

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Speechwriting

Series/Staff Member: Jeff Shesol

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 19947

FolderID:

Folder Title:

China Framing Speech SAIS [School of Advanced International Studies] 3/8/00 [2]

Stack:

S

Row:

91

Section:

6

Shelf:

8

Position:

2

~~3/6/00 8:00 p.m.~~

~~Orzulak/ Shesol edits~~ 3/7/00 12:30 p.m.

Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
~~FEBRUARY~~ MARCH 8, 2000**

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has ~~had a unique exchange program with Nanking University. Some of you have traveled to China to learn a little bit more about that~~ shared a unique program with Nanjing University. It trains future leaders in both of our countries who will guide our relationship in country, and ~~some Chinese students have come here to learn more about us.~~ the decades to come. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could ~~forever~~ change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

Last fall, as many of you know, America signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. ~~If~~ When China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. ~~The immediate question~~ But for us: are we as a country going to ~~embrace that choice and~~ are we going to benefit from China's entry, we must first ~~it economically?~~ For that to happen, the Congress must establish grant it Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China status, which is the same arrangement we have given to 132 of the 134 countries in the WTO. Today, I am submitting legislation ~~that would do just that.~~ to the Congress that will do just that.

Let me be clear: the vote the Congress is going to take this spring is not on whether China will join the WTO; it is only on whether the United States will share in the economic benefits. A

vote against PNTR will cost America jobs because our competitors in Canada, Europe,
and Asia will capture part of the China market that we otherwise could have served.

At the same time, I understand that members of Congress are much more likely to vote for PNTR
if they understand why it is in America's fundamental interest to bring China into the WTO, and
why we made the choice we made last fall. So I'm going to work as hard as I can to encourage
Americans to embrace that choice. make the American people understand why this is so
important, and why Congress should grant China PNTR. Because this agreementBecause I
believe with all my heart that the agreement we reached represents the most significant step in
our relationship withwe have taken to create both jobs in America and positive change in China
 since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago. [2]

~~I don't expect it to happy without a healthy debate. We have some important questions to ask~~
~~and answer, as we try to get a clearer picture of the changes in China, and bring our own~~
~~changing perceptions into clearer focus.~~For a long time now, Americans have debated our
relationship with China, partly because our perceptions of China keep changing.

In the early 1900s, most Americans saw China either through the eyes of traders seeking open to
win markets, or missionaries seeking open to win hearts. During World War II, China was our
 ally. During the Korean War, it was our adversary. ~~During~~At the dawn of the Cold War, when I
was growing up, it was a question mark -- who lost it was a counterweight. China? Later, it was a
counterweight to the Soviet Union. Now, in some people's eyes, it's a caricature: either the next
 great capitalist tiger with the biggest market in the world, or the world's last great communist
 dragon and a threat to peace and stability in Asia -- the land of a billion prisoners, customers, or
 the land of a billion customers, prisoners.

Our changing perceptions of China ~~are~~ reflections of only superficially reflected the profound changes that ~~nation has undergone — the fallen~~ have taken place within China itself — the falling dynasties, foreign invasions, civil wars, cruel famines, ~~and reigns of terror; terror,~~ a communist revolution, an industrial revolution, and now the beginning of a market revolution.

Through all this upheaval, there has been one constant: ~~America's stake,~~ America's stake -- our profound national ~~interest,~~ interest -- in the outcome. ~~Every American President for~~ For the past 30 years, every American President, without regard to party, has worked for a China that contributes to the stability, not the instability, of Asia; that is open to our products ~~and~~ businesses; that upholds the rule of law at home and plays by ~~the rules of the road~~ international rules around the world. ~~We make no apologies for it.~~ There is a simple reason. We are a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century. ~~Moreover,~~ But we are also a nation that cherishes liberty and believes that if people are free to make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place.

~~Now, the path China takes is China's choice. But America, too, has a choice — the U.S. Congress has a choice — and it is the choice between hope and fear. We can act on our belief that China can, someday, be a good partner; or we can act on our suspicion that it never will. If we had a crystal ball, we could see exactly what China will look like in 20 years. But we don't. Every nation defines its greatness in different ways, and every nation makes its own choices. We don't know what choices China will make. But we do control the choices we make. We can work to move China in the right direction; or we can turn our backs and almost certainly send it in the wrong direction.~~

I believe ~~our choice is clear. This~~ this WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance ~~every goal Americans have~~ the goals America has worked for in China the past 30 years. ~~Let me tell you how.~~ I want to talk today about how and why.

This has been called a free trade agreement. But let's understand from the beginning: it is not like most trade agreements. Usually, when we sign trade agreements, we have to weigh the benefits of opening another country's markets against the dislocations that can take place when we open our markets further. But this ~~As a trade agreement, it's an enormous opportunity for America. It's the kind~~ agreement is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. It requires China to open its markets to our products and services, but all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already give to China. It does not change our tariffs one bit. This is the kind of agreement every country wishes for or works toward, the kind you get maybe once in a generation.

~~Over the past seven years, we have worked hard to open markets around the world to American products. It's a question of simple arithmetic. We are a country with 22 percent of the world's income and four percent of the world's population. If we're going to continue to prosper in the 21st Century, we had better be selling something to somebody somewhere else.~~

more and more things to more and more people around the world. And where better than China? With more than a billion people -- fully over one-fifth of the world's population -- China is the biggest potential market in the world. Under this ~~world, and under China's WTO accession agreement, America will gain unprecedented access to it.~~

~~this massive, untapped market, while granting China no new access to our own.~~

Chinese tariffs in every sector, from telecommunications products to automobiles to agriculture, will fall by half or more ~~in~~ over five years. For the first time, our companies will be able to sell and distribute products in China made by workers here in America, without being forced to relocate manufacturing to China, sell through a ~~America -- without transferring government middle-man, or transfer valuable technology or operations to China. We'll~~ We'll be able to export products without exporting jobs. ~~For the first time, China will agree to play by the same~~

~~trading rules we do.~~ Meanwhile, ~~we'll~~we'll get new safeguards against any surges of imports ~~and maintain the strongest possible protections against dumping products.~~ from China.

~~The agreement our team has negotiated is a blockbuster for American business, American investors, American workers, American farmers.~~ If the Congress passes PNTR, then we reap these rewards. ~~If~~the Congress rejects it, then our competitors do. ~~Keep this in mind: China's going to grow no matter what we do.~~ If we don't I will say this again, because we must understand the consequences of saying no: if we don't sell our products to China, some other country will be happy to. ~~So if we turn our backs on this opportunity -- if we unilaterally disarm as a global trading power -- well, we're going to~~ to, and we will spend the next twenty years regretting it. ~~We're going to~~ We will spend the next ~~twenty~~20 years wondering why we ever handed over all the benefits we ~~negotiated,~~negotiated -- and gave up the competitive edge ~~we've earned,~~we've earned -- to Europe, Japan, and others.

So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a ~~no-brainer,~~win-win. Most of its critics don't even question that. Critics are more likely to ~~point to the threats China made on Taiwan a few weeks ago.~~ Or to the human rights abuses documented in our State Department report. Or to ~~stories about China's nuclear weapons program.~~ And say that: China is a growing threat to Taiwan and its neighbors, and we shouldn't strengthen it. Or, China violates labor rights and environmental standards, and we shouldn't enrich it. Or, China is an offender of human rights, and we shouldn't reward it. Or, China is a dangerous proliferator, and we shouldn't empower it. ~~all of those~~ And most of their concerns are absolutely ~~valid,~~legitimate.

Those of us who support ~~Permanent Normal Trade Relations~~the China WTO agreement are under no illusion about the government in Beijing. It is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. It denies its citizens the most fundamental ~~freedoms to its citizens.~~ It denies the most basic rights of free speech and religious expression. ~~Its record on labor and environmental~~It

defines its interests in the world in ways that are often at odd with our rights is a long litany
~~of abuse.~~

own. But let me be very clear: the question is not whether we approve or disapprove of
 conditions in China. The question ~~is whether we will do what we can~~ is, what can we do to
 improve ~~them.~~ them?

This is not about economic rights versus human rights, or economic security versus national
 security. That is a false choice. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to
 promote both. Membership in the WTO won't create a free society in China overnight, or
guarantee that China will play by global rules. But over time, we believe it's going to move
 China much further in the right direction.

To understand ~~why, how,~~ it's important to understand why China is willing to do all of this in the
 first place. Why they are doing this is ~~at least~~ just as important as what they are doing.

Over the past 20 years, China has made ~~a lot of great~~ progress in building a new economy, lifting
 more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its
~~wireless~~ efforts to build a new communications network that is adding the equivalent of a new
 Baby Bell every ~~year.~~

year. Nationwide, China has seen more than one million nonprofit and social organizations
emerge, and a 2,500 percent explosion of print and broadcast media.

But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only about one-third of its economy is private
 enterprise. And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is
 directed toward state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy.

~~Most~~ Much of China's economy today still basically operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat.

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in China are still looking for work. And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create new jobs. It's ironic: many Americans are legitimately concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. But the danger of a weak China, beset by internal chaos and disintegration is ~~just as~~ also real, and China's leaders know it.

~~They understand that China cannot maintain stability or ensure prosperity by maintaining the status quo. They know that without competition or investment from the outside, So China's~~
leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control – temporary unemployment, social unrest, and greater demands for freedom. But they have also concluded that without competition, China will not be able to build or attract investment or build world-class industries that can survive and grow in the global economy.

With this agreement, China has chosen reform, despite its risks. ~~That is China's choice. But again, I return to our own: Do we want to be~~ the risks. The question for America is: do we want to play a constructive role in encouraging those reforms? Or simply do we want to reject China's choice, stand aside, as skeptics, and perhaps make failure a self-fulfilling prophecy?

prophecy? I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we must embrace, for our own good and the good of the world.

When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I try to remind people that the Chinese are engaged in the same kind of debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume its rightful place in the world. If China joins the WTO and we turn our backs, many Chinese will see this as an American vote for failure in China.

~~It was China, let's remember, that~~ Let's not forget: there is a reason China built the Great Wall. It has endured centuries of invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history to keep the world out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion and insecurity and ~~reach out to~~ engage the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to ~~the world,~~ us, do we really want to slap that hand away?

~~I'll say this again: I am telling you, everything I have ever learned about human nature, in my~~ life, and everything I have learned about China, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing China's ~~China's~~ actions if we bring it into ~~a common endeavor~~ the world than if we shut it out.

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be subject to the review of an international body. ~~For the first time,~~ China is conceding that governments cannot behave arbitrarily either at home or abroad, that their actions are subject to rules consistently applied. Opponents say that doesn't matter; China will just break its promises. But if ~~China~~ it does, we're still ~~in a better position, off,~~ because it ~~won't~~ won't be able to blame U.S. bullying. Its actions will be subject to rules embraced and judgments passed by 135 nations.

But the change this agreement can bring from the outside-in is nothing compared to the change it can bring from the inside-out. By joining the WTO, China is ~~slashing the tariffs that protect its~~

~~state-owned industries. It is importing not just our products but one of our most cherished principles~~ not simply agreeing to import more of our products; it is agreeing to import one of democracy's most cherished principles: economic freedom. The more China liberalizes its economy, the more fully it will liberates the ~~human~~ potential of its people --- their initiative, their imagination, their spirit of enterprise. ~~When~~ And when individuals have the power not just to dream but to realize ~~their~~ those dreams, they will demand a greater say in their own destiny.

~~More~~ Already, more and more, China's best and brightest are ~~seeking jobs not with the state but~~ starting their own companies, or eeking jobs with foreign-owned companies --- where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better work environment. ~~That, or they're starting their own companies.~~ In fits and starts, ~~and~~ for the first time, China may become a society where people get ahead based on what they know rather than who they know.

Surveys show that American businesses in China are leading the market in developing human resources -- by emphasizing teamwork and respect for individual rights. In turn, Chinese firms are realizing that unless they treat employees with respect, they will lose out in the competition for top talent. This process will only accelerate as China joins the WTO, and we should encourage it , because it will lift standards for Chinese workers -- and their expectations.

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, by slashing the tariffs that protect its state-owned industries, China is ~~taking~~ speeding a process that is removing government from vast areas of its people lives. This step effectively takes the command and control out of communism.

Let's not forget how communism works. In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up ~~in the morning in~~ an apartment or house owned by their government, went to work in a factory or farm run by their government, read newspapers ~~dictated~~ published by their government. State-run

workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their ~~kids, children,~~ the clinics where they ~~got~~ received health care, and the stores where they bought ~~their~~ food.

That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power and control. Now people are leaving those firms, and when China joins the WTO, they will leave them faster. The Chinese government will no longer be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny rolled into one. It will have fewer instruments to control ~~of repression,~~ people's lives, fewer means to ~~buy~~ the loyalty of its people. win their loyalty. And that may lead to profound change.

