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REFERENCES FOR REMARKS IN KOREA

DEMOCRACY:

The democratic impulse in Korea runs deep. Your famous King Sejong, I recall, had a great concern for ordinary people who were unable to read and write with complicated Chinese characters. So he summoned your most famous scholars to devise the first phonetic alphabet in Asia (ck). With this phonetic alphabet -- the basis for modern Korean language -- all Koreans for the first time could become literate and participate in the affairs of their society.

INGENUITY AND INVENTIVENESS:

Korean ingenuity and inventiveness is well known throughout the world, from Sun Shin Lee who built the first iron ship to Buddhist scholars who carved 8000 prayers on wood blocks for the world's first printing press (ck) to Woo Jong Chun who developed the world's first seedless watermelon. The latter invention is especially appealing to me since I come from the state that produces the biggest and best watermelons in America.

EDUCATION:

The devotion of Korean parents to the education of their children is especially remarkable. I recall what is told about the mother of Suk Bong Han, Korea's most famous calligrapher. After he returned from tutelage under a well-known teacher, Suk Bong Han announced that he was finished with his studies. His mother was somewhat doubtful and proposed a contest between the two of them. At night, she extinguished the candle in their home and while she cut rice cakes in the dark, he wrote calligraphy. When they again lit the candle, the rice cakes were cut evenly and cleanly while Suk Bong Han's calligraphy was unsteady. So his mother sent him back to his teacher for further study.

KOREAN REUNIFICATION:

I know that all Koreans yearn in their hearts for the peaceful reunification of their country. And I hope that all South Koreans can one day visit Baekdu Mountain and Gum Gong Mountain in North Korea -- which are among the most beautiful in the world. This would be especially fitting because Don Goon, the ancestor of all Koreans, is said to have been born in Baekdu Mountain.

KOREAN CHARACTER:

Korean people have persevered and endured many hardships in their history in order to realize great achievements. Their character is perhaps best revealed in the famous poem by Suh Jung Ju about the chrysanthemum. The chrysanthemum, the poet writes, endures thunder, lightening and storming rain all night long. And yet, in the morning, it blooms triumphantly. The flower reminds the poet of the face of his sister who represents all of Korea.

The historian Arnold Toynbee called Korea the "Land of Morning Calm" because Korean people love peace. That sobriquet has endured to this day and become well-known throughout the world.

KOREAN CUSTOMS:

We can all learn much from some Korean customs. Before feminists discussed the changing role of men in American society, the women of Jeju Island supported their families -- as they do to this day -- by diving for pearls and oysters, while their husbands stayed home and raised their children. On buses and trains in Korea, a young person will always get up and give his seat to an elder. And every morning, many Koreans begin their day by climbing mountains for exercise.

I know that at almost every Korean party, the guests entertain themselves by going around the room and singing their favorite songs or playing an instrument. I regret I left my saxophone home because I'm always looking for an eager audience.

FILIAL LOYALTY

In Korea, people are devoted to caring for their families. I am reminded of the story of the poor, rural family where the father became very sick. To find needed medicine, the son journeyed to a nearby mountain. But he became tired and discouraged and went to sleep along the way. Then, an old man came to him in his dream and told the boy where to dig to find the medicine he needed. When he awoke, the boy did as the old man said and discovered the Ginseng root. He brought it home, boiled the root and gave Ginseng to his father -- which healed him and let him live a long life.

KOREAN ACHIEVEMENTS:

In 1950, there was but one bridge across the Han River in Seoul. Today, there are more than 20 bridges.

The last Olympics in Seoul were a great achievement for Korea and show-cased your country to the world. When I visited Korea in 1988, I saw the preparations for the Olympics and knew they would

be a great success. 161 countries participated in the Seoul Olympics -- a new record at that time. Now, I'm especially impressed by the efforts you are devoting to the Taejon International Exposition which will open on August 7 and focus on how high technology can assist all countries with environmental clean-up.

No single individual better represents the Korean virtues of perseverance, determination and hard work than Hwang Young-cho who won the marathon during the 1992 Olympic games in Barcelona. His long months of training and preparation paid off when he won this grueling race that ended with the steepest uphill climb in the world for distance racing.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE:

I'm very proud that Korea will be the first country to receive a traveling exhibition from the Whitney Museum Biennial. This landmark American exhibition has never before traveled to a foreign country but will open in Korea on August 1. It will showcase 64 American artists working in media ranging from painting and sculpture to film, video and photography. Through the cooperative efforts of the National Museum of Contemporary Art in Seoul, this dream of artistic culture exchange will become a reality.

SCENESETTER: TOKSU PALACE

Toksu Palace is one of several residences used by Korean kings and queens during the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) when Seoul first became the capital. While not as "typical" as other Korean palaces in the city, Toksu's centralized location and impressive backdrops make it a popular place for a wide range of outdoor activities, including school trips, picnics, dates, weddings, and exercise.

