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**Folder Title:**  
President Roh Tae Woo [South Korea] Visit, 10/17/89

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Davis/Martin  
Title: korea  
Oct. 11, 1989  
Draft: One

**DEPARTURE STATEMENT: PRESIDENT ROH TAE WOO, SOUTH PORTICO  
Tuesday, Oct. 17, 1:15 p.m.**

There have been many high-level visits between Washington and Seoul recently, proof that good relations are important to both countries. But today it has been my special pleasure to welcome President Roh ((No)) and his cabinet to Washington. Mister President, I hope you ((and Madame Roh??)) have enjoyed your visit to the White House as much as Barbara and I enjoyed our visit to the Blue House last February.

This has been a busy day of discussions with President Roh on a range of important bilateral, regional and multilateral issues. We have confirmed that the governments and peoples of the United States and the Republic of Korea are resolved to promote and defend economic growth and democracy. Our discussions have been intense and meaningful. And our partnership has been strengthened.

Let no one doubt that the United States stands by its commitment to maintain the armistice and prevent the outbreak of hostilities on the Peninsula. As I said in Seoul in February, U.S. forces will remain as long as both governments and both peoples believe it is in the interest of peace. And, of course, our forces will remain as long as there is a threat from the North.

I understand that President Roh, when asked about the American presence in South Korea, answered with a colorful, American phrase: "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." Mister President, my sentiments exactly.

At the same time, our two nations aspire to lessened tensions between North and South. This, and the creation of the conditions that favor reunification, can only be the result of the vision and tireless efforts of the Korean people.

The United States applauds President's Roh's creative diplomacy, and supports his plan to create a Commonwealth between North and South as a step toward reunification. President Roh's unification formula is based on principles that we share -- independence, peace and democracy. It is my hope that the resumption of other forms of inter-Korean dialogue will lead to institutions that will serve as a basis for eventual reunification.

But the division of Korea is merely a part of a great divide between all the nations of the world. It is in the other half of the world, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, that momentous change is underway. President Roh and I are of one mind in dealing with this change. Simply put, we will seek to strengthen ties of mutual interest between the democracies and the socialist world. President Roh's Nordpolitik -- a diplomatic endeavor to reach out to socialist countries in Europe, as well as in Asia -- complements the policy of the United States. Mister President, may I follow your practice and quote a few Korean sayings? World

peace is not a pavilion in the sky. If beans grow where beans are planted, then surely peace will grow where peace is planted.\\

Just as South Korea is taking a leading role in diplomacy, so has it also become a major economic force. South Korea is now the world's tenth largest trading nation and America's seventh largest trading partner. Korean workers and companies have benefited from U.S. open markets. But American workers and companies deserve equal access to Korean markets.

As I told the National Assembly in February, protectionism offers a false prosperity. It may seem to be the easy way out, but it is really the quickest way down. Trade -- free and fair -- is the way up, for the consumers and the workers of both nations. And that is why I am pleased to note the progress made in the past few years in reducing trade barriers. We applaud these moves, realizing that they have often been achieved with difficulty. We will welcome continued improvements on the trade front.

Last, but not least, President Roh and I today discussed the dramatic changes occurring in Korean society and politics. Under President Roh's leadership, the Republic of Korea has moved toward greater democracy and respect for human and civil rights. The history of my own nation suggests that such change is hard-won. But our history also suggests that the struggle for democracy is crucial to a nation's political, economic and moral development.

President Roh, you have my highest respect and support for your goals.. I wish you well in your efforts for continued peace, and the growth of democracy and prosperity in your great Republic.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 279

March 3, 1989

LENGTH: 1295 words

February 22

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush departed the White House for a visit to the Far East.

February 23

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush arrived at Haneda Airport, Tokyo, Japan, where they were greeted by Japanese and American officials. The President and Mrs. Bush then went to the U.S. Ambassador's residence, where President Bush and senior staff members attended a working luncheon with President Francois Mitterrand of France. Following the luncheon, President Bush met with Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita of Japan in the Asahi-No-Ma Room at Akasaka Palace and then proceeded to the Hotel Okura, his residence during his stay in Japan.

In the evening, President Bush returned to the U.S. Ambassador's residence and met individually with President Mario Alberto Soares of Portugal, President Mohammed Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan of Thailand, King Juan Carlos I of Spain, King Hussein I of Jordan, and President Chaim Herzog of Israel. Following his meetings, President Bush returned to the Hotel Okura for the evening.

February 24

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the funeral ceremony for Emperor Hirohito at Shinjuku Gyoen. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the President and Mrs. Bush went to the U.S. Embassy, and the President greeted members of the staff in the auditorium.

In the afternoon, President Bush went to the U.S. Ambassador's residence, where he met individually with President Richard von Weizsacker of West Germany, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, King Baudouin I of Belgium, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal of Turkey, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and President Francesco Cossiga of Italy. At the conclusion of his meetings, President Bush returned to his hotel.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a reception at Akasaka Palace hosted by Prime Minister Takeshita. President Bush then met with President Corazon C. Aquino of the Philippines. At the conclusion of the

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meeting, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to their hotel.

The President declared that a major disaster exists in Kentucky as a result of heavy rains and flooding that began on February 13. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide funds to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

## February 25

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush had an audience with Emperor Akihito at the Imperial Palace. They then went to the U.S. Ambassador's residence, where President Bush met individually with President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria and with President Jose Sarney Costa of Brazil.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush left Tokyo and flew to Beijing International Airport, where they were greeted by Chinese and American officials. They then went to the Diaoyutai State Guest House, their residence during their stay in China, and exchanged gifts with Premier and Mrs. Li Peng.

In the evening, President Bush participated in a bilateral meeting and a gift exchange in the Great Hall of the People with President Yang Shangkun. The President and Mrs. Bush then attended a banquet in the Western Hall hosted by President Yang. At the conclusion of the banquet, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the Diaoyutai State Guest House.

## February 26

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush attended morning prayer services at the Chongmenwen Christian Church. The President then attended meetings at the Great Hall of the People with Premier Li Peng and Chairman (Central Military Commission) Deng Xiaoping.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a luncheon in the Big East Hall hosted by Chairman Deng Xiaoping. At the conclusion of the luncheon, they went to the International Club, where the President visited with friends. He and Mrs. Bush then attended a reception at Ambassador Winston Lord's residence. Upon returning to the Diaoyutai State Guest House, President Bush met with President Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia. President Bush then met with General Secretary Zhao Ziyang at the Great Hall of the People.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a tea and dinner for Chinese leaders in the Grand Ballroom at the Sheraton Great Wall Hotel. At the conclusion of the dinner, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the Diaoyutai State Guest House.

## February 27

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush bid farewell to Vice Premier Wu Xueqian during an informal departure tea at Beijing International Airport.

In the afternoon, upon arriving at K-16 Airport in Seoul, South Korea, the President and Mrs. Bush were welcomed by Prime Minister and Mrs. Kang Yong Hoon and Korean and American officials in a formal arrival ceremony. They then met with President Roh Tae Woo and First Lady Kim Ok Sook at the Blue House, the official residence of the Korean President, and were invited to sign the guest

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book. Later in the afternoon, President Bush met privately with President Roh in the study at the Blue House. The meeting was then expanded to include Korean and American officials. Afterwards, the two Presidents and the officials attended a luncheon in the Korean Traditional House. Following the luncheon, President Bush addressed the National Assembly and met with the Assembly's leadership. The President and Mrs. Bush then went to the U.S. Ambassador's residence, where they greeted the American community. At the conclusion of the reception, they left Seoul and returned to Washington, DC.

February 28

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

The President transmitted to the Congress the national trade policy agenda for calendar year 1989 and an addendum to the 1988 annual report on the Trade Agreements Program that was sent to the Congress on January 3, 1989.

March 1

The President met at the White House with:

-- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

-- administration officials, to discuss the budget;

-- conservative leaders;

-- representatives of the Toys for Tots organization;

-- Secretary of State James A. Baker III;

-- John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

March 2

The President met at the White House with:

-- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

-- Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., USN, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Deputy Secretary of Defense William Howard Taft IV;

-- President Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo of Guatemala;

-- Senator Barry Goldwater;

-- John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.

March 3

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The President met at the White House with:

-- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

-- Ambassador Jack Matlock;

-- Secretary of Labor Elizabeth H. Dole and Secretary of Transportation Samuel K. Skinner, to discuss the Eastern Airlines strike;

-- Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

In the morning, the President telephoned President Carlos Andres Perez, to express support for the Venezuelan Government in light of the recent rioting.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

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## Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks Following a Meeting With President Roh Tae Woo in  
seoul, South Korea

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 253

February 27, 1989

LENGTH: 324 words

Well, President Roh and I had very useful, wide-ranging discussions. We reviewed the political situation in this part of the world. I told him about my China visit, and we had a chance to review our relations with the Soviet Union as well. We are both pleased by trends towards relaxations of tension in this part of the world. President Roh's nordpolitik -- reaching out to China, the Soviets, and Eastern Europe -- and his initiatives toward North Korea contributed importantly to these trends.

The U.S. fully supports Korea's creative diplomacy. Despite such positive policies, some hard realities remain. Among these is that North Korea maintains the world's fifth largest military force, a force deployed just 25 miles north of here. And the United States remains committed to the security and freedom of the Republic of Korea. And I had an opportunity to make that point very clearly at President Roh. Perhaps some of the confidence-building measures that we've proposed, measures that have worked well in Europe, will also be applied to the Korean Peninsula.

Besides the diplomatic and security issues, we discussed ways to strengthen the free world economic system. We had a frank discussion of economic problems -- Korea being a very important trading partner with the United States. Korea has benefited from U.S. open markets, and I think we both agree we need to move as quickly as possible to fully open markets. We must expect fair access to the markets here. And I believe that President Roh understands that.

But all and all, the trip has been too short. The hospitality has been wonderful. And inasmuch as I do not want to make the Assembly mad -- the elected leaders in the various parties that represent Korea's democracy -- we should go.

But thank you, Mr. President, very much for an unforgettable visit.

Note: President Bush spoke at 2:49 p.m. in the Blue House, the residence of President Roh .

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Address Before the National Assembly in Seoul, South Korea

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 254

February 27, 1989

LENGTH: 2119 words

Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you, and I hold out my hand to you, to the Government of Korea, and to the people of Korea. Mr. Speaker and Members of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea and distinguished guests, I am honored by your invitation to address this body today. I stand in your Assembly as Presidents Eisenhower, Johnson, and Reagan have stood before me. And I reaffirm, as they did, America's support, friendship, and respect for the Republic of Korea and its people.

As a former Member of a body like this, of the House of Representatives of the United States, I take particular pleasure in coming back to this legislative chamber, where the freely elected representatives of Korea's own democratic success story meet to debate and implement the will of the Korean people. I know there must be times when this body, just like the United States Congress, is full of noise and contentin and emotion. But that is the sound of democracy at work, and we wouldn't have it any other way. As the great statesman Winston Churchill once said: "Democracy is the worst form of government except for all others."

This is my first major address on foreign soil since becoming the 41st President of the United States of America. And my visit here today reflects the importance that I place on the relations between our two countries, the strength of our nations' ties, and the promise that our relationship holds for the future of the world. My inauguration as President a month ago represented a tradition in the United States that speaks of both continuity and change. Continuity and change will also be the guideposts of relations between the United States and Korea in the years ahead. Where change is needed or inevitable, let us be a positive force for change. Where continuity is our mandate, let us go forward, resolute in our commitment to freedom and democracy. Throughout, let our close economic and strategic relationship remain as it is: a pillar of peace in East Asia.

I first came to the Asian Pacific region during World War II, more than 45 years ago. I was a teenager, 19 years old. I was flying torpedo bombers in the United States Navy. It was then, for the first time in my life, that I truly appreciated the value of freedom and the price that we pay to keep it. Believe me, I have never forgotten.

In the early years following World War II, the future of Korea and of all Asia was very much in doubt. It was a time of great struggle between Korea's hope for freedom, Korea's hope for prosperity, and the twin menaces of war and invasion. On a June morning in 1950, the Communist army of the North smashed into the Republic of Korea, intent on destroying your nation. And without hesitation or delay, American and U.N. forces rushed to your aid. And together, Americans and Koreans fought side by side for your right to determine your own future. And I do remember the devastation of your country. Your cities lay

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in rubble. Your factories were in shambles. Millions of your people wandered the streets homeless and hungry. And in 1951, in the midst of the war, General Douglas MacArthur addressed a Joint Session of our Congress. And he spoke of Korea, saying, "The magnificence of the courage and fortitude of the Korean people defies description." And as he spoke those words, our Congress interrupted him with applause, sustained applause, for you and your people.

And after the war, you overcame every imaginable hardship. History will long record your story: how in less than a generation you stepped into the light of liberty and economic opportunity. You can be proud of the miracle that you've achieved. And we are proud to be associated with you.

Today Korea is a rising nation; a vibrant, dynamic nation; a nation riding the crest of the wave of the future. And never before has the pride and the progress of your nation been more evident than last summer when this magnificent city played host to the 24th Olympic games. Nearly 10,000 athletes from 160 nations were here. Another 3 billion people watched on television. And what they saw from the moment Sohn Kee Chung carried the torch into your Olympic Stadium until the last embers of the Olympic flame were extinguished at the closing ceremonies was an incredibly spectacular sports festival. You played host to the world, and what a truly gracious host you were. Congratulations.

The past several years have witnessed the emergence of the entire Asian-Pacific region. My trip -- beginning in Japan, stopping in China, and concluding here in Korea -- stands as testimony to the reality and what it means to the future of the world. Today Asia is one of the most dynamic areas on Earth -- economically, politically, diplomatically. The Republic of Korea stands at the fore. You're a world-class economic power. Your commitment to democracy is demonstrated daily right here in this chamber. And your bold diplomacy, your *no-dpolitik* [South Korean contact with Socialist States], is reshaping relations in and beyond the Asia-Pacific region.

In my meetings with Prime Minister Takeshita of Japan, China's Deng Xiaoping and the three other top leaders, and with you and your leaders, I've discussed challenging bilateral, global, and regional issues. And our discussions have been marked at all times by a spirit of friendship and cooperation.

I've come here today as the leader of a faithful friend and a dependable ally. And I'm here today to ensure that we continue to work together in all things. Our most important mission together is to maintain the freedom and democracy that you fought so hard to win. As President, I am committed to maintaining American forces in Korea, and I'm committed to support our Mutual Defense Treaty. There are no plans to reduce U.S. forces in Korea. Our soldiers and airmen are there at the request of the Republic of Korea to deter aggression from the North, and their presence contributes to the peace and stability of northeast Asia. And they will remain in the Republic of Korea as long as they are needed and as long as we believe it is in the interest of peace to keep them there.

