

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Korea [Folder 1] [8]

Staff Office-Individual:

Asian Affairs

Original OA/ID Number:

64

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
30	3	8	2	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	From White House Situation Room to Saeed, Ragle, Poneman, Kristoff at 5:30pm. Subject: Talks. (10 pages)	06/18/1993	P1/b(1)
002. cable	re: President Kim Announce a "New Diplomacy" (5 pages)	05/24/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Asian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 64

FOLDER TITLE:

Korea [Folder 1] [8]

2009-0528-F

vz1429

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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ELIZABETH

FAX NO. 2023870205

P. 02

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TOGETHER ON THE ROAD TO A NEW KOREA

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

KIM YOUNG SAM

FEBRUARY 25, 1993

FEB-24-93 WED 14:18

ELIZABETH

FAX NO. 2023870205

P. 03

My 70 million fellow Koreans at home and abroad, President Roh Tae Woo, other former presidents and distinguished guests, today we gather here to open a new era of democracy under civilian government-- the climax of our long and tireless pursuit. We have had to wait for this moment for thirty long years. At last, we have established a government by the people and of the people for this land. The government that is coming into being today has its foundation in the burning desire and great sacrifices of the people for democracy.

Standing before our National Assembly, I am deeply moved, for this has long been the scene of my difficult and passionate struggle for democracy. The Korean people truly are a great people and I extend my deep gratitude to you. May the glory of our nation be with you forever. Today, I join you all in paying tribute to those who nobly sacrificed themselves in the struggle for democracy and thus cannot be with us today.

Fellow citizens, as I assume the Presidency, I am acutely aware of our historic mission to build a new homeland. The spirit of renewal is now rising in this land. In the past, the Korean people have enjoyed luxuriant summers, but have also suffered withering winters. Today, this spirit of national advancement represents the hope of a new spring.

This new season demands that we make a fresh start with renewed determination. Deep in my heart, I have a vision of a "New

FEB-24-93 WED 14:18

ELIZABETH

FAX NO. 2023870205

P. 04

Korea". The "New Korea" will be a freer and more mature democratic society. Justice will flow like a river throughout this land. This "New Korea" will be a sharing community, working and living together in harmony. A higher quality of life will flourish and the dignity of the individual will be upheld. The divided Korean people will become one and live in peace in a unified land.

The "New Korea" will stand tall and proud on the center stage of a new and civilized world, making a vital contribution to global peace and progress. The "New Korea" will inspire all to work enthusiastically and will make our children proud to be Korean. Let us all share in this vision. We are a people who have already worked a miracle, rising from the ashes of a savage war that followed devastation by colonial rule. Now, we must build again and move forward to face the challenges of the future.

My fellow citizens,

We must realize however, that as we face these challenges, conditions are not necessarily favorable. In this post-cold war world that is moving headlong into intense economic and technological competition, old enemies are being transformed into new friends and old rules and practices no longer apply. If we fail to adapt to the changing times, we will only become bogged down at the threshold of the developed world. If we do not charge forward, we will only be left behind. This is a grave matter of national survival.

FEB-24-93 WED 14:19

ELIZABETH

FAX NO. 2023870205

P.05

It is at this time that we should be building our strength to create a "New Korea" and yet, we seem to have become debilitated. We are sick with what has been termed the Korean disease. Our industriousness and ingenuity--long the envy of the world--seem to be evaporating. Our society faces decay if our values continue to erode. The Korean people seem to have lost confidence in themselves. This is the heart of the problem. If we are in a crisis, it is not due to challenges from the outside, it is due to a feeling of defeatism that comes from within. We cannot let things go on like this. We must renew ourselves.

We must shake off our frustration and lethargy and break through to establish a new era of courage and hope. We must replace bigotry and inertia with open-mindedness and vitality, strife and confrontation with dialogue and cooperation, and mistrust with trust. We must stop considering narrow self-interests and build a society which sees us not only live together but also truly care about each other. These goals are the very root of the change and reform I advocate. It is not only our institutions but also our way of thinking and behaving that must be changed. If we hide from change and reform, we will be forsaken by history.

Fellow citizens,

The reforms we need must begin with three essential tasks: First, misconduct and corruption must be rooted out; second The economy must be revitalized; third, national discipline must be enhanced.

FEB-24-93 WED 14:19

ELIZABETH

FAX NO. 2023870205

P.06

Misconduct and corruption are the most terrifying enemies attacking the foundations of our society. There cannot and will not be any sanctuary for those who oppose the fight against corruption. No sanctuary at all. We will stamp out all manners of improprieties and graft. Immediate reform will start at the very top. Yet, it will not be possible to completely weed out corruption unless each and every citizen strives to achieve this goal. My fellow citizens, a truly honorable society will only be realized with the full commitment of all of you.

Next, we must restore economic vitality. To that end, the government will do away with unwarranted controls and protection and instead guarantee self regulation and fair competition. Private initiative and creativity will thus be allowed to flourish.

