

# F.A.S. PUBLIC INTEREST REPORT

Journal of the Federation of American Scientists (FAS)

Volume 41, No. 1

January 1988

## A WEEK THAT WAS: THE SUMMIT, SECURITY IN THE PACIFIC RIM AND NORTH KOREA

*A week-long trip report ranging from meeting with General-Secretary Gorbachev to a totally unexpected meeting with a highly placed Secretary of the North Korean Worker's Party—with a Yokohama Conference on Security in the Pacific Rim sandwiched in between.*

### Tuesday: Gorbachev at the Embassy

Chairman Frank von Hippel and I, accompanied by our Sponsor, the Nobelist David Baltimore taxied over to the Statler Hilton; we were not the only ones to use it for a staging base. There in the lobby were Cyrus Vance, Carnegie's President, David Hamburg, and the Council on Foreign Relations' Chairman of the Board, Peter Peterson. There also was William Miller, President of the Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations.

Together we approached the police barricade a block from the Soviet Embassy. This was the first time in history that the entire street in front of the Soviet Embassy had been closed off for security. Two different persons checked our invitations before we could get within a block of the Embassy and the crowds watched the scene.

In front of the Embassy, a half-dozen enormous Soviet Zil limousines were parked as we strolled grandly down the middle of the street. We passed two other check points. Inside the Embassy, a man had just gone through the electronic gate that had been set up for weapons and, having set it off, was being frisked with an electronic probe while thirty roped-off photographers shot the scene. The man exclaimed, "This is ridiculous." It was Henry Kissinger.

A month before, at the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, the Embassy had been wall to wall people—so packed with 2,000 visitors that one felt one was giving up one's place to someone else when one left. But this was very different.

In fact, one week before, the overburdened Embassy had sought FAS' help in locating the addresses and telephone numbers of about twenty scientists it wanted to have meet with General-Secretary Gorbachev if the reception was approved. That evening, after its approval, we were even asked and urged to call the people at home to secure their initial agreement after which invitations would be sent.

It was not that hard. They were mostly FAS officials and scholars we knew well: FAS Sponsors—Hans Bethe, John Kenneth Galbraith, Richard L. Garwin, Wassily W. Leonief, George Wald, Jerome B. Weisner, and Herbert F. York. FAS Council Members—Thomas Cochran and Carl E. Sagan.

There were Sovietologists Seweryn Bialer, Marshall Shulman and Stephen F. Cohen and foundation executive David Hamburg, philanthropist Ruth Adams, and Sidney Drell from Stanford.

Miller, evidently, had performed a similar service for the more political types (such as Vance and Peterson). And the total invited was only about 40.

The atmosphere was joyous. Gorbachev and Raisa, accompanied by Anatoly Dobrinin, Alexander Y. Takovlev, and Georgie Arbatov joined the cocktail party after which we were seated at small four-person tables with a head table for Gorbachev.

Just as the Chicago stockyards used "everything but the squeal," the Embassy had arranged to have Gorbachev speak live over *CNN* after which, with the cameras turned off, he took questions and comments from seventeen of the guests.

His televised statement, characteristically without notes, combined flavors of Reagan and Kennedy. It started with a Reagan-like reading of a letter from a "young philosopher." He pointed at Soviet Academy Vice-President Evgeny P. Velikhov and congratulated him on his initiative on arranging a Summit of Children. We were, he said, approaching a "crucial point in history" where political circles are behind the people. *(Continued on page 2)*



*Raisa and Mikhail Gorbachev*

(Continued from page 1)

Then, in a Kennedy style, he said,

"In the past, we represented only our own interests, but now we should represent the interests of all. We should ask ourselves what can we do? This is the one question I want to put before you." Later he said, "Everything begins with a first step." If Gorbachev were running for President, he could be accused of plagiarism for these two unattributed comments.

He talked of combining public with private systems, referred to Galbraith's writings and, in what must have been an intensely happy moment for Carl Sagan, said, "What about a joint journey to Mars?"

The audiences responded. Senator Fulbright proposed a "joint venture in attacking the problem of trust." Tom Cochran asked if Gorbachev would support the plutonium challenge to cut off fissionable material. Gorbachev said maybe in the context of a complete test ban.

I asked him to support "diplomatic and political glasnost" and in particular, to exchange more political leaders, to reduce the closed areas, to take the lead in supporting more resources to the two embassies while relieving the pressures against them so that they could fulfill their function in supporting such exchanges. On the exchanges, he warmly agreed saying, "Yes, I am going to be here for three days and am still not seeing anything."