In the years ahead, we must work together as equal partners to meet the evolving security needs of the Korean Peninsula. Peace through strength is a policy that has served the security interests of our two nations well. And we must complement deterrence with an active diplomacy in search of dialog with our adversaries, including North Korea. The American people share your goal of peaceful unification on terms acceptable to the Korean people. It's for that

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reason that we actively support the peaceful initiatives of President Roh to build bridges to the North. And I will work closely with the President to coordinate our efforts to draw the North toward practical, peaceful, and productive dialog to ensure that our policies are complementary and mutually reinforcing.

I've spoken of the need for vigilance, strength, and diplomacy to deter aggression and preserve peace. There's another source of strength, and it is well-represented in this Assembly. The development of democratic political institutions is the surest means to build the national consensus that is the foundation of true security.

Just as we must work together to achieve better security within a democratic framework, we must also work together to achieve greater economic prosperity within the system of free and open international trade. The progress of the Korean economy is an inspiration for developing countries throughout the world. By unleashing the energies and creativity of your talented people, you've led Korea into an era of unprecedented opportunity and prosperity. Korea has become an industrial power, a major trading power, and a first-class competitor. You are fulfilling the prophecy of the Indian poet Tagore who wrote: "Korea once a bright light of the golden age of Asia, if it is relit, it will be the light of the East." Korea has achieved great prosperity through participation in the international trading system that has made the nations of free Asia the envy of the world. And all Koreans can take pride in what you, as a people, have achieved.

And yet we also cannot overlook that your economic success has created concern in the management of our bilateral economic relations. For the American people and for the Korean people, as well, reducing our bilateral trade imbalance will be both a challenge and an opportunity. The challenge will be to resist the calls for protectionism; the opportunity will be to expand the prosperity of both our countries. And we both, you and I, have a lot at stake. You are our seventh largest trading partner, larger than many of our traditional European trading partners, and our trade is growing. The United States is both Korea's largest market and second largest source of imports. And we're also a leading source of the investment and technology that you will need to fuel further economic growth and development.

Korea's economy has benefited greatly from the free flow of trade. And yet today, in many countries, there is a call for greater protectionism. And I'm asking you to join the United States in rejecting these shortsighted pleas. **Protectionism is fool's gold. Protectionism may seem to be the easy way out but is really the quickest way down.** And nothing will stop the engine of Korea's economic growth faster than new barriers to international trade.

We've made progress in this area. American exports to Korea are up. Korean tariffs are down, and its nontariff barriers are down, too. And the service sector is opening. And let me be candid. I want you to have this direct from me. If we are to keep our bilateral relationship growing even stronger, much more needs to be done. And I am confident that our two nations working together can accomplish the tasks still before us.

As one of the world's major trading powers, the Republic of Korea sets an example for other nations who are watching what you do. As an emerging economic leader, you inevitably shoulder important responsibilities to ensure the

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continued strength and stability of the global marketplace. You, the representatives of the Korean people, will face the challenge to improve living standards, to continue to open domestic markets, and to adopt appropriate international financial and exchange rate policies that reflect your standing as a prosperous and powerful trading nation. The United States shares similar responsibilities for the well-being of the world economy. Our two peoples should, at all times, bear in mind that our trading system is truly an international joint venture and that we share a special responsibility for its continued success.

My friends -- and we are truly friends -- I began today by talking about my inauguration as the new President of the United States of America just a few short weeks ago. The tradition of passing the torch of leadership from one American President to another is a time when we celebrate the strength of our democracy and a time when we renew our commitment to the values on which it is built. Today I am renewing my commitment to you, as the leader of one sovereign state to the elected legislative body of another. I am renewing my commitment to you to work together for the good of our peoples and of all humanity.

And as I reflect over the last 40 years of Asian history, the trend is remarkably positive. At the end of the Second World War, Asia lay in ruins. Through the 1950's and the 1960's, the forces of radical revolution at times appeared to be the wave of the future. And now, in the 1980's, human aspirations for basic political and economic freedoms have become almost universal. And as we gather here in your National Assembly, these aspirations are no longer a far-off dream for your great country, for Korea. Instead, through your devotion and hard work, they've become a reality, and we celebrate your triumph. In the years ahead, the United States will stand with you against the forces of oppression and for the forces of peace, prosperity, independence, and democracy.

And so, on behalf of my wife, Barbara; of our Secretary of State, Jim Baker, who is with me here today; and others, our leaders in our government, I came to observe, I came to reaffirm. And from the bottom of my heart, I thank you for the warmth and the hospitality you have bestowed upon all of us. Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 4:01 p.m. in the National Assembly Hall. In his opening remarks, he referred to Kim Jaison, Speaker of the National Assembly.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Written Responses to Questions Submitted by the Yonhap News  
Agency of South Korea

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 239

February 16, 1989

LENGTH: 967 words

South Korean Relations With Socialist Countries

Q. Would you tell me your views on South Korean efforts to increase economic cooperation and political relations with Socialist countries?

The President. I support these efforts. President Roh's opening to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China is aimed at fostering world peace and understanding. Today almost every country recognizes South Korea's great economic importance. I am sure more countries in time will move from economic ties to full political and diplomatic ties with the Republic of Korea.

Conference on Korean Reunification

Q. In his address before the U.N. General Assembly in October last year, President Roh proposed a six-party conference, calling for South and North Korea, the United States, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union to discuss a peaceful reunification of the divided Korean Peninsula. What is the U.S. position of the proposal?

The President. President Roh's six-party conference idea is an imaginative forward-looking proposal. It is another example of the Republic of Korea's Government's new approach of reconciliation and accommodation in dealing with peninsula political and security problems. Obviously, such a conference would require careful preparation and a cooperative attitude by all participants.

North Korea-U.S. Relations

Q. While seeking improved relations with China and the Soviet Union, the South Korean Government has asked the United States to open its doors to the isolationist North Korea, hoping that exchanges between Washington and Pyongyang will contribute to reduction of tension on the Korean Peninsula. Have you seen any fruits of progress in U.S. efforts to help North Korea to get rid of its isolationist party?

The President. We have long supported North-South dialog as the key to peace and reunification of the peninsula. President Roh's initiatives to that purpose in July 1988 and in his October speech at the United Nations were most welcome. In the spirit of these measures, the United States announced last October 31 some new steps to encourage private academic, cultural, and other nongovernmental exchange with North Korea. We also authorized the export of humanitarian goods to North Korea and again authorized substantive exchanges between our diplomats in neutral settings. Since then, the United States and North Korea have had substantive contacts in Beijing on December 6 and January 24. There has been greater academic exchange between the United States and

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North Korea as well. Several American universities plan to host North Korean scholars this year. I do not know how far these academic and diplomatic contacts will go, but they are useful first steps.

## U.S. Forces in South Korea

Q. Radical Korean students with anti-American sentiment are demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. At the same time, I know that there are some American experts on northeast Asian affairs who speak of a symbolic or gradual reduction of the troops. Do you envision any possibility of the troop withdrawal in the near future in light of the security situation on the Korean Peninsula?

The President. There are no plans to reduce U.S. forces in Korea. Our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines are there at the request of the Republic of Korea to deter aggression from the North, and their presence contributes to the peace and stability of northeast Asia. They will remain in the Republic of Korea as long as the Government and the people of South Korea want us to remain and as long as we believe it is in the interest of peace to keep them there. Our two governments periodically review the appropriate strength and composition of U.S. forces stationed in Korea under our Mutual Defense Treaty obligations.

## South Korea-U.S. Trade Relations

Q. The United States has continued to ask South Korea to open its markets fully for more U.S. exports. The Korean people have an understanding of U.S. efforts to reduce its large trade deficits, but they think that current U.S. pressure is excessive. I would like to hear your views on trade friction existing between the two countries.

The President. Korea has enjoyed very open access to the American market, especially in cars, consumer electronics, and machinery. This has been crucial to Korea's achievement of the world's highest economic growth rate during the last 3 years. We seek access to all world markets. A free market enhances a country's standard-of-living. Consumers benefit from lower prices and a wider variety of goods and services. The United States and Korea have prospered together on the strength of a free world trading system. I believe it is in Korea's self-interest to work to preserve this system. Therefore, I do not see U.S. market-opening efforts in Korea or elsewhere as excessive.

## The President's Trip to China

Q. Your visit to Beijing will be followed by the visit by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, which is expected in April or May for the first Sino-Soviet summit talks in three decades. Do you have any special reasons for your decision to go to China after attending the funeral of the late Japanese Emperor? Do your discussions with Chinese leaders include the problem of the Korean Peninsula?

The President. Having represented my country in China, I have fond memories and close ties there. Barbara and I are looking forward in a very personal way to going back to Beijing. We also have important matters to discuss with the Chinese leaders. I am sure our talks will touch on issues affecting the Korean Peninsula.

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Note: The questions and answers were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on February 25.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Written Responses to Questions Submitted by Dong-A Ilbo of  
the Republic of Korea

24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 274

February 24, 1988

LENGTH: 964 words

Korean Democratization

Q. With the inauguration of Mr. Roh Tae Woo, Korea will celebrate its first peaceful transfer of power. Since Korea has only experienced authoritarian rule, and not true democracy under a good or enlightened President, could you tell us the secret of being such a leader, and what can be done in Korea to bring expanded democracy?

The President. Over the past few decades, Korea has impressed the world with its economic miracle of rapid growth. In the past year, Korea has matched that economic progress with a kind of political miracle, setting a new course toward an open and democratic political system.

The 1987 Presidential election marked an important milestone in that process. It is, however, important to remember that democracy is a process, not an end point. Americans value democracy, because it is a dynamic system that changes as a nation changes.

As you know, I met President-elect Roh in Washington last year. He impressed me as a man committed to the democratization of your country, because he knew that was what Koreans, including himself, wanted. I understand that President-elect Roh likes to refer to his having big ears. That is really the key to leadership in a democratic society. You have to listen carefully before you make decisions.

Sometimes -- especially when you have a wide-open election year as we have now -- some may not like the results, but accept them and understand the different ways in which others see problems.

South Korea-U.S. Relations

Q. In a political sense we expect closer cooperation between the United States and the new Korean government, but economically (trade) we expect increased tensions in the short term. What can be done to keep these tensions under control so that this area tracks the political area?

The President. Korea and the United States are longtime allies and friends. The relationship has become closer, stronger, and more complex over the years. You are now our seventh largest trading partner. Korean and American businessmen routinely visit one [an]other. We have a growing Korean-American community living in our country. All of these trends are very positive, yet sometimes overlooked.

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Change has also brought some new stresses -- notably in the trade and exchange rate areas. There are real problems. Working together, as we have done for so many years in other areas, I am sure that we can solve these issues.

The key is remembering that it is in our mutual interest to find good solutions. Participation in the international open-market system that has enabled Koreans to prosper has both benefits and responsibilities. Korea must be willing to accept responsibilities commensurate with its new, increased role in the international economic system.

## Reduction of Tensions on the Korean Peninsula

Q. Could you characterize how the recent improvement in U.S. relations with the Soviets can contribute to reduction of tensions on the Korean Peninsula? In the coming U.S.-Soviet summit would you encourage the Soviet leader to play a more active role in restraining or completely stopping North Korea's terrorist actions, including jeopardizing the 1988 Seoul Olympics?

The President. The United States and Soviet Union and everyone else in the region should be cooperating to reduce tensions on the Peninsula as well as in the world as a whole. We hope that improved U.S.-Soviet relations will help move things in that direction and, of course, improve the situation in other areas of the world, too.

The key problem in Korea is North Korea's proclivity to use violence. The world was shocked again by the recent murder of 115 innocent people aboard KAL 858 by North Korea.

A successful incident-free Olympics in Seoul this September is in everyone's interest. The prospect of North Korean -- or anyone else's -- attempts to disrupt the games through violence is a danger that we and the Soviets can agree to work against.

We hope that Moscow will use its close relations with Pyongyang to urge moderation and to encourage the resumption of direct North-South contacts on practical ways to reduce tension. It is time for the North to eschew violence and get down to the serious business of resuming dialog with Seoul. If it does, it may be able to join in the peace, progress, and prosperity other nations in the region have begun to share.

## South Korea-Eastern Bloc Relations

Q. How do you assess possible diplomatic initiatives of the new Korean government toward the East bloc, including the Soviet Union? Is there a role for the United States to play in helping improve Korean-East bloc relations?

The President. In recent years the Republic of Korea has made some progress in expanding contacts with the Eastern bloc. The Olympics will emphasize how this has happened. Continued progress in this direction is inevitable since Korea has so much to offer -- products and expertise in the economics of free-enterprise industrialization. We support further movement and further opening in whatever appropriate ways that Korea may ask.

## South Korea-U.S. Summit

24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 274

Q. What are the chances for a U.S.-Korean summit with Mr. Roh Tae Woo, either in Washington or Seoul, and when could that take place?

The President. We have a close alliance with Korea and always welcome the opportunity for such discussions. Our people meet and share views all the time. Talk now of the details of summits and such seems a bit premature, since President-elect Roh is only now being sworn in and is busy setting up his new administration.

Note: The questions and answers were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on February 29.

12TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the President

Foreign Issues/Federal Budget

Radio Address to the Nation.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1543

December 19, 1987

LENGTH: 819 words

My fellow Americans:

As we approach the end of the year, I thought I'd give you a brief update on several important issues. First, the historic treaty we signed last week eliminating an entire class of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles -- it's taken 6 years of tough negotiating to get this far, but signing a treaty doesn't end the process. It must now go before the full Senate for ratification. They will certainly want to look very closely at this complex treaty, but I'm confident that once they do they'll find it solid, verifiable, and most definitely in America's interest.

Well, next let's turn to events on the order side of the world. South Korea has long been a brave, free world outpost on the border of a hostile northern neighbor. Economically one of the freest nations on Earth, they have demonstrated to the world the wonders of economic liberty. In three short decades, South Korea's vibrant free markets have catapulted that nation out of the ranks of the Third World and into the forefront of world economic growth.

South Korea has long known most of the freedoms we now enjoy in this country: freedom to work where and how one pleases, freedom of speech, freedom of worship. And this week, South Korea has taken a great stride toward full democracy. For the first time in 16 years, they voted in a direct election for their President. Ninety percent of the country turned out to show its commitment to the democratic process.

Mr. Roh Tae Woo, the candidate of the Democratic Justice Party, has emerged the winner by almost 2 million votes, and I've sent my congratulations to him. But the most important victory is for democracy. As Americans know, and as Koreans are finding out, elections have losers as well as winners. The essence of democracy is the willingness to accept the results and, perhaps, to try again at the next election. I particularly welcome Mr. Roh's calls for reconciliation as he undertakes to form a government with broad national support. We look forward to continuing cooperation in security and trade and competing in next September's Olympics in Seoul.

