

Japan is urged to back U.S. presence in Asia

BY SATOSHI ISAKA
Staff writer

China's growing military and economic power is the main source of concern for Asia's future, making a continued U.S. regional presence indispensable. But to secure that presence, Japan must open its markets and promote trade liberalization.

Summing up the views of Asia's various leaders is no easy task. But that was the message several top officials delivered last week at a Tokyo conference on the future of Asia, organized by Nihon Keizai Shimbun Inc.

One speaker, Singapore Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew, said there is a link between U.S. economic and security interests in Asia. He urged Japan to open its markets so as not to risk American military disengagement from the region.

"If peace and stability, which Americans have helped maintain over the last 50 years, lead to an increasingly pros-

perous Japan, Korea, Taiwan... China, ASEAN (and) Vietnam, but an increasingly less prosperous U.S., I don't see the U.S. Congress voting funds for the renewal of the Seventh Fleet and all the other things necessary to maintain the balance," Lee said.

Yet "Japan risks serious deterioration in bilateral relations with the U.S." if it persists with current practices, Lee said. These are bound to alienate the American people and eventually undermine the military alliance with Japan.

U.S. delegates agreed that a relationship exists between U.S. security and economic interests in Asia. C. Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economics, said he sees a "high-level strategic trade-off, whereby Asian countries engage the U.S. in economic terms to assure continued engagement in the area by the U.S. in security terms."

Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord said, "For the American people to appreciate the benefits of (engaging



The Future of Asia

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Singapore's Senior Minister Lee, left, and Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir discuss their views of Asia's future.

Asia), Asia's markets must be open to our goods and services." But, referring to the dispute with Japan over autos and auto parts, he stressed, "Trade frictions will not affect our security ties, which are of critical importance to both our nations and the entire region."

In turn, many delegates expressed concern over China's growing assertive-

ness.

If China's "creeping expansionism" in the South China Sea causes an open confrontation in the region, it will jolt the "stability that keeps East Asia's economic miracle going," said Jose T. Almonte, presidential security adviser

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JAPAN URGED TO BACK U.S. PRESENCE

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in the Philippines.

The APEC process is usually seen as a purely economic exercise to promote regional trade liberalization. But several Asian leaders said APEC is deeply rooted in security and political concerns, seeing it as an important vehicle to anchor U.S. interests in the region.

"APEC ensures a continuing presence in the region for the U.S.," said Almonte.

And because Japan is the largest and richest economy in Asia and the current chairman of APEC, Singapore's Lee said the country has a responsibility to take the initiative for freer trade.

The Asian leaders expressed irrita-

tion at Japan's inability to meet their expectations for taking leadership in regional affairs.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad mockingly suggested that Japan was an unreliable balance to China.

He did this in his "worst possible scenario" for the future: War breaks out between China and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations after China presses its claims over the Spratly Islands.

"Unable to take on a China that has become the most powerful economy in the world, ASEAN looked to Japan. Japan maintains a strictly neutral stand," seeing the Chinese market as too valuable, Mahathir told the audience.

Continuing with that scenario, he foresaw horrific clashes between China and the U.S., eventually involving Japan.

But another scenario — one he termed at once "idealistic" and "the most likely" — would have Asian nations adopting the free-market system "while developing their own versions of democracy." Trade, investment and wealth would expand, and Asia would set the pace for worldwide economic growth, freeing itself from what he has long described as Western bullying.

Note for Walter Mondale

From: Andrew Meyers
Date: Wed, Jun 26, 1996 6:15 PM
Subject: Various news
To: Walter Mondale
Cc: Al Magleby; Ed Lincoln; John Penfold; Marc Knapper

There were two interesting articles in the news recently which did not seem to make it through translation.

The first was a part of the Nikkei public opinion survey from yesterday. They asked which countries are most trustworthy.

	Can Trust	Can Not Trust
US	58.0%	26.4%
China	17.0	63.5
Korea	22.3	57.6
Russia	05.9	77.2

It is impressive to see the bounce from the summit. This is a bit higher than I had imagined. Wonder what kind of results they would get if they asked the same of MITI and MOF??

The second was a bunch of articles in today's Nikkei based on their annual survey of stockholders. One article pointed out that foreign stockholdings increased in 993 companies. Seventy four companies now have foreign shareholding of over 20%. This is largely US institutional investors, but since the registration is mostly in the name of the US custodian bank, it is not clear who exactly these investors are.

The other side of this story is the sellers. Part of Japan's traditional stable shareholder network, the Japanese institutional investors, were big sellers this year. Insurance companies and trust banks were quite active while the commercial bank's holdings remained relatively unchanged. What does it all mean? Although some of the keiretsu ties may be loosening, the banks desire to keep their leverage on the group seems to remain. The regular corporations, on the other hand, were net sellers, indicating a desire to break down some of the group ties.

1995 Changes in Major share holdings
(measured as number of companies which the major shareholder has changed holdings)

	Increases	Decreases
Commercial banks	276	274
Trust banks	661	1,351
Insurance cos.	76	486
Non-life	32	71
Corporations	202	470

Public Opinion & the Times
Yomiuri Poll

Asia's View of Japan: Only Few "Dislike" Japanese Asia Conspicuously Future-Oriented

(Full Translation)

"The Japanese are disliked by people in Asia ..."

Such a compelling view seems to be deep rooted among the Japanese people. As for the reason why the Japanese think they are disliked, Japan's acts of aggression during World War II can probably be pointed out in the first place. Japan, in the postwar days, has flooded Asian markets with its brands and made business inroads into Asian countries. This, as an "economic invasion," has incurred Asia's negative reaction ... There is also such concern among the Japanese people. Asian students and correspondents in Japan used to state their opinions generally critical of Japan, and this fact has endorsed such a pessimistic way of viewing things.

