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001. memo	Chas Freeman to Deputy Secretary of Defense re Presidential Address to Korean National Assembly [2 copies] (2 pages)	07/08/1993	P1/b(1)

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FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Speech Files G-7 Trip Korea, National
Assembly Speech [1]

2009-0528-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or
financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President
and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement
purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information
concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
Korean National Assembly
Seoul, Korea-- July 10, 1993

It is a great honor to speak to you here in this magnificent hall of democracy. Mrs. Clinton and I appreciate your warm welcome.

I first visited Seoul five years ago. Since then, Korea's energy and culture have shown themselves in many new ways. Your bustling capital has continued to grow. Your economy has continued to expand. Your nation has hosted the Olympics and taken its place as a full member of the United Nations. You have established new ties to Russia and China. But no achievement is more important than your consolidation of democracy with the election of a bold democrat, President Kim Young Sam.

Geography placed our two nations an ocean apart. But history has drawn us close together. Ours is a friendship formed in blood, as our troops fought shoulder to shoulder in defense of freedom. Then, as Korea's economy became the "miracle on the Han," we built an economic partnership that today exceeds \$30 billion in well-balanced trade. Today Korea's democratic progress adds yet another bond of shared values between our peoples.

When President Truman sent American troops to Korea's defense forty-three years ago, he said he aimed to prove that, "free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all." Our efforts together since then have benefitted all -- not only the people of our own countries, but all in the Asian Pacific who seek to live in peace. Our relationship has made the region more secure, more prosperous and more free.

Now, with the Cold War over and profound changes sweeping this populous region, we must create a new vision of how our community of neighbors can live in peace.

I believe the time has come to create a New Pacific Community, built on shared strength, shared prosperity, and a shared commitment to democratic values. Today, I want to discuss the fundamentals of security for that New Pacific Community and the role the United States intends to play.

Above all, we intend to remain actively engaged in this region. America is a Pacific nation. We fought three wars here in this century. We will not squander that investment. The best way for us to deter regional aggression, perpetuate the region's robust economic growth and secure our own maritime and other interests is to be an active presence. We must and will continue to lead.

Today some in America say, and many around the world fear, that America's global leadership is an outdated luxury we no longer can afford. They are wrong. In truth, our global leadership has never been a more indispensable or worthwhile investment. So long as America remains bordered by oceans and powered by trade -- so long as our flag is a symbol of democracy and hope to a fractious world -- the imperative of our leadership will remain.

I see four priorities for the security of our New Pacific Community: first, a continued American military commitment to the region; second, stronger efforts to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; third, new regional dialogues on

our full range of common security challenges; and last, support for democracy and more open societies throughout the region.

The bedrock of America's security role in the Asian-Pacific must be a continued military presence. In a period of change, we need to preserve what has been reliable. Today we therefore reaffirm our five bilateral security agreements -- with Korea, Japan, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Those agreements work because they serve the interests of each of the parties. They enable U.S. armed forces to maintain a substantial forward presence. At the same time, they have enabled Asia to focus less energy on an arms race and more on a peaceful race toward economic development. The contribution Japan and Korea make to defray the costs of stationing our forces underscores the importance of that presence to both host countries.

There is no better example of our commitment than our alliance with Korea. As the Cold War recedes into history, a divided Korea remains one of its most bitter legacies. Our nation has always joined yours in believing that one day Korea's artificial division will end. We support Korea's peaceful reunification on terms acceptable to the Korean people. And when reunification comes, we will stand beside you in making that transition.

But that day has not yet arrived. The demilitarized zone still traces a stark line between safety and danger. North Korea's million men in arms -- most stationed within 30 miles of the DMZ -- continue to pose a threat. Its troubling nuclear program

raises questions about its intentions. Its internal repression and irresponsible weapons sales show North Korea is not yet willing to be a responsible member of the community of nations.

So let me say clearly: our commitment to Korea's security remains undiminished. The Korean Peninsula remains a vital American interest. Our troops will stay here as long as the Korean people want and need us here. We lost tens of thousands of America's best in Korea's mountains and mud and sky. Korea lost millions. That sacrifice affirmed some old truths. Vulnerability invites aggression. Peace depends on deterrence. We are not about to forget those lessons again.

And so it is throughout the region. Our commitment to an active military presence remains. Our mutual agreement with the Philippines to close our bases there should not be cause for Asian alarm. The larger picture tells a different story.

Here in Korea, we have frozen American troop withdrawals and are modernizing Korean and American forces on the peninsula. We are pursuing increased access for our forces throughout Southeast Asia to facilitate our presence and, if necessary, to project our forces beyond the region. We have deployed to Japan the BELLEAU WOOD amphibious group and the USS INDEPENDENCE battle group, the largest and most modern in the world. These are not signs of disengagement. These are signs America intends to stay.

The second security priority for our New Pacific Community is to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction and their means

of delivery. We cannot let the expanding threat of these deadly weapons replace the Cold War nightmare of nuclear annihilation.

Today that possibility is too real. North Korea appears committed to indiscriminate sales of the SCUD missiles that were such a source of terror and destruction in the Persian Gulf. Now it is developing, testing and looking to export a more powerful missile with a range of 600 miles or more -- enough for North Korea to threaten Osaka or for Iran to threaten Tel Aviv. We have serious concerns as well about China's compliance with international standards against missile proliferation.

The Pacific nations must develop new ways to combat the spread of biological, chemical and missile technologies, and in the coming weeks the U.S. will propose new efforts aimed at that goal. But no specter hangs over this peninsula or this region more darkly than the danger of nuclear proliferation. Nearly 160 nations now have joined to resist that threat through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most universally supported treaty in history. Now, for the first time since that Treaty was opened for signature, one of its members has threatened to withdraw.

Our goals remain firm. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and robust global rules against proliferation. That is why we urge North Korea to reaffirm its commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to fulfill its full-scope safeguards obligation to the International Atomic Energy Agency, including IAEA inspections of undeclared nuclear sites, and to implement

bilateral inspections under the South-North nuclear accord. Our goal is not endless discussions but certifiable compliance.

North Korea must understand our intentions. We are seeking to prevent aggression, not initiate it. And so long as North Korea abides by the UN Charter and international nonproliferation commitments, it has nothing to fear from America.

The U.S. has worked to bring North Korea back within the fold of nuclear responsibility. But your nation has the critical role to play. The future of this peninsula is for you and North Korea to shape. The South-North nuclear accord you negotiated goes even further than existing international accords. It not only banishes nuclear weapons from the peninsula, it also bans the production of nuclear materials that could be used in those weapons. We urge full implementation of this pathbreaking accord, which can serve as a model for other regions of nuclear tension.

Even as we address immediate concerns such as proliferation, we must also have a vision of how we will meet the broader challenges of the era. That is what I sought to create during this week's G-7 talks -- for example, by proposing new ways to focus on new problems, such as the slow pace of job creation in G-7 countries. It is why I have proposed a NATO summit, so we can adapt that institution to new times and new challenges.

In both Asia and Europe, the dominant, unitary threat of Soviet aggression has disappeared. In both regions, the end of the Cold War has allowed a host of problems to emerge or re-emerge, such

as ancient ethnic rivalries, regional tensions, flows of refugees and the trafficking of deadly weapons and dangerous drugs.

In Europe, these changes require us to adapt an existing security institution, NATO. In the Pacific, no such institution exists. Moreover, since the Asian Pacific does not face a unitary threat, there is no need for us to create one single alliance. The challenge for the Asian Pacific in this decade is to develop multiple new arrangements to meet multiple new threats and opportunities. These arrangements can function like overlapping plates of armor -- individually providing protection, and together covering the full body of our common security concerns.

Some new arrangements may involve groups of nations confronting immediate problems. This is the model we pursued to address North Korea's nuclear program; our two nations worked not only with each other, but also with Japan and others who could bring their influence to bear. Other arrangements may involve peace-keeping, such as the massive and promising UN effort to support reconciliation in Cambodia. Still others may pursue confidence building measures to head off regional or sub-regional disputes.

We also need new regional security dialogues. This month's ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference in Singapore, which the U.S. will attend, offers an immediate opportunity to further such dialogue.

Korea can play a vital role in the region's new arrangements for it stands at the center of Northeast Asia, within two hours by air from Singapore, Tokyo, Beijing and Vladivostok.

The many economic discussions within the region also can play a role. By lowering barriers to trade and investment we can generate jobs, ease regional tensions, and thus enhance regional security. That is why I welcome the new Dialogue for Economic Cooperation our two nations are launching on this visit. And that is why I announced in Japan that I would like to host an informal economic conference among APEC's leaders following the Ministerial meeting in Seattle this fall.

The goal of all these efforts is to integrate, not isolate the region's powers. China is a key example. We believe China cannot be a full partner in the world community until it respects human rights and international agreements on trade and weapons sales. But we also are prepared to involve China in building the region's new security and economic architectures.

Some in the U.S. have been reluctant to enter into regional security dialogues in Asia for fear it would seem like a pretext for American withdrawal from the region. But I see such dialogues as a way to supplement our alliances and forward military presence, not supplant them. These dialogues can ensure that the end of the Cold War does not provide an opening for regional rivalries, chaos, and arms races. They can build a foundation for our shared security into the next Century.

Ultimately, the guarantee of our security must rest in the character and intentions of the region's nations themselves. This is why our final security priority must be to support the spread of democracy throughout the Asian Pacific. Democracies

not only are more likely to meet the needs and respect the rights of their people. They also make better neighbors. They do not wage war on each other, practice terrorism, generate refugees or traffic in drugs and outlaw weapons. They make more reliable partners in trade and in the kind of dialogues I have advocated.

Today, some argue democracy and human rights are somehow unsuited to parts of Asia, or that they mask Western cultural imperialism. My ear is drawn to more compelling voices: to Chai Ling, who proclaimed democracy's spirit at Tiananmen Square; to Aung San Suu Kyi, whose eloquent opposition to repression in Burma has stirred the world; to Boris Yeltsin, who is leading Russia toward becoming a great democratic power on the Pacific; and to your own President Kim and others in this multi-party Assembly who have helped democracy flower here in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Each of our nations must retain the best of our cultures. But Korea proves democracy and human rights are not Western imports; rather they flow from universal aspirations.

Now we must respond to those aspirations throughout the region. We must support the non-governmental organizations that seek to strengthen Asia's building blocks of civic society, such as open elections, trade unions and a free press. And we must deploy accurate news and information against Asia's closed societies. I have proposed creating an Asia Democracy Radio for this purpose and I look forward to its establishment in the near future.

Two-hundred-and-seventeen years ago, America's founders declared the rights of self-governance to be God-given and therefore inalienable. Today, here on Asian soil, let us together reaffirm that declaration, not only as an article of faith, but as a sturdy building block in our region's shared security.

* * *

This, then, is our nation's vision for security in the New Pacific Community: a continued U.S. military presence; new efforts to combat proliferation; new regional security dialogues; and vigorous support for democracy and democratic movements.

These elements of security can help create a Pacific region where economic competition is vigorous but peaceful; where diverse nations work as partners to improve their shared security; and where democracy as well as balanced military strength takes its place as a guardian of our security.

We will not realize every aspect of that vision overnight, nor will the New Pacific Community come to pass without great effort. But neither of our nations is a stranger to hard work. I think, in particular, of the image of your great long-distance runner, Hwang Young-cho, who endured that final steep hill in Barcelona to capture the gold in the marathon at the 1992 Olympics.

His energy and perseverance capture the spirit of the Korean people, who have not only endured but prospered through a long, hard and challenging history. We respect that spirit. We honor your values. We have stood shoulder to shoulder with you in days past. And so it shall be in the days ahead. Thank you.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
Korean National Assembly
Seoul, Korea-- July 10, 1993

TL
SB

It is great honor to speak to you here in this magnificent hall of democracy. Mrs. Clinton and I appreciate your warm welcome.

