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001. briefing paper re: China and communications (3 pages)

05/01/2000

P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

China [Folder 2] [1]

2008-0702-F

jm195

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- 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]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- 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]

Fri → 12m

Can we trust them -

we have vigorously our Wade rights
in past

IPR

→ we threaten sanctions - they cannot

be in a better position

hostage
diplomacy

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**The Clinton
Administration
Statement on
Permanent
Normal Trade
Relations
for China**

**DEAL FOR
AMERICA**



**REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE
IN SUPPORT OF NORMAL TRADE RELATIONS WITH CHINA
Tuesday, May 9, 2000**

Thank you, Secretary Albright. I also want to thank President Ford and President Carter for lending their voices to this critical cause.

And I would like to thank President Bush, who isn't here today, but who has been unequivocal on this issue.

When you look at all the leaders who are here today, it goes without saying that this is not a group that agrees on everything.

They have agreed to join us today for a simple reason: free and fair trade with China is essential – to American prosperity, to our national security, and to our ideals around the world.

The economic merits of Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China are beyond dispute. It means good jobs for American workers -- and 1.2 billion consumers for American products and services.

Of course, PNTR is about much more than American prosperity. It is crucial to the hard work of bringing freedom and reform to the Chinese people.

There are those who disagree with us on this issue. I respect their views – and I understand their impatience with the pace of change in China. We have to continue to press China on issues such as human rights, workers rights, religious freedom, and treatment of Tibet.

But I believe very deeply that by bringing China into the global economy – by making China live by the same global trading rules that other nations follow – we will strengthen the forces of reform within China.

We will create a powerful new pressure on China to establish the rule of law – which is the foundation not just of a free and open economy, but also of the kind of political reforms we are working to promote.

And expanding trade with China advances our vital security interests, by giving China a far greater stake in global peace and prosperity.

China's leaders understand that their nation can't continue to grow unless it strengthens its economic ties with the world. Bringing China into the world trading system makes it far more likely that China's leaders will find it in their interests to play a meaningful role in global stability.

For all these reasons, I strongly support Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China. It's right for American jobs; it's right for the cause of reform in China; and I believe it will move us closer to the strong and stable world community we all seek to create.

Now I'm pleased to introduce someone who has taken enormous strides toward engagement – and toward the freer and more vibrant world we all seek. He has been a great economic steward for America – a great peacemaker – and a great defender of our national security.

Ladies and gentlemen, President William Jefferson Clinton...

Orzulak/Malinowski

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS AT CHINA PNTR EVENT
THE EAST ROOM
MAY 9, 2000

[Acknowledgments: Carter, Ford, Gore, Baker, Kissinger, Albright, Daley]. Since I became President, I've been part of many remarkable coalitions. But I never thought I'd see the day when Henry Kissinger, Jesse Ventura, and Ann Richards would be all together in the same room – let alone on the same side. And today we've heard some of the reasons why.

We have heard that the economic reasons for bringing China into the WTO and approving PNTR are overwhelming. Think about it: this is not an ordinary trade agreement. It is a one-way trade agreement and a once in a lifetime opportunity. If we don't seize it we'll be regretting it for the rest of our lives.

It will boost jobs and growth. It will allow American companies to sell and distribute American goods in China without being forced to relocate their factories. It will let us export products without exporting jobs. It doesn't do one thing to increase China's access to our market. All it does is increase our access to a market of over 1.2 billion people. Ironically, the only thing we'd be protecting from outside competition if we rejected this is China's closed society.

But that is far from the only argument that brings this group of leaders to the White House today.

It is truly significant that Presidents Ford and Carter along with so many Secretaries of State, Defense, Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce and National Security Advisors support China in the WTO and PNTR. Forty-seven incumbent governors and 13 Nobel laureates support it. And though he couldn't be with us today, I want to thank President Bush for expressing his strong support. All these people remind us: When we seize this chance to build a beneficial relationship with China and move it in the right direction, we build on the work of American leaders like these who put patriotism ahead of partisanship to advance the national interest. For decades, American leaders have believed we have a national interest in a China that is open to the world, that seeks to cooperate with America, and that plays by global rules at home and abroad. This is the best opportunity we have had in our time to advance that goal.

As we debate our policy toward China, I always try to remind people that there is also a debate about the future going on in China today. On one side are reform minded leaders who want their country to join the WTO. They understand that by opening China to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control. But they have decided that they have no choice. Without opening its markets, China will not be able to build a modern, successful economy.

By joining the WTO, they have chosen reform, despite the risks. As barriers to competition come down, China will see more state-owned enterprises go out of business – and they have been a big source of the government's power for 50 years. There will be less social control and more social mobility. Our cutting edge technology companies will have a chance to bring the

information revolution to China. We know how much the Internet has changed America, and we're already an open society. Just imagine what it could mean for China.

Just as important, China has chosen to play by the rules of the global economy. It has opened the door to more constructive relations with America. It has chosen to build its future by opening up to the world, instead of lashing out or hunkering down. Do we really want to reject that choice?

We have fought three wars in Asia in this century. We have a profound stake in Asia's stability and in a China that contributes to it. That is why all our allies and friends in Asia want us to support China's entry into the WTO and to approve PNTR. That is why Taiwan is urging us to do this. That is why this is a national security imperative.

Keep in mind what the alternative is. There is another side of the debate within China. There are hard liners there who oppose joining the WTO. And they are the same people who've always argued that cooperating with America is a mistake; the same ones most ready to settle differences with Taiwan by force; the same ones with the most at stake in selling dangerous technologies around the world; the same ones with the most to lose if one-party control relaxes.

The Chinese simply won't believe we rejected PNTR for economic reasons. They would see it as a strategic decision – whether it is or not – to pursue a course of confrontation. That would be a setback to those within China who are trying to open their country to change. It would strengthen those determined to oppose change at any cost.

What kind of cooperation do you think we would get from China then on nuclear proliferation and arms control? Would we be more effective in convincing China to pursue peaceful dialogue with Taiwan? What kind of progress would we make on labor rights, human rights, and the environment? And what kind of message would we send to our allies and friends in Asia about the seriousness of our commitment to build a more secure and prosperous future with them?

There are honest people on both sides of this debate who look out at the world, who see a country like China and say: it's wrong to deny people basic human rights. It's wrong to arrest people for their religious beliefs. But the question is not whether we approve or disapprove of China's policies. The question is, what is the best way to improve them? Do we simply want to express outrage, or effect change?

PNTR is not by itself a human rights policy for the United States; it is not by itself a national security strategy – though it contributes to both. We must keep pressing for what we know is right and do whatever is necessary to protect our interests. But we must also recognize that in China as in any country, genuine, lasting change supported from the outside must ultimately come from within. There are forces already rising within China who are trying to push their country in the right direction, in the way it treats its people and relates to the world. We are more likely to encourage them by embracing China's membership in the WTO and approving PNTR than we are by turning our backs.

This is an historic opportunity. It's the right thing to do. And I'm going to do all I can to convince Congress and the American people to embrace it. Thank you.

4/6/00 3:00 p.m. Orzulak/Malinowski

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS AT CHINA PNTR EVENT
THE EAST ROOM
MAY 9, 2000**

Since I became President, I've been part of many remarkable coalitions. But I never thought I'd see the day when Henry Kissinger, Jesse Ventura, and Anne Richards would be all together in the same room – let alone on the same side. And today we've heard some of the reasons why.

We have heard that the economic reasons for bringing China into the WTO and approving PNTR are overwhelming. Think about it: this is not an ordinary trade agreement. It is the Halley's Comet of trade agreements. It is an opportunity that comes around once in a lifetime and if we don't grab it we'll be regretting it for the rest of our lives.

It will boost jobs and growth. It will allow American companies to sell and distribute American goods in China without being forced to relocate their factories. It will let us export products without exporting jobs. It doesn't do one thing to increase China's access to our market. All it does is increase our access to China's market of over 1.2 billion people. Ironically, the only thing we'd be protecting from outside competition if we rejected this is China's closed society.

But that is far from the only argument that brings this group of leaders to the White House today.

Run we say?
Labor?
It really is something of note that every living President along with so many Secretaries of State, Defense, Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce and national security advisors support China in the WTO and PNTR. Forty-seven currently serving governors and 13 Nobel laureates support it. And though he couldn't be with us, I want to thank President Bush for expressing his strong support earlier today. All these people remind us: When we stand up to seize this chance, we are standing on the shoulders of generations of American leaders who have put patriotism ahead

of partisanship to advance the national interest. Generations of American leaders have believed we have a national interest in a China that is open to the world, that seeks to cooperate with America, and that plays by global rules at home and abroad. This is the best opportunity we have had in our generation to advance that enduring goal.

As we debate our policy toward China, I always try to remind people that there is also a debate about the future going on in China today. On one side are reform minded leaders who want their country to join the WTO. They understand that by opening China to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control – more unemployment in the short term, more social unrest and greater demands for freedom. But they have decided that they have no choice. Without opening its markets, China will not be able to build a modern, successful economy.

