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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft National Security Advisor Samuel R. Berger remarks to the East Asia Institute at Columbia University on China (13 pages)	05/01/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Paul Orzulak)
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FOLDER TITLE:

China [Folder 2] [2]

2008-0702-F

jm608

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- 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.

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

- 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]

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 1, 2000

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO UUNET AND MCI WORLDCOM EMPLOYEESUUNet Technologies
Ashburn, Virginia

3:15 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Melissa. To Bernie and John and Mark, thank you for welcoming me and Ambassador Barshefsky and our whole team here. I leaned over to John when I looked at all of you out here and I said, now, I can't believe all these people are off work now, what terrible thing can happen? (Laughter.) What could I be responsible for doing to the Internet today? (Laughter.)

I am profoundly honored to be here, and I thank all of you for allowing me to come. I came here to talk about your future, but because this is the only opportunity I'll have today to speak, through you and the media to the American people, I have to make a brief comment about one other issue.

Today there was another terrible shooting in the Wilksburg community in Allegheny County in Western Pennsylvania. We don't know all the facts yet, but it was a bad situation. Yesterday, of course, that tragedy occurred in Michigan, where a very young child was killed by another very young child. I just talked to the superintendent of schools there, right before I came out.

I want to say two things about it to all of you. First of all, these are personal tragedies that, because of instantaneous media coverage, we all know and feel. And we owe the families of the victims and the communities our prayers and our best wishes.

Secondly, as citizens, these incidents, particularly the one yesterday in Michigan, call on us to recognize the fact that we simply haven't done everything we can do to keep guns away from criminals and children. And so today, I have to say again to Congress: you have had legislation now that would require child safety locks, would close the gun show loophole, would take other steps to keep guns out of the wrong hands for well over six months. You're supposed to take a recess next week. Before you take the recess, please send me this legislation. It will help keep America safer. (Applause.) Thank you.

Now, I want to talk to you today about your future, which is unfolding at a breathtaking rate. We were talking, before we came out, I said, tell me a little about the growth. So John said, well, five years ago we had 40 employees, today we have 8,000. Bernie said, five years ago, we had 2,000 employees, today we have 88,000. You're getting along reasonably well. (Laughter.)

I have been going around the country saying to my fellow Americans everywhere that in a new economy in which we have now in the last seven years 21 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment and welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest poverty rates in 20 years, the lowest female

unemployment rate in 40 years, the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates ever recorded, the highest homeownership on record and the longest economic expansion in our history, the world is changing so fast, if you want to keep doing well, you have to keep trying to do better; that it is very important that all of us understand that we'll never get anywhere by standing still -- although, given the pace at which you're growing, I'm glad I'm giving you the chance to stand still for a little bit today. (Laughter.)

This shift in our economy is changing the landscape of our country, both symbolically and literally. I first saw the landscape of Northern Virginia as a freshman in college, 36 years ago. But it looks different than it did when I became President, seven years ago. Everywhere you look, there's a brand-new facility. This place is truly amazing. And beneath all the booming business parks and green pastures, there are countless miles of cable, conducting more than over half the Internet traffic in the entire world.

There are more high-tech firms in Northern Virginia today than there were farms in 1970, when the region led the state in the production of milk. (Laughter.) Here in Loudoun County, there are more high-tech workers than there were residents in 1980. It has been an amazing thing. Workers like you and firms like UUNet are the new engines driving our economy. You represent about 8 percent of our employment, but 30 percent of our growth over the last decade, something you can be very proud of.

The new technologies that you use are also finding their ways into every sector of our economy, making companies of all kinds more competitive. UUNet provides a lot more than Internet service. Every day you show us something about the power of ideas, the power of imagination, the power of enterprise; values that are at the core of America's character and at the bottom of this booming new globalized economy, in a marketplace that is much, much wider and fuller of possibility than any of us could have imagined when this company sold its first commercial connection in 1988.

In just 12 years you've extended your reach to 100 countries, expanding your global network by more than 1,000 percent a year. The global network is a big part of your future, and that's what I want to talk about today, and what government's role in that is.

People ask me all the time, well, this is the highest percentage of growth in jobs in the private sector, and the smallest percentage in the government of any recovery we've ever had, since we could measure such things. As a matter of fact, since I've been President, we've reduced the size of government to its smallest point in 40 years, since 1960.

So people say, well, what is your job, Mr. President? What is the Congress's job? I think our job is to create the conditions and provide the tools for you to do your job. What does that mean? That means we ought to invest in education and training and new technologies. There's a lot of research that can't efficiently and economically be done in the private sector.

The Internet originally grew out of government-funded research, which, as I was reminded today by your leaders, is one of the reasons there are so many high-tech firms in Northern Virginia. Second, we've got to give you an overall healthy economy, which is why we had to get rid of the deficits and start running surpluses, and why we ought to pay this country out of debt, keep interest rates down and make capital available for other companies to grow as well.

The third thing we ought to do is to promote genuine competition.

That was behind the gentle nudge that Bernie gave me about the Baby Bell comment. (Laughter.) He was -- actually, it was a little inside joke, but he was referring, in a supportive way, to the fact that the Vice President and I fought hard in the Telecommunications Act, when we rewrote the telecommunications bill for a pro-competitive position. And because we fought hard, we got it, and you not only have companies like yours that have swollen in size in the last five years, there are hundreds and hundreds of companies that didn't even exist five years ago that are able to make it today because the United States took a pro-competitive position in the Telecommunications Act. Those are our jobs. That's what we're supposed to do. (Applause.)

But finally, we are a country with 22 percent of the world's income and 4 percent of the world's population. And you don't have to be Einstein or even particularly good with a computer to know that if you've got 22 percent of the world's income and four percent of the world's population and you would like to keep doing better, you have to sell something to somebody somewhere else. (Laughter.)

And that in a world that is increasingly globalized, you're better off when they're better off. Not good for you that African countries which are capable of growing at 7, 8, 10 percent a year are so burdened by debt that they can't educate their children or provide health care to their people. It's not good for you if -- because we refuse to open our markets to some countries in the Caribbean or Latin America, they don't open their markets to ours and they grow more slowly and their people remain poorer. You'd be better off if they get richer and more of them will be on the Internet.

We live in a time when really to doing the morally right thing happens to be good economics. But in order to do it, again I would say, you will do a lot of it -- I've seen enterprising kids in poor African villages logging onto the Internet and finally seeing a map that's up to date and learning geography and doing all kinds of things. People will take care of this if we establish the right conditions and provide the tools.

One of the things that we have worked hard on is to expand trade. Under Ambassador Barshesky and her predecessor, we completed over 270 trade agreements. But in many ways, perhaps the most important of all is the agreement that -- or the decision Congress will have to make this year and in the next few months on whether to let China come into the World Trade Organization by giving them permanent, normal trading relation status with the United States.

If you've been following this debate at all, you know there is a lot of controversy about this in the Congress. And I won't go through all the arguments now, but let me just tell you, I can say this from my heart, you know, I'm not running for anything this year. (Laughter.) And most days it's okay with me, but I'm not -- most days. (Applause.)

But I care a lot about what this country will be like when the young people here in this audience are my age, when your children are your age. This is a profoundly important issue. It is, in the short term, the kind of decision that every country would wish for. Once in a generation you get a chance to open a market with over a billion consumers -- the biggest potential market in the world.

Let me explain, first of all, what this agreement does. In return for China's entry as a full partner in the World Trade Organization, the United States would gain unprecedented access to China's markets. Today, with the Chinese, we have our second-biggest trade deficit -- tens of billions of dollars, because our markets are open to their products, and they should be, because we'll be better off if they do

better.

But their markets are not very open to our products and services. Under this agreement, Chinese tariffs in every sector, from telecommunications to automobiles to agriculture, will fall by half or more in five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers here at home without transferring technology in manufacturing -- never happened before. For the first time, China will agree to play by the same open trading rules we do. Never happened before.

Meanwhile, we'll get two tough, new safeguards against surges of imports which would threaten to throw a lot of Americans out of work in a short time under unfair trade practices. So these are the kinds of changes any president, regardless of party, would welcome -- because presidents, regardless of party, have worked to bring about these changes for more than 30 years now.

This is a good deal for American workers, for American farmers, for American business. It's a good deal for America. But the only way we can get this agreement is for Congress to give China permanent, normal trading relations. This is one of the most important votes Congress will pass in this year and for many years to come. Next month, our Commerce Secretary, Bill Daley, and our Agriculture Secretary, Dan Glickman, are going on missions to China with dozens of members of Congress to meet with people in government and business and religious leaders who are interested in change in China.

It's very interesting to me that the more people go to China and spend time there, no matter what they do for a living or what their perspective is, the more likely they are to favor our bringing China into the world system of rule-based trade. Because this is about economics and more than economics -- and I want to say more about that in a minute.

But just think about the economics of high-tech companies. Today, China's tariffs on information technology products average 13 percent. When China joins the WTO, those tariffs will start to fall and be eliminated by 2005. China will open its Internet and its telecom markets to American investment and services for the first time. That's a huge deal.

Now, the magnitude of all this almost defies measurement. The number of Chinese Internet users -- let's just take that -- quadrupled in the last year alone, from 2 million to 9 million. This year the number will exceed 20 million. And you know what the internal dynamics of this technology are, you know how much your company has grown. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has over 1.2 billion people. And keep in mind, the United States is not being asked to do anything to get this agreement, except to treat them like a normal trading partner on a permanent basis and bring them into the WTO.

So what are we going to do? China doesn't have the information infrastructure to support 500 million Internet users yet. But UUNet already has a presence in Hong Kong. You could help them to build it. (Applause.)

Let's look at what happens if we didn't do it. Today we've got a huge advantage in high-tech trade internationally. What would happen if we didn't take advantage of this? China will grow anyway and someone else -- not you -- will reap the benefits of it. So if we turn our backs on this opportunity, we will be unilaterally disarming in perhaps the most vital area of our future economic growth.

And let me say, finally, this is about more than money. I saw a lot of you nodding when I said it was good morally and good economics to help lift the burden of debt from the poorest African countries if they're working to try to do better. I saw a lot of you nodding when I said it was the right thing to do to buy more from the Caribbean and Latin America countries if they were doing the right thing in opening their markets to us.

We have a decision to make here. The people who don't to do this by and large think that China should not be taken into the World Trade Organization because we don't agree with all their political decisions. We don't like it when they repress human rights or political rights or religious expression. We don't agree with them that we should take little or no account of environmental impacts of economic decisions; or that we shouldn't take strong steps to eliminate child labor and slave labor and things like that. We have differences.

But think of this. You know how much the Internet has changed America. And we were already an open society. I can look out in this crowd and tell that many of you come from some place else. You know how much the Internet is changing where you came from and how much it could change if it were there. The same thing is true in China.

Everything I have learned about human nature in my life, plus everything I have learned about China as President, convinces me that we're a lot better off bringing them into the family of nations into this common endeavor than shutting them out. Do we know what China will be like in 20 years? Of course we don't. We can't control what they do; all we can control is what we do. But here again, I think our values will be advanced, along with our economic interests, if we give people a chance to be good partners. If you don't give them a chance, it's almost certain that they will react in a negative way.

So I ask all of you to think about this, because normally, Americans don't think about foreign policy much, but you know that with every passing day in a globalized economy, there is no longer a clear, bright line between an issue which is a domestic political issue and an issue which is a foreign policy issue.

With every passing day, these issues grow closer together. Do I like it when people's religious liberty is oppressed in China? No, I don't. But it's very interesting -- most of the evangelicals I know who have missions in China want China in the WTO because they know that that will make it more likely that there will be more freedom of expression, more contact with the outside world, and a bigger stake in working with other countries.

This is about money, yes; but it's about more than money. It's about whether we can create a world where there's the kind of harmony across race and ethnicity and religion that there must be in this work place that I can see just by looking around the room here. Wouldn't you like it if the world worked the way you do here? (Applause.) How could it be bad if companies like UUNet are able to make the tools of communications cheaper and better and more widely available to more Chinese people? It has to be good.

So I will say to you: I don't agree with everything the Chinese do. I'm sure they don't agree with everything I do. (Laughter.) And far be it for me to equate the two disagreements. (Laughter and applause.) I don't believe -- in all seriousness, I don't believe it's right to crack down on people for their religious views or their political expression or because they want to be in an association like the Falun Gong. I don't think that's right. But I don't believe that we will have more influence on China by giving them the back of our hand

instead of giving them a chance to build a different future.

That's what this is about. And I want every one of you to think about this. Look, economically, this is a no-brainer. It's in your interest. It will make this company a lot more jobs. But I don't ask you as citizens to check your values at the door. Every one of us believes in some things that money can't buy.

But I'm telling you -- you just think about what you have learned in your life about human nature. The leaders of China are not foolish people, they're intelligent people. They know if they open these markets, they know if you go in there and everybody gets connected to the Internet that change is coming more rapidly in ways that you cannot control, and people will be able to define their future independent of the government's ability to control it more than ever before -- whether you're talking about religion or politics or personal life choices or anything else. They know that. And they have made this decision, and we cannot let our disagreements with government policy get in the way of our interest in a long-term partnership with the most populous country on Earth. So, again, I say, what is good economics is also consistent with our values.

The late Chief Justice Earl Warren once said that, "Liberty is the most contagious force in the world." I believe the Internet inevitably is an instrument of human liberty, and it will be in China as well if we continue to reach out to people. (Applause.)

So I'm asking you to do something if you agree with this. I want you to tell the members of Congress without regard to party that represent your state -- if you live here, if you live in Maryland, you live in West Virginia -- I want you to ask them to support this. And I want you to tell them, I want you to tell them that you will stay with them on this decision if they do, because this is very, very important.

You know, I'm grateful that since I've been President, America has done well. I'm grateful for the chance I've had to make a contribution to it. But, frankly, I'm much more interested in whether America continues to do well long after my tenure in office. And, again, I say to you, if you know in your business that if you want to keep doing well, you always have to keep trying to do better; and looking at the future, anticipating the changes, imagining how you want it to be.

I can't imagine a world that I want for my child and my grandchildren that doesn't include partnerships that are constructive with the big countries of the world which promote human liberty, as well as economic progress. That's what this whole thing is about.

So I say to you, I came here today because you are the symbol of 21st century America. You are the embodiment of what I want for the future. (Applause.) And because of what you do for a living every day, because of how you see and feel the way the world is changing and how you see what it can become, you are in a position that most of your fellow Americans are not in to understand the importance of this. So, again, I say to you: you're doing great. I want you to do better. And I think we can do better and do good, but we have to start this year by making sure that we don't turn away from this profoundly important opportunity.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

3:43 P.M. EST

All of us who get involved in public service do so because we care about the world we live in, and we care about the world we are going to leave to our children. I think there are honest people on both sides of this issue who look out at the world today, who see a country like China and say: it's not right to deny people basic human rights. It's not right to deny basic political freedoms. It's not right to arrest people for their religious beliefs, or to sacrifice the environment in the name of economic progress. Those are not the values that we believe in, and that is not the kind of world we want to leave to our children in the 21st Century.

I couldn't agree more. To me, the question is not whether we approve or disapprove of China's practices. The question is, what is the smartest thing we can do to change them?