I first visited Seoul five years ago. Since then, Korea's energy and outgoing culture have shown themselves in many new ways. Your bustling capital has continued to grow. Your economy has continued to expand. Your nation has hosted the Olympics and taken its place as a full member of the United Nations. You have established new ties to Russia and China. But no achievement is more important than your consolidation of democracy with the election of ^{an extraordinary} [a true] democrat, President Kim Young Sam.

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wasn't
"true"
democrat,
although
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in free
and
fair
election?]

Geography placed our two nations an ocean apart. But history has drawn us close together. Ours is a friendship formed in blood, as our troops stood shoulder to shoulder in defense of freedom. Then, as Korea's economy became the "miracle on the Han," we built an economic partnership that today exceeds \$30 billion in well-balanced trade. Now Korea's democratic progress adds yet another bond of shared values between our people.

[image from
Korean
war?
soldiers
stood
side to side
from the
Persian
peninsula
...]

When President Truman ^{sent} ~~deployed~~ American troops to ^{Korea's defense} ~~this country~~ forty-three years ago, he said he aimed to prove that, "free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all." Our efforts together since then have benefited all -- not only the people of our own countries, but all in the Asian Pacific who seek to live in peace. Our relationship has made the region more secure, more prosperous and more free.

Now, with the Cold War over and profound changes sweeping this populous region, we must create a new vision of how our community of neighbors can live in peace. I believe the time has come to create a New Pacific Community, built on shared strength, shared prosperity, and a shared commitment to democratic values. Today, I want to discuss the fundamentals of security for that New Pacific Community and the role the United States intends to play.

Above all, we intend to remain actively engaged in this region. America is a Pacific nation. We fought three wars here in this century. We will not squander that investment. The best way for us to deter regional aggression, perpetuate the region's robust economic growth and secure our own maritime and other interests is to be an active presence. We must and will continue to lead.

Today some in America say, and many around the world fear, that America's global leadership is an outdated luxury we no longer can afford. They are wrong. In truth, our global leadership has never been a more indispensable or worthwhile investment. So long as America remains bordered by oceans and powered by trade -- so long as our flag is a symbol of democracy and hope to a fractious world -- the imperative of our leadership will remain.

I see four priorities for the security of our New Pacific Community: first, a continued American military commitment to the region; second, stronger efforts to combat the proliferation of deadly weapons; third, new regional dialogues on the full range of our common security challenges; and last, support for democracy and more open societies throughout the region.

The bedrock of America's security role in the Asian-Pacific must be a continued military presence. In a period of change, we need to preserve what has been reliable. Today we therefore reaffirm our five bilateral ~~mutual defense treaties~~ ^{security agreements} -- with Korea, Japan, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Those treaties work because they serve the interests of each of the parties. They enable ~~the~~ ^{armed forces} U.S. to maintain a substantial forward ~~military deployment~~ ^{presence}. At the same time, they have enabled Asia to focus less energy on an arms race and more on a peaceful race toward economic development. The substantial share that Japan and Korea pay toward the stationing of U.S. forces not only makes our presence cost effective, but also underscores the importance of that presence to both host countries.

There is no better example of our commitment than our alliance with Korea. As the Cold War recedes into history, a divided Korea remains one of its most bitter and stubborn legacies. Our nation has always joined yours in believing that one day Korea's artificial division will end. We support Korea's reunification on terms acceptable to the Korean people. And when reunification comes, we will stand beside you in making that transition.

But that day has not yet arrived. The demilitarized zone continues to draw a stark line between safety and danger. North Korea's million men in arms -- most stationed within 30 miles of the demilitarized zone -- continue to pose a threat. Its ominous [?] nuclear program continues to raise questions about its intentions. Its approaching political succession creates

troubling uncertainties. Its internal repression and irresponsible weapons sales abroad show North Korea is not yet prepared to ~~accept international norms of civilized behavior.~~ *join the family of nations.*

So let me state this clearly: our commitment to Korea's security remains undiminished. The Korean Peninsula -- this crossroads of great powers and cultures -- remains a vital American interest.

Our troops will stay here as long the Korean people need us here. We lost tens of thousands of America's best ~~in Korea's hills and mud and sky.~~ *along this rugged peninsula.* Korea lost millions. That sacrifice underscored

some old truths. Vulnerability invites aggression. Deterrence *is the guardian of democracy.* ~~works~~ We are not about to forget those lessons again. *[rhythmically, need one more stat sentence!]*

And so it is throughout the region. Our commitment to an active military presence remains. Our mutual agreement with the Philippines to close our bases there should not be cause for Asian alarm. The larger picture tells a different story.

Here in Korea, we have frozen American troop withdrawals and will supplement your nation's military capability with new anti-tank, anti-air, and anti-missile defense technologies. We have sought increased access for our forces in Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia to facilitate our presence and, if necessary, project our forces beyond the region. And we have deployed to Japan the BELLEAU WOOD amphibious group and the USS INDEPENDENCE battle group, the largest and most modern in the world. These are not signs of disengagement. These are signs America intends to stay. *is here for the long haul.*

The second security priority for our New Pacific Community is to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. We cannot let the expanding threat of these deadly weapons replace the Cold War nightmare of nuclear annihilation.

Today that possibility ~~already~~ is too real. We have already seen, in two Persian Gulf wars, what damage could be done by the nearly 1,000 SCUD missiles that have been supplied to Middle Eastern countries. Today, North Korea seems ready to sell those missiles ~~to any country able to pay in cash.~~ *indiscriminately.* Now it is developing, testing and looking to export a new missile with a range of 600 miles or more -- enough for North Korea to threaten Tokyo or for Iran to threaten Tel Aviv. We have serious concerns as well about China's ~~commitment to respect~~ *compliance with* international standards against missile proliferation.

The nations of our region must develop new ways to combat the spread of biological, chemical and missile technologies, and in the coming weeks my Administration will propose new efforts aimed at that goal. But no proliferation threat hangs over this peninsula or this region more darkly than threat of nuclear proliferation. Nearly 160 nations now have joined to resist that threat through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most universally supported treaty in history. Now, for the first time since that Treaty was opened for signature a quarter century ago, one of its members has threatened to leave it.

Our goals remain firm. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and robust global rules against proliferation. That is why we

urge North Korea to reaffirm its commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to fulfill its full-scope safeguards obligation to the International Atomic Energy Agency -- including IAEA inspections of undeclared nuclear sites. Our goal is not endless discussions or verbal commitments but certifiable compliance.

The U.S. has worked actively to bring North Korea back within the NK fold of nuclear responsibility. But your nation, which is most affected by this threat, has an even more critical role to play. The North-South accord you negotiated goes even further than existing international agreements. Not only does it banish nuclear weapons from the peninsula, it also bans the production of the uranium and plutonium for those weapons. We urge you to press for full implementation of this pathbreaking accord, which can serve as a model for other regions of nuclear tension.

Even as we address immediate concerns such as proliferation, we must also have a vision of how we will meet the broader challenges of the era. That is what I sought to create during this week's G-7 talks -- for example, by proposing new ways to focus on new problems, such as the slow pace of job creation in G-7 countries. It is also why I have proposed a NATO summit, so we can adapt that institution to new times and new challenges.

In both Asia and Europe, the dominant, unitary threat of Soviet aggression has disappeared. In both regions, the end of the Cold War has allowed a host of problems to emerge or re-emerge, such as ancient ethnic rivalries, regional tensions, flows of refugees and the trafficking of deadly weapons and dangerous drugs.

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In Europe, these changes require us to adapt an existing security institution, NATO. In the Pacific, no such institution exists, nor is one likely to be created soon. Moreover, since the Asian Pacific does not face a unitary threat, there is no need for us to create one single alliance. Rather, the challenge for the Pacific region is to update our existing alliances and develop new mechanisms and new dialogues that can function like overlapping plates of armor -- individually providing protection, and together covering the full body of our common security concerns.

great metaphor!

Some of those new mechanisms may involve groups of nations dealing with immediate problems. This is essentially the model we have pursued to address North Korea's nuclear program -- for ~~we mobilized not only our own two nations~~ *have worked between with* but also Japan and others in the region who could bring their influence to bear.

Some of our new security mechanisms may involve peacekeeping, such as the current UN effort to support reconciliation in Cambodia. Still others may pursue confidence building measures to head off regional or sub-regional conflicts.

This month's ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference offers an immediate opportunity to begin this kind of new dialogue. ~~Our~~ *And* ~~Pacific region should also look for other forums and consider expanding the membership of ASEAN and other existing organizations.~~

Korea can play a vital role in these new dialogues, for it stands at the center of Northeast Asia -- two hours or less by air from Shanghai, Tokyo, Beijing and Vladivostok.

The many economic dialogues within the region also can play a role. By lowering barriers to trade and investment we can generate jobs, ease regional tensions, and thus enhance regional security. That is why I welcome the Dialogue for Economic Cooperation our two nations have initiated. And it is why I announced in Japan that I ~~will seek~~ ^{would like to see} an informal meeting of APEC's leaders following the APEC meeting in Seattle this fall.

The goal of all these efforts should be to integrate, not isolate the region's powers. China is a particularly important example. We believe China cannot be a full partner in the world community until it respects human rights and international agreements on trade and weapons sales. But we also are determined to ~~involve~~ ^{engage} China, to the greatest extent possible, in building the new security and economic architectures of the region.

Some in the U.S. have been reluctant to raise the idea of regional security dialogues in Asia for fear it would sound like a pretext for American withdrawal from the region. But I see such dialogues as a way to make our continued engagement even more effective. They can ensure that the end of the Cold War does not provide an opening for regional chaos. And they can build a foundation for our shared security into the next Century.

Ultimately, the guarantee of our security must rest in the character and intentions of the region's nations themselves. This is why our final security priority must be to support the spread of democracy throughout the Asian Pacific. Democracies not only are more likely to meet the needs and respect the rights

of their people. They also make better neighbors. They are less likely to wage war on each other, generate refugees or traffic in drugs and outlaw weapons. They make more reliable partners in trade and in the kind of security dialogues I have advocated.

Today, some in this region argue that democracy and human rights are somehow unsuited to parts of Asia, or that they constitute Western cultural imperialism. My ear is drawn to more compelling voices -- to [xxxx] who sparked the democratic spirit at Tiananmen Square; to Aung San Suu Kyi, whose eloquent opposition to repression in Burma has stirred the world; to Boris Yeltsin, who is leading Russia toward becoming a great democratic power on the Pacific; and to your own President Kim, who has helped democracy flower here in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Each of our nations must retain the best of our cultures. But Korea proves democracy and human rights are not Western imports; rather they flow from the aspirations of the Asian people.

Now we must work to nurture those aspirations throughout the region. We must support the non-governmental organizations that seek to strengthen Asia's building blocks of civic society, such as open elections, trade unions and a free press. And we must deploy our weapons of accurate news and information against closed societies such as North Korea. I have proposed the creation of an Asia Democracy Radio for this purpose and I look forward to its establishment in the near future.

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* * *

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Geography placed our two nations an ocean apart. But history has drawn us close together. Ours is a friendship formed in blood, as our troops stood shoulder to shoulder in defense of freedom. Then, as Korea's economy became the "miracle on the Han," we built an economic partnership that today exceeds \$30 billion in well-balanced trade. Now Korea's democratic progress adds yet another bond of shared values between our people.

When President Truman deployed American troops to this country forty-three years ago, he said he aimed to prove that, "free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all." Our efforts together since then have benefitted all -- not only the people of our own countries, but all in the Asian Pacific who seek to live in peace. Our relationship has made the region more secure, more prosperous and more free.