By joining the WTO, they have chosen reform, despite the risks. They have chosen to let more state-owned enterprises to go out of business, even though they have been a big source of the Communist Party's power for 50 years. They have chosen less social control and more social mobility. They have chosen to let our cutting edge technology companies bring the information revolution to China. We know how much the Internet has changed America, and we're already an open society. Just imagine what it could mean for China.

Just as important, China has chosen to play by the rules of the global economy. It has chosen the path of more constructive relations with America. It has chosen to build its future by opening up to the world, instead of lashing out or hunkering down. Do we really want to reject that choice?

We have fought three wars in Asia in this century. We have a profound stake in Asia's stability and in a China that contributes to it. That is why all our allies and friends in Asia want us to support China's entry into the WTO and to approve PNTR. That is why the people of Taiwan are urging us to do this. That is why this is a national security imperative.

Keep in mind what the alternative is. There is another side of the debate within China. There are hard liners there who oppose joining the WTO. And they are the same people who've always argued that cooperating with America is a mistake; the same ones most ready to settle differences with Taiwan by force; the same ones with the most at stake in selling dangerous technologies around the world; the same ones with the most to lose if one-party control relaxes.

The Chinese simply won't believe we rejected PNTR for economic reasons. They would see it as a strategic decision – whether it is or not – to pursue a course of confrontation. That would be a slap in the face to those within China who are trying to open their country to change. It would strengthen the hand of those determined to oppose change at any cost.

What kind of cooperation do you think we would get from China then on issues like nuclear proliferation and arms control? Could we convince China then to pursue peaceful dialogue with Taiwan? What kind of progress would we make on labor rights, human rights, and the environment? And what kind of message would we send to our allies and friends in Asia about the seriousness of our commitment to build a more secure and prosperous future with them?

All of us who get involved in public service do so because we care about the world we are going to leave our children. I think there are honest people on both sides of this debate who look out at the world, who see a country like China and say: it's wrong to deny people basic human rights. It's wrong to arrest people for their religious beliefs. It is wrong to threaten the people of Taiwan because you are threatened by their peaceful exercise of freedom.

But the question is not whether we approve or disapprove of China's policies. The question is, what is the way to improve them? Do we simply want to affect outrage, or effect change?

I believe we must keep pressing for what we know is right, and do whatever is necessary to protect our security. But everything I have learned about China as President, and everything I have learned about human nature in the past half century, convinces me that genuine, lasting change is more likely to come from within than without. There are forces already rising within China who are trying to push their country in the right direction, in the way it treats its people and relates to the world. We are far more likely to encourage them by embracing China's membership in the WTO and approving PNTR than we are by turning our backs on them & strengthening their opponents.

This is an historic opportunity. It's the right thing to do. And I'm going to do all I can to convince Congress and the American people to embrace it. Thank you.

4/21

Paul,

Please send response if
you want to go. I plan
to go and could introduce
you to our Comot if you'd
like.

Jim



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featuring

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 29, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

Michie Stadium
West Point, New York

10:20 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Please be seated.

General Graves, thank you for that fine introduction and for your outstanding leadership here. General Sullivan and the distinguished platform guests, distinguished guests, all, the families and guests of this graduating class; and, most of all, to the young men and women of the Corps of Cadets.

It is a great privilege for me today to join in this celebration of accomplishment. To the class of 1993, I want to extend my heartfelt congratulations. You've worked hard, and you've well earned the honor bestowed upon you today.

To your parents and your relatives: Let me assure you that, however often you've wondered about it, you really aren't dreaming. Your sons and daughters, your brothers and sisters really made it. And you can take pride in their graduation and in the strong values that you must have helped to instill in them that made this day possible for them.

To the faculty and staff of this wonderful Academy: Let me offer my gratitude for your dedication as this historic institution graduates its 50,000th cadet. It is said here at West Point that much of the history you teach was made by the people you taught. That's true, and very much to your credit. The work you and your predecessors have carried forward since 1802 is truly that of nation building, and today your nation thanks you once again.

For the class of 1993, today marks the completion of an arduous process. I look out at you and think you endured Beast Barracks. You passed countless PT tests, none of which I could pass anymore. (Laughter.) You have met high standards for discipline, for physical fitness, for academics and, I must say, I am impressed by your haircuts. (Laughter and applause.)

No one is perfect, of course, as even the President demonstrates from time to time. I'm reminded that one of your greatest graduates and one of my predecessors as Commander-in-Chief, General Dwight Eisenhower, was punished as a cadet for such terrible offenses as -- I quote -- "apparently making no reasonable effort to have his room properly cleaned at a.m. inspection," and -- I wonder what a "reasonable effort" is -- and, second, "being late for breakfast." In the unlikely event that there have been any such breaches of discipline on your part, let me announce today that in keeping with customary practice, I exercise my prerogative as Commander-in-Chief to grant amnesty to

the Corps of Cadets. (Applause.) I hope the assembled crowd is not too troubled that so many seem to be celebrating. (Laughter.)

Two centuries ago at this bend in the Hudson River, America's first defenders stretched a chain across the river to prevent British ships from dividing and conquering our new nation. Today we add 1,003 new links to that unbroken chain of America's defenders -- 1,003 new and solid segments in the Long Gray Line, a line that stretches back 191 years through your ranks and as far into the future as the Lord lets the United States of America exist. The Long Gray Line has never failed us, and I believe it never will.

Like the great chain itself, you have emerged from the forge, tested and tempered, composed of a stronger metal than you brought here. Forty-eight months ago, you came here as young adults. Today when you leave this stadium, you will be officers of the United States Army.

West Point has prepared you for a life of service. And as you well know, West Point's graduates have served America in many, many ways, not only by leading troops into combat, but also by exploring frontiers, founding universities, laying out the railroads, building the Panama Canal, running corporations, serving in the Congress and the White House, and walking on the moon.

Yet, no service is more important or admirable than your simple decision to put on the uniform of this great nation and to serve wherever America calls you in defense of freedom. The willingness to serve and sacrifice for the greater good is the ultimate tribute to your character and your efforts. For those services and sacrifices, those that brought you here and those that will take you and our great nation into the future, you have the appreciation of all the American people.

You have stepped forward not only to serve, but to lead. For the hallmark of West Point has been its tradition of growing leaders of character. Whenever the nation called, members of the Long Gray Line have led the way. Your predecessors led tight-lipped troops into the smoke and flame of battle at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. They were first out of the muddy trenches into the attack at the Meuse-Argonne. They led the first wave of assaults from Normandy. They held the line at Pusan, and were first off the helicopters in the Ia Drang Valley and the Iron Triangle. More recent graduates were among those who jumped into Panama and led the charge into Iraq. And the Corps was there as well when the call came from the victims of hunger, when the call came from the victims of Hurricane Andrew. From Florida to Somalia, you have been there.

The 172 battle streamers on the Army flag commemorate the skill and courage of those who have gone before you. Marked and unmarked graves around the world testify to the Corps' selfless devotion to country. Your steadfast commitment to duty, honor, country is our national strength.

My commitment and that of the Congress and the American people is to stand by you. That means before we ask you to put your life and the lives of those whom you command in harm's way, it is our solemn responsibility to take your advice, to give you the tools you need, and then to give you our complete support. That is our pledge to you as you enter this career.

You are pinning on your gold bars at a time of

remarkable challenge and change for the United States. On this Memorial Day weekend, we all pray that we have sent America's sons and daughters to war for the last time. Yet, history suggests that, during your years of service, we will again need to call upon America's weapons and warriors to defend our national interests.

The changes of recent years allow us to be hopeful. But common sense reminds us to be prepared. One way we must be prepared is by ensuring that our forces have what they need to get the job done, the equipment and the quality people needed to ensure that we can achieve decisive victory should we be called to battle once again. As our forces must change to meet the challenges and dangers of a new world, one need will remain constant: the requirement for leaders of character.

You will be called upon in many ways in this era: to keep the peace, to relieve suffering, to help teach officers from new democracies in the ways of a democratic army, and still to fulfill the fundamental mission which General MacArthur reminded us of, which is always to be ready to win our wars.

But whatever the challenge, I know you will accomplish your mission, not only because of your training, but because of your values and character. I will do my part by doing whatever is necessary to keep our forces ready -- and to keep our microphones up. (Laughter.) I will do my part -- and I think the Congress will, too -- to make sure that our forces are always ready to fight and win on a moment's notice. We ought, really, to meet the standard of one of your classmates, Pat Malcolm, who came in the clutch and delivered the goods for you. If we can do that, you will be able to serve. (Applause.)

If you have the character and will to win, we owe it to you to make you the best-trained, the best-prepared, the best-equipped and the best-supported fighting force on the face of the earth.

