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POTUS [President of the United States] Speech Files-G-7 Trip-Korea, National Assembly Speech [2]

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PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON THE MARKET ACCESS AGREEMENT

Good evening. The breakthrough achieved today in international trade talks is good news for America and good news for the world. While there are difficult negotiations ahead, today's agreement on manufactured goods breaks the logjam in the Uruguay Round.

For years, talks in that Round languished. For years, G-7 leaders emerged from these Summits pledging renewed commitment to complete the Round. For years, their pledges went unfulfilled. This year, we have recaptured the momentum.

If we complete the Uruguay Round by the end of the year -- and I think we can -- this agreement will bring the largest tariff reductions ever. It will lower duties on 18 categories of manufactured goods, from paper to chemicals to electronics.

It eliminates tariffs entirely -- that is, it creates global free trade -- for eight major sectors including farm equipment, steel and pharmaceuticals.

This agreement means new jobs and new growth in the U.S. and other nations. It proves government can be a productive partner with business, helping to open markets and create opportunities.

Special praise is due to: the European Community, Canada and Japan, who joined us in this effort; our negotiator, Trade Representative Kantor; and the U.S. Congress for voting last week to renew my "fast track" authority to complete the Uruguay Round.

With today's accord, I am more determined than ever to press ahead for a Uruguay Round agreement by the end of this year.

Went to talk to the people
+ agents

THE ~~WHITE~~ HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jeremy —

I've offered some
edits to the DMZ speech
for your consideration.

Reed

—

Reed

DMZ SPEECH TO TROOPS

Thank you, General Luck and distinguished guests. It is a privilege to be on this frontier of freedom today with the "Warriors" of the Second Infantry Division. There are many honors that come with the Presidency, but none is greater than being Commander-in-Chief of the finest armed forces this world has ever known.

Earlier today, I had my first opportunity to tour the DMZ. It makes an indelible impression. That bleak no-man's land is ~~a barren of life.~~ ^{a sobering place} But it is crowded with images and meanings. For it is here that the line has been drawn between danger and safety, between oppression and opportunity, between fear and hope. It is here that American soldiers like you have stood shoulder to shoulder with our Korean allies for forty years.

As I stood looking north through those binoculars a few minutes ago, I thought about what it must have been like in 1950. There was no DMZ. There was no line of safety. There was no certainty about the reach and the staying power of the Communists. There was only wave after wave of advancing North Korean forces overrunning the ground on which we now stand.

Your predecessors in the 2nd Division helped drive back the brutal aggression of North Korea. In the four decades since then, many thousands of American and Korean soldiers have manned these same ramparts of freedom. Their vigilance, and yours, has kept the peace all these years.

Here at this unforgiving outpost, you provide South Korea not only security against attack but also the security to flourish. For while the DMZ has remained fixed all these years, the nation to its south has raced down a breathtaking path of progress. You have enabled the Republic of Korea to nurture democracy and create an economic miracle in the Land of the Morning Calm. Your service has allowed a people to thrive so that they may pursue the same ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness that animated our own nation's fight for freedom.

Today, as we look ahead to the next century, we want to move beyond the hostility of the past. We hope that the Korean people, North and South, will one day be able to live side by side without fear. We are confident that one day reunification will come.

But that day is not here yet. One million men in arms still face each other across the DMZ. North Korea remains a threat. Its oppression at home is severe. Its intentions abroad are unclear. Its dangerous nuclear program menaces not only South Korea but the region and the civilized world. And until the threat has passed, we must continue to stay on guard, and you must continue to stand watch.

Whether you carry a rifle, drive a truck or repair helicopters, your work is vital. For there is ultimately no more important component of South Korea's security than that which you help provide, and there is no greater symbol of America's commitment to peace and freedom than your presence here, so far from home.

We have seen revolutionary changes around the world in the last few years. The Berlin Wall has fallen. The Soviet empire has dissolved. Amid tyranny's ruins new democracies are taking root. These hopeful changes have enabled us to reduce the burden of defense and to reshape our forces accordingly.

The world, however, remains a dangerous place. And this time of transition for the American military requires a measure of foresight and caution. Historically, in the absence of an immediate threat America has too often allowed its military machine to rust. In 1945, our forces stood victorious, the most powerful in the world. Yet five short years later, ~~too~~^{so} many of our units went into battle here in Korea under strength, ill-equipped and poorly trained. The price for our lack of readiness while fought the aggressors to a stand-off at the 38th parallel, the cost was extreme.