Now, with the Cold War over and profound changes sweeping this populous region, we must create a new vision of how our community of neighbors can live in peace. I believe the time has come to create a New Pacific Community, built on shared strength, shared prosperity, and a shared commitment to democratic values. Today, I want to discuss the fundamentals of security for that New Pacific Community and the role the United States intends to play.

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Today some in America say, and many around the world fear, that America's global leadership is an outdated luxury we no longer can afford. They are wrong. In truth, our global leadership has never been a more indispensable or worthwhile investment. So long as America remains bordered by oceans and powered by trade -- so long as our flag is a symbol of democracy and hope to a fractious world -- the imperative of our leadership will remain.

I see four priorities for the security of our New Pacific Community: first, a continued American military commitment to the region; second, stronger efforts to combat the proliferation of deadly weapons; third, new regional dialogues on the full range of our common security challenges; and last, support for democracy and more open societies throughout the region.

The bedrock of America's security role in the Asian-Pacific must be a continued military presence. In a period of change, we need to preserve what has been reliable. Today we therefore reaffirm our five bilateral mutual defense treaties -- with Korea, Japan, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Those treaties work because they serve the interests of each of the parties. They enable the U.S. to maintain a substantial forward military deployment. At the same time, they have enabled Asia to focus less energy on an arms race and more on a peaceful race toward economic development. The substantial share that Japan and Korea pay toward the stationing of U.S. forces not only makes our presence cost effective, but also underscores the importance of that presence to both host countries.

There is no better example of our commitment than our alliance with Korea. As the Cold War recedes into history, a divided Korea remains one of its most bitter and stubborn legacies. Our nation has always joined yours in believing that one day Korea's artificial division will end. We support Korea's reunification on terms acceptable to the Korean people. And when reunification comes, we will stand beside you in making that transition.

But that day has not yet arrived. The demilitarized zone continues to draw a stark line between safety and danger. North Korea's million men in arms -- most stationed within 30 miles of the demilitarized zone -- continue to pose a threat. Its ^{troublingly} ~~ominous~~ ~~and ^{unpredictable} ~~unstable~~ ~~abroad~~~~ nuclear program continues to raise questions about its intentions. ~~Its approaching political succession creates~~

(We can't berate North Korea too long because we are about to restart talks & then could use our rhetoric to pull the plug),
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~~troubling uncertainties. Its internal repression and irresponsible weapons sales abroad show North Korea is not yet prepared to accept international norms of civilized behavior.~~
in the country of nations
(weapons sales covered on next page)

So let me state this clearly: our commitment to Korea's security remains undiminished. The Korean Peninsula -- this crossroads of great powers and cultures -- remains a vital American interest. Our troops will stay here as long the Korean people need us here. We lost tens of thousands of America's best in Korea's hills and mud and sky. Korea lost millions. That sacrifice underscored some old truths. Vulnerability invites aggression. Deterrence works. We are not about to forget those lessons again.

And so it is throughout the region. Our commitment to an active military presence remains. Our mutual agreement with the Philippines to close our bases there should not be cause for Asian alarm. The larger picture tells a different story.

Here in Korea, we have frozen American troop withdrawals and will supplement your nation's military capability with new anti-tank, anti-air, and anti-missile defense technologies. ~~We have sought~~

increased access for our forces in Thailand, Singapore and

have readily granted us
Indonesia to facilitate our presence and, if necessary, project our forces beyond the region. And we have deployed to Japan the BELLEAU WOOD amphibious group and the USS INDEPENDENCE battle group, the largest and most modern in the world. These are not signs of disengagement. These are signs America intends to stay --

not as a favor to others, but in our own self-interest,

(check: Malaysia may have too) (change the emphasis)
are possibly others were easier to compromise for the Philippines

The second security priority for our New Pacific Community is to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. We cannot let the expanding threat of these deadly weapons replace the Cold War nightmare of nuclear annihilation.

Today that possibility already is too real. We have already seen, in two Persian Gulf wars, what damage could be done by the nearly 1,000 SCUD missiles that have been supplied to Middle Eastern countries. Today, North Korea seems ready to sell those missiles ~~to any country able to pay in cash. Now it is~~ *and is* developing, testing and looking to export a new missile with a range of 600 miles or more -- enough for North Korea to threaten Tokyo or for Iran to threaten Tel Aviv. We have serious concerns as well about China's commitment to respect international standards against missile proliferation.

The nations of our region must develop new ways to combat the spread of biological, chemical and missile technologies, ~~and~~ *In* the coming weeks my Administration will propose new efforts aimed at that goal. But no proliferation threat hangs over this peninsula or this region more darkly than threat of nuclear proliferation. Nearly 160 nations now have joined to resist that threat through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most universally supported treaty in history. Now, for the first time since that Treaty was opened for signature a quarter century ago, one of its members has threatened to leave it.

Our goals remain firm. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and robust global rules against proliferation. That is why we

(we have 3 goals we always link together
you can then elaborate the 3 as one)

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urge North Korea to reaffirm its commitment to the Non-Prolifera-
tion Treaty, and to fulfill its full-scope safeguards obligation
to the International Atomic Energy Agency -- including IAEA
inspections of undeclared nuclear sites. ^{Our goal is not endless}
^{But will not engage in}
~~discussions, or verbal commitments but~~ certifiable compliance.

We seek

and to implement the South-North denuclearization
agreement.

The U.S. has worked actively to bring North Korea back within the
fold of nuclear responsibility. But ^{it is} your nation, which is most
affected by this threat, ^{which has the} ~~has an even more~~ critical role to play.
^{South-North}
The ~~North-South~~ accord you negotiated goes even further than
existing international agreements. Not only does it banish
nuclear weapons from the peninsula, it also bans the production
of the uranium and plutonium for those weapons. We urge ~~you to~~ ^(it's up to the North)
~~press for~~ full implementation of this pathbreaking accord, which
can serve as a model for other regions of nuclear tension. The
future of this Peninsula is for you and North Korea to ~~decide~~ shape.

Even as we address immediate concerns such as proliferation, we
must also have a vision of how we will meet the broader
challenges of the era. That is what I sought to create during
this week's G-7 talks -- for example, by proposing new ways to
focus on new problems, such as the slow pace of job creation in
G-7 countries. It is ~~also~~ why I have proposed a NATO summit, so
we can adapt that institution to new times and new challenges.

~~It is why I am consulting with the other leaders of APEC to seek ways~~
~~to strengthen the region's mutual economic cooperation~~

In both Asia and Europe, the dominant, unitary threat of Soviet
aggression has disappeared. In both regions, the end of the Cold
War has allowed a host of problems to emerge or re-emerge, such
as ancient ethnic rivalries, regional tensions, flows of refugees
and the trafficking of deadly weapons and dangerous drugs.

If this proves possible we are then ready to move on to a more
productive relationship with North Korea. (we must mention a cannot)

*We will recommence talks with North Korea in a few days designed
to achieve these goals. On behalf of a concerned world community and in
close consultation with you and Japan, we will negotiate so long as the discussions are productive.*

In Europe, these changes require us to adapt an existing security institution, NATO. In the Pacific, no such institution exists, nor is one likely to be created soon. Moreover, since the Asian Pacific does not face a unitary threat, there is no need for us to create one single alliance. ¹ Rather, The challenge for the Pacific region is to ~~update our existing alliances and~~ develop new mechanisms and new dialogues that can function like overlapping plates of armor -- individually providing protection, and together covering the full body of our common security concerns.

in this ~~Rather than our nations squaring off against each other as they did in Europe, we envision our Asian-Pacific region where nations potential adversaries would face each other across the table -- conveying intentions and easing tensions.~~

~~Some of those new mechanisms may involve groups of nations~~ dealing with immediate problems. This is essentially the model we have pursued to address North Korea's nuclear program -- for we mobilized not only our own two nations, but also Japan and others in the region who could bring their influence to bear.

Some of our new security mechanisms may involve peacekeeping, such as the ^{massive} ~~current~~ UN effort ⁱⁿ ~~to support reconciliation in~~ Cambodia. ~~Still others~~ ^{forums promote} may pursue confidence building measures to head off regional or sub-regional conflicts.

new # This month's ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference ^{in Singapore -- which our Secretary of State will attend --} offers an immediate opportunity to ^{further} ~~begin~~ this kind of new dialogue. [#] Our

ASEAN might Pacific region should also look for other forums, ~~and consider~~ ^{its} expanding the membership, ~~of ASEAN and other existing~~ ^{might emerge.} organizations. Korea can play a vital role in these new

dialogues, for it stands at the center of Northeast Asia -- two hours or less by air from Shanghai, Tokyo, Beijing and Vladivostok. *under its*

UNTAC has been a spectacular success. ~~removing~~ ^{umbrella outside influence has been removed, violence has been sharply reduced, 360,000 refugees have returned home, and over 4 million Cambodians braved danger to vote in a free and fair election.}

The many economic dialogues within the region also can play a role. By lowering barriers to trade and investment we can generate jobs, ease regional tensions, and thus enhance regional security. That is why I welcome the Dialogue for Economic Cooperation our two nations have initiated. And ^{that} it is why I announced in Japan that I ^{am consulting with others on} ~~will seek~~ an informal ^{economic conference} ~~meeting~~ of APEC's leaders following the ^{Ministerial} ~~APEC~~ meeting in Seattle this fall.

The goal of all these efforts should be to integrate, not isolate the region's powers. China is a particularly important example. We believe China cannot be a full partner in the world community until it respects human rights and international agreements on trade and weapons sales. ~~We plan to engage that great nation in~~ ^{on these and other issues, if there are} ~~But we also are determined to involve~~ ^{positive responses,} China, ~~to the greatest extent possible,~~ ^{we stand ready to work with} in building the new security and economic architectures of the region.

Some in the U.S. have been reluctant to ^{enter into} ~~raise the idea of~~ regional security dialogues in Asia for fear it would sound like a pretext for American withdrawal from the region. But I see such dialogues as a way to make our continued engagement even ^{more effective.} ~~They supplement, not supplant, our alliances and forward military presence.~~ They can ensure that the end of the Cold War ^{rivalries and arms races.} does not provide an opening for regional chaos, And they can build ~~a~~ foundation^s for our shared security into the next Century.

Ultimately, the guarantee of our security must rest in the character and intentions of the region's nations themselves. This is why our final security priority must be to support the spread of democracy throughout the Asian Pacific. Democracies not only are more likely to meet the needs and respect the rights

of their people. They also make better neighbors. They ~~are less~~ ^{do not} ~~likely to~~ ^{practice terrorism,} wage war on each other, generate refugees, or traffic in drugs and outlaw weapons. They make more reliable partners in trade and in the kind of security dialogues I have advocated.

Today, some in this region argue that democracy and human rights are somehow unsuited to parts of Asia, or that they constitute Western cultural imperialism. My ear is drawn to more compelling voices -- to ~~countless Chinese citizens~~ ^{countless Chinese citizens} who sparked the democratic spirit ~~at~~ ^(no single Chinese leader of movement) in Tiananmen Square; to Aung San Suu Kyi, whose eloquent opposition to repression in Burma has stirred the world; to Boris Yeltsin, who is leading Russia toward becoming a great democratic power on the Pacific; and to your own President Kim, who has helped democracy flower here in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Each of our nations must retain the best of our cultures. But Korea proves democracy and human rights are not Western imports; rather they flow from ~~the~~ ^{universal} aspirations ^{shared by} of the Asian people. ~~From Mongolia to Cambodia the people have declared~~ ^{From Mongolia to Cambodia the people have} ~~staked their claim~~ ^{staked their claim} to shape their own destiny.

Now we must work to nurture those aspirations throughout the region. We must support the non-governmental organizations that seek to strengthen Asia's building blocks of civic society, such as open elections, trade unions and a free press. And we must deploy our weapons of accurate news and information against closed societies, ~~such as North Korea~~. I have proposed the creation of an Asia Democracy Radio for this purpose and I look forward to its establishment in the near future.