A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes in the city of Shenyang in China. Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in massive state-run industries. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their jobs - and their benefits. Last September, ~~on the Shenyang province of China.~~ ~~To ease the tensions caused by economic change,~~ Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. So to ease tensions, the local government has given ~~its~~ the people a say in how the ~~province~~ city is run. On a limited basis, citizens now have the right to vote in local elections. It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step ~~toward greater political freedom.~~ And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: ~~"This"~~ This is the beginning of a process. We realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." ~~If that sounds familiar, that's because it was spoken a decade ago by communist leaders from Poland to Russia to Nicaragua. It was a gamble~~ This is not the first time a communist country has

taken this gamble. But the genie of freedom will not go back in the bottle. As Earl Warren ~~they each made with their people. And, in every case, the state lost and the people won. As Earl Warren said: "Liberty~~ once said: "liberty is the most contagious force in the world."

How will ~~it~~ liberty spread, in this new century? The answer is obvious: in ~~an~~ the information age, liberty is carried in part by cell phone; it is conducted by cable modem. ~~China's~~ China's information infrastructure is growing fast, ~~at~~ by orders of magnitude that defy measurement. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China more than quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, the number is expected to grow to 20 million. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has 1.2 billion people.

And when China joins the WTO, ~~eliminating~~ it will eliminate its tariffs on information technology ~~products, products.~~ That means the tools of communication will only become cheaper, better, and more widely available. This will allow the citizens of China to communicate with each other --- to share ideas and information --- in ways that no government can control. ~~It will connect Chinese citizens to one another and the world outside. Think about~~ We know how much the Internet has changed America -- and we are already an open society. ~~Imagine~~ Just imagine how much it could change China.

There is no question ~~that~~ China has been trying to crack down on the Internet. Well, good luck. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet, pushing back, trying to fit the genie back into the bottle. Well, it won't fit. ~~In China today, the one-party state is still powerful, but with one click of a mouse, a Chinese child can find new freedoms that are even more powerful.~~

Internet is like trying to nail Jello to the wall. It just proves how real these changes are and how they threaten the status quo. It's not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world, but for accelerating it.

多
2

I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to take this risk, how could we possibly turn our backs?

This is not to say that ~~this agreement will~~ the WTO alone will accomplish the goals of our policy toward China. Nobody who supports ~~it~~ China's membership, for example, believes that bringing China into the WTO is, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. Change will only come through a combination of internal pressure and external validation of China's human rights struggle. And we must maintain our leadership in the latter, even as the WTO agreement contributes to the former.

That's why we sanctioned China as a ~~"country of particular concern"~~ under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are ~~once~~ again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation. And we will continue to reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question, and ~~to~~ make absolutely clear that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan must be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

In other words, we must and will continue to defend our interests and our ideals with candor and consistency. But we will not and cannot do so by isolating China from the very forces ~~that~~ may most likely to change it, the very forces already empowering its people to build a better future.

If we did that, it would be a gift to the hard-liners in China's government who don't want their country to be part of the world. Keep in mind: These are the same people most eager to settle differences with Taiwan by force. The same people most threatened by our alliances with Japan and South Korea. The same people who would like to keep the Chinese military in the business of selling dangerous technologies around the world. The same people whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison camps.

~~Isolating China won't~~ Voting against PNTR won't free a single prisoner ~~there, in China,~~ or create a single job ~~here, in America,~~ or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in the Chinese government. It would leave ~~China an insecure, hostile, brooding presence on the world stage. It would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with democratic peoples and ideas, and make them more reliant on their government. It would delay the day of change in China and leave the whole world less secure. That would be a tragic mistake.~~

the democratic world, more resistance from their government to outside ideas. Our friends and allies would wonder why, after 30 years of pushing China in the right direction, we turned our backs now.

It find it encouraging that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree with that. The people of Taiwan agree. Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland, and they strongly support PNTR for China. The people of Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and free expression for his people. And he wrote to me that this agreement "represents the best long-term hope for China to become a member of good standing of the international community . . . We fear that should ratification fail . . . ~~there is a risk not only of~~

~~economic back-pedaling and a slowing of the reform process, but also that the economic chill would affect Hong Kong and China's neighbors in the region. Clearly, any hope for the political and legal reform process would also recede.~~ Martin Lee wants us to vote in favor of PNTR.

~~We are all concerned by religious repression in China. Yet most~~ Most of the evangelicals I know who have missions ~~there~~ in China also want China in the WTO because they know that it will encourage freedom of thought and more contact with the outside world. ~~Even~~ Many of the people who have paid the greatest price under Chinese repression agree, too. Ren Wending is one of the fathers of the Chinese human rights movement. In the late 1970s, he was thrown in prison for founding the China Human Rights League. In the 1980s, he helped lead the demonstrations at Tiananmen Square. In the 1990s, he was thrown in prison again. ~~[He has endured intimidation, threats to his family, and threats to his life.]~~ Yet, he says of this deal: "before, the sky was black, now it is light. This can be a new beginning."

For these people, fighting for freedom in China is not an academic exercise or a legislative debate, it is their life's work. ~~How can any of us who care about human rights in China possibly substitute our judgment for theirs?~~ They are telling us that this is the right thing to do.

If you believe in a future of greater openness and freedom for the people of China; you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of greater prosperity for the American people, you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of peace and security for Asia and the world, you should be for this agreement. This is the right thing to do. It is a historic opportunity. And I am going to work as hard as I can to convince Congress and the American people that America should embrace it, and lead the world to do the same. Thank ~~you~~ you.

3/6/00 1:00 p.m.
~~Orzulak~~8:00 p.m.
Orzulak/ Shesol edits

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
FEBRUARY 8, 2000**

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has had a unique exchange program with Nanking University. Some of you have traveled to China to learn a little bit more about that country, and some Chinese students have come here to learn more about us. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could forever change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

Last fall, as many of you know, ~~we~~America signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. If China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. The immediate question for us is: are we as a country going to embrace that choice and are we going to benefit from it economically? For that to happen, ~~we must grant China~~the Congress must establish Permanent Normal Trade Relations status. And today, with China. Today, I am submitting legislation ~~to the Congress that will~~that would do just that.

~~Now, every great debate introduces new terms to the American public, and the debate over China's entry into the WTO is no different. It's not hard to imagine most Americans flipping through channels, hearing the words "Permanent Normal Trade Relations," and flipping to something else. But I'm going to work as hard as I can to make the American people understand why this is so important, and why Congress should grant China PNTR. Because I believe with all~~

~~my heart that~~ this agreement represents the most significant step in our relationship with China since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago. [?]

~~For a long time now, Americans have debated our relationship with China, partly because our perceptions of China keep changing. I don't expect it to happen~~^{er}~~without a healthy debate. We have some important questions to ask and answer, as we try to get a clearer picture of the changes in China, and bring our own changing perceptions into clearer focus.~~

In the early 1900s, most Americans saw China either through the eyes of traders seeking open markets, or missionaries seeking open hearts. During World War II, China was our ally. During the Korean War, it was our adversary. ~~When I was growing up, it was a question mark — who lost China?~~ During the Cold War, it was a counterweight. Now, in some people's eyes, it's a caricature: either the next great capitalist tiger with the biggest market in the world, or the world's last great communist dragon and a threat to peace and stability in Asia -- the land of a billion prisoners, or the land of a billion customers.

~~And all these~~ Our changing perceptions of China ~~have only begun to reflect~~ are reflections of the profound changes within China itself — the falling that nation has undergone — the fallen dynasties, foreign invasions, civil wars, cruel famines, and reigns of terror, terror; a communist revolution, an industrial revolution, and now a market revolution.

~~But through~~ Through all this upheaval, there has been one constant: ~~our interests.~~ America's stake, our profound national interest, in the outcome. Every American President for the past 30 years, without regard to party, has worked for a China that contributes to the stability, ~~not the instability~~ of Asia; that is open to our products and businesses; that upholds the rule of law at home and plays by the rules of the road around the world. We make no apologies for it. We are a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century. Moreover, we are a nation that

cherishes liberty and believes that if people are free to make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place.

~~place. We are also a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century, and have a tremendous stake in~~

Now, the path China takes is China's choice. But America, too, has a choice – the U.S. Congress has a choice – and it is the choice between hope and fear. We can act on our belief that China can, someday, be a good partner; or we can act on our suspicion that it never will. We can work to move China in the right direction; or turn our backs and almost certainly send it in the wrong direction.

~~how China evolves.~~

~~If we had a crystal ball, we could see exactly what China will look like in 20 years. But we don't. Every nation defines its greatness in different ways, and every nation makes its own choices. We don't know what choices China will make. But we do have control over the choices that we make. We can give China a chance to be a good partner, and work to move it in the right direction. Or we can turn our backs, and almost certainly move it in the wrong direction.~~ I believe our choice is clear. This WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance every goal we Americans have worked for in China the past 30 years. Let me tell you how.

~~First let's understand from the beginning: this is not a trade agreement, in any traditional sense. Usually, when we sign trade agreements, we have to weigh the benefits of opening another country's markets against the dislocations that can take place when we open our market. But this is not a two-way agreement, this is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. It requires China to open its market to our products and services, but all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already give to China. It does not change our laws or our tariffs one bit.~~ As a trade

agreement, it's an enormous opportunity for America. It's the kind every country wishes for or works toward, the kind you get maybe once in a generation.

~~I don't believe there can be any question that this is in America's economic interests.~~ Over the past seven years, we have worked hard to open markets around the world to American products. It's a question of simple arithmetic. We are a country with 22 percent of the world's income and four percent of the world's population. If we're going to continue to prosper in the 21st Century, we had better be selling something to somebody somewhere else.

And where better than China? With more than a billion people – fully one-fifth of the world's population -- China clearly represents the biggest potential market in the world. Under this agreement, America will gain unprecedented access to this massive, untapped market, while granting China no new access to our own. 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 in America – without transferring technology or operations to China. We'll be able to export products without in manufacturing, exporting jobs. For the first time, China will agree to play by the same trading rules we do. It's going to mean a lot more jobs for America. Meanwhile, we'll get ~~two~~ new safeguards against surges of imports and maintain the strongest possible protections against dumping products.

~~which would threaten to throw a lot of Americans out of work in a short period of time.~~

~~That's what happens if we pass PNTR. If we don't pass it, we would lose the full benefits of China's WTO membership. Our companies would be shut off from one fifth of the world – while our European, Japanese, and other competitors would be happy to rush in and fill the gap. In other words, they would be the beneficiaries~~

The agreement our team has negotiated is a blockbuster for American business, American investors, American workers, American farmers. If the Congress passes PNTR, then we reap the rewards. If the Congress rejects it, then our competitors do. Keep this in mind: China's going to grow no matter what we do. If we don't sell our products to China, some other country will be happy to. So if we turn our backs on this opportunity – if we unilaterally disarm as a global trading power – well, we're going to spend the next twenty years regretting it. We're going to spend the next twenty years wondering why we ever handed over all the benefits we negotiated, and gave up the competitive edge we've earned, to Europe, Japan, and others.
~~of the benefits we negotiated.~~

So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a no-brainer. Most of its critics don't even question that. Critics are more likely to point to the threats China made on Taiwan a few weeks ago, ~~and say we shouldn't strengthen it. Or they point to the human rights abuses documented in the report our State Department issued, and say we shouldn't reward it. Or they point~~ report. Or to stories about China's nuclear weapons program, ~~and say we shouldn't empower it.~~ And all of those concerns are absolutely ~~legitimate, valid.~~

Those of us who support ~~permanent~~ Permanent Normal Trade Relations are under no illusion about the government in Beijing. It is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. It denies ~~basic~~ fundamental freedoms to its citizens. It denies the most basic rights of free speech and religious expression. Its record on labor and environmental rights is a long litany of abuse.

~~leaves a lot to be desired. The~~ But let me be very clear: the question is not whether we support it or whether we ignore it, approve or disapprove of conditions in China. The question is, how do we change it? – is whether we will do what we can to improve them.

This is not about economic rights versus human rights, or economic security versus national security. That is a false choice. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to

promote both. Membership in the WTO won't create a free society in China overnight. But over ~~the long haul,~~time, we believe it's going to move China much further in the right direction ~~than simply taking our ball and going home.~~ To understand why, it's important to understand why China is willing to do all of this in the first place. Why they are doing this is at least as important as what they are doing.

Over the past 20 years, China has made a lot of progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its wireless communications network that it is adding the equivalent of a new Baby Bell every year.

But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only one-third of its economy is private enterprise. And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is directed toward state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy. Most of China's economy today still operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat.

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in China are still looking for work. And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create new jobs. It's ironic: many Americans are concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. But the danger of a weak China, beset by internal chaos and disintegration is just as real, and China's leaders know it. They understand that China cannot maintain stability or ensure prosperity by maintaining the status quo.

~~So China's leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control — namely, unemployment, social unrest, and demands for freedom. But they have also concluded~~They know that without

competition or investment from the outside, China will not be able to build or attract investment or build world-class industries that can survive in the global economy.