And he has a sense of humor. When Stephen Cohen asked him how the U.S. Sovietologists and the Soviet Americanologists could improve their image, he suggested, "maybe a joint seminar." On leaving, a visitor advised Arbatov, who was seated next to me, to "take good care of him" and he said, "Yes, he is as important to you as to us." In the lobby of the Embassy, a former high official of the Carter Administration was lamenting, "I sometimes wonder what we could have done if we had had Gorbachev to deal with."

### Wednesday: The Summit's Second Day

Tried to catch up at the office while completing a paper for a Yokohama conference on "Security in the Pacific" (Continued on page 3)



From Left to Right: Ambassador Yuri Dubinin, Raisa Gorbachev, and interpreter

## FAS

Chairman: MATTHEW S. MESELSON  
Vice Chairman: ANDREW M. SESSLER  
President: JEREMY J. STONE  
Secretary: GEORGE A. SILVER  
Treasurer: \*ROBERT M. SOLOW

The Federation of American Scientists is a unique, non-profit, civic organization, licensed to lobby in the public interest, and composed of 5,000 natural and social scientists and engineers who are concerned with problems of science and society. Democratically organized with an elected National Council of 24 members, FAS was first organized in 1945 as the Federation of Atomic Scientists and has functioned as a conscience of the scientific community for more than forty years.

### SPONSORS (partial list)

\*Philip W. Anderson (Physics)  
\*Christian B. Anfinsen (Biochemistry)  
\*Kenneth J. Arrow (Economics)  
\*David Baltimore (Biochemistry)  
\*Leona Baumgartner (Pub. Health)  
\*Paul Beeson (Medicine)  
\*Lipman Bers (Mathematics)  
\*Hans A. Bethe (Physics)  
\*Konrad Bloch (Chemistry)  
\*Norman E. Borlaug (Wheat)  
\*Anne Pitts Carter (Economics)  
\*Owen Chamberlain (Physics)  
\*Abram Chayes (Law)  
\*Morris Cohen (Engineering)  
\*Mildred Cohn (Biochemistry)  
\*Leon N. Cooper (Physics)  
\*Paul B. Corneil (Medicine)  
\*Andre Courmand (Medicine)  
\*Carl Djerassi (Organic Chem.)  
\*Renato Dulbecco (Microbiology)  
\*John T. Edsall (Biology)  
\*Paul R. Ehrlich (Biology)  
\*Val L. Fitch (Physics)  
\*Jerome D. Frank (Psychology)  
\*John Kenneth Galbraith (Economics)  
\*Richard L. Garwin (Physics)  
\*Walter Gilbert (Biochemistry)  
\*Edward L. Ginzton (Engineering)  
\*Donald Glaser (Physics-Biology)  
\*Sheidon L. Glashow (Physics)  
\*Marvin L. Goldberg (Physics)  
\*Alfred D. Hershey (Biology)  
\*John P. Holdren (Energy/Arms Con.)  
\*Robert W. Holley (Biochemistry)  
\*Carl Kaysen (Economics)  
\*H. Gobind Khorana (Biochemistry)  
\*Arthur Kornberg (Biochemistry)  
\*Polykarp Kusch (Physics)  
\*Willis E. Lamb, Jr. (Physics)  
\*Wassily W. Leontief (Economics)  
\*William N. Lipscomb (Chemistry)  
\*S.E. Luna (Biology)  
\*Roy Menninger (Psychiatry)  
\*Robert Merton (Sociology)  
\*Matthew S. Meselson (Biochemistry)  
\*Neal E. Miller (Psychology)  
\*Philip Morrison (Physics)  
\*Daniel Nathans (Biochemistry)  
\*Franklin A. Neva (Medicine)  
\*Marshall Nirenberg (Biochemistry)  
\*Robert N. Noyce (Indus. Exec.)  
\*Severo Ochoa (Biochemistry)  
\*Charles E. Osgood (Psychology)  
\*Linus Pauling (Chemistry)  
\*Arno A. Penzias (Astronomy)  
\*Gerard Piel (Sci Publisher)  
\*Charles C. Price (Chemistry)  
\*Mark Ptashne (Molecular Biology)  
\*Edward M. Purcell (Physics)  
\*George Rathjens (Political Science)  
\*Burton Richter (Physics)  
\*David Riesman, Jr. (Sociology)  
\*Walter Orr Roberts (Solar Astron.)  
\*J. Robert Schrieffer (Physics)  
\*Julian Schwinger (Physics)  
\*Glen T. Seaborg (Chemistry)  
\*Stanley K. Sheinbaum (Economics)  
\*Herbert A. Simon (Psychology)  
\*Alice Kimball Smith (History)  
\*Cyril S. Smith (Metallurgy)  
\*Henry Taube (Chemistry)  
\*Howard M. Temin (Microbiology)  
\*James Tobin (Economics)  
\*Charles H. Townes (Physics)  
\*Frank von Hippel (Physics)  
\*George Wald (Biology)  
\*Myron E. Wegman (Medicine)  
\*Victor F. Weisskopf (Physics)  
\*Jerome B. Wiesner (Engineering)  
\*Robert R. Wilson (Physics)  
\*C.S. Wu (Physics)  
\*Alfred Yankauer (Medicine)  
\*Herbert F. York (Physics)