However, people in Asian countries were unexpectedly favorable toward Japan in reply to a question asking for their impression of Japan. *The Yomiuri Shimbun* and such Asian media as *The Hanguk Ilbo* [TN: a daily issued in the Republic of Korea] conducted a joint public opinion survey in six Asian countries, including China and Indonesia, from January through April this year. To review its results:

"What is your impression of Japan? Good or bad?" In reply to this question, "good" impressions accounted for 95% in Vietnam and 94% in Malaysia. Following these figures, the rate of such answers was 80% in Thailand and 72% in Indonesia. As seen from this, the rate of "good" impressions was high in Southeast Asia. In China as well, "good" reached a little over half at 53%, showing an excess of 15 percentage points over "bad" impressions. In the breakdown of the results thereof in China and Indonesia into age groups, the rate of "bad" impressions was high in the groups of persons aged 60 and over, and this implies scars left by the war.

On the whole, however, the favorable impression of Japan is not that low at all. Exceptionally, the rate of "bad" impressions was largely in excess of the rate of

"good" impressions in the ROK, which suffered from Japan's 36-year colonial rule. Such results tell us that the ROK and Southeast Asia cannot be included together in the sole category of "Asia" when speaking of the popular view of Japan.

Then, what about the Japanese perception of Asia's image of Japan? According to the results of a public opinion survey reported by *Asahi Shimbun* on August 23, 1994, the rate of persons who answered that the Japanese are "disliked" by people in Asia was as high as 56%. This time, however, *Yomiuri Shimbun's* overseas local survey resulted in urging a revision of such pessimism. Many countries in Asia are looking favorably at Japan. They said, "We like you." But we doubt it, thinking, "No, I don't think so. You really dislike me, don't you?" If we continue to say such, we may unavoidably be branded as masochistic.

The survey also asked for the impression of such countries as "America," "China," and "Russia" -- in addition to Japan. In Indonesia, for example, the rate of those who have a "good impression" of Japan reached 72%, while the rate of those who have a "good impression" of America was 57%. Thus, Japan was higher than the U.S. A similar trend can be seen also in Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam. It is interesting to learn that the impression of Japan is better than the impression of America which used to be the symbol of liberty and wealth in Southeast Asia and has been its guardian.

Just asking for a "good" or "bad" impression" is superficial, isn't it? There may well be such a question, too. So, we asked, "When hearing the word 'Japanese,' what words will come across your mind?" With this question being prepared, we asked those surveyed to give as many words as they like. Noting the top five answers in each country, the image of 'Japanese' in the words "diligent and working too hard" appeared in all countries. Following

that image, plus images in such words as "high technology," "well-off," "intellectual," and "polite" were among the top five answers in several countries. What can be derived from all those words is an image of the Japanese as a people who make high-quality goods with their diligent labor and have helped Japan grow into the world's leading economic power.

On the other hand, the number of people who were reminded of all sorts of events during World War II on hearing the word "Japanese" was not large at all, with exception of the ROK.

In China, which was once trampled under the former Japanese army's military boots, war-intertwined words were given by more people than in Southeast Asian countries. Even so, however, the rate of persons who gave the word "cruel" was 4% (17th place), and the rate of persons who gave words in connection with "World War II" was also 4% (18th place). The word "Japanese" does not always remind people in Asia of the dark past in the war. We are not asserting that the victims of Japan's acts of aggression during World War II have forgotten such acts or the Japanese may also forget such acts. When getting along with Asians, the Japanese must be based on the lessons of history, as a matter of course.

But when thinking of Asian people's view of Japan, we must not evolve one thing to another solely from a sketch of 'assaulters and victims' in a war. The survey results teach it to us. Now various countries in Southeast Asia are in the process of remarkable economic growth. Their peoples are directly feeling that their livelihood also has been steadily improving. In the words of an expert on the Asian economy, Southeast Asia is now "in the atmosphere Japan used to have during the 1955-1964 decade."

In this rising-tide-like mood, Japan is regarded as the successful pioneer in Asia and also as a country that will benefit Asian economies. (Those surveyed were asked

to choose "a country that is most important to your country's economy," Japan ranked first in Southeast Asia.) It may be said that Japan's accumulation of economic achievements in the postwar days remains the basis of Asian people's view of Japan today.

When the gap of economic power with Japan was overwhelming, Asia felt Japan's economic advance as its "invasion" and showed negative reactions. (For instance, anti-Japanese riots took place in Indonesia on the occasion of Prime Minister Tanaka's visit there in 1974.) But now more than half of the peoples of various countries in Southeast Asia answer that their countries will catch up with the living standards of Europe and America in 30 years. Such confidence is reflected also in their view of Japan, and we probably can say that they can frankly evaluate Japan's economic achievements.

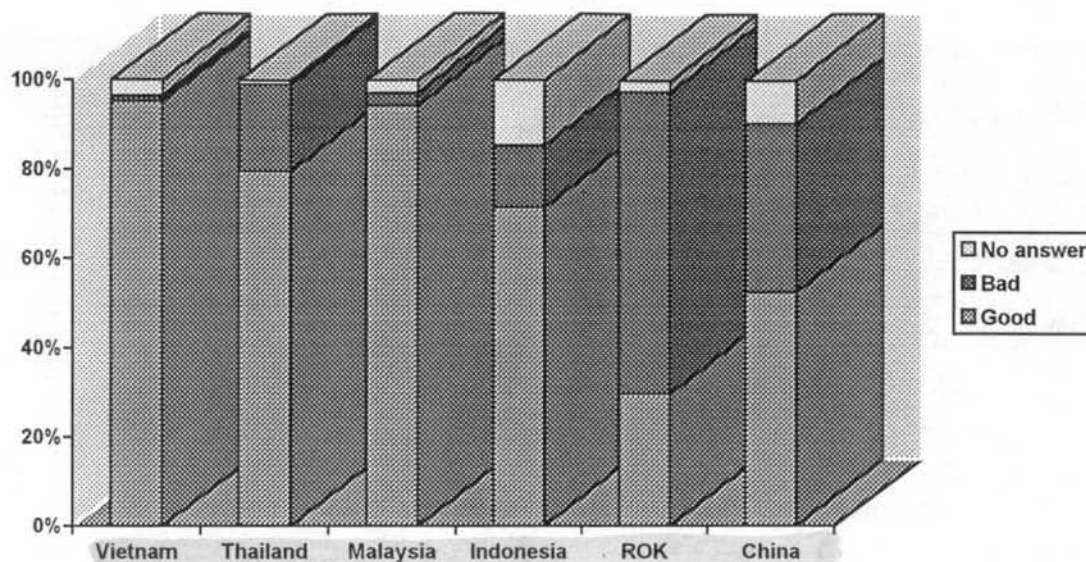
Opinion polls have been used in Japan, as well as in Europe and in the U.S., for the purpose of probing into public opinion. In Southeast Asia, however, opinion polls have long been underdeveloped as such were obstructed by such factors as political regimes that do not allow free speech, and vast national land. (The survey this time was conducted throughout the ROK and Thailand, and was conducted in major cities in China, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Vietnam.) Meanwhile, however, opinion polls have been activated along with progress in the liberalization of political regimes. Accordingly, it has become possible to see the statistically endorsed results of public opinion surveys on what the peoples of Asian countries are thinking and how they are looking at Japan. It would be outdated to speak of Asia's view of Japan based only on impression or imagination -- or depending only on the opinions of just a few intellectuals there.