With this agreement, China has chosen reform, despite its risks. That is China's choice.

But again, I return to our own: Do we want to be play a constructive role in those reforms?

Or simply stand aside, as skeptics, and perhaps make failure a self-fulfilling prophecy?

~~to embrace change, despite the risk it entails. The question for America is: do we really want to reject that choice?~~

I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we ~~need to~~ must embrace, for our own good and the ~~common~~ good of the world.

~~For starters, having China in a rules-based trading system increases the chance that it will follow the rules of the road more broadly when interacting with the world~~

~~When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I try to remind people that the Chinese are engaged in the same kind of debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume its rightful place in the world. They are deeply ambivalent about the role China should play in the world.~~

~~Let's not forget: there is a reason China~~ It was China, let's remember, that built the Great Wall.

It has endured centuries of invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history to keep the world and its influences out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion and insecurity and reach out to the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to the world, do we really want to slap that hand away?

I'll say this again: everything I have ever learned about human nature, and everything I have learned about China, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing China's actions if we bring it into a common endeavor than if we shut it out.

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be subject to the review of an international body. For the first time, China is conceding that governments cannot behave arbitrarily at home or abroad. Opponents say that ~~it doesn't matter because~~ matter; China will just break its promises. But if China does, we're still in a better position, because it won't be able to blame U.S. bullying. Its actions will be subject to judgments passed by 135 nations.

~~I'll say this again: everything I have learned about human nature in my life, plus everything I have learned about China as President, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing its actions if we bring it into a common endeavor than if we shut it out.~~

But the change this agreement can bring from the outside-in is nothing compared to the change it can bring from the inside-out. By joining the WTO, China is slashing the tariffs that protect its ~~state-owned industries~~ state-owned industries. It is importing not just our products but one of our most cherished principles – economic freedom. ~~Think about~~ The more ~~what that principle has meant to us over the years – not just greater wealth, but individual initiative, individual creativity, the liberation of individual human potential. We know that once individuals are given the ability to dream,~~ China liberalizes its economy, the more fully it liberates the human potential of its people – their initiative, their imagination, their spirit of enterprise. When individuals have the power not just to dream but to realize their dreams, they demand a greater say in their own destiny. ~~It is completely the opposite of the culture that communism imposed on China's people. Just imagine where it could take them.~~

~~A decade ago, More and more, China's best and brightest college students sought jobs in the government, in large state-owned firms or universities. More and more, the best and brightest are either starting their own companies or choosing to work for~~ are seeking jobs not with the state but with foreign-owned companies – where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better work environment. Think about what that means. For That, or they're starting their own companies. In fits and starts, and for the first time, China is moving toward becoming may become a society where people ~~have a chance to~~ get ahead based on what they know rather than who they know.

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, China is taking the command and control out of communism. ~~It is speeding a process that is removing government from vast areas of its people's lives.~~

Let's not forget ~~what~~ how communism ~~is~~ works. In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in the morning in an apartment or house owned by their government, went to work in a factory or farm run by their government, read newspapers dictated by their government. ~~Their state-run~~ State-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their kids, the clinics where they got health care, the stores where they bought their food.

~~That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power. The few benefits it provided were a big source of the legitimacy it commanded.~~ Now people are leaving those firms, and when China ~~is in~~ joins the WTO, they will leave them faster. The Chinese government will no longer be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny ~~rolled into one~~. It will have fewer instruments of ~~day-to-day~~ repression, fewer ~~opportunities~~ means to buy the loyalty of its people. And that may lead to profound change.

A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes on the Shenyang province of China. ~~Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in massive state-run industries that provided cradle to grave services. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their old jobs. Under the old rules, they weren't allowed to travel anywhere to find a new job. But jobs are so scarce that the government has had to lift the travel restrictions, and let the people of Shenyang look for work.~~

~~Last September, Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. So to ease tensions,~~ To ease the tensions caused by economic change, the local government decided to give has given its people a say in how the province was run. On a limited basis, ~~they are giving people~~ citizens now have the right to vote ~~for candidates in local elections~~ in local elections. It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step toward greater political freedom. And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: "This is the beginning of a process. We realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." ~~The gamble they are taking is that they are going to be able to put the genie of freedom back in the bottle. And if that sounds familiar, it should, because it's the same risk that that's because it was spoken a decade ago by communist leaders from Poland to Russia to Nicaragua took a decade ago. Nicaragua.~~ It was a gamble they all lost. ~~Because as Earl Warren once said: "liberty each made with their people. And, in every case, the state lost and the people won. As Earl Warren said: "Liberty is the most contagious force in the world."~~

~~Think about what all this could mean in one other area: communication. Today, China's tariffs on information technology products average 13 percent. When China joins the WTO, those tariffs will disappear by 2005. For the first time, China will open its telecom market to cutting-edge American firms. By doing so, it will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China.~~

~~This will help make the tools of communication cheaper, better, more reliable, and more widely available. It means that Chinese citizens won't have to go to a government entity to get a telephone and telephone services. It means that when a U.S. firm installs an intra-office e-mail in its China office, its Chinese employees can be put in daily touch not only with their colleagues in China, but with thousands of employees here in the U.S.~~

~~The magnitude of this defies~~ How will it spread, in this new century? The answer is obvious: in an information age, liberty is carried by cell phone; it is conducted by cable modem. China's information infrastructure is growing fast, by orders of magnitude that defy measurement. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, the number is expected to grow to 20 million. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has 1.2 billion people.

And when China joins the WTO, eliminating its tariffs on information technology products, the tools of communication will only become cheaper, better, and more widely available. This will allow the citizens of China to communicate with each other – to share ideas and information – in ways that no government can control. people. It will connect Chinese citizens to one another and

the world outside. Think about how much the Internet has changed America -- and we are already an open society. Imagine how much it could change China.

~~Chinese citizens will increasingly be able to communicate with each other in real time, in ways and in such volume that no amount of censorship and monitoring can control. If they're no longer dependent on the state for information, they'll be able to share ideas with each other or the outside world. As they see how other people across the world live, I believe they will seek a greater voice in shaping their own lives.~~

There is no question that ~~some in China's leadership are nervous about the Internet and trying to control its content. Well, good luck. In this information age,~~China has been cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to the wall. That the government is pushing back only ~~proves that the changes China is undergoing are real and~~Internet, pushing back, trying to fit the genie back into the bottle. Well, it won't fit. In China today, the one-party state is still powerful; but with one click of a mouse, a Chinese child can find new freedoms that are even more powerful.

~~threaten the status quo. This is not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world -- it's an argument for accelerating it.~~

I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to take this risk, how could we possibly turn our backs?

This is not to say that this agreement will alone accomplish the goals of our policy toward China. Nobody who supports it, for example, believes that bringing China into the WTO is, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. That's why we sanctioned China as a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are once again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation. And we will continue to reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question. We will continue question, and to make absolutely clear that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan ~~must~~ be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

In other words, we must and will continue to defend our interests and our ideals with candor and consistency. But we ~~will not change our policies in a way that isolates China from the global forces~~ cannot do so by isolating China from the very forces that may change it, the very forces already empowering its people to build a better future.

~~Shutting China out would be a gift from heaven to the hard-liners in its government who don't want their country to be part of the world. Keep in mind: These are the same people most eager to settle differences with Taiwan by force. The same people most threatened by our alliances with Japan and South Korea. The same people who would like to keep the Chinese military in the business of selling dangerous technologies around the world. The same people whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison camps.~~

~~Shutting China out wouldn't~~ Isolating China won't free a single prisoner ~~in China, there,~~ or create a single job ~~in America, here,~~ or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in the Chinese government. It would leave China an insecure, hostile, brooding presence on the world stage. It would leave the Chinese

people with less access to information, less contact with ~~the democratic world, more resistance from their government to outside ideas,~~ democratic peoples and ideas, and make them more reliant on their government. It would delay the day of change in China and leave the whole world less secure. That would be a tragic mistake.

~~It's very interesting to me~~ I find it encouraging that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree with that. The people of Taiwan agree. Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland. The people of Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and free expression for his people. And he wrote to me that this agreement "represents the best long-term hope for China to become a member of good standing of the international community . . . We fear that should ratification fail . . . there is a risk not only of economic back-pedaling and a slowing of the reform process, but also that the economic chill would affect Hong Kong and China's neighbors in the region. Clearly, any hope for the political and legal reform process would also recede."

~~Most~~ We are all concerned by religious repression in China. Yet most of the evangelicals I know who have missions ~~in China~~ there also want China in the WTO because they know that it will encourage freedom of thought and more contact with the outside world. Even people who have paid the greatest price under Chinese repression agree. Ren Wending is one of the fathers of the Chinese human rights movement. In the late 1970s, he was thrown in prison for founding the China Human Rights League. In the 1980s, he helped lead the demonstrations at Tiananmen Square. In the 1990s, he was thrown in prison again. [He has endured intimidation, threats to his family, and threats to his life.] Yet, he says of this deal: "before, the sky was black, now it is light. This can be a new beginning."

For these people, fighting for freedom in China is not an academic exercise, it is their life's work. How can any of us who care about human rights in China possibly substitute our judgement for theirs?

If you believe in a future of greater openness and freedom for the people of China, you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of greater prosperity for the American people, you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of peace and security for Asia and the world, you should be for this agreement. This is the right thing to do. It is a historic opportunity. And I am going to work as hard as I can to convince Congress and the American people that America should embrace it, and lead the world in embracing it, to do the same. Thank you.

4000 words

3/6/00 1:00 p.m.

Orzulak / *Amelia* ?

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
FEBRUARY 8, 2000

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has had a unique exchange program with Nanking University. Some of you have traveled to China to learn a little bit more about that country, and some Chinese students have come here to learn more about us. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could forever change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

America
Last fall, as many of you know, ~~we~~ signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. If China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. The immediate question for us is: are we as a country going to embrace that choice and are we going to benefit from it economically? For that to happen, ~~we~~ ^{*the Congress est.*} must grant China ^{*w/ China*} Permanent Normal Trade Relations ^{*status*}. And today, I am submitting legislation ~~to the Congress~~ that will do just that. *) blow by?*

world's just begun?
~~Now, every great debate introduces new terms to the American public, and the debate over China's entry into the WTO is no different. It's not hard to imagine most Americans flipping through channels, hearing the words "Permanent Normal Trade Relations," and flipping to something else. But I'm going to work as hard as I can to make the American people understand why this is so important, and why Congress should grant China PNTR. Because I believe with all my heart that this agreement represents the most significant step in our relationship with China since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago.~~ *or the acronym "PNTR"*

This is not

2

For a long time now, Americans have debated our relationship with China, partly because our perceptions of China keep changing.

In the early 1900s, most Americans saw China either through the eyes of traders seeking open markets, or missionaries seeking open hearts. During World War II, China was our ally. During the Korean War, it was our adversary. When I was growing up, it was a question mark — who lost China? During the Cold War, it was a counterweight ^{point to be cudgel in a partisan battle as pols. pointed fingers and asked:} Now, in some people's eyes it's a caricature: either the next great capitalist tiger with the biggest market in the world, or the world's last great communist dragon and a threat to peace and stability in Asia -- the land of a billion prisoners, or the land of a billion customers. *great*

And all these changing perceptions of China ^{barely} have only begun to reflect the profound changes within China itself — the falling dynasties, foreign invasions, civil wars, cruel famines, reigns of terror, a communist revolution, an industrial revolution, and now a market revolution. *great*

? [But through all this upheaval, there has been one constant: ^{America's stake, our profound interest, in the outcome.} ~~our interests.~~ Every American President for the past 30 years, without regard to party, has worked for a China that contributes to the stability, ~~not the instability~~ of Asia; that is open to our products and businesses; that upholds the rule of law at home and plays by the rules of the road around the world. We make no apologies for it. We are a nation that cherishes liberty and believes that if people are free to make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place. We are also a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century, ^{and have a tremendous stake in how} ~~and have a tremendous stake in how~~ China evolves.] *great*

Now, the part China takes is China's choice. But America has a choice — & the US Congress has a choice —
~~Nations too, make their own choices.~~
If we had a crystal ball, we could see exactly what China will look like in 20 years. But we ^{its own way.} ~~don't.~~ Every nation defines its greatness in different ways, and every nation makes its own choices. We don't know what choices China will make. But we do have control over the

between...

3

~~choices that we make.~~ We can give China a chance to be a good partner, and work to move it in the right direction. Or we can turn our backs, and almost certainly move it in the wrong direction. *If new I believe our choice is clear. (soundbite on PNTP...)* This WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance every goal we have worked for in China the past 30 years. Let me tell you how.

conclusions First let's understand from the beginning: this is not a trade agreement, in any traditional sense.

fix ~~Usually, when we sign trade agreements, we have to weigh the benefits of opening another country's markets against the dislocations that can take place when we open our market. But this is not a two-way agreement, this is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. It requires China to open its market to our products and services, but all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already give to China. It does not change our laws or our tariffs one bit.~~

I don't believe there can be any question that this is in America's economic interests. Over the past seven years, we have worked hard to open markets around the world to American products. It's a question of simple arithmetic. We are a country with 22 percent of the world's income and four percent of the world's population. If we're going to continue to prosper in the 21st Century, we had better be selling something to somebody somewhere else.

and where better than china?

