# MARKUP OF H. RES. 543, EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES REGARD-ING THE RECENT SUMMIT HELD BY THE PRESIDENTS OF SOUTH KOREA AND NORTH KOREA

## **MARKUP**

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC OF THE

# COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

TUESDAY, JULY 25, 2000

Serial No. 106-130

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations



Available via the World Wide Web: http://www.house.gov/international relations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  ${\bf WASHINGTON}: 2000$ 

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### MARKUP OF H. RES. 543, EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-TIVES REGARDING THE RECENT SUMMIT HELD BY THE PRESIDENTS OF SOUTH KOREA AND NORTH KOREA

#### Tuesday, July 25, 2000

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific,
Committee on International Relations,
Washington, D.C.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:10 p.m., in room H-139, The Capitol, Hon. Doug Bereuter (Chairman of the Subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. Bereuter. The Subcommittee will be in order. I apologize to the Members and staff for being late. I went back to Rayburn, out of babit to hold the markup.

of habit, to hold the markup.

The Subcommittee today meets in open session to consider House Resolution 543 relating to the recent heads of state summit between South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung and North Korean leader Kim Jong-II.

The clerk will read the resolution.

The CLERK. H.R. 543, a resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the recent summit held by the Presidents of South Korea and North Korea. Whereas on June 13, 2000—

Mr. Bereuter. Without objection, further reading of the resolution will be dispensed with, printed in the record in full, and open for amendment.

[The information referred appears in the appendix.]

Mr. Bereuter. The resolution was introduced on June 29th, by the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Hastings, to recognize the meeting between the leaders of North Korea and South Korea in Pyongyang on June 13 through 16 that marked the first time that an elected leader of South Korea had visited the North.

I would like to turn now to the author of the resolution, and then we will hear from Mr. Lantos as well.

Mr. Hastings.

Mr. HASTINGS. I would like to thank you for expediting this procedure and I am deeply appreciative for your support and recommendations, and we will speak later with reference to the amendment as suggested by the Chair. Also, I am always grateful for the insight and advice offered by the Ranking Member of the Committee.

Mr. Chairman, June 13, 2000, is a date that will go down in history. On this day, as we know, the heads of state of North Korea and South Korea, two countries technically engaged in a state of war for the last 50 years, met to reconcile their differences. This

is, in my opinion, a great accomplishment.

Peace between these two countries would end one of the longest and most violent altercations in history. This strife has cost billions of dollars and hundreds and thousands of lives; and not just Korean lives, but the lives of Americans and every other nation that was involved in the military battles of that region. The United States has 10,218 soldiers listed as missing or prisoners of war due to the Korean conflict and, to their credit, families last week received closure with reference to 4 of those individuals. It is time that the fighting and violence officially end and for peace to blossom.

Mr. Chairman, these are but some of the reasons that I introduced this resolution, along with you, Ranking Member Mr. Lantos, and my good friend from Florida, Mr. Wexler. As a result of the Korean summit, we hope for many changes both in Korea and world politics. First, we eagerly anticipate a resolution regarding the possible unification between the two countries. Second, we expect a full accounting by North Korea of all of the missing United States soldiers from the conflict. Third, we hope to secure from North Korea a full moratorium on the testing of long-range missiles and an immediate freeze in North Korea's nuclear program and a suspension of its ballistic program. It is our strong hope that the Korean summit will act as a gateway to the peace process.

I have a further statement, but I would ask unanimous consent that my full statement be placed in the record, and conclude by saying this resolution was introduced to commend a step forward in the way of this accomplishment at their summit. The summit was not merely a meeting between two heads of state, but a portal to future peace agreements. The summit will hopefully not only inspire countless peace agreements but will help bring the thousands of our soldiers missing in the Korean homeland home. South Korea and North Korea's meeting will hopefully become a model for other countries to settle their differences. I thank you again, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Hastings. Without objection, your entire statement will be made part of the record.

[The information referred appears in the appendix.]

Mr. BEREUTER. I am pleased to turn to the distinguished Rank-

ing Member of the Subcommittee, Mr. Lantos.