Now, if I may return to Washington, I'd like to speak for a moment on the budget process. I have often criticized Congress' habit of putting the appropriations for almost the entire Federal Government into one mammoth bill called a continuing resolution. Each year, I'm given a choice: hold my nose and swallow it whole, wasteful spending and all, or veto the entire bill, closing down much of the Federal Government. I do not believe that this is what the Founding Fathers had in mind when they gave the President the power to veto individual appropriations bills. That said, I expect this year's continuing

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1543

resolution to meet the budget agreements worked out between the administration and the congressional leadership. One item we'll be looking very closely to see included is funding for the freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

Recently, a high-ranking defector from the Sandinista Communist government has come forward with some shocking revelations. The Nicaraguan Communists, it seems, have been planning all along to use the Central American peace process as a weapon to consolidate their power. Daniel Ortega as much as confirmed this last week when he publicly stated that, elections or no elections, the Sandinista Communists would never give up power.

To make sure they would never have to, the Sandinistas have negotiated a secret agreement with the Soviets and Cubans that calls for a major military escalation in Nicaragua over the next 7 years, including the delivery of MiG-21 jet fighters and enough military supplies to increase th army to 500,000 soldiers. Such an escalation would create an unprecedented threat to the national security of the United States.

As these secret plans were being made public, the Sandinista's Defense Minister confirmed them -- bragging, in fact, of a 600,000-man army by 1995. So, it's clear to all but the most naive that the Sandinista Communists have been cynically manipulating the peace process, trying to lull others into a false sense of security while they busily plan military dominance of the entire region.

It has never been more clear why we must fund the freedom fighters. The freedom fighters brought the Sandinistas to the negotiating table; only the freedom fighters can keep them there. That's why our continued support is imperative and why I will insist that the continuing resolution contains adequate funding for adequate aid. If there were any doubts before, it's certainly clear now: Making sure the freedom fighters remain a viable force in Nicaragua is the only way to make the peace process go forward, to give peace and democracy a chance in Nicaragua.

Until next week, thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

13TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

South Korean Elections

Statement by the Assistant to the President for Press  
Relations.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1536

December 17, 1987

LENGTH: 72 words

The President has been briefed on yesterday's elections in the Republic of Korea. He will be sending his congratulations to the winner. The enthusiasm of the Korean campaign and the remarkable voter turnout of 90 percent is impressive. This speaks clearly of the commitment of Koreans to the democratic process. The candidate of the Democratic Justice Party, Mr. Roh Tae Woo, appears to be the winner by a substantial margin.

# For North Korea Still, the Americans Started It

By SHERYL WuDUNN

Special to The New York Times

PANMUNJOM, Korea — The northern half of this small village, full of soldiers and photographs of war, is devoted to a single proposition: that the Americans started a war against the Korean people and are still dividing the country into North and South.

"At times spoken with fervor, at times with hardly a twitch, that belief stems from a monolithic view of the past that few in the Western world share but that in North Korea has become official history, emblazoned in the minds of every citizen since childhood.

"I am sorry about how I refer to U.S. soldiers," Maj. Lee Sang Hwan said, apologizing to his American guests for his harsh anti-American language. "But why are U.S. soldiers standing on this land here, thousands of miles away from their country? They should go home at once."

Panmunjom is a "truce village" straddling the demarcation line between North and South Korea. Westerners normally see it from the southern side, but North Korea recently admitted groups of Western journalists and allowed them to visit Panmunjom from the north.

### A Closed Society

A visit to the village confirms the impression that there is virtually no pluralism of thought in fiercely nationalistic North Korea. In fact, unity of mind is praised. People have no access to Western publications or broadcasts, and they almost never meet Westerners, let alone Americans.

It has thus been possible to raise an entire society on one historical view and cultivate a language in which "United States" and "imperialists" are linked in a single phrase.

In contrast, Western historians, and those in South Korea, say the North attacked the South on June 25, 1950. Both sides agree that after the war began, the North Korean Army captured Seoul in three days and pushed as far south as Pusan before American troops arrived to drive back the North Koreans nearly as far north as the border to China.

But the difference over who started the war remains central to the tensions between North and South Korea. The South says American troops are necessary for defense against another attack from the North, while the North says the troops are not only superfluous but also evidence of American imperialism and interference.

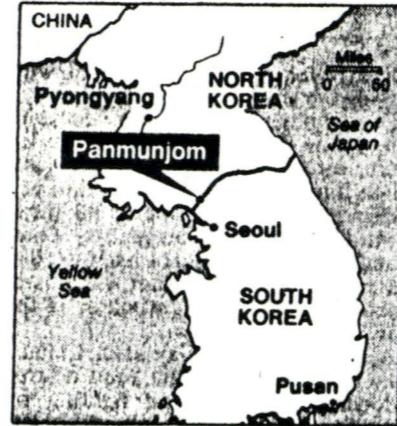
"If you admit that the North invaded, then you admit that the South has a legitimate security concern," said a Westerner who has lived in Pyongyang. "Who started the war is more than just a detail, because from that you can trace so much."

The North Koreans do not even volunteer the fact that China, which suffered an estimated 900,000 casualties in the war, helped at all, although they confirm it when asked.

### History Is Political

History in North Korea is not so much an academic discipline as a political one, and it falls not within the social sciences but within the propaganda apparatus. Who started the war, and who poses a military threat, is never debated by North Korean scholars, whose official textbooks are used by schools all over the country.

"History is history; it consists of the facts," said Li Chol Sin, Deputy Minister of Culture and Foreign Relations. "There is a voice in the South



The North Korean side of Panmunjom is a symphony of anti-American propaganda.

that differs on how to write the past war. Because it does not have enough facts, it can say that North Korea invaded the South. But we have the facts. We have experience, so we do not worry about educating our country on who invaded first."

History education does not just take place in the schools. Large museums have been put up to house the documents and pictures that the North Korean Government says are testimony to its view of the past. But museum officials are not always prepared for questions from skeptical foreigners.

One sticky point is whether American troops were on Korean soil when the war broke out. American texts say Army troops were withdrawn in 1949, which would make it difficult for them to start the war. North Korean officials either insist that there were American troops or that American

naval and air forces were present and were hurriedly backed up by troops brought in from Japan.

At the Pyongyang Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum, a grander version of the exhibition in Panmunjom, there are rooms with panoramas, relics of war, photographs and maps that light up, all parts of a tenuous story about how Americans began the war.

### American Letter Displayed

A museum reproduction of a letter from an American official sent to President Syngman Rhee of South Korea in October 1949 suggests the selective interpretation of historical material.

It focuses on a passage: "On the question of attacking northward, I can see the reasons for it. ... The standard feeling among American officials and public circles is we should continue to lean way over backward to avoid any semblance of aggression and make sure the blame for what happens is upon Russia."

A museum guide omitted any reference to a major point in the letter: "However, it is very evident to us here that such an attack now, or even to talk of such an attack, is to lose American official and public support and will weaken our position among other nations. It is too bad that this is true, yet I am positive that such is the fact."

When asked about the passage, a museum official, Col. Li Fang Chun, avoided a direct response.

"Americans have launched war many times in other countries, and they say they did not start the attack," he said. "But they trained people and supplied military materials and mapped out the plan. They launched the attacks from behind the scene."

Roh Research

# Seoul election tests ropes in Roh-Kim tug of war

By Michael Breen  
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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**SEOUL, South Korea** — The Yongdungpo district in Seoul, popularized by Bob Hope for Korean War-era GIs in an "I left my heart" tune, votes today in a by-election that is viewed as a test of strength between President Roh Tae-woo and his chief rival, Kim Dae-jung.

Corrupt politicians, bottle-throwing thugs and accused North Korean spies are all part of the cast of characters in the district by-election. The outcome of today's vote in the west Seoul district of Yongdungpo-B is seen as a crucial test of a fierce

political war between Mr. Roh's Democratic Justice Party and the main opposition Party for Peace and Democracy led by Mr. Kim.

As the legal campaign period of 18 days ended yesterday, the rival parties traded accusations of dirty tricks, vote buying, slander and illegal electioneering.

Some 100 local election officials are monitoring the campaign to prevent a repeat of the April 1988 fraud by the government candidate that invalidated his victory.

But traditional vote-wooing methods die hard and the Seoul Election Management Committee has filed complaints of illegal campaigning

by four of the six candidates in the race, raising the possibility that the outcome could again be declared void.

Joint stumping sessions have featured fistfights and bottle-throwing between groups of "supporters" mobilized by the main parties.

Election Management officials have called on the ruling DJP to explain why Mr. Roh apparently violated the election laws by sending letters to potential voters appealing for support for candidate Rha Woong-bae, a former deputy prime minister.

The Reunification Democratic Party of Kim Young-sam has threat-

ened to call for Mr. Roh's impeachment by the opposition-dominated National Assembly on grounds that he violated the neutrality requirement.

The government sees the by-election as a substitute for the vote of confidence Mr. Roh promised during his 1987 presidential campaign but dropped this year, claiming it would cause political "instability."

In its all-out drive to ensure victory at the polls, the DJP has launched a major attack against Kim Dae-jung and his PPD.

Prosecutors investigating the case of a lawmaker from Mr. Kim's

party, who has admitted secretly visiting communist North Korea last year and is accused of accepting \$50,000 from Pyongyang officials, have publicly accused Mr. Kim of lying to authorities and being an accessory to espionage.

Last-minute campaign swipes yesterday included a DJP charge that the PPD had spread leaflets slandering its candidate and had leaked a purported public opinion poll that put the PPD man ahead of the pack.

The PPD countered with a charge that the cash-heavy DJP was handing out "white envelopes" containing cash to undecided voters.

The six candidates are the DJP's Mr. Rha, the PPD's Lee Yong-hee, Park Sang-woong of the New Democratic Republican Party, Lee Wonbum of the Reunification Democratic Party and two independents — Ko Young-koo and Kim Hyung-joo.

Regional antagonism is a major factor in Korean voting patterns. Analysts say that the recent North Korea spy accusations against Kim Dae-jung have boosted his already strong support in the southwestern Cholla provinces, his home region. About 30 percent of the 170,000 voters are immigrants to Seoul from North and South Cholla provinces.

# South Korea's Plan To Devalue Won Sparks U.S. Worry

8/2/89

By EDUARDO LACHICA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—South Korea's apparent intention to devalue its currency is reviving concern here about whether Seoul will continue to reduce its trade surplus with the U.S.

South Korean Trade and Industry Minister Han Sung Soo said Seoul should lower the won's exchange rate against the dollar 3% to 5%. Such a move would be a setback to the U.S., which has been pressing South Korea and other developing Asian nations to raise the value of their currencies, which Washington insists have been kept artificially low.

"The newly industrialized countries, particularly South Korea and Taiwan, have come a long way, and they now should shoulder more of the burden [of trade adjustments] rather than push it off to other countries," a Treasury spokesman said.

In response to U.S. pressure, Seoul raised the won's value against the dollar 15.8% in 1988 and 2.5% so far this year. That made South Korean exports relatively more expensive, and U.S. exports relatively cheaper, thus helping to bring down the South Korean trade surplus with the U.S.

Mr. Han's statement on the won, coupled with a call by South Korean President Roh Tae Woo for a new export push, appeared to signal the start of a retreat from that accommodative position, but U.S. reaction was somewhat muted.

Bush administration officials recognize that President Roh is under severe domestic pressures to recast his economic thinking. Seoul's overall trade surplus for the first seven months of this year has shrunk to \$166 million from \$3.79 billion the year before, and South Korean opposition leaders are blaming the country's skidding trade performance on Mr. Roh's concessions to the U.S. At the same time, South Korean industries are demanding more incentives to sell overseas.

Weaker exports and higher consumer demand in South Korea combined to reduce the country's trade surplus with the U.S. to \$2.4 billion in the first six months of this year from \$5.8 billion in the equivalent period in 1988. The U.S. wouldn't necessarily object to a resurgence of Korean exports, but it would be concerned if that wasn't accompanied by a progressive elimination of barriers to U.S. products, a State Department spokesman warned.

U.S. trade analysts said the proposed 3% to 5% devaluation wouldn't completely offset the substantial rise in the value of the won against the dollar over the past two years. South Korea's earlier concessions on the won were believed to have been a factor in the Bush administration's decision against including it on a list of countries to be investigated under the so-called Super 301 provision of the 1988 trade act. However, Seoul may come under intense U.S. trade pressures if it reverses its exchange-rate policy.

Minister Han, for his part, cited a study by the Korean Development Institute, a government research group, that said the won is now overvalued 4% to 10% against the dollar and other major currencies. U.S. officials, however, believe the won is still undervalued.

# South Korea Indicts Opposition Leader

*Government's Move Against Kim Dae Jung Fuels Worsening Political Tensions in Seoul*

By Peter Maass  
Special to The Washington Post

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SEOUL, Aug. 25—The government, in a move certain to fuel political tensions here, today indicted opposition leader Kim Dae Jung on charges tied to another legislator's illegal visit to North Korea.

The prosecutor's office formally charged Kim and two senior members of his political party of failing to inform authorities of lawmaker Suh Kyung Won's secret trip to archenemy North Korea. Kim is also charged with breaking a foreign-exchange law involving \$10,000 he allegedly received from Suh. Suh is said to have obtained the money from a North Korean official in Pyongyang, apparently without Kim's knowledge.

A trial date has not been set, and Kim, who bitterly denounced the charges, will remain at liberty in the meantime. He reportedly faces a jail term of up to seven years.

The surprising decision to charge Kim reflects the continuing atmosphere of confrontation between the government of President Roh Tae Woo and the opposition. Moreover, the deepening hostility toward Kim, who leads the country's largest opposition party, indicates that South Korea's shaky process of democratization may be grinding to a halt, some experts said.

The prosecutor's announcement of the indictment against Kim, 64, returns him to familiar political territory. When South Korea was under military rule, he spent seven years in jail as the country's best-known campaigner for democracy. He was convicted in 1976 and 1980 on anti-state charges, which were widely condemned by human rights activists and Western governments, including the United States, and was once sentenced to death.

Kim told supporters today that he has "nothing to fear" and would "squarely face trial."

"I believe Roh's regime, which has fabricated



Kim Dae Jung, indicted on charges linked to a colleague's trip to Pyongyang, denies wrongdoing.

charges against me, knows it can't win in court," Kim told members of his Party for Peace and Democracy. "So I suspect the regime may not put me on trial even if I have been indicted."

Kim also accused the government of turning back the clock on democratic reforms made in South Korea since 1987, when massive protests forced the military-backed government of then-president Chun Doo Hwan to accept direct presidential elections. Roh, the ruling party candidate, won because the opposition vote was split among three candidates.

In a sign of the political changes here since

then, the disgraced Chun now lives in internal exile at a remote Buddhist temple, while the man his government condemned to death—Kim—is the key figure in the opposition-controlled National Assembly.

Despite Roh's pledge to proceed with democratization, signs of political backtracking have emerged. The jails are again filling with hundreds of political prisoners, mostly people accused of contacting communist North Korea. The government has prevented many prisoners from having a lawyer present during interrogation.