Those who argue against this agreement say that until China shows genuine signs of progress, we should not grant them permanent normal trade relations status or support their entry into the WTO. They argue that the best way to bring change in China is from the outside-in, by using the leverage of our market to force China to open its economy and respect the rights of its people. But I disagree. If we turn our backs on China now, I believe we'll undercut the very people within China who are working to bring positive change, and

All of us who get involved in public service do so because we care about the world we live in, and we care about the world we are going to leave to our children. I think there are honest people on both sides of this issue who look out at the world today, who see a country like China and say: it's not right to deny people human rights and basic political freedoms. It's not right to arrest people for their religious beliefs. It's not right to sacrifice the environment on the altar of economic progress. Those are not the values that we believe in, and that is not the kind of world we want to leave to our children in the 21st Century.

To me, the question is not whether we approve or disapprove of China's practices. The question is, what is the smartest thing that we can do to change them?

Those who argue against this agreement say that until China changes its ways, that we shouldn't engage them.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

1882-1945

American. US President

An unconquerable China will play its proper role in maintaining peace not only in Eastern Asia but in the whole world.

- Speech, April 28, 1942

Background of Author/Speaker:

Born: January 30, 1882 in Hyde Park, NY. Died: April 12, 1945 in Warm Springs, GA.

Career Highlights: Dem., 32nd pres.; served longest term, 1933-45; created New Deal to combat Depression; increased influence of federal govt. through expanded bureaucracy; died in office.

Also known as: FDR.

Barbara Wertheim Tuchman

1912-1989

American. Author, Historian

The farmer is the eternal China.

- Ch. 3, Notes from China 1972

Background of Author/Speaker:

Born: January 30, 1912 in New York, NY. Died: February 6, 1989 in Greenwich, CT.

Career Highlights: Wrote about people at war or at brink of war; won Pulitzers for *The Guns of August*, 1962, *Stillwell and the American Experience in China*, 1911-45, 1971.

THE COLUMBIA WORLD OF QUOTATIONS

Search Results for: china and the chinese

Nothing and no one can destroy the Chinese people. They are relentless survivors. They are the oldest civilized people on earth. Their civilization passes through phases but its basic characteristics remain the same. They yield, they bend to the wind, but they never break.

Pearl S. Buck (1892–1973), U.S. author. *China, Past and Present*, ch. 1 (1972).

THE COLUMBIA WORLD OF QUOTATIONS

Search Results for: china and the chinese

The awakening of the people of China to the possibilities under free government is the most significant, if not the most momentous, event of our generation.

Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), U.S. president. *Statement from the White House (March 18, 1913).*

Wilson always tended to be sympathetic toward the great popular revolutions of his time.

His mind is ta'en up wi' things o' the State.
'The Laird o' Cockpen', stanza 1.

- 20 I'm wearin' awa', John
Like snaw-wreaths in thaw, John,
I'm wearin' awa'
To the land o' the leal.
'The Land o' the Leal', stanza 1.

- 21 Bonnie Charlie's now awa',
Safely owre the friendly main;
Mony a heart will break in twa,
Should he ne'er come back again.

Will ye no come back again?
Will ye no come back again?
Better lo'ed ye canna be,
Will ye no come back again?
'Will Ye No Come Back Again?', stanza 1 and chorus.

Namath, Joe Willie (Joseph William)

1943-

US football player. Known as 'Broadway Joe', he was an outstanding quarterback with 'Alabama' University and from 1965 the New York Jets. In 1969 he led the Jets to unexpected victory in the Superbowl.

- 22 When you win, nothing hurts.
Quoted in Colin Jarman *The Guinness Dictionary of Sports Quotations* (1990).

Napier, Sir Charles James 1782-1853

Scottish soldier, born in London. He served in Ireland, Portugal, against the United States and in 1841 was sent to India where he broke the power of the amirs at the Battle of Meeanee and became Governor of Sind.

- 23 *Peccavi*.
I have sinned [Sind].
1843 Attributed encoded message, 24 Mar, sent after the Battle of Hyderabad and the capture of Sind.

Napoleon I 1769-1821

French general and Emperor. Born in Corsica, he rose to prominence during the French Revolution, and was appointed to command the army of Italy in 1796. Campaigns in Egypt and Austria followed, and his successes allowed him to lead a coup against the government and become dictator. Although he was exiled to Elba by the Allies in 1814, he returned in 1815, when he was finally defeated at Waterloo and exiled to St Helena.

- 24 *Soldats, songez que, du haut de ces pyramides, quarante siècles vous contemplent.*
Soldiers, think that, from the summit of these pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you.
1798 Speech to the Army of Egypt, before the Battle of the Pyramids, 21 Jul. Quoted in Gaspard Gourgaud *Mémoires* (1823), vol. 2, 'Egypte, Bataille des Pyramides'.

- 25 China? There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep!
For when he wakes he will move the world.
c.1800 Attributed.

- 26 Wisdom and policy dictate that we must do as destiny demands and keep peace with the irresistible march of events.
1808 Said to Alexander I of Russia, 2 Feb.

- 27 In war, three-quarters turns on moral considerations; the balance of actual forces counts only for the remaining quarter.
1808 Comment, 27 Apr. Quoted in *Observations sur les affaires de l'Espagne, Saint Cloud*, in *Correspondance de Napoleon Ier* (1858-69), vol. 17.

- 28 France has more need of me than I have of France.
1813 Speech to Corps Législatif, Paris, 31 Dec.

- 29 How beautifully the English fight! But they must give way.
1815 Attributed, at the Battle of Waterloo, 18 Jun.

- 30 The English conquered us; but they are far from being our equals.
1815 Letter to Gaspar Gourgaud from St Helena, after the Battle of Waterloo.

- 31 An army marches on its stomach.
1816 Attributed. Probably condensed from a long passage dated 14 Nov in E A de Las Cases *Mémoires de St. Helena* (1823), vol. 4.

- 32 In war, as in love, we must come into contact before we can triumph.
1842 Quoted in A G De Liancourt (ed) *Maximes de Napoleon*.

- 33 William behaved like a bashful girl, who is afraid of her lover's bad reputation and therefore avoids being alone with him.
1860 Of William I of Prussia, who invited other German Princes to attend a meeting with Napoleon at Baden-Baden in June originally intended to be a private discussion on the possibility of a joint alliance with Russia. Quoted in A J P Taylor *Struggle for Mastery in Europe 1848-1918* (1954), p. 121.

- 34 England is a nation of shopkeepers.
Attributed while in exile on St Helena.

- 35 Power is my mistress. I have worked too hard in conquering her to allow anyone to take her from me, or even to covet her.
The Journal of Roederer.

- 36 Prussia was hatched from a cannon-ball.
Attributed.

Napoleon III until 1852 Louis-Napoleon in full Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte 1808-73

President of the Second French Republic (1848-52) and Emperor of the French (1852-70). He encouraged economic expansion and modernization, and presided over the Crimean conflict (1854-6), and the ill-starred

intervention in Mexico (1861-7). A 1870, the remainder of his life was spent

- 37 For too long, society has reser has been turned upside down its summit. I have replaced it
1852 Speech to the Legislative Assem

- 38 We must not seek to fashion e happen of their own accord.
1865 In conversation with Bismarck

- 39 When a man of my name is ir great things.
Quoted in A J P Taylor *From International* (1993).

Narogin, Mudrooroo form

1938-

Australian writer and poet; he literature courses at several Aust works include *Dr. Wooreddys Presc Ending of the World* (1983), the so *Black Bittern* (1988) describing a for his true identity, and *Writing fr*

- 40 The Aboriginal writer is a Jan one face turned to the past an future while existing in a post multicultural Australia in wh fight for cultural space.
1990 *Writing from the Fringe*, ch. 1.

Nash, (Frederic) Ogden

US light versifier. His popular frequently in *The New Yorker* an sophisticated tone. His collection (1931) and *Boy is a Boy* (1960).

- 41 The cow is of the bovine ilk;
One end is moo, the other, m
1931 *Free Wheeling*, 'The Cow'.

- 42 The song of canaries
Never varies,
And when they're moulting
They're pretty revolting.
1931 *Free Wheeling*, 'The Canary'.

- 43 A bit of talcum
Is always walcum.
1931 *Free Wheeling*, 'The Baby'.

- 44 One would be in less danger
From the wiles of a stranger
If one's own kin and kith
Were more fun to be with.
1931 *Hard Lines*, 'Family Court'.

- 45 A girl whose cheeks are cover
Has an advantage with me ov

All of us who get involved in public service do so because we care about the world we live in, and we care about the world we are going to leave to our children. I think there are honest people on both sides of this issue 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 deny basic political freedoms. It's wrong to arrest people for their religious beliefs, or to sacrifice the environment in the name of economic progress. Those are not the values we believe in, and that is not the kind of world we want to leave to our children in the 21st Century.

I couldn't agree more. To me, the question is not whether we approve or disapprove of China's practices. The question is, what is the smartest thing we can do to improve them?

Those who argue against this agreement say that until China shows genuine signs of progress, we should not grant them permanent normal trade relations status or support their entry into the WTO. They argue that the only way to bring change in China is from the outside, by using the leverage of our market to force China into respecting the fundamental rights of its people.

But if we have learned one lesson from our own history, it is that fundamental, lasting change cannot come from the outside-in, but from the inside-out – not from the top-down, but from the bottom-up. There are forces rising within China today who are struggling to move that country in the right direction. I believe this agreement is the best opportunity we have to encourage those forces who are working to bring positive change to China. If we turn our backs on them now, I believe we will increae

But everything I have learned China as President, and everything I have learned about human nature has taught me that the only way to bring genuine, fundamental, lasting change is to work

HARRY S. TRUMAN, television interview on "Person to Person," with Margaret Truman as interviewer, May 27, 1955, as reported by *The New York Times*, May 28, 1955, p. 33.

198 Children begin by loving their parents. After a time they judge them. Rarely, if ever, do they forgive them.

OSCAR WILDE, *A Woman of No Importance*, act II, in *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, vol. 7, p. 249 (1923). Lord Illingworth is speaking.

199 Give me a child for the first seven years, and you may do what you like with him afterwards.

Author unknown.—Vincent Stuckey Lean, *Lean's Collectanea*, vol. 3, p. 472 (1903). This source states the quotation is a Jesuit maxim. Unverified.
See also No. 194.

200 Monday's child is fair in face,
Tuesday's child is full of grace,
Wednesday's child is full of woe,
Thursday's child has far to go,
Friday's child is loving and giving,
Saturday's child works hard for its living;
And a child that's born on a Christmas day,
Is fair and wise, good and gay.

Author unknown.—Anna E. K. S. Bray, *Traditions, Legends, Superstitions, and Sketches of Devonshire . . .*, vol. 2, pp. 287-88 (1838).

Later publications of this poetical adage have made minor word changes, including line 7 to read "But a child that's born on the Sabbath day." This is the wording used in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, 15th ed., p. 932 (1980).

201 The Chinese said of themselves several thousand years ago: "China is a sea that salts all the waters that flow into it." There's another Chinese saying about their country which is much more modern—it dates only from the fourth century. This is the saying: "The tail of China is large and will not be wagged." I like that one. The British democracy approves the principles of movable party heads and unwaggable national tails. It is due to the working of these important forces that I have the honour to be addressing you at this moment.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, address to a joint session of Congress, Washington, D.C., January 17, 1952.—*Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 8, p. 8326 (1974).

202 If I were an Englishman, I should esteem the man who advised a war with China to be the greatest living enemy of my country. You would be beaten in the end, and perhaps a revolution in India would follow.

NAPOLÉON.—Unverified except for its publication in *The Mind of Napoleon*, ed. and trans. J. Christopher Herold, p. 249 (1955). In this source the words above were from a conversation, reported in English, in 1817.

China

ocean both to Britain and France. You have a sacred mission to discharge. That you will be worthy of it, I do not doubt. God bless you all.

BECOMING A MEMBER OF THE
SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI

January 16, 1952

Washington, D.C.

I regard this as a most memorable day in my crowded life, and you have conferred on me an honour which I deeply value. I treasure the eagle and diploma and will hand them to my descendants. As history unfolds itself, by strange and unpredictable paths, we have little control over the future and no control over the past. It therefore seems to me that when the events took place which this society commemorates I was on both sides in the war between us and we.

I remind you that many of the most famous English statesmen have taken the side of the colonists. I have been refreshing my memory during the morning by reading the elder Pitt, and I quote: "If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, and foreign troops were landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms—never, never, never." These are the kind of words which roll along the centuries and play their part in wiping out the bitterness of former quarrels and in effacing the tragedies that have occurred, so that we remember battles only to celebrate the military virtues of those who took part on both sides.

I am proud of my American ancestry. I think it wonderful that I should have the honour to rejoice in that fact, while at the same time I have never failed in my constitutional duty to my own country. I hope that this honour will be of help to those forces—they are in my opinion irresistible—which are drawing the two countries together in order that we may defend freedom.

ADDRESS TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

January 17, 1952

Washington, D.C.

This is the third time it has been my fortune to address the Congress of the United States upon our joint affairs. I am honoured indeed by these experiences which I believe are unique for one who is not an American citizen. It is also of great value to me, on again becoming the head of His Majesty's Government, to come over here and take counsel with many trusted friends and comrades of former anxious days. There is a lot for us to talk about together so that we can understand each other's difficulties,

feelings and thoughts, and do our best for the common cause. Let us, therefore, survey the scene this afternoon with cool eyes undimmed by hate or passion, guided by righteous inspiration and not uncheered by hope.

I have not come here to ask you for money to make life more comfortable or easier for us in Britain. Our standards of life are our own business and we can only keep our self-respect and independence by looking after them ourselves. During the war we bore our share of the burden and fought from first to last, unconquered—and for a while alone—to the utmost limits of our resources. Your majestic obliteration of all you gave us under Lend-Lease will never be forgotten by this generation in Britain, or by history.

After the war—unwisely as I contended, and certainly contrary to American advice—we accepted as normal debts nearly £4,000 million sterling of claims by countries we had protected from invasion, or had otherwise aided, instead of making counter-claims which would at least have reduced the bill to reasonable proportions. The £1,000 million loan we borrowed from you in 1946, and which we are now repaying, was spent, not on ourselves, but mainly in helping others. In all, since the war, as the late Government affirmed, we have lent or given to European or Asian countries £1,300 million in the form of unrequited exports. This, added to the cost of turning over our industry from war to peace, and rebuilding homes shattered by bombardment was more than we could manage without an undue strain upon our life-energies for which we shall require both time and self-discipline to recover.

Why do I say all this? Not to compare our financial resources with yours—we have but a third your numbers, and much less than a third your wealth. Not to claim praise or rewards, but to convince you of our native and enduring strength, and that our true position is not to be judged by the present state of the dollar exchange or by sterling area finance. Our production is half as great again as it was before the war, our exports are up by two-thirds. Recovery, while being retarded, has been continuous, and we are determined that it shall go on.

As I said at Fulton in Missouri six years ago, under the auspices of President Truman, 'let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Do not suppose we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we came through the glorious years of agony, or that a half century from now you will not see seventy or eighty millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defence of our traditions, our way of life and of the world causes which you and we espouse. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such co-operation implies, in the air, on the sea and all over the globe, and in science, industry and moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure.' I am very glad to be able to say the same to you here today.