Two-hundred-and-seventeen years ago, America's founders declared the rights of self-governance to be God-given and therefore inalienable. Today, here on Asian soil, let us together reaffirm that declaration, not only as an article of faith, but as a sturdy building block in our region's shared security.

* * *

This is our nation's vision for security in the New Pacific Community: a continued U.S. military presence; new efforts to combat proliferation; new regional security dialogues; and vigorous support for democracy and democratic movements.

These elements of security can help create a Pacific region where economic competition is vigorous but orderly; where diverse nations work as partners to improve their shared security; and where democracy as well as balanced military strength takes its place as a guardian of the peace.

We will not realize every aspect of that vision overnight, nor will the New Pacific Community come to pass without great effort. But neither of our nations is a stranger to hard work. I think, in particular, of the image of your great long-distance runner, Hwang Young-cho, who endured that final steep hill in Barcelona to capture the gold in the marathon at the 1992 Olympics.

His energy and perseverance capture the spirit of the Korean people, who have not only endured but prospered through a long, hard and challenging history. We respect that spirit. We honor your values. We have stood shoulder to shoulder with you in days past. So it shall be in the days ahead. Thank you very much.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
Korean National Assembly
Seoul, Korea-- July 10, 1993

It is great honor to speak to you here in this magnificent hall of democracy. Mrs. Clinton and I appreciate your warm welcome.

I first visited Seoul five years ago. Since then, Korea's energy and outgoing culture have shown themselves in many new ways. Your bustling capital has continued to grow. Your economy has continued to expand. Your nation has hosted the Olympics and taken its place as a full member of the United Nations. Your people have established new ties to Russia and China. But no achievement is more important than your consolidation of democracy with the election of a civilian President, Kim Young Sam.

Geography placed our two nations an ocean apart. But history has drawn us close together. Ours is friendship first formed in blood as our troops stood shoulder to shoulder in defense of freedom. Then, as Korea's economy became the "miracle on the Han," we built an economic partnership that today exceeds \$30 billion in well-balanced trade. Now Korea's democratic progress adds yet another bond of shared values between our people.

When President Truman deployed American troops to this country 43 years ago this summer, he said we needed to prove that, "free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all." Our efforts together did benefit all -- not only the people of our own two countries, but all in the Asian Pacific who seek to live in peace. Our relationship helped make them more secure, more prosperous and more free.

Now, with the Cold War over and change sweeping the region, we must define anew what our community of neighbors means to achieve. I believe the time has come to create a New Pacific Community, built on shared security, shared prosperity, and a shared commitment to democratic values. Today, I want to discuss the fundamentals of security for that New Pacific Community and what role the United States intends to play.

Above all, our nation intends to remain actively engaged in this region. America is a Pacific nation. We fought three wars here in this century. We have no desire to fight another. The best way to prevent regional conflict, perpetuate the region's robust economic growth, and secure our maritime and other interests here is to remain an active presence. We must continue to lead.

Today some in America say, and many around the world fear, that America's global leadership is an outdated luxury we no longer can afford. I disagree. In truth, America's global leadership has never been a more indispensable or worthwhile investment. So long as America remains bordered by oceans and powered by trade; so long as our flag is a symbol of democracy and hope to a fractious world -- that is how long we must continue to lead.

I see four priorities for the security of our New Pacific Community: first, a continued American military commitment to the region; second, stronger efforts to combat the proliferation of deadly weapons; third, support for democracy; and, last, new regional dialogues on the full range of our security challenges.

The bedrock of America's security role in the Asian-Pacific must be a continued military presence. Today we reaffirm our five mutual defense treaties -- with Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, Japan and Korea. In a period of change, we need to preserve what has been reliable.

Those treaties work because they serve the interests of each of the parties. They enable the U.S. to maintain a substantial forward military deployment. At the same time, they have enabled Asia to focus less energy on an arms race and more on a peaceful race toward economic development. The substantial share that Japan and Korea pay toward the stationing of U.S. forces not only makes our presence cost effective, but also underscores the importance of that presence to both host countries.

There is no better example of our commitment than our alliance with Korea. As the Cold War recedes into history, a divided Korea remains one of its most bitter and stubborn legacies. Our nation has always joined yours in believing that one day Korea's artificial division will end. We support Korea's reunification on terms acceptable to the Korean people. And when reunification comes, we will stand beside you in making that transition.

But that day has not yet arrived. The demilitarized zone continues to draw a stark line between safety and danger. North Korea's million men in arms -- most stationed within 30 miles of the demilitarized zone -- continue to pose a threat. Its troubling nuclear program continues to raise questions about its intentions. Its internal repression and irresponsible weapons

sales abroad show North Korea is not yet prepared to accept international norms of civilized behavior.

So let me state this clearly: our commitment to Korea's security remains undiminished. The Korean Peninsula -- this crossroads of great powers and cultures -- remains a vital American interest. Our troops will stay here as long the Korean people want us here. We lost tens of thousands of America's best in Korea's hills and mud and sky. Korea lost millions. That sacrifice underscored some old truths. Vulnerability invites aggression. Deterrence works. We are not about to forget those lessons again.

And so it is throughout the region. Our commitment to an active military presence remains. Our mutual agreement with the Philippines to close our bases there should not be cause for Asian alarm. The larger picture tells a different story.

Here in Korea, we have frozen our troop withdrawals and provided better weapons. We have sought increased access for our forces in Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia in order to facilitate our presence and project our forces beyond the region, if necessary. We have replaced the USS MIDWAY in Japan with the USS INDEPENDENCE battle group, the largest and most modern in the world. And we have newly deployed the Belleau Wood amphibious group into Sasebo. These are not the signs of disengagement.

[concluding line for section]

The second security priority for our New Pacific Community is to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. We must not let the terrorizing diffusion of these deadly weapons replace the nightmare of nuclear annihilation.

Today that possibility already is too real, and the Asian Pacific already figures too large. Two wars in the Persian Gulf have shown what damage could be done by the nearly 1,000 SCUD missiles already supplied to middle eastern countries. Today, North Korea seems ready to sell those missiles to any country able to pay cash. Now it is developing, testing and looking to export a new missile [whose name shall go unmentioned] with a maximum range of 600 miles -- enough for North Korea to threaten Tokyo and for Iran to threaten Tel Aviv. We also have very serious concerns about China's commitment to respect international standards against missile proliferation.

But no proliferation threat hangs over this peninsula or this region more darkly than threat of nuclear proliferation. Nearly 160 nations now have joined to resist that threat through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most universally supported treaty in history. Now, for the first time since it was opened for signature a quarter century ago, one of its members has threatened to leave it.

Our goals remain constant. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and a robust international nonproliferation regime. That is why we urge North Korea to reaffirm its commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and to fulfill its full-scope

safeguards obligation to the International Atomic Energy Agency, including the obligation to permit inspections of undeclared nuclear facilities. Our goal is not simply verbal commitments, but certifiable compliance, and we are adamant for results.

My Administration has taken an active posture in trying to bring North Korea back within the fold of nuclear responsibility. But your nation ultimately is most affected by this threat, and you have an even more critical role to play. The North-South accord you negotiated goes even further than existing international agreements. Not only does it banish nuclear weapons from the peninsula, but it also bans the production of the uranium and plutonium materials for those weapons. We urge you to press quickly for full implementation -- including challenge inspections -- of this pathbreaking agreement, which stands as a compelling model for other regions of tension.

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When President Truman deployed American troops to this country 43 years ago this summer, he said we needed to prove that, "free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all." Our efforts together did benefit all -- not only the people of our own two countries, but all in the Asian Pacific who seek to live in peace. Our relationship made the region more secure, more prosperous and more free.

Now, with the Cold War over and profound changes sweeping this populous region, we must create a new vision of how our community of neighbors can live in peace. I believe the time has come to create a New Pacific Community, built on shared security, shared prosperity, and a shared commitment to democratic values. Today, I want to discuss the fundamentals of security for that New Pacific Community and the role the United States intends to play.

Above all, our nation intends to remain actively engaged in this region. America is a Pacific nation. We fought three wars here in this century. We will not squander that investment. The best way to deter regional aggression, perpetuate the region's robust economic growth and secure our maritime and other interests here is to remain an active presence. We must continue to lead.

Today some in America say, and many around the world fear, that America's global leadership is an outdated luxury we no longer can afford. I disagree. In truth, America's global leadership has never been a more indispensable or worthwhile investment. So long as America remains bordered by oceans and powered by trade; so long as our flag is a symbol of democracy and hope to a fractious world -- the imperative of our leadership will remain.

I see four priorities for the security of our New Pacific Community: first, a continued American military commitment to the region; second, stronger efforts to combat the proliferation of deadly weapons; third, new regional dialogues on the full range of our common security challenges; and last, support for democracy and more open societies throughout the region.

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But that day has not yet arrived. The demilitarized zone continues to draw a stark line between safety and danger. North Korea's million men in arms -- most stationed within 30 miles of the demilitarized zone -- continue to pose a threat. Its troubling nuclear program continues to raise questions about its intentions. Its approaching political succession creates grave

uncertainties. Its internal repression and irresponsible weapons sales abroad show North Korea is not yet prepared to accept international norms of civilized behavior.

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The second security priority for our New Pacific Community is to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. We cannot let the expanding threat of these deadly weapons replace the Cold War nightmare of nuclear annihilation.

Today that possibility already is too real, and the Asian Pacific already figures too large. Two Persian Gulf wars ~~have~~ suggested what damage could be done by the nearly 1,000 SCUD missiles already supplied to middle eastern countries. Today, North Korea seems ready to sell those missiles to any country able to pay in cash. Now it is developing, testing and looking to export a new missile with a maximum range of 600 miles -- enough for North Korea to threaten Tokyo and for Iran to threaten Tel Aviv. We have serious concerns as well about China's commitment to respect international standards against missile proliferation. X

The nations of our region must develop new ways to combat the spread of missile, biological and chemical technologies, and in the coming weeks my Administration will propose new efforts aimed at that goal. But no proliferation threat hangs over this peninsula or this region more darkly than threat of nuclear proliferation. Nearly 160 nations now have joined to resist that threat through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most universally supported treaty in history. Now, for the first time since it was opened for signature a quarter century ago, one of its members has threatened to leave it.

Our goals remain constant and firm. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and robust global rules against proliferation. That is

why we urge North Korea to reaffirm its commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to fulfill its full-scope safeguards obligation to the International Atomic Energy Agency, including the obligation to permit inspections of undeclared nuclear sites. Our goal is not endless discussions or even verbal commitments but certifiable compliance -- and we are adamant for results.

The U.S. has worked actively to bring North Korea back within the fold of nuclear responsibility. But your nation, which is most affected by this threat, has an even more critical role to play. The North-South accord you negotiated goes even further than existing international agreements. Not only does it banish nuclear weapons from the peninsula, it also bans the production of the uranium and plutonium for those weapons. We urge you to press for full implementation of this pathbreaking accord, which can serve as a model for other regions of nuclear tension.

While North Korea's nuclear program remains deeply troubling, the region's response has been encouraging. The U.S. and Korea not only worked closely with each other, but also with Japan. And we urged other critical powers in the region, such as China and Russia, to bring their influence to bear as well.

This kind of flexible and adaptive response to new threats suggests a third element of our regional security vision. Just as the U.S. last month called for a NATO summit to adapt that institution to Europe's post-Cold War challenges, so we need to spin a web of new cooperative efforts to address the post-Cold War challenges of the Asian Pacific.

As with Europe, the Asian Pacific no longer faces Soviet aggression as its dominant, unitary threat. That danger has been replaced by ones that are smaller but in many ways more complex. Weapons proliferation is one example. Cambodia's fragile process of reconciliation is another. Others include drug trafficking, refugee flows and environmental degradation. And throughout Asia, the Cold War's end has altered the character of many regional relationships, such as those among Cambodia, Vietnam and China.