~~We~~^{Today} can not -- and will not -- repeat that mistake. Reductions in our defense spending are inevitable and in many cases desirable. But as I said six weeks ago at West Point, there is a line below which we can not go. America's ~~Army~~^{armed forces} must be able to fight and win on a moment's notice. We must be prepared to protect our interests -- acting with allies when possible but acting alone when necessary. And I tell you this: as long as I am President, our nation will continue to have the best trained, best equipped, and best prepared fighting force in the world.

Above all I am committed to maintaining the quality of our recruits and the spirit in our ranks, for it is our people who fight and win our wars. Our military technology ~~may be~~ ^{is}

the envy of the world.

4

~~impressive~~. We ~~may~~ move troops into battle on great machines like Bradley Fighting Vehicles ~~or~~ ^{and} Blackhawk helicopters. We ~~may~~ provide you with sophisticated precision guided weapons. But ultimately our ^{winning} edge is ~~in~~ the ~~toughness~~ ^{of} discipline, training, morale and fighting spirit of our men and women in uniform. You are America's edge, and you will always be the core of my commitment.

I know that it is not ^{on this distant outpost} ~~easy~~ for you to serve ~~here~~, thousands of miles from home, ^{separated from} ~~and friends~~ ^{all} friends and family ~~and worlds away from~~ the land we ~~love~~. But I want you to know that should the trumpets ~~ever~~ ^I sound the call to arms again, you will have the full support of your President, your Congress and the ^{Americans} American people. ~~We~~ know what you do is ^{and dangerous} difficult ^{steadfast} and we deeply appreciate your ^{your daily} dedication and sacrifice.

Looking out among your ranks today, I am newly confident and enormously proud. For you represent the spirit that has made America a great nation -- a spirit of perseverance in the defense of liberty. No matter what the challenge, no matter how great the burden, you demonstrate by your performance and your professionalism that you -- and America -- are truly "Second to None."

To Jeremy

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 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.

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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.

agreements
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 ^{Southeast Asia} [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

Access in
Singapore
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Indo

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.

Singapore

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 ^{host}~~see~~ an informal economic conference among APEC's leaders following the Ministerial meeting in Seattle this fall.

The goal of all these efforts ^{is}~~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.

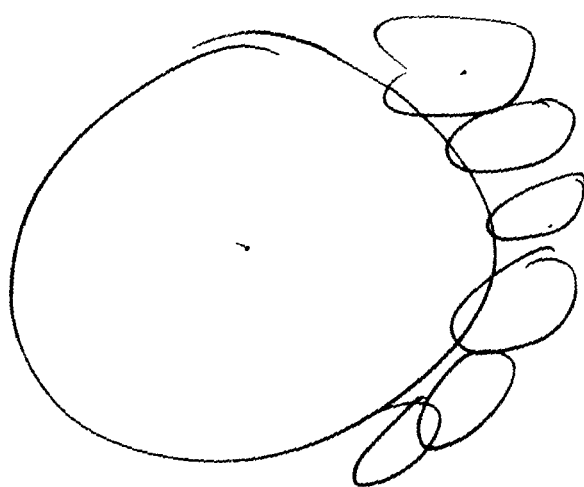
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This, then, is our nation's vision for security in the New Pacific Community: a continued U.S. military presence; new efforts to combat proliferation; new regional security dialogues; and vigorous support for democracy and democratic movements.

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

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
"The New Pacific Community"

Waseda University
Tokyo, Japan

July 7, 1993

I am delighted to join you here today. Mrs. Clinton and I are pleased to be back in Japan and deeply appreciate the hospitality the people of Japan have extended to us during this visit.

It is a particular pleasure to speak at Waseda [WAH-SAY-DAH] University, a center of true academic excellence and the training ground for many of Japan's Prime Ministers, public officials and business leaders. You have a proud tradition and, as the first U.S. President to visit here, I am proud to be part of it.

Thirty-one years ago, another American, Robert Kennedy, spoke in this same hall. It was a very different time. The modern economies of Japan and Asia were just emerging. It was the middle of the Cold War. Fierce arguments raged here, as in other nations, over where the future lay -- with communism or democracy; with socialism or capitalism.

On that evening in 1962, those arguments spilled up onto this stage. When members of a student communist movement heckled Kennedy from the audience, he challenged their leader to come up and join him. Characteristically, Kennedy transformed diatribe into dialogue and closed-mindedness into open debate. The exchange that followed was heated but it demonstrated the best of the values of freedom and democracy that unite our two countries.