The budget cuts that have come at the end of the Cold War were necessary, even welcome, appropriate in light of the collapse of the Soviet Union and other changes. But we must be mindful, even as we try so hard to reduce this terrible national deficit, that there is a limit beyond which we must not go. We have to ensure that the United States is ready, ready to win and superior to all other military forces in the world. (Applause.)

In doing that, we can ensure that the values you learned here and the values you brought here from your families and your communities back home will be able to spread throughout this country and throughout the world and give other people the opportunity to live as you have lived, to fulfill your God-given capacities.

We must also stay prepared by understanding the threats of this new era. We can't predict the future. We cannot tell precisely when the next challenge will come, or exactly what form it will take. Yet, we do know that the threats we face are fundamentally different from those of the recent past. The end of the bipolar superpower Cold War leaves us with unfamiliar threats, not the absence of danger.

Consider what we witness today in the world you will move into. Ethnic and religious conflict, the violent turmoil of dissolving or newly created states, the random violence of the

assassin and the terrorist. These are forces that plagued the world in the early days of this century. As we scan today's bloodiest conflicts, from the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, to Armenia, to Sudan the dynamics of the Cold War have been replaced by many of the dynamics of old war.

A particularly troubling new element in the world you face, however, is the proliferation around the globe of weapons of mass destruction and the means for their delivery. Today, ambitious and violent regimes seek to acquire arsenals of nuclear, biological and chemical warfare.

As we discovered in Iraq, surging stocks of ballistic missiles and other advanced arms have enabled outlaw nations to extend the threat of mass destruction a long way beyond their own borders. And meeting these new threats will require a new approach and a new determination shared by all peace-loving nations to oppose the spread of these dread weapons.

In the coming months, our administration will address the dangers from growing stockpiles of nuclear materials that could be used in these weapons, and the risk of nuclear smuggling and terrorism.

We will soon begin negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty which will increase our political leverage to combat this proliferation. We will reform our export controls to keep weapons-related technologies out of the wrong hands, while cutting red tape for legitimate American export activities. And we must make further changes in how we organize the government to reflect the priority that we place on nonproliferation.

For, if we must contemplate the possibility of sending America's men and women once again into harm's way, then we owe it to you to do our best to prevent the proliferation of weapons that could vastly multiply the dangers and the casualties of any conflict.

Ultimately, preparedness lies in strength. And if our nation is to be strong at abroad, it must also be strong at home. It was President Eisenhower who once said, "A strong economy is the physical basis -- the physical basis of all our military power."

One of the most potent weapons behind our victory in World War II was the industrial might of the United States. What ultimately enabled us to prevail in the Cold War was the simple fact that our free political and economic institutions had produced more prosperity and more personal human happiness than did the confining institutions of communism.

In the same way our global era leadership must -- must depend on our ability to create jobs and growth and opportunity for Americans here at home who, in turn, will have the finances to make sure we can maintain the world's strongest military.

Unfortunately for too many years in this new global economy, we have had difficulty maintaining opportunity at home. In the face of intense competition around the world, and the now familiar problems we have in the United States, our debt has grown from \$1 trillion to \$4 trillion, even as we have reduced military spending and investments in areas that are crucial to our future in new technologies, in education and training, and in converting defense cutbacks into domestic economic opportunities.

Today we face especially troubling phenomenon that the United States has never faced before at home -- slow economic growth which does not create new jobs. We must refuse to accept this as a pattern that will be repeated in the future. Just as our security cannot rest upon a hollow Army, neither can it rest upon a hollow economy.

If we are to sustain the American way of life that you have been trained so well to defend, we must do more and do better. We must cultivate the teacher who can hold her class' attention, encourage the entrepreneur who bets his savings on his own ideas. We must do right by the middle class families of this country who work hard and play by the rules. We must pay down the deficit and make downpayments on the future, both at the same time honoring work, rewarding investment, and sharpening our competitive edge. If you can win on the battlefield, surely America can win in every field of competition we must face as we march toward the 21st century.

That is the great challenge facing our country. And the Congress today is facing that challenge in dealing with the economic plan I have presented. The House of Representatives, led by concerned Americans like Congressman Jack Reed who is the only West Point graduate in the United States Congress, has sent a plan to the Senate which now must be produced from the Senate in the form of an economic plan to bring this country back.

In this new era, those of us in political life need a new strategy, need sound tactics, need the kind of discipline in implementing it that all of you have learned to provide for our nation's defense here at West Point. In short, we must approach the job of rebuilding our nation with the same kind of single-minded determination that you have brought your skills, your dedication and leadership ability, too, in these four years, and that you will bring to the defense of our nation in the years ahead. We can do no less for you.

Finally, let me say this. Someday, some of you out here will be sitting in the Situation Room at the White House, or with the President, or with the Secretary of Defense in some other circumstance. At that moment you will be called to give your advice on an issue which may be small, but also may be large and of incredible significance to the future of this country.

I ask you in all the years ahead to keep preparing for that day throughout your careers. By continuing study and continuous listening and continuous absorption of every experience you have, the world is changing rapidly. And if you do not work to make change our friend, then it can become our enemy. You represent the very best of the American people. It will be your understanding of our nation's challenges and your embodiment of our nation's values, enriched by what you have learned here, leavened by the experiences to come, bound by your commitment to Duty-Honor-Country which will permit you to make our greatest contribution to the nation -- continuing service. You have earned your turn to lead. To follow in the footsteps of those who have been on the Plain before you.

Over the past four years, your nation has invested heavily in you. The skills and dedication you now bring to the defense of our nation are more than ample repayment. I am proud of the work you do, honored to serve as your Commander-in-Chief, confident that all Americans join me in saluting your achievement, and very, very optimistic about the future of our nation in your hands.

Good luck, God bless you, and God bless America.
(Applause.)

END10:40 A.M. EDT

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001. briefing paper re: China and communications (3 pages)

05/01/2000

P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
OA/Box Number: 4022

FOLDER TITLE:

China [Folder 2] [1]

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jml95

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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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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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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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]

May 1, 2000

(2)

To: SRB

From: Justin

Subject: Hamre/CSIS Proposal

→ Tom/Rwoshe
Sounds like a
good idea. What
do you think?
When should I do it?

You asked me to check with John Hamre regarding his proposal for you to present your thoughts on foreign policy for the future. Specifically, you asked what kind of timeline he had in mind. I spoke with him Monday, May 1. He reports:

- No particular timeline. Anytime between now and January 20, though something in September/October would seem to him to work best.
- Ideally, he'd like to have you present your thoughts as an address to a dinner event with distinguished foreign policy/think tank figures. You would present your thoughts as a "keynote" address -- "I would set this up as a very special evening," he said. The address would later be published as a CSIS publication.
- He envisions not just a recap of your years at the center of the Clinton foreign policy team, but a discussion of where we're going and your ideas about how we should address that future.
- Ultimately, he'll take or do whatever you want. If not a presentation or speech, he'll take text that can be published.



Center for Strategic & International Studies
Washington, DC

John J. Hamre
President

April 24, 2000

The Honorable Samuel Berger
National Security Advisor
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

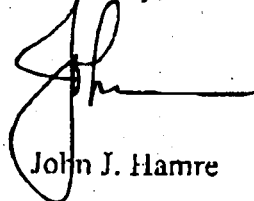
Dear Sandy:

I hope you don't mind a letter from a rat that abandoned ship early. First, permit me to thank you for your great courtesies when I was Deputy Secretary. I learned a great deal watching you from near and afar. No one can fully appreciate the complexities of your office, but I was amazed at how you were able to handle so many issues of such difficulty with such skill. Thank you for the education.

Sandy, I am writing to make a proposal to you. Later this year, you will be starting to think about your departure and your legacy. I would like to offer you a platform for sharing your vision—a letter to the future, if I may put it that way. Secretary Cohen has agreed to make a presentation at CSIS, and I am writing to Madeleine (an old CSIS alum) and to George Tenet as well. Ultimately (and if I can rustle up the money for it) I would like to publish these presentations under some pretentious-sounding title like “Four Visions from the Mountain” or “Four Visions on the Threshold of the Next Century.”

I hope you might consider my request. But no matter what your decision is, I thank you again for all you did for me. It was a great honor to be your junior partner.

Sincerely,



John J. Hamre

→ Justin ①
Find out what
John's timetable
is for this. Not
clear.
@



The Center for Strategic and International Studies

FAX TRANSMISSION

TO: The Honorable Samuel Berger
National Security Advisor

FROM: Mr. Todd Rouse
CSIS

FAX: (202) 456-2883

PHONE: 202-775-3169

DATE: April 25, 2000

FAX: 202-452-1439

RE: Letter from Dr. John Hamre

PAGES: 2 Page including cover

☐ Urgent ☒ For Review ☐ Please Comment ☐ Please Reply ☐ Please Recycle

- Please find attached a letter from Dr. John J. Hamre regarding a visit to CSIS. A hard copy of this letter will follow by mail.

