoma*

## Epilogue for *Titanic*

I was one of those who said that I wouldn't mind if they somehow brought the grand ship up or brought up an artifact for museum viewing. I've changed my attitude because I've now seen her as whole as she can be—thanks to the composite photograph and the paintings by Ken Marschall (October 1987).

JOANNE M. AYAN
*Victorville, California*

Why, oh why, do you torment us with complicated foldouts?

From the depths of the lumpy chaise lounge
There came a muffled curse.
She was trying to fold the GEOGRAPHIC
The same as it was at first!

DENISE P. HARTZELL
*Chesapeake, Virginia*

## Outer Banks

Charlie Cobb has shown us, in one of the best articles I've ever seen about the Outer Banks (October 1987), that you don't have to live here for a lifetime to recognize the dangers of being "awash in change."

ALTON BALLANCE
*Ocracoke, North Carolina*

Why, in the name of sanity and conservation, does any state authority allow 6,000 swans a year to be slaughtered (pages 506-507)? These birds are very intelligent and pair for life. Each January it is one of my greatest pleasures to go to Sir Peter Scott's Wildfowl Trust Reserve in Welney, Norfolk, United Kingdom, to see the swans who fly 6,000 miles from Siberia to winter here. Last January there were some 6,000 of them, about the same number permitted to be slaughtered for amusement in one state in the U.S.A.

MARJERIE PRESTON
*Bushey, Watford*

*On the Atlantic flyway, North Carolina was visited by 53,000 swans in 1986, a number that overcrowded its refuges.*

In discussing Ocracoke you neglect the British Cemetery with its graves of four British seamen washed ashore after their ship, the H.M.S. *Bedfordshire,* was sunk by a German submarine during World War II. The "Beds" had been based at Ocracoke, and its 37-man crew welcomed by local families; some crewmen even opened bank accounts. After the Beds was torpedoed, debris and four bodies washed ashore. Local citizens furnished lumber for caskets and buried them.

JOHN E. BEISEL
*Elizabethtown, Kentucky*

## "Doc" Edgerton

Why no mention of the work of Gjon Mili in your article on Doc Edgerton in the October issue? As an avid reader of *Life* magazine in the late 1930s and '40s, I was under the impression that Mili was the pioneer in high-speed photography.

H. D. BENTLEY
*Torrington, Connecticut*

*A friend and colleague of Doc's, Gjon Mili led in the application of Edgerton's new system of lighting to magazine photography.*

## Smell Survey

Congratulations on the recent smell survey report (October 1987). The charts are fascinating in themselves and clearly demonstrate your conclusions. Appreciated is the mention of questions that arise from this type of survey and acknowledgment of the limitations of the conclusions. It is a very credible and professional article on a very subjective area.

ELISE WIDLUND
*North Bergen, New Jersey*

Among the bits of horse lore that an old cavalryman friend told me was that the finest pacifier for a fractious, bad-tempered horse was sweat. The men would rub their hands in their armpits and let the horse sniff. The result was invariably a much calmer animal.

MISS G. HUTCHISON
*Auckland, New Zealand*

As a rifle company commander in 1967, I operated in the mountainous rain forest of Vietnam, where our senses became acutely developed, especially the sense of smell. We all became human bloodhounds. We could track the enemy along trails and determine his relative proximity by two characteristic odors. The first was a curious mixture of camphor and woodsmoke that permeated the enemy's uniforms and equipment. The second was the smell of destroyed vegetation, since animals rarely destroy vegetation. Often the point man discovered the enemy with deadly accuracy, using just his nose.

COL. J. W. RIPLEY
*FPO San Francisco, California*

As a research psychiatrist with the East Orange VA Medical Center, I work with many Vietnam veterans who complain that their traumatic memories are triggered by specific odors. I would be interested to receive survey data.

HILLEL GLOVER, M.D.
*East Orange, New Jersey*

*We received dozens of requests for complete smell survey data from researchers ranging from graduate students to fragrance manufacturers, to a lawyer litigating cases involving odorizing agents in the gas industry, to doctors like yourself. The data has been transferred to seven computer-ready magnetic tapes, available at below cost to qualifying researchers. Contact National Geographic Society, P.O. Box 37138, Washington, D. C. 20013*

---

*Letters should be addressed to* **Members Forum,** *National Geographic Magazine, Box 37448, Washington, D. C. 20013, and should include sender's address and telephone number. Not all letters can be used. Those that are will often be edited and excerpted.*

# "Whirlpool stands behind its appliances like no one else."




"See."

Sarah Purcell

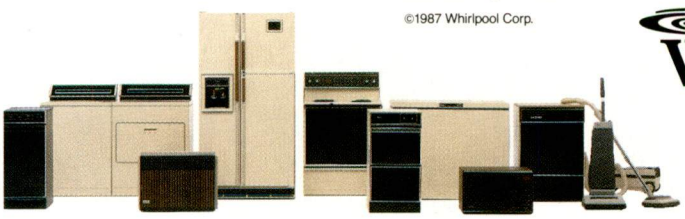
"When you buy any Whirlpool® appliance from a retail dealer, Whirlpool Corporation says you'll be satisfied with its quality and performance. Repairs, if needed, will be to your satisfaction...if not, they'll replace it free for up to a full year.*

"Of course, they figure you're going to be satisfied or they wouldn't make the offer.

"So if you're looking for appliances from a company that really stands behind them, see your Whirlpool dealer. Because the Whirlpool 100% Customer Commitment is a terrific philosophy. And their full-year replacement guarantee is a terrific way to prove it."

*Retail purchase in the 50 states after June 1, 1987.
Non-commercial use by original owner.
Excludes range hoods.

©1987 Whirlpool Corp.



Whirlpool
Home Appliances
Making your world a little easier.

# NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE


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# On Assignment

THE IDEA bloomed late, growing out of a single story by Australian-born Ross Terrill about a bicentennial in his native land. It got bigger and more elaborate, until the Editor decided to "give it a go" (to borrow an Australian phrase) and devote this entire issue to the land down under.



SUSAN WELCHMAN, CONSTANCE H. PHELPS, SUSAN A. SMITH
BY MARIA STENZEL, NGS STAFF

GEOGRAPHIC staff set up an "outpost" in Sydney last summer and free-lancers fanned out: New Yorkers Mary Ellen Mark—famous for her award-winning photo essays—and Michael O'Brien, who specializes in personalities, Bangkok-based journalist John Everingham, photographer David Robert Austen, who covers Asia from a Sydney base, and writer-wildlife photographers Stanley Breeden and Belinda Wright. Their rapid-fire coverage was directed by illustrations editor Susan Welchman, while Susan Smith, director of photographic support services, tracked the processing of 2,000 rolls of film.

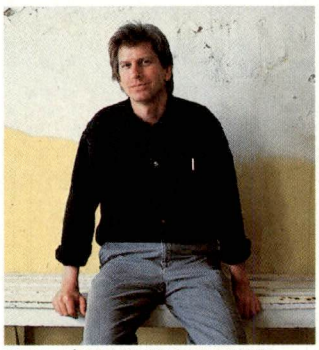
In Washington, D. C., layout designer Connie Phelps shaped their creative efforts into this collector's issue. Then researchers Abby Tipton and Anne Jamison took the words and pictures back to the source for a final check. The group logged some half million miles by air and 50,000 more by car. Senior Assistant Editor Betsy Moize, who edited all illustrations text, summed up: "We decided that Australia was a great place to visit—and we *would* like to live there."



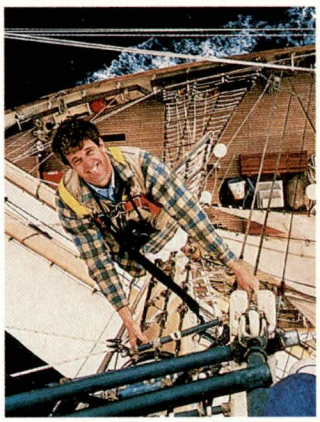
ELIZABETH A. MOIZE BY DAVID ROBERT AUSTEN



ABIGAIL TIPTON AND ANNE JAMISON
BY DAVID ROBERT AUSTEN



MICHAEL O'BRIEN BY SEBASTIAN GOLLINGS



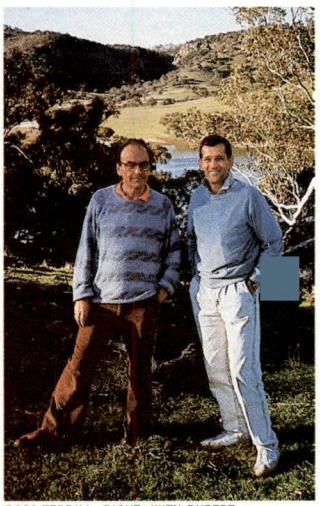
DAVID ROBERT AUSTEN BY R. A. WYNNE



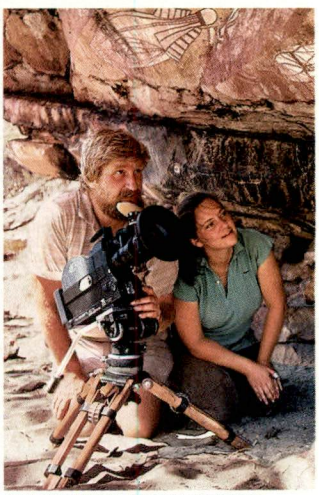
MARY ELLEN MARK AND FRIEND
BY DAVID LIITTSCHWAGER



JOHN EVERINGHAM AND FAMILY
BY JOHN EVERINGHAM



ROSS TERRILL, RIGHT, WITH RUPERT
MURDOCH BY IAN CHAPMAN



STANLEY BREEDEN AND BELINDA WRIGHT
BY BELINDA WRIGHT

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FEBRUARY 1988

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Australia Map

COVER: *"Ours is the best woolshed in Western Australia," brags Sandy McTaggart, here with his son Boots.* RIGHT: *Casual and confident, 11-year-old Sandra Ballard of Kurrajong exemplifies her country. Photographs by Michael O'Brien.*





Articles on Australia invariably ring the bell with United States readers—perhaps because no two nations so far apart geographically are so close culturally. Like brothers growing up in different parts of the world, family traits show through. Both nations were founded by those rejected by Europe or who had rejected Europe. Prisoners, the persecuted, and the disinherited often led the way. The crowded poverty of the masses and the social and economic gridlock of class distinctions in Europe made both wilderness colonies seem utopian—there idealists could experiment with radical concepts of egalitarian, democratic government, and hard work and intelligence were rewarded. Word of fast fortunes and a free life also drew the adventurous and the unscrupulous to both lands. Rough, tough, and often lawless immigrants swept over the sparsely populated frontiers and their indigenous populations like tidal waves. Those natives who survived found their cultures washed away. Most have yet to accommodate to the new ways.

Last year the United States celebrated the bicentennial of its Constitution. This year Australia will remember the landing 200 years ago of that First Fleet of 11 ships carrying its human cargo of convicts. Still young as nations go, both exhibit similarities and differences as they mature. Social, economic, and racial problems of the kind thought left behind long ago surface like bad genes, but the response to them remains democratic. Both nations, for good reasons, remain favored havens for the restless and persecuted of this world.

Perhaps because all of our staff who have worked in Australia feel this special kinship, what began as an article on its bicentennial soon grew to consume this entire issue. We hope it will be a fair dinkum bell ringer.

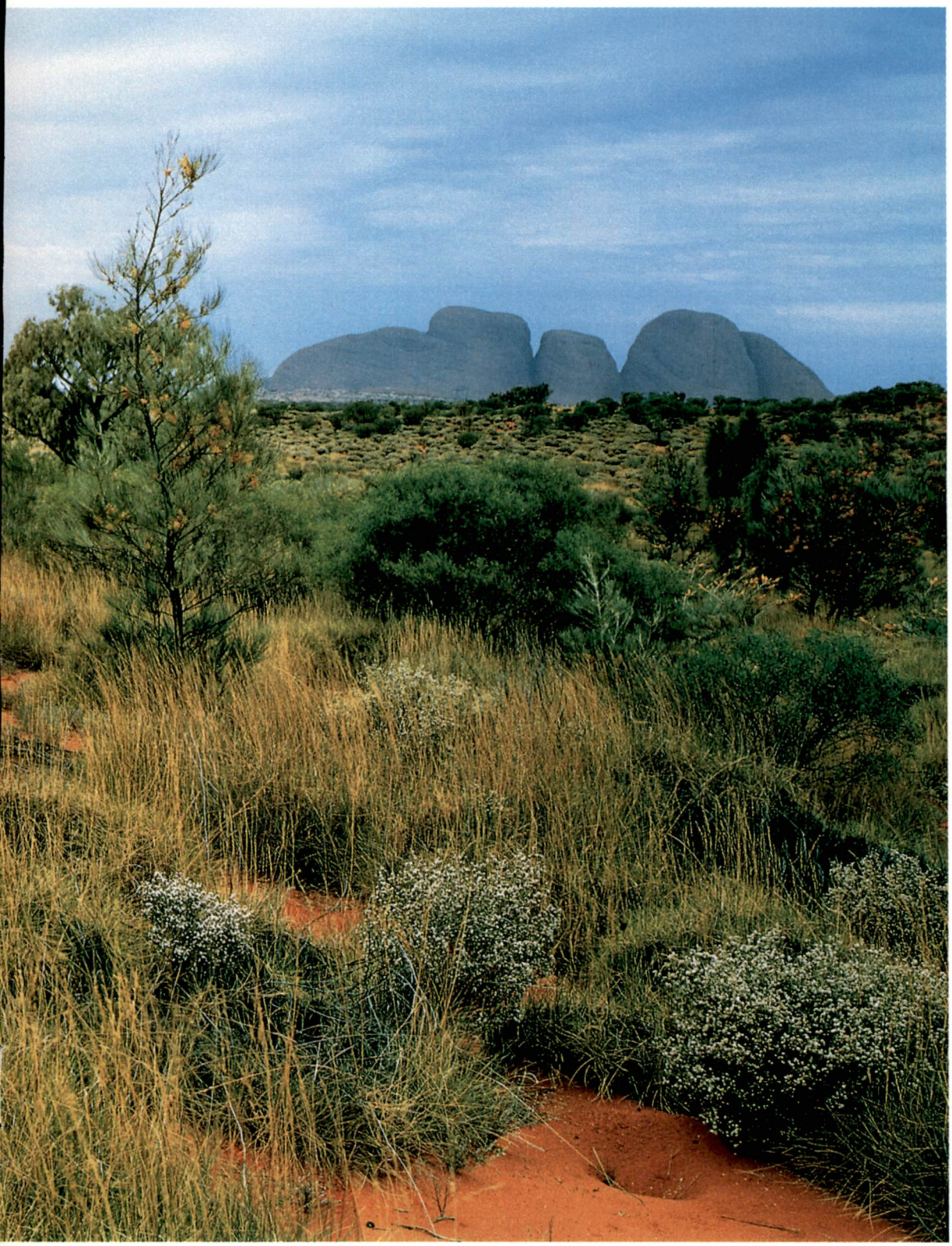
*Wilbur E. Garrett*

EDITOR

RALIA

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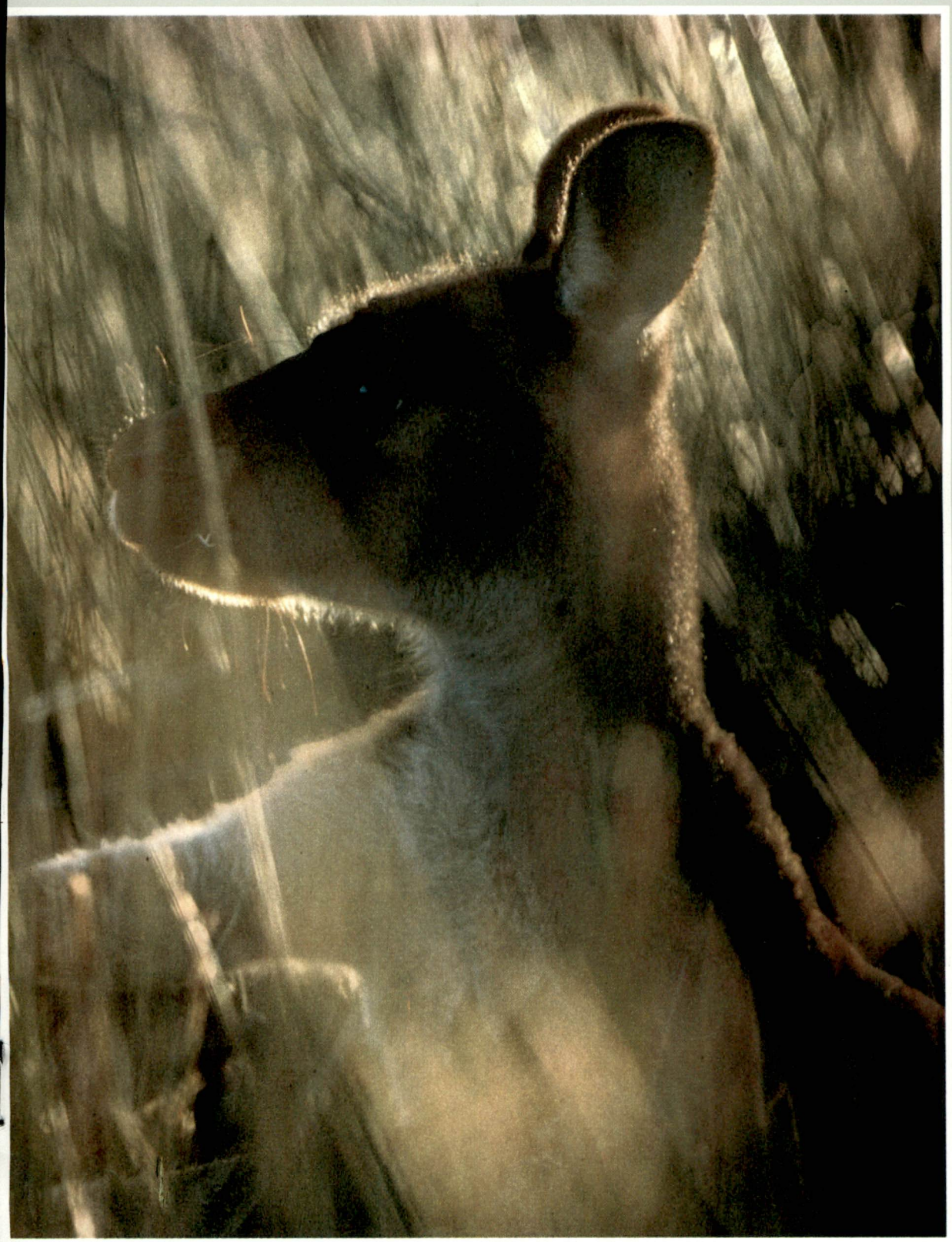
Rust red sand underlies the heart of Australia, where the huge monoliths known as the Olgas shoulder above spinifex and grevillea. This old and worn continent has a look like no other—celebrated in this portfolio by poets and others, both the native born and brief sojourners to the land down under.





# *Kangaroo Island*

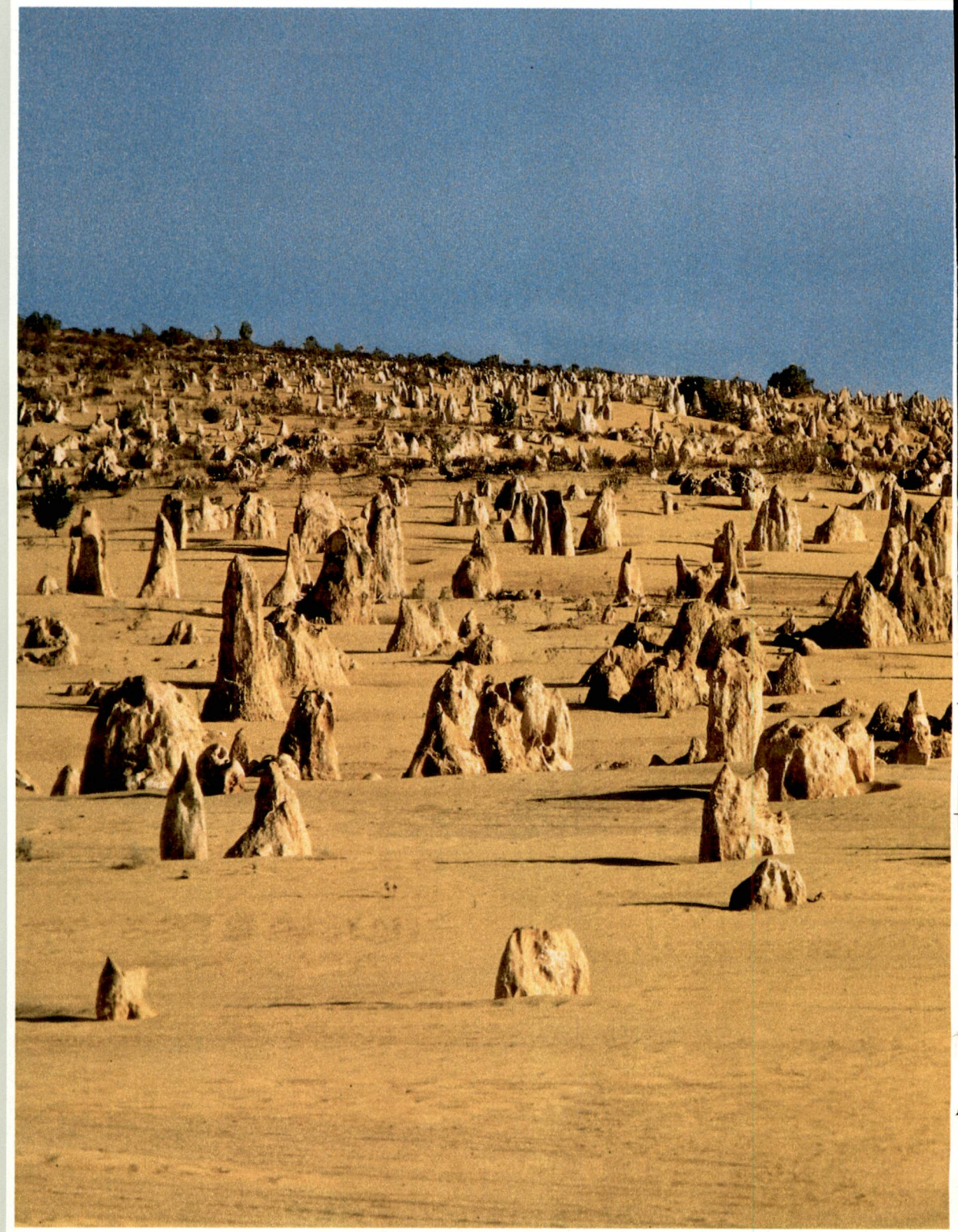
*In this remote part of the earth Nature . . .*
*a monstrous animal, as tall as a grenadier, with*



Gray kangaroos grapple in the tall grass of Flinders Chase National Park on Kangaroo Island, South Australia. MITSUAKI IWAGO

*seems determined to have a bit of play. . . . She makes . . .*
*the head of a rabbit, a tail as big as a bed-post. . . .*

SYDNEY SMITH, JOURNALIST, 1771-1845

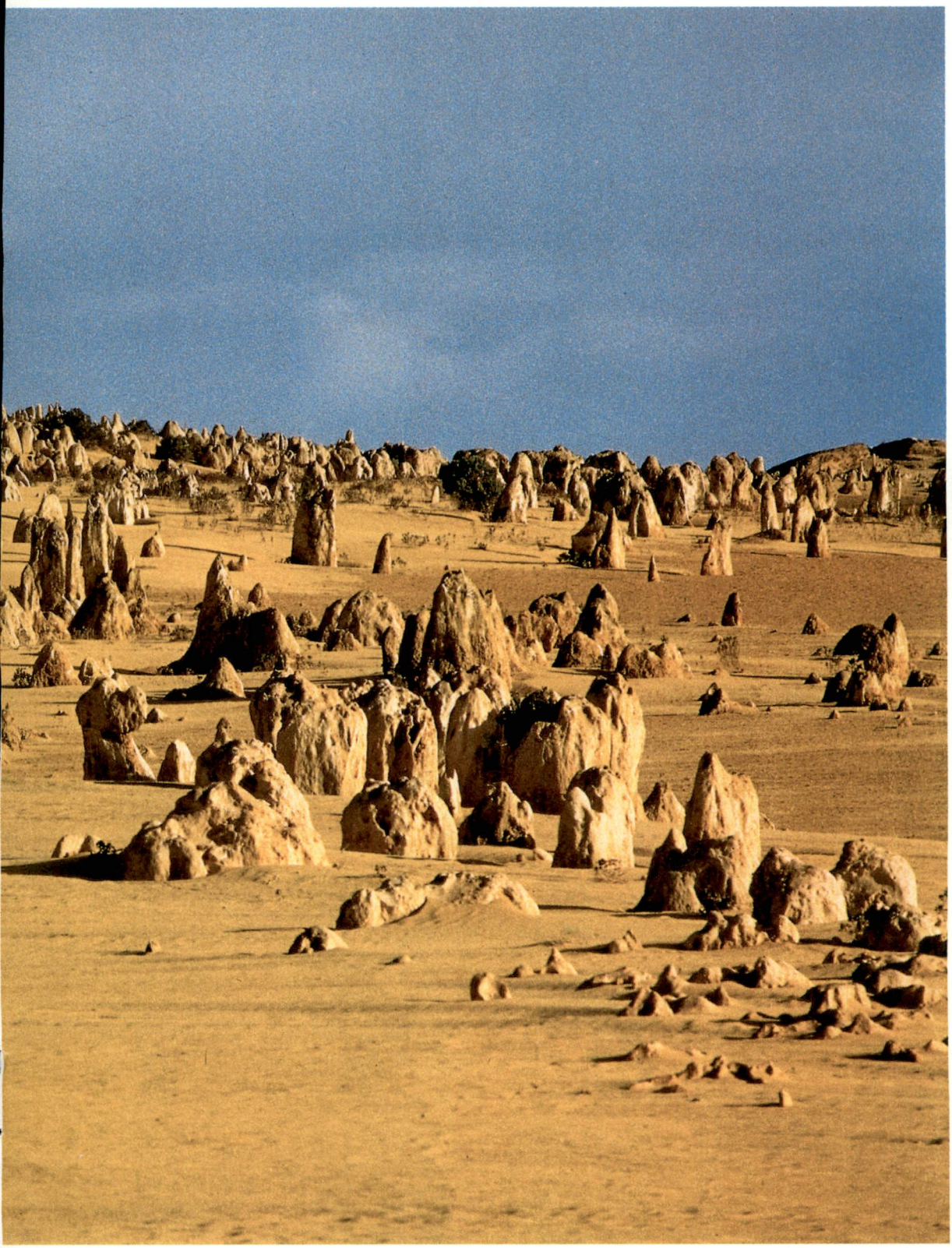


From finger-size to man-size, limestone pillars known as the Pinnacles



# *The Pinnacles*

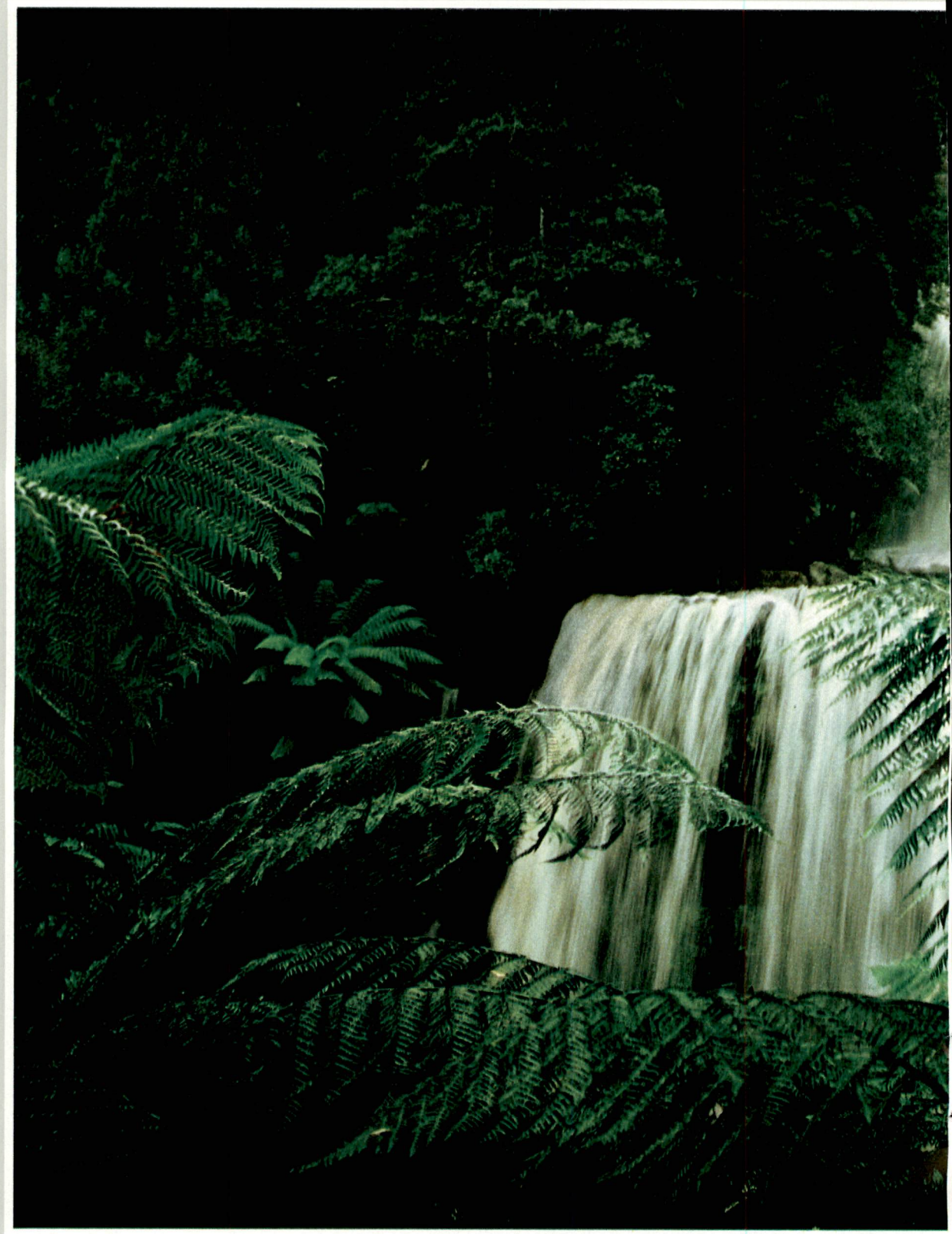
*In Australia alone is to be found the Grotesque, learning how to write. . . . the subtle charm*



spike a barren plain in Nambung National Park, Western Australia. OLIVER STREWE, WILDLIGHT PHOTO AGENCY

