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SINGAPORE TIDBITS

Orchard Road: Orchard Road is famous in Singapore as a major business district -- "smartly dressed shoppers . . . glittering shops . . . with the latest in Paris fashions or Japanese electronics." [The Singaporean and American business audience would be familiar with a reference to Orchard Road (re business, economy).]

Nigel Fisher, editor of Voyager International, wrote of Singapore's ability to blend cultural diversity with a well-ordered society:

"To arrive in Singapore is to step into a world where the muezzin call to prayer competes with the bustle of capitalism; where old men play mah-jongg in the streets and white-clad bowlers send the ball flying down well-tended cricket pitches; where Chinese fortune tellers and high-priced management consultants advise the same entrepreneur."

"Values are formed out of the history and experience of a people. One doesn't learn what is right and wrong out of a book. One absorbs these notions through the mother's milk."

Lee Kuan Yew, interview, Nov. 1991

"The ball of liberty, I believe most piously, is not so well in motion that it will roll around the globe . . . for light and liberty go together."

-- Thomas Jefferson

"To look up and not down,
To look forward and not back,
To look out and not in, and
To lend a hand."

-- E. E. Hale (son of Nathan Hale): Ten Times One is Ten, 1870.

- Singapore has approx. 7,000 U.S. citizens, including dependents, representing U.S. business, religious and educational organizations.
- Westin Corporate Headquarters confirms that the Westin-Stamford (where POTUS speaks) is the tallest hotel in the world. Norris McWhirter, publisher of the Guinness, visited in January 1990.

- The hotel also hosts a stair climbing marathon -- called the Vertical Marathon (next race is this March). The current record holder is a Singaporean who set the record when he climbed the 1336 steps (in 6 minutes 55 seconds) in 1989.
- Singapore has an excellent metro system -- which they copied from us. They sent a team to study the DC area metro system and then applied it to Singapore's needs.
- Cameras are posted at traffic intersections. If you run a red light, they "snap away" and come and get you.



THE WESTIN STAMFORD & WESTIN PLAZA
Singapore

J. David Hayden
Managing Director

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Date : 20 December 1991
To : The White House, Washington D.C.
Attention : Michelle Nix
Fax No. : (1-202) 456-6218
From : Nelli Yong - Director of Marketing Communications
Total no.
of pages : 5 (including this page)
Sender : Marketing Communications Department
Tel: 338-8585 Fax: 336-5117

SUBJECT : INFORMATION ON THE WESTIN STAMFORD, SINGAPORE

We were asked by Elizabeth Vasey, Public Relations Manager of Westin North America, to confirm to you the status of The Westin Stamford, Singapore being the tallest hotel in the world.

It is correct to say that The Westin Stamford, Singapore is the tallest hotel in the world. Some documents to support this are listed below:-

1. Listing in the 1992 Guinness Book of Records (this has been faxed to you already by Elizabeth).
2. World Record certificate awarded by the Guinness Book of Records to The Westin Stamford (attached).
3. The original publisher of the Guinness Book visited Singapore in January 1990 and we have attached a newspaper clipping which also verifies this fact and has a nice picture of the publisher with the hotel as the background.
4. Attached also is another page from the Guinness Book for the Fastest Stair Climbing Record. We have held a Vertical Marathon Competition at The Westin Stamford for the past 4 years (the next race will be in March 1992). The current world record holder is a Singaporean who set the record when he climbed the 1336 steps of The Westin Stamford in 1989.

2, Stamford Road, Singapore 0617
Tel: 338-8585 Fax: 338-2862
Telex: RS 22206 RCHTLS

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PAGE 2

RECEPTION ON THE WESTIN STAMFORD, SINGAPORE

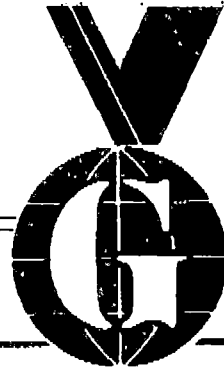
If you need any other information, please let me know. We are all busy preparing and looking forward very much to the visit of President George Bush to Singapore.

Yours sincerely



cc: Elizabeth Vasey (1-206) 443-8997

fc/MC



GUINNESS BOOK OF RECORDS

World Record

*Westin Stamford
Raffles City
Singapore*

*Tallest Hotel
741.9 feet - 226.1 metres*

1st July 1986

Alan Russell

ALAN RUSSELL
Editor

THE STRAITS TIMES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1990

Of figures, stats and facts

Guinness Book publisher has a mind crammed with records

By Serene Lim

THE tallest, the longest, the fastest and the biggest — Norris McWhirter can rattle them off without pause. He has a mind crammed with statistics on world records.

Singapore, for example, has: the longest-serving Prime Minister in the world, the tallest hotel in the world, the fastest stair climber, and the largest number of participants in musical chairs.

At 64, the silvery-haired Mr McWhirter looks like a kindly grandfather with plenty of tales to tell. And he does — tales of facts and figures.

Mr McWhirter published the first Guinness Book of Records with his twin brother, Ross, in 1955. He is here to exchange contracts with Changi International Airport Services (CIAS) to set up a permanent exhibition of some of the record-breaking items featured in the Guinness Book.

And even though he is only here for five days, he has already been researching at the National Library.

"I was reading about aircraft disasters this morning," he said yesterday. "The first victim was killed in 1909, and there have been so many since then. Some records are happy ones, some are not."