It is upon this basis of recovery, in spite of burdens, that the formidable problem of the new rearmament has fallen upon us. It is the policy of the United States to help forward in many countries the process of rearmament. In this, we, who contribute ourselves two-thirds as much as the rest of Europe put together, require your aid if we are to realize in good time the very high level of military strength which the Labour Government boldly aimed at, and to which they committed us. It is for you to judge

A Time of Triumph: 1952

to what extent United States' interests are involved; whether you aid us much or little we shall continue to do our utmost in the common cause. But, Members of the Congress, our contribution will perforce be limited by our own physical resources, and thus the combined strength of our two countries, and also of the free world, will be somewhat less than it might be. That is why I have come here to ask, not for gold, but for steel; not for favours but equipment, and that is why many of our requests have been so well and generously met.

At this point I will venture, if I may, to make a digression. After a lot of experience I have learned it is not a good thing to dabble in the internal politics of another country. It's hard enough to understand one's own. But I will tell you something about our British politics all the same. In our island we indulge from time to time in having Elections. I believe you sometimes have them over here. We have had a couple in twenty months, which is quite a lot, and quite enough for the time being. We now look forward to a steady period of administration in accordance with the mandates we have received. Like you we tend to work on the two-party system. The differences between parties on our side of the Atlantic, and perhaps elsewhere between British parties, are often less than they appear to outsiders. In modern Britain the dispute is between a form of Socialism which has hitherto respected political liberty, on the one hand, and on the other hand, free enterprise regulated by law and custom. These two systems of thought between political opponents, fortunately overlap quite a lot in practice. Our complicated society would be deeply injured if we did not practise and develop what is called in the United States the bi-partisan habit of mind, which divides, so far as possible, what is done to make a party win and bear in their turn the responsibility of office, and what is done to make the nation live and serve high causes.

I hope here, Members of Congress, you will allow me to pay a tribute to the late Senator Vandenberg. I had the honour to meet him on several occasions. His final message in these anxious years gave a feeling that in this period of United States leadership and responsibility, all the great Americans should work together for all the things that matter most. That at least is the spirit which we shall try to maintain among British leaders in our own country. And that was the spirit which alone enabled us to survive the perils of the late war.

But now let me return to my theme of the many changes that have taken place since I was last here. There is a jocular saying: 'To improve is to change; to be perfect is to have changed often.' I had to use that once or twice in my long career. But if that were true everyone ought to be getting on very well. The changes that have happened since I last spoke to Congress are indeed astounding. It is hard to believe we are living in the same world. Former allies have become foes. Former foes have become allies. Conquered countries have been liberated. Liberated nations have been enslaved by Communism. Russia, eight years ago our brave ally, has cast away the admiration and goodwill her soldiers had gained for her by their valiant defence of their own country. It is not the fault of the Western Powers if an immense gulf has opened between us. It took a long succession of deliberate and unceasing works and acts of hostility to convince our peoples—as they are now convinced—that they have another tremendous danger to face and that they are now confronted with a new form of tyranny and aggression as dangerous and as hateful as that which we overthrew.

When I visited Washington during the war I used to be told that China would be one of the Big Four Powers among the nations, and most friendly to the United States. I was always a bit sceptical, and I think it is now generally admitted that this hopeful vision has not yet come true. But I am by no means sure that China will remain for generations in the Communist grip. The Chinese said of themselves several thousand years ago: 'China is a sea that salts all the waters that flow into it.' There's another Chinese saying about their country which is much more modern—it dates only from the fourth century. This is the saying: 'The tail of China is large and will not be wagged.' I like that one. The British democracy approves the principles of movable party heads and unwaggable national tails. It is due to the working of these important forces that I have the honour to be addressing you at this moment.

You have wisely been resolute, Members of the Congress, in confronting Chinese Communist aggression. We take our stand at your side. We are grateful to the United States for bearing nine-tenths, or more, of the burden in Korea which the United Nations have morally assumed. I am very glad that whatever diplomatic divergencies there may be from time to time about procedure you do not allow the Chinese anti-Communists on Formosa to be invaded and massacred from the mainland. We welcome your patience in the armistice negotiations and our two countries are agreed that if the truce we seek is reached, only to be broken, our response will be prompt, resolute and effective. What I have learnt over here convinces me that British and United States policy in the Far East will be marked by increasing harmony.

I can assure you that our British hearts go out in sympathy to the families of the hundred thousand Americans who have given their lives or shed their blood in Korea. We also suffer these pangs for the loss of our own men there, and not only there but in other parts of Asia also under the attack by the same enemy. Whatever course events in Korea may take in the near future, and to prophesy would be difficult—much too difficult for me to embark upon it—I am sure our soldiers, and your soldiers, have not made their sacrifice in vain. The cause of world law has found strong and invaluable defence, and the foundations of the world instrument for preserving peace, justice and freedom among the nations have been deepened and strengthened. They stand now, not on paper but on rock.

Moreover, the action which President Truman took in your name, and with your full support in his stroke against aggression in Korea, has produced consequences far beyond Korea; consequences which may well affect the destiny of mankind. The vast process of American rearmament in which the British Commonwealth and Empire and the growing power of United Europe will play their part to the utmost of their strength, this vast process has already altered the balance of the world and may well, if we all persevere steadfastly and loyally together, avert the danger of a Third World War, or the horror of defeat and subjugation should one come upon us. Mr. President and Mr. Speaker, I hope the mourning families throughout the great Republic will find some comfort and some pride in these thoughts.

Another extraordinary change has taken place in the Far East since I last addressed you. Peace has been made with Japan; there indeed I congratulate you upon the policy which in wise and skilful hands has brought the Japanese nation from the woe and shame of defeat in their wicked war back to that association with the Western

democracies upon which the revival of their traditions, dignity and happiness can alone be regained and the stability of the Far East assured. In the anxious and confused expanses of South-East Asia there is another sphere where our aims and interests, and those of the French, who are fighting bravely at heavy cost to their strength in Europe, may find a fertile field for agreement on policy. I feel sure that the conversations we have had between our two Foreign Secretaries—between Mr. Eden and Mr. Acheson—men whose names and experience are outstanding throughout the world, will help to place the problems of South-East Asia in their right setting. It would not be helpful to the common cause, for our evils all spring from one centre, if an effective truce in Korea led only to a transference of Communist aggression to these other fields. Our problems will not be solved unless they are steadily viewed and acted upon as a whole in their integrity as a whole.

In the Middle East enormous changes have also taken place since I was last in power in my own country. When the war ended the Western nations were respected and predominant throughout these ancient lands, and there were quite a lot of people who had a good word to say about Great Britain. Today it is a sombre and confusing scene; yet there is still some sunshine as well as shadow. From the days of the Balfour Declaration I have desired that the Jews should have a national home, and I have worked for that end. I rejoice to pay my tribute here to the achievements of those who have founded the Israelite State, who have defended themselves with tenacity, and who offer asylum to great numbers of Jewish refugees. I hope that with their aid they may convert deserts into gardens; but if they are to enjoy peace and prosperity they must strive to renew and preserve their friendly relations with the Arab world without which widespread misery might follow for all.

Britain's power to influence the fortunes of the Middle East and guard it from aggression is far less today, now that we have laid aside our Imperial responsibility for India and its armies. It is no longer for us alone to bear the whole burden of maintaining the freedom of the famous waterway of the Suez Canal. That has become an international rather than a national responsibility. I welcome the statesmanlike conception of the Four-Power approach to Egypt, announced by the late British Government, in which Britain, the United States, France and Turkey may share with Egypt in the protection of the world interests involved, among which Egypt's own interests are paramount.

Such a policy is urgent. Britain is maintaining over fifty thousand troops in the Suez Canal Zone, who again might be well employed elsewhere, not for national vainglory or self-seeking advantage, but in the common interest of all nations. We do not seek to be masters of Egypt; we are there only as the servants and guardians of the commerce of the world. It would enormously aid us in our task if even token forces of the other partners in the Four-Power proposal were stationed in the Canal Zone as a symbol of the unity of purpose which inspires us. And I believe it is no exaggeration to state that such token forces would probably bring into harmony all that movement by which the Four-Power policy may be made to play a decisive part by peaceful measures, and bring to an end the wide disorders of the Middle East in which, let me assure you, there lurk dangers not less great than those which the United States has stemmed in Korea.

Now I come to Europe where the greatest of all our problems and dangers lie. I have long worked for the cause of a United Europe, and even of a United States of Europe, which would enable that Continent, the source of so much of our culture, ancient and modern, and the parent of the New World, to resume and revive its former splendours. It is my sure hope and conviction that European unity will be achieved, and that it will not ultimately be limited only to the countries at present composing Western Europe. I said at Zurich in 1946 that France should take Germany by the hand and lead her back into the family of nations, and thus end a thousand-year quarrel which has torn Europe to pieces and finally plunged the whole world twice over into slaughter and havoc.

Real and rapid progress is being made towards European unity, and it is both the duty and the policy of both Great Britain and her Commonwealth, and of the United States, to do our utmost, all of us, to help and speed it. As a forerunner of United Europe there is the European Army, which could never achieve its necessary strength without the inclusion of Germany. If this necessary and urgent object is being achieved by the fusion of the forces of the Continental nations outside what I have called in former times, the Iron Curtain, that great operation deserves our fullest support. But, Members of Congress, fusion is not the only way in which the defence of Western Europe can be built. The system of a grand alliance such as has been created by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is no bar to the fusion of as many of its members as wish for this closer unity. And the United States, British and Canadian troops will stand, indeed are already standing, shoulder to shoulder with their European comrades in defence of the civilization and freedom of the West. We stand together under General Eisenhower to defend the common cause from violent aggression.

What matters most is not the form of fusion, or melding—a word I learned over here—but the numbers of divisions, and of armoured divisions and the power of the air forces, and their weapons available for unified action under the Supreme Commander. We, in Britain, have denuded our island of military formations to an extent I have never seen before, and I cannot accept the slightest reproach from any quarter that we are not doing our full duty, because the British Commonwealth of Nations, spread all over the world, is not prepared to become a State or a group of States in any Continental federal system on either side of the Atlantic. The sooner strong enough forces can be assembled in Europe under united command the more effective will be the deterrents against a Third World War. The sooner, also, will our sense of security, and the fact of our security, be seen to reside in valiant, resolute and well-armed manhood, rather than in the awful secrets which science has wrested from nature. These are at present, it must be recognized—these secrets—the supreme deterrent against a Third World War, and the most effective guarantee of victory in it.

If I may say this, Members of Congress, be careful above all things, therefore, not to let go of the atomic weapon until you are sure, and more than sure, that other means of preserving peace are in your hands. It is my belief that by accumulating deterrents of all kinds against aggression we shall, in fact, ward off the fearful catastrophe, the fears of which darken the life and mar the progress of all the peoples of the globe. We must persevere steadfastly and faithfully in the task to which, under United States leadership, we have solemnly bound ourselves. Any weakening of our

purpose, any disruption of our organization would bring about the very evils which we all dread, and from which we should all suffer, and from which many of us would perish.

We must not lose patience, and we must not lose hope. It may be that presently a new mood will reign behind the Iron Curtain. If so it will be easy for them to show it, but the democracies must be on their guard against being deceived by a false dawn. We seek or covet no one's territory; we plan no forestalling war; we trust and pray that all will come right. Even during these years of what is called the 'cold war,' material production in every land is continually improving through the use of new machinery and better organization and the advance of peaceful science. But the great bound forward in progress and prosperity for which mankind is longing cannot come till the shadow of war has passed away. There are, however, historic compensations for the stresses which we suffer in the 'cold war.' Under the pressure and menace of Communist aggression the fraternal association of the United States with Britain and the British Commonwealth, and the new unity growing up in Europe—nowhere more hopeful than between France and Germany—all these harmonies are being brought forward, perhaps by several generations in the destiny of the world. If this proves true—and it has certainly proved true up to date—the architects in the Kremlin may be found to have built a different and a far better world structure than what they planned.

Members of the Congress, I have dwelt today repeatedly upon many of the changes that have happened throughout the world since you last invited me to address you here and I am sure you will agree that it is hardly possible to recognize the scene or believe it can truly have come to pass. But there is one thing which is exactly the same as when I was here last. Britain and the United States are working together and working for the same high cause. Bismarck once said that the supreme fact of the nineteenth century was that Britain and the United States spoke the same language. Let us make sure that the supreme fact of the twentieth century is that they tread the same path.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CONVERSATIONS

January 30, 1952

House of Commons

I should myself have thought that it would have been more for the convenience of the House not to delay the important debate on the financial and economic situation which must follow on yesterday's statement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer [Mr. R. A. Butler] and I should myself have liked to present my whole case, the whole case, to the House in its proper setting during the course, or at the opening, of the debate we are to have on foreign affairs next week. However, in deference to the wishes expressed by the Opposition, to which it is always my desire

W.H. INFORMATION CENTER

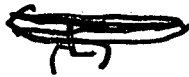
Years ago, when he heard that a Jewish mayor had been elected in Dublin, Ireland, Yogi Berra responded by saying: "only in America." Well even in America, it's not every day that Henry Kissinger, Anne Richards, and Jesse Ventura come together in the same room to say that something is a good thing.

It really is something of note that every living President, Secretary of State, Secretaries of Defense, national security advisors, Secretaries of Agriculture, Secretaries of Commerce, leaders of the Federal Reserve, 47 governors, 14 Nobel Laureates, distinguished contributors to the human spirit like Ron Dellums and other great Americans all support this agreement. Even though he couldn't be with us, I want to thank President Bush for expressing his strong support for China PNTR earlier today.

I think the reason so many people have been willing to put politics aside and come together for a once-in-a-lifetime partnership is because this is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for our nation.

Since 1972, our nation has worked to open a door to China.

↓
- Treasury



- Religious Leaders

- Ned Graham
- 13 Nobel
- 10 Amer. CEA
- ~~HA~~
- 47 governors

Ventura, Anne Richards,

Gore Dellums?

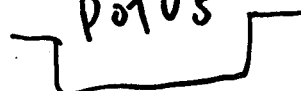
Kissinger

Baker

Ford

Carter

POTUS



under

All of us who get involved in public service do so because we care about the world we live in, and we care about the world we are going to leave to our children. I think there are honest people on both sides of this issue who look out at the world today, who see a country like China and say: it's not right to deny people basic human rights. It's not right to deny basic political freedoms. It's not right to arrest people for their religious beliefs, or to sacrifice the environment in the name of economic progress. Those are not the values that we believe in, and that is not the kind of world we want to leave to our children in the 21st Century.

I couldn't agree more. To me, the question is not whether we approve or disapprove of China's practices. The question is, what is the smartest thing we can do to change them?

Those who argue against this agreement say that until China shows genuine signs of progress, we should not grant them permanent normal trade relations status or support their entry into the WTO. They argue that the best way to bring change in China is from the outside-in, by using the leverage of our market to force China to open its economy and respect the rights of its people. But I disagree. If we turn our backs on China now, I believe we will undercut the very people within China who are working to bring positive change.

every I have been
year, fundamental change
could flow inside out
There are forces within China are working
strongly to move that country in the right direction
I believe this is the best opportunity we have to
encourage that development & make a change in all
spheres. If we turn our backs on that
we will encourage change that China always wanted

4/30/00 3:30 a.m.