Mr. Lantos. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me first commend my dear friend, Congressman Hastings, for crafting an excellent resolution which I strongly support. There is, of course, a serious omission in this resolution, which is an omission by design, because had this omission not been part of the resolution, the resolution would never see the light of day and would certainly never pass on the Floor of the House of Representatives.

This major development, the first in half a century between North Korea and South Korea, came about, to a very large extent, because of the wise and farsighted and intelligent policy of this Administration. I want to pay tribute to the President and the Vice President and Secretary Albright, National Security Adviser Sandy Berger, and particularly former Secretary of Defense William Perry, who devoted countless days and countless visits to this

project both in North and South Korea.

This development is a history-making development, and I think it is important for us to at least in this meeting pay tribute to the wise and farsighted foreign policy of this administration which made this resolution possible and which made this meeting be-

tween the chiefs of the two Koreas possible.

I think it is important to bear in mind, particularly since we are just about an hour past the adjournment of the peace negotiations in the Middle East, that while, for the moment, those negotiations did not succeed, there again the commitment and dedication of the President and his administration to bringing about a peaceful resolution of the longstanding conflict have been very much in evidence. I don't think we can overemphasize the importance both of the President's commitment at Camp David to bringing about a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute and the contribution of his administration and him personally to bringing about this historic beginning movement to creating the conditions for a peaceful resolution of the conflict on the Korean peninsula, and I again want to commend my friend.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Bereuter. The gentleman from California, Mr. Royce, the Vice Chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific.

Mr. ROYCE. I wanted to thank you for moving ahead with this resolution and to commend its author, Mr. Hastings of Florida, and that is because Mr. Hastings has spent a considerable amount of time on the difficult issue of the Korean peninsula.

There were some positive developments that came out of this historic summit, including, on a very basic level, the North's recognition that South Korea exists. The odd fiction of Pyongyang denying the reality of the Republic of Korea has been shattered permanently. I am encouraged by the progress made on family visits. The Red Cross has been working on starting this process which is a Kim Dae-Jung priority and which is recognized in this resolution. This is a real accomplishment, the first reunions in 15 years, and it would be good to regularize their visits.

While being hopeful about this summit, we need to be realistic. Kim Jong-Il's North Korea is a regime, after all, which feeds its military at the expense of its people and denies them fundamental human rights. It also still cultivates a cult of personality for Kim Jong-II. It has made little fundamental political or economic

change, and it maintains a deadly million-man army.

Faced with this, we need to be vigilant for now, and that means maintaining the strong U.S. Republic of Korea defense relationship

and a strong deterrent.

Mr. Chairman, this January I had the privilege of leading a parliamentary exchange group to Seoul, of which you were a part of. We are now looking to have the South Korea parliamentarians visit Congress early next year. I would hope that Members of this Subcommittee would participate in these discussions, and I want to thank you for the close attention this Subcommittee has paid to our policy toward the Korean peninsula and to the developments there.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Bereuter. Thank you, Mr. Royce and Mr. Lantos, for your statements. I do join you in hoping that our Subcommittee may, on a bipartisan basis, be active in meeting with the members of the National Assembly. I assume that the meeting will be in Washington?

Mr. ROYCE. That is correct.

Mr. Bereuter. We will make sure that we get advance notice to assist you in your efforts as chairman of that revived inter-

parliamentary exchange with the National Assembly.

I am not quite as sanguine about the Administration's policy with respect to the Korean peninsula as Mr. Lantos. However, I am enthusiastically in agreement about the outstanding contributions that Secretary Perry has made in his efforts to find out whether the North Koreans are willing to take a different track and to bring some bipartisan consensus on what the U.S. policy should be with respect to the Korean peninsula. He deserves, as does Wendy Sherman, commendations for what he has done, and even though he may well be officially completed, I know that he continues his efforts.

I would point out that encouraging the summit meeting in North Korea and South Korea is entirely consistent with U.S. foreign policy from one Administration to the other. Indeed, long before issues such as the DPRK's nuclear and ballistic missile programs became a widespread matter of concern, the U.S. was calling for direct talks between North Korea and South Korea. The North had resisted that. The North has always tried to insert itself between the Republic of Korea and the United States by insisting that it would engage in direct talks only with the United States, thereby passing or bypassing the ROK and driving a wedge between ourselves and our ally on the peninsula. U.S. policy has always been that we would not allow Pyongyang to marginalize the South and that the North must talk directly with its neighbors.