Asked if he has broken any records himself, Mr McWhirter laughed: "The only record I've set is by selling books."

Since it first went on sale in 1955, more than 63 million copies of the Guinness Book have been sold, making it the world's best-selling copyright book, overtaking Dr Benjamin Spock's book on child and baby care, but "excluding the Bible and Quran".

Mr McWhirter said he and his twin brother began collecting information from the age of seven.

At the age of 25, they set up their own company, McWhirter Twins, supplying facts and figures to newspapers and year-books.

The Guinness Book came about when they were approached by Guinness Brewery — "the largest brewery in the world" — to publish a book "which could be used in pubs each time arguments arose as to record-breaking feats".

Today, Mr McWhirter is still very much involved in what goes into the books. He reads some of the 40,000 letters which the company receives each year. He also hosts a BBC television show, Record Breakers, for children.

Tomorrow, Mr McWhirter will be presenting Guinness certifi-



Mr McWhirter is front of the Westin Stamford, entered in the Guinness Book as the world's tallest hotel. He is also staying there.

cates to some local record holders.

To date, he has met, among others, the tallest man alive, the strongest woman and the person with the highest IQ.

He recalls: "I met the person with the highest IQ in New York. She's in her 20s, very rich and attractive, and her IQ is 229."

He has also met the strongest woman, an Olympic champion who lives in Moscow. "She gave me a 'nutcracker' handshake, and the pain shot up my arm," he said, grimacing. "She laughed, showing her steel teeth."

He has met the tallest man alive too. At 2.59 m tall, the man has been the cause of some 23 road accidents, "just by standing on pavements", Mr McWhirter said. "He stands there, the cars pass by, and the drivers stop to stare, causing other cars to hit them from behind."

From Singapore, Mr McWhirter will visit the Maldives — "the flattest country in the world, its tallest point is only 2.4 m above sea-level".

Meanwhile, there is "another very interesting record I'm trying to get to the bottom of", Mr McWhirter said, and it happened here in 1909.

"I came across a reference in a scientific journal that the Aurora Borealis, known as the Northern Lights, was sighted here on Sept 25, 1909." Perhaps someone with the longest memory in Singapore can help out?

MISCELLANEOUS ENDEAVOURS

183

vertical mile on the stairs of the Peachtree Plaza Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, USA in continuous action of 2 hr 1 min 24 sec on 9 Mar 1984. These records can only be attempted in buildings with a minimum of 70 storeys.

The record for the 1760 steps (vertical height 342 m 1122 ft) in the world's tallest free-standing structure, Toronto's CN Tower, Canada, is 7 min 52 sec by Brendan Keenoy on 29 Oct 1989. Robert C. Jetequel made 17 ascents (descending by lift) in 11 hr 30 min on 18 Oct 1981 for a vertical height of 5814 m 19 074 ft.

The record for the 1336 stairs of the world's tallest hotel, the Westin Stamford Hotel, Singapore is 6 min 55 sec by Balvinder Singh, in the 3rd Vertical Marathon on 4 Jun 1989.

Pete Squires raced up the 1675 steps of the Empire State Building, New York, USA on 12 Feb 1981 in 10 min 59 sec.

In the line of duty Bill Stevenson mounted 334 of the 364 steps of the tower in the Houses of Parliament 4000 times in the 15 years 1968-83 — equivalent to 24.9 ascents of Everest.

Stamp Hiking ■ John Kenmuir hiked and affixed 328 stamps in 4 min at George Square Post Office, Glasgow, Strathclyde on 30 Jun 1989.

Standing ■ The longest period on record that anyone has continuously stood is for more than 17 years in the case of Swami Maujiri Maharaj when performing the *Tapasya* or penance from 1955 to November 1973 in Shahjahanpur, Uttar Pradesh, India. When sleeping he would lean against a plank. He died aged 65 in September 1980.

Stilt-walking ■ The fastest stilt-walker on record is Masaharu Tatsuhiro, who covered 100 m 328 ft on 30.48 cm 1 ft high stilts in 14.15 sec in Tokyo, Japan on 30 Mar 1980. Over a long distance, the fastest is M. Garisoain of Bayonne, who in 1892 walked the 8 km 4.97 miles from Bayonne to Biarritz on stilts in 42 min, at an average speed of 11.42 km/h 7.10 mph. The greatest distance ever walked on stilts is 4804 km 3008 miles, from Los Angeles, California, USA to Bowen, Kentucky, USA by Joe Bowen from 20 Feb to 26 Jul 1980. In 1891 Sylvain Dornon stilt-walked from Paris, France to Moscow, USSR via Vilno in 50 stages for the 2945 km 1830 miles. Another source gives his time as 58 days. Either way, although Bowen's distance was greater, Dornon walked at a much higher speed. Even with a safety or Kirby wire, very high stilts are extremely dangerous — 25 steps are deemed to constitute 'mastery'.

The highest stilts ever mastered measured 12.35 m 40 ft 6 1/4 in from ground to ankle, Eddy Wolf ('Steady Eddy') of Loyal, Wisconsin, USA walking a distance of 27 steps without touching his safety handrail wires at Yokohama Dreamland Park, Yokohama, Japan on 9 Mar 1986. His aluminium stilts weighed 25 kg 55 lb each. The heaviest stilts ever mastered weighed 25.4 kg 56 lb each, Joe Long (b. Kenneth Caesar), who has suffered 5 fractures, mastering these at the BBC Television Centre, London on 8 Dec 1978. They were 731 m 24 ft high.