Three decades later, the time are less angry, but no less challenging. The need for a vigorous and open dialogue remains. Today, I want to talk about Asia and the Pacific, a region of which our own nation is very much a part. I want to look broadly at the emerging global economy and the role Asia will play.

For the time has come for America to join with others in this region to create a New Pacific Community.

This New Pacific Community will rest on a revived partnership between the U.S. and Japan; on progress toward more open economies and greater trade; and on support for democracy. As I will stress in a speech later this week, our New Pacific Community will also rest on the firm and continuing commitment of the United States to maintain our treaty alliances and our forward military presence in Japan, Korea and the broader region.

It is appropriate to address these issues here in Japan. The post-War relationship between the U.S. and Japan is one of the great success stories of this region and this century. Out of the ruins of the Second World War, we built a strong alliance and a vital friendship. Together, we continue to anchor the region's security and fuel its development. Japan is an increasingly important partner in peacekeeping, promoting democracy, protecting the environment, and addressing major regional and global challenges. Because our relationship is built on enduring interests and friendship, it has transcended the particular leaders in each nation, and it will continue to do so.

History has decided the debate that raged here that day in 1962, a debate over whether communism works. It didn't. Its ruins litter the world stage. Our two nations proved what does work. Capitalism works. Democracy works. Freedom works.

Now it is a new era. The Cold War is over. Without question, the world remains a dangerous place. American leadership remains essential and our commitments to Japan and the Pacific remain steadfast. But as we address new security concerns, we must also recognize the economic sea-changes that are reshaping our world.

We have left an era of localized commerce and entered a global economy. Today, trillions of dollars in capital traverse the globe every day. In one generation, international trade has nearly tripled as a proportion of global output.

We have left the industrial age and are speeding through the information age. Miraculous information technologies are pushing aside large, bureaucratic corporations in favor of smaller and more flexible competitors, linked around the world by computer networks rather than organization charts.

This new global economy requires little explanation here. The Asian Pacific is one of the most dynamic engines of that new economy -- a place where it seems you can close a deal over breakfast and break ground by dinner. Japan pioneered economic modernization in Asia. Now, from Taipei to Seoul to Bangkok, Asian economies have doubled in less than a decade.

To be sure, Asia's progress is uneven. Hundreds of millions in this region still live at subsistence levels. And four of the world's last five communist governments, together with other repressive regimes, remain caught in the past here in Asia.

Yet the scenes of life around this region paint an unmistakable picture of change, vitality, opportunity and growth.

In Singapore a generation ago, bumboats floated up to Boat Quay to unload their cargoes of produce and cloth, which were sent out into a labyrinth of smoky shophouses and small family markets. Today such scenes are joined by those of container ships steaming into Singapore's modern port, one every six minutes, disgorging their goods into mechanized warehouses and modern supermarkets.

In China's Guangdong Province, young entrepreneurs are leaving safe jobs in state-owned enterprises to start their own companies. To describe their daring spirit, the Chinese have coined a phrase that literally means "to plunge into the sea."

Such images help explain why Asia likely will remain the world's fastest growing region during the next ten years. Its imports will exceed \$2 trillion. Its growth will help make the world tripolar, with growth driven by the Americas, Europe and Asia.

In years past, some Americans viewed Asia's vibrancy -- and particularly Japan's -- as a threat. I see it very differently. I believe the Pacific region can and will be a vast source of jobs, income, partnerships, ideas and growth for our people.

Already, over 40 percent of our trade is with this region. Last year, over 2.3 million American jobs were related to the \$120 billion we exported to Asia. Millions of Asian-Americans help strengthen our cultural as well as economic ties to the region.

Indeed, I see the American people as ideally suited to compete in this region and in the new global economy. This is an information age; we Americans are expressive. This is a time of change; we are ever-changing. This is an economy driven by innovation; we are pioneers. This is an era of increasing interaction among cultures; we are a nation of immigrants.

Today America is more ready to engage here than ever. After years of difficult transition, our manufacturing firms have boosted quality and value. Our service firms in finance and business are the world's most competitive.

And our public sector is finally moving in the same direction. This year we are making the tough choices to get our own economic house in order. We are nearing adoption of a bold plan to reduce our budget deficit by a third over the next five years while investing in jobs, education, and our infrastructure. These are difficult changes. But we see them as essential in an era when economic strength is a vital component of our national security.