We can start weaving a new regional security web by updating our existing security alliances. For example, the U.S.-Japanese treaty was aimed principally at containing the Soviet Union. Now we should start exploring ways to use that alliance and others to address the region's new challenges. The purpose will be not to reduce our treaty commitments but to re-enforce them.

In this era, security will increasingly revolve around economics. By lowering barriers to trade and investment we can generate jobs, ease regional tensions, and thus enhance regional security. That is why I welcome the Dialogue for Economic Cooperation our two nations have initiated. And that is why I announced three days ago that I will seek an informal meeting of APEC's leaders following the APEC meeting in Seattle this fall.

Ultimately, we also need to explore new mechanisms for regional security dialogues. Some in the U.S. have been reluctant to raise such an idea for fear it would sound like a pretext for American withdrawal from the region. But I see such dialogues as a way to make our continued engagement even more effective. This

month's ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference offers an immediate opportunity to begin such discussions. Other forums may include different members, and can focus on both confidence building and problem solving. Korea -- at the center of Northeast Asia and within two hours by air from Shanghai, Tokyo, Beijing and Vladivostok -- can play a central role in these dialogues.

The goal of these efforts should be to integrate, not isolate the region's powers. China is a particularly important example. We believe China cannot be a full member of the world community until it respects human rights and international agreements on trade and weapons sales. But we also are determined to involve China, to the greatest extent possible, in building the new security and economic architectures of the region.

This new web of security efforts can bind our Pacific nations closer together. It can ensure that the end of the Cold War does not provide an opening for regional chaos. And it can build a foundation for our shared security into the next Century.

Ultimately, the guarantee of our security must rest in the character and intentions of the region's nations themselves. This is why our final security priority must be to support the spread of democracy throughout the Asian Pacific. Democracies not only are more likely to meet the needs and respect the rights of their people. They also make better neighbors. They are less likely to wage war on each other, generate refugees or traffick in drugs and outlaw weapons. They make more reliable partners in trade and in the kind of security dialogues I have advocated.

Today, some in this region argue that democracy and human rights are somehow unsuited to parts of Asia, or that they constitute Western cultural imperialism. My ear is drawn to more compelling voices -- to [xxxx] who sparked the democratic spirit at Tiananmen Square; to Aung San Suu Kyi, whose eloquent opposition to repression in Burma has stirred the world; to Boris Yeltsin, who is leading Russia toward becoming a great democratic power on the Pacific; and to your own President Kim, who has helped democracy flower here in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Each of our nations must retain the best of our cultures. But Korea proves democracy and human rights are not Western imports; rather they flow from the aspirations of the Asian people.

Now we must work to nurture those aspirations throughout the region. We must support the non-governmental organizations that seek to strengthen Asia's building blocks of civic society, such as open elections, trade unions and a free press. And we must deploy our weapons of accurate news and information against closed societies such as North Korea. I have proposed the creation of an Asia Democracy Radio for this purpose and I look forward to its establishment in the near future.

Two-hundred-and-seventeen years ago, America's founders declared the rights of self-governance to be God-given and therefore inalienable. Today, here on Asian soil, let us together reaffirm that declaration, not only as an article of faith, but as a sturdy building block in our region's shared security.

This, then, is our nation's vision for security in the New Pacific Community: a continued U.S. military presence; new efforts to combat weapons proliferation; new mechanisms for regional security dialogues; and a vigorous commitment to the spread of democracy and democratic movements.

These elements of security can help create a Pacific region where the economic competition is vigorous but mutually beneficial; where a diversity of cultures lives with each other and learns from each other; where nations work as partners to improve their shared security; and where democracy as well as balanced military strength takes its place as a guardian of the peace.

We will not realize every aspect of that vision overnight, nor will the New Pacific Community come to pass without great effort. But neither of our nations is a stranger to hard work. I think, in particular, of the image of your great long-distance runner, Hwang Young-cho, who endured ~~years~~ ^{in Barcelona} that final steep hill to capture the gold in the marathon at the ¹⁹⁹² ~~Barcelona~~ Olympics.

His energy and perseverance capture the spirit of the Korean people, who have not only endured but prospered through a long, hard and challenging history. We respect that spirit. We honor your values. We have stood shoulder to shoulder with you in days past. So it shall be in the days ahead. I appreciate this opportunity to speak with you. And I look forward to strengthening this remarkable partnership between our nations and our peoples. Thank you very much.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
Korean National Assembly
Seoul, Korea-- July 10, 1993

LORD
Comments

It is ^a great honor to speak to you here in this magnificent hall of democracy. Mrs. Clinton and I appreciate your warm welcome. ←

I first visited Seoul five years ago. Since then, Korea's energy and ~~outgoing~~ culture have shown themselves in many new ways. ←
Your bustling capital has continued to grow. Your economy has continued to expand. Your nation has hosted the Olympics and taken its place as a full member of the United Nations. You have established new ties to Russia and China. But no achievement is more important than your consolidation of democracy with the election of a bold democrat, President Kim Young Sam.

Geography placed our two nations an ocean apart. But history has drawn us close together. Ours is a friendship formed in blood, as our troops fought shoulder to shoulder in defense of freedom. Then, as Korea's economy became the "miracle on the Han," we built an economic partnership that today exceeds \$30 billion in well-balanced trade. Today Korea's democratic progress adds yet another bond of shared values between our peopleS. ←

When President Truman sent American troops to Korea's defense forty-three years ago, he said he aimed to prove that, "free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all." Our efforts together since then have benefitted all -- not only the people of our own countries, but all in the Asian Pacific who seek to live in peace. Our relationship has made the region more secure, more prosperous and more free.

Now, with the Cold War over and profound changes sweeping this populous region, we must create a new vision of how our community of neighbors can live in peace. [#] I believe the time has come to create a New Pacific Community, built on shared strength, shared prosperity, and a shared commitment to democratic values. Today, I want to discuss the fundamentals of security for that New Pacific Community and the role the United States intends to play. *(separate # for emphasis)*

Above all, we intend to remain actively engaged in this region. America is a Pacific nation. We fought three wars here in this century. We will not squander that investment. The best way for us to deter regional aggression, perpetuate the region's robust economic growth and secure our own maritime and other interests is to be an active presence. We must and will continue to lead.

Today some in America say, and many around the world fear, that America's global leadership is an outdated luxury we no longer can afford. They are wrong. In truth, our global leadership has never been a more indispensable or worthwhile investment. So long as America remains bordered by oceans and powered by trade -- so long as our flag is a symbol of democracy and hope to a fractious world -- the imperative of our leadership will remain.

I see four priorities for the security of our New Pacific Community: first, a continued American military commitment to the region; second, stronger efforts to combat the proliferation of deadly weapons; third, new regional dialogues on the full range of our common security challenges; and last, support for democracy and more open societies throughout the region.

The bedrock of America's security role in the Asian-Pacific must be a continued military presence. In a period of change, we need to preserve what has been reliable. Today we therefore reaffirm our five bilateral security agreements -- with Korea, Japan, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Those treaties work because they serve the interests of each of the parties. They enable U.S. armed forces to maintain a substantial forward presence. At the same time, they have enabled Asia to focus less energy on an arms race and more on a peaceful race toward economic development. The substantial share that Japan and Korea pay toward the stationing of U.S. forces not only makes our presence cost effective, but also underscores the importance of that presence to both host countries.

There is no better example of our commitment than our alliance with Korea. As the Cold War recedes into history, a divided Korea remains one of its most bitter legacies. Our nation has always joined yours in believing that one day Korea's artificial division will end. We support Korea's peaceful reunification on terms acceptable to the Korean people. And when reunification comes, we will stand beside you in making that transition.

But that day has not yet arrived. The demilitarized zone still traces a stark line between safety and danger. North Korea's million men in arms -- most stationed within 30 miles of the DMZ -- continue to pose a threat. Its troubling nuclear program raises questions about its intentions. ~~Its approaching political succession creates uncertainties.~~ Its internal repression and

(This one should
come out)

irresponsible weapons sales abroad show North Korea is not yet willing to be a responsible member of the community of nations.

So let me say clearly: our commitment to Korea's security remains undiminished. The Korean Peninsula -- this crossroads of great powers and cultures -- remains a vital American interest. Our troops will stay here as long the Korean people need us here. We lost tens of thousands of America's best in Korea's mountains and mud and sky. Korea lost millions. That sacrifice affirmed some old truths. Vulnerability invites aggression. Peace depends on deterrence. We are not about to forget those lessons again.

And so it is throughout the region. Our commitment to an active military presence remains. Our mutual agreement with the Philippines to close our bases there should not be cause for Asian alarm. The larger picture tells a different story.

Here in Korea, we have frozen American troop withdrawals and will supplement your nation's military capability with new anti-tank, anti-air, and anti-missile defense technologies. ~~We are pursuing increased access for our forces in Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia~~ *have welcomed our access for our forces* to facilitate our presence and, if necessary, to project our forces beyond the region. We have deployed to Japan the BELLEAU WOOD amphibious group and the USS INDEPENDENCE battle group, the largest and most modern in the world. These are not signs of disengagement. These are signs America intends to stay.

The second security priority for our New Pacific Community is to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction and their means

of delivery. We cannot let the expanding threat of these deadly weapons replace the Cold War nightmare of nuclear annihilation.

Today that possibility is too real. North Korea appears committed to indiscriminate sales of the SCUD missiles that were such a source of terror and destruction in the Persian Gulf. Now it is developing, testing and looking to export an even stronger missile with a range of 600 miles or more -- enough for North Korea to threaten Tokyo or for Iran to threaten Tel Aviv. We have serious concerns as well about China's compliance with international standards against missile proliferation.

The Pacific nations must develop new ways to combat the spread of biological, chemical and missile technologies, and in the coming weeks the U.S. will propose new efforts aimed at that goal. But no specter hangs over this peninsula or this region more darkly than the danger of nuclear proliferation. Nearly 160 nations now have joined to resist that threat through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most universally supported treaty in history. Now, for the first time since that Treaty was opened for signature, one of its members has threatened to withdraw.

Our goals remain firm. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and robust global rules against proliferation. That is why we urge North Korea to reaffirm its commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the South-North accord, and to fulfill its full-scope safeguards obligation to the International Atomic Energy Agency, including IAEA inspections of undeclared nuclear sites. Our goal is not endless discussions but certifiable compliance.

North Korea must understand our intentions. We are seeking to prevent aggression, not initiate it. And so long as North Korea abides by the UN Charter and international nonproliferation commitments, it has nothing to fear from America's arsenals.

The U.S. has worked actively to bring North Korea back within the fold of nuclear responsibility. But your nation is most affected and has the critical role to play. The future of this peninsula is for you and North Korea to shape. The South-North accord you negotiated goes even further than existing international agreements. It not only banishes nuclear weapons from the peninsula, it also bans the production of nuclear materials for those weapons. We urge full implementation of this pathbreaking accord, which can serve as a model for other regions of nuclear tension.

Even as we address immediate concerns such as proliferation, we must also have a vision of how we will meet the broader challenges of the era. That is what I sought to create during this week's G-7 talks -- for example, by proposing new ways to focus on new problems, such as the slow pace of job creation in G-7 countries. It is why I have proposed a NATO summit, so we can adapt that institution to new times and new challenges.

In both Asia and Europe, the dominant, unitary threat of Soviet aggression has disappeared. In both regions, the end of the Cold War has allowed a host of problems to emerge or re-emerge, such as ancient ethnic rivalries, regional tensions, flows of refugees and the trafficking of deadly weapons and dangerous drugs.