Suh was not permitted a lawyer during interrogation. After he signed a confession that implicated Kim, Suh was allowed to meet with lawyers, who said he retracted the confession.

The lawyers quoted Suh as saying he had been deprived of sleep and forced to stand during non-stop questioning by agents from the National Security Planning Agency, formerly called the Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

The government's case against Kim appears to rest mainly on Suh's retracted confession. Although government officials have insisted the prosecution is doing its job independently, political experts said the law is being applied selectively for political reasons.

One charge—that Kim delayed reporting the lawmaker's trip for two months after he learned of it—is based on a provision of the National Security Law that even ruling party officials have said should be amended. In a report this month, the prosecution also said South Korea's Roman Catholic cardinal knew of Suh's secret trip, but the cardinal is not being prosecuted.

The other charge—failure to deposit the alleged \$10,000 in a bank or convert it to South Korean currency—is a minor and usually overlooked violation committed daily by businessmen who deal in large amounts of dollars. Prosecutors have conceded that Kim probably did not know the money came from North Korea.

also president of the Korea Assn. of Obstetricians and Gynecologists.

"Biologically, I simply can't accept that," he declares. The only assumption that can be made, he says, is that unrecorded adoptions inflate the statistics of families with children and create an exaggerated fertility rate.

Careful screening by adoption agencies and their inability to meet a long list of specifications that Korean couples typically have make adoption through agencies cumbersome.

First, Korean couples "absolutely favor a male to assume the family inheritance," Kim says. "By

long tradition, a son carries on the family lineage"—which many Koreans trace back more than 70 generations, he says. "Daughters are only sort of 'half-family.'"

So strong is the Confucian preference for sons that abortion of female fetuses has become a social problem, according to Dr. Hong. One gynecologist in Taegu has become so proficient in helping pregnant women abort female fetuses that boys born in South Korea's third-largest city outnumbered girls by an extraordinary ratio of 130 to 100 in 1985, says Hong.

Korean couples also demand that

the blood type of the babies they adopt match their own, place high priority on good looks, insist that the baby be healthy, and demand a newly born infant—"within a week of birth so that they can fool those around them," Kim says.

Couples even insist that the baby have a "good background," he says, with some insisting on a child of a college-educated mother.

"We tell Korean couples that raising a child is not romantic—that they should be prepared to make sacrifices. But after we say this to them, only one or two of every 10 come back," Kim says.

In addition, adoption agencies

offer only one baby on a "take-it-or-leave-it" basis and do not allow a couple to choose from a selection.

All of the bureaucracy at an adoption agency, however, can be avoided by a doctor or a midwife "asking around and finding a baby to meet the specifications of a couple willing to pay," Kim says.

Another reason Kim suspects that illegal adoptions are on the rise is that "unwed mothers no longer come to adoption agencies for help." Babies born out of wedlock account for between 70% and 80% of children classified as "abandoned" and constitute virtually all of Korea's "orphans."

Communist North Korea's propaganda exploitation of the "orphan exports" issue as well as unsubstantiated charges that adoption agencies here "sell" babies for profit overseas have made the subject an extraordinarily sensitive one. Officials of three of the five adoption agencies, as well as bureaucrats at the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, refused requests for interviews.

There is one element in the adoption picture in South Korea on which agreement is widespread. No one is trying to promote domestic adoptions of mixed-blood children.

With widespread discrimination—even the government rejects them for military service—there is no possibility of finding homes for racially mixed children without a home, says Cho of the Holy Family Catholic Adoption Agency.

**Keeping Them Home****Orphan — A Shame Fades in S. Korea**By SAM JAMESON,  
Times Staff Writer

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SEOUL—In the wake of a surge of pride after the 1988 Seoul Olympics, South Korea has discovered a new national shame.

Decades after a war that created thousands of homeless children and the ensuing poverty that made it impossible to find them homes in their native land, South Korea remains one of the world's leading exporters of "orphans." Its deep-rooted Confucian beliefs that work against adoption have been barely affected.

Indeed, more than half of all foreign children adopted in the United States come from South Korea.

But now, with national per-capita income approaching \$5,000 a year, the government has declared, publicly for the first time, that it intends to seek change.

**'For Sake of the Image'**

"For the sake of the image of the nation, which has achieved notable economic development, it is time for us to depend on domestic, rather than foreign, adoption," the minister of health and social welfare declared early this year in launching a campaign to embrace parentless children at home.

Income-tax breaks are now being offered to make adopting more attractive. Adoption agencies that once specialized in overseas placements of children are being encouraged—some say coerced—to seek adoptive parents in South Korea.

And, perhaps most significantly, a government-led campaign has been launched to change the Confucian mentality against "orphans"—a word used by Koreans to include both children whose parents are dead and those who have no legal parent.

**Confucian Emphasis**

The Confucian emphasis on the importance of the family and upholding its generation-to-generation continuation through an unbroken blood line has made adoption an alien idea to many Koreans, who have resisted bringing up children who are not directly related to them.

As a result, Koreans for years viewed overseas adoption as a "positive" program that benefited unfortunate children who otherwise would find no homes, Moon Tai Joon told the Korea Herald in an interview early this year before he was replaced as minister of health and social welfare in a Cabinet reshuffle.

Now, the rallying call is what Cho Yong Won, director of the newly established Holy Family Catholic Adoption Agency, summarizes this way: "We should solve our own problem with our own hands."

Since 1954, the year after the Korean War ended, 109,579 children have been sent overseas for adoption—63% of them to the United States—while only 24,317 have been adopted at home, the Health and Welfare Ministry acknowledged in October, 1988, when it announced adoption statistics for the first time.

Moreover, most of the foreign adoptions occurred not in the days of poverty but in the last eight years, during which South Korea has risen to relative affluence, the ministry admitted.

So deep is the Confucian ethic against adoption that even Roman Catholics are affected "deep in their hearts," said Father Choi Song Un, chairman of the Catholic Social Welfare Promotion Commission.

Even worse, in a society which demands marriage and procreation as a "badge" of full manhood or womanhood, the act of adoption itself is viewed as a disgrace for couples unable to have children.

Couples who do decide to adopt often keep it a secret from their own parents. They might even set a date well in advance to accept a newborn baby—so that the wife can pretend to be pregnant for an appropriate period. Some couples, unfettered by parental scrutiny, nevertheless time the adoption to coincide with a move into a new neighborhood to make such pretense unnecessary.

Although the new government-led campaign has yet to produce quantifiable results, social changes that began to take root several years ago appear to be reducing the number of parentless children adopted overseas.

If the present rate of decline continues, all overseas adoptions will come to a halt within three years, predicts Kim Young Hee, executive director of the Korean Social Service, one of the licensed adoption agencies.

**Fewer Adoptable Babies**

The thrust for change is coming less from a surge in Koreans' willingness to adopt through standard procedures than from a drastic drop in the number of children officially recorded as abandoned. Their numbers, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare said, fell sharply by 36% to 9,136 last year from 14,230 in 1985, with a plunge of 4,000 occurring in 1988 alone.

In the last 12 months, "the number of babies available for adoption has dropped by more than 50%," Kim said, adding that until two years ago, "we never had difficulty securing babies for adoption."

A rapidly rising level of education in South Korea has made women more aware of the availability of abortions. Economic gains have brought abortions within reach of even the poor. The increasing practice of birth control, meanwhile, has reduced the rate of pregnancy itself. And average couples, who used to have four or five children, now have only two, diminishing the economic burden of child-rearing.

Although overseas adoptions fell 27% to 6,463 in 1988 from a peak of 8,837 in 1985, domestic adoptions have remained constant at about 2,300 a year. Too few Korean couples seek to adopt even the diminishing number of "orphans," adoption agency officials Cho and Kim said.

**Mentality Changing**

"Only recently has Korean mentality begun to change," Cho says.

Experts, however, say they suspect that the statistics do not reflect a complete picture of what is actually happening.

Legally, South Korean couples must go through licensed adoption agencies to adopt a child. Parents, however, are not required to present a birth certificate or any other document when registering a baby with government authorities, a situation that makes illegal adoptions easier. Doctors and midwives also do not report births.

Furthermore, unlike neighboring Japan, where the "stigma" of adoption becomes part of the official registration, no trace remains on Korean records. Only the adoption agencies keep records, which are confidential.

**Illicit Means Utilized**

Koreans, therefore, are free to obtain babies through illicit means—such as arrangements made through clinics or midwives who deliver babies of unwed mothers, Kim says. Although admitting he has no evidence, Kim says he suspects that an increase in surreptitious domestic adoptions is accounting for at least part of the sudden reduction in the number of officially recorded abandoned children.

"Otherwise, where are the babies going?" he asks.

With the government trying to promote birth control and cut down "orphan exports," enforcement of the legalities involving both abortion and adoption is notably lax.

Dr. Hong Sung Bong, chairman of the obstetrics and gynecology department at the College of Medicine at Korea University says deductive evidence exists to show that many Koreans, indeed, do take other people's children as their own without going through legal procedures and have been doing it for years.

South Korea's sterility rate—the percentage of couples unable to have children—is about 4.5%, compared with 12% to 15% in the United States, says Hong, who is

# Korea's Liberal-Trade Drive Is Sputtering

Business, Fearing Slowdown,  
Urges Seoul to Abandon  
Policies of Technocrats

53/165/185  
By DAMON DARLIN

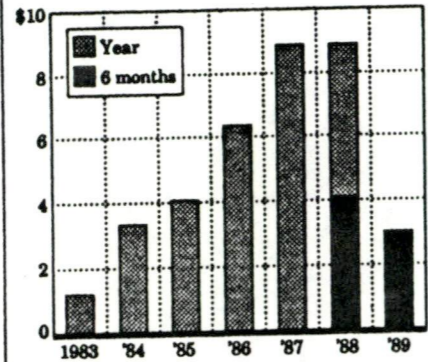
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
SEOUL, South Korea — Last spring, Trade and Industry Minister Han Seung Soo convinced the U.S. that Korea was liberalizing trade sufficiently to warrant its exclusion from the Bush administration list of nations practicing unfair trade. The British-trained former economics professor was an articulate spokesman for Korean economic planners who believed their nation had to stop playing the export-is-everything trade game.

But now, Mr. Han is advocating a huge new export push and a depreciation of Korea's currency against the dollar, the opposite of what U.S. trade officials wanted.

The change in Mr. Han's public views reflects the strains in Korea's trade policy-making circles. Business leaders and conservative politicians are urging the government to backtrack from the technocrats' prescriptions because they think the economy is stalling. Thus, Korea's commitment to trade liberalization is wavering as many

## U.S. Trade Deficit With South Korea

In billions of dollars



Source: Commerce Department

of its best advocates, the Western-educated technocrats, find their opinions challenged and their influence waning.

The impact of policy debate is far-reaching:

—Korea has launched an export drive, with President Roh Tae Woo exhorting his compatriots in a recent radio address to "turn our eyes to exports." Government aid may be given to certain kinds of exporters. Korea has dispatched six missions around the world to sell Korean products

and invited 10 buying missions from abroad, twice the scheduled number.

—Korea, which has never welcomed imports of manufactured goods, is beginning to discourage them. The Trade Ministry is reconsidering plans to cut excise taxes on certain products, such as large cars or golf clubs, and is shelving plans to aid import businesses. The American Chamber of Commerce complains customs officials are obstructing U.S. goods.

—Korean businessmen are urging the government to depreciate the won against the dollar, reversing a trend, to make exported Korea goods cheaper in the U.S. They also want lower interest rates. The Bank of Korea and Ministry of Finance oppose both proposals as inflationary.

### Poor Timing

The timing of the policy dispute couldn't be worse. Korea's trade practices will come under scrutiny this month and next as the U.S. secretary of commerce and the U.S. trade representative, both trade hard-liners, travel to Korea, and as Korea's President Roh visits the U.S. "It is a serious problem," says Kim Chung Soo, a trade economist with the Korea Institute for Economics and Technology. "I think the trade policy is in chaos and it could head in any direction."

Many Koreans say action is needed to counter the deterioration of the country's

trade performance. With exports up only 5% but imports climbing 19%, Korea's trade balance swung into a deficit for the first eight months of this year. Imports of consumer products are up more than 30% over last year and some "luxury" items, such as electronic home appliances, have recorded triple-digit increases.

Technocrats argue it isn't all that bad. Domestic demand is leading the economy, and economic growth will be 7.5% this year and next, down from the 12%-plus annual growth of the past three years but robust compared with rates in most of the industrialized world. "It's a problem, not a crisis," says a top official at the Economic Planning Board. Adds Koo Bon Ho, president of the Korea Development Institute: "We should be cautious, but we shouldn't be in a panic. The important role of the technocrat is to hang on to his beliefs."

But Korea has little patience these days. Strikes have disrupted production and raised labor costs 60% in three years. The won has appreciated 30% in the same period, squeezing exporters even more.

### Role of Democracy

Korea's move toward democracy complicates matters. In authoritarian times, the leaders could make decisions with less concern about how it plays in Pusan. But the government has less stability than it wants because the president's party doesn't control the National Assembly, because workers are angry and because students and dissidents are constantly testing the government's patience. "We are tread-

ing on a very delicate tightrope," says a presidential adviser.

President Roh wants a robust economy, hoping good times will quell unrest by insuring jobs for graduating students, adequate raises for workers and optimism for the middle class. His heightened sensitivity to political pressures is giving business interests the upper hand over the technocrats for the time being, despite the latter's stellar track record at managing the Korean economy.

Many economic planners say politics is why Trade Minister Han is advocating views that seem at odds with those of formerly like-minded technocrats, such as Deputy Prime Minister Cho Soon, who trained at the University of California at Berkeley and taught economics at Seoul National University with Mr. Han. In fact, just last April, Mr. Han said of himself and Mr. Cho, who also runs the Economic Planning Board, "Without seeing him I know what he is thinking and he knows what I am thinking."

Says a top government official who puts himself in the pro-liberalization camp, "Dr. Han is still dedicated to those principles. But at this moment, he can't argue for liberalization when he represents business. I can understand what he did." Adds Mr. Kim of the Korea Institute for Economics and Technology, "They seemed to have the same voice because all the economic signs were good. They could afford to have the same voice."

## Telecommunications Talks

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
SEOUL, South Korea—Trade talks between South Korea and the U.S. on telecommunications got off to a slow start.

An official at the Korean Ministry of Communications said the two sides failed to reach an agreement yesterday on the first day of a two-day meeting here on U.S. demands for improved access to the Korean market.

Although South Korea managed to keep off the U.S. list of unfair-trading countries, the Bush administration is pushing Seoul to liberalize its telecommunications market.

# Kim Dae Jung's Indictment Raises Fears of New Repression in Korea

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By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea, Sept. 7 — The recent indictment of South Korea's most prominent opposition figure on charges of violating national security laws has spread bitterness in political circles and raised new concerns among many Koreans about the Government's actions to suppress dissent.