Toksu Palace owes its reputation to the vagaries of Korean history. It was originally constructed in the fifteenth century for a grandson of King Sejo who had lost out in the competition to become his successor. It was the only palace to survive the devastating Japanese invasions at the end of the sixteenth century and was used for a time as the principal residence of the king while other palaces were being rebuilt. The palace was used as a residence by lesser members of the royal family until 1897, when King Kojong took refuge there in an attempt to escape the political instability that preceded Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910.

In 1904, a number of the original buildings were destroyed by a mysterious fire that raged through the palace grounds for eleven days. Subsequent attempts to restore the lost buildings were complicated by the fact that American, British, Japanese, Korean and Russian architects insisted on being involved. The resulting eclectic group of buildings is a sad commentary on the intense competition among the great powers for political influence in Korea.

The most important of these buildings (Sokjojon) has an interesting history of its own. After being used as an art exhibition hall during the Japanese Occupation, it became home to the short-lived American-Soviet Commission for the Unification of Korea. The building served as the country's National Museum from 1955 to 1972 and, since that time, has housed the Royal Museum, an impressive collection of Yi Dynasty artifacts.

The palace grounds are home to several other historically important relics, including a unique fourteenth century bell dedicated to the first queen of the dynasty.

SCENESETTER: KYONGBOK PALACE

Kyongbok Palace, originally completed in 1396, was the main palace of the Chosun Dynasty. In 1592, during the Japanese invasion, the palace buildings were all burnt down. In 1867, Kyongbok Palace was rebuilt by the regent Taewongun for his second son Kjong, the young 26th king of Korea. After the Japanese annexed Korea in 1910, all but ten of the five hundred buildings that once formed Kyongbok Palace were torn down. When the Republic of Korea was founded, restoration of the buildings was begun. The Korean War inflicted further damage, but after the armistice, renovations resumed. Today, Kyongbok Palace is a national property and the grounds contain several museums open to the public.

Kyongbok palace is situated just south of the Blue House. Korean ancestors preferred to build in a location that had a mountain to the rear and river in front, preferably surrounded by a mountain range on both sides like stretched arms. They believed in geomancy, which says that a topographical spirit makes a hero, and that if a nation built a new capital at a good place, the national fortunes would become strong and prosper forever.

To the rear (north) of the palace grounds is the Hyangwongji pond. In this area the king could take a walk, read, think, and invite ministers to small banquets. On the palace grounds is a pond with an island that can be reached via a wooden bridge. A hexagonal two-story pavilion, Hyangwonjong, is located there.

Also located on the palace grounds are the National Museum and the National Folklore Museum. The National Museum boasts a large collection of Korean celadon (the national ceramic ware) as well as royal artifacts. The Folklore Museum houses a number of articles used in everyday life. These items can be seen in context at the Korean Folk Village in Suwon.

SCENESETTER: BLUE HOUSE

The Blue House is the official residence of the President of the Republic of Korea. It is located immediately north of Kyongbok Palace in downtown Seoul, and is a short drive from both the U.S. embassy and the ambassador's residence. The term "Blue House" refers not only to the official residence, but also to the entire complex of office buildings around it including presidential staff offices, a press center and the state guest hall.

From 1910-1945, while Korea was a Japanese colony, the Japanese Governor-General used the Blue House as his residence. Before 1910, the area had been a royal garden associated with the Kyongbok Palace. In the early 1960s, the building was named Chongwadae ("the house with blue roof tiles"). President Kim Young Sam's predecessor had a new Korean-style residence built on the grounds and officially opened it in early 1992. President Kim presently resides there. The original Japanese-era residence is now used as a medical clinic and dining room for Blue House Staff, and as a waiting room for drivers.

In a famous incident in 1968 (the year North Korea seized the USS Pueblo), a North Korean commando team infiltrated across the DMZ in an attempt to attack the Blue House. They got within a mile of the presidential compound before they were stopped. After the incident, access to the Blue House was further restricted, and the area around it was closed. Taking photos of the Blue House was prohibited.

In a popular move, President Kim Young Sam opened the area around the presidential compound to the general public when he took office in February 1993. Although there are no guided tours, the area around the Blue House has become a popular tourist spot. Mt. Inwang, located behind the Blue House and also opened to the public by President Kim, is now a favorite destination for Koreans, who love to hike and climb mountains.

SCENESETTER: U.S. EMBASSY

The U.S. Mission comprises the Embassy in Seoul, a consulate and the United States Information Service (USIS) cultural center in Pusan, and cultural centers in Kwangju and Taegu. The eight-story chancery building is located on a major street, Sejongro, in the heart of downtown Seoul. The foreign ministry is across the street, and the President's official residence, the Blue House, is less than 10 minutes by car.