Stowaway ■ The most rugged stowaway was Socarras Ramirez who escaped from Cuba on 4 Jun 1969 by stowing away in an unpressurised wheel well in the starboard wing of a Douglas DC8 from Havana, Cuba to Madrid, Spain in a 9010 km 5590 mile Iberian Airlines flight.

Stretcher bearing ■ The longest recorded carry of a stretcher case with a 63.5 kg 140 lb 'body' is 229 km 142.3 miles in 38 hr 39 min by two four-man teams from 1 Field Ambulance, Canadian Forces Base, Calgary, Canada from 5-7 Apr 1989.

The record limited to Youth Organisations (under 20 years of age) and 8-hr carrying is 67.62 km 42.02 miles by 8 members of the Henry Meoles School, Moreton, Wirral, Cheshire on 13 Jul 1980.

String ball largest ■ The largest ball of string on record is one of 3.88 m 12 ft 9 in in diameter, 12.19 m 40 ft in circumference and weighing 10 tonnes, amassed by Francis A. Johnson of Darwin, Minnesota, USA between 1950-78.

Submergence ■ The continuous duration record (i.e. no rest breaks) for 'scuba' (i.e. self-contained and without surface air hoses) is 212 hr 30 min by Michael Stevens of Birmingham in a Royal Navy tank at the National Exhibition Centre, Birmingham from 14-23 Feb 1986. Measures have to be taken to reduce the risk of severe deaquamation in such endurance trials.

Suggestion boxes ■ The most prolific example on record of the use of any suggestion box scheme is that of John Drayton (1907-87) of Newport, Gwent who plied the British rail system with a total of 31 400 suggestions from 1924 to August 1987 of which over one in seven were adopted and 100 were accepted by London Transport. In 1983 he was presented with a chiming clock by British Rail to mark almost 60 years of suggestions.

Swinging ■ The record duration for continuous swinging in a hammock is 240 hr by John David Joyce of Bryan, Texas, USA from 29 Jul to 8 Aug 1966.

Switchback riding ■ The endurance record for rides on a roller coaster is 503 hr by M. M. Daniel Glada and Normand St-Pierre at Parc Belmont, Montreal, Canada from 18 Jul to 10 Aug 1983. The minimum qualifying average speed required is 40 km/h 25 mph.

Tailoring ■ The highest speed in which the manufacture of a 3-piece suit has been executed from sheep to finished article is 1 hr 34 min 23.42 sec by 65 members of the Melbourne College of Textiles, Pascoe Vale, Victoria, Australia on 24 Jun 1982. Catching and fleecing took 2 min 21 sec, and carding, spinning, weaving and tailoring occupied the remaining time.

Talking ■ The world record for talking is 360 hr by S. E. Jeyaraman at Madras, India from 8-23 Jun 1989. The women's record was set by Mary E. Davis, who started on 2 Sep 1958 at a radio station in Buffalo, New York, USA and talked for 110 hr 30 min 5 sec, finishing on 7 Sep in Tulsa, Oklahoma, USA. (See also Filibusters, Chapter 10.)

The longest recorded after-dinner speech was one of 40 hr, by R. Meenakshisundaram at Madurai, Tamil Nadu, India, from 23-25 Jun 1989. Historically the longest recorded after-dinner speech with unsuspecting victims was one of 3 hr by the Reverend Henry Whitehead (d. March 1896) at the Rainbow Tavern, Fleet Street, London on 16 Jan 1874.

T-bone dive ■ The so-called T-bone dives or Dive Bomber crashes by cars off ramps over and on to parked cars are often measured by the number of cars, but owing to their variable size and that their purpose is purely to cushion the shock, distance is more significant.

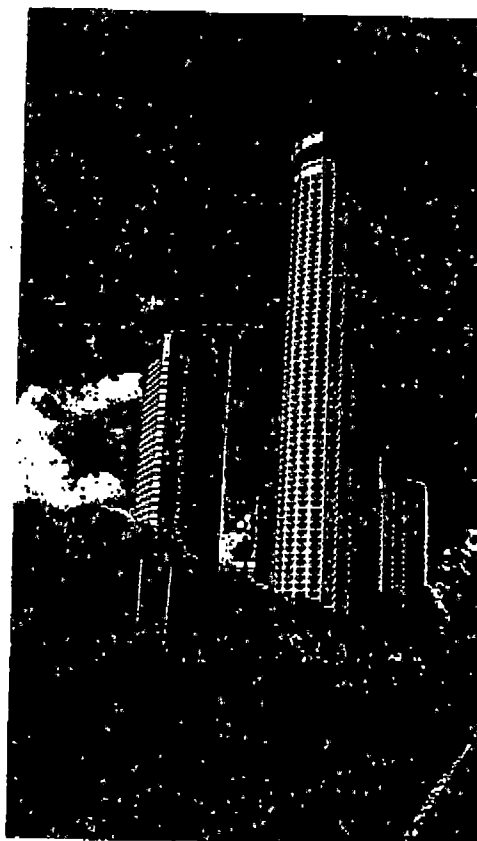
Stuart Cameron drove a Datsun 240Z for a record leap of 64.01 m 210 ft at Bovingdon Airfield, Herts on 4 Sep 1988.