The administration will be the first to tighten its belt. Our citizens must also conserve and save more. Extravagance and wastefulness must be eliminated.

Workers must work harder, businesses must make bold technological innovations to be winners in the international marketplace. Only when the Government and the people, and labor and business work together with enthusiasm will it be possible to turn our economy around. This is my vision of a new Korean economy.

Fellow citizens,

We have grown lax and must restore national discipline. When power is grabbed by foul means, governmental legitimacy is lost and law and order is bound to break down. This gives currency to the immoral notion that the ends justify the means. There must be an end to the dark political night.

Respect for authority must be reestablished wherever necessary. Freedom must serve society. As the freedom fighter Pack Bum, once said-- the true meaning of freedom is in using that freedom to plant a flower in the park rather than pick a flower from the park. Ethics, which have been so flouted must be made to prevail. To this end, education must henceforth cultivate wholesome character and unwavering democratic belief, as well as equipping our young people for the future with knowledge and skill in science and technology. This is my vision of new education.

Fellow citizens,

The government that serves you from today will be a different kind of government. Chong Wa Dae (The Presidential Office and Residence) will work tirelessly to protect the lives and prosperity of the people and to promote security and prosperity for our nation. Chong Wa Dae will be your good neighbor. I will be with you where you work and will be by your side in good times and bad. We will share joy and pain because the more that joy is shared, the greater it becomes and the more that pain is shared, the lesser it becomes.

FEB-24-93 WED 14:20

ELIZABETH

FAX NO. 2023870205

P. 08

The nature of our politics must also change. Politics should not serve the politicians, rather it must bring hope and happiness to the people. Politics must address our citizens' grievances; it must reflect their spoken and unspoken wishes. When our government and our politics are reformed, so too will a genuine stability, through change and reform, take root in this land.

Fellow citizens,

Let us throw open the door to a new era based on justice and reconciliation. In the past, we have been divided from within by class strife, regional animosities, generational differences and ideological conflict. We must break down these barriers within our own society. We must resolve all legitimate grievances and remove resentment. Too many of you have been denied your place in the sun and we must assist you in joining the mainstream of society. Those who have more should give more. Those who are powerful should yield more. Let us not demand our share too greedily. We must give greater consideration to the larger common good. When we make the rice cake larger, so too must everyone's share become bigger.

My 70 million fellow Koreans at home and abroad,

This I pledge: I will do my very best to fulfill the people's call and the historic mandate for national reconciliation and unification. Yet, at this juncture, regarding unification, we must acknowledge that what is needed is not emotionalism but a reasoned national consensus on achieving this crucial goal.

FEB-24-93 WED 14:20

ELIZABETH

FAX NO. 2023870205

P. 09

To President Kim Il-Sung I say this: We must be genuinely willing to cooperate with each other. The world is moving away from confrontation and into an era of peace and cooperation. We see cooperation expanding among different peoples and countries and yet, none of these nations can have more reason to care and share than we do-- for we are members of the same ethnic family. No ideology or political belief can bring greater happiness than national kinship. If, President Kim, you really care about the Korean people and desire genuine reconciliation and unification between our brethren in the South and North, we can meet at any time and in any place to discuss this dream. It could be at the foot of Mt. Hallasan in the warm spring or on the shores of Chonji Lake atop Mt. Paektusan in summer. Let us open our hearts and discuss the future of the Korean people. In this spirit, I truly believe that we, as one people, will be able to resolve the issues that divide us.

To our five million fellow Koreans overseas who live in many parts of the world but who hold fast to their pride in their national heritage, I say this: Your motherland will be unified before the present century is over and will eventually become a land of freedom and peace. Let all of us, at home and abroad, join forces to open an era in which the proud Korean people will play a major international role and discharge their obligations to the global community.

Fellow citizens,

No one else will bring us this "New Korea". Only we can build it together. Today, many "New Koreans" are here. Workers who labor with sweat on their brow, farmers who venture to grow new kinds of crops, students who strive to expand their knowledge, scientists who explore new frontiers, businessmen who scout the world for new markets, small industrialists who have succeeded in developing new products, members of the armed services who defend the country day and night, and public officials who diligently work for our people. They are the key builders and leaders of the "New Korea"--those who consistently strive to do their best whatever they pursue.

Especially to our young people I say this: Now is the time for you to look out into the world and look to the future, to cast off your apathy and fully commit yourselves, to move from unproductive criticism to creative new solutions. The future is yours. The "New Korea" will be yours.

Fellow citizens, Let us all have a vision and hope for the future. Let us create a "New Korea". Neither the President alone nor the Administration alone can build this "New Korea". There should be no "us" and "them" in the endeavor to achieve this goal. There should be only "us". We must work together as one.