Orzulak

- structural skeleton.

**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
REMARKS TO THE EAST ASIA INSTITUTE
AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
ON CHINA
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
MAY 2, 2000**

- EP12 - sound bite

need something like

It's an honor for me to be here today. / At a time when our nation's capitol ~~and much of~~
~~the country~~ is debating an agreement that will affect our relationship with China for at
least the next 25 years, it seems appropriate to come to a [?] that has contributed so much to
our understanding of Asia and its role in the world. ~~On behalf of a grateful National~~
~~Security Council, which boasts more than one of your graduates, I thank you for it.~~

On my way here today, it occurred to me: the way people study the world has changed a lot since I graduated from college. When I was in school, students who majored in foreign relations used to compete to see how few economics courses they could take. Most of my classmates in international relations spent their time taking classes on arms control or studying the internal dynamics of the Politburo -- one (funny Russian word or phrase) at a time.

Today, all of that has changed. The age of globalization has shrunk the map and, ~~it~~ ^{has} fundamentally altered the way ~~all of us~~ ^{we} see the world. We live in a world defined ~~more~~ ^{as much} by global markets ~~than~~ ^{as} geopolitics, ~~by~~ ^{dominated by} megabytes ~~more than~~ ^{as} megatons. I'd bet that most of the students who graduate from this school in two weeks can hardly remember a time when the world was threatened by the Cold War -- but most of them remember when the Asian financial crisis threatened to bring the global economy to a halt. It's no accident that the kind of students who once got arrested protesting against nuclear weapons or apartheid in South Africa are now marching against the IMF and the World Bank.

So it ~~really~~ comes as no surprise that the debate over whether or not we will grant China permanent normal trade relations status — ^{called} ~~a~~ PNTR -- and support its entry into the World Trade Organization is seen by many ~~people~~ ^{as} a trade debate: Will our workers benefit or won't they? Will we gain jobs or lose ^{them} ~~jobs~~? Will our economy ^{fundamentally} reap the rewards or suffer the consequences? ~~I've delivered two speeches largely on these questions alone the past few months.~~ And I believe the answers to those questions are clear:

The agreement we negotiated to bring China into the WTO requires ~~that country~~ ^{it} to open its markets in sweeping ways to our products and services. Chinese tariffs, from telecommunications to automobiles to agriculture, will fall by half or more over the next five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers in America, without being forced to relocate to China. At the same time, this agreement provides unprecedented new safeguards against any surges of imports from China.

In return, all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already offer to China ~~and treat China the same as every other 132 WTO members~~ ^{whose trade status is not subject to yearly renewal.} ~~and drop the yearly renewal.~~ That's it. We do not lower our tariffs one cent. ~~And we do~~ not in any way, shape or form make it easier for China to sell products in America. ~~All told, we~~ get better access to a market of over a billion people that will result in exports and growth and jobs.

And keep in mind: China will enter the WTO whether we pass PNTR or not. What the Congress must decide is whether America will gain the benefits of the agreement we negotiated, or whether we will forfeit those benefits to our competitors in Europe and Japan. The issue is whether, having opened the door of the world's largest market, we are simply going to hold it open for our competitors or walk in ourselves.

Some say that ~~rejecting~~ ^(to China) ~~on~~ PNTR is simply a vote for the status quo. I disagree: it would be worse than the status quo. In the global economy, ~~our~~ companies must produce for global markets to remain competitive. There is no status quo on this: the issue is whether we are going to move ahead or fall behind. Remember, fully one-third of America's new jobs in this decade are tied to exports. We cannot afford to take our prosperity for granted; ~~it~~ depends on what we do, not who we are.

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(on relig freedom) should respond generically]

In short, the economic arguments for PNTR are overwhelming. But they are far from the only arguments. Indeed, from my point of view as National Security Advisor, there are arguments even more compelling. ~~I believe that for all the changes the world has~~

~~undergone over the last decade, our nation's well being still depends first and foremost on our national security. Don't forget -- we have the luxury to focus on expanding prosperity and seeking out new markets today because our hard-won victory in the Cold War made possible a world that is largely at peace, a world in which our values of democracy and openness are ascendant. But this is not a world without dangers. That is especially true in Asia -- which has not only seen missiles fly across the Taiwan Straits in 1996, and over Korean Peninsula, in South Asia and elsewhere. Japan last year, but more recently two rivals -- India and Pakistan -- conduct nuclear tests in successive weeks, the first such tests anywhere in nearly 10 years.~~

The United States is a Pacific nation ~~which~~ ^{we have} fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century. Our future is tied to Asia. And the stability of Asia -- economically, politically and militarily -- is inextricably entwined with the stability and direction of China. As China ~~develops, the path it illuminates or the shadow it casts will be felt far from its borders.~~ ^{over the next 3, 10, 20 years,}

China will write that future as it answers some fundamental questions: It has extended some freedoms -- but will it gain the stability that can only come from respecting human

rights and permitting opposing political voices to be heard and felt? It is reforming its economy -- but will it unleash the necessary ^{to} ingredient ~~of~~ ^{for} sustained growth in the information age -- namely access by its people to knowledge and ~~unfettered~~ ^{innovative} thought? It has become deeply engaged in the international community -- but will it make a broad commitment to play by global rules and do its part to address global challenges like the spread of weapons of mass destruction and climate change? It is growing stronger -- but will it use that strength to build a more secure Asia, or to threaten the freedom and security of its neighbors?

These are the real questions before us today: How will China evolve, both internally and in the way it relates to the world? And ~~how can we encourage to evolve in a way that is~~ ^{The question for us is: how do we best encourage}

~~consistent with our interest and our values?~~ ^{China to evolve} It is my strong conviction, based on years of ^{in a}

~~involvement with this issue,~~ ^{constructive} that if China joins the WTO and we approve PNTR, it is ^{direction?} more likely to emerge as a more open, stable, cooperative nation that plays by the rules of the international system and provides greater freedom to its people. If we reject PNTR, I am equally convinced that we will undermine that goal and damage our national security.

Let me explain why.

As we debate the future of our relationship with China, we must remember that there is also a ~~debate~~ ^{struggle} about the future going on in China today. To understand ~~the debate~~ ^{it}, we have to understand the profound challenges facing this enormously complex country.

China today is certainly not an open society, but it is more open than it was two decades ago. Over the last 20 years, China has made great progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of abject poverty. [The economic, cultural and

family lives of China's people are more intertwined with the lives of people beyond its borders than at any time in Chinese history.]

[with the point or that they have more leeway in that area?]

But China's economy still is not creating jobs fast enough to meet the needs of its people.

Only a third of the economy is private enterprise. Today, \$300 billion worth of products

-- an amount equal to one-third of China's gross domestic product -- ~~is so poorly made~~

~~that it sits in China's warehouses~~ because it is poorly made. [Source: the Economist]. Meanwhile, China's

workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people are looking for work. And in urban areas alone, it's been estimated that China needs to create 18 million jobs a year just to keep up.

The more reform minded figures in the Chinese leadership who negotiated China's entry into the WTO are not ~~key agents, but they're not~~ blind to reality, either. They realize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control -- temporary unemployment, perhaps even social unrest, and greater demands for freedom. But they have concluded that without competition from the outside, without opening their markets, without building their future in cooperation with others, China will not be able to build a modern, successful economy. By agreeing with us to join the WTO, they have made a choice with profound and positive consequences.

Consider what that choice will mean for the way China relates to us and to the world.

First, China's entry into the WTO -- into the global economy -- will enmesh China in the world. China is joining an institution that sets international rules and expects its members to abide by them. In fact, for the first time, some of China's most important decisions will be subject to the review of an international body, with binding settlement procedures to resolve disputes.

Opponents say that none of this matters, because China will break its promises. The fact is, when China has entered into a global regime, its record of compliance is quite good. This is true for the Biological Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. *[Ch w/CS]* *not true for Universal Decl of HR* ~~China has lived up to its agreement with us to stop providing assistance to Iran's nuclear program.~~ *military* We still have problems with some of China's sales, particularly of missile technology, to countries in unstable regions. But overall, China has shown that it is far more likely to abide by international norms when it is operating within an international system that it has embraced. And if China does not comply with all of its obligation, we still are better off having it in the WTO, because then its actions will be subject to rules embraced and judgments enforced by 135 nations. So it is profoundly in our interest to validate China's entry into the WTO by passing PNTR.

By agreeing with us on the terms of their entry into the WTO, China has also signaled that it wants more constructive and less volatile relations with the United States. *Good* *stable, cooperative, clear-eyed* *we can cooperate* U.S.-China ties increase the likelihood that ~~China will be cooperative~~ on such crucial issues as nonproliferation, regional security, peacekeeping, human rights, and arms control. They increase the likelihood that China will be a more cooperative player at the United Nations, where we share a crucial vote on the Security Council. Our problems with China will not magically go away, but stabilizing U.S.-China relations creates both the atmosphere and trust necessary to deal cooperatively with bilateral, regional, and global issues of deep concern to us. *only now approve* ~~And we can only do that if we grant PNTR.~~

PNTR is especially important for our ability *to play a constructive role on* ~~to deal with~~ the issue of Taiwan. Since *tried to maintain* 1979, we have ~~played an important role in maintaining~~ stability across the Taiwan Straits,

by recognizing one China, encouraging a peaceful resolution of differences, and promoting dialogue. China, Taiwan -- and our relationship with both -- have benefited.

The newly-elected President of Taiwan,
~~Taiwan's President-elect~~ Chen Shui-bian recognizes this reality. He knows that good

U.S.-China relations are vital for Taiwan's own security because deep Chinese suspicions

of American ~~motives~~ *hostility would only* inhibit their willingness to show flexibility. *A sharp break* Particularly at this

with China now will only make a uncertain situation in cross-
~~sensitive time, Chen wants us to be sensitive to the need for cross-strait ties to develop.~~ *strait*

Economically, PNTR is also very important for Taiwan because Taiwan uses the

Mainland as a ~~platform~~ *base* for much of the production that it exports to the United States. *more*

Cross Strait economic ties benefit Taiwan both economically and politically with China - *(difficult/*
 and they increase the costs to Beijing of ~~armed~~ *dangerous/* confrontation. *?)*

[ch: KL]

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Chen Shui-bian strongly supports China's membership in the WTO, and is urging us to grant PNTR. He understands the importance of the stability that comes from good U.S.-China relations and China's membership in the WTO. He also believes it is in Taiwan's economic interest, since it will undoubtedly join the WTO upon China's accession.

China's choice to join the WTO can have equally positive implications for its internal development.

To join the WTO, China has agreed to stop protecting its state-owned industries from competition. Why is that important? In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in an apartment or house owned by the government, went to work in a factory or farm run by the government, and read newspapers published by the government. State-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their children, the clinics where they received health care, and the stores where they bought food. That system has been a big source of the Communist Party's power. Now, *it is shrinking* ~~people are leaving it~~. And when

that process will accelerate and
China joins the WTO, ~~the state sector will shrink faster~~ and the private sector will grow faster. This will speed a process that is removing government from vast areas of people's lives. In important ways, it will take the command and control out of communism.

Already, many of China's best and brightest are starting companies, or seeking jobs with foreign-owned companies, where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better working environment. That causes Chinese companies to improve the benefits they offer their workers to stay competitive.

At the same time, these changes have increased labor and political activism, and demands for greater representation and accountability. Last year alone, there were more than 120,000 labor disputes across China. In some places, the government responded by cracking down. But in others, it has responded by giving people a greater say. Local elections are now held in most of China's 900,000 villages, and have been introduced in some cities as well. In many places, workers are taking grievances to court -- and winning. This is the start of a process of economic and social change that we should welcome and encourage -- a process that will accelerate when China enters the WTO.

To join the WTO, China's reform-minded leaders have also chosen to accelerate the information revolution in China. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China has more than quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, that number is expected to grow to over 20 million. When China joins the WTO, it will eliminate tariffs on information technology products, making the tools of communication even cheaper, better and more widely available.

The four major Internet providers in China just announced that this year, they will pour more than \$1 billion into improving Internet connections. *Similarly,* today, only one in ____

Chinese are linked to each other and the world by telephone. Just last week, authorities gave approval for China's mobile service providers to offer ~~wireless Internet~~ ^{new} access to more than 40 million ^{new} mobile phone subscribers -- which is expected to grow to 100 million by the end of next year. When the Chinese people ~~have the ability to easily~~ ^{can easily} communicate with each other and people around the world, they will have gained an important ingredient ^{for} of freedom. But once again, our cutting edge technology companies will have a chance to contribute that ingredient only if we pass PNTR.

In short, granting PNTR will increase economic independence, giving more people on each side a solid stake in ^{strengthening cooperation that can benefit us.} ~~keeping our ties on an even keel~~. It will ^{already} ~~strengthen~~ the changes ^{intensity} ~~that are~~ underway in how the domestic system operates and will bolster those who recognize the enormous important of good U.S.-China ties to accomplishing their goals. Over time, it will also improve China's economic performance, which will bolster the confidence of Chinese leadership in ways that reduce their fears about political reform.

Of course, bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But by accelerating the process of economic change, it will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice stronger.

Now, many people agree that bringing China into the WTO is a good thing, for some of the reasons I have mentioned. But they say we can just pocket this progress and still vote no on PNTR. They argue that we need an annual vote in the Congress to address concerns we have with China, for example, on human rights or religious freedom. I agree that we must keep the external pressure on China to improve human rights. That's why we sanctioned China under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. That's why the State Department issued another tough report on China's human rights record this year. That's why two weeks ago, we again sponsored a resolution in the UN Human

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Rights Commission condemning China's record. ~~As the President has said,~~ reform in China will come through a combination of internal change and external validation.

Unfortunately, as I said earlier, we don't have the luxury of either reaping the benefits of a vote in favor of PNTR or simply maintaining the current status quo. We will have to either adopt PNTR with all its benefits or reject it and face all the costs of doing so. And in national security terms, those costs are a matter of grave concern.

~~I said at the outset, there is a debate about the future underway in China today.~~ China's decision to join the WTO was driven by leaders committed to reform within and to cooperation with us, despite ^{substantial} ~~enormous political~~ risks. But the course they advocate is still opposed by powerful forces – including the stalwarts of China's state-dominated economy and its military-industrial complex.

The very same forces in China most threatened by the decision of its leaders to accept the WTO reforms and open their economy are also the hard-liners on China's course ~~for~~ ⁱⁿ the world. These are the same people who have always believed that cooperating with the United States is a mistake; the same people willing to settle differences with Taiwan by force; the same people most threatened by our alliance with Japan and Korea; the same people who want to keep the Chinese military selling dangerous technologies around the world; the same people whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison. In their view, China should respond to the pressures of globalization by

hunkering down instead of opening up.

~~If we ~~do~~ reject PNTR, we reject those who see China's future in reform and strengthen those who see it in at home and greater toughness abroad.~~

Because the WTO agreement we negotiated is so manifestly in our economic interest, the Chinese government and people will not believe we rejected it for economic reasons.