✓ sent
in
TO: Malinowski fax
From: SRS ~~12/16~~
5/8

Tom - (TOA)

What is status of:

- ① Coast Guard;
- ② POTUS: China
a. Tuesday
b. anything
scheduled before 5/17?
- ③ Berger
Tel Aviv (2)
- ④ Trip
Aachen
Moscow
Kiev

Q

Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)

From: Peterman, David (Brian) (DEFENSE)
Sent: Monday, April 24, 2000 5:43 PM
To: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Subject: RE: Coast Guard [UNCLASSIFIED]

Sounds good. I just spoke to Hans about the CG speech and he would like to meet with us later in the week to discuss content. He would like to have a draft outline to use as a starting point. Do you have ideas for an outline?

Brian

-----Original Message-----

From: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Sent: Monday, April 24, 2000 5:16 PM
To: Peterman, David (Brian) (DEFENSE)
Subject: RE: Coast Guard [UNCLASSIFIED]

Thanks, Brian. I look forward to reading everything. I'm not sure about Wednesday -- I'm working on two big China speeches, and may not be able to go. Let's touch base tomorrow. I should have a good idea by the end of the day.

-----Original Message-----

From: Peterman, David (Brian) (DEFENSE)
Sent: Monday, April 24, 2000 3:53 PM
To: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Cc: Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
Subject: FW: Coast Guard [UNCLASSIFIED]

Paul- Corrected the name below. UNCLAS email has been sent to you as well.

-----Original Message-----

From: Peterman, David (Brian) (DEFENSE)
Sent: Monday, April 24, 2000 3:18 PM
To: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Cc: Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)
Subject: RE: Coast Guard [UNCLASSIFIED]

Paul- The most recent policy speeches by the Commandant of the Coast Guard which I think will be helpful to you are at:

www.uscg.mil/commandant/speeches/speeches.html

I will also forward something on the unclas system that may be helpful.

Finally, if you would like to discuss the speech with a fellow speech writer, the Commandant's main person is Commander Dave Steve Vanderplas who can be reached at 202.267.2387.

2380

Are we all squared now on information? I think I've given you about all I have, at least for now. Will you be going to the presentation on Wed?

Brian

-----Original Message-----

From: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Sent: Monday, April 24, 2000 10:20 AM
To: Peterman, David (Brian) (DEFENSE)

Subject: RE: Coast Guard [UNCLASSIFIED]

Thanks, Brian. How are you coming on all the other information we talked about -- the speeches, history, etc.?

-----Original Message-----

From: Peterman, David (Brian) (DEFENSE)
Sent: Friday, April 21, 2000 10:10 AM
To: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Subject: Coast Guard [UNCLASSIFIED]

Paul- You asked for a POC at the Academy that might be able to provide nuggets for the speech. A good place to start would be the Class Advisor, LT Eric Kowack at (860)444-8651. He's expecting to hear from you.

Brian Peterman
Defense Directorate
X69188

4/21

Paul,

Here is the first installment of information that might be helpful for the CG Acad. speech. I should have more in the way of speeches and press info on Monday. I know this is a lot; please feel free to "scan and scan" as necessary.

Brian

x69188

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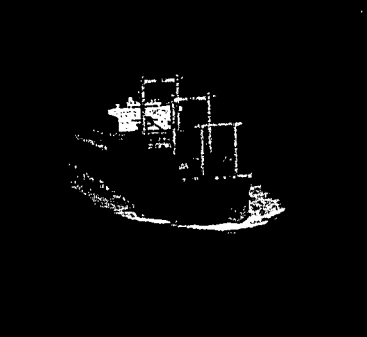
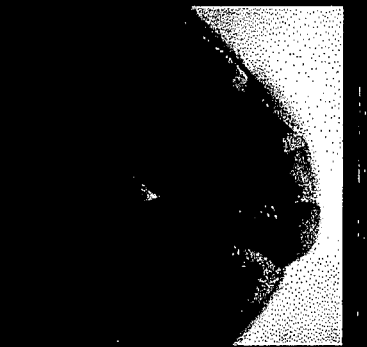
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**The Clinton
Administration
Statement on
Permanent
Normal Trade
Relations
for China**

**DEAL FOR
AMERICA**



WHY PNTR IS BEST HOPE FOR GREATER OPENNESS IN CHINA

By Gene Sperling and Samuel Berger

Many opponents of Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) for China argue we should not embrace China's membership in the WTO because of its abysmal record on human and labor rights. Their diagnosis is right. But their prescription is not. The question before the Congress is not whether China's record on human rights is good or whether PNTR by itself will provide a cure. The question is, in addition to the overwhelming economic benefits to America, will passage of PNTR increase the chance of positive change in China?

We believe it will. We base that belief not on faith that trade always brings freedom. We base it on the conviction that the specific concessions China is making to enter the WTO will strengthen reformers trying to move it in the right direction.

The divisions within China are clear. Those advocating WTO membership and closer ties with America are the same leaders pushing a more daring transition from command-and-control to the market. They realize that if they open China to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control -- temporary unemployment, social unrest, and greater demands for freedom. But they have concluded that without competition, China will not be able to build a modern, successful economy.

The opposition? The entrenched state-owned manufacturing sector and those Communist officials clinging desperately to one-party control over how people work and live. They know that if China slashes protective tariffs to get into the WTO, more of its state enterprises will go.

The government's ability to control workers and their loyalty will diminish. There will be more pressure from within for political change.

Last year alone there were more than 120,000 labor disputes across China with workers demanding greater openness and accountability. In some places, the government has cracked down. In others, it has responded by giving people a greater say, by holding local elections and allowing workers to take grievances to court. That is how real change can begin and we need to encourage it. How would we do that by handing a humiliating defeat to market-oriented reformers seeking normalized trade with the United States and a huge victory to the stalwarts of a state-dominated economy?

If China enters the WTO and we approve PNTR, the resulting greater participation of U.S. telecommunications companies will also make telephone and internet access more affordable and accessible for Chinese citizens. Right now only 12 percent of Chinese have phones; less than 1 percent have internet access. No matter how hard Chinese officials try to stuff the information genie back into the bottle, an explosion of telephone and internet access will lead to an explosion of idea sharing within China. But if we reject PNTR, our cutting edge information industries will be denied access to their market. How would that help Chinese citizens seeking new ideas – or new tools for political activism?

Finally, as Martin Lee, the courageous leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party has said, participation in the WTO would "bolster those in China who understand that the country must embrace the rule of law...." Economic activity in China is usually based on vague, unwritten, unpublished rules that maximize the arbitrary power of Party officials. To join the WTO, China must publish key rules, making it easier for Chinese citizens to advance on the strength of their ideas, not their connections.

Of course, membership in the WTO does not guarantee China's leaders will choose political reform. But by accelerating the process of economic change, it will force them to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice stronger. By the same token, if we reject PNTR, and undercut the reform-minded leaders who have put their reputations on the line for a policy of greater openness, we will increase the likelihood of the wrong choice.

Certainly, PNTR is not by itself an American human rights policy toward China. Change will come through a combination of internal pressure and external validation of China's human rights struggle. We have to maintain our leadership in the latter, even as the WTO contributes to the former. That's why we sanctioned China under the International Religious Freedom Act last year, and why last month we again sponsored a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights violations.

Those who oppose PNTR have little vision of how a "No" vote would further reform in China other than maintaining our annual vote to threaten the close of our market to Chinese goods (at considerable cost to millions of American families). Yet, after twenty years, this annual ritual has become just that -- a ritual. Even when our relationship was at its lowest point -- after the Tiananmen massacre -- this process has affirmed our trading relationship with China. **Some form of human rights commission like those being proposed by Democrats like Rep. Levin and Republicans like Rep. Bereuter could be much more effective.**

As the President has said, we do not know what path China will take. All we can do is make the decisions most likely to push China in the direction of economic and political reform. It is hard to see how freezing the status quo, empowering hard-liners, slowing economic transition, and keeping American companies out of China will increase respect for human rights or lead to a more open society. It is possible, however, to see a better future for China if it is opening its economy and reaching out to the world. The choice for us could not be more clear.

No Permanent MFN For China

No to Permanent MFN Until China Has a Change of Heart

Editorial For *The Hill Newspaper*

by Rep. David E. Bonior (D-MI)

March 10, 2000

Should we reward a nation that has repeatedly broken trade agreements with us, violated human rights and threatened missile attacks against its neighbors?

That's the problem with giving China permanent most favored nation status and stripping away the ability of Congress to review its practices and policies.

The Chinese government has broken every agreement they has signed with the United States over the past ten years. The ink is barely dry on the WTO deal, and already Chinese government officials are saying they have no intention of complying with the agreement they signed with the U.S. only three months ago. Instead, they are busy putting into place protections for major sectors of their economy.

However, China's lawlessness does not end with its trade practices. That's only where they begin.