Our "New Korea" cannot be achieved overnight. It will take patience and time. It will take sweat and tears. It will be a

FEB-24-93 WED 14:21

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FAX NO. 2023870205

P. 11

painful task. Yet, when we all share the pain, we will realize our dream, and we must. Let us start again with hope and vision. Let us all march forward. Let no one fall behind. Thank you.

Opening An Era Of Change

Address by Kim Young Sam
Accepting the Presidency of the
Democratic Liberal Party

Seoul Korea

August 28, 1992

My fellow party members, in response to your high expectations and your show of affection and encouragement, I humbly accept the presidency of the Democratic Liberal Party. I am grateful to you for choosing me as the party head in spite of my many inadequacies and, at this moment, am overwhelmed by a sense of momentous duty and obligation.

On behalf of all my fellow party members, I take this opportunity to pay tribute to Honorary President Roh Tae Woo for his years of dedicated endeavors to develop our party as its top leader.

I have become the first purely civilian president of a governing party in 31 years. This means that an era of civilian government in both name and fact is beginning to unfold.

At this critical juncture, both the people and history demand change. The fact that the governing party has selected me, formerly an opposition politician who has long championed change, means, I believe, that our party has chosen to pursue such change.

Two and a half years ago, we launched the Democratic Liberal Party by merging three parties. I decided on the merger out of a single-minded desire to stabilize domestic politics which was adrift on rough seas, to promote national coherence through reforms and thus to lay the groundwork for grand national unity.

Opening An Era Of Change

In integrating the various political groups with different backgrounds, we have experienced a good deal of intramural discord and conflict. But we have already put the past squarely behind us and are now united as one in resolving to embark on the road of change as demanded by both the people and history. I believe the public will heartily applaud our courage and hard decision.

My party colleagues, now that both the people and history demand change, the Democratic Liberal Party must change itself ahead of all others. From now on, you, my fellow party members, must be the genuine masters of our party. You have already selected the presidential candidate of the ruling party through free competition for the first time since the Republic was founded.

In the future, our party must accomplish intraparty democracy so that all decisions will be made from the bottom up. The Democratic Liberal Party must transform itself into a party of reform capable of harnessing the inherent capabilities of the nation and of taking the lead in working change. We must demonstrate that the governing DLP is more reform-minded than any other party that has ever appeared in the history of the Republic of Korea.

You must be the prime movers in shaping a bright and healthy homeland in this period of switch-over from the twentieth to the twenty-first century and in passing the new Korea thus built on to the coming generations.

To mold a bright and healthy homeland, we must first correctly grasp the reality that our society is fraught with problems. Public discipline has grown lax with the prevalence of a cult of money which proclaims that money can buy anything.

In the course of democratization over the past several years, authoritarian tendencies have greatly diminished. But to our chagrin, authority and order have also broken down. Ours has become a society in which subordinates do not respect their superiors and people cannot trust each other. Confused by conflicting values, young people are aimlessly wandering about. There is an increasing trend to indulge in excessive consumption, luxury and pleasure hunting. At the same time, class, regional and generational strife is deepening. Our environment continues to be polluted and destroyed.

All such phenomena may be diagnosed as the Korean disease. The Republic was once counted among the four dragons of Asia. However, it is now mired in an economic slump. Businessmen and farmers alike are losing their motivation to work. Housewives say they are afraid to go shopping.

Moreover, the nation is registering a balance of payments deficit for the third straight year, as our products are driven out of the world market by competitors from other newly industrializing countries. Many characterize the current situation as a political, social and economic crisis.

My party colleagues and fellow citizens, I do not mean to downgrade the economic achievements of the successive governments and, in particular, the success in democratization and northern diplomacy under the Sixth Republic. I also acknowledge that our social ailments and economic stagnation are transitional phenomena incidental to rapid economic growth and democratic reforms.

And yet, nearly all our citizens feel that we must not let the situation remain as it is now. I agree. And I believe that all our politicians, including myself, are responsible for the current situation. I join all my party colleagues in vowing to tackle politics for the well-being of all with a full understanding of the plight and wishes of the people. Only then will it be possible to transform our politics, economy and society.

To that end, we need a strong government, a strong national leadership. We must get at the root causes of the Korean disease. If we are to restore the health of our society, we must carry out bold surgery to root out widespread injustice, deep-seated corruption and habitual improprieties.

We must forcefully counter acts of individual and group selfishness that disturb the public peace and order. We must see to it that women and girls can walk along the streets at night without fear and anxiety.

During the recent period of transition to democracy, it has been unavoidable to exercise leadership with tolerance and patience. However, the soon-to-be born new government will not vacillate trying to pander to various sectors of society. This will be so because it will be a legitimate democratic government in both name and fact. It will be a democratic government capable of acting resolutely and decisively.

A strong government and a strong leadership can only be provided by men of integrity and honesty. Only when the upper stretch of a stream is clean, can the lower stretch be clean also. The only property I own is a house in Sangdo-dong. I will not own any other property in the future, either. If elected, I shall retire to my same old house that will remain in the same condition in which it has always been.