The opposition politician, Kim Dae Jung, who was indicted last month, has not been imprisoned and remains free to conduct business as president of the Party of Peace and Democracy, the largest political party in the National Assembly. Indeed, officials say privately that he is unlikely to be jailed, even if found guilty.

But Mr. Kim and other opposition politicians are citing the indictment as evidence that President Roh Tae Woo is not as committed as many people once thought to fostering free expression while South Korea makes its transition to democracy after decades of authoritarian military rule.

## 'Reverting to Old Habits'

"The motivation for this indictment is very simple," Mr. Kim said in an interview. "Roh Tae Woo is reverting to old habits. He is determined to destroy our party and myself. That's why they have fabricated these charges against me."

The United States has kept silent on

the indictment. But American officials were described as uneasy about the charges, which a Western diplomat described as "flimsy" and others said appeared to be an effort to intimidate some in the opposition.

American officials are also understood to be concerned that the Government has arrested hundreds of dissidents in recent months on other violations of national security laws, in some cases for possessing "subversive" literature or because of links to suspected dissidents.

## Evidence Described as Strong

Under President Chun Doo Hwan, the Government initiated democratic changes in 1987 in response to a wave of anti-Government protests. Mr. Roh, a former army general who was Mr. Chun's handpicked successor, then won the presidential election with 37 percent of the vote against a divided opposition. The timing of Mr. Kim's indictment is especially delicate because Mr. Roh plans to visit President Bush at the White House next month.

Aides to Mr. Roh defend the indictment, saying the evidence is strong that Mr. Kim had, perhaps unwittingly, become dangerously involved with politicians and dissidents who have developed ties with North Korea, which remains in a state of war with South Korea.

"This indictment places no restrictions on Kim's activities," said Hyur Hong Choo, Minister of Legislation in Mr. Roh's Cabinet. "It does not lessen our support for an independent judiciary and a free press. But frankly, the prosecution has a good case against him."

At its heart is the disclosure in June that a legislator in Mr. Kim's party, Suh Kyong Won, made a secret illegal trip to North Korea in 1988. The indictment charges that Mr. Kim failed to report the trip as soon as he learned about it, and also accepted \$10,000 from North Korea, handed over by Mr. Suh.

The disclosure about Mr. Suh's trip had an explosive effect in a country that has deeply mixed feelings toward its northern neighbor, on the one hand yearning for reunification and reconciliation, on the other nurturing deep anxiety about Pyongyang's motivations.

## No Thaw in Relations

Earlier this year, there was much talk of warmer relations with North Korea, but lately Mr. Roh's Government has asserted that Pyongyang wants reconciliation only on its own terms, which include demands for immediate expulsion of the 44,000 American troops from South Korea.

In addition, the Government feels North Korea has been behind a wave of strikes, anti-Government riots and other disruptions of recent months. Spokesmen for dissident groups say that more than 900 people have been arrested in the resulting Government crackdown.

The Government said Mr. Kim's indictment was based in part on a confession from Mr. Suh. But Mr. Suh recanted his confession, saying he was tortured by being deprived of sleep and forced to stand for five days.

Mr. Kim is no stranger to arrest, imprisonment and worse in South Korea. He spent six years in jail, seven years under house arrest and three years in voluntary exile, and survived several attempts on his life before returning to South Korea in 1985 to work for changing the system.

His party draws strength from militant workers and students, but Mr. Kim often proclaims his own opposition to violence, Communism and anti-Americanism. He asserts that he got no money from Mr. Suh and knew nothing of his trip until June, when his party quickly reported it to the authorities.

But even some politicians friendly to Mr. Kim feel that he blundered by not cooperating with investigators when they initially summoned him to ask about Mr. Suh's trip. They say Mr. Kim should have concentrated on rebutting the charges instead of issuing sweeping condemnations of the Government.

## An Impasse in the Assembly

The indictment also marks a rupture between President Roh and the opposition in the National Assembly, which up to now has cooperated with the Government in many ways.

Mr. Kim and other opposition leaders, for example, supported Mr. Roh's decision not to have a midterm referendum on his policies and have generally asked for patience among their supporters to let the President prove himself in office.

But there has been a persistent stalemate between the opposition, which commands the majority in the National Assembly, and Mr. Roh over how far to go in dismantling the old police state apparatus and laws, including the national security laws under which Mr. Kim was indicted.

In addition, the impasse is over whom to punish for the excesses of the past, particularly the Kwangju massacre of 1980, in which hundreds died as the police and army troops crushed a student rebellion. Mr. Chun, a general who took power in a military coup in 1979 and assumed the presidency in 1980, is widely held responsible for the Kwangju killings. Mr. Roh, because of his close ties to Mr. Chun and his own background as a military officer, is still regarded with suspicion by dissidents and student radicals.

Aides to Mr. Roh acknowledge that the indictment was intended to send Mr. Kim a general message not to be so cozy with student militants demanding an overthrow of the Government, and to cooperate more in negotiations on redressing old grievances and revising the national security laws.

# Seoul Is Opening Up, But Its Jails Are Still Full

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

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**E**VEN before the end of the Seoul Olympics last year, which raised Koreans' hopes for progress and stability, leaders here fretted about a potential post-Games letdown. Today the euphoria of that time is long gone, and South Korea is struggling with the shadows of its authoritarian past and lurching fitfully in its transition to democracy after decades of military rule.

As in the past, the challenges facing South Korea are epitomized by the state of its jails. This spring and summer, less than 18 months after President Roh Tae Woo released hundreds of political prisoners in his first gesture toward a more open society, the country faced a wave of sometimes violent strikes, student protests and anti-Government actions, including unauthorized trips to North Korea by leftist dissidents.

Despite the widespread view that this opposition posed only a mild threat to stability, Mr. Roh responded with a crackdown on militant dissent that has filled jails with as many political detainees as were imprisoned before he took office in early 1988. The jailings, in turn, have created new concern about Mr. Roh's commitment to due process and free institutions.

Mr. Roh's crackdown culminated last month with the indictment of Kim Dae Jung, the most prominent opposition leader, on charges of violating national security laws. Mr. Kim, who was one of Mr. Roh's opponents in the 1987 election, remains free and his frequent denunciations of

the Government are widely publicized. But human rights groups say that perhaps 800 dissidents, some of them avowedly radical leftists, are waiting in prison for their day in court.

"There has been a true conservative backlash that makes everyone a little nervous about the future," a Western diplomat said.

Mr. Roh's advisers dismiss the concern that democracy is endangered. They assert that the National Assembly is functioning vigorously with Mr. Kim's party in the dominant position, and that freedom of the press and the independence of the judiciary are respected. "Seoul Plaza is not Tiananmen Square," an aide to Mr. Roh said. "To return to the old ways is impossible."

Nevertheless, Mr. Roh's actions were a reminder that although a democratically elected government is in place, many trappings of democracy have yet to be institutionalized. A free press prints criticism of the Government, but many Korean oppositionists feel that newspapers still reflect the conservatism of their owners.

## Showcasing Progress

This autumn was supposed to have been a season in which South Korea would showcase its recent progress. Vice President Dan Quayle is due for a visit later this month, followed by Pope John Paul II in October. Then, Mr. Roh is to visit Washington. United States officials say recent events in South Korea are unlikely to disrupt the exchanges, but they are worried that the situation could deteriorate. Political stability is essential if there is to be any serious discussion of possible reductions in the 44,000 American troops

stationed here. Sentiment is rising in Washington for such decreases, or at least for demands that Seoul pay more of their expenses.

Only six months ago, the atmosphere was far less contentious, as opposition leaders urged their supporters to give Mr. Roh time to fulfill his campaign promises. There was even talk, unthinkable a year or two ago, of a possible political alliance between Mr. Roh and the opposition.

But in the spring, an impasse developed over disagreements on several matters, such as how to handle the legacy of South Korea's authoritarian past. An especially delicate subject was the placement of blame for the 1980 massacre in Kwangju, in which hundreds were said to have died as the army and security police suppressed a student rebellion. The opposition demanded that Mr. Roh purge his Government of several people involved in the Kwangju action, but the President apparently felt he could not do so without angering his right-wing backers.

Even some Roh supporters concede that he may indeed have overstepped himself in the crackdown. But they also argue that the success or failure of the Roh Government will rest on other issues. Some say that South Korea's booming economy and rapid industrialization are creating wider and wider disparities, and they maintain that economic deprivation ought to be their most important concern.

"In the past 30 years, we have moved from absolute poverty to unevenly distributed prosperity," said Jei Jeong Gu, chairman of the Progressive Political Movement, an independent group. Thus, organized labor is becoming more militant, land prices are soaring, housing is in short supply, and slums are spreading.

Both the Government and the opposition have proposals to deal with such things, and at one point it seemed that the National Assembly would agree on sweeping reforms this year. But for now, all bets for cooperation are off. Political experts say that South Koreans will have to move beyond their fixation with protests and arrests and get down to providing economic benefits as the best means to assure stability.

BILL TAYLOR / PIERS LUDLOW 135 / 140

## Not the time to lack an envoy

The United States urgently needs an ambassador to South Korea. Many months after the last ambassador left to take up the same post in China, the Senate is still delaying its approval of Donald Gregg, the Bush administration's nominee.

On June 20, after lengthy scrutiny, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations determined that Mr. Gregg's extensive professional background and knowledge of Korea outweighed his alleged involvement in the Iran-Contra affair. Despite this decision, his formal confirmation is still languishing on the Senate floor.

At a time when the president's "political appointments" to ambassadorial posts worldwide are being questioned, it seems ludicrous that the confirmation of a highly qual-

*Bill Taylor is the vice president, public policy programs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Piers Ludlow is a research analyst there.*

ified professional is being held up. Worse yet, at a time of considerable change in the Far East, and evolution of the Korean/U.S. ties in particular, this delay is unjustifiable and potentially damaging.

It would be wrong to overdramatize the state of U.S./Korean relations in terms of crisis. Nevertheless, the situation on the Korean peninsula and, indeed the balance of power in the Far East in general, are in a state of flux presenting both dangers and opportunities. This is not the time for the U.S. voice in Seoul to be dimmed by failure to appoint a new ambassador.

The Soviet role in the region is changing. Since Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok in July 1986, the Soviet "charm offensive" in Europe has been matched by efforts in East Asia. Most significantly, this has led to the Sino-Soviet rapprochement — in itself an important evolution for

the Korean peninsula — but the Soviets have also signaled an interest in improving their relations with South Korea.

The recent opening of a Soviet trade mission in Seoul is a clear indication that the establishment of formal diplomatic ties is not out of the question. It is a step that one Eastern bloc country, Hungary, has already taken.

This thaw in relations between South Korea and the communist world is not in itself harmful; the country's ties with the West remain vastly more important. It occurs, however, at a time when North-South Korean relations have taken a turn for the worse and when new strains are appearing between Washington and Seoul.

Anti-American feeling is increasingly a problem in South Korea. There are many indications that resentment toward the United States, until recently confined to student

radicals, is spreading to other, less extreme, groups. U.S. athletes participating in last September's Olympic games were given a surprisingly cool reception by the general public. And Korean farmers have recently taken to the streets to protest the lifting of import restrictions on a range of American agricultural products.

The U.S. military presence is also a renewed subject of debate. In this case, the pressure for change, for a scaling-down of the U.S. forces stationed on the peninsula comes from the U.S. Congress. Several draft bills call for a substantial reduction of U.S. military commitments in Korea. The Nunn-Warner bill, which passed, calls for a major study by the Defense Department in consultation with the South Korean government on the proposed U.S. troop reductions. The report is due within a year. Faced with severe budgetary constraints, the Bush administration

may find it difficult to resist such pressure for long. A partial withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea, despite the protests of the Seoul government, is highly likely. The diplomatic context in which U.S. military reductions are planned and executed will be crucial for U.S. South Korean relations.

A further issue of bilateral concern is the Korean purchase of new fighter aircraft. Seoul is known to favor the American-made F-16 or F-18, but given congressional opposition to the sale, the negotiations will require a high-level diplomatic professional. A failure to appoint one might result in the lucrative order falling to a European contractor.

The present is also a time of unprecedented opportunity in Korea. A combination of factors, both purely Korean and international, make reunification of the divided nation a real possibility during the next decade. South Korea is increasingly prosperous and self confident. Its population, no longer terrified of its smaller and much poorer northern neighbor, is likely to put increas-

ing pressure on its government for tangible progress toward reunification. And North Korea, trapped in economic stagnation, is greatly tempted to talk, at least, to the booming South.

No major power stands opposed to improved relations between the two Koreas. Neither the U.S.S.R. nor China are prepared to support the erratic Kim Il Sung at all costs. Indeed they would welcome a lessening of tensions in Korea. And the United States would jump at an opportunity to reduce the expensive troops that now guard the internal border. Unthinkable five years ago, Korean cross recognition and reunification before the end of the century is in the cards.

At a time of such change, Congress should not handicap our nation by endlessly procrastinating over Donald Gregg's appointment. There is no good excuse for further delay. The United States needs a strong representative in Seoul; the endless agonizing over the appointment is harming U.S. interests and should cease.

# Seoul's Roh asks one entity: Korean Commonwealth

By Michael Breen  
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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SEOUL, South Korea — President Roh Tae-woo called yesterday for the creation of a "Korean Commonwealth" as a first step toward national unification.

He urged communist North Korea to respond quickly to his proposal and suggested a summit meeting with his North Korean counterpart, President Kim Il-sung, to draw up a charter for the new loosely linked entity.

Mr. Roh asked that such a charter be drawn up before Aug. 15, 1990, the 45th anniversary of the division of the peninsula by Soviet and American forces who entered the country to end Japan's colonial dominion.

The charter would recognize that Koreans who live in both North and South are a single people — a "Korean national community" — and would proceed from that to the setting up of a commonwealth.

The South Korean president, who has been in office less than two years, has offered several such unification plans. His latest proposal was unveiled in a televised address to the National Assembly.

Mr. Kim, who has ruled North Korea since its founding as a communist state in 1948, also has proposed a loose union between North and South Korea, whose form would be a confederation and whose name would be the "Confederal Republic of Koryo."

However, while Mr. Kim envisions

the co-existence of two social systems in an eventually unified nation, a formula not too dissimilar from China's for the absorption of Hong Kong, Mr. Roh said he expects his commonwealth to pave the way for Korea's unification as a democratic republic.

"Our internal differences, strife, antagonism and divisions should be melted down in the huge melting pot of democracy in order to create a steel-like national will for unification," Mr. Roh said.

Because the Roh plan amounts to a formula for reunification on South Korean terms, observers said they doubted that the North would accept the Roh formula.

But Assistant Foreign Minister

Lee Jung-binn told reporters the prospect was not necessarily dark. He said the latest proposal marked "a significant departure" from Seoul's previous attitude to North Korean demands for arms control and other ways to alleviate military tension.