They have yet to ratify the two United Nations covenants on human rights they agreed to sign prior to President Clinton's trip to Beijing in 1998. Our own State Department now points out that 'in recent years the authorities have been uncooperative in U.S. efforts to promote human rights. From Catholic Archbishops to Falun Gong practitioners to Tibetan monks, Chinese official don't tolerate religious freedom. Just this year, Archbishop Yang, an eighty-one year old Catholic priest, was arrested in the middle of the night by security police. Why? Because he refused to denounce the Pope as the supreme authority of the Roman

Catholic Church.

I oppose giving up our leverage on China permanently because as William Safire writes in his Feb 28 essay in the New York Times, it would be 'a great leap backward.'

I believe we can have a trade policy that doesn't subvert human rights, but promotes them. I believe we can have policies that don't export jobs, but help create them. I believe we can have fair trade policies that don't mock America's values, but honor them.

Supporters of permanent MFN have claimed this agreement will create jobs. But the Administration's own study shows that the staggering \$1.25 billion weekly trade deficit with China will grow even faster with the WTO agreement than without it.

We know from our experience with NAFTA that any job gain claims are overinflated. How many American-built cars do we really expect to sell to Chinese manufacturing workers, who labor for 13 cents an hour? One of the fastest growing export sectors to China is already parts for reassembly and export back to the U.S. — growing 349% over the past five years. Permanent assurance of MFN for China will only worsen an already lopsided trading relationship.

We will still have low-tariff access to the Chinese market without permanent MFN. Under a 1979 bilateral trade agreement with the U.S., China must give the U.S. any market access benefits it gives to other countries. And would China block our goods when they depend on our markets for cash? Nearly 40 percent of Chinese exports are consumed by the U.S.

I think the President should only present Congress with a trade pact that guarantees labor rights, human rights and environmental rights as part of a core agreement. What's more, we need to bargain for a tough enforcement mechanism, too.

If there is one thing we learned from the grass-root demonstrations at the WTO ministerial in Seattle, it is that there is widespread concern in this nation over the direction and impact of globalization. People want a trade policy that puts people first.

According to the latest Peter Hart opinion poll, the majority of voters oppose giving China permanent trade access without allowing Congress to annually review its record. Sixty-three percent of Democrats and 75 percent of Republicans oppose permanent most favored nation status for China.

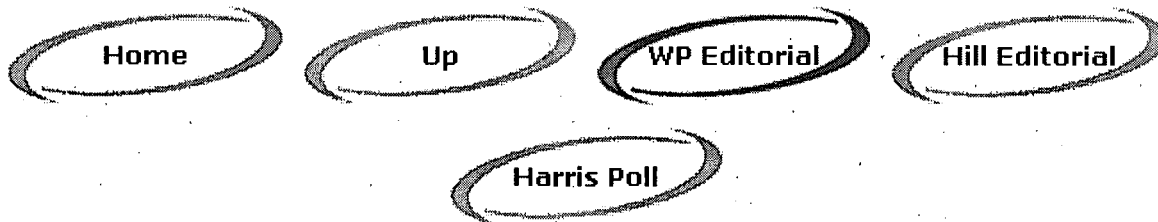
The question is whether it's in America's interest to reward the dictators in Beijing by giving them the two things they want most: permanent guaranteed access to our markets and membership in the WTO, or do we use our leverage as China's biggest market to push for a better agreement and more reforms?

My position is simple until China has demonstrated a real and verifiable change of heart we should vote against stripping away our authority in Congress to review China's record on human rights and compliance with trade deals.

Updated May 4, 2000

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No Permanent MFN For China



Taking a Great Leap Backwards

**By Congressman David E. Bonior
November 17, 1999**

There is a world of difference between the parlors where policy discussions take place in Washington, DC, and the factory floors of Michigan or the prison cells in China where men and women suffer only because they support a free society.

David Ignatius' over-simplified characterization of so-called "isolationists" and "internationalists" fails to capture the complex reality of the world we live in today.

I consider myself a strong internationalist. I believe the United States must take an important leadership role in the world. I believe we should pay our United Nations dues. I have sponsored debt relief for the world's poorest countries. I have worked to reform the International Monetary Fund. I never wavered in support of our involvement in Bosnia and Kosova.

For internationalists, the question today is not whether to engage on the world stage — but rather the terms of our international engagement. Specifically, how do we promote our democratic values, respect for human rights, the rights of workers, environmental protection, and social and economic progress?

The WTO deal reached with China this week is a great leap backwards. The fundamental principle of the agreement is ominous: trade and corporate profits are all that matter, the rest can come later.

It is striking that the United States would so readily abandon the leverage

we now have without securing any progress on democracy and human rights in China. The WTO does not deal with these issues at all — unless of course human rights issues become an impediment to trade. Furthermore, the United States Congress will be asked to forego its only chance to bring pressure to bear on the dictators in Beijing — the annual review of our "most favored" relationship with China.

Not a single dissident, labor rights activist, or oppressed Tibetan will gain their freedom. Yet, China will secure multinational investments in its economy and get a seat at the table with other trading nations. Once there, China can use its considerable economic influence to undermine any efforts within the WTO to make progress on labor rights and other important issues.

Contrary to the assertions of WTO cheerleaders, the hidden hand of the marketplace will not automatically bring about democratic reforms or social progress.

Take a look at our own country. Earlier this century, the markets alone certainly didn't achieve decent working conditions and responsible environmental protections. It took struggle, by our parents and grandparents, who sat down on the factory floor, marched on Washington, and organized in their communities. Civic action — and not the market — produced these changes, and we are all benefiting from them.

Or look at Indonesia. There, the drive to export at the expense of workers and the environment only served to enrich the ruling class and spark an angry revolt last year. The international community encouraged Indonesia to follow that destructive economic path, and it led to disaster.

Positive change won't occur in China, or any other autocratic country for that matter, unless we support efforts to build democracy and improve human rights. Internationalists can ill afford to stick their heads in the sand and hope for the best.

Unless the United States uses its power to elevate human rights, labor rights and the environment to their rightful prominence in trade agreements and foreign policy, we will become mired in the past. And, we will find ourselves an increasingly isolated democracy.

Updated May 4, 2000

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Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi

U.S. Shouldn't Yield To Unreasonable Demands of China

March 28, 2000

PRESIDENT CLINTON has sent Congress a request to grant China Permanent Normal Trade Relations status, based on an agreement between our two countries for China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO). However, China can become a member of the WTO without Congress surrendering its right to review U.S.-China trade relations annually.

We all agree that it would be better to have China inside the WTO, complying with the rules, rather than the status quo of China on the outside violating its agreements with the United States. To date, however, the Chinese government has consistently failed to honor its signed bi-lateral agreements on trade and its international covenants on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and on human rights in China and Tibet. The Chinese government has no credibility and begs the question: why should the United States grant permanent trade status (formerly known as Most Favored Nation status) on the basis of broken promises rather than proven performance?

As concerned as many in Congress are over China's human rights and weapons proliferation violations, there is enough reason to oppose permanent normal trade relations at this time on the basis of trade alone. The Chinese government has broken agreements on opening its markets to the United States, on stopping the piracy of our intellectual property and on ending the export of slave labor-produced goods. The U.S. trade deficit with China has grown from \$6 billion in 1989 to \$70 billion in 1999. This staggering figure does not even include the estimated losses due to piracy of U.S. intellectual property, which between 1995 and 1998 totaled \$10 billion, according to the International Intellectual Property Alliance.

The Clinton administration cites as progress agreements with the Chinese government to stop the theft of U.S. intellectual property, but the record of compliance with these agreements, like that of other U.S.-China bilateral trade agreements, including agriculture, tells a different story. The administration's own "1999 Trade Policy Agenda" documents the tortured history of China's many agreements on intellectual property rights, starting with a 1992 memorandum of understanding to stop piracy, then an investigation and a 1995 enforcement agreement. Lack of Chinese compliance with that agreement led my colleagues and me to introduce legislation to force the administration's hand on this subject. The U.S. Trade Representative then issued sanctions against China. In June 1996, the United States and China signed yet another accord. According to the "1999 Trade Policy Agenda," China is still not enforcing copyrights and trademarks: "Of particular concern is the significant level of unauthorized use of software by both private enterprises and government ministries."

The issue of the technology transfer that China demands in exchange for access to China's market is of the gravest concern to those of us who have long been advocates for our high-tech community. U.S. technology and other intellectual property are the product of our free and open society. Our intellectual property is our competitive advantage, however, we continue to reward the Chinese regime for pirating it. It appears that some in the business community want to trade with China in the worst possible way and that is precisely what they are doing. Ironically, some in the high tech community, which excites the world with the "new, new thing" are subscribing to the old, old thinking of yielding to China's unreasonable demands.

It is incumbent upon us, in the public and private sectors, to work for free and open trade with China that is real. The U.S.-China bilateral WTO agreement, however, is seriously deficient in implementation, compliance and enforcement.

Please sign our guest book by clicking [HERE](#). 