We must remedy at least the following two ills without fail. One is the notion that money can be turned into power. The other is the opposite notion that power can be turned into wealth. These two mistaken beliefs must be eradicated. The ethical integrity of the national leader is the foundation for a healthy society and a healthy country. I shall put the highest value on ethical government.

Next, a strong government and a strong leadership are possible only when the process of gaining power is just. Power grabbed through illegal and unjust means cannot be truly effective. Real power comes from moral authority, rather than from the barrel of a gun or a heap of money.

I have no desire at all to be elected President through unjust means. I took the initiative in creating an ad hoc committee in the National Assembly to get the election laws revised. This is because I want to compete in a fair and just fashion in the forthcoming election. I will campaign in a spotless manner.

The first thing that a government born in a clean fashion must do is to reform personnel administration. It is often said personnel administration is everything. Our current social ills and regional socio-economic disparities have stemmed largely from unfair personnel management. Appointments and promotions must be based on competence and merits, rather than regional bonds, academic connections or nepotism. If elected, I will drastically reform personnel administration with the aim of promoting grand national unity. I will recruit talented people from all areas of the country to form the best possible government. I will conduct grand politics to shape a new era of reconciliation and integration.

Our most urgent task now is certainly to revitalize the economy. We must rescue the dragon that has fallen into the swamp and free it to soar into the sky again. I will do everything in my power to turn around the economy and make it vigorously race forward again.

We are now faced with tough challenges internally and externally. On the home front, we can no longer count on an abundant supply of labor. In the world market, we see the tide of economic regionalism and technological protectionism rising. We will not be able to overcome the challenges with our old way of thinking and acting, with our old institutions and organizations. A revolution in thinking is required.

I believe that willing participation and creativity on the part of businesses and the general public are the key to economic revitalization. My view is that nowadays, businesses and the general public know better than the government what to do and how to do it. We must achieve a small government by minimizing government control and intervention. And yet, the small government must be able to effectively help businesses grow and prosper.

To make our economy healthy again, the triad of workers, businesses and the government must unite as one. We must ensure that honest hard work is duly rewarded. In that way, we must build an era in which everyone, whether rich or poor, male or female, powerful or powerless, will be able to work and live with dignity. Agriculture must also be developed into a competitive industry and must build a thriving rural Korea that will be a good place to live. We cannot overemphasize the need to invest in science and technology if we are to compete in the international marketplaces.

Consistency is important to all public policies. If policies are shifted around all the time, it is our farmers, businesses and citizens in general that will suffer. I have advocated "predictable government," because only when government policies are consistent, will businesses be able to make investment without anxiety.

The process of decision-making must also be clean and transparent. It must be severed from political and financial power. The term, "government-business collusion," must disappear from this land.

Major national projects must not be swayed by regional or group selfishness. Project priorities must be determined based on the best interest and available financial resources of the nation. In this sense, no political leader should make unfeasible public promises. When a strong and stable democratic government comes into being, the economy will gain viability and vitality of its own accord and will keep developing.

Fellow citizens, after all is said, I believe the way to fundamentally cure our social ills is through education. First of all, we must cultivate good citizenship. That is to say, we must become hard-working democratic citizens who have a proper sense of order and discipline. Such education must start from very early childhood. Teenagers must be freed from the exam hell. Universities must be made into true centers of research. If and when our nation is armed with advanced science and technology, our future will be brighter.

We have a great many things to do. We must ensure that our sons and daughters can drink clean water and breath clean air. The almost constant traffic gridlock that so wastes resources and so irritates us must be done away with. All such endeavors are crucial to building a healthy homeland.

Fellow citizens, I have discussed a vision of a healthy homeland. Our ultimate goal, however, is grand national unity. The changes now occurring in the situation enveloping the Korean Peninsula are creating conditions more and more favorable to that goal. With the normalization of relations with China, our northern policy has reached its apogee.

Realizing that it is running against time, North Korea must now throw its doors wide open and step forward to the conference table. I am firmly convinced that unification will be achieved before the present century is out.

As far as unification is concerned, however, I will not make haste under the influence of the passions of the moment. If we make haste, we will very likely run into an excruciating process of trial and error that we may not be able to withstand. We need to make a sound and solid unification policy.

To prepare for unification, we must work out a development program for the whole of the Korean Peninsula and carry out an educational program to promote national homogeneity. We must also continually save to meet the cost of unification. Nevertheless, we must forcefully counteract the North's nuclear development program. I also think we must press for South-North dispersed family reunions and other exchanges of people on a priority basis. When we pursue unification cool-headedly in quest of substance, rather than form, our goal will be attained sooner than expected.

Fellow citizens, what is most important at this critical juncture is for us to return to common sense and sound principles. Only when common sense and sound principles are upheld, and everybody does his part, will our society grow healthy and gain vitality and vigor. This is not a task for the government and leaders alone.