Throwing ■ The longest independently authenticated throw of any inert object heavier than air is 383.13 m 1257 ft, for a flying ring, by Scott Zimmerman on 8 Jul 1986 at Fort Funston, California, USA.

Tightrope walking ■ The greatest 19th-century tightrope walker was Jean François Gravelet, alias Charles Blondin (1824-97), of France, who made the earliest crossing of the Niagara Falls on a 76 mm 3 in rope, 325 m 1066 ft long, 48.75 m 160 ft above the Falls on 30 Jun 1859. He also made a crossing with Harry Colcord

pick-a-back on 15 Sep 1860. Though other artistes still find it difficult to believe, Colcord was his agent. The oldest wirewalker was 'Professor' William Ivy Baldwin (1866-1963), who crossed the South Boulder Canyon, Colorado, USA on a 97.5 m 320 ft wire with a 38.1 m 125 ft drop on his 82nd birthday on 31 Jul 1948.

The world tightrope endurance record is 185 days by Henri Rochetais (b. 1926) of France on a wire 120 m 394 ft long, 25 m 82 ft above a supermarket in Saint Etienne, France from 28 Mar-29 Sep 1973. His ability to sleep on the wire has left doctors



Stair climbing ■ The record for climbing the 1336 stairs of the Westin Stamford Hotel in Singapore — the world's tallest hotel — is 6 min 55 sec by Balvinder Singh, in the 3rd Vertical Marathon on 4 Jun 1989.





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SEATTLE, WA
FAX (206) 443-8997

MESSAGE:

The following information from the 1992 Guinness Book of World Records reads:

Measured from the street level of its main entrance to the top, the 741.9 foot tall 73-story Westin Stamford in Raffles, City, Singapore was "topped out" in March, 1985. The \$235 million hotel is operated by Westin Hotels & Resorts and owned by Raffles City Pte. Ltd. However, the Westin at the Renaissance Center in Detroit, MI is 748 ft. tall when measured from the rear entrance.

Michelle, Nelli Yong is the ^{requesting} Director of Marketing Communications at The Westin Stamford. I have faxed her to confirm the information directly with you. She has your facsimile number. If you have further questions, I will be happy to assist.

Best regards,

Elizabeth Vasey
Public Relations Manager
Westin Hotels & Resorts

Post-It™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671		# of pages ▶
To: Elizabeth Kasey	From: [Signature]	
Co.	Co.	
Dept.	Phone #	402-9600
Fax #	Fax #	443-9997

Longest continuous home construction Winchester House in Los Angeles, CA has been under construction for 39 years. The original house was an eight-room farmhouse with separate barn on a 161-acre estate of Oliver Winchester, who did not invent the Winchester rifle, but owned its patent. Sarah Winchester, widowed in 1883, consulted a psychic in Boston, who told her that she alone could

In May 1968 the German Hotel Bel-Air in

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F A X F O R M

Date: 17 DECEMBER 1991

To: MS MICHELE NIX
WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF SPEECH WRITING

Fax No: (202) 456 - 6218

From: ONG KENG YONG
CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A-1.

Subject: WE SPOKE. ATTACHED MAY BE
USEFUL.

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GLOBAL VIEWPOINT

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DATE December 17, 1991

TO Mr. Hock-Seng Chin

First Secretary

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FAX 1-202-265-7915

COMMENTS

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Leila Conners/Associate Editor

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GLOBAL VIEWPOINT -- Lee Kuan Yew

For release Sunday, December 15, 1991

(ITAL) Lee Kuan Yew was the prime minister of Singapore from 1959-1991. Under his strict leadership, Singapore was transformed from a bustling Third World port to a prototype of economic prosperity and modernization in Asia. On the eve of President Bush's scheduled visit in early January to Singapore and the region, Lee calls for a continued U.S. security presence in East Asia, warns against re-arming Japan, and explains how a culturally insular Asia can participate in the new global economy. Lee was interviewed in late November in Singapore by Global Viewpoint editor Nathan Gardels. (UNital). -- Editor.

AN INTERVIEW WITH LEE KUAN YEW

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I. THE JAPANESE AND AMERICAN PRESENCE IN THE PACIFIC

GLOBAL VIEWPOINT: After the Philippine Congress voted to close down the U.S. bases there, Singapore offered to be a base for the U.S. fleet. What is the reason for a continued American military presence in Asia? Do you fear domination by the Japanese if the Americans aren't present?

LEE KUAN YEW: Nature does not like a vacuum. And if there is a vacuum, we can be sure that somebody will fill it. I don't see Japan particularly wanting to fill that space unless it feels that its trade routes and access to Gulf oil are threatened.

If the Americans are not around, they (the Japanese) cannot be sure who will protect their oil tankers. So they have to do something themselves. That will trigger the Koreans, who fear the Japanese, then the Chinese. Will India then come down to our seas with two aircraft carriers?

It could be a disastrously unstable state of affairs. So why not stick with what has worked so far? The U.S. presence has maintained peace on the high seas of the Pacific since 1945. The American presence, in my view, is essential for the continuation of international law and order in East Asia.

GV: The recent debate in Japan over sending Japanese Self-Defense Forces abroad in multilateral peacekeeping missions has caused a lot of worry in Asia. Are you concerned?

LEE: Allowing Japan to once again send its forces abroad is like giving a chocolate liqueur to an alcoholic. Once the Japanese get off the wagon, it will be hard to stop them.