You can email Congresswoman Pelosi by clicking [HERE](#).

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No Permanent MFN For China

**Statement by
Congressman David E. Bonior
on Release of Letter Signed by Members
Opposing Permanent Most-Favored Nation Status with China**

March 30, 2000

Today, we're announcing the names of 19 members of Congress who supported granting MFN to China in the past, but who will not vote to grant permanent MFN to China this year.

They're part of a growing movement of legislators who are standing up to say we must not give up the leverage that the annual review of MFN provides.

That's what our opposition to permanent MFN is all about.

We're not against trade with China.

We believe in trade -- and the benefits it can bring the American economy.

But we also believe in human rights.

We believe in environmental protection.

We believe in the responsible use of nuclear technology.

We believe there cannot be free trade unless there is political freedom, as well.

We oppose permanent MFN because, in this global economy, we believe nations should first live up to the trade agreements they've already signed before they enter into new ones.

And we oppose permanent MFN because America should not give up the leverage to help bring about democratic reforms.

Could there be a time when it's appropriate to grant permanent MFN to China? I think there could be -- but I also know that time is not now.

Not now while human rights activists, religious leaders and trade unionists

are brutalized and imprisoned.

Not now while the Chinese government exports weapons of war to North Korea and other rogue nations.

Not now while China's leaders ignore the needs of our world's fragile environment.

In the final analysis, we believe that freedom and democracy aren't byproducts of economic prosperity; they are a precondition for it.

This is not the time to vote. This is not the time to give up our leverage once and for all.

Updated May 4, 2000

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No Permanent MFN For China

**Statement by
Congressman David E. Bonior (D-MI)
Defending Democracy in the New Global Economy
Seattle, Washington**

December 1, 1999

I want to thank the AFL-CIO and the King County Labor Council for organizing this conference on workers' rights, trade development, and the WTO.

There couldn't have been a better sponsor for this session than the AFL-CIO. In the great debates over trade, leaders like John Sweeney and Steve Yokich have been the clearest voices for the view that human values must not be sacrificed on the altar of private profit.

There couldn't be a better chair for this session than George Becker, the president of the United Steelworkers of America. Under his leadership, this union is fighting not only for North American steelworkers but for working people all over the world who are being buffeted by the turbulent global economy.

And I don't think the WTO planned it this way, but there couldn't have been a better place for this meeting than right here in Seattle.

Thanks to the good work of the King County Labor Council, Seattle is one of the strongest union cities in North America – with almost one out of every four workers belonging to unions.

That's in keeping with the proud history of this city.

Eighty years ago, working people shut this city down in support of a group of workers – the ship-builders – who were on the front lines of the world economy of that era.

And -- right here, right now – working people, environmentalists, consumer activists, people of faith, and concerned folks from all across this planet are

making history again.

Because this is the largest single protest against unfair, unworkable, and unconscionable international trade policies – anywhere in the world, and at any time in history.

And that even includes another famous protest against inequitable international commerce – the Boston Tea Party, which protested the taxes that the British Empire imposed upon the sales of its favorite beverage.

Because of that historic event, the American Revolution began, the United States of America was founded, and Starbucks Coffee was inevitable.

More than 200 years after the Boston Tea Party, let's be clear why we are here:

The global economy is here to stay. And the great question of our times is: What rules are going to govern it?

The World Trade Organization is meeting nearby, behind closed doors, to make the rules that will regulate commerce, investment, and everything ordinary people do to earn our livings.

We are gathering here in the open to demand that the things we believe in – preserving the environment, protecting our families, and respecting working people's rights – are on the agenda of those who are making those rules and shaping our futures.

As the former director of the WTO, Renato Ruggiero, has explained: "We are no longer writing the rules of interaction among separate national economies. We are writing the constitution of a single global economy."

Well, we are here to demand that, just like the constitutions of so many great democracies, the global economy's constitution must have a bill of rights – strong guarantees for human rights, workers' rights, consumer safety, and environmental responsibility.

That's why we're here this week in Seattle. And that's what we'll keep doing when we go home to all our communities and all our countries.

To those who thought that everyday people would never pay attention to the World Trade Organization and everything it does, we are showing you once and for all: You have another think coming!

For the past four years, the WTO has been shaping our lives and our livelihoods. And that's time enough to measure what we were told the WTO would do against what it's actually done to the air we breathe, the water we drink, the wages we earn, and the democracy we cherish. What were we told when the WTO was founded?

Here in the United States – and in many other countries as well – we were told that the WTO would not subvert our sovereignty, downgrade our democracy, or undermine our environmental standards, our consumer protections, or our hard-won guarantees of workers' rights.

Not to worry, we were told, the WTO would be part of an historic trend towards modern economies and stable democracies. And, on top of all that, we were told the WTO would lead to extraordinary growth for our economy, increased incomes for our families, and the emergence of a middle class around the world that would purchase our products and contribute to stability and prosperity everywhere.

Four years later, we can see clearly that the WTO's performance falls far short of its promise.

As the president of the World Bank, James Wolfensohn, has declared with commendable candor: "At the level of people, the system is not working."

Throughout the world, inequality is increasing both within and among our countries.

While the United States and a few other fortunate countries have been islands of stability, most of the world is beset by financial instability – with frightening free-falls of financial markets in the developing world.

Yes, this year's headlines have been less alarming than last year's. But 40% of the world has been in recession.

Unemployment rates have soared from 5% to almost 20% in Indonesia; from 1.5% to 9% in Thailand; from 2% to 11% in South Korea; and up to 20% in Brazil. In these and other economies, working people no longer feel they're climbing into the middle class – they fear they're falling off a cliff.

Here in the United States, working people still feel like they're running on a treadmill.

The trade deficit has soared from \$105 billion in 1997 to an estimated \$275 billion this year.

We have lost 550,000 manufacturing jobs since the spring of 1997.

And, even at the peak of the business cycle, our families are working longer hours than ever for living standards that are little better than ten years ago. And the inequalities of wages and wealth are the greatest in our history.

In truth the WTO's sorry record should not have surprised us, because the WTO was structured to be secretive, undemocratic, and unaccountable to ordinary people – and tilted towards powerful and privileged interests.

While international trade negotiations used to concentrate on such issues as tariffs and quotas, the WTO was empowered to tear down what were described as "non-tariff barriers to trade."

That's bureaucratic jargon for the rules the world's peoples have struggled for, and our governments have enacted, to protect our natural environment, our health and safety, and our rights as workers and as citizens.

When powerful interests challenge these rights and regulations, the cases come before WTO panels that are nothing like the courts of law in democratic societies.

WTO panels meet in secret.

WTO panels don't provide for due process.

WTO panels tolerate all kinds of conflict of interest.

And, with WTO panels, you'd better believe the big guys always beat the little guys.

So it's no surprise that the WTO has been a battering ram against a century of social progress – from clean air and water to consumer safety and workers' rights.

As a recent study by Public Citizen has documented, every time the multinational corporate powerhouses have tried to tear down standards of safety and health and human dignity in Western Europe or North America – the special interests have won, and the public interest has lost.

It reminds me of how the sportswriter and humorist Damon Runyon rewrote the Book of Ecclesiastes: "The race is not always to the swift, or the battle to the strong. But, nine times out of ten, that's the way to bet."

And this should have come as no surprise for anyone who's examined the impact of a decade of international trade agreements – from GATT to NAFTA.

Agreements where the protections for international investors and transnational corporations would fill every phone book in my home state of Michigan – but where the guarantees for workers, consumers, and the environment could be written on a postcard.

Agreements which make it easier to challenge the infringement of a copyright than the imprisonment of a striking worker.

And which leave most of us in the same place where we find ourselves at this WTO Ministerial Meeting – on the outside looking in. For those of us from North America, none of this is news – because NAFTA shows us what happens when the special interests make the rules.

In the United States, hundreds of thousands of jobs have been lost. And the Labor Department has found that two-thirds of those who lose their jobs because of foreign trade end up with work that pays less than they earned before.

Even for those who hold onto their jobs, NAFTA is holding down their wages. In fact, a Cornell University study found that 62% of our companies have used the threat of shutting their doors or moving abroad to hold down wages, cut back benefits, or undermine collective bargaining.

Meanwhile, in Mexico, more people are living and laboring in poverty. Since NAFTA was implemented, real wages have declined more than one-fifth.

I have visited Ciudad Juarez and seen people live in cardboard Whirlpool boxes in the shadow of a Whirlpool factory.

And Linda Chavez-Thompson, executive vice president of the AFL-CIO, saw the same kind of suffering when she visited workers in the maquiladora factories in Tijuana. She met a three-generation extended family of 28 people.

They lived on about \$300 a week, earned by the mother, father, and four children, who all work for American transnational corporations.

All their income goes for food, rent, and other necessities. But they have to buy bottled water because their neighborhood has no water pipes or plumbing.

Both sides of the border between the United States and Mexico have become an environmental disaster area – with the Rio Grande described as "a 2000-mile Love canal."