Now, we are eager to fuse the determination of our own reforms with the dynamism of the Pacific Rim. And today I want to talk about the steps the United States seeks to take, together with our allies, to make our New Pacific Community a reality.

Our first priority must be to create a new partnership between the U.S. and Japan. Our relationship with Japan is the centerpiece of our policy toward the Pacific Community.

Our two nations account for over a third of the world's output. The fact is, neither could thrive without the other. Producers in each of our countries are consumers for firms in the other. For example, the U.S. sells micro-processors that go into Japan's consumer electronics, which are then bought back in the U.S.

We are also joined in our efforts to address global economic problems. We have worked closely in an effort to move toward a new international trade agreement. And I hope Japan will join in the initiative I proposed two days ago in San Francisco -- a meeting of senior G-7 economics and labor advisors to look for new solutions to the new problems of the global economy, such as persistent structural unemployment in many G-7 nations.

Our economic relationship has always benefitted both our nations. But now those benefits are asymmetrical. Our trade deficits with Japan have totalled roughly a half trillion dollars over the past decade. It is irresponsible to attribute that entire deficit to Japanese barriers. To do so denies the hard work, discipline, cooperation and sacrifice that have powered Japan's economy.

Yet the fact is that our markets are more open to Japan's products and investors than Japan's are to ours. And the fact is both our people suffer as a result. American workers, concerned about their jobs, find Japan's chronic surpluses a source of

resentment. Japanese consumers bear the burden in their quality of life. For example, partly because of Japan's restrictive economic practices the average Japanese family pays more than twice as much of their income for food as an American family.

America's relations with Japan have been durable because our security alliance, our political partnership, and our economic relationship each served both our nations' interests. Now we must change our economic relationship to strengthen our relationship and improve the lives of both our people.

During my April meeting with Prime Minister Miyazawa, I called for a new partnership between our countries built on a better economic relationship. At that meeting, we agreed to build a new framework on macroeconomic, sectoral and structural issues. Our governments have made progress in crafting this framework and we will persist with our discussions until we reach a sound agreement.

What the U.S. seeks is not trade by numbers, but better numbers from better rules of trade. That openness cannot come simply from American pressure. Scolds make for bad partners. A new openness ultimately will come only as Japanese leaders and consumers recognize it is in their own self-interest.

Today, let me send this message directly to the Japanese people: You have a common cause with America's workers -- a common cause against the outdated practices that are undermining our economic relationship. The ideas I am proposing are beneficial to

Americans, but they will improve your standard of living as well. We should take these steps together, not only for ourselves, but for the next generation in both our countries. To make their hopes come true tomorrow, we must all take the tough steps today.

I am optimistic the Japanese people and government will hear that message. Japan has a proud heritage of embracing bold changes when the times call for it. One hundred and twenty five years ago, the leaders of the Meiji Restoration embarked on a series of rapid and successful initiatives that transformed feudal Japan into a modern society and made it more open to the West and the broader world. There was outside pressure for those reforms, but Japan's historic opening during that period was driven primarily by the great energy and initiative within Japan herself.

On this campus today stands a statue honoring one of the greatest statesmen of that period, this school's founder, Count Okuma. In his exhaustive narrative of the Meiji period, Okuma attributes the period's reforms to "thoughtful and far-sighted" Japanese leaders, and concludes: "Even as the spirit of liberality has animated the [Japanese] race during the past half-century of its remarkable progress, so it will ever impel its march along the paths of civilization and humanity. . . . To keep the country's doors wide open . . . is a national principle to which Japan has attached the greatest importance from its earliest days."

I believe that spirit still prevails and that a stronger U.S.-Japanese economic relationship, driven by mutual wisdom, can power our New Pacific Community well into the next century.

The second building block of a New Pacific Community is a more open regional and global economy. As the pace of economic change increases, so will the pressure on political leaders to put up walls and to protect specific markets and constituencies. As Robert Kennedy once noted, "Progress is a nice word, but change is its motivator, and change has its enemies." Our nations must work together to transform change from a force that divides and threatens our people into a force that unites and liberates them.

An essential starting point is the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. A new GATT agreement could spur global growth and create millions of new jobs around the world over the next decade. I am committed to bring the Uruguay Round to a successful close by the end of this year and I urge the other nations of the Asian-Pacific to join me in that effort.

Asian-Pacific commerce has expanded steadily over the past four decades. Yet the region still has too many quotas, antiquated commercial practices, state-owned and state-subsidized businesses, closed procurement systems, discriminatory regulations and inadequate protections for intellectual property.