### NATIONAL COUNCIL MEMBERS (elected)

\*Julius Axelrod (Biochemistry)  
\*Bruce Blair (Policy Analysis)  
\*Deborah L. Blevis (Energy)  
\*Rosemary Chalk (Pol. Science)  
\*Thomas B. Cochran (Physics)  
\*E. William Colglazier (Physics)  
\*Hugh E. DeWitt (Physics)  
\*John Harte (Energy)  
\*Dudley R. Herschbach (Chem. Physics)  
\*William A. Higinbotham (Physics)  
\*Art Hobson (Physics)  
\*Gerald Holton (Physics)  
\*Jerry F. Hough (Pol. Science)  
\*Robert W. Kates (Geography)  
\*Henry C. Kelly (Technology Policy)  
\*Barbara G. Levi (Physics)  
\*Francis E. Low (Physics)  
\*Christopher E. Paine (Def. Policy)  
\*Victor Rabinowitch (World Dev.)  
\*Carl E. Sagan (Astronomy)  
\*Stephen H. Schneider (Climatology)  
\*Andrew M. Sessler (Physics)  
\*George Stanford (Physics)  
\*Robert A. Weinberg (Biology)

Ex Officio: John P. Holdren, Frank von Hippel

\*Nobel Laureate

## FAS FUND

The Federation of American Scientists Fund, founded in 1971, is the 501 (c)(3) tax-deductible research and education arm of FAS.

|                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Frank von Hippel, Chairman | Jeremy J. Stone, President |
| Moshe Alafi                | Matthew S. Meselson        |
| David Armington            | Rosalyn R. Schwartz        |
| Ann Druyan                 | Martin Stone               |
| William A. Higinbotham     | Martin S. Thaler           |
| Proctor W. Houghton        | Alan M. Thorndike          |

The FAS Public Interest Report (USPS 188-100) is published monthly except July and August at 307 Mass. Ave., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. Annual subscription \$25/year. Copyright © 1988 by the Federation of American Scientists.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to FAS, 307 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

(Continued from page 2)

Rim." The paper suffered because of the attendance in town of FAS' closest friends among the Soviet scientists, E.P. Velikhov, who had arrived one week before and Roald Sagdeev, head of the Soviet Space Institute who had actually been in town for about three weeks.

These two had separately and jointly seen quite a few people including an elegant dinner in their honor hosted by Senator Edward Kennedy with a half dozen senators in attendance. We had helped arrange a number of meetings for them. Non-political in style and always constructive, they were a pleasure to work with.

In conjunction with the Summit, their dialogue had reached the point where we were having trouble getting through their busy lines at the Madison Hotel. Our Russian-speaking assistant, Valerie Wattenberg, was assigned to give them whatever help they needed. She began camping out at the Madison.

The two superpower leaders signed the INF Agreement. To the horror of Alton Frye, Vice President for Washington activities of the Council on Foreign Relations, 132 eminent guests had to be advised that Alexander Yakovlev had been instructed to drop his plans to address the Washington group, and instead, had joined the negotiations.

#### Thursday: Last Day of the Summit

In a reflection of the latent Soviet Government hope that the Summit might make enough progress to be extended, the Soviet visitors had not really been sure they could leave on Thursday night. But now it seemed that, as soon as Gorbachev had his press conference, they were free. Since they needed an escort to New York, and since I was leaving that morning from Kennedy airport for Tokyo, I decided to accompany them; since it was raining we decided on the evening train.

In the middle of the day, forced downtown to seek belatedly a Japanese visa, I decided to hang out at the Madison. Working out of the lobby, surrounded by security men, one sensed the hopeful and relieved mood of the Soviet delegation through encounters with Soviet acquaintances both in the delegation and from the Embassy.

Valentin Fallin, head of Novosti Press Agency, felt the visit had been a huge success and said not to overlook its "conception"—by which he seemed to mean the use of the visit by Gorbachev to meet other U.S. constituencies.

Sagdeev returned from the Embassy to continue working with Valerie on a *Washington Post Outlook* article on space cooperation. Velikhov appeared late because he had been presenting his "children's summit" participants to Gorbachev. The sixteen-year olds apparently told Gorbachev that he had no business reaching agreements without consulting "them."

On the train to New York, passengers wanted to take Velikhov's and Sagdeev's pictures and nearby seat mates, who turned out to be Senate aides, sent up messages in Russian. But we got a chance to chat and the train was very relaxing.