In Europe, these changes require us to adapt an existing security institution, NATO. In the Pacific, no such institution exists, nor is one likely to be created soon. Moreover, since the Asian Pacific does not face a unitary threat, there is no need for us to create one single alliance. Rather, the challenge for the Pacific region is to develop new mechanisms and new dialogues that can function like overlapping plates of armor -- individually providing protection, and together covering the full body of our common security concerns.

Some of those new mechanisms may involve groups of nations addressing immediate problems. This is the model we have pursued to address North Korea's nuclear program -- for we have worked not only between our own two nations, but also with Japan and others in the region who could bring their influence to bear.

Some of our new security mechanisms may involve peacekeeping, such as the massive and promising UN effort to support reconciliation in Cambodia. Still others may pursue confidence building measures to head off regional or sub-regional conflicts.

This month's ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference in Singapore, which our Secretary of State will attend, offers an immediate opportunity to further this kind of new dialogue. [#] Korea can play a vital role in these dialogues, for it stands at the center of Northeast Asia -- two hours or less by air from ~~Shanghai~~, Tokyo, Beijing and Vladivostok.

(we don't need
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cities)

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The many economic dialogues within the region also can play a role. By lowering barriers to trade and investment we can generate jobs, ease regional tensions, and thus enhance regional security. That is why I welcome the ^{new} Dialogue for Economic Cooperation our two nations ^{are launching on this visit,} ~~have initiated.~~ And that is why I announced in Japan that ^{we should consider} ~~I would like to see~~ an informal economic conference among APEC's leaders following the Ministerial meeting in Seattle this fall.

(we may not pull this off)

(This is a new proposal being announced on this visit)

The goal of all these efforts should be to integrate, not isolate the region's powers. China is a particularly important example. We believe China cannot be a full partner in the world community until it respects human rights and international agreements on trade and weapons sales. But we also are ^{prepared} ~~determined~~ to involve China, ~~to the greatest extent possible,~~ in building the new security and economic architectures of the region.

Some in the U.S. have been reluctant to enter into regional security dialogues in Asia for fear it would seem like a pretext for American withdrawal from the region. But I see such dialogues as a way to supplement our ^{alliances and} forward military presence, not supplant ^{them,} ~~it.~~ These dialogues can ensure that the end of the Cold War does not provide an opening for regional rivalries, chaos, and arms races. They can build a foundation for our shared security into the next Century.

Ultimately, the guarantee of our security must rest in the character and intentions of the region's nations themselves. This is why our final security priority must be to support the

spread of democracy throughout the Asian Pacific. Democracies not only are more likely to meet the needs and respect the rights of their people. They also make better neighbors. They do not wage war on each other, practice terrorism, generate refugees or traffic in drugs and outlaw weapons. They make more reliable partners in trade and in the kind of dialogues I have advocated.

Today, some in this region argue that democracy and human rights are somehow unsuited to parts of Asia, or that they constitute Western cultural imperialism. My ear is drawn to more compelling voices -- to ~~those~~ ^{those} [name] who proclaimed democracy's spirit ~~at~~ ⁱⁿ (there is no single name we should cite) Tiananmen Square; to Aung San Suu Kyi, whose eloquent opposition to repression in Burma has stirred the world; to Boris Yeltsin, who is leading Russia toward becoming a great democratic power on the Pacific; and to your own President Kim, who has helped democracy flower here in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Each of our nations must retain the best of our cultures. But Korea proves democracy and human rights are not Western imports; rather they flow from universal aspirations.

Now we must work to respond to those aspirations throughout the region. We must support the non-governmental organizations that seek to strengthen Asia's building blocks of civic society, such as open elections, trade unions and a free press. And we must deploy ~~our weapons of~~ accurate news and information against Asia's closed societies. I have proposed the creation of an Asia Democracy Radio for this purpose and I look forward to its establishment in the near future.

Two-hundred-and-seventeen years ago, America's founders declared the rights of self-governance to be God-given and therefore inalienable. Today, here on Asian soil, let us together reaffirm that declaration, not only as an article of faith, but as a sturdy building block in our region's shared security.

* * *

This, then, is our nation's vision for security in the New Pacific Community: a continued U.S. military presence; new efforts to combat proliferation; new regional security dialogues; and vigorous support for democracy and democratic movements.

These elements of security can help create a Pacific region where economic competition is vigorous but peaceful; where diverse nations work as partners to improve their shared security; and where democracy as well as balanced military strength takes its place as a guardian of our security.

We will not realize every aspect of that vision overnight, nor will the New Pacific Community come to pass without great effort. But neither of our nations is a stranger to hard work. I think, in particular, of the image of your great long-distance runner, Hwang Young-cho, who endured that final steep hill in Barcelona to capture the gold in the marathon at the 1992 Olympics.

His energy and perseverance capture the spirit of the Korean people, who have not only endured but prospered through a long, hard and challenging history. We respect that spirit. We honor your values. We have stood shoulder to shoulder with you in days past. And so it shall be in the days ahead. Thank you.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

08-Jul-1993 17:39 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Sandra L. Kelly
(KELLYS)

SUBJECT: Remarks of President--Seoul, Korea

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE IS FROM BOB BELL.

AND

PLEASE DELIVER TO JEREMY ROSNER ASAP.

Korea speech looks great. Only one suggestion on page 4,
para that begins with "So let me say....," 4th line:

"...as long as the Korean people need us here" to read
"as long as South Korea's security so requires."

Distribution:

FOR: <u>Jeremy D. Rosner</u>	(ROSNER)
FOR: Cathy Millison	(MILLISON)
FOR: Mary C. Emery	(EMERY)
FOR: Wendy E. Gray	(GRAY)
CC: Records	(RECORDS)
CC: Nancy Soderberg	(SODERBERG)
CC: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By (u) NARA, Date 04/06/15
2009-0528-F

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
Korean National Assembly
Seoul, Korea-- July 10, 1993

Embassy
Seoul

It is great honor to speak to you here in this magnificent hall of democracy. Mrs. Clinton and I appreciate your warm welcome.

I first visited Seoul five years ago. Since then, Korea's energy and outgoing culture have shown themselves in many new ways. Your bustling capital has continued to grow. Your economy has continued to expand. Your nation has hosted the Olympics and taken its place as a full member of the United Nations. You have established new ties to Russia and China. But no achievement is more important than your consolidation of democracy with the election of a bold democrat, President Kim Young Sam.

Geography placed our two nations an ocean apart. But history has drawn us close together. Ours is a friendship formed in blood, as our troops fought shoulder to shoulder in defense of freedom. Then, as Korea's economy became the "miracle on the Han," we built an economic partnership that today exceeds \$30 billion in well-balanced trade. Today Korea's democratic progress adds yet another bond of shared values between our people.

When President Truman sent American troops to Korea's defense forty-three years ago, he said he aimed to prove that, "free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all." Our efforts together since then have benefitted all -- not only the people of our own countries, but all in the Asian Pacific who seek to live in peace. Our relationship has made the region more secure, more prosperous and more free.

Now, with the Cold War over and profound changes sweeping this populous region, we must create a new vision of how our community of neighbors can live in peace. I believe the time has come to create a New Pacific Community, built on shared strength, shared prosperity, and a shared commitment to democratic values. Today, I want to discuss the fundamentals of security for that New Pacific Community and the role the United States intends to play.

Above all, we intend to remain actively engaged in this region. America is a Pacific nation. We fought three wars here in this century. We will not squander that investment. The best way for us to deter regional aggression, perpetuate the region's robust economic growth and secure our own maritime and other interests is to be an active presence. We must and will continue to lead.

Today some in America say, and many around the world fear, that America's global leadership is an outdated luxury we no longer can afford. They are wrong. In truth, our global leadership has never been a more indispensable or worthwhile investment. So long as America remains bordered by oceans and powered by trade -- so long as our flag is a symbol of democracy and hope to a fractious world -- the imperative of our leadership will remain.

I see four priorities for the security of our New Pacific Community: first, a continued American military commitment to the region; second, stronger efforts to combat the proliferation of deadly weapons; third, new regional dialogues on the full range of our common security challenges; and last, support for democracy and more open societies throughout the region.

The bedrock of America's security role in the Asian-Pacific must be a continued military presence. In a period of change, we need to preserve what has been reliable. Today we therefore reaffirm our five bilateral security agreements -- with Korea, Japan, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Those treaties work because they serve the interests of each of the parties. They enable U.S. armed forces to maintain a substantial forward presence. At the same time, they have enabled Asia to focus less energy on an arms race and more on a peaceful race toward economic development. The substantial share that Japan and Korea pay toward the stationing of U.S. forces not only makes our presence cost effective, but also underscores the importance of that presence to both host countries.

There is no better example of our commitment than our alliance with Korea. As the Cold War recedes into history, a divided Korea remains one of its most bitter legacies. Our nation has always joined yours in believing that one day Korea's artificial division will end. We support Korea's peaceful reunification on terms acceptable to the Korean people. And when reunification comes, we will stand beside you in making that transition.

But that day has not yet arrived. The demilitarized zone still traces a stark line between safety and danger. North Korea's million men in arms -- most stationed within 30 miles of the DMZ -- continue to pose a threat. Its troubling nuclear program raises questions about its intentions. Its approaching political succession creates uncertainties. Its internal repression and

irresponsible weapons sales abroad show North Korea is not yet willing to be a responsible member of the community of nations.

So let me say clearly: our commitment to Korea's security remains undiminished. The Korean Peninsula -- this crossroads of great powers and cultures -- remains a vital American interest. Our troops will stay here as long the Korean people ^{want} ~~need~~ us here. We lost tens of thousands of America's best in Korea's mountains and mud and sky. Korea lost millions. That sacrifice affirmed some old truths. Vulnerability invites aggression. Peace depends on deterrence. We are not about to forget those lessons again. ||

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The Pacific nations must develop new ways to combat the spread of biological, chemical and missile technologies, and in the coming weeks the U.S. will propose new efforts aimed at that goal. But no specter hangs over this peninsula or this region more darkly than the danger of nuclear proliferation. Nearly 160 nations now have joined to resist that threat through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most universally supported treaty in history. Now, for the first time since that Treaty was opened for signature, one of its members has threatened to withdraw.

Our goals remain firm. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and robust global rules against proliferation. That is why we urge North Korea to reaffirm its commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty ~~and [the South-North accord]~~ and to fulfill its full-scope safeguards obligation to the International Atomic Energy

Agency, including IAEA inspections of undeclared nuclear sites, ~~and to implement bilateral inspections under the South-North accord.~~
Our goal is not endless discussions but certifiable compliance.

North Korea must understand our intentions. We are seeking to prevent aggression, not initiate it. [And so long as North Korea abides by the UN Charter and international nonproliferation commitments, it has nothing to fear from America's arsenals.]

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(Emb. Secv)

The U.S. has worked actively to bring North Korea back within the fold of nuclear responsibility. But your nation is most affected and has the critical role to play. The future of this peninsula is for you and North Korea to shape. The South-North ^{non-nuclear} accord you negotiated goes even further than existing international agreements. It not only banishes nuclear weapons from the peninsula, it also bans the production of nuclear materials for those weapons. We urge full implementation of this pathbreaking accord, which can serve as a model for other regions of nuclear tension.

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In Europe, these changes require us to adapt an existing security institution, NATO. In the Pacific, no such institution exists, nor is one likely to be created soon. Moreover, since the Asian Pacific does not face a unitary threat, there is no need for us to create one single alliance. Rather, the challenge for the Pacific region is to develop new mechanisms and new dialogues that can function like overlapping plates of armor -- individually providing protection, and together covering the full body of our common security concerns.

Some of those new mechanisms may involve groups of nations addressing immediate problems. This is the model we have pursued to address North Korea's nuclear program -- for we have worked not only between our own two nations, but also with Japan and others in the region who could bring their influence to bear.