While the recent meeting was important and historic, we should be cautious that we not oversell the summit, and the gentleman from Florida's resolution does not pass that margin. If North Korea is, in fact, sincere in its peaceful overtures, that certainly would be a dramatic positive development, and I do appreciate the careful way that Mr. Hastings has drafted the resolution. However, I think it would be premature to assume that the DPRK has irrevocably reformed its behavior. It would be naive to believe that a few gestures constitute a revision and a change from 50 years of violent confrontational behavior and terrorism.

In reality, if you stop to think about it, the North really gave up nothing while receiving huge financial benefits—some current and some potential—from the South. Kim Dae-Jung went to Pyongyang and promised to open the spigots of foreign assistance, although at the North's insistence they are calling it "economic cooperation." That is, the South gives and the North cooperatively agrees to accept.

I commend the author of the resolution for including language that highlights the continuing problems and concerns that we have with the DPRK. I think we should be under no illusions; dealing with the North will continue to be difficult. Indeed, the day after the conclusion of the summit, North Korean radio broadcasts were noting the 50th anniversary of the, "unprovoked U.S. Invasion of North Korea." At the very least, the recent repetition of such a package of blatant lies requires us to be very cautious when approaching this pariah state.

Does the gentleman from North Dakota wish to be recognized?

Mr. Pomeroy. No.

Mr. Bereuter. The resolution is open for amendment.

Mr. Hastings. I have an amendment at the desk. Mr. Bereuter. The clerk will read the amendment.

The CLERK. Amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the amendment be accepted as read.

Mr. Bereuter. The amendment will be considered as read, printed in the record, and open for amendment.

[The information referred appears in the appendix.]

Mr. Bereuter. I ask the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Hastings,

to explain his amendment.

Mr. Hastings. Mr. Chairman, the amendment reflects a number of minor concerns raised by the State Department, as well as some critical concerns raised by you, Mr. Chairman, along with some very helpful additions brought to my attention by another Member of the Subcommittee, Mr. Ackerman.

The corrections are as follows. In the first "whereas" clause, the term "President" has been changed to reflect Kim Jong-Il's correct title, which is Chairman of the National Defense Commission.

A similar change is made in the first Resolved clause, page 2,

line 2, changing the term "Presidents" to "heads of state.".

The second "whereas" clause has been changed to reflect that this was the first meeting of the two heads of state, not the first

official meeting of any kind between the two Koreas.

In the fifth "whereas" clause, the resolution as initially drafted might give the impression that the government's withholding of food from the population was directly relating to the covert nuclear program. While both issues are of serious concern, and while there may be indirect linkage, the linkage is not necessarily direct.

In the third "resolved" clause at page 2, line 8, while we hope a change of attitude on the part of North Korea has taken place, we will need to see much more evidence before we give them the

benefit of the doubt.

The seventh "resolved" clause is expanded to include the full range of concerns regarding the North Korean missile activities.

The final "whereas" clause, the amendment recognizes that while North Korea already has agreed to freeze its nuclear weapons program, considerable uncertainty remains regarding whether that government is actually honoring that commitment.

Mr. Chairman, it is my hope that the amendment in the nature of a substitute is acceptable to the Committee, and I thank you for your recommendations, and your staff and mine, for their tireless efforts in crafting this amendment in the nature of a substitute, and I so offer.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Hastings and thank you for incorporating some of the recommendations of the State Department, this Members and Mr. Ackerman.

Are there Members who wish to be heard on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida? Seeing none, the question is on the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

Those in favor will say aye.

All those opposed, no.

The ayes appear to have it. The ayes do have it.

Are there further amendments to the resolution? Seeing none, the question occurs, then, on agreeing to the resolution.

As many in favor will say aye.

Those opposed will say no. Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully ask that Members be permitted 5 days to revise and extend.

Mr. BEREUTER. The amendment is agreed to and, without objec-

tion, the gentleman's request is granted.