Whatever the Japanese do, they do very well. It's part of their culture, whether the task at hand is sharpening a samurai sword or making a Sony tape recorder or compact disc. So, if they start to build up an armed force, it will be the best. And it will have the most sophisticated weaponry.

Although I think the values of the younger generation have changed, what proof have we that, if they get into a desperate situation, for example blocked access to oil or markets, they won't set out with the same zeal as their grandfathers did?

We'd all be happier, including the present generation of Japanese, if the American security alliance remains, leaving Japan

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to concentrate on high-definition television.

GV: So from your point of view, the American presence is vital, both in terms of warding off a security vacuum, and as a guarantee of open global economic integration?

LEE: Exactly. An Asia in which cooperation and competition increases everyone's well-being, peacefully and without recourse to arms, has been the norm.

This kind of Asia, this kind of Pacific, cannot exist without America being a major economic and security presence. East Asian prosperity has been built on the global system that America built up after World War II.

The quiet, slow-paced world where we lived within our own national boundaries is gone forever. In the postwar era, American idealism integrated Japan and large parts of Asia into a world that had been shut to us.

Indeed, American power has largely created the integrated world in which we now live, and it would be utter madness to let it all crumble after the Cold War has been won. It would cause great animosity, resentment and eventually conflict to shut out Asia, for example through the formation of trade blocs, just as we look as if we are going to make the grade.

No matter what happens to American power, we can't go back. One cannot disinvent the aircraft or satellite or global consciousness Americans have created.

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II. CULTURAL CONFLICT: EAST VERSUS WEST

GV: Now that the cold war is over, isn't a new conflict arising between East Asian "communitarian" capitalism and American-style, individualistic capitalism? Further, isn't this economic conflict rooted in the deeper differences between the authoritarian bent of Confucian culture and the extreme individualism of Western liberalism?

LEE: This is one facet of the problems that arise in a global economy. Late-comers to industrial development have had to catch up by finding ways of closing the gap. As it has turned out, the more communitarian values and practices of the East Asians -- the Japanese, Koreans, Taiwanese, Hong Kongers and the Singaporeans -- have proven to be clear assets in the catching-up process. The values that East Asian culture uphold, such as the primacy of group interests over individual interests, support the total group effort necessary to develop rapidly.

But I do not see the conflict you describe as competition between two closed systems. It is rather a process of interaction and change. I do not see the Americans sticking to a losing formula. This is a different Wild West. The "Lone Ranger" approach is no longer the way to conquer the world.

What is needed instead is a regularly constituted cavalry instead of ad hoc lone rangers. I'm sure the Americans will change because they don't want to lose.

GV: Perhaps the differing mentalities are most clearly revealed in the approach to human rights. In one of his first statements as

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prime minister of Japan, Kiichi Miyazawa argued that Japan would not only continue to improve commercial ties with the post-Tien An Men regime in Beijing, but would not let abstract notions of human rights enter into the relationship.

By contrast, during his recent visit to China, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker insisted on pressing the human rights issue.

LEE: I perfectly agree with Miyazawa. As prime minister of Singapore, my first task was to lift my country out of the degradation that poverty, ignorance and disease had wrought. Since it was dire poverty that made for such a low priority given to human life, all other things became secondary.

America and East Asia are very different cultures. China developed in isolation, with little foreign influence, for thousands of years. The very young American culture is primarily derived from Europe.

Given the ancient, complex cultural map of Asia; can we all of a sudden accept universal values of democracy and human rights as defined by America? I don't think a resolution of the U.S. Congress can change China. Values are formed out of the history and experience of a people. One doesn't learn what is right and wrong out of a book. One absorbs these notions through the mother's milk. These are the realities.

BEGIN OPTIONAL TRIM

Moreover, as a Singaporean, I do not believe it appropriate for the Japanese to speak of Western human rights, given their brutal trampling of human rights in Singapore.

I recently read a Japanese perspective on that country's actions in the Second World War. According to this view, Japan had no choice in bombing Pearl Harbor. She was boxed in. She tried to get equality of treatment, a clause on non-racial discrimination, in the Treaty of Versailles. But the white answer was no.

Finally, when she was faced with the oil embargo, it became apparent that she had to fight or go down on bended knees. So, because Japan had to build up its own empire, it invaded China and Manchuria. In that process, which the Japanese say was forced upon them by a hostile world, they committed horrendous brutality across East Asia.

Two weeks after Singapore was captured by the Japanese in 1942, there was a hubbub outside our lone highrise, the Cathay Building, and I took my bicycle to have a look. It was the biggest shock of my life. Severed human heads were stuck on poles outside the building. A bare wooden board with large brush-painted characters warned: If you do as this man has been doing, your head will end up here. And they put seven to nine other heads elsewhere all about town.

The aim of the Japanese authorities was to start off their reign with everybody knowing the rules of the game. And the rules of the game were "Off with your head!"

Like everyone else, I was terrified. But there was law and order during the next three-and-a-half years of the Japanese occupation of Singapore. Of course, the Japanese have not been the only perpetrators of this kind of brutality in Asia.

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Today in China, one still sees televised executions. Because the country is so vast and densely populated, there can't possibly be a policeman for each city block. So one must depend on the mass impact of this kind of retribution to bring about a semblance of order. It is probably the only way for the death threat to be effective.

So, our values are different, as they always have been. But now, television, fax, satellites and aircraft have brought us all into one world. After taking our separate paths for thousands of years, we now meet and there is total misunderstanding.