"We have taken a more positive approach," he said. "We are now ready to debate and accommodate where possible Pyongyang's demands for a non-aggression pact, withdrawal of U.S. forces from here and for a permanent peace treaty to replace the Korean truce agreement."

"All these are what we used to flatly spurn in the past, and we don't see why North Korea should object

this time."

Under Mr. Roh's proposal a newly created commonwealth would prepare a constitution and general elections for a unified Korean nation.

The new commonwealth would be administered by a Council of Presidents, a 20-member Council of Ministers headed ex-officio by the two countries' prime ministers, a 100-member Council of Representatives and a Joint Secretariat. The commonwealth headquarters would be located in a "peace zone," a site to be selected inside the DMZ.

He gave no timetable for the task, saying that his government was realistic about the extent of the mistrust and diversity between the two states.

An estimated 10 million Koreans of a total 60 million population have family members on the other side whom they have not seen since the 1950-53 Korean War. One million soldiers face one another across the narrow demilitarized border zone, with a single telephone link between the Red Cross offices in the two capitals as the only non-military line of communication.

The new plan does include two significant concessions to North Korea. Seoul has dropped its past insistence that family reunions and trade be dealt with before discussing political and military matters.

It also accepted a North Korean argument that any inter-Korean association should contain North-South representatives on an equal basis, even though South Korea's population is more than twice the North's.

# Senate Approves Gregg as Ambassador to South Korea

By SARA FRITZ,  
Times Staff Writer

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WASHINGTON—The Senate approved the nomination of Donald P. Gregg Tuesday as U.S. ambassador to South Korea, despite Democratic accusations that he had lied to cover up President Bush's alleged complicity in the Iran-Contra scandal.

The 66-33 vote for Gregg appeared to bring down the curtain on a two-year effort by Democrats to link Bush directly to the scandal. It also was a setback for Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), who led an aggressive campaign to defeat the nomination.

Cranston and other Democrats charged that Gregg, a 30-year CIA veteran who was the foreign policy adviser to Bush while he was vice president, was deeply involved in the Ronald Reagan Administration policy to provide assistance to the Nicaraguan resistance, despite legislation enacted by Congress outlawing direct U.S. aid.

Moreover, Democrats alleged that Gregg—in the words of Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.)—"lied repeatedly and brazenly, time after time" to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee when he insisted he had no knowledge of the Reagan Administration's efforts to supply the Contras without informing Congress.

Gregg's supporters argued that Democrats opposed Gregg only in an effort to dredge up the Iran-Contra scandal one more time to embarrass Bush. "That is what this was all about—get George Bush, tear him down," declared Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.).

But Cranston insisted that the opposition to Gregg had nothing to do with the scandal. "We are not



Los Angeles Times

Donald P. Gregg

eager to rehash Iran-Contra," he said. "We are not eager to raise questions about what George Bush knew about the disastrous Iran-Contra scandal and when he knew it."

Nevertheless, Gregg's opponents conceded privately that the vote was a test of whether members of the Senate supported Bush's claim that he knew nothing about the scandal before it became public knowledge.

And while Democrats were skeptical of Gregg's contention that neither he nor Bush knew about it, they were unable to find any irrefutable evidence linking either man directly to the Iran-Contra affair.

Cranston argued that the Bush Administration had thwarted Senate efforts to get to the bottom of

the controversy by refusing to provide classified government documents that could have shed new light on the roles of Gregg and Bush.

Senate requests for documents were turned down by the National Security Council, the CIA and the State Department. In addition, former White House aide Oliver L. North refused to comply with a committee subpoena for the relevant pages from handwritten notebooks he kept.

Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Me.) said that he—like many of his fellow Democrats—found Gregg's testimony "highly implausible" and even "incredible."

Gregg told the Senate committee that he "never discussed the Contras" with Bush, nor was he aware of the illegal supply operation—even though he talked frequently with North and others who were deeply involved in it.

In addition, as Democrats frequently noted, the nominee suggested that his aide and his secretary had meant to write the word "copters"—meaning helicopters—instead of the word "Contras" that appeared on two briefing papers for Bush. Mitchell described Gregg's explanation as "pathetic" and Cranston called it a "comical theory."

"What does he take the Senate for and what do we take him for?"

asked Gore. "Are we to seriously accept a baldfaced presentation of that kind? It's absurd on its face."

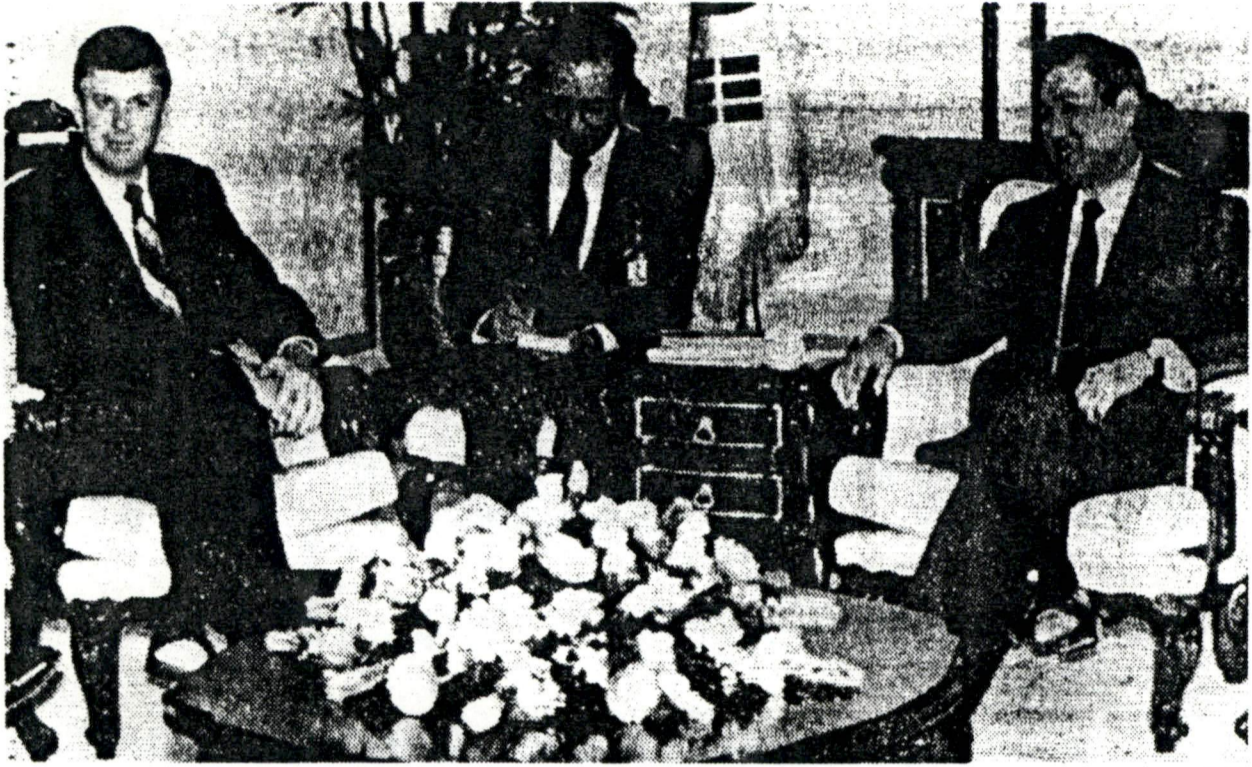
Democrats also questioned Gregg's testimony that he never discussed the resupply of the Contras with his friend and former CIA colleague, Felix Rodriguez, who was deeply involved in the effort and frequently visited Bush's vice presidential office. Neither he nor Rodriguez could explain handwritten notes that Gregg made on the subject during a meeting he had with Rodriguez.

Gregg also insisted that even after he discussed the resupply with Rodriguez in August, 1986, he did not report it to Bush. He said that Bush did not learn about it until the vice president read a New York Times story based on an interview with Gregg in December, 1986.

Democrats argued that even if Gregg were telling the truth about his knowledge of the Iran-Contra scandal, he had demonstrated a faulty judgment by failing to recognize that the Administration was involved in an illegal resupply operation and by failing to report it to Bush.

"Either he was too clever to get caught, or too naive to know what was going on under his nose," Gore said.

But Gregg's supporters insist that the nominee would never have allowed illegal activity by top government officials to go unchallenged, if he had known about it. Republicans defended the nominee's reputation as a highly experienced public servant whose previous experience as a CIA official in South Korea would enable him to be an excellent ambassador.



REUTERS

Vice President Quayle and South Korean President Roh Tae Woo holding talks at the presidential residence in Seoul.

## Quayle Reassures S. Koreans on U.S. Troops

By Peter Maass  
Special to The Washington Post

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SEOUL, Sept. 20—Vice President Quayle today reassured South Korea's leadership that the Bush Administration would oppose any congressional attempt to reduce the U.S. troop presence here unilaterally.

In separate meetings with South Korea's president and opposition leaders, Quayle said the administration believes the military threat from North Korea is undiminished, according to U.S. and South Korean officials who briefed reporters. The vice president, who is to visit the Demilitarized Zone separating the two Koreas on Thursday, also criticized the Soviet Union for supplying the North with advanced fighter jets and other weapons.

"This seems to be a strange way for the Soviet Union to demonstrate

'new thinking' in foreign affairs," he said in a speech to South Korean newspaper editors. Echoing previous administration statements, he added, "North Korea retains an extraordinary willingness to use force and terrorism against the South. Hence the rationale behind the American deterrent is as strong as ever."

The vice president, starting an 11-day Asian trip that includes stops in Japan, the Philippines and Malaysia, shied away from criticizing a government crackdown on South Koreans who seek to promote independent dialogue with North Korea. Human rights activists contend that South Korea's shaky transition to democracy has been thrown off course by the recent jailing of hundreds of students, unionists and dissidents.

Quayle focused on the U.S.-South Korean security relationship, but his aides said there were no sub-

stantive talks on several key topics. Those include South Korea's plan to purchase new U.S. fighter jets, its demand that Washington pay for a costly move of the U.S. military headquarters and a possible change in the military command structure that gives a U.S. general operational control over most South Korean forces.

South Korea's three main opposition leaders joined President Roh Tae Woo today in opposing troop cuts, which some members of the U.S. Congress have urged. Kim Dae Jung, leader of the largest opposition party, told Quayle that cuts should not be considered until political stability is achieved between Seoul and Pyongyang, according to a South Korean official who briefed reporters. Kim Young Sam, leader of the second-largest opposition party, warned that a partial troop reduction would send the wrong message to North Korea.

# Quayle Stresses N. Korea Military Threat

By DAVID LAUTER, Times Staff Writer 10/1/85

SEOUL—Praising South Korea's "political transformation and movement toward democracy," Vice President Dan Quayle emphasized the military threat posed by North Korea and soft-pedaled concerns over continuing human rights violations in the south as he met Wednesday with government and opposition party officials.

"The North Korean military establishment is larger than ever," Quayle told members of the Korean Newspaper Editors Assn. in a speech.

In particular, he said, Moscow in the recent has strengthened North Korea by sending it advanced aircraft. The rationale for the continued presence of U.S. troops here, he said, "is as strong as ever."

South Korea was the first stop on a four-nation tour of Asia that will also take Quayle to Japan, the Philippines and Malaysia before he returns to Washington next week. Before leaving today for Tokyo, Quayle plans to visit the demilitarized zone between the two Koreas to review U.S. and South Korean troops.

Quayle's tone here reflected the Bush Administration's policy of avoiding public confrontation with other nations over human rights issues as well as his own deep suspicion of Soviet military intentions. Although U.S. Embassy officials have expressed private concern over the human rights situation here, the Administration

has carefully avoided any public criticism of President Roh Tae Woo and his government.

Roh, Quayle said in his speech, has "successfully ushered in democratic reforms" and shown "moderation in the face of radical violence that seems designed to provoke overreaction."

Korean opposition leaders have questioned that moderation, charging that in recent months Roh's government has turned toward a more repressive course. They cite figures made public Tuesday by a committee of the Korean National Assembly that show a sharp increase in arrests under the country's strict National Security Act.

## Indicted Opposition Leader

In addition, the government last month indicted Kim Dae Jung, the nation's best-known opposition figure. The indictment, which Kim has vehemently denounced, charges that he failed to report an opposition legislator's trip to North Korea and received money from the legislator that the traveler had received from North Korean agents.

Quayle sidestepped that issue in meetings with Roh, Kim and other Korean leaders. U.S. officials said that Roh assured Quayle that he "would not turn back" toward the repressive policies of past South Korean governments.

"The vice president was happy about that," spokesman David

Beckwith said.

Although complaints of a government crackdown have been a major part of the opposition's political program, neither Kim Dae Jung nor Kim Young Sam, the other main opposition leader, raised the issue directly during their meeting with Quayle at the National Assembly.

Kim Dae Jung criticized past U.S. policies, saying that in the past the United States "put security too much ahead of Korea's democratization," according to a Korean official who briefed reporters after the meeting. The U.S. government had alienated many South Koreans by its "support for dictatorial regimes of the past," the official quoted Kim as saying.

But both Kims emphasized their support for the presence of 43,000 U.S. troops here. Any move to reduce the U.S. force at this point would be "unproductive," Kim Young Sam told Quayle.

Beckwith said that Quayle was "surprised by the unanimity" of opinion on the troop-strength issue.

South Korean government officials have expressed considerable anxiety over the possibility of a troop cut, repeatedly asking Quayle about proposals in Congress for such a move. The Bush Administration opposes reducing troop strength here and, for now, the idea appears to have relatively little support in Congress.

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## Success and Its Price

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# The Koreans' Big Entry Into Business

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By ROBERT REINHOLD

**L**IKE other newcomers to these shores, many Korean immigrants here speak little English, want to start their own businesses, are short on cash and cannot get the time of day from the bank loan officer. So they go to a "kye," a kind of private banking club, where a loan of \$20,000 or \$30,000 can be had without applications or even a promissory note — at a usurious rate of 24 percent or higher.

The kye (pronounced KAY) is fast, efficient, effective — and quite illegal under American law. But it helps explain how the entrepreneurial Koreans have overcome cultural and linguistic barriers to operate businesses, especially small groceries, liquor stores, dry cleaners and garment factories. "Koreans help each other," said John Y. Cho, general manager of the Korean American Garment Industry Association here. And the whole family usually works 16 hours a day.

This combination of financial and cultural cohesiveness and a powerful work ethic underlies the experience of the new wave of Koreans, who have transformed large parts of metropolitan Los Angeles. Surveys have shown that as many as 30 to 40 percent of the immigrants already own small businesses, an experience not unlike that of the larger waves of immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Like the Chinese, the Koreans have tended to come from the better-educated middle classes and have done much better than the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians, whose rates of poverty remain well above the national norm.