Without objection, the staff is authorized to make technical, grammatical, and conforming changes to the text just agreed to.

Contrary to what I read from my text and consistent with the notice, there is no second resolution. The Subcommittee stands adjourned.

Mr. HASTINGS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Whereupon, at 2:28 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

# APPENDIX

July 25, 2000

106TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

# H. RES. 543

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the recent summit held by the Presidents of South Korea and North Korea.

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

June 29, 2000

Mr. Hastings of Florida submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

## RESOLUTION

- Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the recent summit held by the Presidents of South Korea and North Korea.
- Whereas on June 13, 2000, President Kim Dae-Jung of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and President Kim Jong-II of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) began a 3-day summit;
- Whereas this summit marked the only official meeting between the two countries since the end of hostilities in the Korean War in 1953;
- Whereas this summit was designed to end nearly 50 years of conflict between the two Koreas;
- Whereas 10,218 United States soldiers in the Korean conflict are still listed as missing in action or prisoners of war;

Whereas	North	${\bf Korea}$	has	unfairly	withhel	d food	supp	olies
from	its star	ving po	pula	tion in or	der to f	und its	wear	ons
of m	ass dest	ruction	prog	grams an	d has r	epeated	y pla	aced
its p	eople in	ı immi	nent	danger	and its	country	y at	the
brink	of ruin	:						

Whereas North Korea continues to sell ballistic missiles to Pakistan, Libya, and Iran; and

Whereas the stability of the Korean peninsula and the containment of weapons of mass destruction are of utmost importance and concern to the United States: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 Resolved, That the House of Representatives—
- (1) congratulates the Presidents of South Korea
  and North Korea for this first important step in
  bringing peace to the Korean peninsula;
- 5 (2) hopes this historic summit will foster the 6 goodwill necessary to end the hostilities between 7 these two important nations;
  - (3) welcomes the change in attitude between the two nations that technically are still at war;
- 10 (4) awaits with great anticipation the resolution 11 of the issue of national unification of South Korea 12 and North Korea;
- 13 (5) anticipates the return of dispersed family 14 members and their relatives;
- (6) expects a full accounting by North Korea of
   all United States soldiers in the Korean conflict who

8

9

1	are still listed as missing in action or prisoners of
2	war;
3	(7) hopes to secure from the North Korean
4	leadership a permanent moratorium on the flight
5	testing of long-range missiles; and
6	(8) expects to witness an immediate freeze in
7	North Korea's nuclear program and a suspension of
8	its ballistic missile program.

## AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H. RES. 543

#### OFFERED BY MR. HASTINGS OF FLORIDA

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

- Whereas on June 13, 2000, President Kim Dae-Jung of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and Chairman of the National Defense Commission Kim Jong-II of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) began a 3-day summit;
- Whereas this summit marked the only official meeting between the heads of state of the two countries since the end of hostilities in the Korean War in 1953;
- Whereas this summit was designed to end nearly 50 years of conflict between the two Koreas;
- Whereas 10,218 United States soldiers in the Korean conflict are still listed as missing in action or prisoners of war;
- Whereas North Korea has unfairly withheld food supplies from its starving population and has repeatedly placed its people in imminent danger and its country at the brink of ruin;
- Whereas North Korea continues to sell ballistic missiles to Pakistan, Libya, and Iran; and
- Whereas the stability of the Korean peninsula and the containment of weapons of mass destruction are of utmost importance and concern to the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

1	Resolved, That the House of Representatives—
2	(1) congratulates the heads of state of South
3	Korea and North Korea for this first important step
4	in bringing peace to the Korean peninsula;
5	(2) hopes this historic summit will foster the
6	goodwill necessary to end the hostilities between
7	these two important nations;
8	(3) hopes that the summit might reflect a gen-
9	uine change in attitude on the part of North Korea
10	toward South Korea, 2 nations that technically are
11	still at war;
12	(4) awaits with great anticipation the resolution
13	of the issue of national unification of South Korea
14	and North Korea;
15	(5) anticipates the return of dispersed family
16	members and their relatives;
17	(6) expects a full accounting by North Korea of
18	all United States soldiers in the Korean conflict who
19	are still listed as missing in action or prisoners of
20	war;
21	(7) hopes to secure from the North Korean
22	leadership—
23	(A) a permanent moratorium on the flight
24	testing of long-range missiles;

1	(B) a suspension of its ballistic missile pro-
2 -	gram; and
3	(C) a termination of all sales of missiles
4	and related technologies; and
5	(8) expects North Korea to honor its obligation
6	to freeze its nuclear program.