(Chiharu Mori, Yomiuri Shimbun Opinion Poll Section)

Please see attached tables and charts.

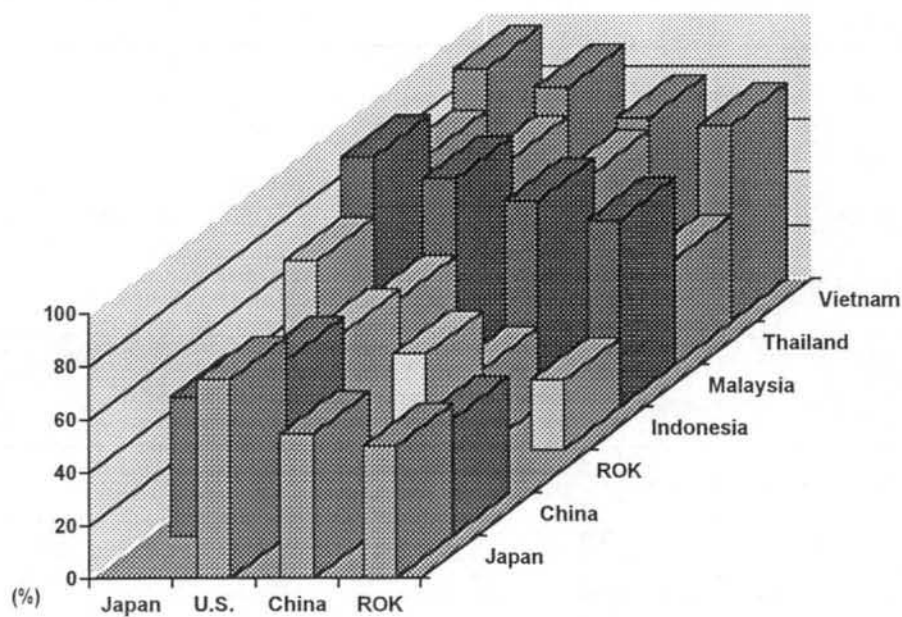
Q: What is your impression of "Japan," good or bad?

[The figures are shown in terms of percentage (%)]



	Vietnam	Thailand	Malaysia	Indonesia	ROK	China
Good impression	95.3	79.6	94.2	71.5	29.8	52.5
Bad impression	1.1	19.5	2.9	13.9	67.6	37.8
No answer	3.6	0.9	2.8	14.6	2.6	9.7

Favorable Impression of Japan, the U.S., China, and the ROK



Favorable Impression of Japan, the U.S., China, and the ROK

[The figures are shown in terms of percentage (%)]

	Japan	U.S.	China	ROK
Japan	----	75.3	54.6	49.8
China	52.5	66.0	----	44.0
ROK	29.8	60.8	52.5	----
Indonesia	71.5	57.3	30.5	26.4
Malaysia	94.2	86.2	77.6	70.5
Thailand	79.6	77.5	72.0	39.9
Vietnam	95.3	88.2	76.7	73.7

Words Coming to Mind on Hearing the Word "Japanese"

(5 from top, free/plural answers, in each country)

China	① Polite; ② diligent, working too hard; ③ high technology; ④ stressed life; ⑤ high productivity.
ROK	① Colonial rule, World War II; ② sly, vulgar; ③ cruel, fearful; ④ diligent, honest; ⑤ kind, polite, orderly.
Indonesia	① Intellectual; ② high technology; ③ diligent, working too hard; ④ polite; ⑤ rich.
Malaysia	① Diligent, working too hard; ② intellectual; ③ polite; ④ high technology; ⑤ rich.
Thailand	① Diligent, working too hard; ② stable economic environment; ③ high technology; ④ patriotism, solidarity; ⑤ punctual.
Vietnam	① Diligent, working too hard; ② high technology; ③ intellectual; ④ rich; ⑤ economy first.

Q: Is it a plus or a minus for your country's economy to have Japanese businesses in your country?

[The figures are shown in terms of percentage (%)]

	Plus	Minus	Neither Plus nor Minus	No Answer
China	68.0	6.9	19.5	5.6
ROK	53.5	28.2	12.9	5.4
Indonesia	78.0	2.7	10.6	8.7
Malaysia	79.4	9.2	6.8	4.6
Thailand	77.4	11.1	10.1	1.4
Vietnam	71.8	2.8	15.7	9.7

Q: Do you think Japan will probably become a big military power in the future, or do you not think so?

[The figures are shown in terms of percentage (%)]

	Yes	No	Already So	No answer
China	35.4	37.1	8.6	18.9
ROK	56.4	10.1	25.9	7.6
Indonesia	22.7	38.7	2.7	35.9
Malaysia	39.5	26.9	9.2	24.5
Thailand	33.1	56.5	5.0	5.4
Vietnam	32.8	32.5	4.2	30.5
(Note: Japan	18.5	73.9	3.4	4.2)

Relations in the 21st Century

[The figures are shown in terms of percentage (%)]

	Improve	Remain Unchanged	Worsen	No answer
China	35.4	37.1	8.6	18.9
ROK	56.4	10.1	25.9	7.6
Indonesia	22.7	38.7	2.7	35.9
Malaysia	39.5	26.9	9.2	24.5
Thailand	33.1	56.5	5.0	5.4
Vietnam	32.8	32.5	4.2	30.5

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generals unless she is able to end the rivalries within her party and present a united front.