Some of our new security mechanisms may involve peacekeeping, such as the massive and promising UN effort to support reconciliation in Cambodia. Still others may pursue confidence building measures to head off regional or sub-regional conflicts.

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The many economic dialogues within the region also can play a role. By lowering barriers to trade and investment we can generate jobs, ease regional tensions, and thus enhance regional security. That is why I welcome the Dialogue for Economic Cooperation our two nations have initiated. And that is why I announced in Japan that I would would like to see an informal economic conference among APEC's leaders following the Ministerial meeting in Seattle this fall.

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democracy flower here in the Land of the Morning Calm. *I also stand here and acknowledge the ~~contributions~~ role of many other voices in this multi-party Assembly who have made important* Each of our nations must retain the best of our cultures. But Korea proves democracy and human rights are not Western imports; rather they flow from universal aspirations. *contributions to building Korea's successful democracy*

Now we must work to respond to those aspirations throughout the region. We must support the non-governmental organizations that seek to strengthen Asia's building blocks of civic society, such as open elections, trade unions and a free press. And we must deploy our weapons of accurate news and information against Asia's closed societies. I have proposed the creation of an Asia Democracy Radio for this purpose and I look forward to its establishment in the near future.

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* * *

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Korean National Assembly
Seoul, Korea-- July 10, 1993**

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Today some in America say, and many around the world fear, that America's global leadership is an outdated luxury we no longer can afford. They are wrong. In truth, our global leadership has never been a more indispensable or worthwhile investment. So long as America remains bordered by oceans and powered by trade -- so long as our flag is a symbol of democracy and hope to a fractious world -- the imperative of our leadership will remain.

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The bedrock of America's security role in the Asian-Pacific must be a continued military presence. In a period of change, we need to preserve what has been reliable. Today we therefore reaffirm our five bilateral security agreements -- with Korea, Japan, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Those treaties work because they serve the interests of each of the parties. They enable U.S. armed forces to maintain a substantial forward presence. At the same time, they have enabled Asia to focus less energy on an arms race and more on a peaceful race toward economic development. The substantial share that Japan and Korea pay toward the stationing of U.S. forces not only makes our presence cost effective, but also underscores the importance of that presence to both host countries.

There is no better example of our commitment than our alliance with Korea. As the Cold War recedes into history, a divided Korea remains one of its most bitter legacies. Our nation has always joined yours in believing that one day Korea's artificial division will end. We support Korea's peaceful reunification on terms acceptable to the Korean people. And when reunification comes, we will stand beside you in making that transition.

But that day has not yet arrived. The demilitarized zone still traces a stark line between safety and danger. North Korea's million men in arms -- most stationed within 30 miles of the DMZ -- continue to pose a threat. Its troubling nuclear program raises questions about its intentions. Its approaching political succession creates uncertainties. Its internal repression and

irresponsible weapons sales abroad show North Korea is not yet willing to be a responsible member of the community of nations.

So let me say clearly: our commitment to Korea's security remains undiminished. The Korean Peninsula -- this crossroads of great powers and cultures -- remains a vital American interest. Our troops will stay here as long the Korean people need us here. We lost tens of thousands of America's best in Korea's mountains and mud and sky. Korea lost millions. That sacrifice affirmed some old truths. Vulnerability invites aggression. Peace depends on deterrence. We are not about to forget those lessons again.

And so it is throughout the region. Our commitment to an active military presence remains. Our mutual agreement with the Philippines to close our bases there should not be cause for Asian alarm. The larger picture tells a different story.

Here in Korea, we have frozen American troop withdrawals and will supplement your nation's military capability with new anti-tank, anti-air, and anti-missile defense technologies. We are pursuing increased access for our forces in Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia to facilitate our presence and, if necessary, to project our forces beyond the region. We have deployed to Japan the BELLEAU WOOD amphibious group and the USS INDEPENDENCE battle group, the largest and most modern in the world. These are not signs of disengagement. These are signs America intends to stay.

The second security priority for our New Pacific Community is to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction and their means

of delivery. We cannot let the expanding threat of these deadly weapons replace the Cold War nightmare of nuclear annihilation.

Today that possibility is too real. North Korea appears committed to indiscriminate sales of the SCUD missiles that were such a source of terror and destruction in the Persian Gulf. Now it is developing, testing and looking to export ^{a more powerful} ~~an even stronger~~ missile with a range of 600 miles or more -- enough for North Korea to threaten ^{Osaka} ~~Tokyo~~ or for Iran to threaten Tel Aviv. We have serious concerns as well about China's compliance with international standards against missile proliferation.

The Pacific nations must develop new ways to combat the spread of biological, chemical and missile technologies, and in the coming weeks the U.S. will propose new efforts aimed at that goal. But no specter hangs over this peninsula or this region more darkly than the danger of nuclear proliferation. Nearly 160 nations now have joined to resist that threat through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most universally supported treaty in history. Now, for the first time since that Treaty was opened for signature, one of its members has threatened to withdraw.

Our goals remain firm. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and robust global rules against proliferation. That is why we urge North Korea to reaffirm its commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the South-North ^{nuclear} accord, and to fulfill its full-scope safeguards obligation to the International Atomic Energy Agency, including IAEA inspections of undeclared nuclear sites. Our goal is not endless discussions but certifiable compliance.

North Korea must understand our intentions. We are seeking to prevent aggression, not initiate it. And so long as North Korea abides by the UN Charter and international nonproliferation commitments, it has nothing to fear from America's arsenals.

The U.S. has worked actively to bring North Korea back within the fold of nuclear responsibility. But your nation is most affected and has ~~the~~ ^{SKT} critical role to play. The future of this peninsula is for you and North Korea to shape. The South-North accord you negotiated goes even further than existing international agreements. It not only banishes nuclear weapons from the peninsula, it also bans the production of nuclear materials ~~for~~ ^{that could be used in} those weapons. We urge full implementation of this pathbreaking accord, which can serve as a model for other regions of nuclear tension.

Even as we address immediate concerns such as proliferation, we must also have a vision of how we will meet the broader challenges of the era. That is what I sought to create during this week's G-7 talks -- for example, by proposing new ways to focus on new problems, such as the slow pace of job creation in G-7 countries. It is why I have proposed a NATO summit, so we can adapt that institution to new times and new challenges.

In both Asia and Europe, the dominant, unitary threat of Soviet aggression has disappeared. In both regions, the end of the Cold War has allowed a host of problems to emerge or re-emerge, such as ancient ethnic rivalries, regional tensions, flows of refugees and the trafficking of deadly weapons and dangerous drugs.

And if N. Korea
puts the
nuclear issue behind
it can
improve
relations
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In Europe, these changes require us to adapt an existing security institution, NATO. In the Pacific, no such institution exists, nor is one likely to be created soon. Moreover, since the Asian Pacific does not face a unitary threat, there is no need for us to create one single alliance. Rather, the challenge for the Pacific region is to develop new mechanisms and new dialogues that can function like overlapping plates of armor -- individually providing protection, and together covering the full body of our common security concerns.

Some of those new mechanisms may involve groups of nations addressing immediate problems. This is the model we have pursued to address North Korea's nuclear program -- for we have worked not only between our own two nations, but also with Japan and others in the region ^{and beyond it} who could bring their influence to bear.

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Some of our new security mechanisms may involve peacekeeping, such as the massive and promising UN effort to support reconciliation in Cambodia. Still others may pursue confidence building measures to head off regional or sub-regional conflicts.

This month's ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference in Singapore, which our Secretary of State will attend, offers an immediate opportunity to further this kind of new dialogue. Korea can play a vital role in these dialogues, for it stands at the center of Northeast Asia -- two hours or less by air from Shanghai, Tokyo, Beijing and Vladivostok.

The many economic dialogues within the region also can play a role. By lowering barriers to trade and investment we can generate jobs, ease regional tensions, and thus enhance regional security. That is why I welcome the Dialogue for Economic Cooperation our two nations have initiated. And that is why I announced in Japan that I would would like to see an informal economic conference among APEC's leaders following the Ministerial meeting in Seattle this fall.

The goal of all these efforts should be to integrate, not isolate the region's powers. China is a particularly important example. We believe China cannot be a full partner in the world community until it respects human rights and international agreements on trade and weapons sales. But we also are determined to involve China, to the greatest extent possible, in building the new security and economic architectures of the region.

Some in the U.S. have been reluctant to enter into regional security dialogues in Asia for fear it would seem like a pretext for American withdrawal from the region. But I see such dialogues as a way to supplement our forward military presence, not supplant it. These dialogues can ensure that the end of the Cold War does not provide an opening for regional rivalries, chaos, and arms races. They can build a foundation for our shared security into the next Century.

Ultimately, the guarantee of our security must rest in the character and intentions of the region's nations themselves. This is why our final security priority must be to support the

spread of democracy throughout the Asian Pacific. Democracies not only are more likely to meet the needs and respect the rights of their people. They also make better neighbors. They do not wage war on each other, practice terrorism, generate refugees or traffic in drugs and outlaw weapons. They make more reliable partners in trade and in the kind of dialogues I have advocated.

Today, some in this region argue that democracy and human rights are somehow unsuited to parts of Asia, or that they constitute Western cultural imperialism. My ear is drawn to more compelling voices -- to [name] who proclaimed democracy's spirit at Tiananmen Square; to Aung San Suu Kyi, whose eloquent opposition to repression in Burma has stirred the world; to Boris Yeltsin, who is leading Russia toward becoming a great democratic power on the Pacific; and to your own President Kim, who has helped democracy flower here in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Each of our nations must retain the best of our cultures. But Korea proves democracy and human rights are not Western imports; rather they flow from universal aspirations.

Now we must work to respond to those aspirations throughout the region. We must support the non-governmental organizations that seek to strengthen Asia's building blocks of civic society, such as open elections, trade unions and a free press. And we must deploy our weapons of accurate news and information against Asia's closed societies. I have proposed the creation of an Asia Democracy Radio for this purpose and I look forward to its establishment in the near future.

Two-hundred-and-seventeen years ago, America's founders declared the rights of self-governance to be God-given and therefore inalienable. Today, here on Asian soil, let us together reaffirm that declaration, not only as an article of faith, but as a sturdy building block in our region's shared security.

* * *

This, then, is our nation's vision for security in the New Pacific Community: a continued U.S. military presence; new efforts to combat proliferation; new regional security dialogues; and vigorous support for democracy and democratic movements.

These elements of security can help create a Pacific region where economic competition is vigorous but peaceful; where diverse nations work as partners to improve their shared security; and where democracy as well as balanced military strength takes its place as a guardian of our security.

We will not realize every aspect of that vision overnight, nor will the New Pacific Community come to pass without great effort. But neither of our nations is a stranger to hard work. I think, in particular, of the image of your great long-distance runner, Hwang Young-cho, who endured that final steep hill in Barcelona to capture the gold in the marathon at the 1992 Olympics.

His energy and perseverance capture the spirit of the Korean people, who have not only endured but prospered through a long, hard and challenging history. We respect that spirit. We honor your values. We have stood shoulder to shoulder with you in days past. And so it shall be in the days ahead. Thank you.

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 FROM KRISTIE KENNEY 456-6534 WWGrdFlr
 (NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION DOD COMMENTS ON KOREAN NATIONAL ASS. SPEECH
 TO (AGENCY) NSC DELIVER TO MARY EMERY/CATHY MILLISON/WENDY GRAY DEPT/ROOM NO. PHONE NUMBER

REMARKS:

Please deliver to Jim Reed/Jeremy Rosner. Attached are DOD comments on draft 3 of the Korea National Assembly Speech. It LOOKS like JCS has also seen and commented but I will verify tomorrow am (EDT) since no one answers now (9:15 pm). Enjoy! Kristie *Kall*

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Chas Freeman to Deputy Secretary of Defense re Presidential Address to Korean National Assembly [2 copies] (2 pages)	07/08/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Jeremy Rosner (Legislative Affairs)
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FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Speech Files G-7 Trip Korea, National Assembly Speech [1]

2009-0528-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
Korean National Assembly
Seoul, Korea-- July 10, 1993

It is great honor to speak to you here in this magnificent hall of democracy. Mrs. Clinton and I appreciate your warm welcome.