And, to put it mildly, health and safety standards in both countries have not improved.

One million trucks from Mexico cross the border without safety inspections. And I'm concerned not only for the safety of motorists in the United States but for the drivers from Mexico as well.

When it comes to the safety of our families, The New York Times reports that, after many years of progress, food poisoning is on the increase again.

And we suffered through that in Michigan, when 179 children ate contaminated strawberries, imported from Mexico, in their school cafeteria. Several became seriously ill. But, thankfully, they all survived.

We can do better than shantytowns, toxic dumps, and contaminated food.

As we meet this week, we can take confidence from the fact that we have changed the terms of debate.

When many of us warned that NAFTA as it was written would undermine consumer safety, environmental standards, and workers rights, the economic elites threw all their wealth at us – and we lost.

But, after Americans saw what NAFTA meant for living standards, environmental standards, and consumer safety standards, we changed the terms of debate on trade. And, two years ago, we beat the odds – and we beat Fast Track.

Together, we made history – and I want to thank each and every one of you for everything you did to defeat Fast Track.

With our victory on Fast Track, the growing demand for the democratization of globalization became a political reality for the leaders of our nations and our transnational corporations.

And now, many of the world's political and economic leaders have adopted our ways of discussing the global economy.

They're warning against "a race to the bottom." They calling for "putting a human face on the global economy." And they say they're supporting labor and environmental standards in trade agreements.

We should welcome these statements. We should hold our leaders to them. And we should demand they translate their rhetoric into reality. Yes, I believe it is a healthy development that President Clinton is calling for a WTO working group on labor standards.

But we need to make sure that the working group gets to work -- and produces more than words.

And we need to ensure that, when the rules are made that govern the global economy, workers' rights, consumer safety, and environmental standards are not just an afterthought but an agenda.

Make no mistake about what is at stake in the deliberations and decisions of the WTO. It is something more important even than our paychecks, more important even than pollution, more important even than public health. It is the democratic process that is the only way we can make positive changes in every area our lives.

The WTO, as currently structured, threatens to undo internationally everything we have achieved nationally -- every environmental protection, every consumer safeguard, every labor victory.

And, worst of all, it threatens to trivialize the political process in every one of our societies -- by allowing the private panels of the WTO to overturn the public policies of our nations.

That is why, if we are going to have the communities we want and the countries we want, then we are going to have to fight for the world we want.

It's time to stand up, speak out, and fight back for the things we believe.

We believe that a commitment to human rights, including internationally recognized and enforced labor standards, should be a responsibility of any country that seeks to join the WTO and enjoy its benefits.

And that means there is no place in the WTO for the government of China.

Not as long as it persecutes dissenters. Not as long as it imprisons worker activists. And not as long as it exports products made with the sweat and tears of child labor, prison labor, and slave labor.

We believe that the world's nations should be encouraged, not forbidden, to

protect the air we drink, the water we drink, the food we eat, the products we buy, and the planet we share.

We believe that core labor standards – prohibiting child labor and forced labor and protecting workers' rights to organize – should be at the core of international trade agreements.

And we insist that environment, consumer, and labor standards must be substantive, not ceremonial -- essentials, not afterthoughts.

We need them. They're the right thing to do. And, without them, nothing else should happen.

As for the WTO, we believe it's time began what the experts call "an assessment round."

It's time they took a deep breath, looked at what the past four years have wrought, and addressed the issues that matter to the great majority of the world's people before they barrel along on what they call "the millennial round" of trade negotiations.

It's time they made sure their decisions are made in the open, with guarantees against conflict of interest, and with a measure of accountability. As long as we can't hold anyone accountable, then trying to understand the decisions that are shaping the global economy will be like trying to put our arms around the fog.

And it's time they put a stop to challenges to national policies on the environment, on health and safety, and on workers' rights that aren't intended to be protectionist against imports – just to protect the rights and even the lives of ordinary citizens.

In short, it's time they understood that secrecy must not be a way of life...

That environmental standards, consumer safety, and workers' rights are not luxuries...

And, most important of all, that democracy is not an unfair trade practice.

We can change the WTO and the world economy it governs because history teaches us that, when the people are on the move, our leaders hurry to catch up with us.

In this country, at the turn of this century, local economies were giving way to a national economy, an agricultural age was giving way to the industrial age, and a host of social and economic problems were emerging – from the slums to the sweatshops.

Progressive Presidents such as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson had their hearts in the right place. But it took the Triangle Fire in New York, the miners' strike in Colorado, the general strike here in Seattle, and the work of the muckrakers throughout this country to win the first protections for the rights of workers and consumers.

At the third decade of this century, in the midst of the Great Depression, President Franklin D. Roosevelt cared deeply about working Americans. But it took the sit-down strikes all across industrial America to win workers the right to organize unions.

Three decades later, at the height of the civil rights revolution, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson wanted to do the right things. But it took the sit-ins at lunch counters, the freedom rides through the segregated South, and a great march on Washington to win civil rights and voting rights.

In the era of the Internet, we can make our voices heard more clearly, more rapidly, and more effectively than ever before.

Our struggles seem like David and Goliath – and, this time, David has a cybernetic slingshot.

We all must make the fight, but someone must take the lead. Maybe it's because I come from a blue-collar family, but I believe that someone is working people and their unions.

Because working people carry all our concerns in their hands and their hearts, their minds and their souls. Working people are environmentalists.

Working people are consumers. Working people are filled with faith in the values that matter more than making money. And, at their best, our unions include people of every color, every culture, and every creed.

And the union movement that can lead this fight is a union movement that looks outward, not inward; forward, not backward; opening its heart and offering its hand to working people all across this world. That kind of movement can organize, energize, and mobilize a worldwide coalition of conscience.

To make this happen, we all need to get informed, get involved, and get active.

We need the courage that inspired Walter Reuther to walk across the overpass at the Ford plant in Dearborn...

The courage that inspired Rosa Parks to refuse to sit in the back of the bus in Montgomery...

The courage that inspired Nelson Mandela to hold fast to his dreams during a quarter century in prison on Robin Island...

The courage that inspired Lech Walesa to climb the wall in his shipyard in Gdansk...

...And the courage that inspired workers in Korea and Indonesia to take to the streets to protest injustices in our own time.

Together, we can build a future worthy of the service, the sacrifice, and the struggle of those who came before us. And, when we do, our children and our children's children will say – with gratitude and pride – that it all began with **"the battle of Seattle."**

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Updated May 4, 2000

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No Permanent MFN For China

**Floor Statement by
Congressman David E. Bonior
Let China Earn MFN Status**

July 27, 1999

Ten years ago, Chinese tanks rumbled into Tiananmen Square to crush an historic call for freedom and reform. Despite the danger, many demonstrators stood their ground. Hundreds were beaten, arrested, or shot.

Now -- ten years later -- many of those arrested that grim day are still in prison.

One of them is Zhang Shanguang, who served a seven-year sentence after Tiananmen Square, only to be re-arrested because he dared to speak out on behalf of laid-off workers.

Just over the past week, Chinese authorities arrested more than five thousand people, solely on the basis of their religious beliefs.

They join countless others already locked away in dank cells and "re-education camps," simply because they spoke out for their faith, or their right to form a union, or their right to justice.

By any measure, this is an abysmal record.

And what is our response today?

We are being asked reward China with "Most Favored Nation" trading status.

Some say we need to give Chinese authorities an economic incentive to change. We are told: be patient, just give them time.

I say that ten years is long enough to see that nothing has changed... that the current regime continues to abuse human and political rights without the slightest hesitation.

The authorities even arrested a man recently for wearing a T-shirt they didn't like in downtown Beijing. You know what that T-shirt said? "Labor Rights." He was thrown in prison for wearing a T-shirt!

Even as we speak, Nike is negotiating a deal with a sweatshop in China that

pays teenaged girls 16 cents an hour to make gym shoes that sell here for \$120 a pair.

They work 12 hours a day... for 16 cents an hour!

And they have no power to speak out for a better deal. No right to organize. No right to basic dignity. No hope at all.

That is, unless we do something about it.

If we use our economic clout... if we have the courage to leverage our economic strength for real reform... we could give the people of China a chance to help themselves.

Our policy of granting China special trade status, no matter what they do, year after year, has failed.

How long are we going to ignore China's policy of...

Slave labor...

Prison labor...-

Forced abortions...

Ethnic persecution...

And religious persecution...

We ignore all this for what? A \$67 billion trade deficit?

That's just crazy. We sell more to the country of Belgium every year than we do to a billion Chinese.

So let us adopt a new, common-sense approach.

Let us demand proof of progress before we grant China special trade status.

I urge my colleagues to vote for the Resolution to deny China MFN status.

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Updated May 4, 2000

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No Permanent MFN For China

**Statement by
Congressman David E. Bonior
China Has Not Earned the Right to MFN Status**

July 1, 1999

Once again, this Congress is considering whether to grant China preferential trade status as a so-called "Most Favored Nation." My colleague Nancy Pelosi has been leading our campaign against it, and I commend her for her commitment over the years.