"If these factions in the party linger on, then the military is much less likely to take her seriously," a Western diplomat said.

(Preceding FS Material Not for Publication)

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(FS) CAN SOUTH KOREANS BREAK FREE FROM JAPAN'S INFLUENCE?

(Los Angeles Times 7/20 Teresa Watanabe article) (2170)

(Following FS Material Not for Publication)

MOKCHON, South Korea -- Oh Chol Hwang beholds the handcuffs and fetters, the clubs and swords, the gruesome wax dolls depicting Japanese military police torture techniques and declares himself a witness to history.

"All these things I saw here today, I experienced myself," says Oh, 79, as he recalls life under Japan's 35-year colonial subjugation during a recent visit to South Korea's Independence Museum southwest of Seoul. "No matter how much the Japanese try to deny it, they can't erase the memories of Koreans."

The memories remain vivid for Lee Hyo Chae as well. A leading activist on behalf of Korean women forced to have sex with Japanese soldiers, Lee says her Christian father was hung upside-down and water -- spiked with red pepper--was fed through his nose because he refused to bow to Japan's Shinto gods.

Lee was investigated for writing a nationalistic poem; her high school classmates were arrested for the crime of secretly studying the Korean language and history-activities banned by the colonial rulers.

"I don't have any memory of an innocent, happy childhood," says Lee, 71. "It was hell."

The Japanese colonialists are long gone, swept out in 1945 by their defeat in World War II. But the long shadow of their legacy still colors the national consciousness. Fifty years after Korea's liberation, the Japanese still provoke anguished memories, fiery debate-and efforts to purge all remaining colonial traces, such as the ritual destruction of the old Japanese headquarters in Seoul scheduled for next month.

But as public attention centers on the lingering colonial legacy, many Koreans are confronting a jarring reality: It will not enough to simply knock down a building be release the grip of their former rulers. The Japanese influence permeates virtually all aspects of Korean society -- language and music, art and politics, education and business. And because the societies have become so entwined -- through everything from Korean migration to Japan in the 4th Century to a Japanese pipeline of technology to Korea today-some say trying to separate the two is futile.

Western Modernization

Just as Korea introduced ancient Chinese learning to Japan centuries ago, Japan funneled Western modernization to Korea beginning in the late 19th Century. In the same way that purging Japan of Korean influence would rob it of everything from early temple architecture to pottery techniques, analysts say cleansing Korea of Japanese legacies would effectively eliminate its modern systems of business, government and the like.

"It's very sad for ordinary Koreans, but Korea started its modernization mainly under Japanese colonial rule," said one Japanese official in Seoul. "Fundamentalists insist on changing this, but if they abolished all the legacies, their system could not function."

Many Koreans seem to agree. In a cent poll by the Joong Ang Daily News, 88% of those polled said colonial legacies remained, with government and politics the top area influenced.

The complex relationship between the two neighbors has spanned more than 16 centuries, beginning with Korea's early migration to Japan. Many scholars here -- and a few in Japan-believe Korea provided one origin of the Japanese and even the imperial family, the root of Japan indigenous Shinto religion and myriad art and cultural forms.

But, in what Koreans view as a bitter betrayal of their goodwill, Japan sent back pirate raids in the 13th Century and a military invasion attempt in the 16th Century. Finally, Japan colonized the sovereign kingdom from 1910 to 1945 in a struggle with Russia and China over influence on the strategically located Korean peninsula.

Despite the similarities in language and, culture, which could lay the foundation for a rich symbiotic relationship, the long history of conflict has left deep grudges. The inability to resolve stubborn differences may ultimately stand as the greatest legacy of the history between these two countries so close and yet so far apart, said Fukuju Unno, a specialist in Korean studies at Meiji University in Tokyo.

"If we can't resolve these problems now, we won't ever be able to resolve them," Unno said. "This is our last chance."

To many Koreans, the biggest obstacle to a new friendship is what they view as unforgivable Japanese denials of their past.

Even memories as harsh as Lee's pale compared to eyewitness accounts written by such observers as Frederick McKenzie, a correspondent for the Daily Mail of London dispatched to Korea in 1904. In the book "Korea's Fight for Freedom," he details the terror of an unbridled police state that beat, tortured and killed Koreans at will, with techniques almost unimaginable in their cruelty.

The Japanese took the best Korean lands, stole national treasures and denied people all freedoms-regulating their lives down to the color of clothing they could wear and the ways they could spend their own money, he wrote.

While McKenzie credited the Japanese with reforming the Korean currency, extending roads and rails, developing agriculture, improving sanitation and developing new industries, the British journalist wrote that the Japanese colonial rule, marked by contempt and cruelty, ranked as one of the greatest failures of history."

Japanese prime ministers have not come close to acknowledging such reported atrocities, but they have made a succession of ever-more explicit apologies to Korea. In 1993, Morihiro Hosokawa was the first to squarely apologize for such specific practices as forcing women to serve as sex slaves, men to toil as laborers and all Koreans to adopt Japanese names and speak the Japanese language.

Murayama's Apology

This week, Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama went one step further by announcing he would send letters of apology to each woman forced into sexual servitude, as well as inaugurating a semiprivate "friendship fund" aimed at raising the equivalent of \$22.7 million to aid Asian women victimized by Japan's war deeds.

Likewise, Japanese educators have made considerable progress in improving their textbook treatments of the colonial period, which generally had been whitewashed.

Newly approved sixth-grade textbooks, for instance, not only teach that Japan took Korean land, forced Koreans to speak Japanese and hurt their pride. For the first time, one book introduces Japan's bloody suppression of Korea's 1919 independence movement of thousands of unarmed patriots, while another states: "Among Japanese, the view toward apologizing to Koreans and Chinese has spread."