A hundred years from now, I'm sure Europeans, East Asians and Americans will all arrive at something approximating universal values and norms.

GV: In terms of human rights?

LEE: Let's call it human behavior in general. The only exception might be the Moslems, because Islamic injunctions about how to punish adultery by stoning to death, or thieving by cutting off hands, are written down in the holy Koran.

GV: In principle, do you believe in one universal standard of human rights and free expression?

LEE: It is not a matter of principle, but of practice. In the technologically connected world of today, everybody can watch the Tien An Men crackdown on TV. Today, transportation is subsonic, but in another 20 years your son will be able to travel at supersonic speeds. Instead of 25 hours, in two hours or less he will be able to go from New York to Singapore. In such a world, no society can be protected from the influence of another.

But that doesn't mean that all Western values will prevail. I can only say that if Western values are, in fact, superior insofar as they bring about superior performance in a society and help it survive, then they will be adopted. I truly believe the process is Darwinian.

If adopting Western values diminishes the prospects for survival of a society, they will be rejected. For example, if too much individualism does not help survival in a densely populated country like China, it just won't take.

GV: The Chinese intellectual, Liu Binyan, now exiled in the United States, has criticized Japan's do-nothing approach toward human rights in China. He has argued that the U.S. should continue to openly press for human rights in China because it bolsters liberals in the leadership like Wan Li, head of the People's Congress. How do you see this?

LEE: I am not sure whether there is a Wan Li human rights faction in the Chinese leadership. But I do think it is correct to say that there are different perceptions in China of the relative merits of American, Japanese and European ways of doing things.

However much Chinese leaders berate Americans because the U.S. is the world's major power, the leadership knows that the Americans have in fact been the least exploitative of China when compared to the Japanese or Europeans. This reality is deep in the historical memory of the Chinese people. The Americans left behind universities, schools and scholarships for educating doctors.

And, of course, the Americans tried to convert everybody to

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Christianity. In fact, today there are factions in Chinese society, not just in the Communist leadership, that believe the Americans are the most evangelistic of the whole lot. The others will just trade with you and leave you alone, but the Americans will come and want to convert you. Now it's not Christianity, but human rights and democracy American-style. The Chinese leaders call it human-rights imperialism.

GV: But wasn't the Tien An Men movement, with its replica of the Statue of Liberty and all, really a cry for human rights and democracy American-style?

LEE: I would not define what happened in the spring of 1989 as a movement for democracy. It was a movement for change from the total control of the Communist Party.

If you had questioned a cross section of the student leaders and others who participated, many of them would have had no clear idea of what they wanted in place of the Chinese Communist Party that governs that immense land.

To these young people, democracy means "more freedom for me." But how does one govern one-quarter of humanity on that basis? By what principles? By what methods? The demonstrators didn't think it through.

The tragedy of Tien An Men was that the participants got carried away by the dynamics of mass emotions in a very densely populated city. As the events progressed, the slogans that were being put up became increasingly strident. I watched what was on Chinese TV and in the Chinese newspapers. The whole thing had evolved into an attack on Deng Xiaoping, more than (Premier) Li Peng. In my view, that was unwise. There is, after all, no tradition in Chinese history of satirizing the emperor. To do a "Doonesbury" cartoon of the emperor is to commit sedition and treason.

About four or five days before the end, I read a clever little doggerel making fun of Deng. I thought, God, this is it. Either they will get away with this bit of irreverence and disrespect, in which case Deng is finished, or Deng is going to teach them a lesson. Deng slapped them down, with an unnecessary use of armor in my view, to show who was boss.

Why such force, I asked myself? These are not stupid people. They know what the world will think. My only explanation is that Deng must have feared that if the movement in Beijing were repeated in two hundred major Chinese cities, he would not be able to control it. As with traditional Chinese rulers, he had to set up a clear if brutal example for all to see.

GV: So Deng was afraid of the pro-democracy movement erupting in 200 cities; that is, among the 20 percent of the population that doesn't live in the countryside. Doesn't this point up the problem of how one central policy can't rule two Chinas -- the urban and the rural -- at the same time? You yourself have argued for a twin-track policy that allows more freedom in the cities, where the educated classes demand it.

LEE: No, not freedom. They will have to have "participation" in the way they are governed. Let's use neutral words, because when you use words like "freedom" and "democracy," you scare the Chinese. Since Tien An Men, these have become code words for subverting

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China.

I would say this to Li Peng: Once 20 to 30 percent of your urban population has a college education, the next 40 to 50 percent are in polytechnic or technical schools, and the rest have a general education of about a U.S. 10th-grade level, you can no longer just give orders from the top down if you want to succeed in your economic development.

With today's high technology, you just can't squeeze the maximum productivity out of advanced machinery without a self-motivated and self-governing work force.

What happens, though, when these workers who have learned self-regulation in the factory and critical thinking pass through the factory gates and go home?

Quite naturally, the thought occurs that the same processes they brought to bear in the factory to beneficial results could be carried outside, to cope with municipal and other domestic problems. This in turn leads to a demand to elect their own mayors and town councilors. It led to the birth of environmental movements in Taiwan and will also do so in China, where the pollution is worse.

A broader participation in the larger society must take place or the whole economic effort will collapse. If China wants to develop at optimal speed, it has to devolve power to the provinces, the provincial capitals, the cities and the towns. Obviously, such a devolution will take place more rapidly in the free-trade zones on China's coast in Guangdong and Fujian.