*the Weird, the strange scribblings of nature*
*of this fantastic land of monstrosities.*

MARCUS CLARKE, JOURNALIST, 1846-1881





# *Tasmania*

*By channels of coolness the echoes are calling,*
*It lives in the mountain where moss and*



Russell Falls tumbles into a tree- and fern-fringed gorge in Tasmania's Mount Field National Park. KEN DUNCAN

*And down the dim gorges I hear the creek falling:*
*the sedges  Touch with their beauty the banks and the ledges.*

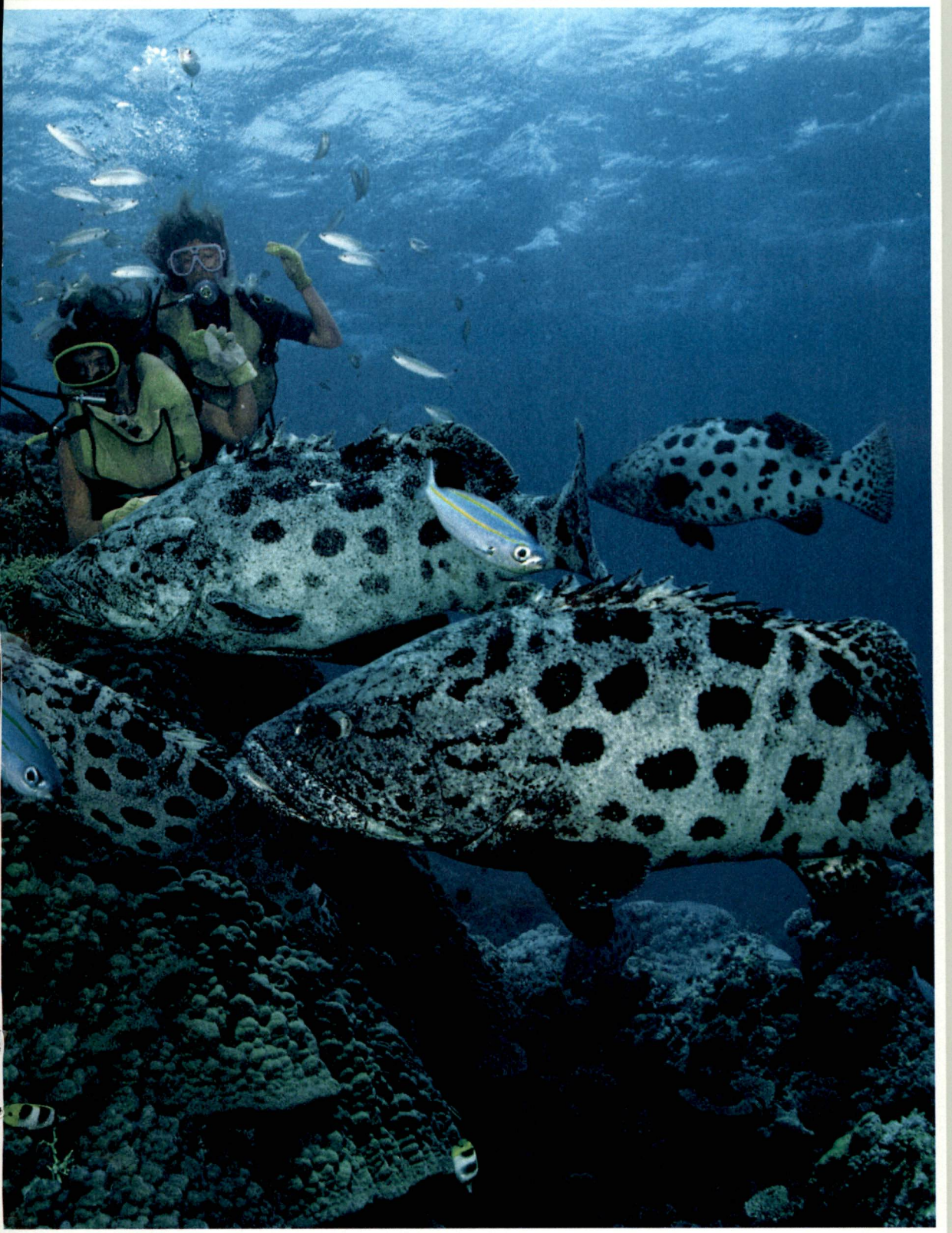
HENRY KENDALL, POET, 1839-1882





# Great Barrier Reef

*How can you convey the*
*of anemones, the incredible*



Giant potato cod and myriad other fishes swim in for a handout from skin divers. DAVID DOUBILET

*dreamlike fantasy of an undersea forest of seaweed or garden population of tropical fishes, the coral-encrusted clams?*

ELSPETH HUXLEY, AUTHOR, born 1907





# The Nullarbor Plain

*The shining plain that is said to be*
*and so clear and bright*



Eucalyptus and acacia stalk the Eucla Basin on the southern reaches of the Nullarbor Plain. KEVIN DILETTI

*The dried-up bed of an inland sea, Where the air so dry*
*Refracts the sun with a wondrous light. . . .*

A. B. "BANJO" PATERSON, POET, 1864-1941

*SPRUNG FROM AN ANCIENT EDEN, Australia's flora developed in isolation; its spinifex plains and eucalyptus and acacia woodlands have roots in old Gondwana. Australian botanist Mary E. White's magnificent collection of fossil and living plant photographs, published in* The Greening of Gondwana, *displays a variety of living relatives of ancient forms. The water lilies are among the earliest flowering plants and carry their seeds in an ovary. The Proteaceae family (below and opposite, center left), also a primitive group, has cousins in Africa, Asia, and South*

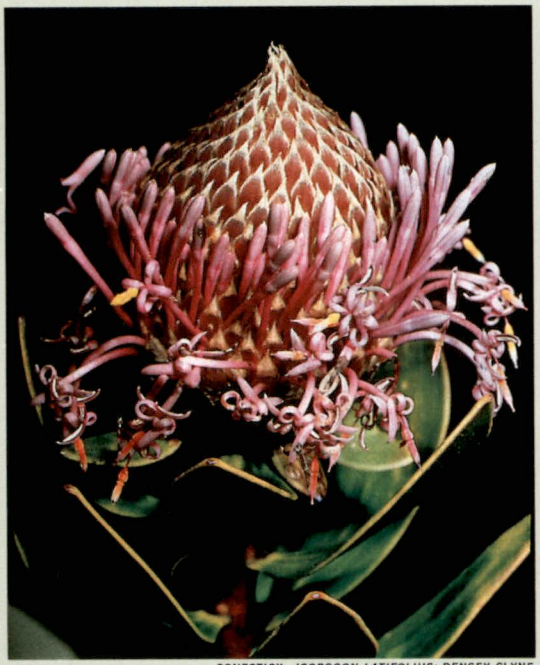


*PETROPHILE LINEARIS;* DENSEY CLYNE, MANTIS WILDLIFE

*America. The banksias, named for botanist Joseph Banks, who accompanied Capt. James Cook on his voyage of discovery, dates from 65 million years ago. The heath-leaved banksia, seen from above, shows the star-burst design of the flower spike. The kangaroo paw grows naturally only in Western Australia, where it is the state flower. The Darwin woolly butt is one of more than 600 eucalyptus species on the continent. Commonly known as gum trees, the eucalyptuses range from the Snowy Mountains to the outback.*



QUEENSLAND BLUE WATER LILY, *NYMPHAEA* SP.; C.& S. POLLITT, AUSTRALASIAN NATURE TRANSPARENCIES



CONESTICK, *ISOPOGON LATIFOLIUS;* DENSEY CLYNE



HEATH-LEAVED BANKSIA, *BANKSIA ERICIFOLIA;* DENSEY CLYNE



DARWIN WOOLLY BUTT, *EUCALYPTUS MINIATA;* BELINDA WRIGHT



KANGAROO PAW, *ANIGOZANTHOS;* DENSEY CLYNE

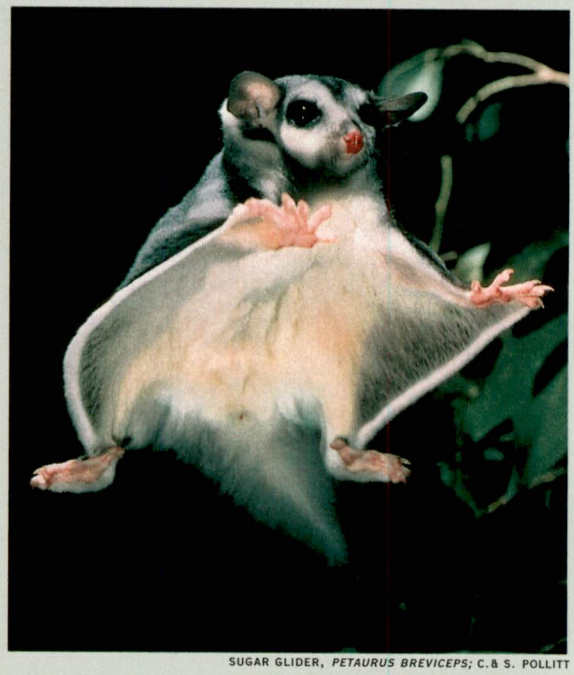
*AUSTRALIA'S AMAZING ZOO stars three species of "living fossils"—the platypus and two echidnas, or spiny anteaters. They are monotremes, modern forms of the earliest mammals, which show both reptilian and mammalian characteristics. Most notable of other native Australian mammals are the marsupials, a primitive order that incubates young in a pouch instead of in the womb, as do placental mammals that dominate in other parts of the world. The marsupials show great diversity, from the nocturnal tiger cat—largest carnivorous marsupial on the*



TIGER CAT, *DASYURUS MACULATUS;* G. B. BAKER, AUSTRALASIAN NATURE



PLATYPUS, *ORNITHORHYNCHUS ANATINUS;* JEAN-PAUL FERRARO, AUSCAPE INTERNATIONAL



SUGAR GLIDER, *PETAURUS BREVICEPS;* C.& S. POLLITT

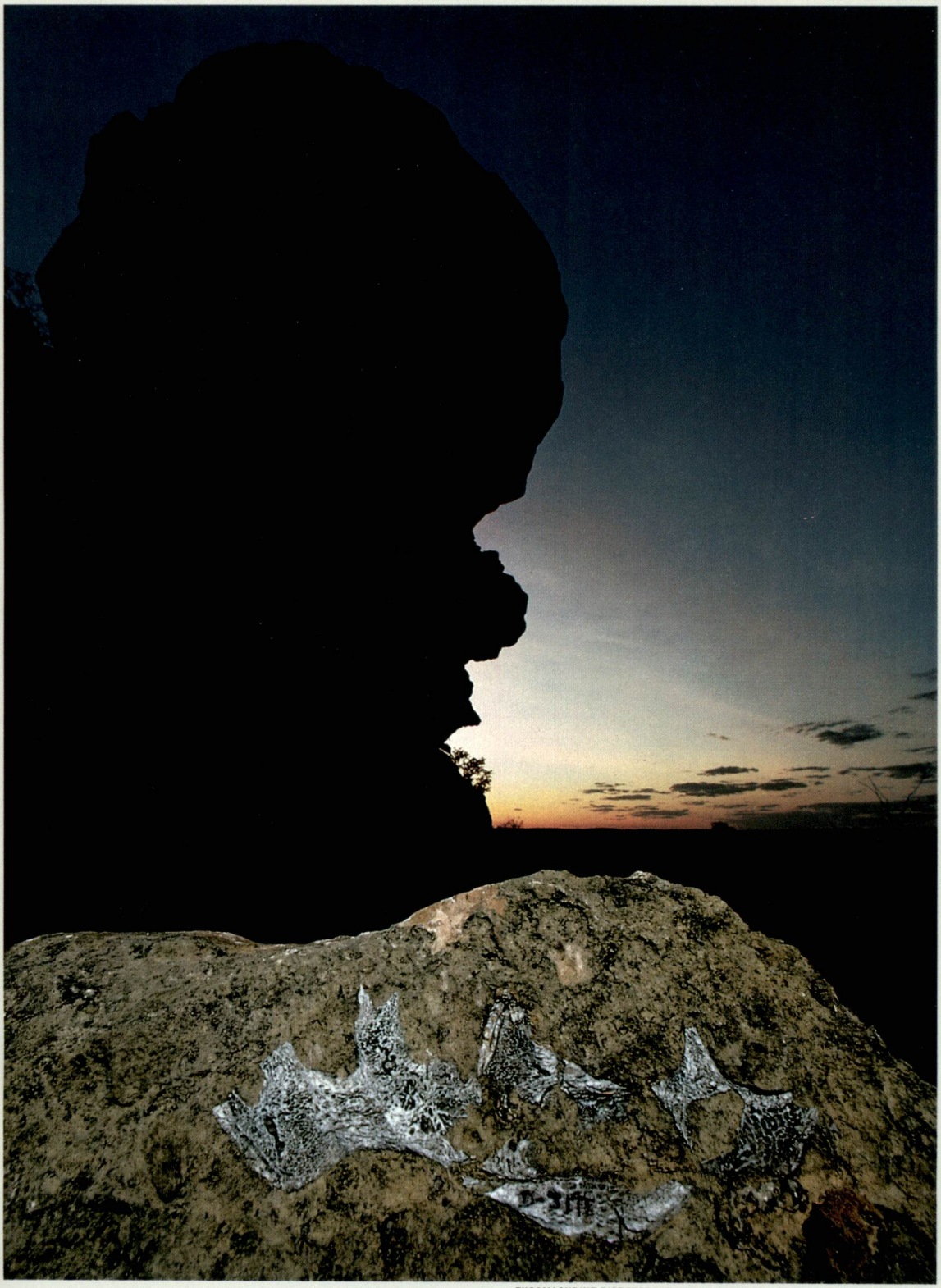


SHORT-NOSED ECHIDNA, *TACHYGLOSSUS ACULEATUS;* KATHIE ATKINSON, AUSCAPE



TASMANIAN DEVIL, *SARCOPHILUS HARRISII;* DAVE WATTS, AUSTRALASIAN NATURE

*continent—to the graceful sugar glider and the Tasmanian devil, which found popularity as a film cartoon character. Yet stranger things once existed. From the limestone of Riversleigh Station in Queensland comes the 15-million-year-old jaw of a cow-size marsupial resembling a wombat (below). These rich fossil deposits have yielded 150 species of mammals never before known, including a wolf-size marsupial lion and an entirely new order of marsupials temporarily called "Thingodonta," since it has so far defied classification.*



*ZYGOMAGURINE DIPROTODONT;* PHILIP QUIRK AND GRENVILLE TURNER, WILDLIGHT




*FLOCKING TO THE FINISH LINE, windsurfers pile up on a Sydney beach during the city's annual boardsailing marathon. Paradise for surfers, Sydney is remembered by sports-mad Aussies as the site of Australia's first surfboard ride in 1915.*

GEORGE HALL, WELDON TRANNIES

*Jolted awake by its bustling Asian neighbors, the land down unde*
*even encouraging foreigners to have a go at such investments as*
*nation of Nauru. Aussies take this "new" Australia in stride—wi*

# AUSTR

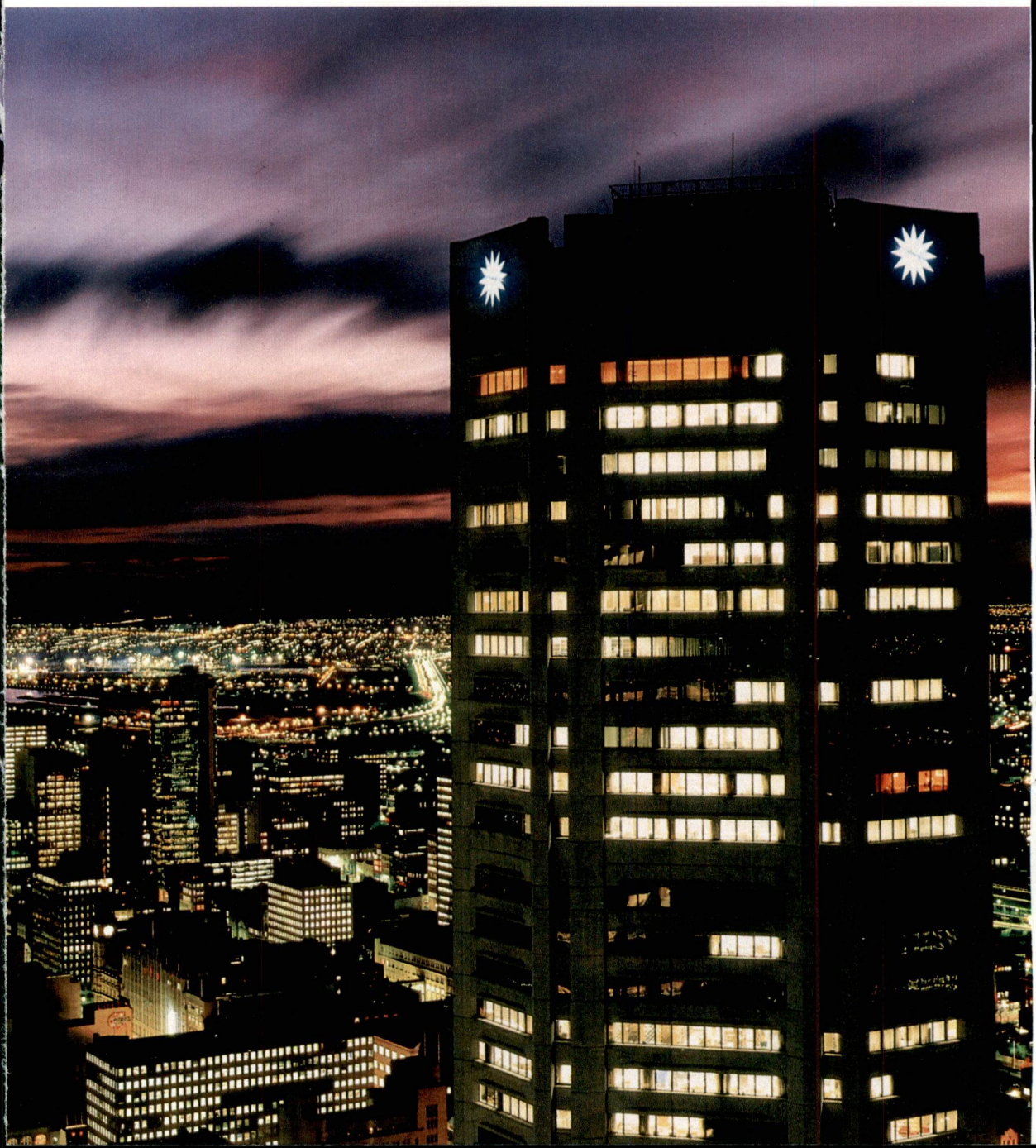





BOAR
MAR

*r is seeking new ideas, rewarding entrepreneurs, and*
*a Melbourne high rise, below, built by the Pacific island*
*h a wink and a characteristic, "She'll be right, mate."*

# ALIA at

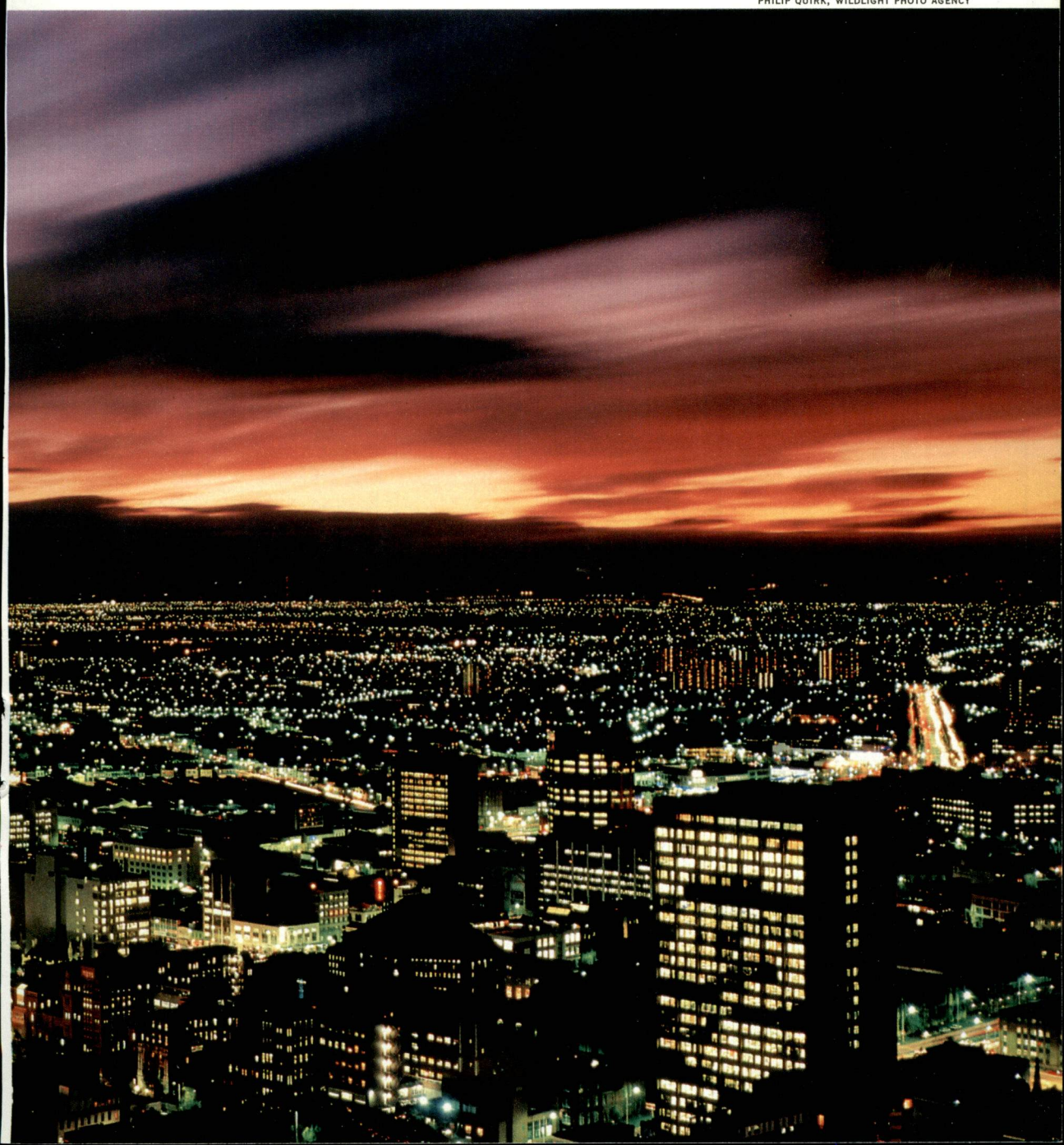


By ROSS TERRILL

Photographs by DAVID ROBERT AUSTEN

# 200

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PHILIP QUIRK, WILDLIGHT PHOTO AGENCY

"PEOPLE REMEMBER things here," said the governor of Tasmania, Sir James Plimsoll, in the magnificent sitting room of his Hobart residence. "In other places the past is diluted by so much else. There's a great continuity here of families in one place since the beginnings."

In Tasmania the Australian past stands still for a moment. This is green coastal Australia as it used to be—tranquil and virtually preindustrial. Tasmania has an English flavor lent by its cool and rainy climate ("You get a winter holiday in the middle of summer," the locals quip defensively) and the low percentage of Irish and other non-English immigrants.

Beautiful old buildings of honey-colored sandstone seem to outnumber factories. Sunday is a day of closed shops, church bells, and family outings on winding, hilly roads.

Hobart is crisp and healthy, its houses of stone or white weatherboard with red roofs nestling between the chilly waters of the Derwent River and the inky blue hulk of Mount Wellington.

Sixty miles to the southeast, the stone prison cells of Port Arthur, on rugged Tasman Peninsula (Dutchman Abel Tasman made the first European contact with Tasmania in 1642), tell the secret of Australia's unique origin as a place of crime and punishment.

From the stunning ruins one can see the Isle of the Dead, the burial ground during Port Arthur's convict decades from 1830 until 1877, and Point Puer, home of the boy convicts (young children could be hanged in the Britain of the day), whose training in stonemasonry during the 1830s included building the thousand-seat church, with its curtain down the middle separating convict and free.