Widely praised by Koreans at the time, such gestures seem largely forgotten. They were neutralized by other acts, such as the recent failure by the Japanese Parliament's upper house to pass a war apology resolution and by former Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe's claim that the 1910 treaty formally handing Korea to Japan as a colony was "peacefully" and legitimately concluded.

Koreans argue the treaty was illegally foisted on a resistant King Kojong and affixed with a phony royal seal. Watanabe's statement provoked Korean students to hurl a firebomb at the Japanese Cultural Center in Seoul and reignited suspicions of Japan's sincerity.

Many Koreans also reject the Japanese assertion that, evil as their rule was, it did contribute to modernizing society. Park Gol Sun, the Independence Museum's chief researcher, said Korea would have modernized anyway, and the Japanese infrastructure only hastened the ransacking of their land.

And, despite Murayama's announcement, few Koreans seem mollified by the "friendship fund."

"No one in Korea wants money," said Chi Ik Pyo, an attorney who is aiming to nullify the 1910 treaty and declare Japan's colonization illegal. "We are trying to get the Japanese government to issue a sincere apology so we can join hands to build a future together."

But so long as the Japanese continue to deny their deeds, Koreans are not about to openly welcome their continued legacies, activists here say.

"Eradication of the legacies of Japanese imperialism is meant not only to abolish the shameful past history, but also ... to rehabilitate the national spirit," said Chung Woon Hyon, a journalist and contributor to a new collection of essays, "The 19 Legacies of Japanese Imperialism."

Removing all traces of colonial influence, however, is a gargantuan task. Despite Japan's relatively short formal rule—just 35 years in a 5,000-year history—it occurred at a critical moment: as Korea was just beginning to move toward modernization. Japan itself had recently opened after three centuries of isolation and began sharing with Korea its newly acquired Western technology.

The Japanese trained Korean soldiers and scientists, bureaucrats and educators. Many became leading figures—ranging from former president Park Chung Hee, who attended a Japanese military school, to the head of the Samsung business conglomerate, who studied at Waseda University in Tokyo and built his early business around joint ventures with Japanese partners.

A Cruel Irony

In what many Koreans regard as a cruel historical irony, the Japanese-trained officials retained their positions of influence even after World War II. Postwar Korean President Syngman Rhee found he needed their expertise, while the United States preferred the conservative colonial-trained officials to leftists and socialists, scholars here say.

Japan has also vastly influenced the Korean language. The Japanese modernizers introduced a host of concepts that did not exist in Korea and, as a result, also supplied the vocabulary of technical words needed to describe them, said Chung Dae Kyun, an associate professor of humanities at Tokyo Metropolitan University. Words ranging from export to auto to corporation are Japanese words rendered into Korean pronunciation.

Thanks to a "cultural cleansing" movement, Korea has excised from its public documents many of the Chinese characters with which it wrote the Japanese words. But the words now written in the Korean alphabet are still originally Japanese, he said.

Worse than the language, some say, is the influence over the Korean artistic soul, as reflected in music, poetry and literature.

The melodies and rhythms of Korean traditional song and Japanese enka are similar, appalling those who can't stomach sharing common musical sensibilities with their erstwhile oppressors.

"Crows on that mountain, crows in this field sing to the setting sun," wrote Kim So Wol, one of Korea's most beloved folk poets. Another famous poet, Chung Ji Yong, wrote of "brindled ox mooing lazily." Yet neither crow nor brindled oxen is common in Korea, says Chung, the

journalist. "The poets were heavily influenced by Japanese education. They are using Korean words but expressing Japanese sentiments," he wrote in his "The 19 Legacies" book.

The Japanese also served as Korea's model for an education system characterized by cram schools and rote memorization. After the war, Americans introduced liberal arts education, creating what Korea University professor Man Gil Kang called a "mixed-up" system.

This year, however, officials unveiled what could be far-reaching reforms to encourage more creativity in the schools -- and to further weaken Japanese influences in favor of Western-style education.

After the war, bright Korean scholars and bureaucrats chose to study in the United States rather than Japan, weakening Japanese influence. "There is a tug of war between U.S.-trained economists and bureaucrats and the legacy of the Japanese administration," said one Japanese official in Seoul.

Economically, however, the Japanese have always served as Korea's most powerful model, and still do. The Korean family business grouping known as chaebol, which served as engines of the nation's spectacular postwar industrial growth, is based on Japan's zaibatsu, or interlocking business conglomerates. The word chaebol, in fact, is the Korean pronunciation for zaibatsu, experts here say.

Today, Japan is Korea's top foreign investor and biggest supplier of technology, responsible for 50% of the 8,766 technologies introduced between 1965 and 1993, the Korean government reported last year.

But as Koreans gain confidence as a rising Asian power and acquire more personal exposure to Japan, thanks to loosened travel restrictions—some say the lingering legacies should be ultimately seen as simply another example of a shared heritage.

"Many legacies have become part of our lives, so I don't think it's necessary to remove all of them," Shim said.

Still, reconciling the two neighbors -- and the conflicting Korean sentiments of hatred and respect toward the Japanese -- will never be easy.

A 1994 poll of Korean youths showed that 49% believed the nation should be wary of Japan, while 61% believed it should learn from Japan.

In Pagoda Park, Ahn Yong Ho, 75, recalled shaking hands goodby with his Japanese colleagues at a pharmaceutical firm when they left Korea in 1945. "They said, 'We'll meet in 20 years,' and, sure enough, they rose up again," Ahn said. "We must admit they are more advanced than us and learn from their spirit of unity."

But as he spoke, a mob surrounded him. "Don't praise the Japanese!" one man shouted angrily. "That kind of statement brings contempt on Koreans!"

Ahn shrank back, silenced. His desire to see his nation let the past go was put off to another, distant day.

(Chi Jung Nam of The Times' Seoul Bureau and Megumi Shimizu of the Tokyo Bureau contributed to this report.)