So while we work to make the entire world's trading system more open, we also should work to reduce trade barriers on a regional basis. That is precisely what our nation is doing with Mexico and Canada in the North American Free Trade Agreement. Some in Asia fear that agreement signals the onset of North American insularity. But exactly the opposite is the case. I believe that free trade areas represent a way to build bridges between

regions and expand our multilateral trading system. And once the NAFTA has been completed and been shown to work, we will consider extending free trade areas to Asia as well.

Such ideas require dialogue, and dialogue requires a forum. The most promising economic forum we have for pursuing the New Pacific Community is the Organization for Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation. The 15 members of APEC account for nearly half of the world's output and most of its fastest growing economies.

This fall, the U.S. will host the annual APEC Ministerial meeting in Seattle. I will speak at that meeting to signal America's engagement in this region. But I wish to go beyond that. Today, I propose that the leaders of APEC's members join me for an informal Pacific Economic Leadership Conference immediately following that meeting. Just as the G-7 process has enabled the leading developed nations to address common challenges, so this Leadership Conference can enable our Pacific region to chart a course toward shared prosperity and opportunity. I also have asked Secretary Bentsen to pursue a meeting of the APEC finance ministers in order to address our macroeconomic challenges.

Of course, the purpose of all this is not more meetings and communiques. The purpose is to improve our people's lives. Not just the lives of those who dash around our financial districts with cellular phones in their pockets. I mean the millions of people in my country and the billions in this region who work hard every day for not much money; who labor long hours in factories and on farms; and whose concern is not buying bonds but

feeding families. It will make a world of difference for them if the region's leaders can set pro-growth policies, dismantle trade barriers and get government out of the way of private initiative.

Expanded trade and more open economies will not only enrich people but also empower them. Trade is a revolutionary force that wears down the foundations of despotic rule. And the experience of the Philippines, Taiwan, Korea, and others of this region is that movement toward more open economies feeds people's hunger for open political systems as well.

This, then, is the third priority for the U.S. in building a New Pacific Community: to support the wave of democratic reform that is sweeping over this region and every other. Democracy not only resonates with our political values. Democracy is also a partner to prosperity. Economic growth can occur under closed and repressive societies, but in an information age it ultimately cannot be maintained. Open societies are best able to address the frictions that economic growth creates and thus to ensure prosperity's continuation. A free press roots out corruption. The rule of law encourages and protects investments.

This spread of democracy also is one of our best guarantees for regional peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific. For democracies make better neighbors. They are less likely to wage war on each other, engage in terrorism or generate refugees. Democracy makes it possible for allies to continue their close relations despite changes in leadership. Democracy's virtues are at the core of why we have worked so hard to support the reforms

and reformers in Russia, which is now on a path toward becoming one of the Pacific's great democratic powers.

The movement toward democracy is the best guarantor of human rights. Some argue that democracy is somehow unsuited for Asia, that human rights are relative, and that both merely mask Western cultural imperialism. Those voices are dead wrong. It is not imperialism but the aspirations of the Asian people that explain Asia's growing number of democracies and democracy movements.

Each of our Pacific nations must pursue progress while retaining the best of our cultures. But there is no cultural justification for torture or tyranny. We refuse to let repression cloak itself in moral relativism. For democracy and human rights are not occidental yearnings; they are universal yearnings.

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These are the economic essentials for a New Pacific Community -- first, a better U.S.-Japan relationship, second, more open economies and trade, and third, more democratic governance.

My Administration intends to pursue these goals vigorously. And we intend to look not only West but also East. You will see that commitment reflected in our travels, our speeches and our policies. And it will be reflected in efforts to turn the attention of American business toward the Asian-Pacific as well.

I believe that our nation's efforts, combined with those of Japan and the other Asian-Pacific nations, can make this decade and the

coming century a time of security, democracy, prosperity and empowerment throughout the region.

So today, on this holiday of Tanabata -- a holiday of joining together and a holiday of hopeful wishes -- let us wish for a New Pacific Community built on shared effort, shared benefit, and a shared destiny. Let us write out our brightest dreams for our nations and our children on pieces of paper as bright and differently colored and numberless as our people. In the spirit of this holiday, let us fly those dreams from bamboo poles that are as high as our hopes for this era. And then, together, and beginning today, let us dedicate ourselves to the hard work of making those dreams come true. Thank you very much.

Now I would be pleased to take your questions.