With more than a billion people – fully one-fifth of the world's population -- China clearly *is* ~~represents~~ the biggest potential market in the world. 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 ^{our} technology in manufacturing. *w/o moving jobs + ops to China.* For the first time, China will agree to play by the same trading rules we do. ~~It's going to mean a lot more jobs for America.~~ Meanwhile, we'll get two new safeguards against surges of imports which ~~would threaten to throw a lot of Americans out of work in a short period of time.~~ *they'll be able to export prods. w/o exporting jobs.*

or dumping

We've negot a hell of an agreement. But we've got to pass PNTR if we want to reap the rewards. China's gonna grow anyway. ... (*)

That's what happens if we pass PNTR. If we don't pass it, we would lose the full benefits of China's WTO membership. Our companies would be shut off from one-fifth of the world – while our European, Japanese, and other competitors would be happy to rush in and fill the gap.

In other words, they would be the beneficiaries of the benefits we negotiated.

4 So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a no-brainer. Most of its critics don't even question that. Critics are more likely to point to the threats China made on Taiwan a few weeks ago, ~~and say we shouldn't strengthen it.~~ Or they point to the human rights abuses documented in ^{we} the ~~report~~ ^{report} our State Department issued, ~~and say we shouldn't reward it.~~ Or they point to stories about China's nuclear weapons program, ~~and say we shouldn't empower it.~~ And all of those concerns are absolutely legitimate.

Those of us who support permanent Normal Trade Relations are under no illusion about the government in Beijing. It is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. It denies basic freedoms to its citizens. It denies the most basic rights of free speech and religious expression.

Its record on labor and environmental rights ~~leaves a lot to be desired.~~ ^{But} The question is not ~~whether we support it or whether we ignore it.~~ The question is, ~~how do we change it?~~

whether we approve or disapprove of ~~the~~ ^{China's} ~~country's~~ ^{country's} ~~conduct~~ ^{conduct} in ~~China~~ ^{China}.
will we do all we can to improve ~~it~~ ^{it}?

This is not about economic rights versus human rights, or economic security versus national security. That is a false choice. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to promote both. Membership in the WTO won't create a free society in China overnight. But over the long haul, we believe it's going to move China ~~much further~~ ^{much further} in the right direction ~~than simply taking our ball and going home.~~ To understand why, it's important to understand why China is willing to do all of this in the first place. Why they are doing this is at least as important as what they are doing.

Over the past 20 years, China has made a lot of progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its wireless

communications network that is it adding the equivalent of a new Baby Bell every year.

But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only one-third of its economy is private enterprise. And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is directed toward state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy. Most of China's economy today still operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat.

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in China are still looking for work. And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create new jobs. It's ironic: many Americans are concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. But the danger of a weak China, beset by internal chaos and disintegration is just as real, and China's leaders know it. They understand that China cannot maintain stability or ensure prosperity by maintaining the status quo.

~~So China's leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control – namely, unemployment, social unrest, and demands for freedom.~~ But they have also concluded that without competition from the outside, China will not be able to attract investment or build world-class industries that can survive in the global economy.

With this agreement, China has chosen to embrace change, despite ^{its} ^{the} risk it entails. The ^{That's Ch's choice} ^{Again, I return to} ^{our own:} question for America is: ~~do we really want to reject that choice?~~ I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we need to embrace, for our own good and the ~~common~~ good of the world.

map down
 do we want to be a constructive part of that effort...
 or ... stand by, as skeptics, and ~~perhaps~~ make failing a self-fulfilling prophecy?

For starters, having China in a rules-based trading system increases the chance that it will follow

the rules of the road ^{more broadly when interacting with the world}

When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I try to remind people that the Chinese are engaged in the same kind of debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume its rightful place in the world. They are deeply ambivalent about the role China should play in the world.

Let's not forget: there is a reason China built the Great Wall. It has endured centuries of invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history to keep the world and its influences out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion and insecurity and reach out to the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to the world, do we really want to slap that hand away?

good -
move
up

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be subject to the review of an international body. For the first time, China is conceding that governments cannot behave arbitrarily at home or abroad. Opponents say that it doesn't matter ^{because} China will just break its promises. But if China does, we're still in a better position, because it won't be able to blame U.S. bullying. Its actions will be subject to judgments passed by 135 nations.

I'll say this again: everything I have learned about human nature in my life, plus everything I have learned about China as President, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing its actions if we bring it into a common endeavor than if we shut it out.

But the change this agreement can bring from the outside-in is nothing compared to the change it can bring from the inside-out. By joining the WTO, China is slashing the tariffs that protect its state-owned industries. It is importing not just our products but one of our most cherished

principles – economic freedom. ~~Think about what that principle has meant to us over the years --~~
not just greater wealth, but individual initiative, individual creativity, the liberation of individual
human potential. We know that once individuals are given the ability to dream, they demand a
greater say in their own destiny. It is completely the opposite of the culture that communism
imposed on China's people. Just imagine where it could take them.

fix
means
to
realize
their
dreams

~~A decade ago, China's best and brightest college students sought jobs in the government, in large
state-owned firms or universities.~~ More and more, ^{China's} the best and brightest are either starting their
own companies or choosing to work for foreign-owned companies – where they generally get
higher pay, more respect, and a better work environment. Think about what that means. For the
first time, China is moving toward becoming a society where people have a chance to get ahead
based on what they know rather than who they know.

seeking jobs not for the state
but

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, China is
taking the command and control out of communism. ~~It is speeding a process that is removing
government from vast areas of its people's lives~~

shrinking the govt's sphere of
influence

Let's not forget ^{how} ~~what~~ communism ^{operates} ~~is~~. In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in the
morning in an apartment or house owned by their government, went to work in a factory or farm
run by their government, read newspapers dictated by their government. Their state-run
workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their kids, the clinics where they got health
care, the stores where they bought their food.

govt owned

~~That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power. The few benefits it provided
were a big source of the legitimacy it commanded.~~ Now people are leaving those firms, and
when China is ^{joining} ~~in~~ the WTO, they will leave them faster. The Chinese government will no longer
be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny ~~rolled into one~~. It will have fewer

instruments of day-to-day repression, fewer ^{means} opportunities to buy the loyalty of its people. And that may lead to profound change.

A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes on the Shenyang province of China. Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in massive state-run industries that provided cradle-to-grave ^{from} services. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their old jobs. Under the old rules, they weren't allowed to travel anywhere to find a new job. But jobs are so scarce that the government has had to lift the travel restrictions, and let the people of Shenyang look for work.

Last September, Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. ^{caused by a change} So to ease tensions, the local government ^{has given} decided to give its people a say in how the province ^{is} run. On a limited basis, they are giving people the right to vote for candidates in local elections. It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step toward greater political freedom. And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: "This is the beginning of a process. We realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." ~~The gamble they are taking is that they are going to be able to put the genie of freedom back in the bottle.~~ And if that sounds familiar, it should, because it's the same risk that communist leaders from Poland to Russia to Nicaragua ^{it was never spoken or believed by} took a decade ago. ^{and the} It was a gamble they all lost. Because as Earl Warren once said: "liberty is the most contagious force in the world."

Think about what all this could mean in one other area: communication. Today, China's tariffs

And how will ^{it} spread, in this new century? ^{made w/ their people.} Now, ^{lost and} the state ^{the people} won. ^{cell phones + modems}

on information technology products average 13 percent. When China joins the WTO, those tariffs will disappear by 2005. For the first time, China will open its telecom market to cutting-edge American firms. By doing so, it will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China.

This will help make the tools of communication cheaper, better, more reliable, and more widely available. It means that Chinese citizens won't have to go to a government- entity to get a telephone and telephone services. It means that when a U.S. firm installs an intra-office e-mail in its China office, its Chinese employees can be put in daily touch not only with their colleagues in China, but with thousands of employees here in the U.S.

see
mine
(*)

The magnitude of this defies measurement. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, the number is expected to grow to 20 million. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has 1.2 billion people. Think about how much the Internet has changed America -- and we are already an open society. Imagine how much it could change China.

Chinese citizens will increasingly be able to communicate with each other in real time, in ways and in such volume that no amount of censorship and monitoring can control. If they're no longer dependent on the state for information, they'll be able to share ideas with each other or the outside world. As they see how other people across the world live, I believe they will seek a greater voice in shaping their own lives.

There is no question that some in China's leadership are nervous about the Internet and trying to control its content. Well, good luck. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to the wall. That the government is pushing back only proves that the changes China is undergoing are real and threaten the status quo. This is not an argument for

wrong
metaphor

That's certainly
not easy;
prob. not possible

either,
case it's
not

~~slowing down the effort to bring China into the world - it's an argument for accelerating it.~~

see
Huner
asdel

I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to take this risk, how could we possibly turn our backs?

This is not to say that this agreement will alone accomplish the goals of our policy toward China. Nobody who supports it, for example, believes that bringing China into the WTO is, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. That's why we sanctioned China as a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are once again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation. And we reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question. We will ^{will cont. to} continue to ^{and to} ~~make absolutely clear that~~ the issues between Beijing and Taiwan ~~must~~ be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

In other words, we must and will continue to defend our interests and our ideals ^{candidly} with candor and consistently. But we ^{cannot do so by} will not change our policies in a way that isolates China from the global ^{ing} forces ^{that may change it, from the forces already} empowering its people to build a better future.

^{isolating} ~~Shutting China out would be a gift from heaven to the hard-liners in its government who don't~~ want their country to be part of the world. Keep in mind: These are the same people most eager ~~to settle differences with Taiwan by force. The same people most threatened by our alliances~~ with Japan and South Korea. The same people who would like to keep the Chinese military in

~~the business of selling dangerous technologies around the world. The same people whose first~~
~~instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison camps.~~

isolating *there* *here*
~~Shutting China out~~ wouldn't free a single prisoner ~~in China~~, or create a single job ~~in America~~, or
 reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-
 democratic elements in the Chinese government. It would leave China ~~an insecure~~ *sketch* hostile, ~~unstable~~
 brooding presence on the world stage. It would leave the Chinese people with less access to
 information, less contact with ~~the democratic world~~ *and make them* *more resistance from* their government to
~~outside ideas~~ *people + ideas* *reliant on* *9* It would delay the day of change in China and leave the whole world less secure.
 That would be a tragic mistake. *[What wd this mean for America?]*

encouraging
 It's ~~very interesting~~ to me that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree
 with that. The people of Taiwan agree. Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they
 are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland. The people of
 Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's
 Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and free expression for his
 people. And he wrote to me that this agreement "represents the best long-term hope for China to
 become a member of good standing of the international community . . . We fear that should
 ratification fail . . . there is a risk not only of economic back-pedaling and a slowing of the
 reform process, but also that the economic chill would affect Hong Kong and China's neighbors
 in the region. Clearly, any hope for the political and legal reform process would also recede."

we're all outraged by rel. repression in China. *there*
 Most of the evangelicals I know who have missions ~~in China~~ also want China in the WTO
 because they know that it will encourage freedom of thought and more contact with the outside
 world. Even people who have paid the greatest price under Chinese repression agree. Ren
 Wending is one of the fathers of the Chinese human rights movement. In the late 1970s, he was
 thrown in prison for founding the China Human Rights League. In the 1980s, he helped lead the

Cler

demonstrations at Tiananmen Square. In the 1990s, he was thrown in prison again. ~~[He has]~~
endured intimidation, threats to his family, and threats to his life.] Yet, he says of this deal:
“before, the sky was black, now it is light. This can be a new beginning.”

For these people, fighting for freedom in China is not an academic exercise, it is their life's work.
How can any of us who care about human rights in China possibly substitute our judgement for
theirs?

If you believe in a future of greater openness and freedom for the people of China; you should be
for this agreement. If you believe in a future of greater prosperity for the American people, you
should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of peace and security for Asia and the
world, you should be for this agreement. This is the right thing to do. It is a historic opportunity.

And I am going to work as hard as I can to convince Congress and the American people that
America should lead the world in embracing it. Thank you.

embrace it and

^

to do the same.

3/6/00 12:00 p.m.

Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
FEBRUARY 8, 2000**

- Intro
- History
- Econ.
- China's motives
- Liberty
- Rules of road in intl affairs
 - human rights
 - Taiwan
 - rel. freedom

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has had a unique exchange program with Nanking University. Some of you have traveled to China to learn a little bit more about that country, and many Chinese students have come here to learn more about us. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could forever change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

Last fall, as many of you know, we signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. If China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. The immediate question for us is: Are we as a country going to embrace that choice and are we going to benefit from it economically? For that to happen, we must grant China Permanent Normal Trade Relations status. And today, I am submitting legislation to the Congress that will do just that.