The chancery building and the land on which it stands belong to the Korean Government. The building is one of two that were constructed in the early 1960s to house the U.S. Agency for International Development's (AID) mission in Korea. The Embassy moved to its present location from nearby City Hall Plaza in 1968 (sharing space with AID until it ceased its Korean operations). According to an agreement signed with the Korean government at that time, the Embassy can occupy its present building rent-free until it constructs a permanent chancery on another site. Negotiations over the location of a permanent chancery continue between the two governments, but no firm timetable for construction has been set.

The Embassy's State Department contingent is composed of five sections: administrative, consular, political, economic, and science and technology. Representatives of USIS, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Drug Enforcement Administration, U.S. Customs Service, Defense Attache's Office, and the Foreign Broadcast Information Service are also assigned to the Embassy. There is also a substantial Joint U.S. Military Assistance Group-Korea (JUSMAG-K). As of mid-June, the Embassy had 172 U.S. citizens and 293 Foreign Service National (FSN) employees; an additional 48 U.S. citizens and 26 FSNs were working for JUSMAG-K.

Korea's economic prosperity and increased freedom to travel has led to an explosion in demand for visa services. The consular section issued 246,000 non-immigrant visas in FY92, the most of any post in the world. The consular section issued 14,000 immigrant visas in FY92, the ninth highest total worldwide.

Embassy Seoul's responsibilities and those of the independent U.S. military command in Korea cover the same geographical area. The Embassy and U.S. Forces Korea work closely together in managing our security alliance with the Republic of Korea.

SCENESETTER: SEOUL

Seoul, the capital of the Republic of Korea, contains one-fourth of the nation's population, 11 million people. Seoul is the heart of the entire nation -- it contains virtually all the major corporations, banks, government offices, leading schools and universities, theaters, and entertainment facilities. The city was the site of the 1988 Olympics.

Traces of the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910) still can be seen in the city today. In addition to four major palaces and a garden with royal ancestral shrines, two of the city's original four main gates and parts of the ancient city wall have been restored. Seoul thus maintains the architectural symbols and treasures of its past amidst a modern, cosmopolitan city.

It was at the start of the Chosun Dynasty that Seoul became Korea's official capital. The founder of the dynasty, King Taejo, chose the location because the terrain met traditional geomantic beliefs, was suitable for defense, and could sustain a large population. The capital was divided into a central zone inside the 17-kilometer wall encircling it, and four surrounding zones. The population of the city in 1426 was 110,000 people, most of whom lived inside the city wall.

Japan took over the administration of the city, which it renamed "Keijo," in 1910 when it declared Korea a colony. After liberation from Japan in 1945, Seoul, which literally means "capital" in ancient Korean, became the city's official name. During the first year of the Korean War, Seoul was twice captured and retaken, leaving it in ruins.

There is little trace left of the war's devastation. Korea's remarkable economic growth over the last three decades has transformed Seoul into a booming metropolis. The city has expanded far beyond the old city walls and across the Han River to the south, where rows of fashionable apartment complexes line the river. Authorities have promoted the building of satellite cities, with rows of apartment buildings, to cope with the housing shortage for people working in Seoul.

Traffic, air and noise pollution are serious problems. Seoul has an extensive network of roads, subways, bus lines, and a nearby international airport (Kimpo). Authorities are adding new subway lines and are building additional roads to alleviate traffic congestion. There are plans for a new international airport near Inchon, west of Seoul.

To: Eric Schwartz
 From: Sidney Jones
 Date: July 2, 1993
 Re: As promised -- two and a half pages

1. China

China continues to ban dissent, abuse detained dissidents and prevent them in some cases from receiving badly needed medical treatment. There is no indication whatsoever that economic reform is leading to positive political change: some of the most publicized arrests this year have taken place in Shanghai and Guangdong province where the economic boom is most pronounced. Torture continues unabated -- a physics student, Liu Gang, has smuggled out letters detailing his torture by officials in one labor camp in Liaoning Province that exports prison labor goods; a prisoner in Guangdong died from torture in May.

The biggest demonstrations and worst crackdown in four years wracked Tibet in May, and two human rights monitors there remain in detention after they tried to deliver information to European Community delegation. China's behavior at the World Conference on Human Rights in trying to prevent the Dalai Lama from speaking is symptomatic of their disdain for freedom of expression more generally.

Prisoners are routinely denied medical care, and then released on "medical parole" only when there is a danger that they might die. In some cases, ill dissidents like Wang Juntao have been allowed outside medical treatment after concerted international pressure, but only on the condition that their families foot the bills. The most recent case is that of Wang Juntao, one of the "black hands" of the 1989 movement, who has been seriously ill with hepatitis for months. He was moved to a military hospital and then charged for room, board and medical tests. Making his family pay is particularly appalling since both Wang and his wife lost their jobs when he was arrested and she became an outspoken advocate on his behalf.