(Preceding FS Material Not for Publication)

PFS406 07/20/95

(FS) ZENITH BOWS TO TV REALISM
(The Journal of Commerce 7/20 editorial) (460)

(Following FS Material Not for Publication)

For more than two decades, Zenith Electronics fought tenaciously against Japanese and Korean television makers, alleging that they were decimating the American industry by dumping sets here at prices below their real cost.

And even as other well-known American brands like RCA and GE bit the dust and sold out to foreign owners,

Glenview-based Zenith chose to stand alone, getting bloodied by the assault of foreign competition and the harsh new realities of a global marketplace.

The company maintained a reputation for quality, diversified into personal computers, invested in new technologies, consolidated most of its manufacturing operations in Mexico and cut costs. But it couldn't squeeze out an annual profit in any of the last 10 years.

So on Monday, desperate for capital and eager to be a leading player in the next generation of TV, Zenith gave up its quixotic struggle and agreed to sell a controlling interest in the company to LG Electronics, a South Korean firm that makes Goldstar brand televisions.

The \$351 million deal marks the end of the independence of the last American-owned television maker and closes the book on a chapter of the industry that came to symbolize America's lack of competitiveness. But it's the type of alliance that Zenith probably should have forged long ago.

Zenith will remain a separate company headquartered in Glenview and managed by Al Moschner, Zenith's president and chief executive. And although LG Electronics didn't announce any plans to do so, other foreign TV manufacturers have added plants and jobs in the U.S.; there's a good possibility the same could happen with a financially stronger Zenith.

Right off the bat, LG Electronics, which has been doing business with Zenith since the 1970s, will invest \$150 million to expand and update Zenith's sprawling picture-tube plant in Melrose Park. In addition, Zenith gains access to the Korean company's global distribution network in Southeast Asia and South America.

In return, LG Electronics gains a premium brand name, better distribution in North America and access to Zenith's application of digital technology to high-definition TV, which most experts assume will be a crucial part of the multimedia future. And the combination with Zenith creates a stronger company that has a better chance of setting the standard for high-definition TV over rivals in Japan.

From time to time, critics have issued ominous warnings about foreign investment in America. In most cases, however, it boosts investment in new plants and equipment, raises the productivity of workers and enhances the value of the company. In Zenith's case, it should do all those things.

(Preceding FS Material Not for Publication)

PFS407 07/20/95

(FS) ASEAN'S PROFILE TO RISE IN U.S. EXPORT PROMOTION
(The Journal of Commerce 7/2 Richard Lawrence article) (330)

(Following FS Material Not for Publication)

WASHINGTON -- The Commerce Department plans to formally announce Monday an initiative expected to give a further boost to U.S. exporters in Southeast Asia.

The department will expand its "big emerging markets" program to cover all of the Association of Southeast Nations - Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei. Vietnam also will be covered if, as expected, it joins Asean next week.

Under the program, Commerce concentrates its export-promotion efforts on countries it finds offer the biggest potential growth markets for U.S. goods and services.

As of now, Indonesia is the only Asean country designated as a big emerging market. Other designated countries are China, India, South Korea, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, South Africa, Poland and Turkey.

As part of the initiative, begun two years ago, Commerce Secretary Ronald Brown has been heading high-level business missions to the designated countries. So far, he has

visited eight of the IQ countries, and he plans to visit two more - South Korea and Turkey - in coming months.

A spokesman for the U.S.-Asean Council, a group of more than 100 U.S. firms doing business in Asean, called Commerce's decision to include all of Asean in the initiative a "great move." This indicates, he said, that the U.S. government will channel more of its trade-promotion resources to that area.

Asean, which is moving toward free trade among its members, should logically be treated as a group, he said.

The announcement on Asean is due to at a conference the Commerce Department is sponsoring here early next week on big emerging markets. The conference, the first of its kind, will bring together about 500 senior government officials and business executives, from both the United States and the big emerging markets.

(Preceding FS Material Not for Publication)

PFS408 07/20/95

(FS) MYANMAR CALM AS DISSIDENT VENTURES OUT
(Los Angeles Times 7/20 Charles Wallace article) (590)

(Following FS Material Not for Publication)

SINGAPORE--Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and opposition leader in Myanmar, made her first public appearance Wednesday since she was freed from almost six years of house arrest, but both the opposition and military authorities appeared determined to avoid conflict.

Suu Kyi, 50, left her house on a lake in the capital, Yangon, to attend ceremonies marking Martyrs Day in the nation formerly known as Burma. The holiday commemorates the 1947 assassinations of her father, Gen. Aung San, widely revered as the father of the nation's independence movement, and a number of his comrades.

Suu Kyi was accompanied to the ceremony by Lt. Col. Than Tun, a military intelligence officer who has acted as the liaison between the opposition leader and the military regime, which calls itself the State Law and Order Restoration Council. No members of the council took part in the ceremony.

Although some diplomats had anticipated a huge turnout Wednesday, the crowd was sparse. Suu Kyi, dressed in black, placed baskets of flowers at the Martyrs Museum but did not speak.

The pro-democracy leader was placed under house arrest in 1989 when she announced that she planned to lead her National League of Democracy in a special commemoration of the Martyrs Day holiday. The regime then filled Yangon with troops to prevent a demonstration of NLD strength.

Since her release July 10, Suu Kyi has preached harmony with the military and her attendance Wednesday appeared designed to reassure the junta's leaders that she would not incite the public to violence. The regime came to power in 1988 after clashes between troops and pro democracy demonstrators left thousands dead in Yangon, formerly known as Rangoon.

Suu Kyi told an interviewer earlier this week: "I believe that everything is open to negotiation, and all problems can be solved through goodwill and compromise."

"As long as all of us wish only for the good of the nation, we should have no trouble. But all of us have to wish to do something that will benefit the nation as a whole."

Even though she was under house arrest, the NLD won a landslide victory in parliamentary elections in 1990. The military nullified the result and silenced the opposition through arrests and intimidation.

Suu Kyi has vowed to press ahead with her movement for democracy, while at the same time acknowledging that the military will continue to play a role in the political life of the country.