→ comp. edge, advantage we need, etc.

Now every great debate introduces new terms to the American public, and the debate over China's entry into the WTO is no different. It's not hard to imagine most Americans flipping through channels, hearing the words "Permanent Normal Trade Relations," and flipping to something else. But I'm going to work as hard as I can to make the American people understand why this is so important, and why Congress should grant China PNTR. Because I believe with all my heart that this agreement represents the most significant step in our relationship with China since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago.

→ on the acronym PNTR

For a long time now, Americans have debated our relationship with China. Part of the reason is because our perception of China ^{both} keeps changing. *w/c China,*

In the early 1900s, most Americans saw China either through the eyes of traders seeking open markets, or missionaries seeking open hearts. During World War II, China was our ally. During the Korean War, it was our adversary. When I was growing up, it was a question mark - who lost China? During the Cold War, it was a counterweight. Now, in some people's eyes it's a caricature: either the next great capitalist tiger with the biggest market in the world, or the world's last great communist dragon and a threat to peace and stability in Asia, the land of a billion prisoners, or the land of a billion customers. And all these changing perceptions of China have only begun to reflect the profound changes within China itself - the falling dynasties, foreign invasions, civil wars, cruel famines, reigns of terror, a communist revolution, an industrial revolution, and now a market revolution.

point to be scored in a nation's battle

But through all this upheaval, there has been one constant: our interests. Every American

President for the past 30 years, without regard to party, has worked for a China that contributes to the stability, not the instability of Asia; that is open to our products and businesses; that upholds the rule of law at home and plays by the rules of the road around the world.

We make no apologies for it. We are a nation that cherishes liberty and believes that if people are free to make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place. We are also a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century, and have a tremendous stake in how China evolves.

7. [If we had a crystal ball, we could see exactly what China will look like in 20 years. But we don't.] Every nation defines its greatness in different ways, and every nation makes its own choices. But we do have control over the choices that we make. We can give China a chance to be a good partner, and work to move it in the right direction. Or we can turn our backs, and almost certainly move it in the wrong direction. This WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance every goal we have worked for in China the past 30 years. Let me tell you how.

First let's understand from the beginning: this is not a trade agreement, in any traditional sense.

opaque Usually, when we sign trade agreements, we have to weigh the benefits of opening another country's markets against the dislocations that can take place in when we open our market. But this is not a two-way agreement, this is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. It requires China to open its market to our products and services, but all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already give to China. It does not change our laws or our tariffs one bit.

I don't believe there can be any question that this is in America's economic interests. Over the past seven years, we have worked hard to open markets around the world to American products. It's a question of simple arithmetic. We are a country with 22 percent of the world's income and four percent of the world's population. If we're going to continue to prosper in the 21st Century, we had better be selling something to somebody somewhere else.

ECON. With more than a billion people -- fully one-fifth of the world's population -- China clearly represents the biggest potential market in the world. 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. For the first time, China will agree to play by the same trading rules we do. [It's going to mean a lot more jobs for America.] *Can't deny.*

Meanwhile, we'll get two new safeguards against surges of imports [which would threaten to throw a lot of Americans out of work in a short period of time.] *lose*

→ be more blunt. — China's going to grow anyway...
That's what happens if we pass PNTR. If we don't pass it, we would lose the full benefits of China's WTO membership. Our companies would be shut off from one-fifth of the world -- while our European, Japanese, and other competitors would be happy to rush in and fill the gap. In other words, they would be the beneficiaries of the benefits we negotiated.

metaphor here is unclear

So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a no-brainer. Most of its critics don't even question that. Critics are more likely to point to the threats China made on Taiwan a few weeks ago, and say we shouldn't strengthen it. Or they point to the human rights abuses documented in the report issued by the State Department last week, and say we shouldn't reward it. Or they point to stories about China's nuclear weapons program, and say we shouldn't empower it. And all of those concerns are absolutely legitimate.

too often

Those of us who support permanent Normal Trade Relations are under no illusion about the government in Beijing. I don't like that China is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. I don't like that it denies basic freedoms to its citizens, including the most basic right of free speech. I don't like that it cracks down on religious leaders. I don't like that it arrests people without cause and jails them without due process. I don't like the fact that its record on labor and environmental rights leaves a lot to be desired.

The question is not whether we support it or whether we ignore it. The question is, how do we change it? This is not a question of economic rights versus human rights, or economic security versus national security. That is a false choice. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to promote both. Membership in the WTO won't create a free society in China overnight. But over the long haul, we believe it's going to move China much further in the right direction than simply taking our ball and going home.

trim

To understand why, it's important to understand why China is willing to do all of this in the first place. Why they are doing this is at least as important as what they are doing.

Over the past 20 years, China has made a lot of progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its wireless communications network that it is adding the equivalent of a new Baby Bell every year.

live

But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only one third of its economy is private enterprise. And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is directed toward state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy. Most of China's economy today still operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat.

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in China are still looking for work. And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create new jobs. It's ironic: many Americans are concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. But the danger of a weak China, beset by internal chaos and disintegration is just as real, and China's leaders know it. They understand that China cannot maintain stability or ensure prosperity by maintaining the status quo.

So China's leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to

global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control – namely, unemployment, social unrest, and demands for freedom. But they have also concluded that without competition from the outside, China will not be able to attract investment or build world-class industries that can survive in the global economy.

With this agreement, China has chosen the first path and embraced change, despite the risk it entails. The question for America is: do we really want to reject that choice? I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we need to embrace, for our own good and the common good of the world.

By joining the WTO, China is slashing the tariffs that protect its state owned industries. It is importing not just our products but one of our most cherished principles – economic freedom. Think about what that principle has meant to us over the years -- not just greater wealth, but individual initiative, individual creativity, the liberation of individual human potential. We know that once individuals are given the ability to dream, they demand a greater say in their own destiny. It is completely the opposite of the culture that communism imposed on China's people. Just imagine where it could take them.

A decade ago, China's best and brightest college students sought jobs in the government, in large state-owned firms or universities. More and more, the best and brightest are either starting their own companies or choosing to work for foreign-owned companies – where they generally get higher pay, a better work environment, and a chance to get ahead based on what they know, not who they know. That process is only going to accelerate when China joins the WTO, and we should do all we can to encourage it, because it will lift standards for Chinese workers, and their expectations.

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, China is taking the command and control out of communism. It is speeding a process that is removing government from vast areas of its people's lives.

Let's not forget what communism is. In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in the morning in an apartment or house owned by their government, went to work in a factory or farm run by their government, read newspapers dictated by their government. Their state-run workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their kids, the clinics where they got health care, the stores where they bought their food.

That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power. The few benefits it provided were a big source of the legitimacy it commanded. Now people are leaving those firms, and when China is in the WTO, they will leave them faster. The Chinese government will no longer be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny rolled into one. It will have fewer instruments of day-to-day repression, fewer opportunities to buy the loyalty of its people. And that may lead to profound change.

A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes on the Shenyang province of China. Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in

really
wice
but
more
down?

massive state-run industries that provided cradle-to-grave services. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their old jobs. Under the old rules, they weren't allowed to travel anywhere to find a new job. But jobs are so scarce that the government has had to lift the travel restrictions, and let the people of Shenyang look for work.

Last September, Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. To ease tensions, the local government decided to give its people a say in how the province was run. On a limited basis, for the first time in 5,000 years of Chinese history – they are giving people the right to vote for candidates in local elections. It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step toward greater political freedom. And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: "This is the beginning of a process. We realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." In other words, they are giving the And if it sounds familiar, it should, because it's the same risk that communist leaders from Poland to Russia to Nicaragua took a decade ago. It was a gamble they all lost. Because as Earl Warren once said: "liberty is the most contagious force in the world."

unplaced? Think about what all this could mean in one other area: communication. Today, China's tariffs on information technology products average 13 percent. When China joins the WTO, those tariffs will disappear by 2005. For the first time, China will open its telecom market to cutting-edge American firms. By doing so, it will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China.

Now, think what that means. It will help make the tools of communication cheaper, better, more reliable, and more widely available. It means that Chinese citizens won't have to go to a government- entity to get a telephone and telephone services. It means that when a U.S. firm installs an intra-office e-mail in its China office, its Chinese employees can be put in daily touch not only with their colleagues in China, but with thousands of employees here in the U.S.

The magnitude of this defies measurement. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, the number is expected to grow to 20 million. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has 1.2 billion people. Think about how much the Internet has changed America -- and we are already an open society. Imagine how much it could change China.

Chinese citizens will increasingly be able to communicate with each other in real time, in ways and in such volume that no amount of censorship and monitoring can control. If they're no longer dependent on the state for information, they'll be able to share ideas with each other or the outside world. As they see how other people across the world live, I believe they will seek a greater voice in shaping their own lives.

I might save some of this for the end the "good partner" arg. is less compelling or convincing

There is no question that some in China's leadership are nervous about the Internet and trying to crack down on its content. Well, good luck. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to the wall. That the Chinese government is pushing back only proves that the changes China is undergoing are real and deeply threatening to the status quo. This is not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world – it's an argument for accelerating it.

I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to take this risk, how could we possibly turn our backs?

Finally, think about what this means for the world. Having China in a rules-based trading system increases the chance that it will follow the rules of the road more broadly when interacting with the world

When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I try to remind people that the Chinese are engaged in the same kind of debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume its rightful place in the world. They are deeply ambivalent about the role China should play in the world.

Let's not forget: there is a reason China built the Great Wall. It has endured centuries of invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history to keep the world and its influences out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion and insecurity and reach out to the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to the world, do we really want to slap that hand away?

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be subject to the review of an international body. For the first time, China is conceding that governments cannot behave arbitrarily at home or abroad. Opponents say that it doesn't matter because China will just break its promises. But if China does, we're still in a better position, because it won't be able to blame U.S. bullying. Its actions will be subject to judgments passed by 135 nations.

I'll say this again: everything I have learned about human nature in my life, plus everything I have learned about China as President, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing its actions if we bring it into a common endeavor than if we shut it out.

Shutting China out would be a gift from heaven to the hard-liners in its government who don't want their country to be part of the world. Keep in mind: These are the same people most eager to settle differences with Taiwan by force. The same people most threatened by our alliances with Japan and South Korea. The same people who would like to keep the Chinese military in the business of selling dangerous technologies around the world. The same people whose first

instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison camps.

Shutting China out wouldn't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in the Chinese government. It would leave China an insecure, brooding presence on the world stage, hostile to global norms. It would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, more resistance from their government to outside ideas. It would delay the day of change in China and leave the whole world less secure. That would be a tragic mistake.

This is not to say that this agreement will alone accomplish the goals of our policy toward China. Nobody who supports it, for example, believes that bringing China into the WTO is, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. That's why we sanctioned China as a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are once again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation. And we reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question. We will continue to make absolutely clear that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan must be resolved peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

In other words, we must and will continue to defend our interests and our ideals with candor and consistency. But we will not change our policies in a way that isolates China from the global forces empowering its people to build a better future.

It's very interesting to me that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree with that. The people of Taiwan agree: Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland. The people of Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and freedom of expression for his people. And he wrote to me: "without entry to the WTO, any hope for political and reform process [in China] would also recede."

Most of the evangelicals I know who have missions in China also want China in the WTO because they know that it will encourage freedom of thought and more contact with the outside world.

[AGAIN, WAITING FOR FACTS] Chinese dissident Ren Wanding, who did something very heroic that gives him a great deal of credibility, said upon the deal's completion, "before, the sky was black, now it is light. This can be a new beginning." Li Ke, the former Chinese editor of the democratic journal Fangfa who doubtlessly had his life threatened many times in several heroic episodes of his own, said that "for so many years of China's reform and opening, areas couldn't be opened and remained state monopolies. But if the economic monopolies can have breakthroughs, controls in other areas can have breakthroughs as well . . . in the minds of ordinary people, it will show that breakthroughs that were impossible in the past are indeed possible." And Wang Dan(sp?), one of the leaders of the Tiananmen Square movement, said:

"quote me."

For these people, fighting for freedom in China is not an academic exercise; it is their life's work. And they are telling us this is the right thing to do. How can any of us who care about human rights in China possibly substitute our judgement for theirs?

Inside out, free a few dissidents, or systemic change. If you believe in freedom in China, you should be for it. If you believe in a peaceful Asia and a secure America, you should be for it. Prosperous America.

Edmonds edit

3/6/00 1:00 p.m.
Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS TO JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
ON CHINA
WASHINGTON, DC
FEBRUARY 8, 2000**

I want to thank Johns Hopkins University and the School of Advanced International Studies for the opportunity to come here today and talk about China. For the past decade or so, this school has had a unique exchange program with Nanking University. Some of you have traveled to China to learn a little bit more about that country, and some Chinese students have come here to learn more about us. So this is a good place to talk about a decision America has to make this year that could forever change not only our relationship with China, but China itself.