We must shape an era of grand participation in which everyone fulfills his proper role and does his part to the best of his ability. Only participating citizens have the right to demand the state do something for them. As long as I know I am fulfilling my duty, I will proudly ask the people to do theirs.

We must tighten our belts and buckle down to our jobs. Only when we do so, will we be able to open an era of responsible citizenship.

My party colleagues and fellow citizens, some point out that our citizens are now haunted by a strange sense of frustration and defeatism. As I have just said, the current situation is less than sanguine. But our worst enemy is this very attitude.

Any individual or any country is bound to face challenges. An individual or a country rises or falls depending on how challenges are met. Since I met the challenge of being elected to the National Assembly at the age of 25, I have been confronted with an almost endless series of political challenges for over four decades. I have experienced countless days of darkness and suffering. But I endured them without losing hope, and took a plunge again without hesitation whenever an opportune moment arrived, thereby attaining my goals.

The Korean people have tremendous inherent capabilities. For example, Korea won the marathon at the recent Barcelona Olympics, and thus ranked seventh in the medal standing. The Republic has an ample inherent capability to leap into the ranks of the developed nations.

United, the Korean people can do anything that they put their minds to. If elected President, I will see to it that every citizen will feel proud of being Korean.

From now on, I, Kim Young Sam, will demonstrate change. Not through flowery rhetoric but through resolute action.

Two million fellow party members, the moment of truth that will decide national destiny is now only three months away. Let us unite with one mind and one heart. Let us put forth all our energies to achieve the final triumph. Let us win an overwhelming victory in the upcoming presidential election. In that way, we will endeavor to present the Korean people with the excitement of unification, the fruits of democratization, and the contentment of stable and decent lives.

Let us rise and join all our fellow citizens in making a new start. Join me, Kim Young Sam, in these endeavors. We will triumph after all.

Thank you.

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All such phenomena may be diagnosed as the Korean disease. The Republic was once counted among the four dragons of Asia. However, it is now mired in an economic slump. Businessmen and farmers alike are losing their motivation to work. Housewives say they are afraid to go shopping.

Moreover, the nation is registering a balance of payments deficit for the third straight year, as our products are driven out of the world market by competitors from other newly industrializing countries. Many characterize the current situation as a political, social and economic crisis.

My party colleagues and fellow citizens, I do not mean to downgrade the economic achievements of the successive governments and, in particular, the success in democratization and northern diplomacy under the Sixth Republic. I also acknowledge that our social ailments and economic stagnation are transitional phenomena incidental to rapid economic growth and democratic reforms.

And yet, nearly all our citizens feel that we must not let the situation remain as it is now. I agree. And I believe that all our politicians, including myself, are responsible for the current situation. I join all my party colleagues in vowing to tackle politics for the well-being of all with a full understanding of the plight and wishes of the people. Only then will it be possible to transform our politics, economy and society.

To that end, we need a strong government, a strong national leadership. We must get at the root causes of the Korean disease. If we are to restore the health of our society, we must carry out bold surgery to root out widespread injustice, deep-seated corruption and habitual improprieties.

We must forcefully counter acts of individual and group selfishness that disturb the public peace and order. We must see to it that women and girls can walk along the streets at night without fear and anxiety.

During the recent period of transition to democracy, it has been unavoidable to exercise leadership with tolerance and patience. However, the soon-to-be born new government will not vacillate trying to pander to various sectors of society. This will be so because it will be a legitimate democratic government in both name and fact. It will be a democratic government capable of acting resolutely and decisively.

A strong government and a strong leadership can only be provided by men of integrity and honesty. Only when the upper stretch of a stream is clean, can the lower stretch be clean also. The only property I own is a house in Sangdo-dong. I will not own any other property in the future, either. If elected, I shall retire to my same old house that will remain in the same condition in which it has always been.

We must remedy at least the following two ills without fail. One is the notion that money can be turned into power. The other is the opposite notion that power can be turned into wealth. These two mistaken beliefs must be eradicated. The ethical integrity of the national leader is the foundation for a healthy society and a healthy country. I shall put the highest value on ethical government.

Next, a strong government and a strong leadership are possible only when the process of gaining power is just. Power grabbed through illegal and unjust means cannot be truly effective. Real power comes from moral authority, rather than from the barrel of a gun or a heap of money.

I have no desire at all to be elected President through unjust means. I took the initiative in creating an ad hoc committee in the National Assembly to get the election laws revised. This is because I want to compete in a fair and just fashion in the forthcoming election. I will campaign in a spotless manner.

The first thing that a government born in a clean fashion must do is to reform personnel administration. It is often said personnel administration is everything. Our current social ills and regional socio-economic disparities have stemmed largely from unfair personnel management. Appointments and promotions must be based on competence and merits, rather than regional bonds, academic connections or nepotism. If elected, I will drastically reform personnel administration with the aim of promoting grand national unity. I will recruit talented people from all areas of the country to form the best possible government. I will conduct grand politics to shape a new era of reconciliation and integration.