The days of compulsion at the hands of prison guard, soldier, and chaplain are not so distant. Hobart, the second oldest of the Australian cities, was established only in 1804. All four of my grandparents were already alive in Victoria when the last convict ship reached Australia in 1868. My parents were already married when the last ex-convicts died in the 1920s.

To ancient Greece and Rome *terra australis incognita* was the "unknown land of the south." Not until the 17th century did the Portuguese, with missionary intent, and the Dutch, in search of profits, approach it from the northwest.

During the Ice Age, before sea levels rose and Australia became more difficult to reach from Asia, the people who are known today as the Aborigines arrived. For tens of thousands of years the continent was theirs alone.

The British sea captain James Cook reached the east coast in 1770 and claimed Australia for the modern world. The new land was to be part of Europe—New South Wales, as Cook called it—not of Asia.

By 1859 six separate colonies, all ruled from London, had risen on the island continent. Besides New South Wales and Tasmania, the senior colonies, there were: Victoria, convict-free, founded after an entrepreneur made a "treaty" with Aborigines near today's Melbourne; South Australia, also convict-free and the nearest of the colonies to a settlement based on idealism; Queensland, which began as a place for second-offense convicts from Sydney; and Western Australia, which attempted to do without convicts but resorted to them when sheep and cattle farmers lacked laborers.

Some convicts toiled constructing roads, churches, and government buildings; others were assigned to work on private farms. The struggle between those who thought the colonies' sole purpose was to be a prison and those who had a vision of wringing wealth from the land and trading with the world was slowly won by the latter.

Not far inland from the towns were rolling pastures excellent for raising sheep. Sheep began to replace convicts as Australia's chief industry in the 1820s. With merinos, brought from the Cape of Good Hope, the colonies began to try to wipe away the stain of convictism

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Author ROSS TERRILL, a U. S. citizen, was born and raised in Australia. He has written seven books, including *The Australians,* published last year by Simon and Schuster. Photographer DAVID ROBERT AUSTEN lives in Sydney and is a regular contributor to NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC.

*RAVE REVIEWS are inevitable when Australian enthusiasts attend the annual Smallmakers Winetasting Dinner in Sydney to sample the wares of wineries crushing fewer than 550 tons of grapes a year. Applying new technology to Old World grapes, Australian vintners large and small are gaining a worldwide reputation.*



by supplying England with thick, soft wool.

By 1850 Australia had 400,000 people and 13 million sheep. Sheep still outnumber people, and Australia's wool exports were worth 2.7 billion U. S. dollars in 1987.

Australia needed more people. That is why landowners favored continuation of the convict system—for few free settlers were ready to make the long voyage to a land with an infamous reputation. In February 1851 gold was found in New South Wales and soon after in huge quantities at Ballarat in Victoria, not far from Melbourne. Most of the colonies were transformed by the "yellow stuff." During the 1850s gold trebled Australia's population.

In 25 years from 1851 Victoria built a thousand churches and a thousand schools. Melbourne gained the broad boulevards and huge parks, the stately steps and pillars and arches and stained-glass windows that make it a gracious city today.

The term "mate" arose on the goldfields, and, in the era of the bushman portrayed in the film *Crocodile Dundee,* it remains the trademark term of address of the ordinary Australian.

AS GOLD LED ON to industrialization, the Aussie character began to form. Institutions came from Britain. Technology and entertainment often came from the United States. In 1853, at a U. S. Independence Day dinner in the British colony of Victoria, as the guests enjoyed roast beef and turkey at a Melbourne hotel, "Yankee Doodle" and "Rule Britannia" were sung. The speaker, balancing time and place, focused on the achievements of the Anglo-Saxon race: those of "the progressive child" (U. S.) and of "the gifted mother" (U.K.).

By the end of the 19th century Australia was among the world's most urbanized lands. Democracy and the labor movement too made



precocious strides under the hot antipodean sun. Without ceasing to be colonies, the six settlements won parliaments and the secret ballot.

Workers, in a land where the labor market has generally favored the seller, won power before they had time to develop class hatred. Suffrage came before the suffragettes. Australia pioneered the welfare state decades before Europe pulled down the last absolute monarchy.

In 1901 the six colonies sidled into a federation, forming the Commonwealth of Australia, without bothering to take over full sovereignty from London.

Australia paid a high price for its membership in the Western club. In World War I more Australians than Americans died in battle—though America was 20 times more populous—in France, Gallipoli, and elsewhere. During the Great Depression unemployment reached 30 percent in some Australian cities. In World War II, 30,000 Australians died.

All this time Australia had slammed the door against Asia by adopting a "white Australia" immigration policy.

I WAS A TODDLER in rural Victoria when Japan bombed the northern tip of Australia in 1942, but I remember the scare. My parents spoke darkly of Oriental barbarism, and one day excitement rose in our township when fishermen sighted a Japanese dinghy off nearby Ninety Mile Beach.

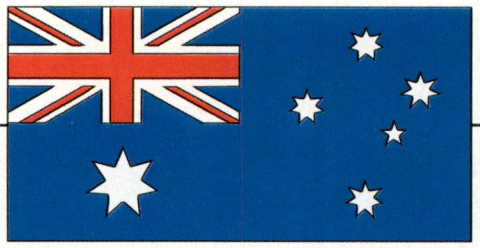
Pearl Harbor awoke Australians to the existence of Asia. The Japanese attack also pushed Australia closer to the United States.

With the Pacific world in shock, Prime Minister John Curtin told his nervous fellow Australians: "Without any inhibitions of any kind, I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom." It was almost like a divorce and remarriage.

KEN DUNCAN (ABOVE)

*"WE'RE FULL OF HOPE AND DEFIANCE," says Peter Garrett (above, seated), lead singer for the activist rock group Midnight Oil. Also a lawyer, Garrett narrowly lost a 1984 Senate campaign protesting Australia's nuclear policy and close ties with the United States, which have brought both Hollywood (below) and joint military bases to the outback.*





# "Fair Dinkum" Facts

*The continent of Australia is:*

- the only nation that is a continent
- the smallest continent
- the flattest
- the driest (except for Antarctica).

*Which explains why:*

- less than 10 percent of the land is arable
- the largest lake, Eyre (3,600 square miles), is usually bone-dry
- where a bar will do for a billabong, Australians are the greatest consumers of alcohol in the English-speaking world.

*Roughly the size of the coterminous United States at 2,966,368 square miles, Australia is also among the world's least densely populated countries, averaging only five people per square mile. Thus:*

- there are ten times as many jumbucks as people
- in the arid outback, where it takes 40 acres to graze a single sheep, are the world's largest stations, including Anna Creek cattle station in South Australia, at 12,000 square miles
- Australia leads the world in the export of beef and veal—624,000 tons in 1987—and is second, after New Zealand, in mutton and lamb—293,000 tons
- wool production is 30 percent of the world's entire output.

Australia is flat, the highest peak, Kosciusko, being only 7,310 feet—but its Great Barrier Reef is the world's longest at 1,250 miles, more than half as long as its longest river system, the Murray-Darling (2,300 miles).

*Elsewhere are rocks, not just any rocks, but:*

- the oldest known fragments of the earth's crust, from the Jack Hills, at 4.3 billion years
- 28 percent of the free world's uranium, along with coal reserves that match Saudi Arabia's oil in potential energy
- formations that supply nearly 90 percent of Australia's oil needs
- almost all the world's opals.

Small wonder that 80 percent of Australia's 16 million people (including 200,000 Aborigines) live in cities, mainly along the fertile coast between Brisbane and Adelaide. Sydney is the continent's "downtown" with 3,365,000 inhabitants, followed by competitor Melbourne with 2,833,000 and Brisbane with 1,150,000. Perth weighs in at 995,000, Adelaide at 978,000, and Canberra, the planned capital city, at 270,000.

*In statistical terms, Australians have it better than most:*

- per capita income, at $11,200 U. S., is one of the world's highest
- life expectancy, 76 years, is one of the world's longest
- literacy is virtually 100 percent
- workers earn from four to six weeks of vacation annually
- some 70 percent own their homes
- voting is compulsory
- which may or may not explain why Australians spend twice as much on gambling as on national defense.

Aussie blokes have dinkum reasons for thinking their land is bonzer, so shout them a drink, mate, and wish them a happy anniversary.

HOW TO SPEAK STRINE

*billabong*—water hole
*billy*—container for boiling tea
*bloke*—man
*bonzer*—great, terrific
*bush*—country away from the city
*chook*—chicken
*dingo*—Australian wild dog
*dinkum, fair dinkum*—honest, genuine
*dinki-di*—the real thing
*fossick*—to prospect for gold or gems
*grazier*—rancher
*jumbuck*—sheep
*make a good fist*—do a good job
*ocker*—basic down-to-earth Aussie
*outback*—remote bush
*pom*—English person
*shout*—buy a round of drinks
*station*—sheep or cattle ranch
*Strine*—what Aussies speak
*swag*—bedroll and belongings
*tucker*—food
*ute*—utility or pickup truck
*waltz matilda*—carry a swag

Yet Australia can still seem quite British. Judges wear wigs. Cricket is a religion. News and views from London are prominent in print and on the airwaves. Old admirals can be heard to call England "home." Knighthoods survive, like dinosaurs from a buried past, and are eagerly sought after by many.

Last year in Melbourne it was a butcher shop that reminded me I wasn't quite in the New World. Smelling of sawdust and blood, it featured a red neon light shining down a plate-glass window and illuminating neat rows of chops and sausages and steaks. The shop is run by sturdy family butchers in blue-and-white aprons with hands as red as sirloin, who will deliver cuts of meat in their own cars after hours.

Probably Australia will never become as American as it once was British. British influence was institutional, giving it a certain power to perpetuate itself. American influence is felt through the economy, popular culture, and technology, and is always in flux. "We are becoming Americanized only in the sense that we're becoming universalized," observed Tony Staley, a former cabinet minister. "It so happens that the U. S. is at the forefront of many things; the whole world is going in that direction."

FROM THE 1960S both major political parties began to dismantle the "white Australia" policy. During that decade 86 percent of immigrants to Australia came from Europe. By the 1970s only slightly more than half came from Europe. Today the largest number—32 percent—come from Asia. One day Australia will complete the large transformation from British outpost to Eurasian melting pot.

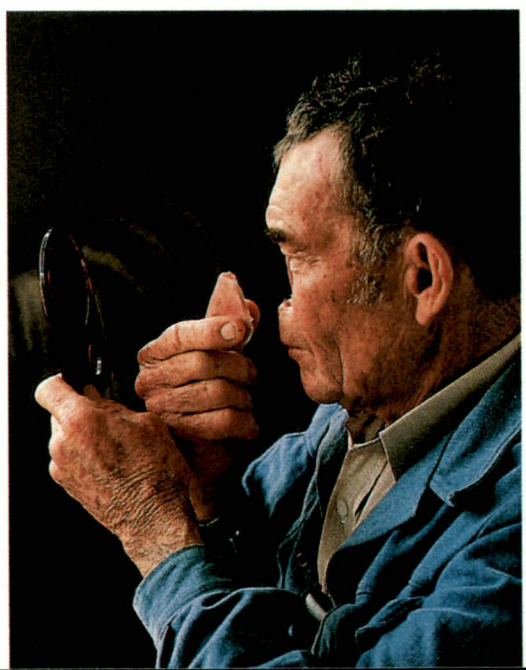
The story of youthful Australia is one of immigration, and it will go on being so. "Do you have any Italian friends?" I asked novelist Helen Garner, who lives in the Italian quarter of Melbourne. "I don't." She looked at me over the top of her espresso cup. "If I were 20 years younger, I suppose I would."

Tomorrow it will be friends who are Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipino, and maybe Indonesian.

Meanwhile we do not yet know how the old Aussies will react if one day the foreign-born



*TOO MUCH TROPICAL SUN gives fair-skinned Australians the highest rate of skin cancer in the world. To study why, Dr. Adrianna Scheibner exposes volunteers to artificial sunlight. Her research shows that long-term exposure to ultraviolet rays suppresses the immune system of an outdoorsman like Norman Hansell, who has worn an artificial nose since doctors removed a large melanoma, "the deadliest of the lot," from a nostril.*



should become not merely 20 percent as today but a majority, and if most of those should be not whites but Asians.

Beyond immigration, Australia during the 1970s underwent many changes in values and priorities, some of them associated with the prime ministership of Labor Party leader Gough Whitlam, a tall, optimistic lawyer. The nation moved from a foreign policy focused on Britain and the U. S. to one paying more attention than before to Japan, Indonesia, and China; from a prudish to a libertarian moral sense; from an amateur politics to a professional politics based on money, image, and the public-opinion poll.

In South Australia, an enlightened state still proud that it never had convicts, Don Dunstan as Labor Party premier spearheaded changes that were a harbinger of Whitlam's age of reform. "We deregulated people's personal and social behavior," he recalled in the dry, slow, courteous Adelaide way of speaking. "We felt the state has no business stopping things—nude beaches, drunkenness, sexual activities—that may shock other people but don't harm other people."

"Know Your Rights" said a leaflet on the bulletin board of my old university in Melbourne, and indeed, these days, Australians do know their rights.

YET RECENTLY the Australians have been preoccupied with an unwelcome economic revolution. Malcolm Fraser, the Oxford-educated grazier who as Liberal Party leader replaced Whitlam in 1975 and ruled until the Labor Party's Robert Hawke beat him in 1983, made a famous remark (actually a quote from George Bernard Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*) that foreshadowed the new mood: "Life is not meant to be easy."

I asked Prime Minister Hawke if the post-Whitlam stress upon rights has been sufficiently matched by a stress on obligations. "What I was trying to say to the Australian people," Hawke replied, referring to his first campaign in 1983, "was that the world no longer owes Australia anything. What we want is not going to fall into our lap the way it did before. The obligation is to work together to get it."

Over the past decade earnings from the export of products from farm and mine have been hit by falling prices. "We lost billions in national income just like that," Hawke told me sadly, snapping his suntanned fingers. An overprotected manufacturing sector finds it hard to innovate and export.

Senator Gareth Evans, minister for resources until 1987, spoke of the crisis in minerals and agriculture. "Agriculture's just shot to pieces. I mean, with existing mineral prices we could just stagger along, but in agriculture it's not possible even to do that."

Around Gardners Bay, an hour's drive from Hobart, as in some other attractive rural spots, a youngish urban element has arrived to begin a new life. At first the old established farmers did not welcome the newcomers. But with the decline of Tasmania's apple industry after Britain joined the European Economic Community and other economic ills, the farmers faced a life-style crisis of their own. For many the options were to sell out at a miserable price or to forget the farm and go on living in the house as dole recipients—and become unintentional philosophic brothers of the hippies.

Among the newcomers to Gardners Bay were British-born David Freedman and his two friends Heather Godfrey and Jenny Toogood, who all live together in a house of unpainted vertical wooden boards—built by David—which has no piped water, electricity, or lavatory plumbing.

"We were once the hangers-on," David Freedman told me. "Now the farmers are getting phased out."

But it's all been much harder work than David expected. He doesn't receive the dole (unemployment benefits)—Jenny does—for he clings to the belief in the value of self-sufficiency. "We'd rank among the poor, but really we're not," he told me.

Andrew, David's 13-year-old son, is getting bored on the land and may soon move to Hobart. He plays a guitar, powered (as are the household's lights and stereo) by a small generator, but otherwise he finds little to do among these quiet blue hills. David himself may move soon: "I will work, but not for wages."

*"A REGULAR BLOKE" to voters who first elected him in 1983, Prime Minister Robert Hawke attributes his success to a strong Labor Party platform and to his wife, Hazel. A former Rhodes scholar and 1954 world beer-drinking champion, the now teetotaling Hawke has won enactment of a tax overhaul and opened the economy to foreign banks.*




AS SCHOOL KIDS playing sports in the 1950s, we used to shout the phrase of abuse, "You bloody old woman!"

Yet male chauvinism in the land whose battle cry of democracy was "one man, one vote" is not the untamed beast of old. Rachel Faggetter, director of the National Wool Museum, as a schoolteacher in the 1960s remembers being told by an official that lower pay for females was because "they are no good four days out of the month." When we lunched in 1986, Rachel said with a laugh: "A woman tram driver nearly ran me down today; I thought, bugger it, things are improving."

In all public services—less so in private enterprise and the unions—women have attained something like equality of opportunity. In 1983, for the first time, a federal Labor Party cabinet included a woman, Senator Susan Ryan.

Assertive feminism and favors for single parents have gone too far for conservatives. Catholic commentator Bob Santamaria's pessimism about Australia's future stems from his perception of the family's erosion. Indeed one hears of excesses, as when copies of the Bible were removed from some Tasmanian library shelves on the grounds that it's sexist.

"The breakdown of the human factory is the root problem in Australia," said a Sydney taxi driver as he drove me through a squalid slum. "That factory [the family] has broken down, and the product out of it is ethically inferior."

Rowena Danziger, headmistress of Sydney's Ascham girls school, who once taught in Milton Academy near Boston, has seen educational progress and also the appearance of new flaws:







MITSUAKI IWAGO (ABOVE); JOHN KESHISHIAN (BELOW)

*GEM CUTTER'S NIGHTMARE, a lost diamond sends workers scrambling at the Perth cutting and polishing facility of the Argyle diamond mine. They eventually found the stone on a worktable beneath a tool. To minimize environmental impact and maximize quality of life, most of the remote mine's 700 employees commute 1,400 miles by air from Perth, working two weeks at a stretch. The world's largest diamond producer, Argyle mines some 30 million carats a year. Experts predict that the main ore body, tapped in 1985, will last about 20 years.*

*Australia also supplies 90 percent of the world's opals—many from Coober Pedy (above) in South Australia, where holes lead to both mines and underground homes. Another field, Lightning Ridge, yielded "Halley's Comet Stone" (below), a 2,000-carat black opal found during the comet's 1985 visit. Estimated value: $3,000,000.*





"Many state schools are no longer very satisfying. There are discipline problems. And they've become diminished by all the 1960s stuff about not competing and not holding exams, and the idea that what you really should be doing at school is 'finding yourself.' "

In Cairns, a tropical paradise that attracts drifting youths, I ran into an 18-year-old acquaintance of mine. "I just wanted to get away," Simon said of his abrupt departure from Canberra. "I had no motivation to finish school. But I will get the motivation—and in Canberra it's easy to get through; there are no exams." Talented and easygoing, Simon spends much of his time at the beach: "I tried work in a shipyard, but it was too hard."

WHEN I WAS in my last year at a Melbourne high school in the late 1950s, a mere 30,000 college students existed in Australia. Today there are 180,000. In the chillier economic climate of the eighties, questions arose as to whether Australian universities—all 20 of them are state ones—were spending the taxpayers' money to good effect. The Hawke government's introduction of a small annual fee upset many students. Modest as the fee is, it symbolizes the end of the halcyon days of Whitlam's big spending.

Many believe that Australia needs a revamping of education. In Japan 94 percent of 17-year-olds study, and in the U.S.A. the figure is 92 percent. In Australia a mere 40 percent of that age group are students. It shows, and will show even more tomorrow.

For practical and philosophical reasons a move toward privatization of education has begun. And some Australians—together with some Asians—have caught a vision of Australia exporting education to the region.

In Perth a group of Malaysian investors propelled by Bean San Goh, a mathematics professor, has entered the education export market at the secondary level by founding the Western Australian International College in a mansion high above the Swan River.

"There's now pressure on students to do well," Dr. Goh told me. "Parents are choosing private schooling in order to ensure employability [of their children]. The old egalitarianism—'Jack's as good as his master'—has been diluted to an extent."

Barry Jones, science minister in the Hawke cabinet, spoke to me in Melbourne of a link between racism and education. "The real resentment against the Vietnamese came when they started doing so well at school," he said. "They began winning exhibitions and prizes, getting into universities. For a lot of Australians that seemed like unfair competition."

The sharp changes in life-style priorities, women's status, education, and other social realms mostly have two roots. The ructions within the economy, deeply affecting the modes of earning one's daily bread, have brought changes in relationships and values. And the explosion of the "right to have rights" in



*THE FAST TRACK to success at Westpac, Australia's largest bank, leads over hill and dale—as management trainees, left, found during a 12-day Outward Bound course stressing responsibility and hands-on teamwork. The fastest track of all is the foreign-currency exchange office in Sydney, where telex operator Jennifer Clowes catches her breath between frantic, million-dollar messages to Westpac offices around the world.*

the Whitlam era has redrawn the social terrain.

"We don't need a bloody federal government," said the farmer who handed me a how-to-vote ticket of the National Party outside the voting booth in Townsville, Queensland. "Originally it was formed to raise taxes and do defense. It wasn't meant to double up on roads, Aborigines, and everything."

Southerners sometimes look disparagingly upon Queensland as "bananaland," a sun-drenched but cultureless haven of conservatives and moralists. Yet the 1,400-mile-long tropical state, nearly five times the size of Japan and devilishly rich in minerals and in spots to delight the tourist, may be the segment of Australia with the brightest future.

Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, premier of Queensland for an astonishing 20 years, has bashed the unions and provided the nearest thing to a free-enterprise climate that exists in Australia. Wrapping himself in the Queensland flag, this jovial but combative populist flies regularly to Japan to sign deals for tourism and mining projects. He likes to thank any person who moves from another state to Queensland.

"Low taxes is the crux of the matter," Bjelke-Petersen told me in his Brisbane office. "If you want growth, you've gotta let the people spend the money instead of governments spending it."

The legendary Perth mining tycoon Lang Hancock, discoverer of much of the iron ore of the Pilbara, the west's great mineral region, despises the dominant political-industrial ways of Australia. "Big-spending government is the problem," Hancock said. "And militant trade unions that are outside the law. Before Australia can really deal with Asia and the Pacific rim, we've got to bring our costs down."

He believes that Australia's strategic minerals should have made it indispensable to the world. "Russia's got mineral wealth. South Africa's got it. We've got it—but ours is in the ground, and it's going to stay in the ground, because no bastard's got the incentive to get it out!"

TO TRAVEL AUSTRALIA, and to hear one part of it speak about another, is to come upon a diversity of character. Melbourne and Sydney, the two main cities with a combined population of more than six million, love to hate each other, and while both have become great cities of the world, they do indeed differ in spirit. Moralistic Melbourne cannot let go of principles, while on-the-make

*TO PROTECT a multibillion-dollar livestock industry, scientists at the Australian Animal Health Laboratory diagnose viral diseases under airtight conditions.*






Sydney is content to count the numbers.

Hazel Hawke, wife of the prime minister, reflected on Melbourne and Sydney over coffee one morning in their Canberra residence. "The Opera House expresses Sydney—a wonderful, breathtaking place. Yet inside there's a lot lacking. As a place to produce opera, it's a headache. On the other hand, in Melbourne the arts complex is not stunning from the outside—it hides itself—but inside it works wonderfully."

Mrs. Hawke, born in Perth but long a resident of Melbourne, laughed, and behind her I caught a glimpse of purple and gold petunias in the winter garden of the prime minister's Lodge. "Such a difference—and I really don't know that I belong to either of them."

Perth is the bright new star in the Australian urban firmament. Far from anywhere—almost as close to Singapore as to Sydney—it has risen to prosperity and gained the cockiness of a Dallas-by-the-sea on the basis of the northwest's iron ore, natural gas, and other resources. Breeding ground for tycoons, some homegrown, many foreign-born, pleased with itself for its role in the capture and gallant defense of the America's Cup, Perth is the home of Australia's most ostentatious new-rich.

Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, has the reputation of being sedate and rational, but nowadays reaches for a livelier image. It mounts an excellent Grand Prix car race, and the wines of nearby Barossa Valley have begun to cut a swath in the world market. On Adelaide's clean wide streets I found trendy boutiques, late-night bars in restored old buildings, and rows of cars for sale on almost every corner.

Canberra, the national capital, hardly feels like a city, but it boasts a lovely setting, lots of open space, and interesting architecture. On a crisp winter morning I watched well-dressed

*IMPORTING ENTREPRENEURS like California horticulturalist Roger Dutcher and his family is the aim of the Business Migration Program, designed to diversify the economy and open new export markets. Dutcher's genetic-engineering firm seeks to enhance the productivity of plants such as the pine seedlings he holds.*



schoolchildren and public servants catch clean swift buses to their gentle labors.

There are only 270,000 people in Canberra, and some Australians who move there from the bustling state capitals find it socially desiccated. A technician duplicating tapes for me in a Canberra office told me with glee that he had just won a one-fifth share in a 1.4-million-dollar lottery prize.

"Have you been trying for a long time?" I asked out of fascination at the motives of lottery-ticket buyers.

"Only since I came to Canberra three years ago. As soon as you arrive, you think about how on earth you're going to get out—I thought buying lottery tickets was the way."

The sparse Northern Territory—155,000 people in 520,000 square miles—is a frontier

beyond all frontiers. Darwin is as close to Vietnam as to Tasmania, and it feels closer. A raw, humid, cheerful place, one of Australia's few substantially multiracial cities, it cares for the future, not the past, and regards Canberra as an obstacle in its path to mining, tourist, and industrial development.

"The north coast of Australia is basically unguarded," territory Chief Minister Steve Hatton told me. "Outside of Darwin, drug runners operate with impunity." These tropical beaches are also the country's first line of defense against any turbulence—discreetly unmentioned—that may emanate from volatile Indonesia.

"THERE IS A CERTAIN INNOCENCE about being an Australian," painter Sidney Nolan said years ago, and still today I find this true. Perhaps it stems from the youthfulness of the nation—and its distance from the evils of the Old World.

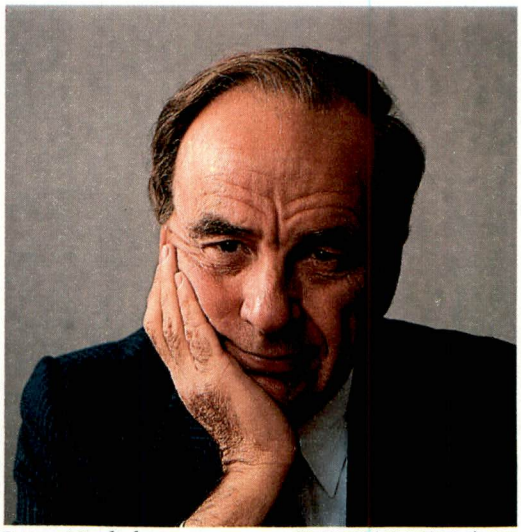
Or perhaps it results from closeness to nature. Magpies swoop down to try to take a peck at my head in a Canberra street. Sea gulls fly up from Port Phillip Bay to circle over my family's home in a Melbourne suburb. Adelaide in spring is suffused with the smell of golden wattle and gray-green eucalyptus. Downtown Hobart is five minutes from the bush.

In Sydney, checking into a local pub that offered accommodation, I proffered a $50 bill for the first night's "rent," as the lady at the counter called it.

"Jeez, I've got no change," she said. "I'll give you the $20 later." I hesitated, thinking that perhaps I should have a receipt. I needn't have worried. An hour later the cook arrived at my room with a $20 bill. "Some lovely fresh snapper just in, by the way," he volunteered as he breezed back to his kitchen.

On the other hand the "knocker" strain in Australian culture can still be found. Some conservative intellectuals dislike the philosophical emptiness they sense around them. "We used to joke that at parties you shouldn't talk about politics or religion," remarked Professor Leonie Kramer at the University of Sydney. "Now there's endless talk about politics, but still none about questions of the spirit."