### Tenfold Increase

The Korean population in the United States has grown to an estimated 750,000 from 70,000 in the 1970 Census. While there is a thriving Korean section in Flushing, Queens, the largest concentration is in Southern California, home for about 300,000 Korean immigrants. The nerve center of the community is the vast Koreatown west of downtown Los Angeles, focus of 150 associations, 500 Christian churches, 15 Buddhist temples, 32 newspapers and a 24-hour radio station. The jumble of Korean signs, restaurants, coffee houses, hotels and offices shouts immigrant success. Already, Korean grocers control 18 percent of the beer, wine and liquor licenses in Southern California and 5 percent of the total grocery market, including supermarkets.

But success has come at a price. In Los Angeles as in New York, the Koreans' success at taking over small businesses has stirred resentment in black and Hispanic neighborhoods, and many complain that they disregard American laws on working conditions and wages. Moreover, despite publicity lauding the academic prowess of Korean and other Asian youngsters, many Koreans find that starting a business in America is easier than rearing a child here. The Korean Youth Center in Los Angeles is battling drug abuse, gang activity, auto theft and truancy among Korean teen-agers caught between tradition-bound parents and fetterless California youth.

"The difficulty for many Korean parents is that their kids have no respect for elders and education," said Bong Hwan Kim, executive director of the center. "During this transition there is a real dichotomy between the first and second generations, between Korean and American values."

Hard work has paradoxical consequences, argued Eui-Young Yu, a sociologist at California State University, Los Angeles. Removed from old social controls, he said, Koreans' "excessive work patterns" lead to problems with their children. Preoccupied with business, he said, parents cede authority.

### Respect From the Bank

When it comes to business, though, Koreans are getting high respect, from Americans if not their own children. At first wary, American financial institutions are discovering a huge new market for loans; Foothill Thrift and Loan of Agoura Hills, Calif., now has nearly 30 percent of its loans with Korean and other Asian entrepreneurs. "We've never had a default on a loan to an Asian," said Gary Wehrle, the president. "If they have a problem in their life or business, they can borrow \$50,000 from an aunt or uncle. Family interests are pooled."

But for some, the kye is the only alternative. The groups, usually run by women, operate quietly with cash, avoiding the scrutiny of the Internal Revenue Service. Typically, each member puts in \$200 a month for a year. One member serves as banker, keeping the pot and taking personal liability for defaults. All members may borrow large sums, but the newest pay the highest interest.

Established Korean business people assert they don't know much about kyes. Jae Min Chang, president and publisher of The Korea Times, the largest Korean newspaper here, said they make news only when someone absconds with the money. But such is the significance of the kyes that a Korean-American bank, the Hanmi Bank, has devised a legal imitation of them. The would-be borrower agrees to deposit, for example, \$100,000 over 24 months. After three or four months, he becomes eligible to borrow the full \$100,000 at 2.5 points above the prime rate, or about 13 percent today. That is about half what he would pay a kye.

The kyes are a holdover from the old country. Clinging to traditional ways has both helped Koreans make it in America and slowed their assimilation, although all signs suggest how fast Korean youths are fitting into American life. Whatever the merit of the old ways, said Mr. Chang, they are vastly different from what the immigrants find here. "Koreans talk about heritage," he said, "but immigrants should learn Western culture."

# In politics and economics, Korea tries to speak our language

By Arthur Cyr

"If it ain't broke, don't fix it," President Roh Tae Woo of South Korea quipped recently, thus confirming the profound American cultural impact on that nation. Great powers demonstrate influence in different ways. The British provided dependencies with the trappings of parliamentary government. Arguably, American international influence has been more economic than political. Through example as well as investment, we have nurtured capitalist systems in some parts of the world.

Our commitment to democracy is even more explicit but much harder to emulate. South Korea has achieved a productive capitalist economic system and is striving now to follow our domestic political example. Roh's wholehearted adoption of American vernacular to express policy sentiments shows strong identification with our politics as well as our economics.

U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher has just concluded intensive trade negotiations with counterparts in the South Korean government. The fact that the secretary was visiting Korea at all demonstrates not only the presence of vexing policy tensions, most notably concerning telecommunications now, but also the increasing international economic importance of that nation. The Bush administration has so far avoided adding South Korea to the list of nations formally cited by the U.S. for following unfair trading practices.

Secretary Mosbacher's tone changed

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dramatically when he traveled on to Tokyo. Singling out automobiles, a distinctive symbol, he blasted a system which guarantees that a Ford Probe—one of the best, most attractive products of the New Detroit—costs one-third more in Japan than in the U.S. In reply, Japanese journalists sounded like government officials in monotonously complaining about lack of quality and efficiency in American production.

Mosbacher confronted no such problems in South Korea, a much smaller economy having much greater dependence on the U.S., but like a country where journalists these days are appropriately cacophonous rather than orchestrated.

Simultaneously, South Korea struggles to build functioning representative democracy. The wrenching trauma associated with the prosecution of former President Chun Doo Hwan and the condemnation of corruption in his regime have facilitated breaking with the autocratic past. The Roh administration has been able to work reasonably effectively with a legislature controlled by opposition parties. This bifurcated state of affairs tends to underpin democracy even while undercutting smooth, efficient policy definition and implementation.

Not surprisingly, the South Korean government is trying to address political reform pressures with economic tools. For instance, Seoul has responded to ongoing domestic unrest in part through a proposal this month for drastic tax reform designed to encourage more even distribution of wealth and wider home ownership.

One important byproduct of the new



Roh Tae Woo

democracy is that the government now speaks inconsistently, with various voices rather than one consistent policy/propaganda line.

Trade and Industry Minister Han Seung Soo stresses export promotion in response to pressures from domestic business interests. At the same time, his former faculty colleague at Seoul National University, Deputy Prime

Minster Cho Soon, reiterates the need to open domestic markets, reflecting strong sentiments within the government bureaucracy.

In Japan, there may be enormous conflicting pressures, but such differences are not normally permitted to be expressed so clearly in public.

That is not the only difference between the two systems; a Japanese prime minister would not follow President Roh's example in cheerfully using stock American slang. And what was the context of Roh's urging that what is not broken should be left alone? He was responding to the renewal of suggestions that U.S. forces be withdrawn from South Korea.

That debate, related to swelling pressures to reduce our military presence in Western Europe, will only grow. Even Gen. Louis C. Menetry, commander of U.S. forces on the Korean peninsula, argues that there will be no explicit military need for their presence after the mid-1990s.

Roh's stance that the U.S. military should stay and his symbolic use of American vernacular reflect the exceptionally strong ties between our two nations, the very different public opinion environment from that confronting even pro-American West European politicians and—most important of all—the long-term role of U.S. forces in encouraging a situation conducive to both economic growth and political democracy.

Americans feeling gloomy about the value of our international involvements since World War II should consider these recent events in South Korea.

# Korean Quotas On Beef Declared Unfair by the U.S.

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By EDUARDO LACHICA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The U.S. declared South Korea's import quotas on beef to be an unfair trade barrier but said it is deferring retaliation until the ruling body of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade completes its assessment of the issue.

The U.S. announcement signaled a long-delayed victory for the American Meat Institute, a Washington-based trade body representing U.S. meat packers and processors. The institute filed its complaint against the quotas in February 1988, but U.S. action was stalled by the separate GATT investigation.

A GATT dispute-settlement panel ruled in Washington's favor last summer, but that decision won't be binding until the Geneva-based body's highest authority, the GATT Council, votes on it. Seoul several times has blocked consideration of the issue by the council, claiming that its unstable balance-of-payments condition justifies the existence of the quotas.

The council is expected to take up the issue at its next meeting Oct. 11. U.S. trade officials said a favorable vote would strengthen Washington's demands that the quotas be scrapped. If Seoul still refuses to cooperate, the Bush administration has the authority to impose punitive duties on a number of South Korean products.

After banning beef imports for more than three years, South Korea set a quota of 14,500 metric tons for the second half of 1988 and increased it to 39,000 metric tons in 1989. The meat institute has charged that these curbs are costing U.S. packers several million dollars of potential sales.

U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills said she is delayiung retaliatory action to "allow additional time for the GATT process." She warned, however, that the U.S. will draw up a list of South Korean products to be subject to sanctions by mid-November "if substantial movement toward resolution of the issue in the GATT has not occurred by that time."

The statement clearly was intended to caution Seoul against attempting to block the council's action again. U.S. trade law allows Ambassador Hills to delay retaliation for 180 days under certain circumstances.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

A MONK CAN'T SHAVE HIS OWN HEAD.

중이 제 머리 못 깎는다

chung i che mö ri mot gak nun ta

monk - his hair can't cut own

This adage means that even the most extraordinary men must rely on others. Consider the Buddhist monk. Monks shave their heads to symbolize renunciation of worldly ways. In devotion to religion and the ascetic life, monks are most extraordinary, yet no monk can shave his own head. He must rely on other monks for this simple act, and they must rely on him.

There is a less obvious sense to this adage. It is extremely bad form in Korea personally to seek recognition, however deserved. A professor who is qualified for a certain honor would be churlish to appear interested in it. A colleague must shave his head for him.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

THE SKY IS HIGH AND THE HORSES ARE FAT.

天 高 馬 肥  
77 883 881 547

천 고 마 비  
ch'ön ko ma pi  
sky high horse fat

This saying is used to refer to autumn. It seems to be on all lips as the muggy summer weather gives way to autumnal days of clear air and blue skies. The phrase commonly appears in letters written in early fall. Some may find it strange to characterize the autumnal sky as "high," but the English terms "blue sky" and "gray sky" can serve to distinguish the relative height of the heavens.

A related saying is "Autumn sky and fat horses." This is a reference to the fierce Hsiung Nu tribes of central Asia whose practice was to mount raids into China in the autumn. Known as the "Huns" in the West, these warlike tribes were renowned for their cavalry, or "fat horses" of conquest.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

TO BEGIN IS TO BE HALF DONE.

시작이 반이다

si chak i pan i ta

begin half is

This maxim may be the most common one of all. Its sense is that half the battle is in getting started. Its popularity rests partly on its succinctness and the appealing rhythm of its two sets of triple syllables. Mostly, however, it is popular because it alludes to the universal human malady, procrastination.

Inertia hobbles most human undertakings. We just do not get going on projects. Today, this maxim is more appropriate than ever. Innate human procrastination has been worsened by the spell of television and by too much leisure time as well. More than ever, getting started is half the job.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

SPARK FROM HEART TO HEART.

以 心 傳 心  
124 86 1218 86

이 심 전 심  
i sim chön sim  
from heart transmit heart

Buddhism spread like wildfire after it was founded in India. This expression originally was a Buddhist term used to describe the phenomenal spread of The Law after the death of Quatama, the historical Buddha, in 483 B.C.

Today this saying can mean to communicate by the spirit, without need for complete verbal communication. It is used, among other things, to characterize the spontaneous rapport and empathy that sometimes spark between two human beings, especially in Korea where relationships tend to be more intense than in the West.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

THE DOG AT A VILLAGE SCHOOL WILL BE WRITING POETRY WITHIN THREE YEARS.

서당개 삼 년에

sŏ tang gae sam nyŏn e  
village school dog three years in

풍월 한다

p'ung wŏl han ta  
wind and moon do  
(compose poetry)

This expression means that anyone eventually can learn anything. It is used disparagingly, as when a father chastises a son doing badly in school by pointing out that even a dog can learn to compose poetry in three years. And it is used sarcastically, as in referring to a new congressman who insists on delivering his maiden speech at the inaugural session of the House.

Confucian classics were taught by rote memory in the traditional village schools. The primary method of instruction was the endless chanting of classic prose and poetry. With all the chanting going on, it was hard for the school dog not to hone his poetic skills.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

HEARING 100 TIMES IS NOT LIKE SEEING ONCE.

百聞不如一見

269 1404 47 235 1 384

백문불여일견

paek mun bul yŏ il kyŏn  
100 hear not like one see

This proverb suggests that we should be slow to draw conclusions about situations with which we are not personally familiar. Its sense is "seeing is knowing."

In the first century, a famous Chinese general was asked to journey to distant Tibet and put down a rebellion. The great soldier agreed to do what he could and received a number of reports from people who claimed to know the situation in the rebellious area. Officials then asked the general what he would need to accomplish his mission. He said he had no idea what he needed and, indeed, would not know until he had personally surveyed the situation. "Hearing a hundred times," the great captain wrote, "is not like seeing once." His words literally were proverbial.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

SHRIMPS GET BROKEN BACKS IN A WHALE FIGHT.

고래 싸움에 새우 등

ko rae asa um e sae u tŭng  
whale fight in shrimp back

터진다

t'ŏ chin ta  
is broken

This adage expresses the universal notion that small people and small nations suffer at the hands of the powerful. A maritime allusion is appropriate in this Korean maxim, because the sea plays a key role in the history of the peninsula.

This saying most commonly is used in reference to Korea's geopolitical situation. The Korean peninsula lies at the confluence of interests of four great world powers. She shares borders with China and Russia. Japan is visible from Korean islands. The United States fought a war on the peninsula and remains a strategic reality to both political entities on the peninsula. In this geopolitical environment, tiny Korea suffers a perpetual backache.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

GREAT TALENT TAKES TIME TO RIPEN.

大器晚成

33 1559 960 347

대기만성

tae gi man saeng  
large vessel late complete

The "large vessel" of this adage connotes a great man, a wonderful talent, or a striking success. The modern sense of the saying is "success does not come overnight." It is often used to comfort those who fail in an undertaking.

This adage first appeared in the works of Lao-tse, the father of Taoism, in the fourth century B.C. Lao-tse used it to illustrate that things appear the opposite of what they are. White looks dirty, great virtue looks vile, and a large vessel looks incomplete. Lao-tse meant that greatness decidedly is not in the eye of the beholder. The expression seldom has this meaning in modern Korean.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

SEE ONE AND KNOW TEN.

하나를 보면 열을  
 ha na rül po myön yöl ül  
 one see, if ten

안다  
 an ta  
 know

This adage means to see a part and know the whole, to observe a behavior and perceive the personality. It is used about someone of high intelligence who makes complex inferences. Another proverb reverses the image: "To know one and not know two" means to be obtuse and inflexible.

The first novel written in *hangul*, the native Korean alphabet, appeared some three centuries ago. The name of the antihero of the novel, Hong Kil-tong, is used much as is "John Smith" to symbolize the common man. A quote from the book may be a source of this adage: "By the time Kili-tong was eight, his intelligence was superior. He could hear one and be versed in a hundred."

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

THE CONFUCIAN GENTLEMAN AND THE SMALL MAN.

君子와小人  
 315 35 37 9  
 군자와소인  
 kun ja wa so in  
 ruler and small person

The "kunja" is the ideal Confucian man. He contrasts to the "small man" who ignores Confucian virtues. The concept of the *kunja* is alive and well in Korea today.