Our most urgent task now is certainly to revitalize the economy. We must rescue the dragon that has fallen into the swamp and free it to soar into the sky again. I will do everything in my power to turn around the economy and make it vigorously race forward again.

We are now faced with tough challenges internally and externally. On the home front, we can no longer count on an abundant supply of labor. In the world market, we see the tide of economic regionalism and technological protectionism rising. We will not be able to overcome the challenges with our old way of thinking and acting, with our old institutions and organizations. A revolution in thinking is required.

I believe that willing participation and creativity on the part of businesses and the general public are the key to economic revitalization. My view is that nowadays, businesses and the general public know better than the government what to do and how to do it. We must achieve a small government by minimizing government control and intervention. And yet, the small government must be able to effectively help businesses grow and prosper.

To make our economy healthy again, the triad of workers, businesses and the government must unite as one. We must ensure that honest hard work is duly rewarded. In that way, we must build an era in which everyone, whether rich or poor, male or female, powerful or powerless, will be able to work and live with dignity. Agriculture must also be developed into a competitive industry and must build a thriving rural Korea that will be a good place to live. We cannot overemphasize the need to invest in science and technology if we are to compete in the international marketplaces.

Consistency is important to all public policies. If policies are shifted around all the time, it is our farmers, businesses and citizens in general that will suffer. I have advocated "predictable government," because only when government policies are consistent, will businesses be able to make investment without anxiety.

The process of decision-making must also be clean and transparent. It must be severed from political and financial power. The term, "government-business collusion," must disappear from this land.

Major national projects must not be swayed by regional or group selfishness. Project priorities must be determined based on the best interest and available financial resources of the nation. In this sense, no political leader should make unfeasible public promises. When a strong and stable democratic government comes into being, the economy will gain viability and vitality of its own accord and will keep developing.

Fellow citizens, after all is said, I believe the way to fundamentally cure our social ills is through education. First of all, we must cultivate good citizenship. That is to say, we must become hard-working democratic citizens who have a proper sense of order and discipline. Such education must start from very early childhood. Teenagers must be freed from the exam hell. Universities must be made into true centers of research. If and when our nation is armed with advanced science and technology, our future will be brighter.

We have a great many things to do. We must ensure that our sons and daughters can drink clean water and breath clean air. The almost constant traffic gridlock that so wastes resources and so irritates us must be done away with. All such endeavors are crucial to building a healthy homeland.

Fellow citizens, I have discussed a vision of a healthy homeland. Our ultimate goal, however, is grand national unity. The changes now occurring in the situation enveloping the Korean Peninsula are creating conditions more and more favorable to that goal. With the normalization of relations with China, our northern policy has reached its apogee.

Realizing that it is running against time, North Korea must now throw its doors wide open and step forward to the conference table. I am firmly convinced that unification will be achieved before the present century is out.

As far as unification is concerned, however, I will not make haste under the influence of the passions of the moment. If we make haste, we will very likely run into an excruciating process of trial and error that we may not be able to withstand. We need to make a sound and solid unification policy.

To prepare for unification, we must work out a development program for the whole of the Korean Peninsula and carry out an educational program to promote national homogeneity. We must also continually save to meet the cost of unification. Nevertheless, we must forcefully counteract the North's nuclear development program. I also think we must press for South-North dispersed family reunions and other exchanges of people on a priority basis. When we pursue unification cool-headedly in quest of substance, rather than form, our goal will be attained sooner than expected.

Fellow citizens, what is most important at this critical juncture is for us to return to common sense and sound principles. Only when common sense and sound principles are upheld, and everybody does his part, will our society grow healthy and gain vitality and vigor. This is not a task for the government and leaders alone.

We must shape an era of grand participation in which everyone fulfills his proper role and does his part to the best of his ability. Only participating citizens have the right to demand the state do something for them. As long as I know I am fulfilling my duty, I will proudly ask the people to do theirs.

We must tighten our belts and buckle down to our jobs. Only when we do so, will we be able to open an era of responsible citizenship.

My party colleagues and fellow citizens, some point out that our citizens are now haunted by a strange sense of frustration and defeatism. As I have just said, the current situation is less than sanguine. But our worst enemy is this very attitude.

Any individual or any country is bound to face challenges. An individual or a country rises or falls depending on how challenges are met. Since I met the challenge of being elected to the National Assembly at the age of 25, I have been confronted with an almost endless series of political challenges for over four decades. I have experienced countless days of darkness and suffering. But I endured them without losing hope, and took a plunge again without hesitation whenever an opportune moment arrived, thereby attaining my goals.

The Korean people have tremendous inherent capabilities. For example, Korea won the marathon at the recent Barcelona Olympics, and thus ranked seventh in the medal standing. The Republic has an ample inherent capability to leap into the ranks of the developed nations.