They will interpret rejection of PNTR as a strategic decision by the United States --

Just answer is that if we don't want PNTR, we don't gain its benefits. Further point leading into here is that if we reject or postpone, serious negative consequences (beyond economic war)

whether it is or not -- to pursue a strategy of confrontation, contention, and containment.

In other words, rejection will strengthen the hand of the hard liners in China who have

~~always~~ argued that America's intent is hostile -- to encircle, weaken, and contain China.

It will undercut the reform-minded leaders who have ^{staked their future, and China's} put their reputations and careers on

~~the line~~ for a policy of greater openness. It ^{would strengthen those within} could tip the scales in the debate within China

~~away from those who want reform and cooperation with the United States, toward those~~

who want to tighten the internal clamps, invest more heavily in military industries, and

hunker down for ^{an} "inevitable" struggle with America. ~~China's economy will not~~

~~perform as well under these circumstances, and the hard line leadership would likely~~

~~stoke anti-Western nationalism to cope with the resulting social and political strains.~~

Would we be more secure five or ten years down the road with that kind of China? What

message would we be sending to future Chinese leaders ^{& about the prospects} about the consequences of going

^{for cooperation with the U.S.?} ~~out on a limb to cooperate with the United States?~~ What kind of progress do you think

we would make then on labor rights, human rights or the environment? The opponents of

PNTR have no answer to those questions. But that is what this debate ^{is at stake in} is ~~all about~~.

Clearly, if we ^{feed} ~~shape~~ China's perceptions of a hostile America, its willingness to cooperate with us in containing proliferation, strengthening arms control, expanding peacekeeping and cooperative humanitarian efforts, and reducing environmental threats will diminish.

Instead of viewing each of these arenas as an opportunity for strengthening U.S.-China relations, the Chinese would see each as a potential opportunity for undercutting U.S. initiatives. Both China and the United States would be poorer for this development.

The impact on Taiwan could also be grave. The election of Chen Shui-bian last month as President of Taiwan has created new uncertainties. Although Chen ran on a platform calling for cross-Straits dialogue and for three direct links with China (shipping,

repeats
earlier
argument

communication, and air), his party traditionally has been pro-independence, a step we don't support and China finds immensely threatening. This is a period in which we should be encouraging both sides to act responsibly and seek dialogue, not one in which we forfeit our influence by turning our backs on China.

A rejection of PNTR would increase tensions and instability between China and Taiwan at a critical time. Keep in mind that Chen Shui-bian's inauguration is on May 20th, and the House vote on PNTR will take place during the following week. ^[One sentence from KL on why] ~~A no vote would also create a serious drag on U.S.-China trade, which could force Taiwan to shift its US-oriented production elsewhere. Failure to adopt PNTR would undercut Chen Shui-bian's goals and reduce both Taiwan's economic well-being and security. It would empower all of those people within China who are willing to settle differences with China by force.~~

Rejection of PNTR would weaken us throughout Asia.

~~All other Asian countries, regardless of their political and economic system, understand these fundamental realities. Even though some will face markedly tougher economic competition from China once it obtains PNTR, every single one of them supports this measure. In fact, all our friends and allies in Asia regard U.S.-China relations as critical to the future stability, prosperity, and peace of the region. All look to us to strike the right balance so that we can avoid the twin threats of Chinese weakness and Chinese belligerence. All, in short, want stable, constructive U.S.-China relations.~~

~~I have seen time and time again that seemingly abstract elements such as confidence and trust play a profound role in international relations.~~ Asian leaders could well regard American rejection of PNTR as a sign that America no longer recognizes the basic requirements of our role as a leader in Asia, and they would adjust accordingly.

Beijing will see that as linked + ad causaria/
↳

~~If the worst case should occur and rejection of PNTR lead, ultimately, to U.S.-China confrontation across Asia, we will hold our own but at potentially very significant cost.~~

Because many countries will see these developments as, at least in part, a result of American rigidity, we may have reluctant and uncertain friends. ~~Fundamental political conflict could spill over into trade and disrupt natural markets and regional prosperity.~~

Trouble spots in the region will be harder to resolve. Japan and the Republic of Korea may become particularly apprehensive under these conditions.

equal foreign
 Lastly, and more broadly, I believe rejection of PNTR would send a penetrating signal to *is this the right word? tracing?*
a tracing message to friends and allies in the world -- particularly after the Senate's rejection last year of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the rejection of Fast Track the year before -- that America is turning inward; *unilaterally* that at the moment of our greatest strength and *prosperity* influence, we chose to retreat instead of lead. If America is seen as an increasingly unreliable, unilateral nation, our capacity to lead on a broad range of issues -- from arms control to global poverty to *fighting terrorism* AIDS -- would be severely compromised. That would be a tragic mistake.

The choice before us could not be more clear, or consequential.

By embracing China's membership in the WTO and *approving* ~~voting yes on~~ PNTR; by siding with the reformers instead of the hard-liners in China; we have a chance to encourage the best possible outcome: a China with a leadership that finds strength in partnership with its people and the world. *Rejecting* ~~Voting against~~ PNTR, on the other hand, won't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It will simply empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in China's government. It would leave China's people with less contact with the democratic world, and more resistance from their government to avoid outside forces. And our friends and

allies would wonder why, after 30 years of pushing China in the right direction, we turned our backs, now that it finally appears to be willing to be part of the world.

We know that the path China takes to the future is a choice only China can make. We cannot control that choice, we can only ^{seek to} influence it. But we do have complete control over what we do. As the President has said, we can work to pull China in the right direction, or we can turn our backs and almost certainly push it in the wrong direction. Granting China PNTR won't create a perfect China and it won't put an end to all of our concerns. But it will increase the probability of a future of greater openness and freedom for China. It will lay the foundation for a more peaceful and secure Asia and the world. And for the Columbia class of 2000, it will help create a future of greater peace and prosperity for the world they will inherit.

^{our}
I hope Congress will agree
This is an historic opportunity. It's the right thing to do. ~~And we're going to continue to~~
~~do all we can to convince Congress and the American people to support it.~~ Thank you.

→ Great speech → subshahr, yet perfect
→ Daley

5/1/00 12:30 p.m.

Orzulak

**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
REMARKS TO THE EAST ASIA INSTITUTE
AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
ON CHINA
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
MAY 2, 2000**

As some of you might have read, the President gave his last speech this weekend to the Radio and Television Correspondents dinner. What made the evening really strange was the fact that nearly the entire cast of the "West Wing" was sitting in the audience.

Last Friday, the creator of the West Wing, Aaron Sorkin, was at the White House. What has always gotten my goat about that show is that even though nearly half the episodes involve foreign crises, there is no National Security Advisor. So last Friday, I took the opportunity to chew him out. But then, a member of my staff reminded me about how Hollywood has portrayed National Security Advisors in the past. He was a stuffed shirt in "the Peacemaker." An egomaniac killed off in "Air Force One." A calculating sell-out in "Clear and Present Danger." And a zealot with really bad hair in "Murder at 1600." At that point, I decided that maybe it wasn't such a bad idea not to have one after all.

It's an honor for me to be here today. At a time when our nation is debating an agreement that will affect our relationship with China for at least the next 25 years, it seems appropriate to come to a place that has contributed so much to our understanding of Asia and its role in the world.

I know that many of the students who will be graduating from this school in two weeks participated in some of the same time-honored foreign policy rituals that my fellow students participated in years ago. For instance, when I was in school, students who

majoring in international relations used to wear it as a badge of honor if they could get through four years without ever having to study an econometric model.

But the students who will be graduating from this school in two weeks are entering a world in which globalization has not only shrunk the map; it has fundamentally altered the way we see the world. We live in a world defined as much by global markets as geopolitics, megabytes as well as megatons

So it comes as no surprise that the debate over whether or not we will grant China permanent normal trade relations status – called PNTR -- and support its entry into the World Trade Organization is seen by many as fundamentally a trade debate: Will our workers benefit or won't they? Will we gain jobs or lose them? Will our economy reap the rewards or suffer the consequences. I believe the answers to those questions are clear:

The agreement we negotiated to bring China into the WTO requires it to open its markets in sweeping ways to our products and services. Chinese tariffs, from telecommunications to agriculture, will fall by half or more over the next five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers in America, without being forced to relocate to China. We get better access to a market of over a billion people that will result in exports and growth and jobs. At the same time, this agreement provides new safeguards against any surges of imports from China.

In return, all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already offer to China and treat China the same as the other 132 WTO members whose trade status is not subject to yearly renewal. That's it. We do not lower our tariffs one cent. And we do not in any way, shape or form make it easier for China to sell products in America.

And keep in mind: China will enter the WTO whether we pass PNTR or not. What the Congress must decide is whether America will gain the benefits of the agreement we negotiated, or whether we will forfeit those benefits to our competitors in Europe and Japan. The issue is whether, having opened the door of the world's largest market, we are simply going to hold it open for our competitors or walk in ourselves.

Some say that rejecting PNTR for China is simply a vote for the status quo. I disagree: it would be worse than the status quo. In the global economy, companies must produce for global markets to remain competitive. There is no status quo on this: the issue is whether we are going to move ahead or fall behind. Remember, fully one-third of America's new jobs in this decade are tied to exports. We cannot afford to take our prosperity for granted; it depends on what we do, not who we are.

There are others who say we should just wait a while: depending on how China behaves, we can approve PNTR in three or four years. But we cannot afford to give European and Japanese producers a three or four year head start, during which fundamental decisions will be made by China on the future of its telecommunications market and other sectors, without paying a heavy price.

In short, the economic arguments for PNTR are overwhelming. But they are far from the only arguments. Indeed, from my point of view as National Security Advisor, there are arguments even more compelling. This is a critical issue for our national security.

Remember: We have the luxury to focus on expanding prosperity and seeking out new markets today because our hard-won victory in the Cold War made possible a world that is largely at peace, a world in which our values of democracy and openness are ascendant. But this is not a world without dangers. That is especially true in Asia – with tensions across the Taiwan Straits, on the Korean Peninsula, in South Asia, and elsewhere.

The United States is a Pacific nation. We have fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century. Our future is tied to Asia. And the stability of Asia -- economically, politically and militarily -- is inextricably entwined with the stability and direction of China. As China develops over the next 5, 10, 20 years, the path it illuminates or the shadow it casts will be felt far from its borders.

China will write that future as it answers some fundamental questions: It has extended some freedoms -- but will it gain the stability that can only come from respecting human rights and permitting opposing political voices to be heard? It is reforming its economy -- but will it unleash the ingredient necessary for sustained growth in the information age -- namely access by its people to knowledge and innovative thought? It has become deeply engaged in the world -- but will it make a broad commitment to play by global rules and do its part to address global challenges like the spread of weapons of mass destruction and climate change? It is growing stronger -- but will it use that strength to build a more secure Asia, or to threaten the freedom and security of its neighbors?

These are the real questions before us today: How will China evolve, both internally and in the way it relates to the world? The question for us is: how do we best encourage China to evolve in a constructive direction? It is my strong conviction that if China joins the WTO and we approve PNTR, it is more likely to emerge as a more open, stable, cooperative nation that plays by the rules of the international system and provides greater freedom to its people. If we reject PNTR, I am equally convinced that we will undermine that goal and damage our national security. Let me explain why.

As we debate the future of our relationship with China, we must remember that there is also a struggle about the future going on in China today. To understand it, we have to understand the profound challenges facing this enormously complex country.

China today is certainly not an open society, but it is more open than it was two decades ago. Over the last 20 years, China has made great progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of abject poverty. In ways that are incomplete, but nonetheless real for millions of ordinary Chinese citizens, the changes within China have given its people greater scope to live their lives.

But China's economy still is not creating jobs fast enough to meet the needs of its people. Only a third of the economy is private enterprise. Today, \$300 billion worth of products -- equal to one-third of China's gross domestic product -- sits in China's warehouses because it is so poorly made. Meanwhile, China's workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people are looking for work. And in urban areas alone, it's been estimated that China needs to create 18 million jobs a year just to keep up.

The more reform minded figures in the Chinese leadership who negotiated China's entry into the WTO are not blind to this reality. They realize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control -- temporary unemployment, perhaps even social unrest, and greater demands for freedom. But they have concluded that without competition from the outside, without opening their markets, without building their future in cooperation with others, China will not be able to build a modern, successful economy. By agreeing with us to join the WTO, they have made a choice with profound and positive consequences.

First of all, that choice can change the way China relates to the world.

China's entry into the WTO -- into the global economy -- will enmesh China in the world. China is joining an institution that sets international rules and expects its members to abide by them. In fact, for the first time, some of China's most important

decisions will be subject to the review of an international body, with binding settlement procedures to resolve disputes.

Opponents say that none of this matters, because China will break its promises. The fact is, for the most part, when China has entered into a global regime, its record of compliance is quite good. This is true for the Biological Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. We still have problems with some of China's sales, particularly of missile technology, to countries in unstable regions. But overall, China has shown that it is far more likely to abide by international norms when it is operating within an international system that it has embraced. And if China does not comply with all of its obligation, we still are better off having it in the WTO, because then its actions will be subject to rules embraced and judgments enforced by 135 nations. So it is profoundly in our interest to validate China's entry into the WTO by passing PNTR.

By agreeing with us on the terms of their entry into the WTO, China also has signaled that it wants more constructive relations with the United States. Stable, cooperative, clear-eyed U.S.-China ties increase the likelihood that we can cooperate on such crucial issues as nonproliferation, regional security, peacekeeping, human rights, and arms control. They increase the likelihood that China will be a more cooperative player at the United Nations, where we share a crucial vote on the Security Council. Our problems with China will not magically go away, but stabilizing U.S.-China relations creates both the atmosphere and trust necessary to deal cooperatively with bilateral, regional, and global issues of deep concern to us. We can only do that if we now approve PNTR.

PNTR is especially important for our ability to play a constructive role on the issue of Taiwan. Since 1979, we have tried to maintain stability across the Taiwan Straits, by

recognizing one China, encouraging a peaceful resolution of differences, and promoting dialogue. China, Taiwan -- and our relationship with both -- have benefited.

Chen Shui-bian, the newly-elected President of Taiwan, recognizes this reality. He knows that good U.S.-China relations are vital for Taiwan's own security because deep Chinese suspicions of American hostility would only inhibit its willingness to show flexibility. A sharp break with China now will only make the situation in cross-Strait relations more uncertain. Economically, PNTR is also very important for Taiwan because Taiwan uses the Mainland as a base for much of the production that it exports to the United States. Cross-Strait economic ties benefit Taiwan both economically and politically with China -- and they increase the costs to Beijing of confrontation. That's why Chen supports China's membership in the WTO, and is urging us to grant PNTR.

Second of all, China's choice to join the WTO can have equally positive implications for its internal development.

To join the WTO, China has agreed to stop protecting its state-owned industries from competition. Why is that important? In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in an apartment or house owned by the government, went to work in a factory or farm run by the government, and read newspapers published by the government. State-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their children, the clinics where they received health care, and the stores where they bought food. That system has been a big source of the Communist Party's power. Now, it is shrinking. And when China joins the WTO, that process will accelerate and the private sector will grow faster. This will speed the removal of government from vast areas of people's lives. In important ways, it will take the command and control out of communism.