Last fall, as many of you know, we signed an agreement to bring China into the World Trade Organization on terms that will dramatically open its market to American products. If China concludes similar agreements with other countries, it will join the WTO. The immediate question for us is: are we as a country going to embrace that choice and are we going to benefit from it economically? For that to happen, we must grant China Permanent Normal Trade Relations status. And today, I am submitting legislation to the Congress that will do just that.

Now, every great debate introduces new terms to the American public, and the debate over China's entry into the WTO is no different. It's not hard to imagine most Americans flipping through channels, hearing the words "Permanent Normal Trade Relations," and flipping to something else. But I'm going to work as hard as I can to make the American people understand why this is so important, and why Congress should grant China PNTR. Because I believe with all my heart that this agreement represents the most significant step in our relationship with China since President Nixon first went to China nearly three decades ago.

For a long time now, Americans have debated our relationship with China, partly because our perceptions of China keep changing.

In the early 1900s, most Americans saw China either through the eyes of traders seeking open markets, or missionaries seeking open hearts. During World War II, China was our ally. During the Korean War, it was our adversary. ~~When I was growing up, it was a question mark who lost China?~~ During the Cold War, it was a counterweight. Now, in some people's eyes it's a caricature: either the next great capitalist tiger with the biggest market in the world, or the world's last great communist dragon and a threat to peace and stability in Asia -- the land of a billion prisoners, or the land of a billion customers.

And all these changing perceptions of China have only begun to reflect the profound ~~changes~~ ^{social and market revolutions} ~~within China itself -- the falling dynasties, foreign invasions, civil wars, cruel famines, reigns of terror, a communist revolution, an industrial revolution, and now a market revolution.~~ ^{that are taking hold there now.}

~~Change~~
But through all this ~~upheaval~~, there has been one constant: our interests. Every American President for the past 30 years, without regard to party, has worked for a China that contributes to the stability, ~~not the instability~~ of Asia; that is open to our products and businesses; that upholds the rule of law at home and plays by the rules of the road around the world. We make no apologies for it. We are a nation that cherishes liberty and believes that if people are free to make their own choices, the world will be a safer and more prosperous place. We are also a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century, and have a tremendous stake in how China evolves.

If we had a crystal ball, we could see exactly what China will look like in 20 years. But we

don't. Every nation defines its greatness in different ways, and every nation makes its own choices. We don't know what choices China will make. But we do have control over the choices that we make. We can give China a chance to be a good partner, and work to move it in the right direction. Or we can turn our backs, and almost certainly move it in the wrong direction. This WTO agreement will move China in the right direction, and advance every goal we have worked for in China the past 30 years. Let me tell you how.

First let's understand from the beginning: ~~this is not a trade agreement, in any traditional sense.~~ Usually, when we sign ~~trade agreements, we have to weigh the benefits of opening another~~ ~~country's markets against the dislocations that can take place when we open our market.~~ ~~But this~~ ~~is not a two-way agreement,~~ this is the trade equivalent of a one-way street. It requires China to open its market to our products and services, but all we agree to do is maintain the market access that we already give to China. It does not change our laws or our tariffs one bit.

I don't believe there can be any question that this is in America's economic interests. Over the past seven years, we have worked hard to open markets around the world to American products. It's a question of simple arithmetic. We are a country with 22 percent of the world's income and four percent of the world's population. If we're going to continue to prosper in the 21st Century, we had better be selling something to somebody somewhere else.

With more than a billion people – fully one-fifth of the world's population -- China clearly represents the biggest potential market in the world. 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. For the first time, China will agree to play by the same trading rules we do. It's going to mean a lot more jobs

for America. Meanwhile, we'll get two new safeguards against surges of imports which would threaten to throw a lot of Americans out of work in a short period of time.

That's what happens if we pass PNTR. If we don't pass it, we would lose the full benefits of China's WTO membership. Our companies would be shut off from one-fifth of the world – while our European, Japanese, and other competitors would be happy to rush in and fill the gap. In other words, they would be the beneficiaries of the benefits we negotiated.

So on purely economic grounds, this agreement is a no-brainer. Most of its critics don't even question that. Critics are more likely to point to the threats China made on Taiwan a few weeks ago, and say we shouldn't strengthen it. Or they point to the human rights abuses documented in the report our State Department issued, and say we shouldn't reward it. Or they point to stories about China's nuclear weapons program, and say we shouldn't empower it. And all of those concerns are absolutely legitimate.

Those of us who support permanent Normal Trade Relations are under no illusion about the government in Beijing. It is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. It denies basic freedoms to its citizens. It denies the most basic rights of free speech and religious expression. Its record on labor and environmental rights leaves a lot to be desired. The question is not whether we support it or whether we ignore it. The question is, how do we change it?

This is not about economic rights versus human rights, or economic security versus national security. That is a false choice. We're not trying to promote one over the other, we are trying to promote both. Membership in the WTO won't create a free society in China overnight. But over the long haul, we believe it's going to move China much further in the right direction than simply taking our ball and going home. To understand why, it's important to understand why China is willing to do all of this in the first place. Why they are doing this is at least as important as what

they are doing.

Over the past 20 years, China has made a lot of progress in building a new economy, lifting more than 200 million people out of absolute poverty. It is linking so many people through its wireless communications network that it is adding the equivalent of a new Baby Bell every year.

But its system is still plagued by corruption. Only one-third of its economy is private enterprise. And nearly 60 percent of its investment and 80 percent of all business lending is directed toward state-owned dinosaurs that are least likely to survive in the global economy. ~~Most of China's economy today still operates under the old theory that if they had just shoveled coal into the furnaces faster, the Titanic would have stayed afloat.~~

Meanwhile, its workforce is increasing by 12 million each year. At least 100 million people in China are still looking for work. And economic growth has slowed just when it needs to be rising to create new jobs. It's ironic: many Americans are concerned about the danger a strong and successful China could pose to us in the 21st century. But the danger of a weak China, beset by internal chaos and disintegration is just as real, and China's leaders know it. They understand that China cannot maintain stability or ensure prosperity by maintaining the status quo.

So China's leaders face a dilemma: they realize that if they open China's antiquated market to global competition, they risk unleashing forces beyond their control – namely, unemployment, social unrest, and demands for freedom. But they have also concluded that without competition from the outside, China will not be able to attract investment or build world-class industries that can survive in the global economy.

With this agreement, China has chosen to embrace change, despite the risk it entails. The

question for America is: do we really want to reject that choice? I think that would be a mistake of historic proportions. This is a choice we need to embrace, for our own good and the common good of the world.

For starters, having China in a rules-based trading system increases the chance that it will follow the rules of the road more broadly when interacting with the world

When I see this debate about China going on in our country, I try to remind people that the Chinese are engaged in the same kind of debate about us. Not just China's leaders, but many of China's people believe Americans don't want their country to assume its rightful place in the world. They are deeply ambivalent about the role China should play in the world.

Let's not forget: there is a reason China built the Great Wall. It has endured centuries of invasions and occupations; it has tried for most of its history to keep the world and its influences out. By joining the WTO, they've made a clear choice -- to overcome a great wall of suspicion and insecurity and reach out to the rest of the world. Again, I ask: if they're willing to reach out to the world, do we really want to slap that hand away?

Under this agreement, some of China's most important decisions, for the first time, will be subject to the review of an international body. For the first time, China is conceding that governments cannot behave arbitrarily at home or abroad. Opponents say that it doesn't matter because China will just break its promises. But if China does, we're still in a better position, because it won't be able to blame U.S. bullying. Its actions will be subject to judgments passed by 135 nations.

I'll say this again: everything I have learned about human nature in my life, plus everything I

have learned about China as President, convinces me that we have a far greater chance of influencing its actions if we bring it into a common endeavor than if we shut it out.

But the change this agreement can bring from the outside-in is nothing compared to the change it can bring from the inside-out. By joining the WTO, China is slashing the tariffs that protect its state owned industries. It is importing not just our products but one of our most cherished principles – economic freedom. Think about what that principle has meant to us over the years -- not just greater wealth, but individual initiative, individual creativity, the liberation of individual human potential. We know that once individuals are given the ability to dream, they demand a greater say in their own destiny. It is completely the opposite of the culture that communism imposed on China's people. Just imagine where it could take them.

A decade ago, China's best and brightest college students sought jobs in the government, in large state-owned firms or universities. More and more, the best and brightest are either starting their own companies or choosing to work for foreign-owned companies – where they generally get higher pay, more respect, and a better work environment. Think about what that means. For the first time, China is moving toward becoming a society where people have a chance to get ahead based on what they know rather than who they know.

But there is something even more revolutionary at work here. By taking this step, China is taking the command and control out of communism. ~~It is speeding a process that is removing government from vast areas of its people's lives.~~

~~Let's not forget what communism is.~~ In the past, virtually every Chinese citizen woke up in the morning in an apartment or house owned by their government, went to work in a factory or farm run by their government, read newspapers dictated by their government. Their state-run

workplaces also operated the schools where they sent their kids, the clinics where they got health care, the stores where they bought their food.

That system was a big source of the Communist Party's power. The few benefits it provided were a big source of the legitimacy it commanded. Now people are leaving those firms, and when China is in the WTO, they will leave them faster. The Chinese government will no longer be everyone's employer, landlord, shopkeeper and nanny rolled into one. It will have fewer instruments of day-to-day repression, fewer opportunities to buy the loyalty of its people. And that may lead to profound change.

A few weeks ago, the Washington Post had a good story about the impact of these changes on the Shenyang province of China. Since 1949, most of the people of Shenyang have worked in massive state-run industries that provided cradle-to-grave services. But as these old factories and mills shut down, people are losing their old jobs. Under the old rules, they weren't allowed to travel anywhere to find a new job. But jobs are so scarce that the government has had to lift the travel restrictions, and let the people of Shenyang look for work.

Last September, Beijing announced that it was going to be awarding bonus checks to Chinese citizens to celebrate China's 50th anniversary under communism. But Shenyang didn't have the money to pay, which sparked a massive protest. So to ease tensions, the local government decided to give its people a say in how the province was run. On a limited basis, they are giving people the right to vote for candidates in local elections. It's not exactly democracy, because the Party still puts up the candidates, and decides who can vote. But it's a first step toward greater political freedom. And it's not just happening in Shenyang. Local elections are now held in the vast majority of the country's 900,000 villages.

When asked why, one Party official in Shenyang said: "This is the beginning of a process. We realized that in order to improve social control, we have got to let the masses have a say." The gamble they are taking is that they are going to be able to put the genie of freedom back in the bottle. And if that sounds familiar, it should, because it's the same risk that communist leaders from Poland to Russia to Nicaragua took a decade ago. It was a gamble they all lost. Because as Earl Warren once said: "liberty is the most contagious force in the world."

Think about what all this could mean in one other area: communication. Today, China's tariffs on information technology products average 13 percent. When China joins the WTO, those tariffs will disappear by 2005. For the first time, China will open its telecom market to cutting-edge American firms. By doing so, it will help bring the information revolution to cities and towns across China.

This will help make the tools of communication cheaper, better, more reliable, and more widely available. It means that Chinese citizens won't have to go to a government- entity to get a telephone and telephone services. It means that when a U.S. firm installs an intra-office e-mail in its China office, its Chinese employees can be put in daily touch not only with their colleagues in China, but with thousands of employees here in the U.S.

The magnitude of this defies measurement. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China quadrupled from two million to nine million. This year, the number is expected to grow to 20 million. Now, project that rate of growth onto a country that has 1.2 billion people. Think about how much the Internet has changed America -- and we are already an open society. Imagine how much it could change China.

Chinese citizens will increasingly be able to communicate with each other in real time, in ways

and in such volume that no amount of censorship and monitoring can control. If they're no longer dependent on the state for information, they'll be able to share ideas with each other or the outside world. As they see how other people across the world live, I believe they will seek a greater voice in shaping their own lives.

There is no question that some in China's leadership are nervous about the Internet and trying to control its content. Well, good luck. In this information age, cracking down on the Internet is like trying to nail Jello to the wall. That the government is pushing back only proves that the changes China is undergoing are real and threaten the status quo. This is not an argument for slowing down the effort to bring China into the world – it's an argument for accelerating it.

I think China is going to learn what every other nation is learning as we embrace this knowledge-based economy: you can't expect people to be innovative economically while being stifled politically. Bringing China into the WTO doesn't guarantee it will choose political reform. But accelerating the process of economic change will force China to confront that choice sooner, and it will make the imperative for the right choice far stronger. And again, if China is willing to take this risk, how could we possibly turn our backs?

This is not to say that this agreement will alone accomplish the goals of our policy toward China. Nobody who supports it, for example, believes that bringing China into the WTO is, by itself, a human rights policy for the United States. That's why we sanctioned China as a "country of particular concern" under the International Religious Freedom Act last year. It is why we are once again sponsoring a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning China's human rights record. We will continue to press China to respect global norms on non-proliferation. And we reject the use of force as a means to resolve the Taiwan question. We will continue to make absolutely clear that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan must be resolved

peacefully and with the assent of the people of Taiwan.