United, the Korean people can do anything that they put their minds to. If elected President, I will see to it that every citizen will feel proud of being Korean.

From now on, I, Kim Young Sam, will demonstrate change. Not through flowery rhetoric but through resolute action.

Two million fellow party members, the moment of truth that will decide national destiny is now only three months away. Let us unite with one mind and one heart. Let us put forth all our energies to achieve the final triumph. Let us win an overwhelming victory in the upcoming presidential election. In that way, we will endeavor to present the Korean people with the excitement of unification, the fruits of democratization, and the contentment of stable and decent lives.

Let us rise and join all our fellow citizens in making a new start. Join me, Kim Young Sam, in these endeavors. We will triumph after all.

Thank you.

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P. 02

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TOGETHER ON THE ROAD TO A NEW KOREA

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

KIM YOUNG SAM

FEBRUARY 25, 1993

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P.03

My 70 million fellow Koreans at home and abroad, President Roh Tae Woo, other former presidents and distinguished guests, today we gather here to open a new era of democracy under civilian government-- the climax of our long and tireless pursuit. We have had to wait for this moment for thirty long years. At last, we have established a government by the people and of the people for this land. The government that is coming into being today has its foundation in the burning desire and great sacrifices of the people for democracy.

Standing before our National Assembly, I am deeply moved, for this has long been the scene of my difficult and passionate struggle for democracy. The Korean people truly are a great people and I extend my deep gratitude to you. May the glory of our nation be with you forever. Today, I join you all in paying tribute to those who nobly sacrificed themselves in the struggle for democracy and thus cannot be with us today.

Fellow citizens, as I assume the Presidency, I am acutely aware of our historic mission to build a new homeland. The spirit of renewal is now rising in this land. In the past, the Korean people have enjoyed luxuriant summers, but have also suffered withering winters. Today, this spirit of national advancement represents the hope of a new spring.

This new season demands that we make a fresh start with renewed determination. Deep in my heart, I have a vision of a "New

Korea". The "New Korea" will be a freer and more mature democratic society. Justice will flow like a river throughout this land. This "New Korea" will be a sharing community, working and living together in harmony. A higher quality of life will flourish and the dignity of the individual will be upheld. The divided Korean people will become one and live in peace in a unified land.

The "New Korea" will stand tall and proud on the center stage of a new and civilized world, making a vital contribution to global peace and progress. The "New Korea" will inspire all to work enthusiastically and will make our children proud to be Korean. Let us all share in this vision. We are a people who have already worked a miracle, rising from the ashes of a savage war that followed devastation by colonial rule. Now, we must build again and move forward to face the challenges of the future.

My fellow citizens,

We must realize however, that as we face these challenges, conditions are not necessarily favorable. In this post-cold war world that is moving headlong into intense economic and technological competition, old enemies are being transformed into new friends and old rules and practices no longer apply. If we fail to adapt to the changing times, we will only become bogged down at the threshold of the developed world. If we do not charge forward, we will only be left behind. This is a grave matter of national survival.

FEB-24-93 WED 14:19

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P.05

It is at this time that we should be building our strength to create a "New Korea" and yet, we seem to have become debilitated. We are sick with what has been termed the Korean disease. Our industriousness and ingenuity--long the envy of the world--seem to be evaporating. Our society faces decay if our values continue to erode. The Korean people seem to have lost confidence in themselves. This is the heart of the problem. If we are in a crisis, it is not due to challenges from the outside, it is due to a feeling of defeatism that comes from within. We cannot let things go on like this. We must renew ourselves.

We must shake off our frustration and lethargy and break through to establish a new era of courage and hope. We must replace bigotry and inertia with open-mindedness and vitality, strife and confrontation with dialogue and cooperation, and mistrust with trust. We must stop considering narrow self-interests and build a society which sees us not only live together but also truly care about each other. These goals are the very root of the change and reform I advocate. It is not only our institutions but also our way of thinking and behaving that must be changed. If we hide from change and reform, we will be forsaken by history.

Fellow citizens,

The reforms we need must begin with three essential tasks: First, misconduct and corruption must be rooted out; second The economy must be revitalized; third, national discipline must be enhanced.

FEB-24-93 WED 14:19

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FAX NO. 2023870205

P.08

Misconduct and corruption are the most terrifying enemies attacking the foundations of our society. There cannot and will not be any sanctuary for those who oppose the fight against corruption. No sanctuary at all. We will stamp out all manners of improprieties and graft. Immediate reform will start at the very top. Yet, it will not be possible to completely weed out corruption unless each and every citizen strives to achieve this goal. My fellow citizens, a truly honorable society will only be realized with the full commitment of all of you.

Next, we must restore economic vitality. To that end, the government will do away with unwarranted controls and protection and instead guarantee self regulation and fair competition. Private initiative and creativity will thus be allowed to flourish.