Already, many of China's best and brightest are starting companies, or seeking jobs with foreign-owned companies, where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better working environment. That causes Chinese companies to improve the benefits they offer their workers to stay competitive.

At the same time, these changes have increased labor and political activism, and demands for greater representation and accountability. Last year alone, there were more than 120,000 labor disputes across China. In some places, the government has responded by cracking down. But in others, it has responded by giving people a greater say. Local elections are now held in most of China's 900,000 villages, and have been introduced in some cities as well. In many places, workers are taking grievances to court -- and winning. This is the start of a process of economic and social change that we should welcome and encourage -- a process that will hasten when China enters the WTO.

To join the WTO, China's reform-minded leaders have also chosen to accelerate the information revolution in China. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China has more than quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, that number is expected to grow to over 20 million. When China joins the WTO, it will eliminate tariffs on information technology products, making the tools of communication even cheaper, better and more widely available.

The four major Internet providers in China just announced that this year, they will pour more than \$1 billion into improving Internet connections. Similarly, only one in ____ Chinese are linked to each other and the world by telephone. Just last week, authorities gave approval for China's mobile service providers to offer access to more than 40 million new mobile phone subscribers -- which is expected to grow to 100 million by the end of next year. When the Chinese people can easily communicate with each other and

people around the world, they will have gained an important ingredient for freedom. But once again, our companies will have a chance to contribute only if we pass PNTR.

Of course, China's future depends on decisions that its leaders and people are yet to make. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee they will choose political reform. But by accelerating the process of economic change, it will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice stronger.

Now, many people agree that bringing China into the WTO is a good thing, for some of the reasons I have mentioned. But they say we can just pocket this progress and still vote no on PNTR. They argue that we need an annual vote in the Congress to address concerns we have with China, for example, on human rights or religious freedom. I agree that we must keep the external pressure on China to improve human rights. That's why we sanctioned China under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. That's why the State Department issued another tough report on China's human rights record this year. That's why two weeks ago, we again sponsored a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's record. As the President has said, reform in China will come through a combination of internal change and external validation.

[Soundbite?]: It's clear that if we don't grant PNTR, we will not gain the profound economic benefits we have negotiated. But the consequences of either rejection or postponement of PNTR to our national security are even more grave. By rejecting PNTR, we would set a ball rolling downhill that could disrupt stability in Asia, diminish the chance of dialogue across the Taiwan Strait, and dash hopes for a more constructive relationship between the U.S. and China. Rejecting PNTR would be the worst possible blow to the best possible hope we have had in more than 30 years to encourage positive change in China.

China's decision to join the WTO was driven by leaders committed to reform within and to cooperation with us, despite substantial risks. But the course they advocate is still opposed by powerful forces -- including the stalwarts of China's state-dominated economy and its military-industrial complex.

The very same forces in China most threatened by the decision of its leaders to accept the WTO reforms and open their economy are also the hard-liners on China's course in the world. These are the same people who have always believed that cooperating with the United States is a mistake; the same people willing to settle differences with Taiwan by force; the same people most threatened by our alliance with Japan and Korea; the same people who want to keep the Chinese military selling dangerous technologies around the world; the same people whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison. In their view, China should respond to the pressures of globalization by hunkering down instead of opening up.

Because the WTO agreement we negotiated is so manifestly in our economic interest, the Chinese government and people will not believe we rejected it for economic reasons. They would interpret rejection of PNTR as a strategic decision by the United States -- whether it is or not -- to pursue a strategy of confrontation, contention, and containment. That would strengthen the hand of the hard liners in China who have argued that America's intent is hostile -- to encircle, weaken, and contain China.

It would undercut the reform-minded leaders who have staked their future and China's future for a policy of greater openness. It would strengthen those within China who want to tighten the internal clamps, invest more heavily in military industries, and hunker down for an "inevitable" struggle with America.

Ask yourself: would we be more secure five or ten years down the road with that kind of China? What message would we be sending to future Chinese leaders about the benefits of cooperation with the U.S. What kind of progress do you think we would make then on labor rights, human rights or the environment? The opponents of PNTR have no answer to those questions. But that is what is at stake in this debate.

And this is not an abstract debate. The consequences to our security of rejection would be immediate and severe. First, if we feed China's perceptions of a hostile America, China's willingness to cooperate with us in containing proliferation, strengthening arms control, expanding peacekeeping and cooperative humanitarian efforts, and reducing environmental threats would likely diminish. Instead of viewing each of these arenas as an opportunity for strengthening U.S.-China relations, the Chinese would see each as a potential opportunity for undercutting U.S. initiatives.

Second, a rejection of PNTR would increase tensions and instability between China and Taiwan at a critical time. Keep in mind that Chen Shui-bian's inauguration is on May 20th, and the House vote on PNTR will take place during the following week. If Chen's inaugural address is misread by China and it is followed a few days later by our rejection of PNTR, Beijing will see the two as linked and adversarial. That would undercut both Taiwan's economic well-being and security.

Third, rejection of PNTR would weaken us throughout Asia. Even though some of them will face markedly tougher economic competition from China once it obtains PNTR, all the countries of the region support this measure. All our friends and allies in Asia regard U.S.-China relations as critical to the future stability, prosperity, and peace of the region. All look to us to strike the right balance to avoid the twin threats of Chinese weakness and Chinese belligerence.

Asian leaders could well regard American rejection of PNTR as a sign that America no longer recognizes the basic requirements of our role as a leader in Asia, and they would adjust accordingly. Because many countries will see these developments as, at least in part, a result of American rigidity, we might end up with reluctant and uncertain friends. Trouble spots in the region would be harder to resolve. Japan and the Republic of Korea would become particularly apprehensive under these conditions.

Fourth, and more broadly, I believe rejection of PNTR would send a bracing signal to friends and allies in the world -- particularly after the Senate's rejection last year of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the rejection of Fast Track the year before -- that America is turning inward; that ironically at the moment of our greatest strength and prosperity, we chose to retreat instead of lead. If America is seen as an increasingly unreliable, unilateral nation, our capacity to lead on a broad range of issues -- from arms control to global poverty to fighting terrorism -- would be severely compromised. That would be a tragic mistake.

The choice before us could not be more clear, or consequential.

By embracing China's membership in the WTO and approving PNTR; by strengthening the reformers instead of the hard-liners in China; we have a chance to encourage the best possible outcome: a China with a leadership that finds strength in partnership with its people and the world. Rejecting PNTR, on the other hand, wouldn't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It simply would empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in China's government. It would leave China's people with less contact with the democratic world, and more resistance from their government to avoid outside forces. And our friends and allies would wonder why, after 30 years of pushing China in the right direction, we turned our backs, now that it finally appears to be willing to be part of the world.

e know that the path China takes to the future is a choice only China can make. We cannot control that choice, we can only seek to influence it. But we do have complete control over what we do. As the President has said, we can work to pull China in the right direction, or we can turn our backs and almost certainly push it in the wrong direction. Granting China PNTR won't create a perfect China and it won't put an end to all of our concerns. But it will increase the probability of a future of greater openness and freedom for China. It will lay the foundation for a more peaceful and secure Asia and the world. And for the Columbia class of 2000, it will help create a future of greater peace and prosperity for the world they will inherit.

This is an historic opportunity. It's the right thing to do. I hope our Congress will agree. Thank you.

Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)

From: Crowley, Philip J. (PRESS)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2000 4:37 PM
To: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW); @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @ASIA - Asian Affairs; @CHINAPNTR - China PNTR; @WHSR - WH Situation Room
Subject: RE: Latest draft SRB China speech at Columbia [UNCLASSIFIED]

Paul, Saturday was the White House Correspondents Dinner, not the RTNDA Dinner. Your soundbite on page 9 is too long. How about:

"Failing to pass PNTR is a lose-lose-lose proposition. We give up the kind of profound economic benefits that have fueled our unprecedented prosperity. We give up an opportunity to push China to be more open, engaged and constructive. And we risk setting off a downward spiral that will add tension and risk in a vital part of the world. In short, all pain and no gain. Let's pass PNTR and continue to enjoy the fruits of a globalized world."

PJ

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Sent: Monday, May 01, 2000 12:58 PM
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As delivered to SRB, with his latest round of changes.

@Asia: please note that there is an Internet statistic that needs to be filled in on page 8.

Sit Room: Please fax this to Secretary Albright and Secretary Daley.

Comments to Orzulak. Thanks.

<< File: china-srb4.columbia.2x.doc >>

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China's entry into the WTO -- into the global economy -- will enmesh China in the world. China is joining an institution that sets international rules and expects its members to abide by them. In fact, for the first time, some of China's most important decisions will be subject to the review of an international body, with binding settlement procedures to resolve disputes.

Opponents say that none of this matters, because China will break its promises. The fact is, for the most part, when China has entered into a global Treaty regime, its record of compliance with nonproliferation norms is quite good. This is true for the Biological Weapons ~~Convention~~ Convention, ~~and the~~ Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, where China has strengthened its export controls over dangerous materials as required by these treaties. ~~and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.~~ We still have problems with some of China's sales, particularly of missile technology, where China is not bound by any international obligations. ~~to countries in unstable regions.~~ Not surprisingly, ~~But overall,~~ China has shown that it is far more likely to abide by international norms when it is operating within an international system that it has embraced. And if China does not comply with all of its obligation, we still are better off having it in the WTO, because then its actions will be subject to rules embraced and judgments enforced by 135 nations. So it is profoundly in

our interest to validate China's entry into the WTO by passing PNTR.

Siberell, Justin H. (NSA)

COLUMBIA SPEECH

From: Orzulak, Paul K. (SPCHW)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2000 12:39 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Subject: Latest SRB Columbia speech [UNCLASSIFIED]

For SRB:

Here is the latest draft, with your changes. We've added some structure by numbering several points, wrote a soundbite (on page 9), and shortened it by two pages (we actually cut it to 12 pages, but then added a joke that bumped it to one paragraph on page 13). Since the Post wrote about your meeting last Friday with Aaron Sorkin, we took it as an opportunity to use the national security advisor joke one last time.



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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. statement	re: Draft National Security Advisor Samuel R. Berger remarks to the East Asia Institute at Columbia University on China (13 pages)	05/01/2000	P5

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

China [Folder 2] [2]

2008-0702-F
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- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- 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.

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

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- 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]

Klieberthal

Kliebert E. Smith, ed.

5/1/00 5:00 p.m.

Orzulak

**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
REMARKS TO THE EAST ASIA INSTITUTE
AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
ON CHINA
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
MAY 2, 2000**

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edit

It's an honor for me to be here today. At a time when our nation is debating an agreement that will affect our relationship with China for at least the next 25 years, it seems appropriate to come to a place that has contributed so much to our understanding of Asia and its role in the world.

The students who graduate from this school in two weeks are entering a world in which globalization has not only shrunk the map; it has fundamentally altered the way we see the world. We live in a world defined by global markets and geopolitics, megabytes as well as megatons.

So it comes as no surprise that the debate over whether or not we will grant China permanent normal trade relations status -- called PNTR -- and support its entry into the World Trade Organization is seen by many as essentially a trade debate: Will our workers benefit or won't they? Will we gain jobs or lose them? Will our economy reap the rewards or suffer the consequences. I believe the answers to those questions are clear.

The agreement we negotiated requires China to open its markets in sweeping ways to our products and services. Chinese tariffs, from telecommunications to agriculture, will fall by half or more over the next five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers in America, without being forced to relocate to China. We will have better access to a market of over a billion people and

that will result in American exports, growth and jobs. At the same time, this agreement provides safeguards for American producers against any surges of imports from China.

In return, all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already offer to China and treat China the same as the other 132 WTO members whose trade status is not subject to yearly renewal. That's it. We do not lower our tariffs one cent. We do not in any way, shape or form make it easier for China to sell products in America.

Keep in mind: China will enter the WTO whether we pass PNTR or not. What the Congress must decide is whether America will gain the benefits of the agreement we negotiated, or whether we will forfeit those benefits to our competitors in Europe and Japan. The issue is whether, having opened the door of the world's largest market, we are simply going to hold it open for our competitors or walk in ourselves.

Some say that rejecting PNTR for China is simply a vote for the economic status quo. I disagree: it would be far worse than the status quo. In the global economy, companies must produce for global markets to remain competitive. There is no status quo on this: the issue is whether we are going to move ahead or fall behind. Fully one-third of America's new jobs in this decade are tied to exports. We cannot afford to take our prosperity for granted; it depends on what we do, not who we are.

In short, the economic arguments for PNTR are overwhelming. But they are only part of the reason why we should move forward. The United States has a compelling national security interest in China joining the WTO and our approving PNTR. This is a critical issue for our national security. Remember: We have the luxury to focus on expanding prosperity and seeking out new markets today because the hard-won victory in the Cold War made possible a world that is largely at peace, a world in which our values of democracy and openness are ascendant. But this is not a world without dangers. That is

especially true in Asia – with tensions across the Taiwan Straits, on the Korean Peninsula, in South Asia, and elsewhere.

The United States is a Pacific nation. We have fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century. Our future is tied to Asia. And the stability of Asia -- economically, politically and militarily -- is inextricably entwined with the stability and direction of China. As China develops over the next decade, the path it illuminates or the shadow it casts will be felt far from its borders.

China will write that future as it answers some fundamental questions: It has extended some freedoms -- but will it gain the stability that can only come from respecting human rights and permitting opposing political voices to be heard? It is reforming its economy -- but will it unleash the essential ingredient necessary for sustained growth in the information age -- namely access by its people to knowledge and innovation? It has become deeply engaged in the world -- but will it make a broad commitment to work within the global system and do its part to address global challenges like the spread of weapons of mass destruction and climate change? It is growing stronger -- but will it use that strength to build a more secure Asia, or to threaten the freedom and security of its neighbors?

These are the real questions today: How will China evolve, both internally and in the way it relates to the world? And the question for us is: how do we best encourage China to evolve in a constructive direction? It is my strong conviction that if China joins the WTO and we approve PNTR, it is more likely to emerge as a more open, stable, cooperative nation that plays by the rules of the international system and provides greater freedom to its people. If we reject PNTR, I am equally convinced that we will subvert that goal and damage our national security. Let me explain why.

As we debate the future of our relationship with China, we must remember that there is also a struggle about the future going on in China today. To understand it, we have to understand the profound challenges facing this enormously complex country.

China today is certainly not an open society, but it is more open than it was two decades ago. Over the last 20 years, China has made great progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of abject poverty. In ways that are incomplete, but nonetheless real for millions of ordinary Chinese citizens, the changes within China have given its people greater scope to live their lives.

But China's economy still is not creating jobs fast enough to meet the needs of its people. Only a third of the economy is private enterprise. Today, \$300 billion worth of products - equal to one-third of China's gross domestic product -- sits in Chinese warehouses because they are so poorly made. Meanwhile, at least 100 million people are looking for work. In urban areas alone, it's been estimated that China needs to create 18 million jobs a year just to keep up.

The more reform-minded figures in the Chinese leadership who negotiated China's entry into the WTO are not blind to these realities. They know that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control -- temporary unemployment, perhaps even social unrest and greater demands for freedom. But they have concluded that without competition from the outside, without opening their markets, without building their future in cooperation with others, China will not be able to build a modern, successful economy. By agreeing with us to join the WTO, they have made a choice with profound and positive consequences.