I discussed the self-deprecatory side of the Australian soul with Melbourne author Bruce Grant. "Perhaps it's the convict origins," Grant mused. "Perhaps it's the sense we have of being a minor dependency of Western civilization. There's long been a sense of low self-esteem. But



*Rupert Murdoch* PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL O'BRIEN

at last we're becoming more confident—thank heavens."

Part of the problem is simply that Australia has only 16 million people and is far from the world's power centers. Barry Jones spoke to me of his frustrations as science minister. Australia has been a world leader in synthesizing a human growth hormone.

"But the reaction in Australia was, 'That's terribly interesting, and we're so pleased for you.' People never say, 'Right, let's develop it—here's a medical problem we can resolve for the world.' They say, 'What do the Americans think?' And if the Yanks think it's terrific, the Australians say, 'Well, there wouldn't be any point in us trying to get involved too.' "

Jones gave a bitter laugh. "Yet if the Americans aren't interested, the reaction is, 'Oh, the idea can't be any bloody good. Why bother if the Americans don't want to be in it?' "

"It gives you a kick, as an Australian going out into the world, to have successes on a larger stage," said publisher Rupert Murdoch (above),

who is probably the most influential Australian-born person now living (he became a U. S. citizen in 1985). The words not only explain the publisher's extraordinary dynamism but perhaps, as well, the inner frustration of the more ambitious of the faraway Aussies.

All the last three Australian prime ministers have asked me if I am really in America to stay, or whether, maybe, I might come back—as if implying some abandonment on my part, or perhaps expressing a certain regret at the loss of native sons.

"By the time I was 12, I was determined to leave Australia," author Germaine Greer has said, and indeed during my own years in Australia a steady flow of talent went to Europe and America. Said journalist Maxwell Newton, who years ago moved to New York City: "If I do good work [in America], people are happy about it. In Australia what I found was that if I did good work, people would be angry about it."

Yet the feelings of inferiority are receding. "Years ago I saw Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco," said New South Wales environment minister Bob Carr, "and I thought what a pity Australia can't enliven its urban areas. But now we're doing it. Look at the restoration of our state parliament, which is better than what's in Sacramento. Look at our Science and Technology Museum, which is the equal of the Deutsches Museum in Munich. Look at the Darling Harbour project. Australia's lost its feeling that it could never do anything."

GEOGRAPHY tugs against history. One senses that geography will win, but not quickly or totally. Yet already the gradual shift of the center of gravity of Australia's trade, defense, and foreign policy from Europe to Asia has produced some vivid changes.

Two Asias impinge upon late 20th-century Australia. There is poor Asia, most recently the wave of Indo-Chinese immigrants. And there is rich Asia, spearheaded by Japanese trade and investment and tourism, and including Malaysian and Chinese entrepreneurship and investment. Japan takes huge amounts of Australian iron ore and coal, bargaining toughly over prices. From Perth to the Queensland Gold Coast, Japanese have been snapping up residential and commercial property—a total of nearly four and a half billion dollars of purchases in Australia to date.

Japanese tour groups and honeymooners flock to see the penguins in Victoria and the Opera House in Sydney. They climb Ayers Rock in their white hats and impeccable shorts, and view dolphins and flex their muscles in the wide spaces of northern Queensland, photographing much, buying much of the rest.

"Japan already owns us; taking us would be a formality," said media tycoon Kerry Packer.

Some older Australians retain their anti-Japanese feelings from World War II, but these fade. "The Japanese was an atrocious bugger in the war," Sir Sydney Williams, just retired as chairman of Air Queensland, told me in his Cairns office, "but I don't bear any grudge—I'd go out to welcome any Japanese who comes to north Queensland."

Japanese businessmen with experience in Australia speak cautiously of its future.

In his Sydney office Itaru Suzuki, chairman of Mitsui Australia, told me that Australian governments have been urging him to enter manufacturing. "But I am hesitant. Businessmen complain of strikes and the unions behind them. The cultures of our two countries are different. The Japanese tend to think their work for a company is their life itself. In Australia it is a means to an end."

As the Japanese presence in Australia has grown, a Japanese school has appeared in Perth. I visited its 43 pupils and talked with four of them. All felt that their Australian friends study less hard than they do. On the wall of the lobby I noticed some words from the school song: "Black swans on a green land / We make friends in Australia / We will make our own history here in Perth."

As I drove away it was lunchtime, and clusters of kids in their bright winter clothes were eating Japanese box lunches on a lawn, each group with a teacher in its midst. The taxi driver noticed and said to me as we swung onto the highway, "You'd never see Australian teachers doing that during *their* lunch hour."

OTTO ROGGE, AUSTRALASIAN NATURE TRANSPARENCIES (ABOVE)

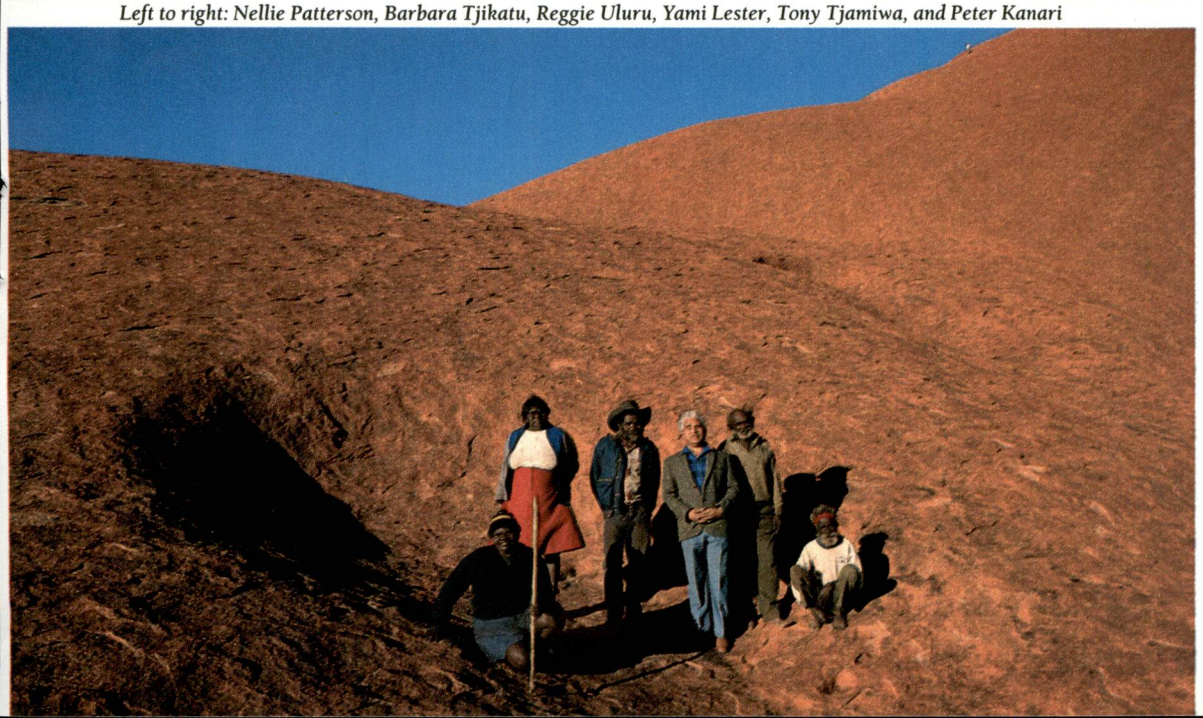


*SACRED SITES to Aborigines of central Australia, the imposing formation called the Olgas, above, and nearby Uluru, or Ayers Rock, are among the nation's most popular tourist attractions. A growing dispute was quieted in 1985 when the area was deeded to local Aborigines, and, as agreed, they leased it back as Uluru National Park. Six of the ten members of the park's board of management are Aborigines (right). Nellie Patterson, far left, says, "We've been given back our Aboriginal spirit."*

*Defending Australia comes naturally to Josh Pauatjimi and Joe Bourke (left), two of some 40 Aborigine reservists training to guard the north coast. "It's because they identify spiritually with the land," says Sgt. Doug McLean.*



*Left to right: Nellie Patterson, Barbara Tjikatu, Reggie Uluru, Yami Lester, Tony Tjamiwa, and Peter Kanari*



*TO CURTAIL a kangaroo population explosion that is destroying ranch fences and pastures, "shooters" such as Queensland's Phil Capewell, left, kill as many as 2.8 million a year for meat, skins, and fur. Yet even shooters have a soft spot for the roo: Capewell's assistant cuddles an orphaned joey.*



CAPE YORK PENINSULA in the far northeast thrusts like a horn toward Asia, its tip 90 miles south of Papua New Guinea. Beyond Cairns, near Cape Tribulation, Captain Cook's problems with the hazards of the Great Barrier Reef began in 1770, and farther north, in today's charming township of Cooktown on the banks of the Endeavour River, Cook beached and repaired his ship, spending more time here than on any other portion of the Australian mainland.

Cook Shire, with its river weaving like a blue thread through deep green foliage, holds 5,000 people, a third of them Aborigines, in an area almost the size of England. With Cooktown as its seat, it is the largest shire in Queensland and the second largest in the nation.

My host, a German-born Australian named Hans Looser, pointed out the Cooktown race course. "Often the grass is so high you can't see the horses—you just see the jockeys' caps bobbing up and down and hope for the best."

I went to see the former Cooktown train station, which is now a kindergarten, and later, at the shire offices, librarian Pauline Grey and a middle-aged lady who came to borrow an American novel recalled the closing down of the narrow-gauge railroad line that plied a short scenic route west from Cooktown.

"It 'appened in 1961," said the lady, "when Cooktown was low."

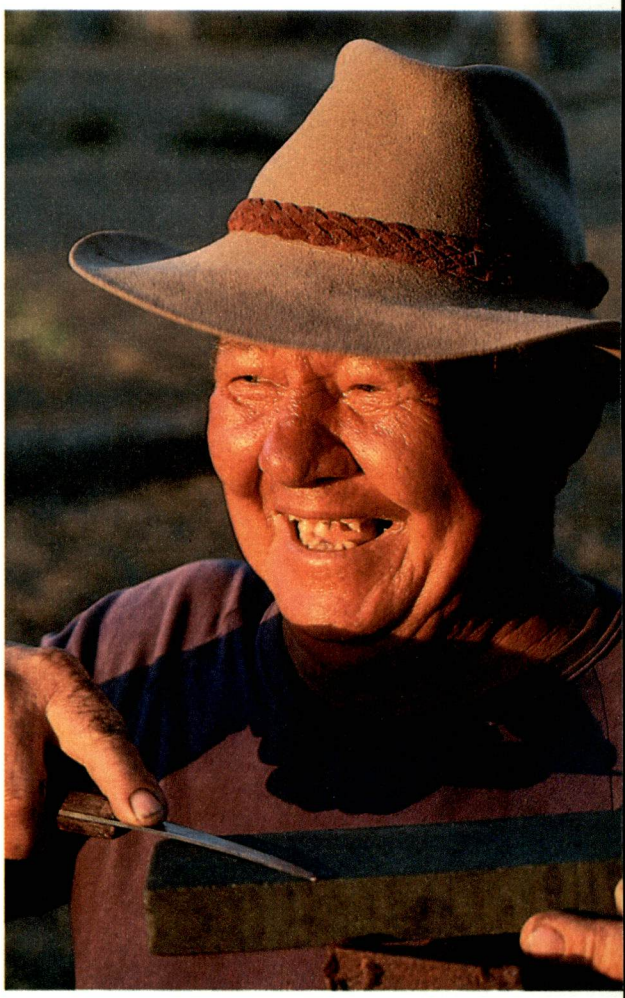
"Must have been a sad day?" I ventured.

"It's even sadder today to realize how much tourist revenue we're losing by not having it open. Tourists love them little trains."

One old-timer, William Russell, age 95, described a small effect of Australia's tough economic times, which Cooktown's tourist efforts seek to counter. "I started smoking at age seven," he said, "and I gave it up in 1984 because of the high price of pipe tobacco."

A major Australian growth industry in recent years has been the arts. As the world discovered Australia through works like the films *Breaker Morant* and *My Brilliant Career,* landscapes by Sidney Nolan, the novels *Voss* and *The Tree of Man* by Patrick White, and the rock songs of Midnight Oil, so too Australians found something new and exciting about themselves in the mirror of the arts.

*CROCODILE LOVER Lew Bellinger of Humpty Doo, Northern Territory, once bagged crocs for a living, but turned conservationist when their numbers fell sharply in the 1960s.*



Characteristically, government funding has sparked the new artistic vigor. Even David Williamson, a self-reliant artist whose popular *Don's Party* and other plays have depicted urban middle-class life, got his start with a grant.

"Without knowing I had that $7,000 for a year," he said as we chatted on the veranda of his graceful old Sydney home, "I doubt I would have had the courage to cast everything aside and have a go."

In the desert west of Alice Springs I caught up with Midnight Oil in unlikely concert. They were on a joint tour with an Aboriginal band that expressed singer Peter Garrett's commitment to Aboriginal land rights, world peace, and other causes. The bands thumped away under spotlights in the flat, dusty settlement of Papunya, as children jived and rocked in perfect rhythm before them.

Because of the new vigor in the arts, the sense of what it means to be an Australian has changed. The two-fisted male bushman has receded. Urban themes and images have crowded in upon outback landscapes.

WITH LEADING BLACK WRITER Faith Bandler, I talked of race and tradition. "I feel rather strangled by Australianism," she said. "They say we blacks are part of the Third World, but to me there's no such bloody thing as the Third World. There's only one world."

In Melbourne I heard an echo of these sentiments from Paul Cox, director of *My First Wife, Man of Flowers,* and other films. "The more I understand of the world, the less I want to belong to any particular country," Cox said.

"But this is an amazing country," said the Dutch-born director, who stressed the habitat. He summed up his art as an attempt "to make people more aware of their inner self. Like when we look at a tree. There's enormous strength under the earth to give that tree life. But we never see the roots, and we never think about them. You know, we admire the tree for traveling through the seasons, but where's the respect for the very roots that hold the tree deeply in the earth? It's exactly like that with people."

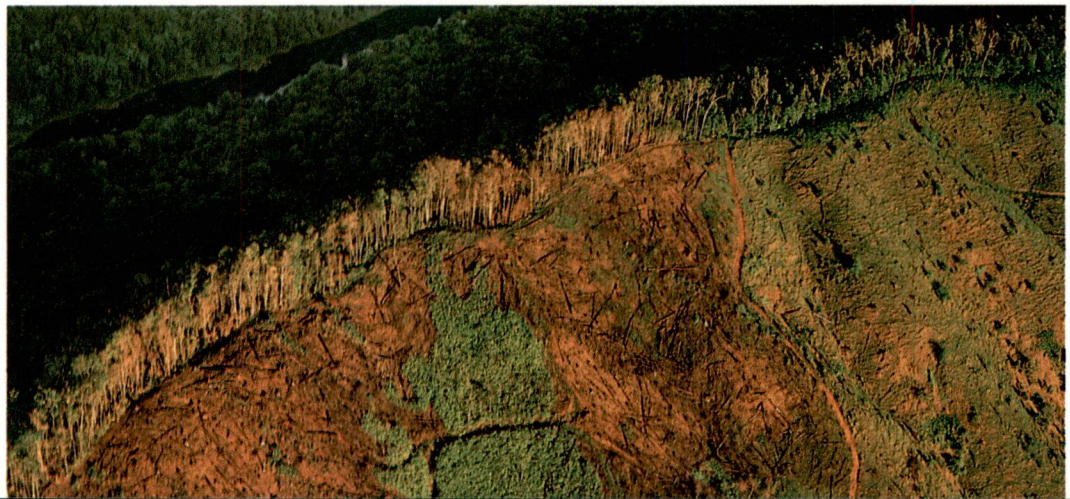
The feeling that Australia can't quite control its own destiny still produces cynicism and fatalism. "We are a fairly cynical nation," observed Jim Kirk, chairman of the Bicentennial Authority, "and one of the aims for the bicentennial is to try to stir nationalism."

Says Stephen Murray-Smith, who founded and still edits *Overland,* Australia's distinctive literary magazine: "No country in the world knows as little about itself as Australia."

Disagreement exists as to which date is truly Australia's national day. James Cook's arrival date 218 years ago? The first governor's hoisting of the British flag near Sydney 18 years later (the present Australia Day)? The day in 1901 when the six British colonies formed a federation of Australia? Or the unknown day far in the mists

*TO REJUVENATE THEIR LAND, three generations of Speirs—74-year-old Roy, son Bill, and grandsons Sam and Tom—plant red gum seedlings on the family's 4,650-acre sheep station in Victoria. Mature trees will stem erosion and lower the water table and related soil salt level. Loggers have clear-cut sections of Queensland's tropical rain forest (bottom), nominated for protection as a world heritage site.*







LEO MEIER, WELDON TRANNIES (BELOW)

of the past when the first people reached Australian shores?

"The Australian character?" mused former foreign minister Andrew Peacock. "I think it's a character shrouded in an unnecessary modesty, which then becomes fierce when prodded." Only rarely is the Australian prodded.

Australians complain about their "terrible problems" at the same time that they enjoy the luxury of not having to do anything drastic about them.

On the other hand the Australian retains his appealing candor and directness. People say what they think, even about race and religion. The language of parliament, press, and public life is close to the language of daily life.

I attended the launching party for Helen Garner's *The Children's Bach* at which the novelist said in her brief remarks: "I'm glad my parents are here tonight. This is the first of my book launches they've been to. The reason is that in the past we didn't get on, but now we do."

"The cardboard-cutout establishment is just withering away," Senator Gareth Evans told me. Today the establishment has to do mostly with merit and push. Birth and land don't matter much any more.

LEFT AND RIGHT have lost some of their meaning. Both old-line left and right sound disappointed by Australia today. Yet among a younger generation new motivations stir. Like their seniors, the young have fresh starting points and blend idealism and interests, insights and blind spots into their own social philosophy.

In the work life of the cities a sense of the need to struggle has grown. Success is less often mocked than in my youth. Even the 14-year-old girls I spoke with at Ascham School in Sydney singled out successful entrepreneurs such as Robert Holmes à Court—a Perth-based businessman who is perhaps Australia's wealthiest person—as worthy of admiration.

The reexamination of the welfare state is widespread, searching, and far from over. Some businessmen, tiring of a decade and more of capitalism bashing, are speaking up for business values and finding a pleasing response. And the immigrant flow will not in the long run benefit the trade unions or the bearers of Australia's radical traditions.

In the streets crime grows. At my home in Melbourne during the 1960s we locked the door only if we were going away for several days. According to my mother that same house is the only one on a street of 20 that has not been burgled in recent years.

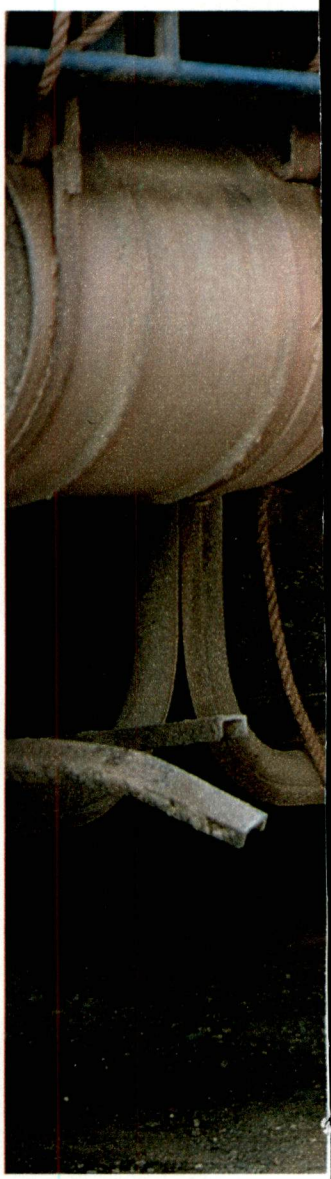
On a wall in Perth I saw scrawled "Feed The Poor, Eat The Rich," and anger and despair do

*FLEET OF WELL-WISHERS accompanies Sydney's working ferryboats during the 1984 running of Ferrython, an annual race across the harbor. The finish line—beyond the white, scalloped Opera House—was literally the end for the 67-year-old* Karrabee, *far left, "last of the great wooden boats," which sank at dockside.* GEORGE HALL, WELDON TRANNIES











grow in some quarters. "School Sux," someone had written in purple crayon on a wall in the poor Sydney suburb of Redfern. During 1987 I was for the first time asked for money on an Australian street. Equally shocking to one brought up in this country, I was insulted by the beggar when I declined to offer any.

Despite skillful efforts at disciplined economic management by the Hawke government, economic crisis still shadows the face of Australia. Nothing can take away the unpleasant facts. The Australian dollar has lost 50 percent of its value against the Japanese yen in the past three years. Australia's foreign indebtedness is so huge that nearly a fifth of yearly export income goes to pay interest on it. Both the inflation rate (8.3 percent) and the unemployment rate (7.7 percent) are well above the average of Western industrialized nations. Savings are low, and business investment is even lower.

*"IT'S A HARD GAME TO GIVE UP, MATE," says Toots Holzheimer, who logs a thousand miles a week hauling "anything and everything" through the lonely outback of northern Queensland. She says 20 years of dirt roads and axle grease—along with raising eight kids—have made her a realist. "And I'll probably drive till I'm dead."*



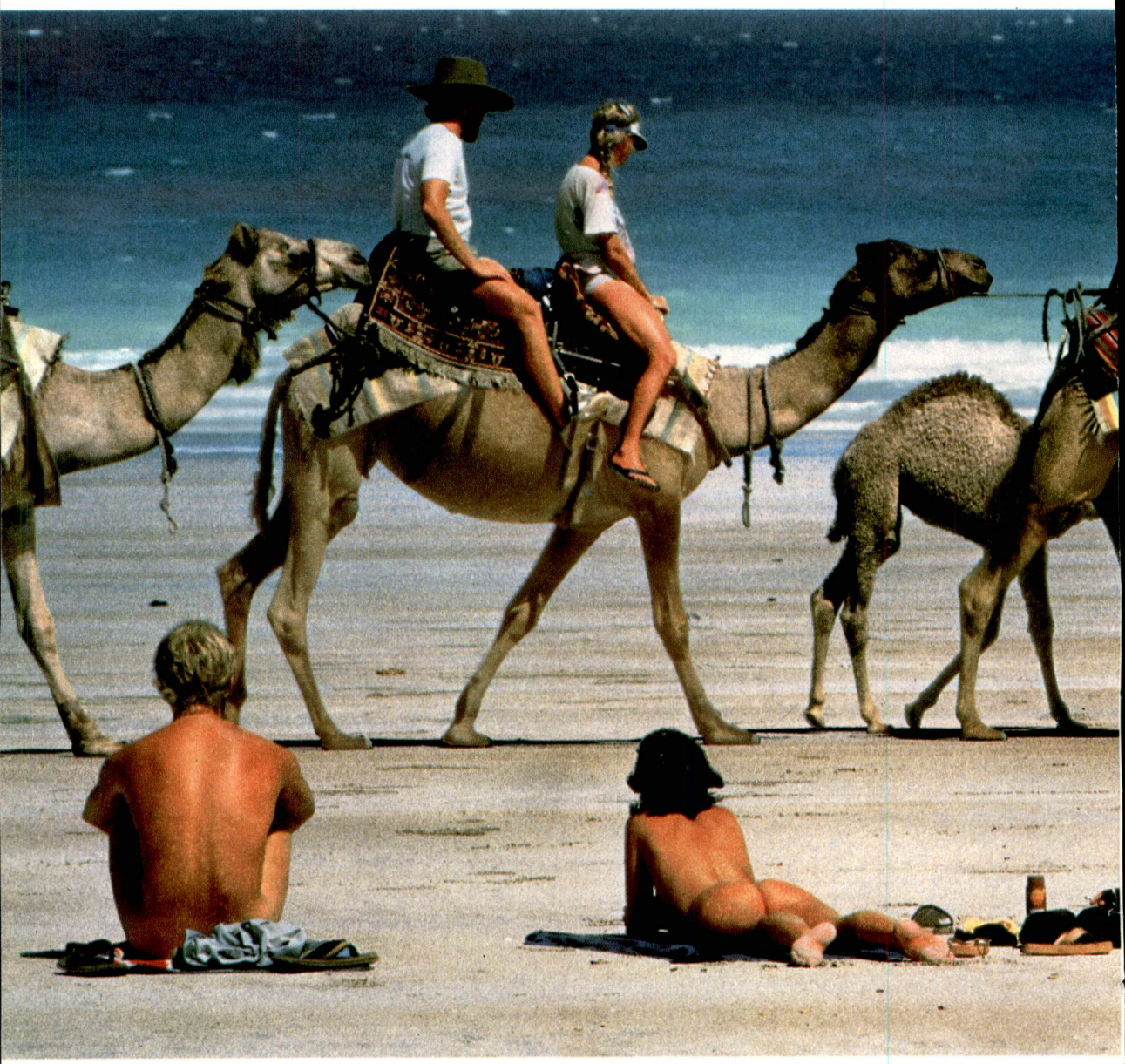
In some realms the "lucky country," as Australia sometimes calls itself, seems out of luck. The farmers are in debt. Industry labors under the disadvantages of protectionism's lull, a small internal market, and high costs. Mining has not as yet proved a panacea.

A fifth of the young are unemployed. The ratio of the number of people on government benefits to taxpayers has risen from one to seven in the 1960s to nearly one to two today—and meanwhile the population ages quickly.

For a family the purchase of an Australian-made car in 1987 cost 51 weeks' average earnings, compared with 35 weeks' in 1982.

Sir Arvi Parbo, a respected business figure, said to me in a slow deliberate tone: "If we do not act, the time will come when people won't lend us money any more—this is not economic theory, not ideology, just an arithmetic fact."