The administration will be the first to tighten its belt. Our citizens must also conserve and save more. Extravagance and wastefulness must be eliminated.

Workers must work harder, businesses must make bold technological innovations to be winners in the international marketplace. Only when the Government and the people, and labor and business work together with enthusiasm will it be possible to turn our economy around. This is my vision of a new Korean economy.

FEB-24-93 WED 14:19

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P.07

Fellow citizens,

We have grown lax and must restore national discipline. When power is grabbed by foul means, governmental legitimacy is lost and law and order is bound to break down. This gives currency to the immoral notion that the ends justify the means. There must be an end to the dark political night.

Respect for authority must be reestablished wherever necessary. Freedom must serve society. As the freedom fighter Pack Bum, once said-- the true meaning of freedom is in using that freedom to plant a flower in the park rather than pick a flower from the park. Ethics, which have been so flouted must be made to prevail. To this end, education must henceforth cultivate wholesome character and unwavering democratic belief, as well as equipping our young people for the future with knowledge and skill in science and technology. This is my vision of new education.

Fellow citizens,

The government that serves you from today will be a different kind of government. Chong Wa Dae (The Presidential Office and Residence) will work tirelessly to protect the lives and prosperity of the people and to promote security and prosperity for our nation. Chong Wa Dae will be your good neighbor. I will be with you where you work and will be by your side in good times and bad. We will share joy and pain because the more that joy is shared, the greater it becomes and the more that pain is shared, the lesser it becomes.

FEB-24-93 WED 14:20

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P. 08

The nature of our politics must also change. Politics should not serve the politicians, rather it must bring hope and happiness to the people. Politics must address our citizens' grievances; it must reflect their spoken and unspoken wishes. When our government and our politics are reformed, so too will a genuine stability, through change and reform, take root in this land.

Fellow citizens,

Let us throw open the door to a new era based on justice and reconciliation. In the past, we have been divided from within by class strife, regional animosities, generational differences and ideological conflict. We must break down these barriers within our own society. We must resolve all legitimate grievances and remove resentment. Too many of you have been denied your place in the sun and we must assist you in joining the mainstream of society. Those who have more should give more. Those who are powerful should yield more. Let us not demand our share too greedily. We must give greater consideration to the larger common good. When we make the rice cake larger, so too must everyone's share become bigger.

My 70 million fellow Koreans at home and abroad,

This I pledge: I will do my very best to fulfill the people's call and the historic mandate for national reconciliation and unification. Yet, at this juncture, regarding unification, we must acknowledge that what is needed is not emotionalism but a reasoned national consensus on achieving this crucial goal.

FEB-24-93 WED 14:20

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P.09

To President Kim Il-Sung I say this: We must be genuinely willing to cooperate with each other. The world is moving away from confrontation and into an era of peace and cooperation. We see cooperation expanding among different peoples and countries and yet, none of these nations can have more reason to care and share than we do-- for we are members of the same ethnic family. No ideology or political belief can bring greater happiness than national kinship. If, President Kim, you really care about the Korean people and desire genuine reconciliation and unification between our brethren in the South and North, we can meet at any time and in any place to discuss this dream. It could be at the foot of Mt. Hallasan in the warm spring or on the shores of Chonji Lake atop Mt. Paektusan in summer. Let us open our hearts and discuss the future of the Korean people. In this spirit, I truly believe that we, as one people, will be able to resolve the issues that divide us.

To our five million fellow Koreans overseas who live in many parts of the world but who hold fast to their pride in their national heritage, I say this: Your motherland will be unified before the present century is over and will eventually become a land of freedom and peace. Let all of us, at home and abroad, join forces to open an era in which the proud Korean people will play a major international role and discharge their obligations to the global community.

Fellow citizens,

No one else will bring us this "New Korea". Only we can build it together. Today, many "New Koreans" are here. Workers who labor with sweat on their brow, farmers who venture to grow new kinds of crops, students who strive to expand their knowledge, scientists who explore new frontiers, businessmen who scout the world for new markets, small industrialists who have succeeded in developing new products, members of the armed services who defend the country day and night, and public officials who diligently work for our people. They are the key builders and leaders of the "New Korea"--those who consistently strive to do their best whatever they pursue.

Especially to our young people I say this: Now is the time for you to look out into the world and look to the future, to cast off your apathy and fully commit yourselves, to move from unproductive criticism to creative new solutions. The future is yours. The "New Korea" will be yours.

Fellow citizens, Let us all have a vision and hope for the future. Let us create a "New Korea". Neither the President alone nor the Administration alone can build this "New Korea". There should be no "us" and "them" in the endeavor to achieve this goal. There should be only "us". We must work together as one.

Our "New Korea" cannot be achieved overnight. It will take patience and time. It will take sweat and tears. It will be a

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P. 11

painful task. Yet, when we all share the pain, we will realize our dream, and we must. Let us start again with hope and vision. Let us all march forward. Let no one fall behind. Thank you.