First of all, that choice can change the way China relates to the world.

1) require China to accept universal rules ^{partially, integrate}
= ^{→ sign up to commitments}

China's entry into the WTO -- into the global economy -- will ~~enmesh~~ ^{mesh} China in the world. China is joining an institution that sets international rules and expects its members to abide by them. In fact, for the first time, some of China's most important decisions will be subject to the review of an international body, with binding settlement procedures to resolve disputes.

Opponents say that none of this matters, because China will break its promises. The fact is, for the most part, when China has entered into a global treaty regime, its record of compliance is quite good. This is true for the Biological Weapons Convention, the Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In fact, China has strengthened its export controls over dangerous materials as a result of these treaties. We still have problems with some of China's sales, particularly of missile technology, where China is not bound by any international obligations. Overall, China has shown that it is far more likely to abide by international norms when it is operating within an international system that it has embraced. And if China does not comply with all of its WTO obligations, we still are better off having it in because then its actions will be subject to rules embraced and judgments enforced by 135 nations. So it is profoundly in our interest to validate China's entry into the WTO by passing PNTR.

By agreeing with us on the terms of their entry into the WTO, China also has chosen the path of more constructive relations with the United States. Stable, cooperative, clear-eyed U.S.-China ties increase the likelihood that we can cooperate -- bilaterally, in the UN Security Council and elsewhere -- on such crucial issues as nonproliferation, regional security, peacekeeping, human rights, and arms control. Our problems with China will not disappear, but stabilizing U.S.-China relations contributes to both the atmosphere and trust necessary to deal cooperatively with issues of deep concern to us. We will help do that if we now approve PNTR.

PNTR is especially important for our ability to play a constructive role on the issue of Taiwan. Since 1979, we have worked to build tried to maintain stability across the Taiwan Strait, by recognizing one China, ^{insisting on} ~~encouraging~~ a peaceful resolution of differences, and promoting dialogue. China, Taiwan -- and our relationship with both -- have benefited.

consist

Chen Shui-bian, the newly-elected President of Taiwan, recognizes this reality. He knows that good U.S.-China relations are vital for Taiwan's own security because deep Chinese suspicions of American hostility would only inhibit its willingness to show flexibility. A sharp break with China now will only make the situation in cross-strait relations more uncertain. PNTR also is very important for Taiwan economically, because many Taiwan companies produce in China for sale to the United States and Taiwan will enter the WTO itself when China does. With both in the WTO, economic ties will grow, ^{→ cost of an point} and so will the costs of confrontation. It is important to understand that Chen supports China's membership in the WTO, and is urging us to grant PNTR.

My expect → from China benefit from a strong Chinese economy

Second of all, China's choice to join the WTO will help change China internally. To join the WTO, China has agreed to stop protecting its state-owned industries from competition. Why is that important? In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in an apartment or house owned by the government, went to work in a factory or farm run by the government, and read newspapers published by the government. State-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their children, the clinics where they received health care, and the stores where they bought food. That system has been an important source of the Communist Party's power. Now, it is shrinking. And when China joins the WTO, that process will accelerate and the private sector will grow faster. This will speed the removal of government from vast areas of people's lives. In important ways, it will take the command and control out of communism.

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Already, many of China's best and brightest are starting companies, or seeking jobs with foreign-owned companies, where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better working environment. That causes Chinese companies to improve the benefits they offer their workers to stay competitive. This process will accelerate as China opens its markets. That is the surest way to improve labor standards in China.

At the same time, these changes have increased labor and political activism, and demands for greater representation and accountability. Last year alone, there were more than 120,000 labor disputes across China. In some places, the government has responded by cracking down. But in others, it has responded by giving people a greater say. Local elections are now held in most of China's 900,000 villages, and have been introduced in some cities as well. In many places, workers are taking grievances to court – and winning. This is the start of a process of economic and social change that we should welcome and encourage by embracing China's entry into the WTO.

To join the WTO, China's reform-minded leaders have also chosen to accelerate the information revolution in China. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China has more than quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, that number is expected to grow to over 20 million. When China joins the WTO, it will eliminate tariffs on information technology products, making the tools of communication even cheaper, better and more widely available.

The four major Internet providers in China just announced that this year, they will pour more than \$1 billion into improving Internet connections. Similarly, today only one in 8 Chinese are linked by telephone. Just last week, authorities gave approval for China's mobile service providers to offer access to more than 40 million new mobile phone subscribers -- which is expected to grow to 100 million by the end of next year. When the Chinese people can easily communicate with each other and with people around the

world, they will have gained an important source for freedom. But once again, our cutting-edge information technology companies will have a chance to contribute that source only if we pass PNTR.

At the same time, we know that China's future depends on decisions that its leaders and people are yet to make. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee they will choose political reform. But by accelerating the process of economic change, it will force China to confront that choice sooner, and make the imperative for the right choice stronger.

Now, many people agree that bringing China into the WTO is a good thing, for some of the reasons I have mentioned. But they say we can just pocket this progress and wait until China changes before we vote yes on PNTR. ^{As I've made clear,} But PNTR is the most effective instrument we have to promote change. A vote to delay PNTR is a vote to delay change.

A related argument is that we need an annual vote in the Congress to keep the pressure on China to improve human rights or religious freedom. But we all know that the annual vote has proven to be an ineffective vehicle for change. For 20 years in a row, this vote has simply affirmed our trading relationship with China. At the same time, I agree that we must maintain pressure on China to improve human rights. That's why we sanctioned China under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. That's why the State Department issued another tough report on China's human rights record this year. That's why two weeks ago, we again sponsored a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's record. Reform in China will only come through a combination of internal change and external validation.

I've argued today that China's membership in the WTO and a vote in favor of PNTR will encourage the right kind of change within China and in the way China interacts with the

world. At the same time, I am deeply concerned that rejection of PNTR will have serious and substantial consequences for our national security.

Failing to pass PNTR is a lose-lose-lose proposition. Rejection will set off a downward spiral that could disrupt stability in Asia, diminish the chance of dialogue across the Taiwan Strait, and deflate hopes for a more constructive relationship between the U.S. and China. Rejecting PNTR would be the worst possible blow to the best possible hope we have had in more than 30 years to encourage positive change in China. In short, all pain and no gain.

For starters, it will hurt forces within China that are trying to move that country in the right direction, and help those determined to oppose change at any cost.

China's decision to join the WTO was driven by leaders committed to reform within and to cooperation with us, despite substantial risks. But the course they advocate is still opposed by powerful forces – including the stalwarts of China's state-dominated economy and its military-industrial complex. The very same ^{interests} forces in China most threatened by the decision of its leaders to accept the WTO reforms and open their economy are also the hard-liners on China's course in the world. These are the ^{key} same ^{ones} forces who've always argued that cooperating with the US is a mistake; ~~the same forces~~ ^{who are} willing to settle differences with Taiwan by force; ~~the same forces~~ ^{who are} most threatened by our alliance with Japan and Korea; ~~the same forces~~ ^{who are} who want to keep the Chinese military selling dangerous technologies around the world; ~~the same forces~~ whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison. In their view, China should respond to the pressures of globalization by ^{lash out} ~~hunkering down~~ instead of opening up.

→ escalating ~~and react~~

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suspect motive rejected

They would interpret rejection of PNTR as a strategic decision by the United States -- whether it is or not -- to pursue a strategy ^{decision to pursue} of confrontation, contention, and containment.

That would strengthen the hand of the hard liners in China who have argued that America's intent is hostile -- to encircle, weaken, and contain China. It could tip the balance in favor of those who want to tighten the internal clamps, invest more heavily in military industries, and ^{build up} ~~hunker down~~ for an "inevitable" struggle with America, while undercutting those who have staked China's future on a policy of greater openness.

Ask yourself: would we be more secure five or ten years down the road with that kind of China? What message would we be sending about the benefits of making concessions to the United States? What kind of progress do you think we would make on labor rights, human rights or the environment? What kind of cooperation do you think we would get on critical issues such as proliferation, arms control, and peacekeeping? The opponents of PNTR have no answer to those questions. But that is what is at stake in this debate.

*↓
because we*

A second consequence of rejecting PNTR would be increased tensions and instability between China and Taiwan at a critical time. Because China's suspicions about our motives would increase, our ability to play a positive, stabilizing role would decrease. ~~Taiwan's economic interdependence with China would also decrease, diminishing the cost to Beijing of confrontation.~~

*Negative
message -
it would signal
to China that
they to work
out differences
with us is
pointless -
our ability
to cooperate
would be*

our standing

Third, rejection of PNTR would weaken ~~us~~ throughout Asia. Every country in the region supports this measure. All our friends and allies in Asia regard U.S.-China relations as critical to the future stability, prosperity, and peace of the region. All look to us to strike the right balance to avoid the twin threats of Chinese weakness and Chinese belligerence.

Asian leaders could well regard American rejection of PNTR as a sign that America no longer recognizes the basic requirements of our role as a leader in Asia, and they would

*undermining
our standing
because by that
we're pointing to*

cooperates

1
narrow-mindedness
America ~~antidote~~
Short-sightedness
adjust accordingly. Because many countries will see these developments as, at least in part, a result of ^{like fundamental blocker} American rigidity, we might end up with reluctant and uncertain friends. Trouble spots in the region would be harder to resolve. Japan and the Republic of Korea would become particularly apprehensive under these conditions.

Fourth, and more broadly, I believe rejection of PNTR would send a jarring signal to friends and allies in the world that America is turning inward; that ironically at the moment of our greatest strength and prosperity, we chose to retreat instead of lead. If America is seen as an increasingly unreliable, unilateral nation, our capacity to lead on a broad range of issues -- from arms control to global poverty to fighting terrorism -- would be severely compromised. That would be a tragic mistake.

The choice before us could not be more clear, or consequential.

By embracing China's membership in the WTO and approving PNTR; by strengthening the reformers instead of the hard-liners in China; we have a chance to encourage the best possible outcome: a China with a leadership that finds strength in partnership with its people and the world. Rejecting PNTR, on the other hand, wouldn't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It simply would empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in China. It would leave China's people with less contact with the democratic world, and more resistance from their government to outside ideas. And our friends and allies would wonder why, after 30 years of pushing China in the right direction, we turned our backs, now that it finally appears to be willing to undergo many of the reforms we have been urging.

We know that the path China takes to the future is a choice only China can make. We cannot control that choice, we can only seek to influence it. Granting China PNTR won't create a perfect China and it won't put an end to all of our concerns. But it will increase

the probability of a future of greater openness and freedom for China. It will lay the foundation for a more peaceful and secure Asia and the world. And it will help create a future of greater peace and prosperity for the world our children will inherit.

This is an historic opportunity. It's the right thing to do. I hope our Congress will agree.
Thank you.

5/1/00 8:00 p.m.

Orzulak

NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SAMUEL R. BERGER
REMARKS TO THE EAST ASIA INSTITUTE
AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
ON CHINA
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
MAY 2, 2000

pleasure
It's an ~~honor~~ for me to be here today. *It seems fitting, at* a time when our nation is debating an agreement that will affect our relationship with China for years to come, it seems appropriate to come to a ~~place~~ *place* that has contributed so much to our understanding of Asia and its role in the world. *ok.*

The students who graduate from ~~this school~~ *Columbia* in two weeks are ~~entering~~ *enter* a world ~~in which~~ *where* globalization has not only shrunk the map; it has fundamentally altered ~~the way we see~~ *at us* the world. ~~We live in a world defined by global markets and geopolitics, megabytes as well as megatons.~~ *as made* *as* *how the world works.*

So it comes as no surprise that the debate over whether ~~can~~ *give* we will ~~grant~~ *give* China permanent normal trade relations status -- called PNTR -- and support its entry into the World Trade Organization is seen by many as essentially a trade debate: Will our workers benefit or won't they? Will we gain jobs or lose them? Will our economy reap the rewards or suffer the consequences? *That is what this debate is about.* In part, ~~they are right.~~ *they are right.* I believe the answers to those questions are clear.

The agreement we negotiated requires China to open its markets in sweeping ways to our products and services. Chinese tariffs, from telecommunications to agriculture, will fall by half or more over the next five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers in America, without being forced to ~~relocate~~ *more factories* to China. We will have *much* better access to a market of over a billion people *and*

mean more *in our market*
 that will ~~result in~~ American exports, growth and jobs. At the same time, this agreement provides safeguards for American producers against any surges of imports from China.

unprecedented
What do we give in return?
 In return, all we agree to do is maintain the market access ~~that~~ we already offer to China and treat China the same as the other 132 WTO members whose trade status is not subject to yearly renewal. That's it. We do not lower our tariffs one cent. We do not in any way, shape or form make it easier for China to sell products in America. And we do not give up any safeguards that protect our market now.

Keep in mind: China will enter the WTO whether we pass PNTR or not. What the Congress must decide is whether America will ~~get~~ *enjoy* the benefits of the agreement we negotiated, or whether we will forfeit those benefits to our competitors in Europe and Japan. The issue is whether, having opened the door of the world's largest market, we are simply going to hold it open for our competitors or walk in ourselves.

Some say that rejecting PNTR for China is simply a vote for the economic status quo *over* *I disagree.*
~~that when your competitors have an enormous advantage of 40 years~~
~~disadvantage would be far worse than the status quo.~~ In the global economy, companies

And must produce for global markets to remain competitive. ~~There is no status quo on this.~~ *standing still means falling behind.*
~~the issue is whether we are going to move ahead or fall behind.~~ Fully one-third of America's new jobs in this decade ~~are~~ *have been* tied to exports – and 96 percent of our ~~potential~~ customers lie beyond our borders. We cannot afford to take our prosperity for granted; it depends on what we do, not who we are.

In short, the economic arguments for PNTR are overwhelming. But they are only part of the reason why we should move forward. *For this is an issue of national security*
as well. What is at stake here is not just only how we build our economy
~~the United States has a competing national security interest in China joining the WTO and our approving PNTR. This issue is critical~~
~~the United States has a competing national security interest in China joining the WTO and our approving PNTR. This issue is critical~~
~~the United States has a competing national security interest in China joining the WTO and our approving PNTR. This issue is critical~~
 Remember: We have the luxury to focus on expanding prosperity and seeking ~~out~~ new markets today because the hard-won *notoriety* in the Cold *now we build a safer world,*

War made possible a world ~~that~~ largely at peace, a world in which our values of democracy and openness are ascendant. But this is not a world without dangers. That is especially true in Asia -- with tensions across the Taiwan Straits, on the Korean Peninsula, in South Asia, and elsewhere.

The United States is a Pacific nation. We have fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century. Our future is tied to Asia. And the stability of Asia -- economically, politically and militarily -- is inextricably entwined with the stability and direction of China. As China develops over the next decade, the path it illuminates or the shadow it casts will be felt far from its borders.