Arriving late at the Omni Berkshire, we were asked



Yoshikazu Sakamoto, Tokyo University Professor of International Politics

politely if we would mind staying in the three-bedroom (seven-room) penthouse suite (\$1,700 per night) since they had sold our three rooms (\$230 per night each). We accepted, and 24-hour room service provided a late night dinner with which we toasted the summit in a memorable style.

#### Friday: The Trip to Japan

Frank von Hippel and new bride Patricia Bardi-von Hippel, joined us in the suite for breakfast along with Susan Eisenhower, the granddaughter of the former President, all of whom were planning to attend the subsequent meeting at the Carnegie Endowment concerning the International Cooperation Foundation.

En route to Kennedy airport, the airport taxi driver, incredibly, volunteered a key piece of information. At the Embassy, Gorbachev had said that he had earlier raised with Reagan a bilateral group of scientists—but to do what had been unclear. According to the taxi driver, it had been scientists to "work on verification"—precisely what FAS' Joint Disarmament Project was doing with Velikhov's committee of Soviet scientists.

From an 8:45 a.m. Friday departure from Kennedy, one arrives in Yokohama by 6:30 p.m. Saturday night, after twenty hours of travel. I met Yoshikazu Sakamoto, Professor of International Politics at Tokyo University, who had organized the conference. A short, quiet man, he turned out to be enormously intelligent and precise.

#### Sunday: Security in the Pacific Rim

The conference organizers had told both me and the Chinese representative that the Soviet representative at the conference would be Evengy Primakov, Director of the Institute for World Economics and International Affairs (IMEMO). But over breakfast in Washington the week before, he had informed me that he was returning with Gorbachev to Moscow—not going on to Japan—and that his scientific secretary, Vladimir G. Leske would fill in.

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued from page 3)

Leske, a former Japanese specialist, was cheery and said that "nothing" was in his comments against the United States. I sat next to the Chinese representative, Li Shenzei, who is normally characterized in the West as the "Arbatov of China" since, among other things, he runs an "Institute on American Studies" (He is also Vice President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.)

Li turned out to be a splendid conference mate and quite sophisticated about the region. His paper said the Pacific was "not all that pacific" and that the region was "quite complicated"—sentiments foreign to the sometimes simplistic, and wishful, thinking of the other participants.

The Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, representing 7.7 million Japanese, opened the conference by calling for "people-to-people diplomacy" and the principle of "agreeing to disagree." He noted that Japan had rushed into a fifteen year world war "in the mixed state of mind of superiority and inferiority" and now, forty years later, armed with economic and technological powers, but unable to "contribute enough to the world" or to upgrade the Japanese quality of life, risked falling into a state of "auto-intoxication." He worried that she might make a second mistake like that of the last world war. He could not "wipe out an anxiety that Japan might be isolated from the world once again."

At the first session, Mihaly Simai, Deputy Director of Hungary's Institute for World Economics, called for an improvement in the "operative efficiency" of the U.N.

The African Professor of History, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, currently exiled from Burkina Faso, lamented the effect of foreign interactions with Africa. 85% of the studies of Africa were being done by non-Africans. Most students were not using African languages. The traditional medicines had been lost but, with 50% of the population illiterate, the population could not read the directions for modern medicine. The clever people left the country. We are "left with drift wood from the wreckage of a ship" with the old methods gone and the new methods not yet available. He was not sure that the Africans should participate in the conference's "struggles for common security," the future would lie, for them, in North-South relations.

### East-West Joint Projects Urged

The afternoon panel had Leske, myself and Li. Leske mentioned that the Soviet Union was "nearly the only big participant in international trade devoid of access to GATT on political grounds," and he emphasized that the Soviet Union was not interested in "disorganizing the existing economic structure." There was, he felt, a "vast field for the East and West in developing and realizing joint projects" aimed at helping the third world with environmental and food problems.

Li Shenzei emphasized that "China cannot be sure that her safety is reliably secured" until the "new thinking" in the Soviet Union was "translated into action." He complained about the rapid growth of the Soviet naval presence in the area which had achieved a total tonnage that

"already surpassed" that of the United States.

With regard to Japan, he noted that the 1% of GNP she was already spending on military items would enable Japan "to build one of the biggest fighting machines in the world." Considering the past history, he said, "how can China and the Southeast Asian countries not have doubts and worries about Japan's intentions today?"

Li complained about the protectionist trade policies of the U.S. and called the Japanese "even worse." The old Chinese saying "grow together or wither together" had become an economic reality.

He complained also about "unreasonable attacks" on China from some members of Congress on the Chinese strict family planning. If, he said, "mankind's understanding stays at this level (of criticism), even more severe punishments may come soon."