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EDITORIAL

The unseemly rush to Myanmar

This week, Japan provided the government of Myanmar with a ¥1.6 billion grant to put up buildings and dormitories and to buy equipment for a nurses' training center in that country. It is a worthy cause for a nation that has only two nurses for every 10,000 people. But worthy is not the same as deserving: The grant is the first package of nonhumanitarian aid that Japan has given Myanmar's State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) since it seized power in 1988 after crushing the nation's prodemocracy movement and overturning two years later an election won by the junta's foes.

Foreign Ministry officials defended the resumption of aid by noting SLORC's moves toward national reconciliation and democratization. Were it only true, SLORC has released several thousand political prisoners, including its most famous dissident, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the democratic opposition in Myanmar and winner of the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize. But undoing wrongs that never should have been committed is not the same as making progress toward genuine democracy.

The Japanese government — like Myanmar's neighbors and dialogue partners in ASEAN — is pursuing a strategy of constructive engagement. The policy makes sense. Engagement has a much better chance of encouraging a government to reform than does isolation. The problem is that constructive engagement has produced precious little that is not cosmetic.

Thus far, SLORC has refused to talk to Ms. Suu Kyi, despite her repeated calls for moderation by her supporters and dialogue with the military junta. Last month the generals — through their surrogates at the election commission — barred Ms. Suu Kyi and two other former political prisoners from taking their places at the head of their party, the National League for Democracy (NLD). And according to an Amnesty International report released last week, SLORC continues to commit serious human rights abuses. Thousands of political prisoners remain in jail in appalling conditions and ethnic minorities are still abused by the government.

Immediately after her release in July, Ms. Suu Kyi asked the Japanese government to refrain from rushing back into Myanmar, to wait and see if SLORC went beyond cosmetic changes in its policies and practices. That plea has been ignored — and

the haste is unseemly. In fact, the decision to provide the aid was made only a month after Ms. Suu Kyi was released from her six years of house arrest.

A more convincing explanation for this nation's behavior is revealed by the red carpet that was rolled out by Japan's trading companies for Gen. Maung Aye, a leading figure in the military government, when he visited Tokyo this week. Myanmar is rich in natural resources and business opportunities. Japanese companies are not alone in hoping to exploit them: Foreign businesses from the United States to Singapore have invested more than \$2.5 billion in Myanmar. Japanese companies have invested \$101 million in the country since SLORC's bloody crackdown in September 1988, considerably less than their British, Thai or French counterparts.

What is different is the role played by the governments of those countries — and particularly that of the Japanese government. This nation has a long and special relationship with Myanmar: Its revolutionary heroes — including Mr. Aung Sun, Ms. Suu Kyi's father — were trained here during World War II. SLORC acknowledged that history when it released Ms. Suu Kyi: The announcement was made first to the Japanese Embassy in Rangoon.

Japan's obligation is to use that influence constructively and to help Myanmar's citizens. The government does not seem to be rising to the challenge. Later this month, Myanmar's National Convention will convene to renew efforts to draft a new constitution for the nation. That process began two years ago and has continued all the while firmly under the thumb of SLORC. Even though the assembly has been stacked with delegates handpicked by the junta, the draft document — designed to institutionalize SLORC rule — was apparently too much for even them to stomach.

Japan must make it clear to SLORC that merely going through the motions will not suffice. Ignoring the wishes of a loyal and popular opposition and imposing a sham constitution that legitimizes a military dictatorship must be countered by international ostracism. Constructive engagement is a process of give and take. We are still waiting to see if the generals who rule Myanmar truly understand their obligations and are willing to act upon them.

REVIEWS

Voices of Asia windy and short on substance

THE VOICE OF ASIA: Two Leaders Discuss the Coming Century. By Mahathir Mohamad and Shintaro Ishihara. Tr. Frank Baldwin. Kodansha International. 159 pp. \$25.

By **JAN B. GORDON**
Special to Asahi Evening News

Shintaro Ishihara, one of the authors of "The Voice Of Asia," sings his most adulatory praise of Asia's spiritual superiority and openness (ideas that seem mutually exclusive) in a section entitled "Asia is Watching."

This image of an ever-watchful Asia is in subtle conflict with the idea espoused. Presumably, if a civilization genuinely welcomes anybody, regardless of its political views or its industrial products, one would not need to be so vigilant.

Above Ishihara and Mahathir Mohamad's Asian welcome mat, however, one can sense the eye of state surveillance which assumes a variety of formats nowhere mentioned in this volume.

Plainclothes police and spying video cameras at the recent International Women's Conference in China; structural impediments designed to maintain barriers against

the influx of foreign goods in Japan; or the Internal Security Act in Mahathir's Malaysia, used to interdict any unapproved assembly of more than five people. This is openness?

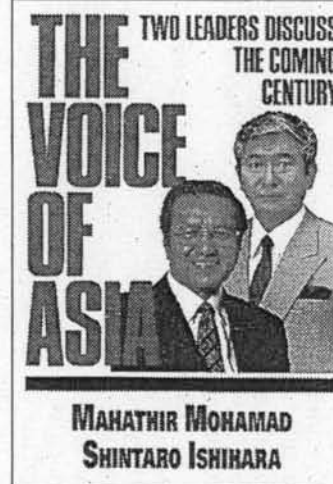
"The Voice of Asia" is nevertheless an unabashed celebration of Asian economic, cultural and spiritual superiority to the West by two of its most outspoken and prominent regional nationalists. Ishihara is a former Dietman, and Mahathir Mohamad is Prime Minister of Malaysia.

Although the West is demonized by the authors who take no account of differences between European parliamentary democracies, South American narco-democracies, and American popular democracy, a univocal Asia fares no better.

Even in its pompous title, the book represses the exciting plurality of the voices it wishes to celebrate. Surely Burma is as different culturally, politically and economically from the Philippines, for example, as the United States is from France?

In the pages of "The Voice of Asia," North America and Europe are portrayed as decadent, fatally weakened cultures with uncontrolled social and economic problems, among which are intolerable racial and ethnic hostility.