China will write that future as it answers some fundamental questions: It has extended some freedoms -- but will it gain the stability that can only come from respecting human rights and permitting opposing political voices to be heard? It is reforming its economy ^{forces} ~~but~~ will it unleash the essential ~~ingredient~~ ^{encouragement of innovation?} necessary for sustained growth in the information age -- namely access by its people to knowledge and ~~innovation~~? It has become deeply engaged in the world -- but will it make a broad commitment to work within the global system and do its part to address global challenges ^{such as} ~~like~~ the spread of weapons of mass destruction and climate change? It is growing stronger -- but will it use that strength to build a more secure Asia, or to threaten the freedom and security of its neighbors?

~~For us:~~
These are the real questions today. How will China evolve, both internally and in the way it relates to the world? ~~And the question for us is~~ how do we best encourage China to evolve in a constructive direction? It is my strong conviction that ^{approval of PNTR} ~~China joins the~~ ~~WTO and we approve PNTR~~ ^{and its accession to the WTO will make it} ~~it is~~ more likely to emerge as a more open, stable,

~~cooperative nation that plays by the rules of the international system and provides greater~~ ^{for China to}

freedom to its people. If we reject PNTR, I am equally convinced that we will subvert that goal and damage our national security. Let me explain why.

In the United States
As we debate the future of our relationship with China, we must remember that there is also a struggle about the future going on in China today. To understand it, we have to understand the profound challenges facing this enormously complex country.

China today is certainly not an open society, but it is more open than it was two decades ago. Over the last 20 years, China has made great progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of abject poverty. In ways that are incomplete, but nonetheless real for millions of ordinary Chinese citizens, the changes within China have given its people greater scope to live their lives.

But China's economy still is not creating jobs fast enough to meet the needs of its people. Only a third of the economy is private enterprise. Today, \$300 billion worth of products -- equal to one-third of China's gross domestic product -- sits in Chinese warehouses because they are so poorly made. Meanwhile, at least 100 million people are looking for work. And every year, 12 million more people jobs
must be created just for people entering the workforce.
a year just to keep up.

The more reform-minded figures in the Chinese leadership who negotiated China's entry into the WTO are not blind to these realities. They ~~know~~ recognize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control -- more in the short term, ~~temporary~~ unemployment, perhaps even social unrest and greater demands for freedom. But they have ~~concluded~~ decided that without competition from the outside, without opening their markets, without building their future in cooperation with others, China will not be able to build a modern, successful economy. By agreeing with us to join the WTO, they have made a choice with profound and potentially very positive consequences.

Why?

~~Let me tell you why I believe that is true.~~

First of all, that choice can change the way China relates to the world.

China's entry into the WTO -- into the global economy -- will enmesh China into an international system that will hold its rules and laws universally applied. ~~China is joining an institution that sets international rules and expects its members to abide by them.~~ In fact, for the first time, some of China's most important decisions will be subject to the review of an international body, with binding settlement procedures to resolve disputes.

Opponents say that none of this matters because China will break its promises. The fact is, for the most part, when China has entered into a global treaty regime, its record of compliance is quite good. This is true for the Biological Weapons Convention, the Chemical Weapons Convention, and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. ~~In fact,~~ China has strengthened its export controls over dangerous materials as a result of these treaties. We still have ~~serious~~ problems with some of China's sales, particularly of missile technology, where China is not bound by any international obligations. ~~But~~ Overall, China has shown that it is far more likely to abide by international norms when it is operating within an international system that it has embraced. And if China does not comply with all of its WTO obligations, ~~we still are~~ ~~better off having it in~~ because then its actions will be subject to rules ~~embraced~~ ^{accepted} and judgments enforced by 135 nations. So it is profoundly in our interest to ~~validate~~ ^{embrace} China's entry into the WTO by passing PNTR.

By agreeing with us on the terms of their entry into the WTO, China also has chosen the path of more constructive relations with the United States. ^a Stable, cooperative, clear-eyed ~~U.S.-China~~ ^{relationships with China} ~~will~~ increase the likelihood that we can cooperate -- bilaterally, in the UN

Security Council and elsewhere -- on such crucial issues as nonproliferation, regional security, peacekeeping, human rights, and arms control. ~~Our~~ ^{We should have no illusions:} problems with China will

not disappear, but stabilizing U.S.-China relations ^{contributes to the conditions} ~~contributes to both the atmosphere and~~ ~~is~~ necessary to deal cooperatively with issues of deep concern to us. We will help do that if we now approve PNTR.

PNTR is especially important for our ability to play a constructive role on the issue of ^{particularly at this critical time.} Taiwan. Since 1979, we have ~~worked to build~~ ^{tried} to maintain stability across the Taiwan Strait, by recognizing one China, encouraging a peaceful resolution of differences, and promoting dialogue. China, Taiwan -- and our relationship with both -- have benefited.

Chen Shui-bian, the newly-elected President of Taiwan, recognizes this reality. He knows that good U.S.-China relations are vital for Taiwan's own security because all three nations benefit from ^{a stable} ~~an environment in which we work to resolve differences~~ peacefully. PNTR also is very important for Taiwan economically, ~~because~~ Taiwan companies export products from China and benefit from a strong Chinese economy.

When China joins the WTO, so will Taiwan. With both in the WTO, economic ties will grow, and so will the costs of confrontation. It is important to understand that ^{Taiwan} ~~Chen~~ supports China's membership in the WTO, and is urging us to grant PNTR.

Second of all, China's choice to join the WTO will help change China internally. ^(Hardly overnight, but over the longer term.) To join the WTO, China has agreed to stop protecting its state-owned industries from competition. Why is that important? In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in an apartment or house owned by the government, went to work in a factory or farm run by the government, and read newspapers published by the government. State-run workplaces ~~also~~ operated the schools where they sent their children, the clinics where they received health care, and the stores where they bought food. That system has been an important source of the Communist Party's power. Now, it is shrinking. And when China joins the WTO, ^{The state sector will shrink faster as the} ~~that process will accelerate and the private sector will grow faster.~~ ^{grows stronger.}

This will speed the removal of government from vast areas of people's lives. In important ways, it will take the command and control out of communism.

¶ Already, many of China's best and brightest are starting companies, or seeking jobs with foreign-owned companies, where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better working environment. That causes Chinese companies to improve the benefits they offer their workers to stay competitive. This process will accelerate as China opens its markets. That is the surest way to improve labor standards in China.

At the same time, these changes have increased labor and political activism, and demands for greater representation and accountability. Last year alone, there were more than 120,000 labor disputes across China. In some places, the government has responded by cracking down. But in others, it has responded by giving people a greater say. Local elections are now held in most of China's 900,000 villages, and have been introduced in some cities as well. In many places, workers are taking grievances to court – and winning. This is the start of a process of economic and social change that we should welcome and encourage by embracing China's entry into the WTO.

To join the WTO, China's reform-minded leaders have also chosen to accelerate the information revolution in China. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China has more than quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, that number is expected to grow to over 20 million. When China joins the WTO, it will eliminate tariffs on information technology products, making the tools of communication even cheaper, better and more widely available.

The four major Internet providers in China just announced that this year, they will pour more than \$1 billion into improving Internet connections. Similarly, today only one in 8

Chinese are linked by telephone. Just last week, authorities gave approval for China's mobile service providers to offer access to more than 40 million new mobile phones.

have a

But

as these changes gain momentum

It's not just the Internet.

subscribers -- which is expected to grow to 100 million by the end of next year. When the Chinese people can easily communicate with each other and with people around the world, they will have gained an important ^{ingredient for} ~~source for~~ freedom. ^{And} ~~But once again, our~~ cutting-edge ^{American} information technology companies will have a chance to contribute ^{to that} ~~that~~ ^{process} ~~source~~ only if we pass PNTR.

~~There are no guarantees~~ ~~about the future that come with~~
~~At the same time, we know that China's future depends on decisions that its leaders and~~ ^{China's}
people are yet to make. ~~Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee they will choose~~ ^{every}
political reform. But by accelerating the process of economic change, it ^{will be} ~~will force~~ China ^{one}
to confront that choice sooner, and ~~make~~ ^{will be} the imperative for the right choice stronger. ^{WTO}
^{will be forced} ^{with} ^{us} ^{participates.}

^{Some} ~~Now, many people agree that bringing China into the WTO is a good thing, for some of~~
the reasons I have mentioned. But they say we can just pocket this progress and wait ^{but}
until China changes before we ^{approve} ~~vote on PNTR.~~ ^{But as the progress I just described}
~~under clear PNTR is the most effective instrument we have to promote change. A vote~~
~~to delay PNTR is a vote to delay change.~~

^{Others argue}
~~A related argument is that we need an annual vote in the Congress to keep the pressure on~~
China to improve human rights or religious freedom. ~~But we all know that the annual~~ ^{But}
~~vote has proven to be an ineffective vehicle for change.~~ ^{For 20 years in a row, this vote}

^{its hard to see how that gives us leverage}
~~has simply affirmed our trading relationship with China. At the same time, I agree that~~
~~But that does not mean we that trade is a sufficient~~ ^{let up one}
~~we must maintain pressure on China to improve human rights. That's why we sanctioned~~
China under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. That's why the State
Department issued ^{another} ~~another~~ tough report on China's human rights record this year. That's
why two weeks ago, we ~~again~~ sponsored a resolution in the UN Human Rights
~~Commission condemning China's record. Reform in China will only come through a~~
~~combination of internal change and external validation.~~ ^(We can contribute to both.)

if has become a contentious ritual, not an effective instrument for change.

human rights policy but that we should

in China, then the United States should be an instrument of that change, not a bystander

I've argued today that China's membership in the WTO and a vote in favor of PNTR will encourage the right kind of change ^{both} within China and ^{how} in the way China interacts with the world. At the same time, I am deeply concerned that rejection of PNTR will have serious and substantial consequences for our national security.

~~Rejecting~~ ^{risky} ~~Failing to pass~~ PNTR is a ~~risky~~ proposition. Rejection will set off a downward spiral that could disrupt stability in Asia, diminish the chance of dialogue across the Taiwan Strait, and deflate hopes for a more constructive relationship between the U.S. and China. Rejecting PNTR would be the worst possible blow to the best possible hope we have had in more than 30 years to encourage positive change in China. ~~In short, all~~
~~pain and no gain.~~

For starters, it will hurt ^{The} forces within China that are trying to ^{open} ~~move~~ that country ^{to change,} ~~in the~~ right direction, and help those determined to oppose change at any cost.

~~China's decision to join the WTO was driven by leaders committed to reform within and to cooperation with us, despite substantial risks. But the course they advocate is still opposed by powerful forces—including the stalwarts of China's state-dominated economy and its military-industrial complex.~~ The very same interests in China most threatened by the decision of its leaders to accept the WTO reforms and open their economy are also the hard-liners on China's course in the world. These are the ones who've ~~always~~ argued that cooperating with the US is a mistake; who are ^{ready} ~~willing~~ to settle differences with Taiwan by force; ~~who are most threatened by our alliance with Japan and Korea; who want to keep the Chinese military~~ ^{have most at stake in} selling dangerous technologies around the world; ~~whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison.~~ In their view, ^{On their view, China should respond to the pressures} China should respond to the pressures of globalization by lashing out instead of ^{opening up.} ~~opening up.~~ ^{or globalization by hunkering down instead of}

Because the WTO agreement we negotiated is so manifestly in our economic interest, the Chinese government and people ^{simply} will not believe we rejected it for economic reasons.

They will suspect that ~~we rejected~~ rejection of PNTR ^{is} a strategic decision -- whether it is or not -- to pursue a course of confrontation, contention, and containment. ~~It would~~

~~signal to China that trying to work out differences with us is a pointless exercise, because we will not live up to our commitments. That would strengthen the hand of the hard liners in China who have argued that America's intent is hostile -- to encircle, weaken, and contain China. It could tip the balance in favor of those who want to tighten the internal clamps, invest more heavily in military industries, and build up for an "inevitable" struggle with America, while undercutting those who have staked China's future on a policy of greater openness.~~

If we treat China as an adversary, we are more likely to make it so, and we will find ourselves confronting each other across Asia and the world.

Ask yourself: would we be more secure five or ten years down the road ~~with that kind of~~ ^{China} ~~taking that path?~~ What message would we be sending about the benefits of making concessions to the United States? What kind of progress do you think we would make ^{in China} on labor rights, human rights or the environment? What kind of cooperation do you think we would get on critical issues such as proliferation, arms control, and peacekeeping? ~~The opponents of PNTR have no answer to those questions. But that is what is at stake in this debate.~~ ^{too} ~~decision.~~

A second consequence of rejecting PNTR would be ^{to} increased tensions and instability between China and Taiwan at a critical time. ~~Because~~ China's suspicions about our

motives would increase, ^{and} our ability to play a positive, stabilizing role would decrease.

That is not in Taiwan's interest. That is not in China's interest. And that most certainly is not in our interest.

Third, rejection of PNTR would weaken ~~our standing~~ ^{The United States} throughout Asia. Every country in the region supports ~~this measure~~ ^{our taking this action.} All our friends and allies in Asia regard U.S.-China

relations as critical to the future stability, prosperity, and peace of the region. All look to us to strike the right balance ⁻⁻ to avoid the twin threats of Chinese weakness and Chinese belligerence.

Asian leaders could well regard American rejection of PNTR as a sign that America no longer recognizes the basic requirements of our role as a leader in Asia, and they would adjust accordingly. ^{world} Because many countries ~~will~~ ^{could} see these developments as, at least in part, a result of American short-sightedness, we ~~might~~ ^{might} end up with reluctant and uncertain friends. ~~Trouble spots in the region would be harder to resolve.~~ Japan and the Republic of Korea would ^{be} ~~become~~ particularly ~~apprehensive~~ ^{flustered} under these conditions.

Fourth, and more broadly, I believe rejection of PNTR would send a jarring signal to friends and allies in the world that America is turning inward; that ironically at the moment of our greatest strength and prosperity, we chose to retreat instead of lead. If America is seen as an increasingly unreliable, unilateral nation, our capacity to lead on a broad range of issues -- from arms control to global poverty to ~~fighting terrorism~~ ^{peacemaking} -- would be ~~severely~~ ^{seriously} compromised. That would be a ~~tragic~~ ^{serious self-inflicted} mistake.

The choice before us could not be more clear, or consequential.

By embracing China's membership in the WTO and approving PNTR; by strengthening the reformers instead of the hard-liners in China; we have a chance to encourage the best possible outcome: a China with a leadership that finds strength in partnership with its people and the world. Rejecting PNTR, on the other hand, wouldn't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It simply would empower the most rigid, ~~and democratic~~ ^{nationalistic} elements in China. ~~It would leave China's people with less contact with the democratic world, and more resistance from their government to outside ideas.~~ And our friends and allies would wonder why, after 30 years of pushing China in the right direction, we turned our backs, now that it finally appears to be willing to undergo many of the reforms we have been urging.

We know that the path China takes to the future is a choice only China can make. We cannot control that choice, we can only seek to influence it. Granting China PNTR won't create a perfect China and it ^{certainly} won't put an end to all of our concerns. But it will increase the probability of a future of greater openness and freedom for China. It will ~~lay the~~ ^{contribute to} ~~foundation for~~ a more peaceful and secure Asia ^{and the world}. And it will help create a future of greater peace and prosperity for the world our children will inherit.

This is an historic opportunity. It's the right thing to do. I hope our Congress will agree.

Thank you.