My comments emphasized how wrong scientists, and even political scientists, could be if they did not take into account the political factors. War had been much less likely and proliferation much less dangerous than our scientists had originally feared but the superpower buildup had been much greater. We had to be ready to recognize political change.

Even the CIA was calling Gorbachev a "pragmatic visionary" and was crediting him with wanting a sustained period of peace abroad. This period called for efforts to improve relations between the communist and non-communist states in the region and suggested that a number of conflict situations in the area had to be resolved before one could confidently modify the regional security umbrella of the United States. It listed a number of naval arms control proposals and promised to study them.

In questioning, the African delegate complained about the waste in military research; but, of course, from his point of view, most of Japanese consumer research is equally wasted, involving gadgets on cars, tape recorders that can be carried in a breast pocket, etc. In the industrialized world, little is being done that is relevant to African problems in or out of military spending.

Li said that the Pacific region was weak and it wasn't going to be "the Asian century." Agitation in Japan on bases had stopped, he said, because the Soviets have moved into the Pacific. Feelings of "control and anti-control" had been the reason for the Sino-Soviet split. Some-



From Right to Left: Li Shenzei, a Philippine delegate; Kevin P. Clements

times countries of different ideologies could live together when countries of the same ideology became rivals. But we were at the beginning of the end of coercive diplomacy.

The Chairman warned that there was a danger of Japan seeking "regional hegemony" and that Japan needed "remorse" and a recollection of its past. Other Japanese warned that increases in their military expenditures might lead to militarization.

In an amusing exchange, a second (old style) Russian participant charged me with "opening the door to winds of cold war" for noting that the Soviet Union had no peace treaty with Japan. He urged me to leave that affair "to the principals involved" and the Korean problem to the Koreans.

This, I suggested, was contrary to the theme of "common security" under which theme everyone's security business was everyone else's and no one would be secure until all were.

I urged "diplomacy with a human face," connections between the communist and non-communist world, political solutions to the military dangers in the area and, at the same time, research into and implementation of, relevant arms control proposals.

I pledged that we would study the arms control proposals which Gorbachev had made for that area and any others we could find. (FAS had not formerly studied these questions and, indeed, few Americans had.)

A New Zealand delegate said (with some reason) that the U.S.-Soviet INF was not "altruism" but resulted from "internal" pressures. But he was quite wrong when he went on to say that China was "not engaged in coercive diplomacy;" after all, who was it that said their invasion would "teach Vietnam a lesson?"

### Historic Amnesia?

Professor Takeshi Igarashi, Professor of American Political History and Diplomacy at the University of Tokyo, said that military expenditure in Japan was increasing because the U.S. asked Japan to do it and that U.S.-Japanese relations are bad because of the U.S. But he also felt that Japan had "historic amnesia."

I suggested that, had the U.S. not been in the region for the last few decades, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan would, by now, have built nuclear weapons. China, the Soviet Union, and those who opposed these weapons should, accordingly, be grateful in part for the U.S. protective shield. This startled the Japanese even though their delegates had been warning of Japanese militarization if its defense budget increased.

The convener, Yoshikazu Sakamoto, called for new approaches between Japan and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, he felt, had been considered by Japan as "uncivilized" while other countries such as France, Germany and the U.S. were "civilized great powers." But perhaps, he said, Russia "thought the same about Japan." While Japan had needed a defeat to democratize, in the Soviet Union, the "agents of change for democracy" had come at long last from inside. Perhaps mutual understanding could

come from the similarly authoritarian backgrounds and from the similar urge in both countries to "catch up."

The Northern territories (seized by the Soviet Union after World War II and wanted back by the Japanese) were the main issue. The Soviets, he felt, had no right to them but the Japanese had ceded them in the peace treaty. Japan's position was that no improvement in relations could occur unless the Soviet Union would talk about the Kurile Islands. But the Soviet positions had just hardened. When, he noted, countries are in sharp conflict, we all focus on the differences and almost totally ignore the similarities.

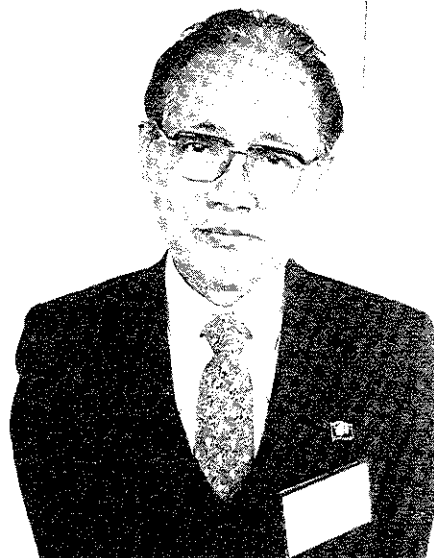
The New Zealand delegate (Professor of Sociology, Kevin P. Clements) said that, for small powers like his country, acrimonious behavior between the large powers was bad for them but, ironically, so was cooperation. Under conditions of cooperation, the big powers could dictate to the small powers. So, he said, "Common security involves harmonizing superpower relations but not harmonizing too much." Under the new way of thinking, the small nations might have to "wait in the queue to relieve their needs and to shout louder to make our needs heard." So the small nations should avoid "cooperative relations between superpowers that were exclusive."