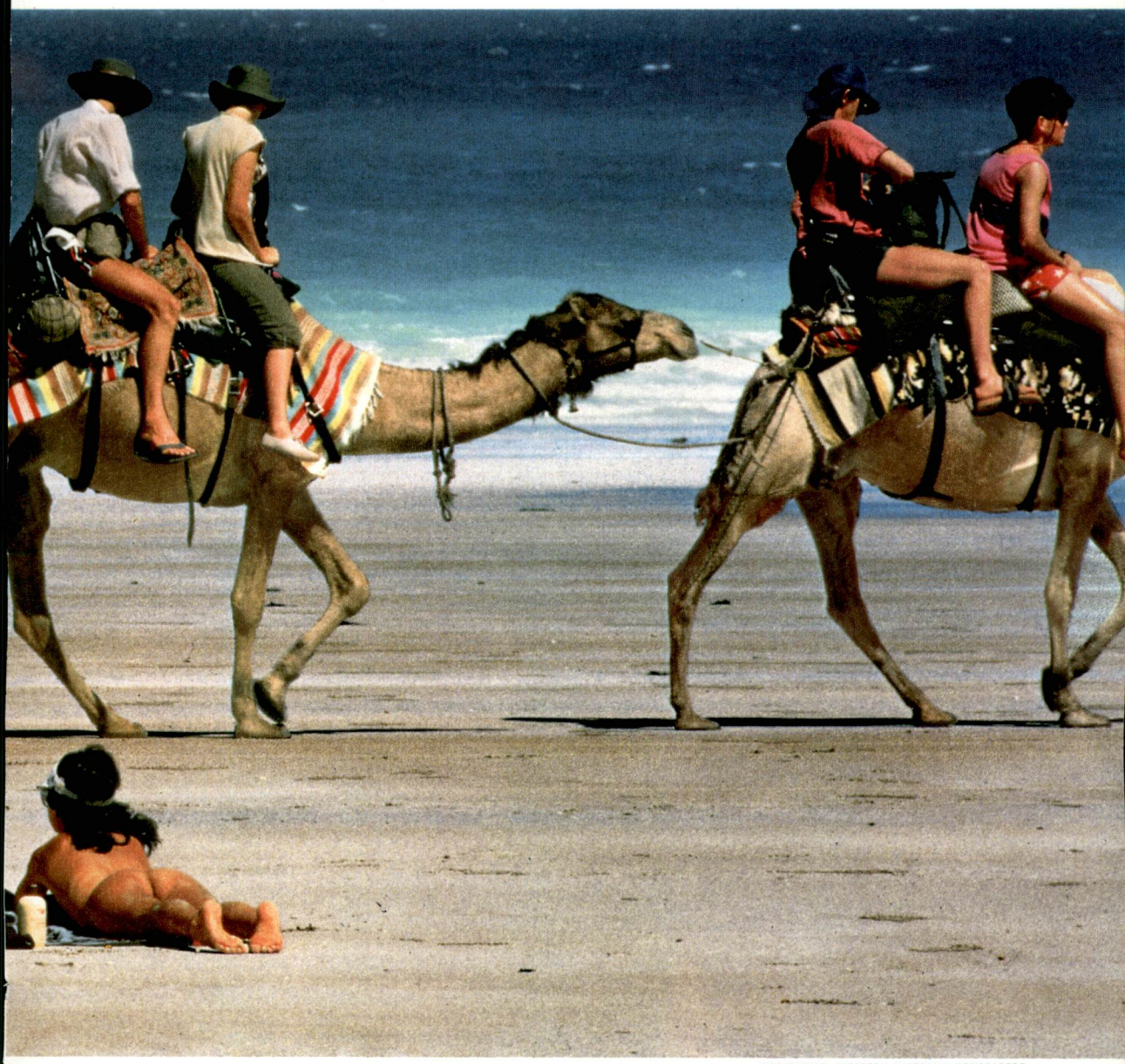
The specter of dependence looms once more.



*CAMELS NEVER BAT AN EYE at the local dress code, say those who rent them to sightseers on Cable Beach, near Broome on the Indian Ocean. Despite a quickened pace as their country enters its third century, Aussies too are a pretty laid-back lot, says author Ross Terrill. "The most Australian thing you can do is to lie on a clean, wide, beautiful beach."*

Australia is no longer in great danger of being drawn into other nations' wars far from its own territory. But, being small and much affected by world commodity prices, it cannot alone determine its economic health. Luck will be part of any economic recovery to the ranks of the world's most prosperous nations that Australia may make in the 1990s.

At their bicentennial, Australians see much



ROD TAYLOR, WESTERN AUSTRALIA NEWSPAPERS

to be proud of. They become more aware of themselves as a unique civilization. And they address with an extra determination some large unfinished tasks.

Said Creighton Burns, editor of *The Age* in Melbourne and a veteran of World War II: "More people feel they know what this country is about than did when I was growing up." A feeling exists that the future is open, that Australia still has the chance to make a better fist of things than has been done elsewhere.

In Sydney a Vietnamese immigrant talked about 1960s Saigon, then his home. "It was still quite pretty," I volunteered, having visited the city in 1965. He was silent for a while. "Yes, Vietnam's just been an unlucky country."

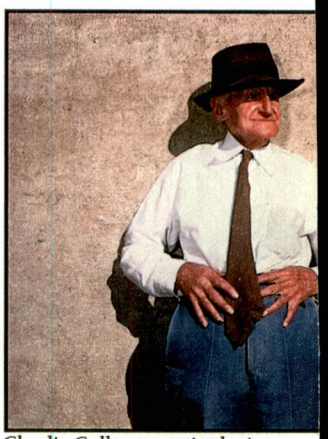
To this immigrant, and surely to many others, Australia is still a lucky country. □




*Doug and Tony Andrews, station owner and son*



*Marcus Winter Cooke, station heir*



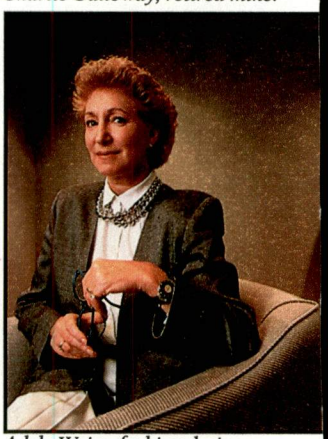
*Charlie Galloway, retired miner*



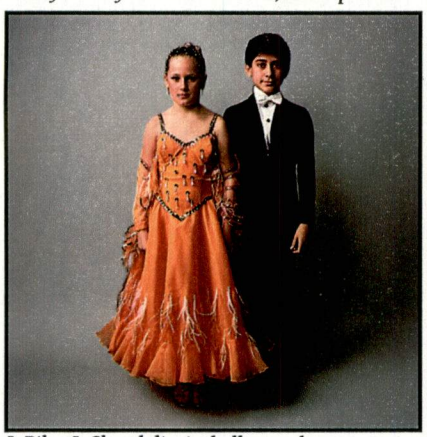
*Tracey Devery and Ian Barnwell, tattoo patrons*



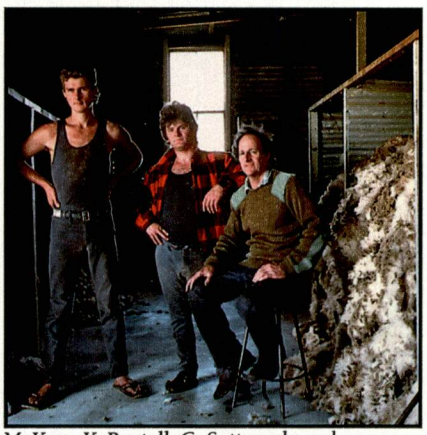
*Vince Vincini, retired miner and stockman*



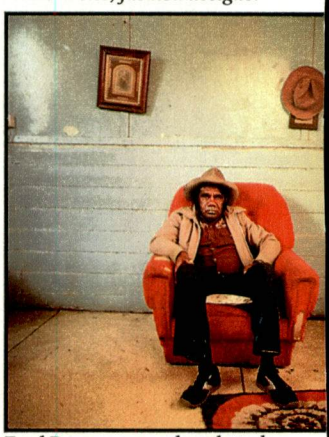
*Adele Weiss, fashion designer*



*J. Pike, J. Skandaliaris, ballroom dancers*



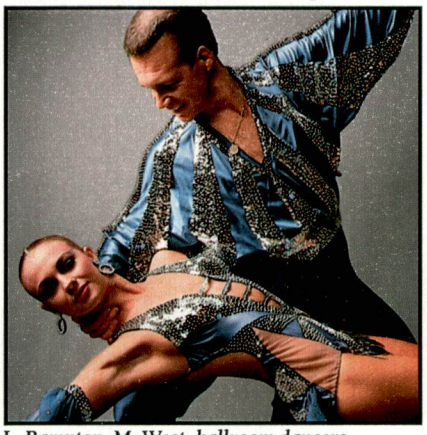
*M. Kerr, K. Pantall, G. Sutton, sheepshearers*



*Fred Brown, unemployed stockman*



*Wendy Hughes, actress*



*L. Bampton, M. West, ballroom dancers*



*Mary Scorer, polo fan*

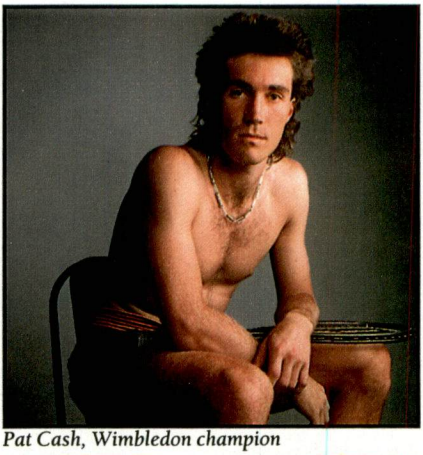




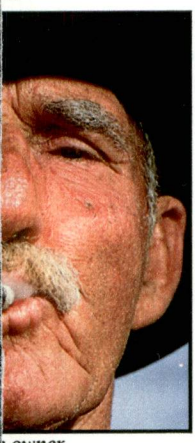
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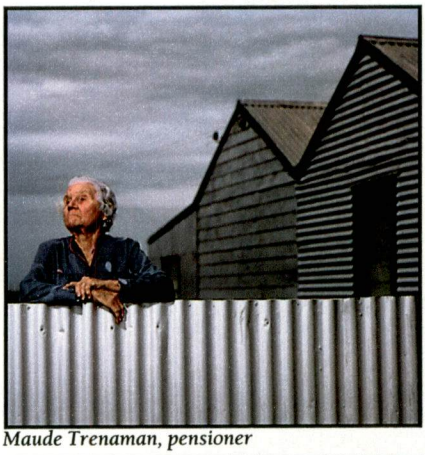
*Paul Cox, filmmaker, with daughter, Kyra*



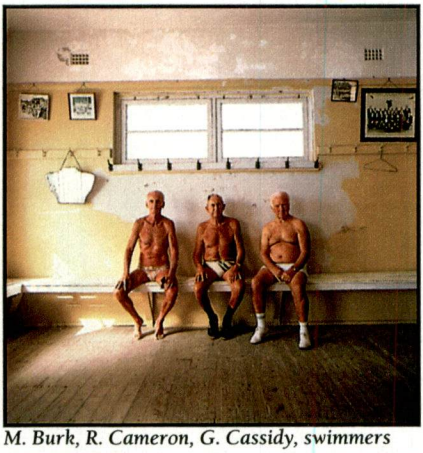
*Pat Cash, Wimbledon champion*



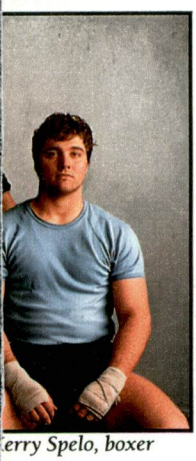
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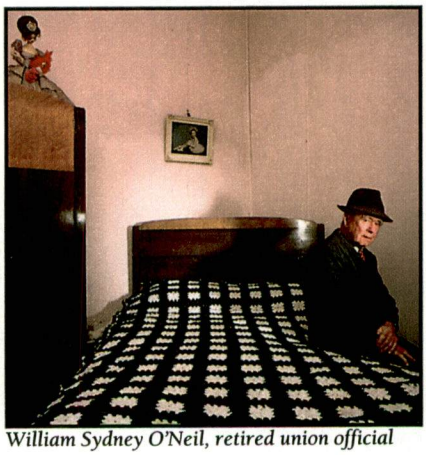
*Maude Trenaman, pensioner*



*M. Burk, R. Cameron, G. Cassidy, swimmers*



*erry Spelo, boxer*



*William Sydney O'Neil, retired union official*

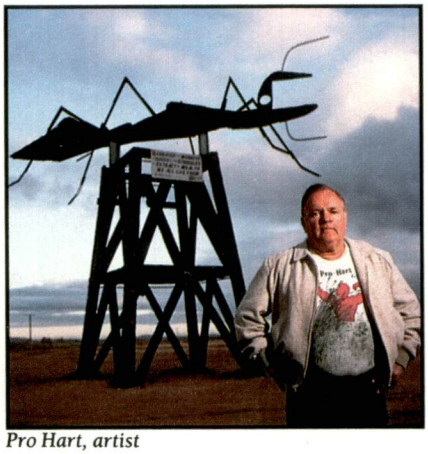



*Lilly Kiely, crossing guard*

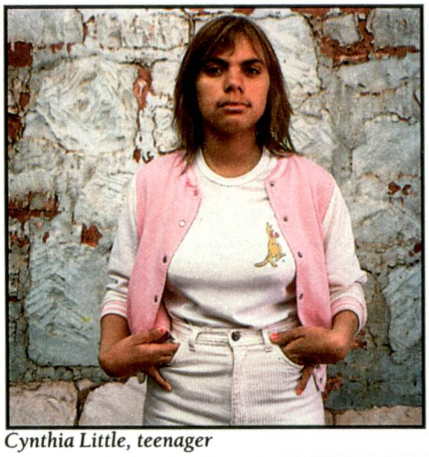
# ALIANS

Photographs by MICHAEL O'BRIEN





*Pro Hart, artist*



*Cynthia Little, teenager*



*Peter Murray, slaughterm*

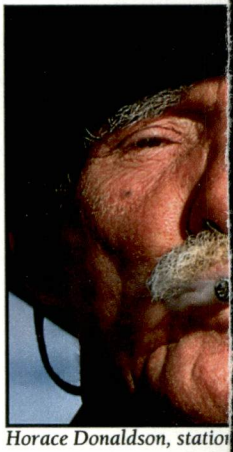




*Melva Lorne and Kathleen Galsworthy, golfers*



*Maria Pople, ballroom dancer*

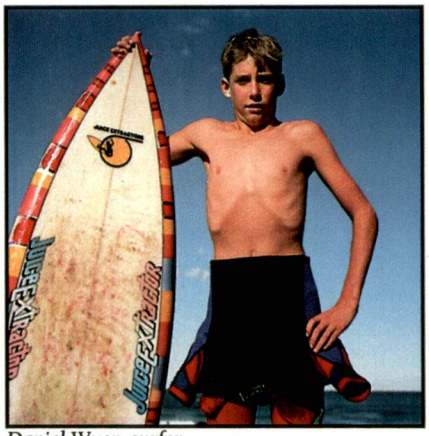


*Horace Donaldson, statio*





*Sir Francis Burt, Chief Justice of W. Australia*



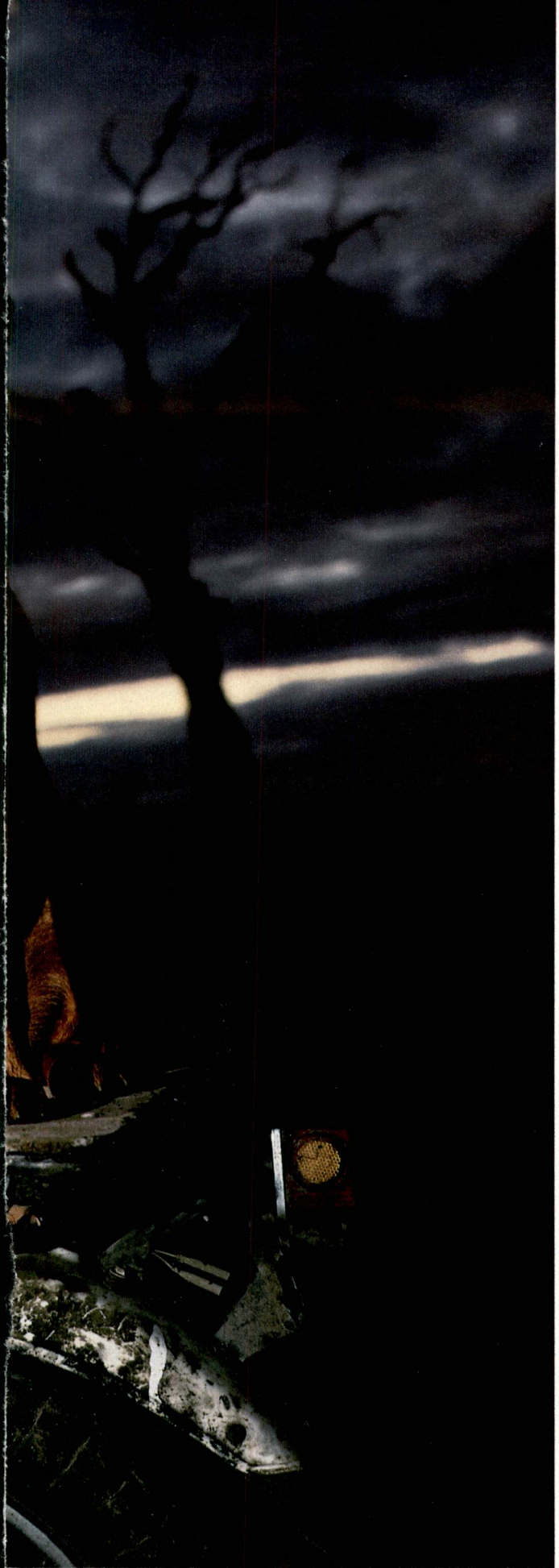
*Daniel Wyer, surfer*



*Sonny Kearney, trainer; K*



# AUSTRA



If you'd like to
know more of me
inquire at the pub at
Tennant Creek
or at any drover's camp
or shearing-shed,
or shout any bloke in
any bar a drink,
or yarn to any bloke
asleep on any beach;
they'll tell you
about me. . . .

"THEY'LL TELL YOU ABOUT ME"
IAN MUDIE

*In the track of tradition, stockman Danny Perry, 23, is the only year-round hired hand on the Murndal Estate, a 4,000-acre sheep station outside Hamilton, Victoria. Here he shares his motorcycle with his dog, Mate.*

Picture text by
ELIZABETH A. MOIZE
SENIOR ASSISTANT EDITOR

POET IAN MUDIE'S lines reflect the ethnic rootstock of Australians. Running away, running toward, compelled to go, gambling to go, they were first a people thrown together. From the ranks and chains of the convicted, they walked out on the land as drovers, shepherds, shearers, farmers, cowboys. Where the land was verdant, they became "kings in grass castles" and, where it was not, stones in cemeteries tended by the wind.

Later they came as settlers and hopeful miners chasing after gold and stayed on as masons, grocers, brewers to satisfy a thirst that still ranks Australia first in alcohol consumption among English-speaking peoples. A few, like Ned Kelly, became bushrangers who, in view of the past, were romanticized and beloved.

And nearly all of them were white—Anglo or Celtic, sometimes with chin uptilted claiming bluer blood, or spreading ruddy broad over a bluer collar. From the January day in 1788 when the first convict ships dropped anchor until the last arrived in 1867, some 45,000 Irish prisoners were transported. Their progeny are prominent in much of Australia.

Others too came early. American James Mario Matra had sailed with explorer James Cook, and it was his idea to found a penal colony in New South Wales. An Italian jeweler named Brentani helped start the great gold rush of 1851 by selling a nugget to an English sea captain. Italians came in numbers to mine gold and later to cut cane in the hot north, and their descendants today are the largest group after the British and the Irish.

Followed by Greeks, who first appeared in 1829 as British convicts who had been sentenced on Malta for piracy. The gold rush brought others—from Ithaca and Kythrea and Kálimnos, island spice in the blood of an island continent.

Now, as Ross Terrill reports in the previous article, one of every three newcomers is Asian, and the demographic mix is due for another stir. But the vast majority of Australians and the matrix of their character remain overwhelmingly British and Irish.

The older among them still hup-hup-hurray on Anzac Day, while the younger go off to the movies to watch anti-imperial films like *Gallipoli* and *Breaker Morant* and tell anti-British, or pommy, jokes.

In the films, they see in the faces of actors like Mel Gibson, Olivia Newton-John, and Paul Hogan the visage that the world came to know in tennis stars like Rod Laver, Ken Rosewall, John Newcombe, Roy Emerson, Evonne Goolagong, and Pat Cash and in golfers like Bruce Crampton, David Graham, and Greg Norman.

Familiar, informal, attractive, open, but different—a kind of not-American American, a not-English Englishman. The difference is underscored by the accent, for early on classless Australia had unclipped the language and flattened out the vowels and kicked the ends of sentences up into questions, rather than shadow the downward drawl of a duke.

Its speakers are more egalitarian than the English and more unified than the Americans. The Sydney taxi driver expects a single passenger to ride in the front seat; the waitress seldom expects a tip with its vague whiff of condescension; managers are apt to wear their sleeves rolled up and ambitions down for fear of being labeled a "tall poppy."

Egalitarian, but still with the male more equal, though things are inevitably changing. The animated faces of sports fans—cheering the mayhem of Australian Rules football, Thoroughbreds turning for home, 12-meter yachts with spinnakers straining for the America's Cup—are those of men and their mates, male buddies. It is a tradition that may go back to earliest times when, as John Pringle notes, "men couldn't choose their friends; they were all in it up to the neck together."

Where does that leave the Australian woman? Often more isolated than her man in terms of the general society. She too suffers from history, when the first women put ashore were reputed to be, unfairly, the harvest of English brothels.

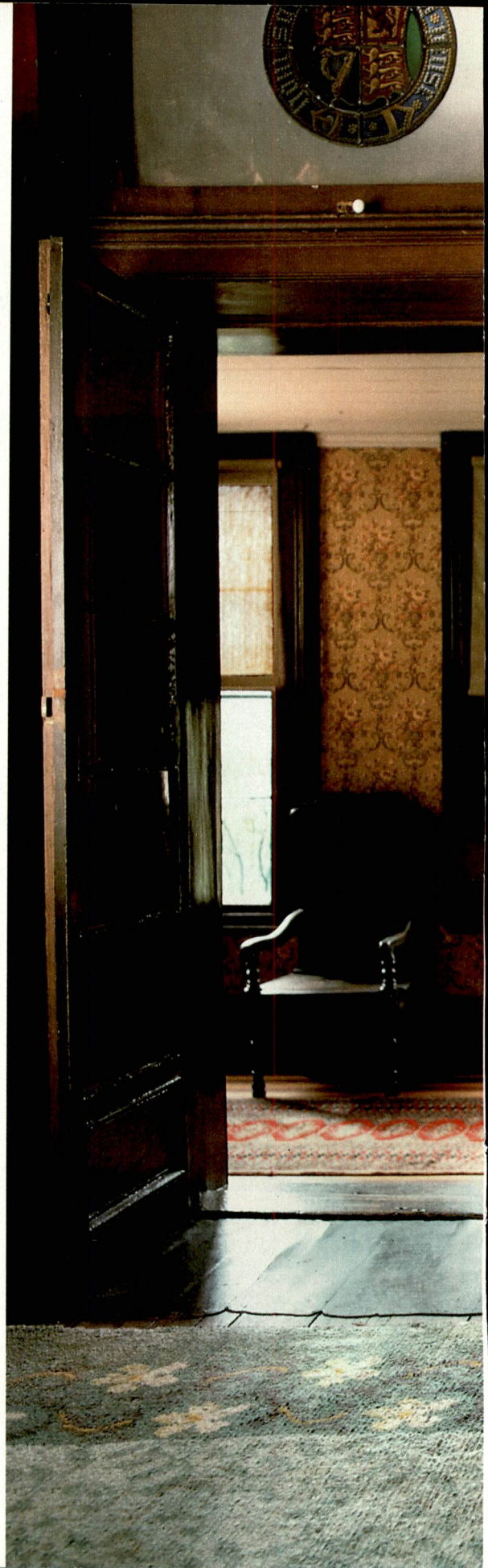
"Men either do not want to talk to me or do not know how," says a modern woman.

And what of the first Australians, the Aborigines who arrived 40,000 and more years ago? Stanley Breeden and Belinda Wright examine the survival of the old ways and the impact of the new, in the concluding articles of this issue.

Australians seem to be moving ever closer to a new national identity, a truly separate people composed of many parts but distinct. Malcolm Muggeridge once remarked: "To be fair to Australians, they don't afford excessive respect to anybody." But, through sports and business and politics and the arts, they are requiring more respect from the world than ever before—"a-waltzing Matilda" toward a future their forebears could not have dreamed of in their own version of the old Dreamtime.

—JOSEPH JUDGE

*Matriarch of Murndal, Marcia Winter Cooke takes her ease in the library of the house whose beginnings date to 1838. Her son, Samuel, is the fourth generation to manage the station, one of the large estates that form the backbone of Australia's sheep and cattle industry.*



MICHAEL O'BRIEN photographed the article on coal in the June 1983 GEOGRAPHIC. He lives in New York City.