I first visited Seoul five years ago. Since then, Korea's energy and outgoing culture have shown themselves in many new ways. Your bustling capital has continued to grow. Your economy has continued to expand. ~~Your nation has hosted the Olympics and~~ taken its place as a full member of the United Nations. You have established new ties to Russia and China. But no achievement is more important than your consolidation of democracy with the election of a true democrat, President Kim Young Sam.

Geography placed our two nations an ocean apart. But history has drawn us close together. Ours is a friendship formed in blood, as our troops stood shoulder to shoulder in defense of freedom. Then, as Korea's economy became the "miracle on the Han," we built an economic partnership that today exceeds \$30 billion in well-balanced trade. Now Korea's democratic progress adds yet another bond of shared values between our people.

When President Truman deployed American troops to this country forty-three years ago, he said he aimed to prove that, "free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all." Our efforts together since then have benefitted all -- not only the people of our own countries, but all who seek to live in peace. Our relationship

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2 ** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

Now, with the Cold War over and profound changes sweeping this populous region, we must create a new vision of how our community of neighbors can live in peace. I believe the time has come to create a New Pacific Community, built on shared strength, shared prosperity, and a shared commitment to democratic values. Today, I want to discuss the fundamentals of security for that New Pacific Community and the role the United States intends to play.

Above all, we intend to remain actively engaged in this region. America is a Pacific nation. We fought three wars here in this century. We will not squander that investment. The best way for us to deter regional aggression, perpetuate the region's robust economic growth and secure our own maritime and other interests is to be an active presence. We must and will continue to lead.

Today some in America say, and many around the world fear, that America's global leadership is an outdated luxury we no longer can afford. They are wrong. In truth, our global leadership has never been a more indispensable or worthwhile investment. So long as America remains bordered by oceans and powered by trade -- so long as our flag is a symbol of democracy and hope to a fractious world -- the imperative of our leadership will remain.

I see four priorities for the security of our New Pacific Community: first, a continued American military commitment to the region; second, stronger efforts to combat the proliferation of [deadly] weapons ^{of mass destruction}; third, new regional dialogues on the full range of our common security challenges; and last, support for

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3 ** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

The bedrock of America's security role in the Asian-Pacific must be a continued military presence. In a period of change, we need to preserve what has been reliable. Today we therefore reaffirm our five bilateral mutual defense treaties -- with Korea, Japan, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Those treaties work because they serve the interests of each of the parties. They enable the U.S. to maintain a substantial forward military deployment. At the same time, they have enabled Asia to focus less energy on an arms race and more on a peaceful race toward economic development. The ^{contribution} ~~substantial share~~ that Japan and Korea ^{make to help deploy} ~~pay toward~~ the stationing of U.S. forces ^{deployed} ~~not only~~ ^{in Northeast Asia} ~~makes our presence cost effective, but also~~ underscores the importance of that presence to both host countries.

There is no better example of our commitment than our alliance with Korea. As the Cold War recedes into history, a divided Korea remains one of its most bitter and stubborn legacies. Our nation has always joined yours in believing that one day Korea's artificial division will end. We support Korea's reunification on terms acceptable to the Korean people. And when reunification comes, we will stand beside you in making that transition.

But that day has not yet arrived. The demilitarized zone continues to draw a stark line between safety and danger. North Korea's million men in arms -- most stationed within 30 miles of the demilitarized zone -- continue to pose a threat. Its ominous nuclear program continues to raise questions about its

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4 ** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

troubling uncertainties. Its internal repression and irresponsible weapons sales abroad show North Korea is not yet prepared to accept international norms of civilized behavior.

So let me state this clearly: our commitment to Korea's security remains undiminished. The Korean Peninsula -- this crossroads of great powers and cultures -- remains a vital American interest. Our troops will stay here as long the Korean people need us here. We lost tens of thousands of America's best in Korea's hills and mud and sky. Korea lost millions. That sacrifice underscored some old truths. Vulnerability invites aggression. Deterrence works. We are not about to forget those lessons again.

And so it is throughout the region. Our commitment to an active military presence remains. Our mutual agreement with the Philippines to close our bases there should not be cause for Asian alarm. The larger picture tells a different story.

Here in Korea, we have frozen American troop withdrawals, ~~and will~~ *and are emphasizing the modernization of ROK and US forces on* ~~supplement your nation's military capability with new anti tank,~~ *the peninsula.* ~~anti air, and anti missile defense technologies.~~] We have sought

increased access for our forces in Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia to facilitate our presence and, if necessary, project our forces beyond the region. And we have deployed to Japan the BELLEAU WOOD amphibious group and the USS INDEPENDENCE battle group, the largest and most modern in the world. These are not signs of disengagement. These are signs America intends to stay.

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5 ** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

The second security priority for our New Pacific Community is to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. We cannot let the expanding threat of these deadly weapons ^{of mass destruction} replace the Cold War nightmare of nuclear annihilation.

Today that possibility already is too real. We have already seen, in two Persian Gulf wars, what damage could be done by the nearly 1,000 SCUD missiles that have been supplied to Middle Eastern countries. Today, North Korea seems ready to sell those missiles to any country able to pay in cash. Now it is developing, testing and looking to export a new missile with a range of 600 miles or more -- enough for North Korea to threaten Tokyo or for Iran to threaten Tel Aviv. We have serious concerns as well about China's commitment to respect international standards against missile proliferation.

The nations of our region must develop new ways to combat the spread of biological, chemical and missile technologies, and in the coming weeks my Administration will propose new efforts aimed at that goal. But no proliferation threat hangs over this peninsula or this region more darkly than threat of nuclear proliferation. Nearly 160 nations now have joined to resist that threat through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the most universally supported treaty in history. Now, for the first time since that Treaty was opened for signature a quarter century ago, one of its members has threatened to leave it.

Our goals remain firm. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula

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6 ** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

urge North Korea to reaffirm its commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to fulfill its full-scope safeguards obligation to the International Atomic Energy Agency -- including IAEA inspections of undeclared nuclear sites. Our goal is not endless discussions or verbal commitments but certifiable compliance.

The U.S. has worked actively to bring North Korea back within the fold of nuclear responsibility. But your nation, which is most affected by this threat, has an even more critical role to play. The North-South accord you negotiated goes even further than existing international agreements. Not only does it banish nuclear weapons from the peninsula, it also bans the production of the uranium and plutonium for those weapons. We urge you to press for full implementation of this pathbreaking accord, which can serve as a model for other regions of nuclear tension.

Even as we address immediate concerns such as proliferation, we must also have a vision of how we will meet the broader challenges of the era. That is what I sought to create during this week's G-7 talks -- for example, by proposing new ways to focus on new problems, such as the slow pace of job creation in G-7 countries. It is also why I have proposed a NATO summit, so we can adapt that institution to new times and new challenges.

In both Asia and Europe, the dominant, unitary threat of Soviet aggression has disappeared. In both regions, the end of the Cold War has allowed a host of problems to emerge or re-emerge, such as ancient ethnic rivalries, regional tensions, flows of refugees

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7 ** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

In Europe, these changes require us to adapt an existing security institution, NATO. In the Pacific, no such institution exists, nor is one likely to be created soon. Moreover, since the Asian Pacific does not face a unitary threat, there is no need for us to create one single alliance. Rather, the challenge for the Pacific region is to update our existing alliances and develop new mechanisms and new dialogues that can function like overlapping plates of armor -- individually providing protection, and together covering the full body of our common security concerns.

Some of those new mechanisms may involve groups of nations dealing with immediate problems. This is essentially the model we have pursued to address North Korea's nuclear program -- for we mobilized not only our own two nations, but also Japan and others in the region who could bring their influence to bear.

Some of our new security mechanisms may involve peacekeeping, such as the current UN effort to support reconciliation in Cambodia. Still others may pursue confidence building measures to head off regional or sub-regional conflicts.

This month's ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference offers an immediate opportunity to begin this kind of new dialogue. Our Pacific region should also look for other forums and consider expanding the membership of ASEAN and other existing organizations. Korea can play a vital role in these new dialogues, for it stands at the center of Northeast Asia -- two hours or less by air from Shanghai, Tokyo, Beijing and

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. ** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

The many economic dialogues within the region also can play a role. By lowering barriers to trade and investment we can generate jobs, ease regional tensions, and thus enhance regional security. That is why I welcome the Dialogue for Economic Cooperation our two nations have initiated. And it is why I announced in Japan that I will seek an informal meeting of APEC's leaders following the APEC meeting in Seattle this fall.

The goal of all these efforts should be to integrate, not isolate the region's powers. China is a particularly important example. We believe China cannot be a full partner in the world community until it respects human rights and international agreements on trade and weapons sales. But we also are determined to involve China, to the greatest extent possible, in building the new security and economic architectures of the region.

Some in the U.S. have been reluctant to raise the idea of regional security dialogues in Asia for fear it would sound like a pretext for American withdrawal from the region. But I see such dialogues as a way to make our continued engagement even more effective. They can ensure that the end of the Cold War does not provide an opening for regional chaos. And they can build a foundation for our shared security into the next Century.

Ultimately, the guarantee of our security must rest in the character and intentions of the region's nations themselves. This is why our final security priority must be to support the spread of democracy throughout the Asian Pacific. Democracies

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3 ** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

of their people. They also make better neighbors. They are less likely to wage war on each other, generate refugees or traffic in drugs and outlaw weapons. They make more reliable partners in trade and in the kind of security dialogues I have advocated.

Today, some in this region argue that democracy and human rights are somehow unsuited to parts of Asia, or that they constitute Western cultural imperialism. My ear is drawn to more compelling voices -- to [xxxx] who sparked the democratic spirit at Tiananmen Square; to Aung San Sun Kyi, whose eloquent opposition to repression in Burma has stirred the world; to Boris Yeltsin, who is leading Russia toward becoming a great democratic power on the Pacific; and to your own President Kim, who has helped democracy flower here in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Each of our nations must retain the best of our cultures. But Korea proves democracy and human rights are not Western imports; rather they flow from the aspirations of the Asian people.

Now we must work to nurture those aspirations throughout the region. We must support the non-governmental organizations that seek to strengthen Asia's building blocks of civic society, such as open elections, trade unions and a free press. And we must deploy our weapons of accurate news and information against closed societies such as North Korea. I have proposed the creation of an Asia Democracy Radio for this purpose and I look forward to its establishment in the near future.

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10 ** Draft #2; July 8, 1993 **

Two-hundred-and-seventeen years ago, America's founders declared the rights of self-governance to be God-given and therefore inalienable. Today, here on Asian soil, let us together reaffirm that declaration, not only as an article of faith, but as a sturdy building block in our region's shared security.

* * *

This is our nation's vision for security in the New Pacific Community: a continued U.S. military presence; new efforts to combat proliferation; new regional security dialogues; and vigorous support for democracy and democratic movements.

These elements of security can help create a Pacific region where economic competition is vigorous but orderly; where diverse nations work as partners to improve their shared security; and where democracy as well as balanced military strength takes its place as a guardian of the peace.

We will not realize every aspect of that vision overnight, nor will the New Pacific Community come to pass without great effort. But neither of our nations is a stranger to hard work. I think, in particular, of the image of your great long-distance runner, Hwang Young-cho, who endured that final steep hill in Barcelona to capture the gold in the marathon at the 1992 Olympics.

His energy and perseverance capture the spirit of the Korean people, who have not only endured but prospered through a long, hard and challenging history. We respect that spirit. We honor your values. We have stood shoulder to shoulder with you in days