In other words, we must and will continue to defend our interests and our ideals with candor and consistency. But we will not change our policies in a way that isolates China from the global forces empowering its people to build a better future.

Shutting China out would be a gift from heaven to the hard-liners in its government who don't want their country to be part of the world. Keep in mind: These are the same people most eager to settle differences with Taiwan by force. The same people most threatened by our alliances with Japan and South Korea. The same people who would like to keep the Chinese military in the business of selling dangerous technologies around the world. The same people whose first instinct in the face of opposition is to throw people in prison camps.

Shutting China out wouldn't free a single prisoner in China, or create a single job in America, or reassure a single American ally in Asia. It would simply empower the most rigid, anti-democratic elements in the Chinese government. ~~It would leave China an insecure, hostile, brooding presence on the world stage.~~ It would leave the Chinese people with less access to information, less contact with the democratic world, more resistance from their government to outside ideas. It would delay the day of change in China and leave the whole world less secure. That would be a tragic mistake.

It's very interesting to me that the people with the greatest interest in seeing China change agree with that. The people of Taiwan agree. Despite all the tensions they have had with Beijing, they are doing everything they can to cement their economic ties with the mainland. The people of Hong Kong agree. I recently received a letter from Martin Lee, the leader of Hong Kong's Democratic Party. He has spent his life struggling for free elections and free expression for his

people. And he wrote to me that this agreement "represents the best long-term hope for China to become a member of good standing of the international community . . . We fear that should ratification fail . . . there is a risk not only of economic back-pedaling and a slowing of the reform process, but also that the economic chill would affect Hong Kong and China's neighbors in the region. Clearly, any hope for the political and legal reform process would also recede."

Most of the evangelicals I know who have missions in China also want China in the WTO because they know that it will encourage freedom of thought and more contact with the outside world. Even people who have paid the greatest price under Chinese repression agree. Ren Wending is one of the fathers of the Chinese human rights movement. In the late 1970s, he was thrown in prison for founding the China Human Rights League. In the 1980s, he helped lead the demonstrations at Tiananmen Square. In the 1990s, he was thrown in prison again. [He has endured intimidation, threats to his family, and threats to his life.] Yet, he says of this deal: "before, the sky was black, now it is light. This can be a new beginning."

For these people, fighting for freedom in China is not an academic exercise, it is their life's work. How can any of us who care about human rights in China possibly substitute our judgement for theirs?

If you believe in a future of greater openness and freedom for the people of China; you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of greater prosperity for the American people, you should be for this agreement. If you believe in a future of peace and security for Asia and the world, you should be for this agreement. This is the right thing to do. It is a historic opportunity. And I am going to work as hard as I can to convince Congress and the American people that America should lead the world in embracing it. Thank you.

Revised Final 03/01/00 10:30am
Jeff Shesol

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON HIGH-TECH INDUSTRY AND
TRADE RELATIONS WITH CHINA
UUNET TECHNOLOGIES
ASHBURN, VIRGINIA
March 1, 2000**

Acknowledgments: Amb. Barshefsky; MCI WorldCom CEO Bernie Ebbers; UUNet CEO John Sidgmore; Melissa Pizzo [*Pih-zo*], VP and Gen. Manager, Americas Service Delivery, UUNet; members of Congress

One month ago, in my State of the Union Address, I said that America had built a new economy: powered by technology, energized by new ideas. In just seven years we have generated almost 21 million new jobs; the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years; the lowest poverty rate in 20 years; the smallest welfare rolls in 30 years; the highest home ownership on record; the longest economic expansion in our history.

This a seismic shift – changing the landscape so dramatically it will never look the same. Now, when I say the landscape is changing, I mean it literally. As I took the short flight here this afternoon, and looked out across the acres of Northern Virginia, I found it hard to recall the sleepy suburbs these were not so long ago. Everywhere you look, there's a brand-new facility almost as impressive as this one. And then there are the changes you can't see: beneath these booming business parks and rolling green pastures run countless miles of cable, conducting more than half of all the Internet traffic in the world. There are more high-tech firms here today than there were farms in the 1970s, when this region led the state in the production of – get this – milk. And here in Loudoun County, there are more high-tech workers today than there were residents in 1980.

Workers like you – high-tech, high-skilled, high-wage – and firms like UUNet are the new engines driving our new economy. Information technology accounts for only 8 percent of our employment but fully one third of America's economic growth. Everyone from John Sidgmore to Alan Greenspan agrees it's been vital to both the strength and the length of our recovery.

The new technologies you develop in the high-tech sector are being applied in every other sector of our economy, from traditional industries to the cutting edge. Their ripple effects on other industries bring to mind Henry Ford's assembly line – which transformed not just one sector but the economy as a whole. The services you provide are having a similar impact: making companies of all kinds more competitive, making their workers more productive, giving them the tools to produce wealth and share more broadly in its benefits.

So UUNet provides a lot more than Internet service. Every day, you show us something new about the power of imagination, of enterprise, of innovation and ideas. These are the

qualities at the core of the American character. Our task, at the dawn of this new century, is to make sure that they're rewarded in a marketplace that is much wider, and more full of possibility, than any of us could have imagined when UUNet sold its first commercial connection to the Internet, in 1988.

In just 12 years, UUNet has extended its reach to 100 countries... expanded its global network by more than 1000 percent each year. The global market for your services is growing. It's a big part of your future. Today I want to talk to you about a way we can make that future even brighter for every American worker – not just in the ISPs [*Internet service providers*] of Northern Virginia or the start-ups of Silicon Valley, but in factories and farms across our nation.

By expanding trade abroad, we expand opportunity here at home. Exports support nearly 12 million jobs in the United States, and, in the last four years alone, have created one million more. The jobs that exports create are good jobs – high-wage jobs – that pay, on average, 15 percent better than other jobs. Opening markets means opening new opportunities for working Americans, making it more possible to raise your families in comfort and plan your future with confidence.

That is why I strongly support China's entry into the World Trade Organization, and I hope you will, too. Now, if you've been following this debate, you've been hearing a lot of different views from a lot of different angles. Let me give you my view: this is an enormous opportunity for America. It's the kind every country wishes or works for, the kind you get maybe once in a generation. China – with more than a billion consumers within its borders, fully one-fifth of the world's population – is the biggest potential market in the world. It's a market that remains mostly untapped; only a small part of it is open to us now.

We have negotiated a deal that would give America unprecedented access to China's markets – while giving China no new access to our own. Chinese tariffs in every sector – from telecommunications to automobiles to agriculture – will fall by half or more during the next five years. For the first time, American companies will have a real chance to sell and distribute in China products made by workers here at home. For the first time, China will agree to play by the same trade rules that we do. The United States, meanwhile, gains tough new safeguards against surges of imports, and maintains the strongest possible protections against dumping products. These are the kinds of changes that every President, regardless of party, has worked to bring about for more than thirty years.

The bottom line could not be more clear: this is a good deal for American workers and farmers. This is a good deal for American business. This is a good deal for America. But the only way to lock in its benefits is for Congress to establish Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China. This vote is one of the most important this Congress will cast.

Next month, I will send two Presidential delegations to China – one led by Commerce Secretary Daley, the other by Agriculture Secretary Glickman. They, along with dozens of members of Congress, will meet with government officials, business leaders, religious leaders, and others working for change in China. I am confident that any American who spends time in China, anyone who takes an honest, first-hand look at the changes taking place, will want to

make sure that the United States plays a constructive role in opening China's economy, and its society.

For America, the economic stakes could hardly be higher. Just think what this agreement would mean for America's high-tech companies. Today, China's tariffs on information technology products average 13 percent. When China joins the WTO, those tariffs will start falling. They'll be completely eliminated by 2005. And China will open its Internet and telecom markets to American investment and services.

The magnitude of this market almost defies measurement. China installs enough phone lines every year to replace a network the size of Pacific Bell. The number of Chinese Internet users quadrupled in the last year alone, leaping from 2 million to 9 million. That number may hit 20 million by the end of this year. Now, China doesn't have the information infrastructure to support many more than that. But UUNet, which already has a presence in Hong Kong, could work alongside other high-tech firms in helping them build it. When China joins the WTO, high-tech companies will – for the first time – be able to export to China without trading their technology or moving their operations. They'll be able to export goods and services – and not export jobs.

Now, America has a huge lead in high-tech trade. But let's keep this in mind: China's going to grow no matter what we do. If we don't sell our products to China, some other country will be happy to sell their products to China. So if we turn our backs on this opportunity – if we unilaterally disarm as a global trading power – well, we're going to spend the next twenty years regretting it. We're going to spend the next twenty years wondering why we ever handed over all the benefits we negotiated, and gave up the competitive edge we've earned, to Europe, Japan, and other countries.

It's not even a close call. Granting Permanent Normal Trade Relations, and allowing China into the WTO, are clearly in the interest of American workers, companies, and investors. Now, there are other concerns – very serious and valid concerns – about political repression in China; about tensions with Taiwan; about the spread of dangerous weapons. I want to be absolutely clear that America will continue to stand with those courageous people in China who are struggling for human rights. We will continue to make plain that the issues between Beijing and Taiwan have got to be resolved peacefully, and with the assent of the people of Taiwan. We will continue to press our views on proliferation and continue to protect America's interests.

This deal will not change China, or our relationship with China, overnight. Still, it is a step in the right direction. It will not only deepen our prosperity; it will strengthen our national security by promoting the right kind of change in China.

UUNet – and companies like it – can help bring that change. The WTO agreement will make the tools of communication cheaper, better, and more widely available to the Chinese people. This means something big to your bottom line; but I want to tell you that it means far, far more than that. The high-tech tools you build will allow the citizens of China to communicate with each other – to share ideas and information – in ways that no government can

control. The Internet access you provide will connect Chinese citizens to one another and the world outside.

Lately, we've seen the Chinese government cracking down, pushing back, trying to fit the genie back into the bottle. Well, it won't fit. "Liberty," in the words of Chief Justice Earl Warren, "is the most contagious force in the world." In China today, the one-party state is still powerful; but with one click of a mouse, a Chinese child can find new freedoms that are even more powerful.

As I have said, none of us can know the choices China will make. But we should do everything in our power to help it make the right ones. At the same time, America – and the U.S. Congress – has its own choice to make. It's a choice between embracing opportunity, or turning our backs on it. Between a China that's open to American goods and services, or closed to us and only to us. It's a choice, I believe, between fear and hope.

I hope you will work with me to ensure that our nation makes the right choice. I am confident that we will – because it is important to our national security; because it is important to the economic security of workers, farmers, and businesses, all of whom have a huge stake in this outcome; and because it will give all of our children a greater chance to prosper, in a world that is safer, saner, more free, and more full of possibility. Thank you.

China Army Renews Threat Against Taiwan Separatism

Message Seems Aimed at Presidential Race

By ERIK ECKHOLM

BEIJING, March 6 — In one of the most forceful statements yet on Taiwan, the Chinese military said today that it would "spare no effort in a blood-soaked battle" to protect China's territorial integrity and that China would not be tricked into negotiations with Taiwan leaders who secretly opposed rejoining the motherland.

While it did not mention by name any candidates in Taiwan's presidential election on March 18, the warning, in an editorial of the Liberation Army Daily, seemed to be aimed at

*One Taiwan aspirant
appears to be singled
out for criticism.*

Chen Shui-bian, the candidate of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party.

For years Mr. Chen and his party campaigned for Taiwan's formal independence from China, which considers the island an integral part of the nation that was separated by civil war.

Mr. Chen has recently moderated that position, saying a formal declaration would not be necessary because Taiwan already enjoys de facto independence. He promises that if elected, he will seek deeper economic ties and peace talks with the mainland.

But in language clearly intended to describe Mr. Chen, the editorial said Taiwan leaders who "consistently pushed for independence" had used

"sweet-sounding rhetoric to bluff that they want to have 'benevolent harmony, positive cooperation and lasting peace' with the mainland — all to swindle the Taiwan populace."

"We must on no account be dazzled by the pretty phrases," the editorial said.

The editorial from the military's official mouthpiece was reprinted in People's Daily and other newspapers, indicating that the views had been approved at the highest levels of the Communist Party. And the government also signaled its resolution when the Finance Minister, Xiang Huaicheng, announced a 12.7 percent rise in military spending for this year.

While Mr. Chen appeared to be the subject of the editorial, neither of Taiwan's other leading candidates has unambiguously accepted what China calls an unshakable precondition for talks: that Taiwan is legally part of a Beijing-centered "One China."

Some creative compromises in language will be needed if the hopes in Taipei and Beijing for renewed dialogue later this year, with a new president of Taiwan, are to be realized.

The military editorial was part of an orchestrated barrage of warnings from senior leaders here as Taiwan's election approaches, the American Congress debates a proposal for closer military ties with the island and the Clinton administration weighs Taiwan's request for advanced weapons.