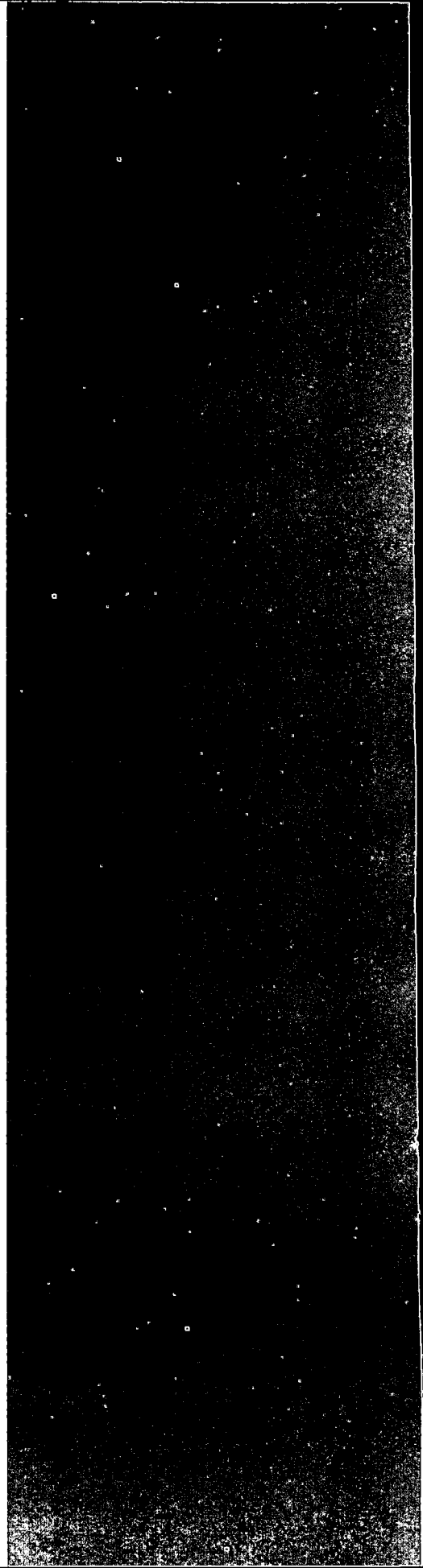


*"Wouldn't be doing anything else," says Rick Seymour, a slaughterman at the government-owned Homebush Abattoir Corporation in Sydney. He started at age 16, washing out the plant after school. Seymour is among the 57 percent of the nation's work force that holds a union card.*



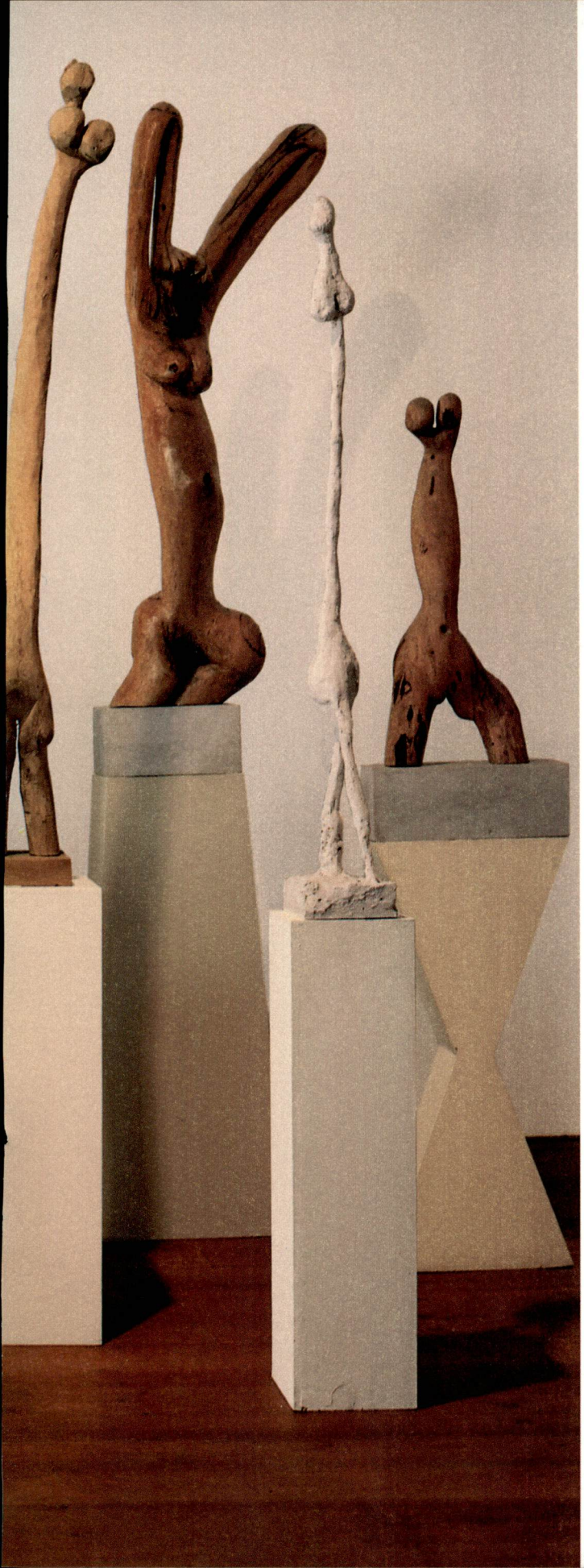


*Poised beyond their years, Crista Haas and Russell Crowe, both 11, were one of 135 couples competing in a Sydney dance festival last July. Bespangled and crisp of crease, they performed the waltz, foxtrot, quickstep, and Latin and new vogue dances. Several ballroom dancing competitions are held in Sydney alone almost every weekend.*







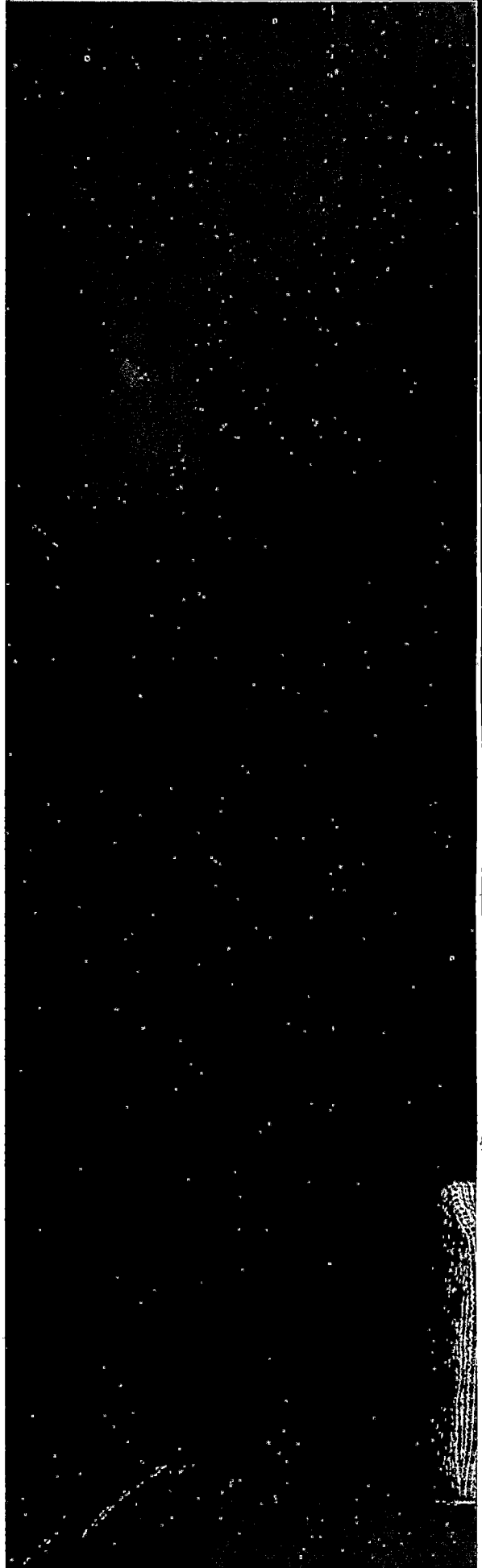


*"Outrageously brilliant," a critic called Brett Whiteley, one of Australia's premier artists. Primarily known for his paintings, Whiteley poses in his studio with sculptures that include an open-mouthed shark and female figures made of mangrove wood.*

*Thirty-seven years a miner, Kevin Harris ends his 8 a.m. to 3 p.m. shift at the Zinc Corporation Mine in Broken Hill, New South Wales—site of the world's richest silver-lead-zinc deposit. In this land of immense mineral wealth, Kevin's family has paid a high price: "Been three Harrises killed in the mines," he says.*







*Dressed in whites, Joyce Coulton, left, and Melva Stephens help keep a bit of British heritage in Australia. "Lawn bowling is a very good game for companionship and sportsmanship," Coulton says. "If you win, it's a bonus." She and her partner are from Whyalla, South Australia, and travel throughout the region to tournaments.*


Wrigleys



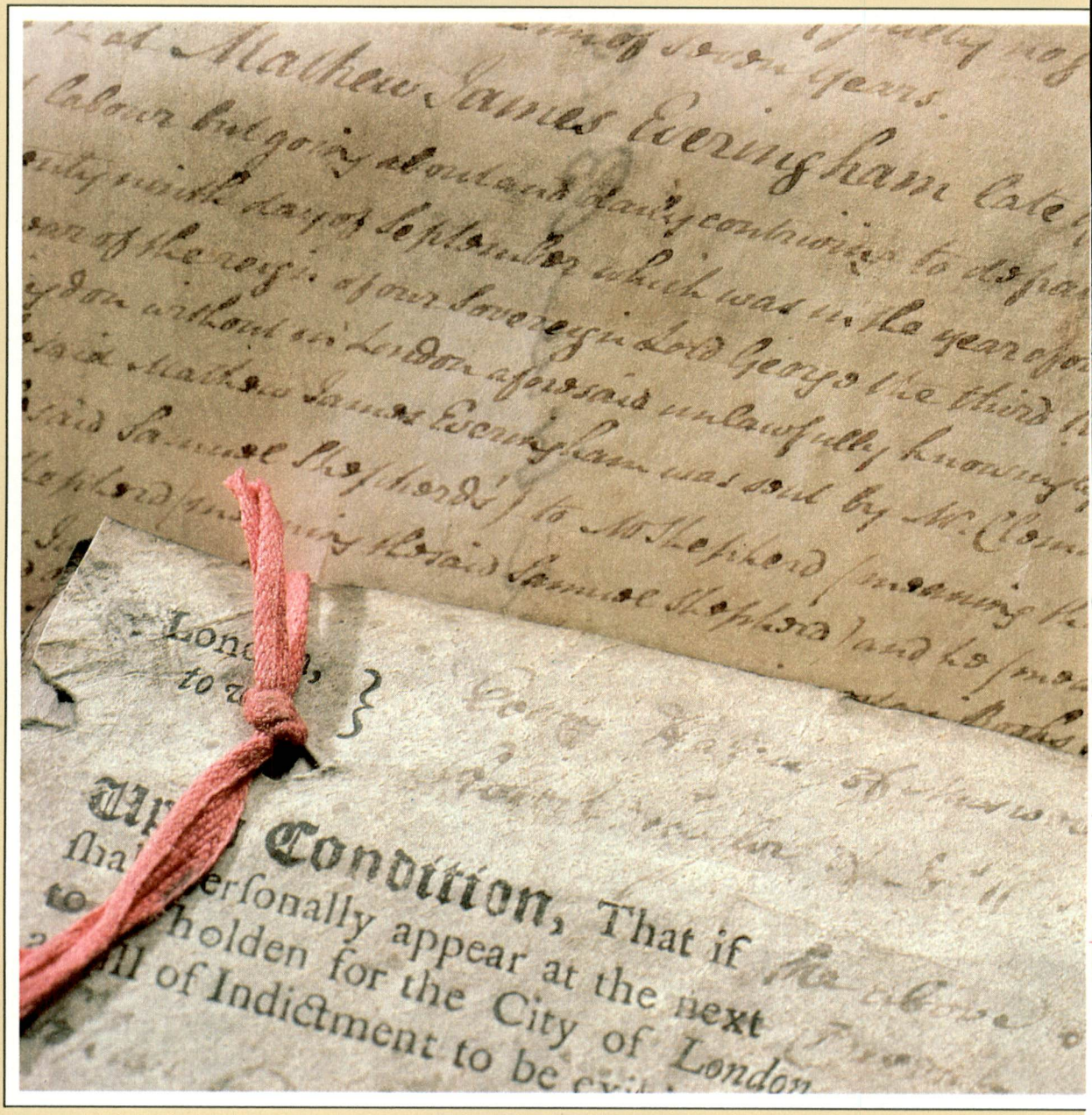



# Children of the First Fleet

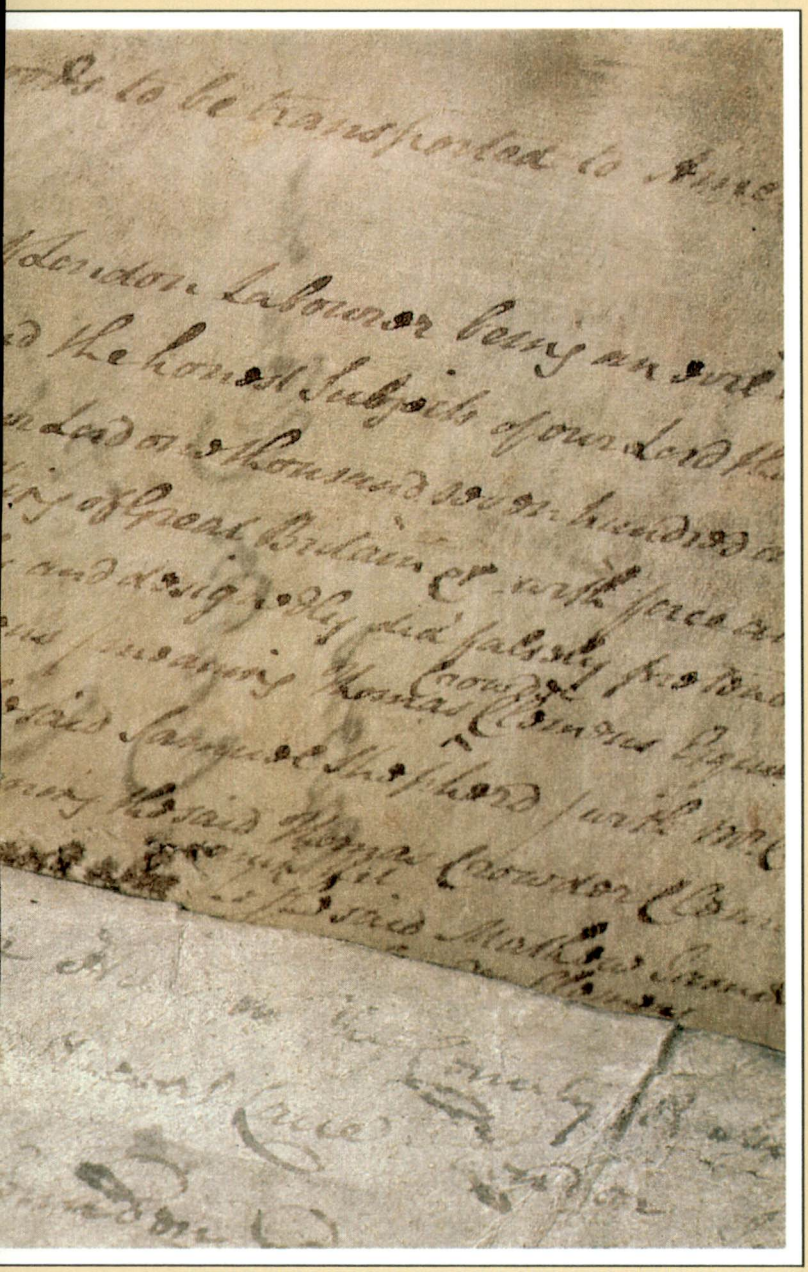
*Banished to the farthest corner of the earth, a cargo of British convicts inaugurated a nation when they landed at Sydney on January 26, 1788. One of those aboard the infamous First Fleet was Matthew Everingham, transported for stealing two lawbooks. Despite near starvation and harsh punishments, Matthew served his term and went on to settle the land. He and his wife, Elizabeth, raised nine children, the beginnings of a prolific family line. Photojournalist John Everingham here recounts his ancestor's story and visits with many of his Australian relatives.*

BY
JOHN EVERINGHAM

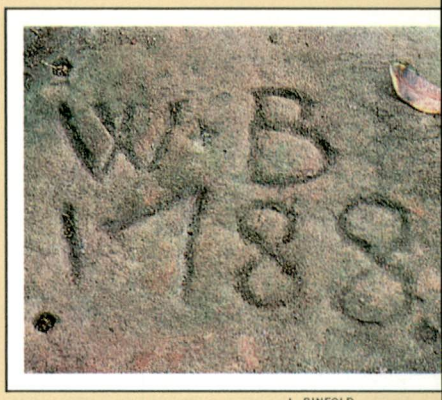
PAINTING BY
ROY ANDERSEN


Mathew James Evenyham late
Condition, That if
personally appear at the next
holden for the City of London





THE CRIME AND PUNISHMENT of Matthew Everingham, as recorded at London's Old Bailey court, couldn't have been clearer. For attempting to pawn two books belonging to an attorney, the lad, only 14 or 15, would be transported for seven years. After three years' imprisonment in a hulk on the Thames, he became one of 776 convicts loaded into the dark holds of 11 ships that sailed on May 13, 1787. Ship's officer William Bradley painted their arrival in Sydney




J. PINFOLD

Harbour after eight months at sea. Initials believed to be Bradley's can still be seen carved on a Sydney bluff.

Re-creating that epic journey, a fleet of tall ships left England last July to arrive in Australia for the bicentennial celebration. The fleet here rounds Cape Horn.

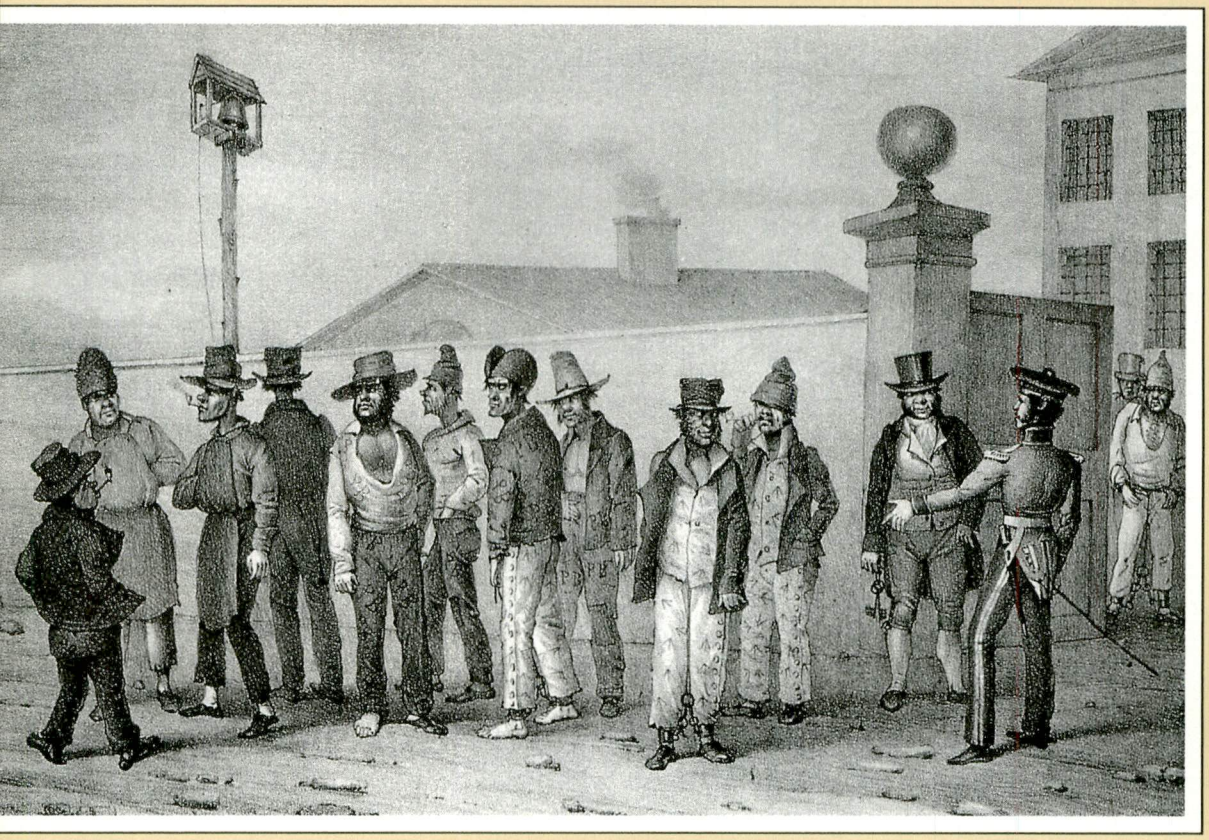
MICHAEL ST. MAUR SHEIL (ABOVE); DAVID TURNLEY (LEFT); MITCHELL LIBRARY, SYDNEY (BELOW)



"A CONVICT? THAT'S TERRIBLE!" My friend's face contorted with a mix of sympathy and suppressed horror. I'd just mentioned, over the noise of a dinner party, that my ancestor had been a convict—mentioned it my Australian way, with a tinge of First Fleet pride. But he missed that, for this was Bangkok, Thailand, a royal land where rank and pride are one. "You should dig deeper," he said. "With a name like Everingham, surely you could find a lord back there." Maybe, but Australians do like their convicts.

It was July 1784, trial number 775 in London's Old Bailey court. Judge Rose passed a stern, crime-calloused look over the trembling lad of 14 or 15, charged with stealing two lawbooks.

"The prisoner's defense?" demanded the judge. The boy could scarcely brave a glance up through his matted, dirty hair.



*HUMAN REFUSE in Britain, colony builders abroad, a work gang in Sydney is depicted in an 1830 lithograph. Before transporting was abolished in 1868, 162,000 convicts had been sent out to Australia. In Tasmania, where the convict system was particularly harsh, fetters and hoods, worn by recalcitrant criminals, are displayed in Port Arthur's partly restored prison.*

"I was in great distress . . . ," whispered Matthew James Everingham, my ancestor and founder of a small dynasty on a far face of the earth.

"Guilty!"

"In great distress" described a large portion of Georgian London's population. England shuddered with social turmoil. The industrial revolution had created a new class of urban poor, hungry and bitter in their back-alley hovels. Crime flourished, and the elite's reprisal—the iron fist of law—was severe to the extreme.

The court transcript recorded young Matthew Everingham's penalty succinctly: "Transported for seven years."

Transported. Discarded from his motherland, crammed into the dark, airless hold of a tiny sailing vessel, *Scarborough,* Matthew and



NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA (FACING PAGE); DAVID ROBERT AUSTEN

775 other petty criminals spent eight months as cargo carcasses exported to the unimaginable, farthest edge of the world.

That distant shore had seen only one other English vessel, James Cook's *Endeavour* in 1770. No land survey had been made. It was quite a shock when that First Fleet of 11 little vessels finally arrived and found the rich soil and open grassy lands of their expectations to be thin, rocky hills dense with wiry, inhospitable bush.

The convicts cut the rocky surface, but crops didn't grow. Seven of the colony's eight cattle escaped. Aborigines, though often friendly, would occasionally spear an unwary colonist. The fleet had brought two years of supplies, but more than two years later neither supply ship nor news had arrived from England. When five ships finally rounded Sydney Harbour's heads, Matthew may have been one of the jubilant rushing to greet them. While one carried some stores, others brought only convicts—another 739 pitiful mouths to feed!

The tiny settlement was stunned by the battered, starving women disgorged like listless sacks from the stinking holds of the hell ship *Neptune,* one of the Second Fleet. The dead and the near dead were dumped ashore. Some 160 had been disposed of at sea.

Among the 341 survivors of *Neptune,* Matthew Everingham found Elizabeth Rimes, about 17, whom he would marry within a year. Of our family's convict ancestress, transported for stealing a blanket and sheet, Matthew later wrote: "A most excellent woman . . . hard indeed to be found in this Colony for the generallity of them . . . disgrace the very



BY MICHAEL COYNE,
COURTESY R. B. RITCHIE & SON COLLECTION,
UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE ARCHIVES

name of Woman." The violence of Australia's birth left thousands more dead until the last of 162,000 transported convicts were landed in 1868.

IMMERSING MYSELF in the savagery of Matthew's times brought back my own experiences of man's readiness to justify violence against others. Matthew lived at the whim of brutal guards, ready to administer punishment—including execution—on minor pretext. My experience was war, but I understand well the convict sense that one's life is completely at the mercy of someone who would take great pleasure in the killing.

The first time I was held captive was February of 1972. The Vietnam War had spilled full-blown into neighboring Laos. I was there photographing U. S. bomb damage when Communist militia forces took me prisoner. They knew nothing of Australians or photojournalists; to them I was an American "professional bomb dropper." I was cursed at, spit upon, and marched mile upon mile with a carbine pressed into my back by a menacing guard—a nervous boy of perhaps 12 years. His hatred was obvious; so too was his eagerness to make his first kill. I survived captivity for a month, that time, by allowing a quiet submission to overtake me. My ancestor, I'm sure, survived seven years with the same calculated submission of spirit.

Despite the grueling voyage, the servitude, and one recorded flogging—25 lashes for "drunkenness and falsehood"—Matthew wrote in 1789: "I have now two years and seven months to remain a convict and then I am at liberty to act as a free born Englishman ought to do, and sincerely hope I may never more abuse that liberty, too severely have I felt the effect. I am yet but young only 19 and I think if spares my health I shall not be one jot the worse for being transported."

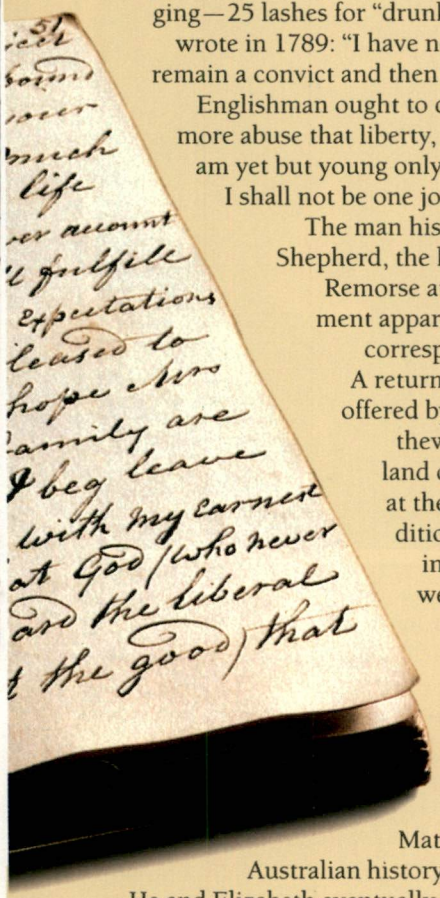
The man his letters were addressed to? Samuel Shepherd, the lawyer whose books he had stolen. Remorse at the severity of Matthew's punishment apparently prompted Shepherd to begin correspondence.

A return to England, ships permitting, was offered by the colonial governor when Matthew's term expired—or, alternatively, land on which to settle. "I turned settler at the Ponds," Matthew wrote, "on condition of his supporting me 18 months in provisions and clothing . . . pretty well inured to hard work and having an agreeable partner. . . . The first Six months every thing seemed to run against me my crop failed my Daughter died and my wife hung on my hands very Ill . . . the whole Colony was almost Starving. . . ."

The 50-acre land grant awarded Matthew at Parramatta was the 12th in Australian history. It was hard farming.

He and Elizabeth eventually moved and set the family's roots in the serene, fertile valley of the Hawkesbury River to the north.

The Australian colony was just eight years old. All attempts to



*REPENTANCE for his crime abounds in the letters that Matthew Everingham wrote to Samuel Shepherd, the London attorney from whom he stole the two lawbooks. Chronicles of hardship and hope, the letters spanned Matthew's early life in Australia and testify to the strong bond that developed between the former plaintiff and defendant. Because Matthew was one of the few convicts able to read and write, the letters offer a valuable perspective on conditions in New South Wales in its first years. The original letters, probably cross-written in horizontal and vertical lines to conserve paper, were later copied in England.*

*"I found many newcomers wanting desperately to fit in. When this little girl grows up, she will undoubtedly have a strong Australian accent."*



CHILD OF TWO CULTURES: *Cradled in the arms of her father, Bounarith Mao, six-month-old Leeka wears a Western-style dress for the wedding of her aunt in the suburb of Carramar. The family fled the "killing fields" of Kampuchea in 1980, arriving in Australia a year later via Thai refugee camps. The wedding of Sopheap Mao and Pong Chettra Keo blended Australian and Cambodian, the bride wearing both traditional and Western wedding attire for the Buddhist and civil ceremonies. Sopheap made six dress changes during the day-long celebration.*





By STANLEY BREEDEN

Photographs by
BELINDA WRIGHT

# The First

*Rock, tree, and man are one in Nipper Kapirigi's heart. He and his Aboriginal people, the Gagudju, have leased their Northern Territory*



# Australians

*lands to create Kakadu National Park for the benefit of all. Its wildlife is depicted in magnificent galleries of Aboriginal rock art, testimony to the continent's ancient culture.*

WE COME UPON the rock suddenly. It towers above us, weather-beaten sandstone 500 yards in circumference and 75 feet high. Strange beings, fish, and other animals stare down from the walls, images in red and yellow ocher painted by a long-forgotten artist. A human skull and other bones lie in a small cavern.

This is Malangangerr, in Australia's Kakadu National Park (map, page 274), continuously inhabited for more than 23,000 years. Only ten or twelve years ago people still lived here—an Aboriginal people called the Gagudju.

Looking carefully at the floor of the cavern, we see stone spearpoints, scrapers, and the bones of the animals the people hunted. Overlying these objects are more recently used artifacts: beer cans, plastic bottles, and corroded batteries.

On the walls, beside finely drawn paintings of fish and an echidna, or spiny anteater, are crude images of goats, pigs, and buffalo, brought here for the first time about a hundred years ago—dramatic evidence of one culture's retreat in the face of another.

In the silence of the now empty rock complex, the spirit of the old inhabitants is still palpable. The ashes of their last fire seem fresh. But the Gagudju have left Malangangerr and now live elsewhere in the park. Many have relinquished their ancestral lands altogether.

We feel an almost overwhelming sense of loss, for the Gagudju's culture—a remnant of one going back 40,000 years or more—may well disappear over the next few generations, a casualty of human movement and dimming memories.

My wife, Belinda, and I spent 18 months in Kakadu filming a National Geographic Television Special.* During that time we discovered something about the Gagudju's way of life, how they viewed nature and their environment. The people slowly befriended us and told us what they call "their story."

For the first seven months we filmed and photographed only the wildlife: a pair of white-breasted sea eagles at their nest from a blind on top of a 60-foot tower, huge crocodiles catching fish in a billabong, flocks of hundreds of thousands of geese feeding in a marsh, flying foxes squabbling noisily in their daytime roost.