### The North Korean Delegate

Through the good offices of the Convener, Professor Sakamoto, who had visited North Korea earlier, a high ranking North Korean participant had been invited to balance a South Korean delegate.

The North Korean turned out to be: Professor Dr. Hwang Jang Yop whose card listed, in order, these titles:

- a) Secretary of the Central Committee, Workers Party of Korea;
  - b) Chairman of the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R. of Korea;
  - c) Chairman of the Korean National Peace Coalition;
  - d) President of the Association of Korean Social Scientists.
- (Continued on page 6)*



*Professor Hwang Jang Yop*

*(Continued from page 5)*

On my being introduced to him, Professor Hwang immediately said, "I invite you to North Korea." Dumbfounded, I inquired whether the North Koreans had denied involvement in the airliner incident. And on this affirmative reply, asked if North Korea had a plan to reduce armaments levels in the Peninsula.

In due course we met to discuss the possibility of a dialogue of some kind, subject to the approval of the FAS Council. [At the December 19 annual meeting, the Council approved FAS seizing this opening and confirmed the desirability of a proposal to host, if possible, a small meeting of South and North Koreans after traveling there to report on the situation.]

Professor Hwang said "our people regard it as their sacred duty to defend peace in Korea and struggle for peace in Asia and the rest of the world." He said:

Our people have more vital interests than others in keeping Korea's peace. The maintenance and consolidation of Korea's peace enables us to further accelerate the socialist construction and make a success of the peaceful reunification of the divided country. (Ed. note: This certainly seemed to make Hwang a part of those who did not seek invasion of the South!) That's why the Workers' Party of Korea and the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have defined it as their most important strategic line to defend peace in Korea, and do their best for its realization.

He called for removing the "prevailing tension of military confrontation between the north and south" and called for turning Korea into a nuclear free peace zone.

### **Japanese Deeply Moved**

Some of the Japanese were quite moved to have representatives of this divided country under the same roof, especially in light of their feeling of guilt about Korea. Indeed, Professor Lee mentioned, in his paper, the 500,000 Korean women that had been seized by the Japanese to satisfy the sexual desires of the Japanese army during the occupation and war.

But the attitude between the two Koreans was absolutely non-confrontational and completely different than that between the Arabs and Israelis in Pugwash type meetings. But there are, Professor Lee, told me later, very few such meetings, and, in the past, mostly in church group settings.

Professor Hwang listened to Professor Lee's speech without asking his interpreter for continuous translation, relying on limited English—perhaps not really interested in taking careful notes of words to which he might feel obligated to disagree.

Professor Lee expressed his happiness at seeing a "brother from the North" which he had left 42 years before. Millions had died, he said, in a war that had brought neither victory nor peace to the people. The division of Korea was antagonistic and, unless it was overcome, it

might bring a new war—likely a nuclear war that would annihilate the peninsula.

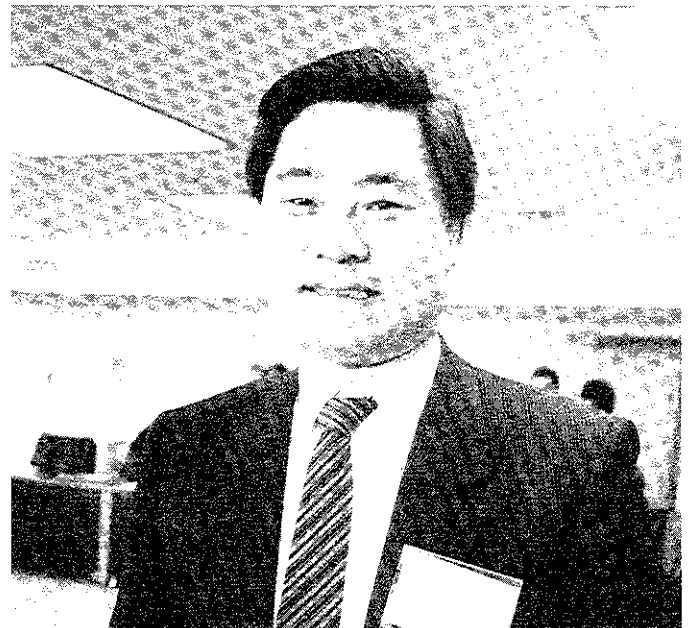
A third to 40 percent of the budgets of both sides were being used to support 1.5 million soldiers in the two Koreas. The two sides were encouraged to hate each other with all links between the two people broken and the population having no alternative but to believe what they were told.