It will be many years before China has the military capacity to mount a blockade of Taiwan, let alone invade it, foreign analysts say. But the Chinese leaders have clearly decided that they must put pressure on the island now to halt a slide toward

independence.

In a policy statement on Feb. 21 that created new worries in Taipei and Washington, China said more clearly than before that Taiwan's indefinite foot-dragging in negotiations could set off an attack, a threat previously made against an outright declaration of independence. But the report stressed China's desire for a peaceful settlement and its willingness to grant Taiwan extraordinary autonomy.

That report gave no deadline for talks, and none of the subsequent statements indicate changes in the carrot-and-stick policy it outlined. But the recent pronouncements have stressed China's desire to secure the return of Taiwan "at an early date."

On Sunday, while expressing hopes for a peaceful settlement, Prime Minister Zhu Rongji, who is considered a moderate on the issue, said China "will not sit idly by and watch any serious separatist activity."

Sunday's newspapers featured a speech by President Jiang Zemin in which he restated China's preference for negotiations but also the threat of "drastic measures" if Taiwan delays indefinitely.

In a speech to legislators on Sunday, Gen. Zhang Wannian, a top military leader, said, "The two sides of the strait cannot remain perpetually divided," and "Taiwanese independence means war."

In Taiwan the three major presidential candidates have all described themselves as peacemakers, promising to encourage economic ties and

engage in talks with the mainland.

At the same time, none have disowned President Lee Teng-hui's assertion that Taiwan's dealings with the mainland should be conducted on a state-to-state basis. Mr. Lee's stance has been popular, and it appears to be politically impossible for any candidate to backtrack too far.

On Sunday, Vice President Lien Chan, the candidate of the governing Nationalist Party, warned voters that it would be reckless to elect Mr. Chen, because of his "independence platform."

But Mr. Lien also said, "The so-called state-to-state relationship is the constant policy of my country and my government," repeating the phrase that outraged Beijing when Mr. Lee first used it last summer.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, MARCH 7, 2000

China Tries To Deflect Criticism On Rights

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, March 6 — With the Clinton administration determined to have China's record on human rights condemned by the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, the Chinese are relying on intensive diplomacy and procedural ploys to escape criticism. It is a system that has worked well in the past for would-be targets of condemnation.

"If the U.S. administration decides to sponsor the anti-China resolution, we believe, like in previous situations, the majority of the commission will be on China's side," Shen Guofang, China's deputy representative at the United Nations, said in an interview. "They don't want to see a confrontation in the commission."

Mr. Shen predicted that the United States would not get the solid support of Europe. Some Western diplomats here say the Chinese have been able to play American and European commercial interests against one other with considerable success.

China has had "dialogues" with European countries to explain its record, Mr. Shen said, adding that there should be more talks with the United States, whose main irritant may really be China's socialist system, he said.

"Of course we have some room for improvement," Mr. Shen said. But since the 1970's, when China began to open its economy and begin other reforms, there have been big changes, he said. "China now has the best human rights situation in its history."

Diplomats and human rights officials, who point to steps China has begun taking to cooperate with rights monitors, say that public criticism is anathema to Beijing. When the United Nations high commissioner for human rights, Mary Robinson, said in China that the rights situation had declined, officials warned her not to raise the issue of Falun Gong, the banned religious sect, or other problems that she has highlighted.

For a powerful and determined country like China — or Russia, when Chechnya is at issue, or at times the United States — the United Nations system can offer many ways to avoid public scrutiny and embarrassing moments, from the Security Council all the way down to subcommittees meeting in basement rooms.

Official functions are not the only focus. Film screenings, art exhibitions, journalists' briefings and even ecumenical religious services can be blocked by pressure from various nations. China is considered one of the most active in denying a platform for critics, including the Dalai Lama, who is effectively barred from United Nations events.

Ahead of the annual commission meeting in Geneva, which this year runs from March 20 until the end of April, China has been running a two-track defense, diplomats and human rights advocates say.

In Geneva, the Chinese are expected to try to keep an American-sponsored resolution on its human rights record off the full commission's agenda by using a pre-emptive parliamentary technique: a "no-action" motion. With support of other Asian, African and some Latin American countries, China has managed to have the resolution struck in advance nearly every year; once it was discussed and defeated.

India, whose rights record the State Department last week characterized as rife with "significant abuses," backs China, as does Iran.

On a second track, China works to bar organizations of Chinese or Tibetan exiles from getting a hearing there. This year it has already succeeded in excluding Human Rights in China, a New York-based group led by prominent exiles.

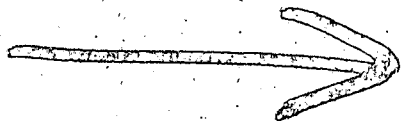
Fang Lizhi, an astrophysicist now teaching in the United States, is co-chairman with Robert Bernstein of Human Rights in China; Xiao Qiang, another scientist in exile who has worked closely with Chinese grassroots groups, particularly the mothers of victims at Tiananmen Square in 1989, is executive director.

Human rights groups and United Nations officials say that in the past the commission meeting in Geneva had been unique within the United Nations system in its openness to nongovernmental organizations. But they say that may be changing.

Joanna Weschler, Human Rights Watch's representative at the United Nations, said that tolerance for nongovernmental organizations, known as NGO's, has generally been shrinking under the current composition of a 19-member committee that is able to grant or deny "consultative status" to independent groups.

Margaret Huang, Asia program director for the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights in Washington, said the committee was "not very NGO-friendly now." Some Western diplomats agree.

The Kennedy center made Mr. Xiao a member of its delegation last year, and was criticized for giving back-door access. "This year I feel for the first time I may not be able to speak," Mr. Xiao said. "If we're not going and don't speak, Chinese issues are gone from the commission."



The New York Times

TUESDAY, MARCH 7, 2000

Behind China's Threats

Military Options for an Attack on Taiwan Are Judged to Be Limited and Impractical

By CRAIG S. SMITH

SHANGHAI, March 6 — China's renewed threat of war against Taiwan has caused anxiety in the West, but Beijing's military options for attacking the island remain limited and impractical, a fact

News often overlooked in the furor in Washington.

Analysis Though China's Army outnumbers Taiwan's six to one, the country lacks a transport fleet large enough to ferry a major invasion force across the Taiwan Strait. And even if it could muster the ships, China does not have the means to secure control of the sea or air separating it from the island to carry out such a deployment.

"There's no way at this moment that Beijing has the weapons in its arsenal in sufficient numbers to undertake and sustain a major, full-scale assault on Taiwan," says Jonathan Pollack, a China specialist at the Rand Corporation in California.

China does have nuclear weapons, but using them against avowed compatriots in Taiwan is highly unlikely.

Most Western military experts say it will be years, if not decades, before the mainland mounts a credible threat.

Beijing's vow to use force, made in a policy paper last month at the start of Taiwan's presidential election campaign and repeated in an editorial in a military newspaper today, is meant to warn the island away from formal independence and push it toward serious negotiations on reunification with the mainland. Beijing still regards Taiwan as its territory, occupied by the Nationalist authorities who fled there during China's civil war in the 1940's.

But forcing the island to the table is a delicate game; were Taiwan to survive a misguided mainland military campaign, it would probably declare independence and win widespread diplomatic support abroad.

Beijing does have alternatives to an invasion, though none of them seem likely.

The option that experts in Taiwan and the West take most seriously, because it is the one most available to China today, would be a short, Kosovo-like missile campaign intended to devastate Taiwan's economy — either by direct strikes on sites in Taiwan, or by disrupting shipping lanes. China has hundreds of short-range ballistic missiles pointed at the island.

Supplemented with information warfare — using computer viruses and electromagnetic pulses to knock out Taiwan's communications and transportation, for instance — and perhaps sabotage by Beijing's agents on the island, incoming missiles could demoralize Taiwan's people and undermine support for Taipei from the island's business elite.

Many in that group have investments on both sides of the strait and might prefer political compromise to economic ruin.

"If it didn't work, Beijing may not be greatly harmed by great loss of forces, as may be the case with other

options," said Eric McVadon, a retired United States Navy rear admiral and a former defense attaché in Beijing. He says this is the possibility that most worries him.

But the domestic risks if such a strategy failed would be dire. Mr. McVadon added that such a dramatically belligerent act could isolate China diplomatically and halt most exports to the United States and other major markets.

Foreign investment might dry up, as it did in the year after Beijing's crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators at Tiananmen Square in 1989. China's economic engine, still dependent on export revenue and foreign investment inflows to keep its people employed, would probably sputter and slow to a crawl.

China's economy is already at low ebb and so in some ways more fragile than in 1989. The country has spent billions of dollars to prop up slowing economic growth in the last two years and cannot afford to do so indefinitely.

Unemployment is as high as 30 percent in some parts of the industrial northeast, and the economic shock that would follow military action against Taiwan would worsen conditions for many already disgruntled people. If an action against Taiwan failed, Beijing could face a groundswell of domestic opposition.

"A defeat would mean the end of the regime," said a Hong Kong-based economist who asked not to be identified. "The risk to the party is far more than just more economic stress."

Such a brutal approach, meanwhile, would cast China as an international pariah and reverse decades of diplomatic confidence building. Beijing is still stinging from the international condemnation that followed the killings of protesters near Tiananmen Square.

The trade concessions it has offered to join the World Trade Organization are, in part, an attempt to erase that legacy. The deal is contingent upon Congress ending its annual review of China's trade status, an exercise put in place after the Tiananmen crackdown.

And China would not win much of a prize if it did cripple Taiwan's economy. It would jeopardize a major source of investment — Taiwan has invested more than \$30 billion in the

mainland — and would destroy what little good will it has on the island.

In any case, China is years from being able to "take" Taiwan.

Any large-scale attempt to cross the strait would be obvious for weeks ahead of time as China massed men and equipment on its shores. And once at sea, such a force would be sitting ducks for Taiwan's Air Force or even two submarines positioned at either end of the strait.

China's chief problem is air cover: It has far more planes than Taiwan, but most are out-of-date blowflies compared with Taiwan's jets. The 72 SU-27 fighters that China has bought from Russia could outmaneuver Taiwan's aging F-5's, but probably not the island's 150 F-16's, 60 French Mirage 2000's or air defenses, which include advanced Patriot missiles.



1/2

Equally daunting are the many ground and airborne radar systems that the United States has supplied to Taiwan to coordinate air and sea assaults.

China lacks the technology in its offensive forces to cope with those defenses, military experts say, though it is trying to acquire such technology from Russia and Israel.

China does have air defense missiles, but they lack the range and ability to effectively clear the strait's skies long enough to permit safe movement of an invasion force.

The best China could hope for would be to disable Taiwan's Air Force by pounding its airfields and communications centers with short-range ballistic missiles and then land enough men to take an airport or other strategic installation, giving them a base to build on.

But the chances that such an isolated invasion force could survive would be slim, while the chances that those soldiers would end up as prisoners and bargaining chips for Taipei is high enough to argue against that course of action.

China could seize one or two of Taiwan's outlying islands; Jinmen and Matsu lie just a few miles off the mainland's coast. But those islands are heavily fortified with thousands of Taiwanese troops, and so the cost of taking them would likely be high and the gain slim.

Or Beijing could attempt a naval blockade, hoping to bring Taiwan to heel.

China's Navy has enough ships to enforce a quarantine. And the island's economy is almost entirely dependent on trade, including imported oil. Taipei might buckle to domestic pressure and negotiate terms of reunification if its factories stopped running.

But coordinating such an action is far more complex than anything China's Navy has attempted before. And blockades are easier to circumvent than to sustain.

Worse, Taiwan might decide to fight rather than negotiate if backed into a corner; that could prove disastrous for Beijing because it is out-

gunned both at sea and in the air.

For now, China's most likely military action will be more war games and other training exercises in the coastal provinces facing Taiwan. China has mounted such maneuvers many times before, most recently in September. The size and threatening nature of those exercises could increase, but they are likely to remain games for now.

Meanwhile, China's is working to upgrade its arsenal. It is improving the accuracy and number of short-range ballistic missiles aimed at the island and is developing a land-attack cruise missile with accurate "terminal homing" — in other words, a "smart" bomb.

Russia has agreed to supply China kits for 200 more SU-27 jet fighters, and Beijing reportedly will soon buy even more advanced SU-30's. And Israel is expected to supply China

with an airborne warning and control system mounted on Russian IL-76 jets that could be used for battle management.

But the new weapons will not necessarily shift the balance of power in China's favor anytime soon. Taiwan will also continue to improve its arsenal and operational skills. And it will take years before China's military is proficient enough to use the high-tech weapons effectively.

"Troops equipped with weapons produced by various countries are virtually incapable of integrating them in modern, high-tech warfare," said Wang Weixin, a senior researcher at China's Military Academy.

Mr. Wang, quoted this week in China's armed forces paper, Liberation Army Daily, was talking about Taiwan's troops, but the judgment applies equally to those of his own country.

2/2