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GV: A six-lane highway is being built from Hong Kong to Guangzhou (Canton). Four-fifths of the investment in Guangzhou is from Hong Kong. Who is taking over whom in 1997? Is China taking over Hong Kong, or is Hong Kong taking over Guangdong?

LEE: When you put it in such emotive terms, who is taking over whom, you immediately arouse negative reflexes. But, yes, the ideas that make Hong Kong tick are spreading throughout Guangdong and are going up even into the neighboring provinces. The economic development sucks in population and penetrates ever deeper into the hinterland.

If China is to progress, the leadership should not interfere with this process. But they can and should say what parts they don't want -- the casino mentality that causes hundreds of millions to be lost every afternoon at the horse races, or the organized prostitution and drug rings.

Of course, one cannot completely eliminate these things. They will happen. Freelancers cannot be stopped. For optimum development, China needs the rapid absorption of practices and ideas of the free market plus the quick acquisition of the skills and knowledge necessary for the next stage of industrial development. The less savory aspects of free-market societies will always be with us. But in the end Beijing can be politically in control. They can slap it down, but at a cost.

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GV: But in the end Beijing will have to accommodate the regional devolution that will sap central power?

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LEE: In the end? Yes. Shall we say in the next 50 years? That is the amount of time it will take for the whole of China to reach the level of today's South Korea. In that process they will have produced a very widespread layer of educated men and women in the cities. And the cities will grow at least by two or three times in the next 50 years, from 20 percent of the population to 40 to 60 percent. That is the natural evolution of all industrializing societies.

In these cities, with populations of 20,000 or more, a minimum of self-government at the municipal level must be set in place. Such self-governing townships would possess the participatory rudiments of the Greek city-states. China's modern version will be on a mega-basis of many thousand such city-states. Around this base, one can build a pyramid of power to control larger conglomerations in the rural parts of China. This can combine with the power structure of the big cities to coordinate consumer services like transportation and communications.

That is the twin-track approach for development that would carry Asia into modernity.

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GV: And so in 50 years the kind of expectations that James Baker has for human rights might be more realistic?

LEE: I am not sure that in 50 years China will have yet accepted American-style human rights. However, once they are well above the poverty level, there will be less of the kind of barbarism where a man's head is chopped off or he is shot in the back without a proper trial.

Sometimes, when speaking of human rights, we must put ourselves in Deng Xiaoping's place. When I talk to Deng, I never allow myself to forget what this man has gone through. He lost his first family, slaughtered by the Kuomintang (KMT). He fought to liberate China. Thousands of his comrades were killed by the KMT, the Japanese, disease or starvation.

When the Japanese headed toward the Northwest to capture the heart of China, the Chinese broke the Yellow River dikes to stop their advance. The following year, there was famine. Millions died of starvation. But that was the price they had to pay to stop the Japanese.

So, when one talks to Deng and the other leaders about human rights and about Tien An Men, where perhaps a thousand students or workers were killed, let it be against this background. Deng paid the supreme price to bring order and stability to China, and he will not stand for irreverent doggerels that could destabilize China and throw it into chaos.

Who gives him the right? He gave himself the right. That is part of Chinese culture. It's in the folk saying, "I conquer the world, I rule the world." And if someone wants to challenge him, they will have to take a gun and organize and fix him. Questions of human rights in China must be viewed in those terms.

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III. THE SPECTER OF TRADE BLOCS

GV: Given European integration in 1992, and the impending formation of a North American Free Trade Area, do you fear a world breaking into trade blocs?

LEE: If the Uruguay round of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) fails, it would be an immediate disaster for East Asia since we are all exporters. We have no major import market yet. Japan couldn't even survive under these circumstances, so you can forget the other countries.

I do not yet see trade blocs as a probability, because I think the people in charge in Europe and the U.S. understand that the breakup of the global free-trading system will inevitably lead to great conflicts, as in the depression that preceded World War II. Societies move at different speeds. They are not synchronized. When one society is waxing, another is waning.

Take China and Japan. The Japanese were not always on top. They have only been on top this past hundred-odd years. If we don't allow societies to mesh with each other through trade and the exchange of goods and services, through investments, trade, and tourism, we go back to territorial conquests and spheres of influence.

Every economy needs access to a large land mass with large populations, diverse markets, natural resources and different products in order to maximize its output. Thirty percent of our manufactured exports go to the U.S. That figure is 40 to 45 percent for Taiwan. Japan is also dependent, at 30 percent. Who can absorb our production at that level in Asia?

So, if you close off Europe or America in trade blocs, then you will force Asia into one seething cramped mess. Then Asia and Europe and America will start squabbles over other people's resources, like Middle East oil. That leads inexorably to conflict.

GV: Aren't the rapidly growing economies in Asia themselves changing and becoming more consumer-oriented economies?

LEE: I would say that, over the next 10 to 15 years, exports to the U.S. as a percentage of total exports from each of the East Asian countries will go down, because our trade with each other now is increasing at about four to five times the rate of export growth to America.

Because of the huge cross-linked investments within the region and the large populations and resources in Southeast Asia, the whole of East Asia will become a very big market after 10 years.