We're here today because we believe China must show genuine progress before it is granted MFN status.

But ten years after the massacre at Tiananmen Square, China is still arresting people for their ideas... still jailing dissidents for speaking out on human rights... and still crushing citizens calling out for more freedom.

In the month before the 10th anniversary, Chinese authorities unleashed a wave of arrests -- not just against those who spoke out, but against those who "might" speak out.

When a lone protester showed up on June 4th, a gang of security agents chased him across the plaza, shoved him into a van and hustled him off for interrogation.

This is all too common. Yesterday my colleagues and I met with Wei Jingsheng, a democracy activist in exile. He had to endure harsh prison conditions before Chinese authorities expelled him from the country. But many of his contemporaries still languish in jail as victims of official repression.

This is hardly behavior the United States should be rewarding with MFN status.

Granting China MFN status doesn't make economic sense, either. America's trade deficit with China will hit a record \$67 billion this year.

That's bad business.

The United States is China's best customer. Let's use that economic leverage

to hold China accountable for its behavior.

When China starts to live up to its agreements... when it starts to demonstrate a real commitment to human rights, democracy and reform... only then should we grant it MFN status.

Updated May 4, 2000

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No Permanent MFN For China

**Statement by Congressman David E. Bonior
China's Entry to the World Trade Organization**

April 8, 1999

"I don't believe an agreement on China's admission to the WTO at this time would have helped America's working families.

"China has much to gain through entry to the WTO and we have much to lose. Despite previous commitments China has made to open its market to U.S. products, our trade deficit with China is projected to be nearly \$70 billion this year. That is completely unacceptable.

"Based on China's track record, I don't believe we can expect them to abide by any agreement that is reached. The commitments China has made on human rights and on economic issues have been completely ignored.

"Also, I don't believe that China should be rewarded while it continues to abuse human rights.

"China should release the thousands of political prisoners it holds today, including Zhang Shanguang, a voice for the rights of working people in China. And it should end the harassment and detention of other citizens who are exercising their internationally recognized rights of free expression, association and religion.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 2, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO NAFTA DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN ENDORSEMENT EVENT

The East Room

3:20 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, President Carter, Mr. Vice President, all the distinguished people who have spoken here today.

I would like to begin by making two observations. First of all, after hearing what has been said I'm pretty proud to be an American today. And I think all of you should be, too. (Applause.) Secondly, I have been sent an extraterrestrial telegram stating that "I, too, am for NAFTA", signed Otto von Bismarck. (Laughter.)

You know, it is something of note that every living President, Secretary of State, Secretaries of Defense, national security advisors, Secretaries of Commerce, leaders of the Federal Reserve, distinguished contributors to the American spirit like John Gardner and Father Hesburgh and other great American citizens all support this agreement -- for economic reasons, for foreign policy reasons. Our own Secretary of State Warren Christopher is in California even as we are here, talking about the foreign policy implications of NAFTA for our government and our country.

Why have all of us declared this issue above politics? Why have we come to agree that whatever else has divided us in the past, this will weld us together in the cause of more jobs for our people, more exports for our markets and more democracy for our allies? Why do we all know down deep inside that this would be such a profound setback for America and the world economy and in the new global polity we are striving we are striving so honestly to create?

Why are we so willing to say no to partisan politics and yes to NAFTA? I think it is because we know, as all of these have said in different ways, that NAFTA reflects this moment's expression of all the lessons we have learned in the 20th century. It reflects this moment's expression of what we learned not to do after World War I, what we learned what we had to do during and after World War II. It reflects the sheer economic weight of argument that Mr. Samuelson referred to, that we have seen even more expressed just in the last few years when a higher and higher percentage of our new jobs in this country are clearly traceable directly to exports.

I see it in my own work here. For years and years and years our allies in Europe and Asia said, well, if America really wanted to promote global growth, you would do something about your deficit and get your interest rates down and quit taking so much money out of the global economy. And so we have tried to do that. And we have low interest rates and the deficit is coming down, and our own deficit this year was much lower, in no small measure because

of those lower rates.

But we still have this great global recession. Why? Because we are not trading with one another; we are not buying and selling and investing across national lines and sparking the kind of global growth that is the only way any wealthy country, anyway, generates any new jobs.

No one attacking NAFTA has yet made a single solitary argument to refute this essential point: There is no evidence that any wealthy country -- not just the United States, anyone -- not one, can create new jobs and higher incomes without more global growth fueled by trade. If you strip away all the other arguments, no one has offered a single solitary shred of evidence to refute that central point.

And I know there is great insecurity and instability in all the wealthy countries in the world. You can say whatever you want about this being the first Tuesday in November, you've seen a lot of other Tuesday's come along in other nations, great political upheavals all across the world -- why? Because people feel the walls are closing in on them.

And in truth, I think when you strip all this away, we are facing a real decision about whether the psychological pressures of the moment will overcome what we know in our hearts and our minds is the right thing to do. Whether the same pressures that people in Canada feel, or France, or Japan, in a time when wealthy countries are not generating new jobs and people are working harder for stagnant wages, will those pressures make us do what is easy and, perhaps, popular in the moment? Or will we do what we should really do, the honorable thing to do to respond to those pressures is to take an action that may not be popular in the moment, but that actually holds the promise of alleviating the pressures?

If we believe the feelings, the anxieties are legitimate, as has been said already by other speakers, then don't we have the obligation to do what will alleviate the anxieties over the long haul, instead of play to them in the moment? That, in the end, is what this decision is all about. That is really what we mean when we say the secret ballot on this issue has already been won.

These students over here to my left are from my alma mater, Georgetown. And when I was in their place 25 years ago now, when we were studying global affairs, we came out really worrying about and thinking about the Cold War and trying to debate exactly how much the pattern of the bipolar world could be manifested in every -- development, in every country in the world, in every region of the world. And sometimes we were wrong and sometimes we were right. But at least we had a framework within which to view the world.

As Dr. Kissinger said, we are in the process now of creating a new framework. And a lot of people are complaining about how we don't have all the answers -- I don't mean "we," the administration, I mean we, the people. But I say to you, many of you in this room are old enough to remember, and I think I now qualify in that category -- there are a lot of generations of Americans who would kill to be alive and of age in this time with this set of problems.

I mean, who are we to complain about this set of problems? Very few mornings do I come to work in the Oval Office and wonder about whether some decision I make can spark a nuclear war.

Very few mornings do I wonder whether, even in all the difficulties we face, we might make an economic error and a quarter of our people will be out of work, as they were during the Great Depression.

We see people in positions of responsibility going around wringing their hands about the difficulties of the moment. Yes, it's a new time. It's always difficult in a new time to see the future with clarity and to have the kind of framework you need. But none of that is an excuse to give into the emotional pressure of the moment instead of to take steps that will alleviate the pressure. That is the dilemma before us.

You know, it's true that it's good for us economically. It's also true that what Mexico gets out of it is investment, so that if we don't take this deal somebody else probably will. And that will be bad for us economically, as has already been said by President Carter. But the real thing that this is about is how we are going to view ourselves as we relate to the rest of the world. Because this -- keep in mind, this is not an isolated incident. This is not just a trade deal between the United States and Mexico; not even a deal that affects our relationships with the rest of Latin America, although that's where the real jobs and long-term economic benefit to us lie, perhaps -- not even a deal that will get the GATT agreement by the end of the year, although, I tell you, it will give enormously increased leverage to the United States to push that agreement through by the end of the year if this passes -- enormous, and great incentive to other nations to support this. But over and above that, this is a decision which will demonstrate whether in this difficult moment, we still have confidence in ourselves and our potential.

And I would say to all of you, anything you can do to the people at large and to the Congress in particular, to instill that confidence again is very important. If we have lost our way at all in the last couple of years it is in not having any historic memory. These are difficult problems. But for goodness sakes, give us these problems as compared with many of those our forbearers faced. And give us these problems as compared to those we are about to create if we start turning away from the world that is plainly before us.

Help us to give the Congress the freedom, the confidence, the courage that is inside every member of the Congress waiting to be brought out. Help to give them the space they need to take the steps they know are right for America.

This is about whether we really have confidence in ourselves. I believe with all my heart the next 20 years can be the best we ever had. But they're going to require some tough decisions, some difficult moments, some uncertain moments.

What do you do in moments like that? Do what the priests would tell you to do: fall back on what you believe and what you know is right. What we know is right for America is to be confident, to reach out, to believe in ourselves and our potential, to believe that we can adjust to change, just as we have been doing for 200 years now.

Make three calls, make 12 calls, make two dozen calls. For goodness sakes, make however many you can. But, remember, this is a test of our confidence. Every one of you can give confidence to someone else by the life you have lived, the experiences you have had, the things that you know. Give it now. We need it.