The actions of China on human rights since MFN was extended in June can only be described as "significant regress."

China's support and its supply of arms is helping to keep other human rights pariahs in power, like the State Law and Order Restoration Committee (SLORC) in Burma. The U.S. and China should both agree to cease arms deliveries to the world's major human rights violators.

2. Indonesia

Indonesia has been a major proponent of the "Asian concept of human rights" which says that too much emphasis has been placed on political and civil rights, and that governments should interpret international human rights standards as they see fit. In sharp contrast, 56 Indonesian non-governmental organizations signed a joint statement in June saying, "Now that more than two decades of development have been implemented, the time has come for priority to be given to political and civil rights and democratization, for these rights will guarantee the success of economic development in the long term."

Indonesia has the worst human rights record among the ASEAN countries. Killings and

disappearances remain unresolved in East Timor and Aceh, and the military remains largely unaccountable for grave abuses. The army has never revealed what happened to the bodies of those killed after the Dili massacre of November 1991. The military hampers the humanitarian operations of the International Committee of the Red Cross at every opportunity, most recently obstructing its visits to East Timorese detainees in May and June. President Suharto has just decreed the establishment of a National Commission on Human Rights but until there is a commitment in practice to upholding the rule of law, a Commission will not solve Indonesia's human rights problems.

The repeated interference of the military in labor negotiations and restrictions on worker rights led to the decision of the US Trade Representative to give Indonesia eight months to clean up its act on labor rights practices or risk losing benefits under the GSP program. The rash of arrests in June of members of the independent union SBSI (Indonesian Prosperous Workers' Union) is not a sign that Indonesia is showing any commitment to protection of internationally-recognized labor rights.

People are still arrested and books banned for "insulting the President" or "insulting religion." Academic freedom is severely curtailed, and student activism is generally suppressed, sometimes, as in recent weeks, with excessive force. Widespread corruption affects human rights because it means justice can be bought. As the Indonesian NGOs say in their joint statement, economic development must be understood as more than economic growth. If people are to participate fully in the development process, their rights to freedom of speech and freedom of association must be guaranteed.

3. Burma

Burma has made no progress toward implementing the recommendations of the UN Human Rights Commission, adopted unanimously on March 10, 1993. The UN recommended, among other things, that restraining orders on political leaders be lifted and those detained be unconditionally released, including Aung San Suu Kyi; that restrictions on the rights of association, assembly and expression be lifted; that the UN be allowed to monitor the return of refugees who have fled to Bangladesh; and that the International Committee of the Red Cross be allowed access to Burma's prisons to help prevent torture and abuse.

Far from acting on these recommendations, the SLORC leadership continues to detain dissidents, restrict access by international agencies to the country and forcibly relocate entire villages in areas close to the Thai-Burmese border, forcing many villagers to become porters for the military under inhumane conditions. While there is talk of an election in 1994, the military has decreed that it will retain the paramount role in government. Moreover by 1994, the terms of opposition party members elected by a landslide in May 1990 will have expired. Rather than hold new elections, the government should hand over power to those elected three years ago.

4. Vietnam

Vietnam's human rights record is poor, and progress toward improving that record will be critical to improving US-Vietnam relations. Three key indications of that progress would be:

-- release of peaceful dissidents like Doan Viet Hoat and Dr. Nguyen Dan Quoc, both of

whom are serving 20-year sentences. (Professor Hoat published a pro-democracy newsletter, Dr. Que campaigned for human rights.)

- respect for religious freedom and ability of Buddhists, Catholics and others to form religious associations free of government control.

- granting access to the International Committee of the Red Cross or other humanitarian organizations to visit prisons on a frequent and systematic basis.

- freedom to criticize the Party and advocate political change.

5. Cambodia

While the turnout for May election represented a remarkable triumph for the Cambodian people, neither of the two parties in the newly elected coalition government, the Cambodian People's Party and FUNCINPEC, have a tradition of respecting human rights. The intentions of the Khmer Rouge remain unclear, and progress towards democratic government is unlikely to be smooth. It is not clear how a new joint armed forces and police will function or how they will be paid.

To protect human rights,

- the international community must appropriate the funds to ensure that some UN peace-keeping presence remains after UNTAC leaves in September.

- the embassies of the Perm-5 and Japan in Phnom Penh should coordinate human rights monitoring in the provinces by having their officials make regular and frequent trips around the country; they should stay in close contact with the Cambodian human rights NGOs established over the last eighteen months. The most important function the UN has played has been to make Cambodia more transparent than ever before; if someone was arrested or beaten or killed, the word got out. That transparency must be preserved if human rights are to be protected.

- international attention needs to focus on how Cambodians themselves can work to make their new government and security forces more accountable. Support for non-governmental organizations and for the continued reform of the legal system is key.