Vietnam, Germany, and Korea were the divided countries of World War II. Only Korea had reached neither peaceful relations nor unification—only repression. He recommended unilateral initiatives from Western peace movements to break the vicious cycle and said that one must democratize one's own side first before one could demand it of others.

In the discussion following these exchanges, Japanese participants suggested that: the DPRK proposals on the Olympics be accepted; that airplane flights be permitted at Seoul and Pyongyang by third party aircraft companies, and that certain ports be opened.

In his response, Professor Hwang said that this was "the first time I have seen a South Korean scholar and that the meeting itself was a happiness for me." While he had not understood everything, he felt that "Dr. Lee had made a good presentation in favor of a peacefully united Korea." He expressed his gratitude toward people who have sought to bring about a peaceful solution. He said: "I hope that meetings of this sort will be held more often with Korean scholars."

A diplomatic observer, asked privately to explain the Korean policy that Kim Il Sung wanted his son to succeed him, said that the peaceful opening to the West was part and parcel of organizing a peaceful succession. Because Korea had a Confucian tradition, the son must have a good reputation to succeed the father. And because Koreans were superstitious, it was important that nothing bad happen during this transition period.



*Professor Samuel Lee*



And so the week ended—just as the South Koreans went to the polls to decide their future.

Research and reading at home revealed the timely nature of the North Korean invitation. The North Koreans are, single-handedly, holding up progress in Northeast Asia. The next logical step in improving relations in that area is “cross-recognition” in which the Japanese and the Americans recognize Pyongyang and the Soviets and Chinese recognize Seoul. Thereafter, both Koreas could enter the United Nations and much progress could ensue in trade and cultural links between all concerned.

The Soviets and Chinese appear to be ready for this—witness such indications as their readiness to deal, indirectly, or via conference participants, with South Korea. Especially with the impending succession of Kim Chong Il for his father Kim Il Sung, there is a good possibility of openings toward the outside world in which so much that is anachronistic could be updated.

Indeed, the very invitation to FAS suggests this kind of possibility. Accordingly, despite the many difficulties, and the good likelihood of a further international condemnation of North Korea as a consequence of its almost certain participation in the destruction of a South Korean aircraft, FAS will persist in exploring this opening for academic and political exchanges and dialogue.

*Jeremy J. Stone*

#### FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: FAS BOOK NOW AVAILABLE

Members will recall that FAS hosted constitutional lawyers in an Airlie House Conference—reported on in our January-February 1986 newsletter. The conference was designed to discuss the constitutionality of the proposal that a President be required to apply, in secret or otherwise, to a select Congressional Committee before gaining the authority to use nuclear weapons first in any foreign conflict in which they had not already been used by others.

A book containing the full report on this conference, *First Use of Nuclear Weapons*, edited by conference Chairman Peter Raven-Hansen of George Washington University Law Center is now available from Greenwood Press. FAS members are being offered a discount of 20%. Interested members should send a check for \$30.00 or their Mastercard, Visa or American Express number to:

Customer Service  
Greenwood Press  
88 Post Road West  
Westport, CT 06881

\*Note the book title and that you are an FAS member entitled to the 20% discount

#### FAS COUNCIL MEETING MODIFIES FAS STRUCTURE

At the annual FAS Council meeting, the Federation Council took action to strengthen both the Council itself and the authority of its staff director through changes in the by-laws and constitution.

Reaching all of its decisions by consensus, the Council attendees, at its annual meeting, agreed to reduce, by attrition, the size of the future Council from 24 to 12 by nominating, each year, only five candidates for three positions rather than nine candidates for six positions. This, it was felt, would increase the average commitment of the Council member, reduce the problems of finding suitable nominees, and make the decision-making structure less unwieldy.

At the same time, it decided to reduce the size of the Executive Committee from 8 members to 3: the FAS Chairman, FAS Fund Chairman, and the Chief Executive Officer of FAS.

Finally, it determined to change the title of the Chief Executive Officer from “Director” to “President” in accordance with: the on-going nature of the staff director’s duties; the desire to avoid the ambiguity in the name “director;” the pattern of other similar groups, such as the Arms Control Association; and so on.

The first two decisions (but not the third according to legal counsel) must be ratified by the membership and a mailing is being sent to them; considering the unanimity of the FAS Council’s decision, ratification is expected.