In 1969, the Malaysian gov-



ernment set rigid requirements for the licensing of local media, government censorship and restrictions on all foreign publications and broadcasts (now extended to satellite transmissions) in the aftermath of riots between Chinese and Muslim communities in that country.

Given the duration—26 years—of these restrictions, it could be inferred that ethnic tensions continue; or that they are no longer a problem but that censorship continues for political reasons.

In Japan, if racism and ethnicity are not problems, why should people of Korean descent, born in Japan, not be allowed to vote? Obviously, blood matters

more than nationality, just as in Bosnia.

With its thematically unrelated chapters by the two authors, the book is poorly organized and often inaccurate.

In one passage, Mahathir lambastes the United States for setting quotas on tropical oil imports, of which Malaysia is the world's largest producer.

The U.S. government never labeled these edible oils "poisonous" as Mahathir alleges in his complaints against Western protectionism.

It did, however, publicize the deleterious effects of saturated oils upon arteries. This was no more a campaign against Asia than a Malaysian ban on cigarette smoking could be conceived as anti-American.

Ishihara praises Asia for the respect it has traditionally accorded ancestors and spirits while deploring the loss of family values in the West.

But surely the argument could be made that it is precisely the emphasis on the family unit (and its nepotism) that has resulted in the slow evolution of political institutions and procedures by which wealth and power might be more justly and openly distributed?

Perhaps the worst flaw in "The Voice of Asia" is its con-

fusion of culture with politics.

The authors would wish the West to respect and venerate Asia for no other reason than its economic success and its differential cultural values. Yet, respect for a culture should not prevent political criticism of the system in which it has its origin and flourishes.

Any appreciation of so-called Asian values is deficient unless it takes into consideration the pains incurred and alternative voices silenced.

What the reader does not encounter in "The Voice of Asia," for example, is a recognition of the pain which rapid economic growth has brought to the region.

Though Ishihara celebrates the Japanese ability to recycle its foreign earnings to the benefit of the wider world, he ignores Japanese discomfort at the pain of postponed consumption of the very products they produce, as well as delayed access to non-state-dominated education and communications.

Ishihara would make of Japanese patience another cornerstone in his vision of Asian exceptionalism. It is as silly as Britons' notions of their cultural superiority or the belief of American Puritans that God bestowed his grace only on them.

AEN 11/11-12/95 p. 12

EDITORIAL

There should be no discord on status of nuclear weapons

AEM 11-9-45 p.8

It is clear that the use of nuclear weapons, which kill men and women indiscriminately and inflict long-lasting pain through the effects of radiation, is a violation of international law," said Takashi Hiraoka, mayor of Hiroshima.

"It is my understanding that attacks on civilians, causing unnecessary suffering and destroying the environment—even with weapons not specifically banned—are prohibited," said Iccho Ito, mayor of Nagasaki. "The use of nuclear weapons is clearly in violation of international law and is thus prohibited."

At the hearing of the International Court of Justice at The Hague, where the legality of nuclear weapons under international law is being discussed, the two mayors, representing the only cities to have been bombed by nuclear weapons, gave clear testimony.

Before their statements, however, the official Japanese government representative, Takekazu Kawamura, the Foreign Ministry's director-general of arms control and scientific affairs, simply said that the use of nuclear weapons is "contrary to the spirit of humanity that gives international law its philosophical foundation" but avoided the question of the legality of their use.

He even went so far as to state: "I venture to say that the statements by the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are testimony given as witnesses," and made the disclaimer that "...those parts related to elements other than facts do not necessarily represent the views of the government."

How did the rest of the world regard the discord from the only nation to have been bombed with nuclear weapons? It is quite probable that the government spokesman's statement would not be regarded as the view of a government that is serious in its call for abolition of nuclear weapons.

The insensitivity of the government in having the two mayors testify, yet making a statement that discredited them in an international arena, is hard to bear.

The hearing in the world court was called after the Geneva-based World Health Organization (WHO) raised the question of whether nuclear weapons violate international law from the standpoint of their impact on human health and the environment. Last year, the government planned to declare that the use of nuclear weapons is "not necessarily illegal" in its written statement to the International Court of Justice, but that phrasing was later retracted as legislators made it a Diet issue.

But the Foreign Ministry has not changed its stand in the process. The basis for not insisting upon the illegality of nuclear weapons seems to be that there is no codified provision in international law that specifically prohibits use or possession of nuclear weapons. The government may also be deferring to the United

The insensitivity of the government in having the two mayors testify, yet making a statement that discredited them in an international arena, is hard to bear.

States because Japan has the protection of America's nuclear umbrella in the sense of nuclear arms as an assumed deterrent.

Tokyo District Court issued an opinion on the legality of nuclear weapons in 1963. Although that court rejected claims for government compensation to victims of the atomic bombings, it ruled that the dropping of the atomic weapons was "clearly in violation of international law."

In making that decision, the Tokyo court cited rules on the conduct of war in the 1907 Hague Convention, which prohibited indiscriminate attacks and weapons that inflict unnecessary pain. Internationally, many academics who hold that nuclear weapons are illegal use the same argument.

The fact remains, however, that treaties have been signed in the hope of peace and trampled upon time after time, and weapons of mass destruction have been accumulated during this century.

The yawning gap between the will of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the nation's foreign policy, which cannot divorce itself from the Cold War mind set, has been made clear anew by the statements in the world court.

At the least, the government should strive to build an international order in which nuclear weapons are outlawed, rather than simply accepting the world as it is. It should, for example, try to gain international acceptance of the three non-nuclear principles—not to make, admit or possess nuclear weapons—and to stand at the forefront of a drive to extend nuclear-free zones.

The world court intends to gather opinions from other nations by the middle of this month and reach a conclusion by the beginning of next year. We hope that the world court will clearly rule that nuclear weapons are illegal based on new thinking. Given the international mood, in which the nuclear powers have a strong voice, however, it is not clear that the world court will come out with an advisory opinion.

Regardless of whether nuclear weapons are considered illegal, non-nuclear powers are obliged to stand together now as they have never done before. (Asahi Shimbun, Nov. 9)



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