We sat in blinds for hours, sometimes days. We stopped to look at flowers and saw how the brilliant green-and-orange lorikeets extracted their nectar. We fished a little. At the galleries of paintings we tried to make sense of the many figures and patterns. So we became immersed in the Gagudju's world. And all the time we were being watched and appraised by one of the world's most observant peoples.

***I give you this story. This proper, true story. People can listen. I'm telling this while you've got time.***

BIG BILL NEIDJIE IN *AUSTRALIA'S KAKADU MAN*

THEN ONE DAY as we drive toward the East Alligator River, one of the elders stops us. It is Big Bill Neidjie—white haired, tall, and imposing. In his deep, rumbling voice he says, "I been watching you. You have plenty time to sit and watch animals, think about things; just like Gagudju."

We reply that it is really the only way to get to know a place well. In the course of the conversation we ask him about the animals and the rock paintings. Getting into his car, he says, "You come to my place. Cannon Hill. We'll talk about things. I'll tell you my story." Then he is off. The ice is broken.

The next day we go to Cannon Hill, to Neidjie's camp out on the floodplain. He is sitting cross-legged under a shady tree. Several houses where his large family lives stand around a clearing.

On that day and many others we spend with Neidjie, we talk about the Gagudju's culture, their way of life. Neidjie also introduces us to other elders, and we talk to them about aspects of their "story." They show us special paintings and sacred rocks and water holes.

We had been vaguely aware that the culture had lost much of its vigor. But it came as a shock to realize that the five elders we came to know, and a few others besides, alone know everything that remains of the Gagudju's ancient culture. This knowledge has never been written down. It exists only in the minds of these few elderly men. They are the library of the Gagudju.

Big Bill Neidjie was the first to approach *(Continued on page 276)*

*NOT A PAINTING, Gagudju elders insist, an image often called the owl man by non-Aborigines was really made by Djawok, a creator being who assumed the form of a cuckoo and left his outline on a rock. Many masterpieces line the walls of this gallery, Yuwenjgayay, revered as a Dreaming site. Tradition holds that painting at such places kept alive the power of the Dreamtime.*

*"Australia's Twilight of the Dreamtime" will air on PBS TV on Wednesday, February 10.









*HONORED with world heritage site status and approaching the size of Alaska's Denali National Park, Kakadu—its name derives from the word Gagudju—sweeps over 6,600 square miles of the Australian Continent's Top End. Near the park's eastern edge rears the Arnhem Land Escarpment and Plateau (opposite), 1.6 billion years old. The jutting cliff face at upper center is a site known as Lightning Dreaming, made sacred by Namarkon, the lightning man.*

*Habitats include fractured rock plateaus, eucalyptus woodlands, floodplains, billabongs, and tidal flats. Within thrive some 50 species of mammals (including a large marsupial population), 75 of reptiles, and 275 of birds—about a third of Australia's bird species.*

*Spurring Kakadu's creation was the discovery of uranium deposits within these lands. The Federal government excluded them from the park but has so far allowed only one mine to operate.*

*Ancestors of the Gagudju came to Australia from Southeast Asia, island hopping when the sea level was lowered by an ice age. Mirroring a Stone Age scene, Nipper Kapirigi (below, at right) watches Bluey Ilkirr cleave a knife from a quartzite block in his left hand, hammering with a stone in his right. Of a total Gagudju population of 330, fewer than half live within the park.*



us. Then came George Namingum, gentle and courteous, yet a good man with a spear. On some points of memory Namingum called on his brother, Nipper Kapirigi, a slight, straight man with a prophet's face framed by gray hair and beard. Then there was Big Bill's cousin Felix Iyanuk, singer of song cycles. Finally, there was the artist Bluey Ilkirr, younger than the other initiates, but a creative link to the paintings we could see.

Through their generosity of spirit these men opened their living library to us. They told us about Marrawuti, the sea eagle, who snatches away the spirit when a person dies; about Djuway, the bowerbird, who keeps the initiation ceremonies; about Ginga, the crocodile, who got the lumps on his back when he was blistered in a fire. . . .

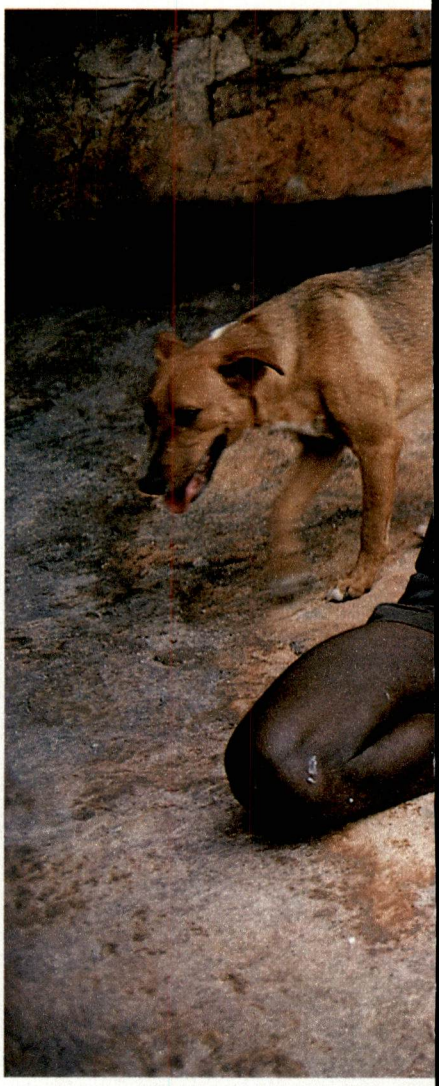
These elders speak limited English. But even so, their words, spoken softly in short sentences, have a poetic directness. Neidjie has said, for example, "First [white] people come to us, they started and run our life . . . quick. They bring drink. First they should ask about fish, cave, Dreaming, but . . . they rush in. They make school . . . teach. Now Aborigine losing . . . everything."



To understand the Gagudju is to understand their Dreamtime—to us a very complex concept, to the Gagudju a simple one that explains the cohesion and interdependence of all living things.

"Dreaming" and "Dreamtime" are direct translations from the Aboriginal words but, in fact, have little to do with dreams as we know them. Dreamtime refers to the beginnings of life and its continuation into the future.

The late Silas Roberts, an Aboriginal leader close to the Gagudju, explained it this way: "Aboriginals have a special connection with everything that is natural. . . . We see all things natural as part of us. All the things on earth we see as part human."



THE GAGUDJU creation story is as follows: Long, long ago, before the Dreamtime, before time could be counted, the world had no shape; it was soft and wobbly. Then, at the beginning of the Dreamtime, Warramurrungundji came out of the sea. A female being in human form, she created the land and gave birth to the people. She gave them their languages. Other creator beings came—Ginga, the giant ancestral crocodile, made the rock country; Marrawuti, the







*A SON MAKES HIS MARK near a sacred site called Hawk Dreaming. Jonathan Yarramarna (above, at right) prepares to leave a signature of his hand upon these sandstone walls in the shadow of Garrkine, the brown falcon, who taught the people how to catch fish and prepare them as food.*

*Yarramarna's father, a Gagudju elder known as Big Bill Neidjie, here mixes white clay with water to make a pigment for the ritual, which he also performed as a youngster. Yarramarna sprays a mouthful of pigment around his hand to create a stencil on the rock face.*

*Although this gesture falls far short of a full Gagudju initiation ceremony, which has not been performed for more than a generation, Yarramarna nonetheless demonstrates a commitment to his past. Evidence of such continuity, prints made elsewhere by hands coated with ocher (opposite, above) are among the oldest rock art in the park—and the world.*

*RIDING ROUGHSHOD into Aboriginal culture, a mounted European may depict a member of John McKinlay's party, which scouted the Northern Territory in 1866. Ludwig Leichhardt, the first white man to write of the region, reported in 1845, "The natives flocked around us from every direction."*



sea eagle, brought water lilies in his claws and planted them on the floodplain.

Once the great spirit ancestors had completed their creative acts, they put themselves into the landscape, where they remain to this day. Warramurrungundji is a white rock in the woodland, Ginga is a rock outcrop textured like a crocodile's back. These places are called Dreaming sites and still contain the power and energy of the Dreamtime.

In all these things, Neidjie stressed, all living things are as one. He said, "Earth our mother, eagle our cousin. Tree, he is pumping our blood. Grass is growing. And water. And we are all one." He added that when the ancestral beings had completed their creation, they told the people: "Now we have done these things, you make sure they remain like this for all time. You must not change anything."

Thus the people were charged with the custodianship of the land and all living things. It is what the Gagudju call "looking after the country." The Dreamtime then is the cohesive force that keeps man and his environment in harmony. It has done so for perhaps 2,000 generations. Life is as bountiful in Kakadu now as it ever was.

Because they are an integral part of nature and the land, because they *are* the land, Aboriginal people cannot understand why anyone would want to alter or destroy it—what would amount to killing the life-force. As one of them said, "White man got no Dreaming. Him go 'nother way. . . . Him got road belong himself." To the Aborigines it is a road contrary to nature and leads to eventual destruction.

To tell us their story, Neidjie and some of the other elders took us to special and sacred places where few outsiders have been.

One day George Namingum takes us to Kakadu's outstanding gallery of rock paintings at Yuwenjgayay. Namingum, like all the elders, does not know his exact age, but he must be in his 70s. He is soft-spoken, but scars across his nose and cheek tell of a hard life in the bush and on cattle stations. Seated in our car, he directs us along a rutted dirt track, then on faint wheel marks heading toward the escarpment. For miles we drive through the open eucalyptus woodland. Then the country opens on a treeless plain, and before us we see towering sandstone rocks.

With barely perceptible hand movements, Namingum guides us across dry, steep-sided creek beds, ever deeper into the escarpment. Abruptly we hit a termite mound, then ford a stream over slippery boulders. Once more we are surrounded by trees. Finally the woodland ends at a wide sandy stream shaded by the weeping foliage of tall paperbark trees. The banks are steep and made of loose sand. Even our four-wheel-drive vehicle cannot deal with that. From here we must walk.

All three of us are glad to hear the songs of honey eaters. Panting and sweating with the effort of carrying heavy equipment up the steep slope, we find ourselves at last at the base of a sheer, 600-foot cliff, and staring at us from eye level are hundreds of figures—people, spirits, kangaroos, cranes, goannas, echidnas, and everywhere fish. Painted in red and yellow ocher and white clay, the gallery—which is more than 200 feet long—is alive with all the creatures, real and imagined, from the bush. We are transfixed.

We sit quietly on some large rocks. Above us the pure notes of a white-lined honey eater's song echo off the rock face. "Ah," says Namingum, "that's the spirit of a woman calling out for her lover.

"See that big barramundi fish

over there?" he says eventually. "That was painted by my cousin Najombolmi." We move closer to the paintings, and Namingum tells something about them. The act of painting, together with certain rituals, ensures that the animals will always be available both as food and for the people's Dreamings, their totems.

These rock paintings of Kakadu—and there are many thousands—are among the wonders of the world. Anthropologists and archaeologists estimate that the oldest artwork dates back at least 20,000 years—and some say 35,000. This artistic tradition continues, but nowadays Aboriginal artists paint mainly on bark. Painting on rocks virtually ceased about 15 years ago.

Namingum says that the earliest paintings—delicately brushed images of man and animals—were not done by people. They were painted by the mostly friendly and shy Mimi spirits. "The Mimis showed Aboriginal people how to hunt kangaroos, how to paint, and many other things. You ask my brother Kapirigi—he knows."

BLUEY ILKIRR is one of the last painters still working in Kakadu. He lives deep in the bush with his wife, Susan Aladjingu, and a number of relatives who come and go. They have a pickup truck and sometimes go into town for supplies. But they prefer to live off the land, to hunt and to gather their food in the old way. Casual visitors are not welcome, but Aladjingu and Ilkirr too had heard of us and sent word that we could come and see them.

When we arrive at their place, the two of them are sitting in the shade of a bough shelter. Somehow they knew we were coming, although we had not made contact with them. Aladjingu is busy making a basket out of pandanus fronds. In her lap she has a baby wallaby she is raising. Ilkirr smokes his pipe. Soon we are talking as naturally as if we have known each other for years.

Aladjingu is full of fun and laughter. Ilkirr has a more quiet sense of humor. He is not as old as the other initiated men we have met. He is trim and vigorous. We talk and talk. About animals. About the old days when they lived entirely on bush tucker. Finally we say that we would like to watch him do a painting. He agrees.

"But it will take a long time," he warns. "You come back day after tomorrow. We'll go to Flying Fox Creek. The best stringybark is in that place."

As we leave, Aladjingu gives Belinda the baby wallaby. "You make him grow big, then bring him back and we'll eat him," she says and then laughs and laughs. The wallaby lived with us for many months until one day we let it go in the wild—a long way from Ilkirr's camp.



*VIEW OF OUTSIDERS changed in a hurry after the aliens began to impose their will on Aboriginal culture. In Ubirr gallery a white man's portrait is interpreted by Big Bill Neidjie as "standing with hands in pockets, telling us what to do."*

THE STRINGYBARK TREES, a kind of eucalyptus, are magnificent—tall and straight. The bark is a traditional building material for wet-season shelters—and a perfect "canvas" for Ilkirr (pages 290-291).

Two months after we watch him select and cut a stretch of bark, we drive up to Ilkirr and Aladjingu's camp. He is busy trimming a piece about five by three feet in size. Arranged beside him are his brushes, a grindstone, ochers, and a can of water.

"I thought you would be coming today," he says with a big smile. Using a wide store-bought brush, Ilkirr covers the bark with deep red ocher. "That ocher is the same as blood, and blood he give life to animals in the painting," he explains.

Next he grinds white clay for his new pigment. "All night I been thinking, thinking," he says, "what to paint, how the lines must go. I will paint animals of East Alligator Dreaming." With sure movements he outlines a crocodile, then a barramundi. No hesitation, no mistakes, nothing to copy from. The stems, leaves, and a flower of a water lily twine through the composition.

Now the difficult, time-consuming part begins. The

white shapes must be worked over with very, very fine lines making up a variety of patterns, each with its own meaning, all of them invoking the power of the Dreamtime.

Four months elapse before Ilkirr puts the last line on the last animal, the barramundi. His masterwork is complete and his spiritual task accomplished. It is the act of painting that connects the artist with the Dreamtime: Once it is completed, it has no further significance. But in the modern world it has value. A painting of this size and artistry can be worth more than a thousand dollars.

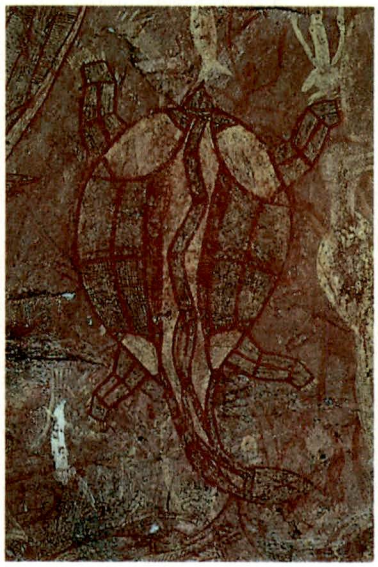
DJUWARR is an imposing rock about 400 feet high. The ocher colors of its fissured and fractured face glow in the evening light. The rock and its perfect reflection in the pool below seem to be alive.

We have come to this special place with Namingum's brother, Nipper Kapirigi. The rock stands at the entrance to a deep canyon of great importance in Gagudju mythology. As soon as we arrive, Kapirigi, a somewhat frail figure with gray hair and long beard, steps onto a prominent boulder, holding a spear. Facing Djuwarr's glowing face, he speaks to the rock and the canyon in a ringing voice, like a messenger from another world. In his own language he announces his presence to the spirits there, asking their permission to enter and saying that he has brought two friends. It is eerie to hear our names echoing down the canyon.

The formalities over, Kapirigi

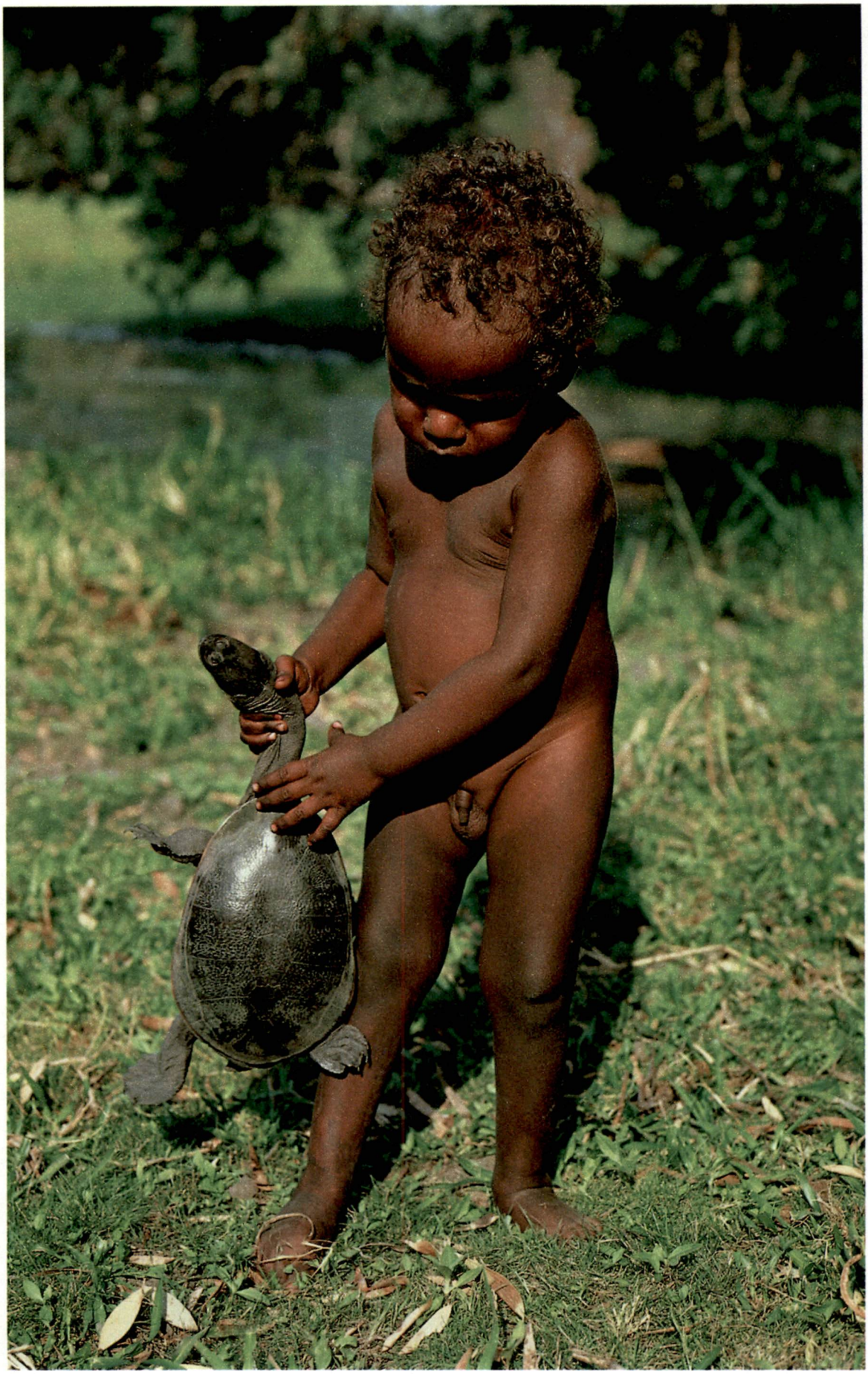


CAT'S CRADLE DESIGNS *teach Gagudju children the shapes of their traditional world. In an open-air classroom, women form a turtle with bark twine. A lizard, crocodile, crab, water lily, canoe, and lightning bolt are also among the some 250 patterns in their repertoire. Having learned his lesson, one feisty youngster seizes a long-necked turtle* (Chelodina rugosa) *caught by an adult and destined for roasting. The same species is documented in rock art (right).*



*While whites generally speak of just two seasons for Kakadu—the Wet from November through April and the Dry from May through October—the Gagudju traditionally have recognized six seasons that cycle around the ecology of their land, and they have shifted their camps accordingly. When a certain plant flowers, for instance, they know that stingrays will be fat and ready for harvesting.*

*So strong is the Aboriginal bond to the land that, through oral history, some groups apparently still know the locations of sacred sites now under the sea that were exposed during an ice age.*



takes us to the base of the cliff and shows us where Almudj, the rainbow serpent and one of the creator beings, split the rock and forced her way through. She then followed the creek upstream and came to rest in a deep pool below a waterfall.

"Almudj still lives in that pool," Kapirigi says. Almudj is one of the most important beings to the Gagudju. She created hills, stone archways, and deep pools. Every year she brings the wet season and a renewal of life. She can then often be seen standing on her tail as the rainbow. Rock paintings of rainbow snakes may go back 10,000 years. Some experts believe that Almudj is the oldest continuously revered religious symbol in the world.

As we return to camp, the last light paints Djuwarr in its brightest colors. The normally effervescent Kapirigi is in a reflective mood. Like all the elders he is worried about the future, who will succeed him to look after Almudj and observe the rituals. He fears retribution if the life-force is broken, if the country is not looked after. We ask him, "What about your children and grandchildren—don't they want to learn about the Dreamtime?"

"No," he answers. "They are not interested. When I pass on, no one will know these stories." After a long silence he adds, "I can teach a good man, but there is nobody." It is almost dark now. Tiny bats wheel and turn after insects. Like an omen, one brushes my cheek with its soft wing as it snaps up a mosquito. Down the canyon a sea eagle calls from its nest. Kapirigi's face brightens. "That's Marrawuti; he's the boss around here." For the time being at least, God is still in his heaven.



The next day Kapirigi takes us on a walk up the canyon, along a running stream full of fish, turtles, and an occasional freshwater crocodile. The canyon ends in austere rock walls; a waterfall trickles down one face, and below it we see a still, black pool. "That's where Almudj lives, down there. You got to be careful and not bathe here, or fish, or speak loudly. And don't throw stones into this pool. A few years ago I bring an archaeologist fella here. I told him the same. Don't throw stone. But he laugh and throw a big rock in the pool, right there. That night a big storm come up and wash away his camp. And that was in the dry season too." Kapirigi laughs—but quietly. On the way back we rest on a sandy beach.

"See those caves," Kapirigi says. "That's where Mimis live."

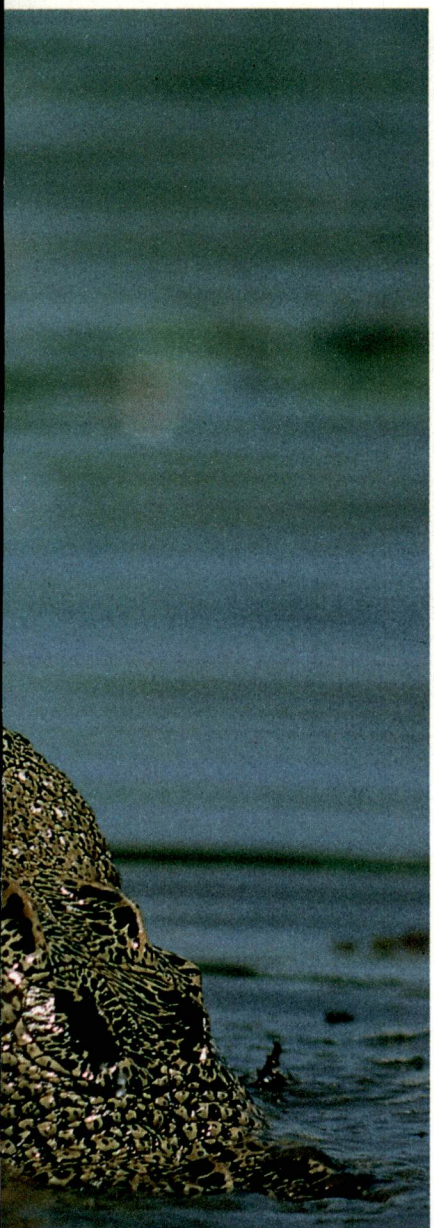
Kapirigi now tells us that these elusive spirits live inside the rocks. They are so thin that the slightest wind will break their long necks. Only when it is calm do they come out to hunt and paint. If anyone comes or a breeze springs up, they blow on the rocks, which then part to let them enter and close behind them again. People must be careful, Kapirigi says, for sometimes the Mimis will lure them into the rocks and then lock them up.

"When do the Mimis come out?" we ask.

"Every evening, but we can't see them. They leave messages. Like this leaf, or a painting."

The moment seems right to question Kapirigi about his view of the next world. "If men can become animals, and animals men," we ask, "when we die, do we become animals?"

The answer is unequivocal:



CROCODYLUS POROSUS, 16 FT OR MORE



HALIAEETUS LEUCOGASTER, 30-34 IN

*MASSIVE JAWS of a saltwater crocodile crush a barramundi, a fish also favored by a white-breasted sea eagle (above). To the Gagudju, the crocodile is Ginga. Once, in the form of a man, he caught fire and rushed into the water, turning himself into a crocodile with a legacy of blister-like bumps. The eagle, known as Marrawuti, snatches away a person's soul at death and brought water lilies to the floodplain. The seeds of the red lily (right) are a traditional Gagudju food.*



NELUMBO NUCIFERA, 6-10 IN



CHLAMYDOSAURUS KINGII, 26 IN

*FEROCIOUS BLUFF achieved by raising loose skin around the neck is the frilled lizard's main defense against predators. The Gagudju call him Gundamen; he was punished by the elders with this outlandish appearance for breaking the law.*

*In contrast, a male lotus bird (facing page, top left) displays a tender response to a threat by carrying his chicks, tucked under his wings, to safety.*

*Master of elaboration, the male great bowerbird builds an archway adorned with trinkets such as snail shells and bits of bone to impress a prospective mate. The Gagudju*



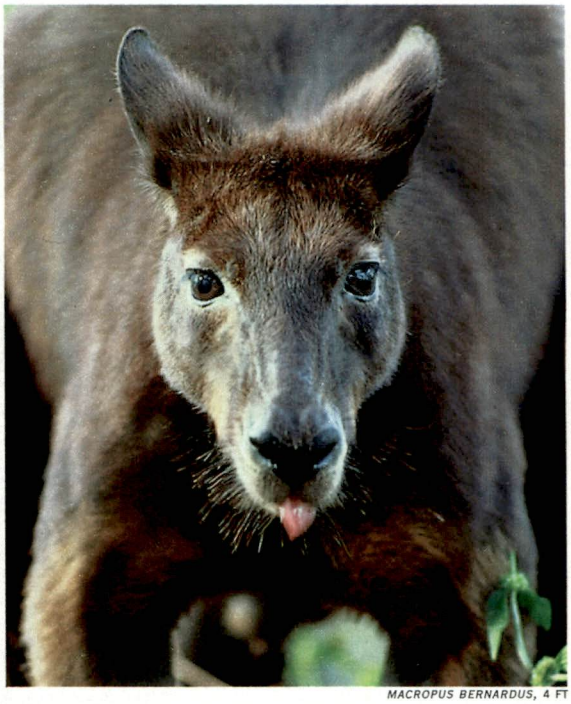
IREDIPARRA GALLINACEA, 9 IN



NEPHRURUS ASPER, 4 IN



CHLAMYDERA NUCHALIS, 14 IN



MACROPUS BERNARDUS, 4 FT



TILIQUA SCINCOIDES INTERMEDIA, 18 IN

*call him Djuway, "a cheeky fellow that steals your bones." For such displays, they regard him as the keeper of ceremonies.*

*Lacking the protection of eyelids, a knob-tailed gecko must constantly lick its eyes clean.*

*Rare and shy, black wallaroos inhabit the rock country of the Arnhem Land Escarpment. Many of the park's outcrops and hollows are believed to have been created by an ancestral kangaroo.*

*Gurri, the blue-tongued lizard, is thought to have bruised his mouth in a head-first fall among the rocks. He brought social organization to the Gagudju.*

"No, we don't. When we die, we're finished." For the Gagudju, paradise is here and now, and looking around at Djuwarr that is not difficult to accept. But for paradise not to be lost, it must be kept pristine through ritual and through visits like the one we have just made with Kapirigi.