At the same time, the Council approved a number of housekeeping changes in the by-laws which were prepared by a Revision Committee chaired by the Federation’s founder and first Chairman, Willie Higinbotham.



*FAS Chairman Matthew S. Meselson presides over Council meeting*

## COCHRAN WINS PUBLIC SERVICE AWARD

At the December 19 Annual Council Meeting, the Federation awarded Thomas Cochran, staff member of NRDC and, currently, an FAS Council member, its Annual Public Service Award for 1987 for:

### Energy and Entrepreneurship

In the

### Diplomacy of Disarmament

And in the

### Pursuit of Public Policy

In his acceptance speech, Cochran said about his Soviet activities that they "would not have been possible without the good offices of FAS" which, he said, was part of a cottage industry devoted to "working Velikhov over."

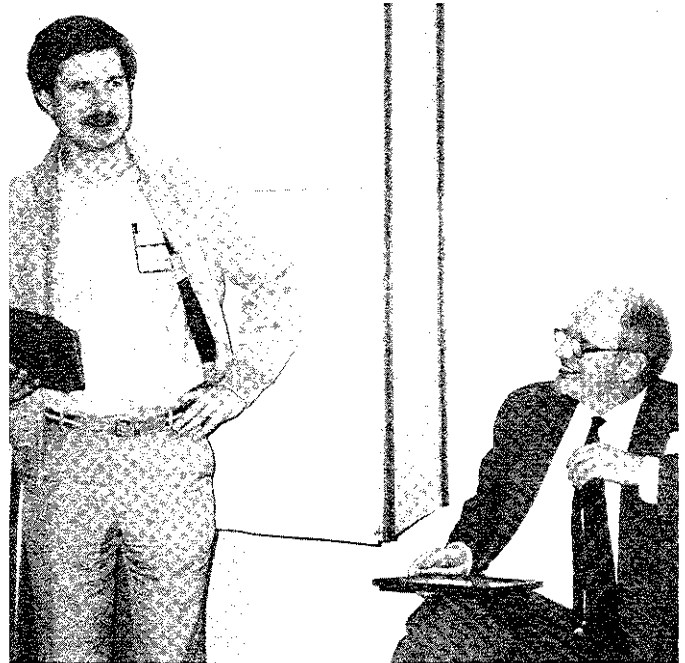
The citation follows:

*"Thomas Cochran began his instinctive opposition to the secrecy in nuclear policy on leaving bubble-chamber physics for the bubble chamber of Washington.*

*He began with the Atomic Energy Commission's claims for plutonium breeder reactors. In alliance with the young lawyers of the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), he forced the AEC to issue a programmatic Environmental Impact Statement on the Breeder Program—which was the beginning to its end.*

*Turning to the central focus of the Nuclear Establishment, Cochran inspired and catalyzed the monumental Nuclear Weapons Databook Project designed to shed light on all facets of nuclear weapons technology.*

*Restlessly seeking to penetrate further secrecy, Cochran invented and entrepreneured in the notion of having non-governmental scientists monitor Soviet underground nuclear testing. Thus was born the precedent-making collaboration between NRDC and the Soviet Academy of Sciences.*



FAS Fund Chairman Frank von Hippel observes Thomas Cochran's Responses

*Not content with this achievement, Cochran managed to parlay a seismic monitoring trip into a visit to the Krasnayorsk radar—that much talked about alleged violation of the ABM Treaty—by scientists and Congressmen.*

*Nothing has been more central to FAS than the notion that nuclear policy should be tested in the crucible of public debate. Accordingly, nothing is more appropriate for us than to honor this pathbreaking effort of Thomas Cochran to provide the facts, and penetrate the secrecy, on both sides of the planet, that would otherwise make this debate impossible."*

### FAS PUBLIC INTEREST REPORT (202) 546-3300

307 Mass. Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002

### Return Postage Guaranteed

January, 1988, Volume 41, No. 1

Second Class Postage  
Paid at  
Washington, D.C.

|   |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I wish to renew membership for the calendar year 1988.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I wish to join FAS and receive the newsletter as a full member.  |
| Enclosed is my check for 1988 calendar year dues.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$25 Member <input type="checkbox"/> \$75 Supporting <input type="checkbox"/> \$150 Patron <input type="checkbox"/> \$1000 Life <input type="checkbox"/> \$12.50 Student/Retired |
| Subscription only: I do not wish to become a member but would like a subscription to:   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> FAS Public Interest Report—\$25 for calendar year.   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Enclosed is my tax deductible contribution of _____ to the FAS Fund.   |
| NAME AND TITLE _____  |
| Please Print  |
| ADDRESS _____   |
| CITY AND STATE _____  |
| Zip _____   |
| PRIMARY PROFESSIONAL DISCIPLINE _____   |