The *kunja* loves learning, the small man is deficient. The *kunja* exalts virtue, the small man does not recognize it. The *kunja* gives and expects loyalty, the small man is loyal to himself. Absorbed in serving humanity, the *kunja* fails to prepare for his own retirement. The small man jokes that the *kunja* must sell jujubes to eke out a living in his old age. The *kunja* is not ashamed to change his mind, the small man will never admit error. The *kunja* avoids expediency, the small man pursues personal profit. The *kunja* observes ceremony, the small man accepts no restraints on behavior. The *kunja* shuns dangerous paths, the small man rushes in where wise men fear to tread.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

GET SLAPPED ON BELL STREET AND SCOWL AT THE HAN RIVER.

종로에서 뺨 맞고  
 chong ro e só byam mat ko  
 bell street at cheek slapped, and  
 한강가서 눈 흘킨다  
 han kang ka só nun hul kin ta  
 Han River go and eyes scowl

This adage refers to the man who vents his anger on innocent people either because he is boorish or because he is cowardly and does not dare protest to the person who offended him.

Bell Street is located in downtown Seoul. The Han River is located a few miles to the south. In former times, Bell Street was bordered by a royal palace and upper class housing districts. By contrast, the river was outside the walls of the old city and was inhabited by transients. This adage, therefore, had the nuance of tamely accepting indignities from those higher on the social scale and then venting this anger on those lower on the scale. A parent who abuses his children is a good example. The same sense is apparent in another proverb: "Get slapped and go home and yell at your wife."

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

WHERE THREE TRAVEL TOGETHER, ONE WILL BE MY TEACHER.

三人行必有我師  
 17 9 286 162 256 348 751  
 삼인행필유아사  
 sam in haeng p'il yu a sa  
 three person go must be my teacher

This suggests that all men can learn from each other. The saying is attributed to Master Confucius himself. The entire quotation is, "Where three travel together, one will be my teacher. Among the three, I will choose to emulate the good man and correct the man who is not good."

The message of this adage is often ignored. There is something to be learned from all men. From some, we can learn how to act. Others show us how not to act. Some people act as mirrors, reflecting in their actions examples of unworthy conduct unnoticed in ourselves. Learning to correct others, or teach them, requires skill, knowledge, and self-control.

This is not a pav. in the sky

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

PAT ANY MAN AND DUST WILL FLY.

털어서 먼지 안나  
 t'öl ö só mön chi an na  
 beat, pat and dust not rising  
 는 사람 없다  
 nun sa ram öpi ta  
 person is not

If you look closely enough, you can find weakness in everyone. No closet is free of a skeleton.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

PAVILIONS IN THE SKY.

空中樓閣  
 544 49 1496 1438  
 kong chung nu kak  
 sky within pavilion

This saying is used about things which are ephemeral or fantastic. It also refers to speech or writing that is divorced from reality. To build pavilions in the air is to espouse absurd ideas or embark on foolish undertakings.

everyone must be tolerant. Confucianism, on the other hand, assumes that man is perfectable, so error must be corrected. These opposing notions have given rise to a double standard. At the personal level, one is expected to make mistakes, to "be human." Private errors are understood and easily forgiven. But once an indiscretion has become public knowledge, it is not easily expunged. In a sense, the real sin is the public repudiation of the ideal of perfectability rather than original mistake itself. Pécadillos, however human, must remain private.

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sky to push for a reduction in taxes!"

About a thousand years ago, a Chinese author described a city that was surrounded by the ocean in such a way that from a distance the pavilions of the city appeared to jut directly from the water into the sky. Local residents called it the "City of the Sea." Within a few centuries, the city's peculiar geography had given rise to a new usage. People who spoke or practiced absurdities were said to be building "pavilions in the sky."

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100 KOREAN PROVERBS

EVEN THE DIAMOND MOUNTAINS MUST BE SEEN ON A FULL STOMACH.

금강산도 식후경  
kum kang san to sik hu kyong  
metal hard mountain, even eat, after view (diamond)

This maxim suggests that basic human needs take precedence over beauty. The Diamond Mountain range is the most compelling natural wonder on the Korean peninsula. For centuries the obnoxious mystery of the thousands of needle peaks has attracted poets, artists, and monks. Cycles of poems and panels of paintings have been created in honor of its jagged beauty.

The Diamond Mountains are located along the east coast of Korea just north of the 38th parallel in what is now north Korea. Soldiers of the north and south ominously confront each other in the shadows of the range. South Koreans can't get near the peaks, and north Koreans have limited access. The sorrow of mankind is not that beauty plays second fiddle to food, but that it runs a poor second to the sword.

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100 KOREAN PROVERBS

TIE TUFTS TO REPAY KINDNESS.

結 1158	草 851	報 1077	恩 764
결	초	보	은
kyŏl tie	ch'o grass	po reward	un kindness

This adage is used to promise to repay a favor, even if it takes this life and the next to do it.

Some 2,200 years ago, the father of a Chinese general died. Prior to his death, the father directed that his wife be buried alive with him, as was the custom of the time. The general ignored his father's order and found a new husband for his stepmother. Later, the general's army faced a superior enemy force, but before the battle began, an old man appeared between the opposing armies and tied the grasses of the area into a large number of tufts. When the enemy attacked, his horses shored their feet on the tufts, overturning war chariots right and left, and ensuring victory for the general. That night the old man appeared to the general in a dream and said he was the father of the woman the general had not buried alive. The old man explained that he had returned from the grave to repay a kindness. His example is proverbial.

15

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

THE TERRIBLE CALLIGRAPER IS CHOOSY ABOUT HIS BRUSHES.

글 못한 놈 붓  
kul mot han nom put  
writing, can't do guy brush  
characters

고른다  
ko run tu  
select

This proverb is used to characterize someone who has neither ability nor knowledge but who pretends to be well versed. It can also be used about a person who blames his tools for failure without comprehending his own ineptness.

Dilettantes and sham artisans are as rife in Korea as they are elsewhere, so there are many proverbs about this universal human failing. One adage is a mirror image of the present saying: "The great calligrapher isn't choosy about his brushes." This means, of course, that the accomplished man can work marvels with any material. "The skilled calligrapher doesn't blame brush and ink." "An unskilled chef blames the cutting board." "The clumsy shaman blames her drum."

16

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

WHAT CANNOT BE ACCOMPLISHED WHEN THE MIND IS CONCENTRATED?

情神一到 伺事不成  
1396 826 1 423 299 406 47 347

정신일도 하사불성  
chong sin il do ha sa pul song  
mind one reach what matter not accomplish

This is said of various human situations, but it amounts to an underlying assumption of Korean society: nothing is impossible. Many Korean schoolchildren want to be another Schweitzer or Einstein. Some study twenty hours a day to accomplish their goal.

This is a quotation from Chu-tzu. Korea is labeled a Confucian country, but in fact it is Neo-Confucian, an English term for "Philosophy of Chu-tzu," a twelfth century Chinese thinker who made fundamental changes in Confucianism. Korea did not, as has been said, out-Confucian China, Korea out-Chu-tzued China. Once the heavy hand of foreign domination was lifted from Korea and the industrial revolution began to take hold, the cultural conviction that nothing is impossible played a central role in building the "second miracle of Asia."

17

JUST WATCH THE SHAMAN AND EAT THE RICE CAKES.

굿이나 보고 떡이나 먹지

gut i na po ko dök i na mök chi

IRON SKIN ON THE FACE.

鐵 1968

面 704

皮 188

철 ch'ŏl

면 myŏn

피 pi

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

BEANS GROW WHERE BEANS ARE PLANTED, AND LIMAS WHERE LIMAS ARE PLANTED.

콩 심은 데 콩 나고 팥

k'ong sim ün te k'ong na ko p'at  
soybeans planted place soybeans sprout beans

심은 데 팥 난다

sim ün te p'at nan ta  
planted place beans sprout

This proverb means that everything occurs according to established principles. A person should not be surprised if he reaps what he has sown. Man cannot violate the law of cause and effect. A person who saves regularly will accumulate money, while a man who spends unthinkingly will always be broke. A secondary meaning of the proverb is "like father, like son" or "like begets like."

There is a strong practical strain in Korean society, but there is also a hint of fatalism, a heritage of the upwardly immobile society of pre-modern Korea. Similar proverbs are: "Only bamboo grows in a bamboo grove." "Do soybeans grow in a cucumber patch?"

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

PROFIT ALL MANKIND.

弘 160

益 819

人 9

間 1197

홍

익

인

간

hong broad, extensive

ik profit, advantage

in person

kan between mankind

This quote from one of Korea's oldest extant books, *Remnants of the Three Kingdoms*, is the reason for the creation of mankind and the founding of the ancient state of Chosun on the Korean peninsula in 2333 B.C. It remains a basic philosophy of Korean society.

The Emperor of Heaven presented to his son, Son of Heaven, the three Heavenly Seals and sent him to rule the earth. Son of Heaven established a kingdom called City of the Gods on a mountain on the Korean peninsula. A bear and a tiger petitioned Son of Heaven to become human, so he gave them magical mugwort and garlic and promised they would become mortal if they stayed in a dark cave for a hundred days. The tiger stole out of the cave before the time was up, but the bear endured and became Ungnyo, bear woman. She and Son of Heaven bore a son, Tangun, the first Korean.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

A MAN WITH THREE DAUGHTERS CAN SLEEP WITH HIS DOOR OPEN.

딸이 셋이면 문을 열

dal i set i myön mun ul yöl  
daughter three are if door open

어 놓고 잔다

o no ko chen ta  
keep sleep

For all the differences in Eastern and Western culture, some things are universal. This proverb implies that by the time a father underwrites weddings for three daughters, he will be a pauper. Such a father can sleep peacefully with his door open because no burglar will bother to rob a penurious home. Traditionally, marriage in Korea amounted to the house of the groom gaining a daughter, and the house of the bride losing a bundle. Modern Korea is more advanced. Now the father of the bride loses two bundles.

"By the time you've married off three daughters," runs a variation, "the pillar of the family is in ruin." In pre-industrial Korea, the cost of raising daughters financially ruined more than one family and served as one reason for a cultural bias against daughters.

100 KOREAN PROVERBS

SHEEP'S HEAD BUT DOG MEAT.

羊 272

頭 1642

狗 537

肉 278

양

두

구

육

yang sheep

tu head

ku dog

yuk meat

This proverb means that appearances are deceiving. It is used to denounce deception and hypocrisy. It is an abbreviation for "Hang up a sheep's head but sell dog meat." A butcher shop that puts a sheep's head on display and sells cheap dog meat as if it were expensive mutton is deceiving its customers for profit.

One variation of this proverb is "Hang up a cow's head but sell horse meat." Another is "A sheep in a tiger skin." This is similar to the English saying about a wolf in sheep's clothing. The Asian proverb means to deceive by putting a cheap old sheep inside an expensive tiger skin. The Western saying means to conceal a fearsome wolf beneath the innocuous folds of a sheep skin. Both allude to deception but differ considerably in nuance.

## 100 KOREAN PROVERBS

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## DRAGON HEAD, SNAKE TAIL.

龍	頭	蛇	尾
1629	1624	1017	331

용	두	사	미
yong dragon	tu head	sa snake	mi tail

This alludes to the common human practice of beginning a project with vigor but soon losing interest. Westerners often find they "dragon head, snake tail" New Year's resolutions by the end of January.

The marvelous Korean dragon was traditionally viewed as a glorified snake. In the Oriental zodiac cycle, for example, the Year of the Snake precedes the year of the Dragon. *Yong tu sa mi* contradicts the order of the cosmos but aptly highlights the human condition.

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**DEPARTURE STATEMENT: PRESIDENT ROH TAE WOO, SOUTH PORTICO  
Tuesday, Oct. 17, 1:15 p.m.**

There have been many high-level visits between Washington and Seoul recently, proof that good relations are important to both countries. But today it has been my special pleasure to welcome President Roh ((No)) and his cabinet to Washington. Mister President, I hope you Mrs. Roh have enjoyed your visit to the White House as much as Barbara and I enjoyed our visit to the Blue House last February.

This has been a busy day of discussions with President Roh on a range of important bilateral, regional and multilateral issues. We have confirmed that the governments and peoples of the United States and the Republic of Korea are resolved to promote and defend economic growth and democracy. Our discussions have been intense and meaningful. And our partnership has been strengthened.

Let no one doubt that the United States stands by its commitment to maintain the peace and prevent the outbreak of hostilities on the Peninsula. As I said in Seoul in February, U.S. forces will remain as long as both governments and both peoples believe it is in the interest of peace. And, of course, our forces will remain as long as there is a threat from the North.

I understand that President Roh, when asked about the American presence in South Korea generally, answered with a colorful, American phrase: "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." Mister President, my sentiments exactly.

At the same time, our two nations aspire to lessened tensions between North and South. This, and the creation of the conditions that favor reunification, can only be the result of the vision and tireless efforts of the Korean people.

The United States applauds President's Roh's creative diplomacy, and supports his plan to create a Commonwealth between North and South as a step toward reunification. President Roh's unification formula is based on principles that we share -- independence, peace and democracy. It is my hope that the resumption of other forms of inter-Korean dialogue will lead to institutions that will serve as a basis for eventual reunification.

But the division of Korea is merely a part of a great divide between all the nations of the world. It is in the other half of the world, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, that momentous change is underway. President Roh and I are of one mind in dealing with this change. Simply put, we will seek to strengthen security and peace by engaging the communist world in constructive endeavor. President Roh's Nordpolitik -- a diplomatic endeavor to reach out to communist countries in Europe, as well as in Asia -- complements the policy of the United States. Mister President, may I follow your practice and

quote a few Korean sayings? World peace is not a pavilion in the sky. If beans grow where beans are planted, then surely peace will grow where peace is planted.\\

Just as South Korea is taking a leading role in diplomacy, so has it also become a major economic force. South Korea is now the world's tenth largest trading nation and America's seventh largest trading partner. Korean workers and companies have benefited from U.S. open markets. But American workers and companies deserve equal access to Korean markets.

As I told the National Assembly in February, protectionism offers a false prosperity. It may seem to be the easy way out, but it is really the quickest way down. Trade -- free and fair -- is the way up, for the consumers and the workers of both nations. And that is why I am pleased to note the progress made in the past few years in reducing trade barriers. We applaud these moves and expect continued improvements on the trade front.

Last, but not least, President Roh and I today discussed the dramatic changes occurring in Korean society and politics. Under President Roh's leadership, the Republic of Korea has moved toward greater democracy and respect for human and civil rights. The history of my own nation suggests that such change is hard-won. But our history also suggests that the struggle for democracy is crucial to a nation's political, economic and moral development.

President Roh, you have my highest respect and support for your goals. I wish you well in your nation's efforts for

continued peace, and the growth of democracy and prosperity in  
your great Republic.

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