# Hon. Alcee L. Hastings Statement before the House International Relations Committee Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific Regarding H. Res. 543 July 25, 2000

Mr. Chairman, June 13, 2000, is a date that will go down in history. On this day, the heads of state of North Korea and South Korea, two countries technically engaged in a state of war for the last 50 years, met to reconcile their differences. This is truly a great accomplishment. A peace between these two countries would end one of the longest and most violent altercations in history. This strife has cost in sum, billions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of lives, and not just Korean lives, but the lives of Americans and every other nation that was involved in the military battles of that region. The United States has 10,218 soldiers listed as missing or prisoners of war due to the Korean conflict. It is time that the fighting and the violence officially end and for peace to blossom. Mr. Chairman, these are but some of the reasons I introduced this resolution along with you, our Ranking Member, Mr. Lantos, and my good friend from Florida, Mr. Wexler

As a result of the Korean summit, we hope for many changes both in Korean and world politics. First, we eagerly anticipate a resolution regarding the possible unification between the two countries. Second, we expect a full accounting by North Korea of all the missing U.S. soldiers from the conflict. Third, we hope to secure from North Korea a full moratorium on the testing of long-range missiles, and an immediate freeze in North Korea's nuclear program and a suspension of its ballistic program.

It is our strong hope that the Korean summit will act as a gateway to the peace process in many other parts of the world. If two countries who have had seemingly irreconcilable differences can meet and potentially settle their differences, then there is no reason other countries cannot follow the lead of the Koreas. I foresee the countries of the Middle East and Africa, who are presently engrossed in fighting, to follow in the path of the Koreas and pursue

peace and a settlement of differences.

The meeting between South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung and North Korean Chairman Kim Jong-Il will hopefully facilitate better relations both in Korea and in the rest of the world. My colleagues, I introduced this resolution to commend a great accomplishment. This summit was not merely a meeting between two heads of state, but a portal to future peace agreements. The summit, hopefully, will not only inspire countless peace agreements, but will help bring the thousands of our soldiers missing in the Koreas home. South Korea and North Korea's meeting will hopefully become a model for all countries to settle their differences.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, at the appropriate time, I will offer an amendment to my resolution. If the Chairman would like, I could comment on that amendment presently. If not appropriate now, I will wait until the appropriate time.

The amendment reflects a number of very minor concerns raised by the State Department, as well as some questions that you, Mr. Chairman, had raised along with some technical corrections brought to my attention by our distinguished colleague from New York, Mr. Ackerman.

The corrections are as follows:

In the first whereas clause, the term "president" has been changed to reflect Kim Jong-Il's correct title, which is "Chairman of the National Defense Commission." A similar change is made in the first resolved clause (page 2, line 2), changing the term "presidents" to "heads of state."

The second whereas clause has been changed to reflect that this was the first meeting of the two heads of state, NOT the first official meeting of any kind between the two Koreas.

In the fifth whereas clause, the resolution as originally drafted might give the impression that the government's withholding of food from the population was directly related to the covert nuclear program. While both issues are of serious concern, and while there may be an indirect linkage (i.e., a government that is evil enough to starve its own population is not above pursuing weapons of mass destruction), the linkage is not necessarily direct.

In the third resolved clause (page 2, line 8), while we hope a change of attitude on the part of North Korea has taken place, we will need to see much more evidence before we give them the benefit of the doubt.

The seventh resolved clause (page 3, line 3) is expanded to include the full range of concerns regarding North Korean missile activities.

The final whereas clause (page 3, line 5), the amendment recognizes that, while North Korea already has agreed to freeze its nuclear weapons program, considerable uncertainty remains regarding whether that government is actually honoring that commitment.

Mr. Chairman, it is my hope that the amendment in the nature of a substitute is acceptable to the Committee. Thank you.