NEIDJIE'S COUSIN and close friend Felix Iyanuk holds a special place among the Gagudju. He is the only one who still knows the complete song cycles and funerary rites. Once when the two elders took us to a small sacred cave, Iyanuk sat down and beat a slow rhythm on a pair of song sticks and sang. His still-strong voice carried through the cavern as other voices must have done for centuries before him. The songs completed, Iyanuk told us: "Only me and Neidjie know this song now. But he is without voice, you see. When I am sick or something is wrong with me, they got nobody. This is probably the last time I sing this song here."

When a Gagudju dies, he is wrapped in a sheet of paperbark and then either buried or placed on a platform high in a tree. A year or so later, the bones are recovered, painted with red ocher, and ceremonially placed in a small cave. The formalities must be done correctly to liberate the person's spirit. But again only a few people know the proper way, says Iyanuk. "Only me and Neidjie know. Nobody else know the song and what kind of dance. Sometimes I think about this, and I cry before I go to sleep. Because nobody is coming after us."

The reason that is usually given by the elders as to why the younger people are not learning the traditions is that they are not interested in their heritage. But among the Gagudju there is a small group of young men and women who are very much concerned about looking after their country. These are the Aboriginal rangers of Kakadu National Park—their tribal lands. Every two years or so a group of them go through an intensive, live-in



training course that teaches them not only about their own culture but also about modern park management. Neidjie's son Jonathan Yarramarna is one of the trainees.

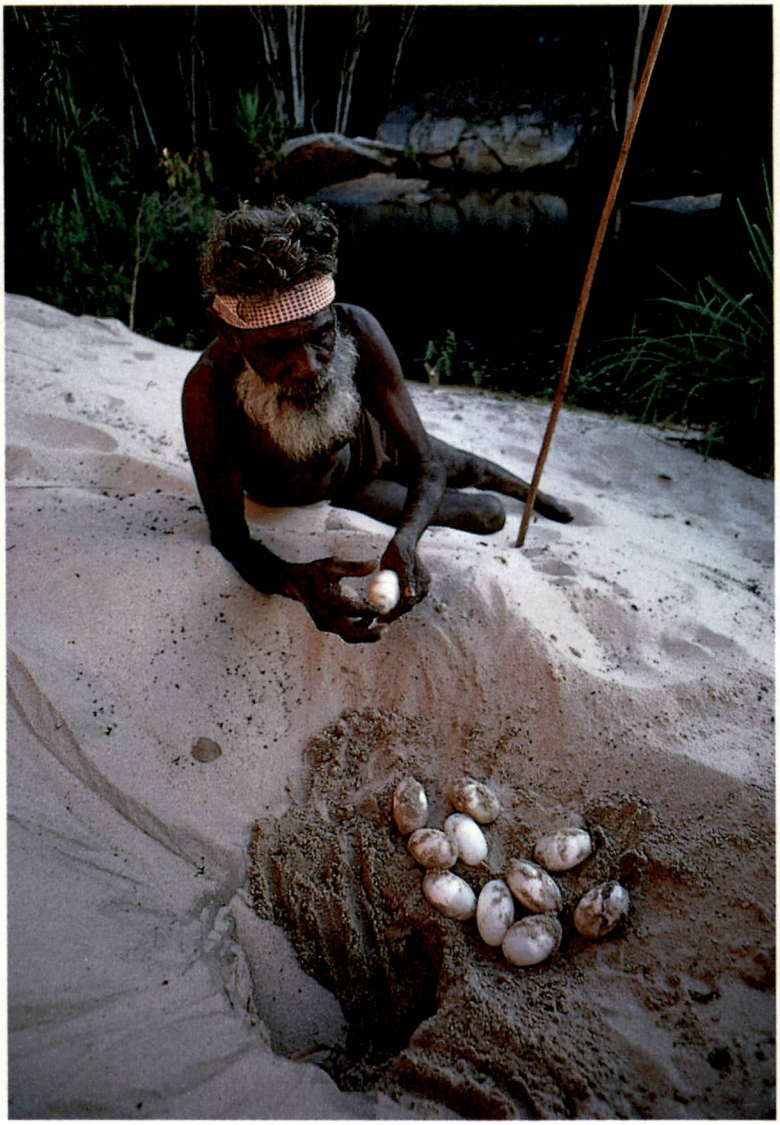
We catch up with Jonathan one day as he visits his father. He is a robust young man with a charming smile. At first he is very shy, but over the months we get to know him better and come to appreciate his ready wit and friendship. We soon realize that the combined expectations of his elders and the park service have put an uneasy burden on his shoulders.

As Jonathan says, "There are two sets of laws for us here—Aboriginal law and government law. That means we have to look after the country in two ways, which is pretty hard for us." After a few moments he adds, "But we can do it." Whenever he can, Jonathan goes to his tribal lands around Cannon Hill to hunt and to learn from his father.

We accompanied Neidjie and Jonathan early one morning to a special and important site, an outcrop of sandstone called Hawk Dreaming. Halfway up its slope is a gallery not only of special mystical significance but also of personal importance to Neidjie. He spoke at length to Jonathan in their own language about the spirit of Garrkine, the brown falcon, which resides here. On the sandstone, among images of fish and spirit beings, was a small hand stencil outlined in white. Neidjie turned to us with a smile. "I made it when I was young fella, maybe eight or nine years old, when I came here with my father." Later Jonathan, accompanied by his father, put his hand stencil on the rocks close to Hawk Dreaming, a symbolic commitment to his heritage.

*HIDDEN GALLERY depicts a freshwater crocodile. The reptile's eggs, such as those from a nest discovered by Nipper Kapirigi (below), are eaten hard-boiled. The dwindling ranks of the Gagudju elders were further reduced when Kapirigi died last April.*







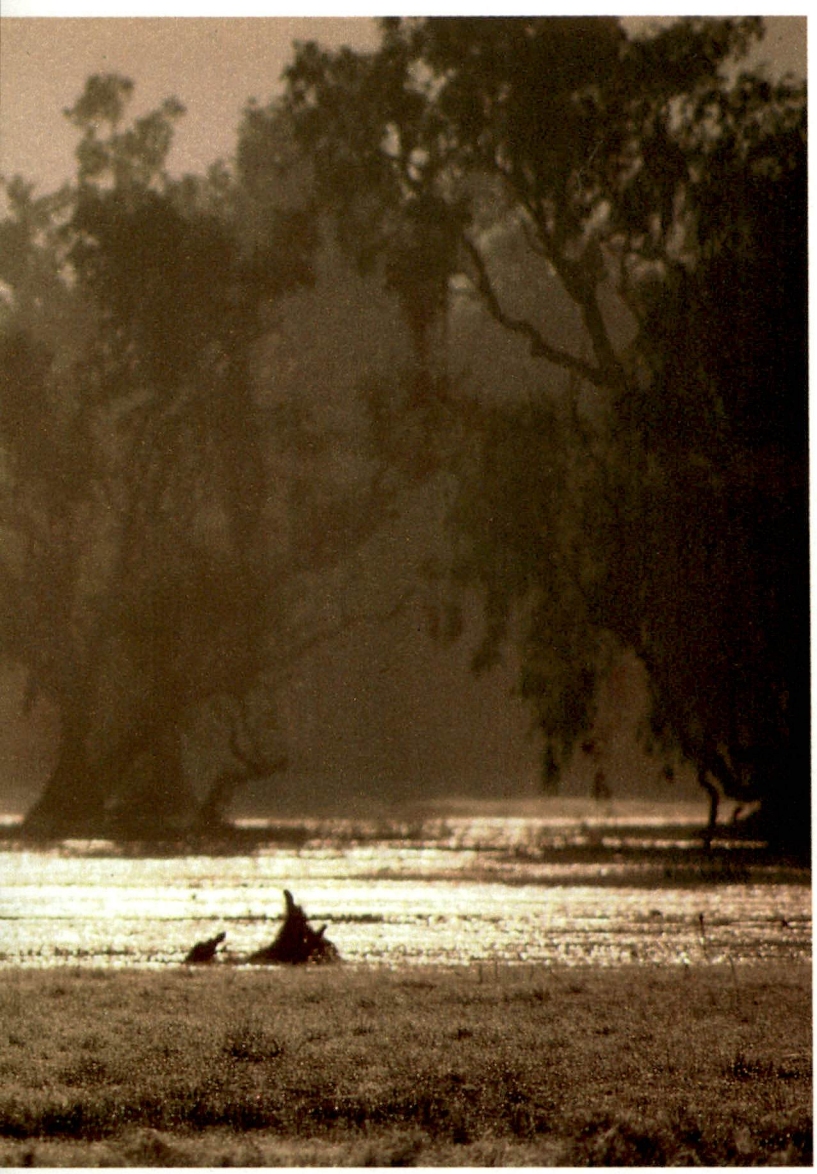
Before we were finally to leave Kakadu, Neidjie wanted all of us to go deep into the bush to Djirringbal, a place where the Balanda, the white people, seldom go. It is a place where the Gagudju once made their stone implements, where there are rock paintings, pools, and landforms made by Ginga, the saltwater crocodile.

WE ALL SET OFF one warm September morning—Neidjie, Kapirigi, Ilkirr, Jonathan Yarramarna, the other Aboriginal trainee rangers, and Belinda and I. Iyanuk and Namingum are not well and cannot come.

To all of them it is a journey into their living culture. Their boisterousness and good-natured humor bubble over as we have never seen it before. For this one day sadness and frustrations slip away.

We drive along a faint bush track for an hour or more, but walk the last few miles, emerging from a small patch of rain forest to find ourselves at the base of a smooth quartzite rock face 700 feet high. All of us are awed and silent to begin with, as we look up and then at the paintings in front of us. An exquisite image of a kangaroo is surrounded by symbolic and sacred designs. The irrepressible Kapirigi is the first to rush forward and exclaim about the paintings. Ilkirr, more quiet and thoughtful, marvels at the skill of the artists and recognizes the designs of various clans. Neidjie's calm voice rumbles an occasional comment. The trainees watch quietly and listen.

Below the paintings is a pile of what appear to be freshly chipped stones. The chips are spread over a large area. It was once a quarry where the Gagudju made their stone scrapers, knives, and spearpoints for hundreds of generations. It looks as though the last tool makers have



*MORNING CASCADES through weeping paperbarks on the floodplain as Jonathan Yarramarna, leaning on his fishing spear, surveys his clan's traditional lands. Only one thing could intrude upon such an idyllic scene—the knowledge that nearby lies a uranium deposit that one day may be mined.*

only just left—but, in fact, the place has not been used for about 40 years.

Ilkirr, with some forceful advice from Kapirigi and Neidjie, shows Jonathan and the others how to strike a core rock with another stone to make a sharp knife. Kapirigi demonstrates how such a knife was used to pierce his nose. He puts a stick through his septum to prove how effective it was.

On our way back we stop at a circular pool of clear water. Jonathan builds a small fire to make some tea, and Neidjie begins talking to the trainees. "See that waterfall? That's where Ginga, the big crocodile, cut through rock. That's just one story you must learn. All these stories together tell of the earth, the animals, and Aboriginal people. The old people, they know this. That's why for thousands and thousands years this country not change. We learned from our fathers and mothers. They said, 'You sit down and listen.' If we talk or try run away, we get spear. We sit. We listen. Slowly it all come into our heads. And then at last ceremony you are proper man. That is what you must learn, that is what we losing. We are old men now, we have not got many years. If you don't learn now, in 20 years' time you will cry because you don't know your story. But too late then. We will be gone."

Seldom if ever have the younger Gagudju heard anything like this. It makes a deep impression. We too are deeply moved, both by Big Bill's speech and also by the trust he and the others place in us, involving us in their lives and very view of the world.

When we finally had to move on from Kakadu, we left a small tape recorder with Jonathan. Perhaps inspired by his father's eloquence, Jonathan and the other trainees went with Kapirigi to an area deep in the escarpment. For hours Kapirigi talked, in their own language, about the Dreamtime stories connected with that very special place. Jonathan recorded it all and so made a significant step in preserving the Gagudju's heritage.

A few weeks later, and seven months after our memorable journey to Djirringbal, Kapirigi died. His body, wrapped in bark, rests high in a tree overlooking Djuwarr rock. He never did teach a good man. His brother Namingum died five months later. As Big Bill Neidjie said,

*Rock stays,*
*earth stays.*
*I die and put my bones in cave or earth.*
*Soon my bones become earth . . .*
*all the same.*
*My spirit has gone back to my country . . .*
*my mother.*

* * *

# *The First Australians*

# Living in Two Worlds

By BELINDA WRIGHT and STANLEY BREEDEN

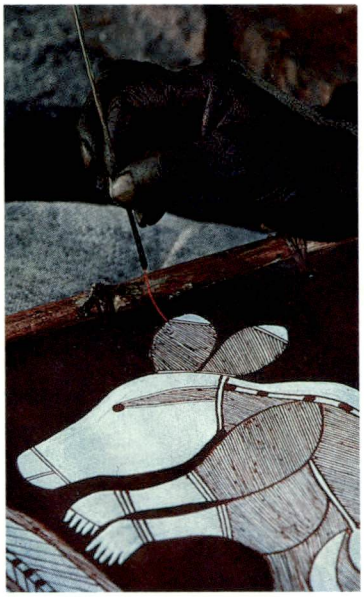
ROCK PAINTING in Kakadu virtually ceased more than a decade ago. But a few artists still create Dreamtime images on bark, and we were befriended by the most skillful painter, Bluey Ilkirr, and his wife, Susan Aladjingu. They let us witness the painstaking creation of one of his works.

Ilkirr used a long forked branch to scale a stringybark tree (left), from which he chopped out a 15-foot-long collar of bark. At home, weeks of curing and flattening followed. When a smooth piece of bark was ready for painting, Ilkirr coated it with red ocher and outlined animal designs in white pigment. Then he filled in shapes such as a wallaroo (right), adding intricate lines made with a grass-stem brush so fine that he could not work in a breeze. After four months of off-and-on work, the masterpiece was complete, worth a thousand dollars or more to a collector of Aboriginal art.

"Home" to Ilkirr and Aladjingu is a fairly free-floating concept. They often stay in a lean-to a few yards away from their new open-plan house (top right) in one of several sites called outstations scattered throughout the park. They use their two rooms mainly for storage and live in open areas under the roof; there is no water or electricity. The house, their Toyota pickup, and other services are provided by the Gagudju Association, which distributes and invests 3.3 million Australian dollars (U. S. $2.2 million) annually in uranium royalties for the Gagudju. Ilkirr is not a Gagudju—although they consult him on tribal matters—but Aladjingu is, and as an adult receives $2,000 a year for life.



ALL BY BELINDA WRIGHT

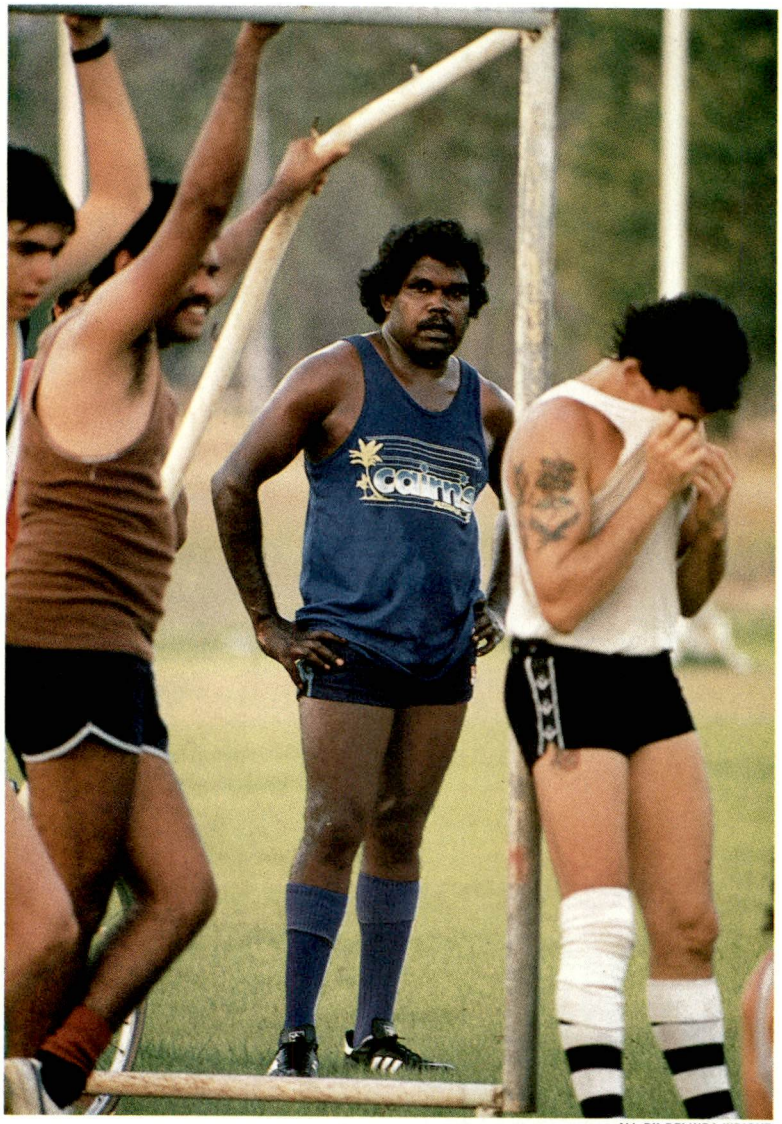


Thus, materialism has invaded their lives. They enjoy listening to Aboriginal folk music and Australian country and western tunes on their radio-cassette recorder. Ilkirr wants a two-way radio "because everyone else [in a few outstations] has one."

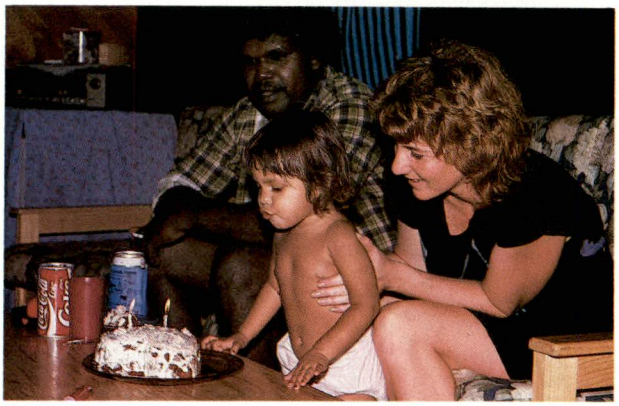
But despite the Gagudju's relative prosperity, they share the

afflictions of all of Australia's 200,000 Aborigines, survivors of 200 years of persecution and disease. Their population has fallen by a third since the late 18th century; many Aboriginal groups have vanished altogether. A sign of hope came late last year when Prime Minister Bob Hawke sought a "compact" of understanding with these dispossessed Australians.

In Kakadu, Ilkirr and Aladjingu still enjoy living off the land, hunting for bush tucker such as turtles, fish, snakes, goannas, and yams. Those things, unlike machines that break down, have not lost their value.




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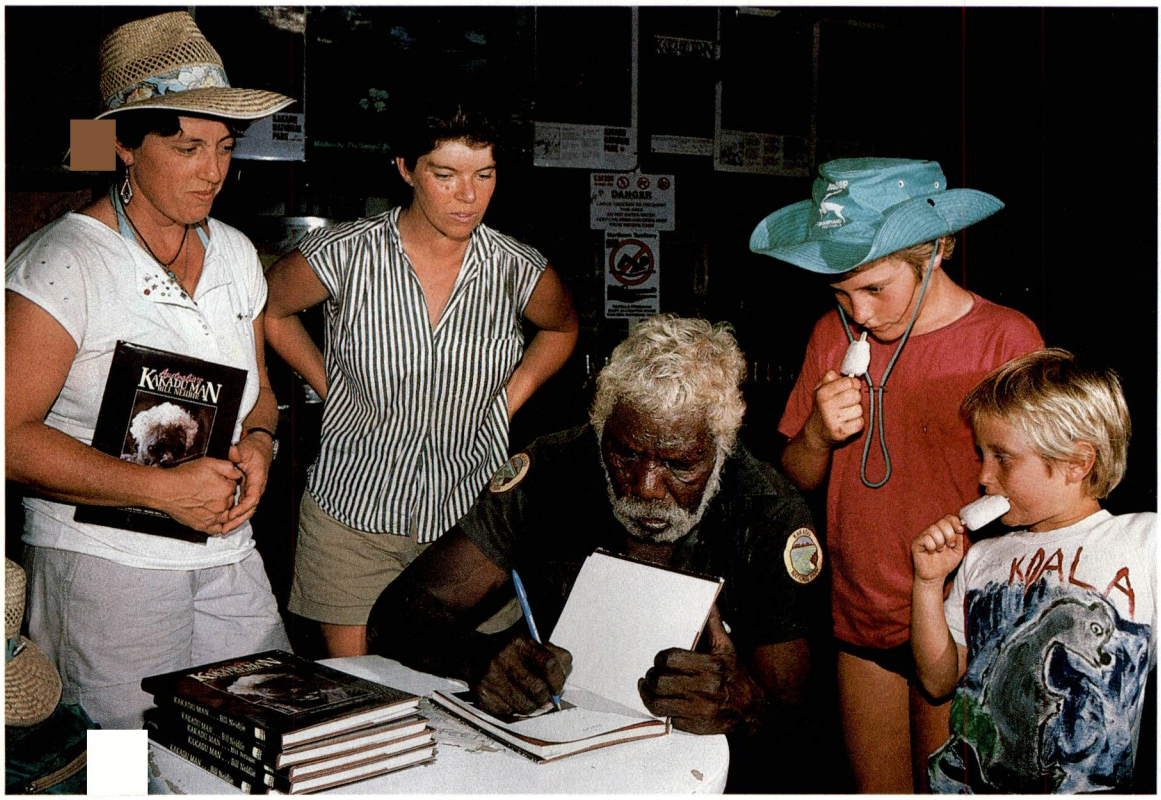


FOR YOUNGER GAGUDJU, the adjustment is harder. Trying to meet two cultures halfway, Jonathan Yarramarna (left, at center) practices Australian Rules football in Jabiru, the town within the park that serves the uranium industry.

Yarramarna's dream of turning professional was ended by a car accident near the town of Alice Springs. But there he found another dream, a young woman named Sharon who had recently returned to her native Australia from Canada. She became his wife. At home their daughter, Natasha (Tasha), celebrates her second birthday (below left)—a sign of change, since most Aborigines do not know their birth date. Visiting the camp of her grandfather, Big Bill Neidjie, Tasha gets on famously with a friend named Reginald (right).

Although Yarramarna left school at age 16, he has been trained as one of a handful of Gagudju park rangers. Balancing the world he works in with the world of his elders can sometimes be a dilemma. He is at home patrolling the bush and does some interpretation for visitors—but not much. Like all Gagudju, he is wary of the mass tourism encouraged by the Northern Territory. Some officials predict that by 1990, 200,000 people a year will flock to Kakadu—although all but two of its rock-art complexes are closed to the public.



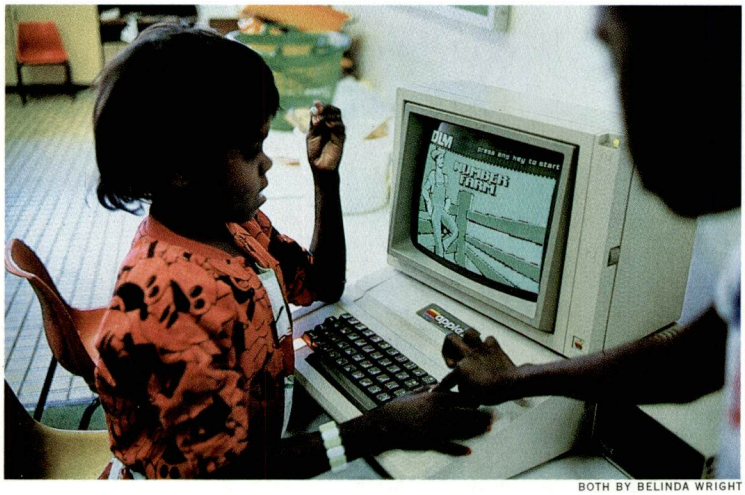



*So now I've got to teach my children . . . how to learn Aboriginal way. That why I write this book. . . .*

THOSE ARE THE WORDS of Big Bill Neidjie, from *Australia's Kakadu Man,* the book he wrote with anthropologist Stephen Davis and Allan Fox, formerly of the National Parks and Wildlife Service. Bill autographs copies for tourists in the Border Store, a shop run by the Gagudju Association just inside the park boundary.

Bill is a keeper of Gagudju philosophy, and his book speaks with simple eloquence of the law, the land and how to take care of it, and the two worlds of the Aborigine and the white man. Bill is also one of the special people in anybody's world—someone you have to notice. A big man who speaks slowly in a deep, gruff voice, he also has a sense of humor, with which he sometimes tested us in subtle and not-so-subtle ways. Once when we were visiting, he pulled up to his camp with a dead water buffalo in the back of his truck. "Ah, Belinda, got 'em good tucker here. You cook 'em!" he said, and handed her an ax. And she did it. She chopped it up, and we built a big fire and boiled the beast.

Although Bill is passionate about preserving his kind of knowledge, he does not object to the white man's variety. At Jabiru Area School, one Aboriginal student gives her input to another learning a computer game. Bill hopes that the young, after gaining an education needed to survive in a foreign culture, will have a change of heart and turn around. And that is why he wrote his book—to give them something to come back to. □




BOTH BY BELINDA WRIGHT

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**Bridled Nail-tailed Wallaby** **Genus:** *Onychogalea* **Species:** *fraenata* **Adult size:** Length of head and body: male, 51-70cm; female, 43-54cm; tail: male, 38-54cm; female, 36-44cm **Adult weight:** Male, 5-6kg; female, 4-5kg **Habitat:** Shrubland and grassy woodland in central Queensland, Australia **Surviving number:** Estimated at 1,000 Photographed by Hans and Judy Best

# Wildlife as Canon sees it

One of the greatest roles of photography is to record and preserve images of the world around us worthy to be handed down as a heritage for all generations. A photograph of the bridled nail-tailed wallaby captures the graceful motion of a species that until the late 1970s was thought to be extinct.

Once ranging from central Queensland to northern Victoria, the bridled nail-tailed wallaby now exists in only one colony inhabiting an area of 11,000 hectares. The wallaby is a nocturnal animal, resting by day in a shallow nest scratched out beneath a bush or tree, and is extremely shy and difficult to observe. It evades detection by lying prone in long grass or crawling out of sight under low shrubs. The remaining population requires continued management and protection if the bridled nail-tailed wallaby is to survive. Like all endangered species, its future depends on mankind's ability to live in harmony with the natural world.

An invaluable research tool, photography can help promote a greater awareness and understanding of the bridled nail-tailed wallaby and how it lives within its natural environment.

And understanding is perhaps the single most important factor in saving the bridled nail-tailed wallaby and all of wildlife.

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