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**SPEECH BY MR LEE KUAN YEW,
SENIOR MINISTER OF SINGAPORE,
AT ASAHI SHIMBUN SYMPOSIUM
IN TOKYO ON 9 MAY 1991**

Under the theme "Challenges for the 21st Century", Asahi Shimbun wants the members of its International Advisory Board to indicate the direction Japan should take in the new order after the end of the Cold War. In particular, Asahi wants me to focus on

- (I) Japan's role in Asia under the new order now emerging and also to speak on
- (II) the political stability and democracy of Asian countries.

PART I - JAPAN'S ROLE IN ASIA

Japan's role in Asia depends on the kind of the world in the 21st century. There was tremendous optimism after 9 November 1989 when the Berlin Wall was voluntarily demolished. The Eastern bloc of Communist countries was dissolving as a threat to the security of Europe. The world was enthused by a Soviet President who allowed the Warsaw Pact and COMECON to dissolve whilst he moved the Soviet Union towards a multi-party political system with a free market economy.

But events in 1990 showed this optimism was excessive. They revealed the underlying realities, that even if the

Soviet Union ceases to be a threat, there are still many deep-rooted problems in the world which can upset world peace. That was the sombre meaning of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. There are other intractable problems in the Middle East: Palestinians vs Israelis, or Arabs vs Israelis, Arabs vs Iranians, radical Arabs vs monarchical Arabs and poor Arabs vs rich Arabs. Beyond the Middle-East: there are other seemingly unsolvable problems, Greece and Turkey, Yugoslavia, Rumania, India and Pakistan.

After the resignation of Shevardnadze as Soviet Foreign Minister in December 1990, a hardline view of Soviet national interest reasserted itself. The world was reminded that even if the Soviet Union becomes a western type democracy with a free-market economy, its national interests will from time to time be opposed to that of the US and the Europeans. With or without a Cold War, colliding national interests are inevitable. This was the meaning of the efforts of Mr Primakov on behalf of Mr Gorbachev to help Iraq save face and withdraw from Kuwait before the land war started.

European stability and security which looked so promising in the first half of 1990 now appear less certain. The Soviet Union faces severe economic and political difficulties. Its trend towards liberalisation and democracy has been stalled. Mr Shevardnadze was not just being alarmist when he warned of authoritarian forces taking over as he resigned in December last year. And as disorder in the Soviet Union becomes more threatening, NATO's value is underlined, for the time being.

US needs support from Japan and Germany for world role

These threats make the UN more important than ever. The 12 UNSC Resolutions on Iraq held out high promise of the UN playing an increased role in upholding world peace. But Soviet reasonableness in the UNSC cannot be assumed. Peace and security both in Europe and in the Pacific still depend on a balance of power. A US military presence in both regions is

very necessary. However unless the US economy becomes more dynamic and less debt-laden, this presence will be much reduced by the end of this decade. The longer-term outlook then becomes problematic. Even if the US deficits are reduced, industrial productivity improves and exports increase, the US nevertheless cannot afford and will not be willing to bear the whole cost of the global security burden. Other nations must help to share this burden, as in the case of the Gulf war. The responsibility of Japan and Germany to pay for and indeed to take a more active role in international security is unavoidable. Japan now has the second largest economy in the world and she cannot act as she has been doing. Together with the US and EC she has to share the responsibility for maintaining the global system of security and economic co-operation.

The great danger is that US economy does not recover quickly enough, and trade frictions and Japan-bashing increase as America becomes protectionist. The worst case is where trade and economic relations become so bad that mutual security ties are weakened and ruptured. That is so dreadful and dangerous a development that I assume that everything possible will be done by both Japan and US to avoid it.

UN more necessary in 21st century

In the 21st century, competition between nations will increasingly be in economics. Except in crisis situations economic power already gives a country more influence and leverage than military power, as the experience of the Soviet Union has shown. For economic co-operation, there are existing organisations such as the UN, World Bank, GATT, IMF, BIS, WHO, FAO which can be improved and made more effective. Japan's economic rank as the world's second largest economy with a GNP about 60 per cent that of US GNP means she has to carry a proportionate share of the costs. Japan can play key roles in these organisations.

Japan's Foreign Policy Objectives

Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu in a speech to the Diet on Mar 2, 1990, spelt out the direction of Japanese foreign policy:

"The new international order that we seek must be one that strives:

- first, to ensure peace and security;
- second, to respect freedom and democracy;
- third, to guarantee world prosperity through open market economies;
- fourth, to preserve an environment in which all people can lead rewarding lives; and,
- fifth, to create stable international relations founded upon dialogue and cooperation."

In other words, Japan seeks a global role which is peaceful and non-threatening. This will benefit the world.

However, if Japan is not first accepted by her neighbours as one of the leaders of her region, East Asia (Northeast and Southeast), a global role will not come easily. America's leadership in the Americas and Germany's leadership in Western, Eastern or Central Europe, gave them their constituencies for their global roles. Britain lost her regional leadership when she was left out of the EEC. To regain the global role she had formerly played, she had to join the EEC. This leadership pattern based on regional support has become the convention in the UN, UN agencies, G77 and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Regional constituency necessary for diplomatic influence

When Japan can speak for her regional constituency, she will carry more weight in the annual G7 summits. Then Japan will get into key positions in regional and international organisations. In this respect, compared to

Germany, Japan has a longer road to travel. Post WW2 Germany has been accepted by her neighbours in Europe because:

- (1) Germany openly acknowledges her mistakes in WW2 and German children in schools are taught about Germany's errors.
- (2) Germans have a less insular culture. For a long time since before WW1, Germany has played host to foreign traders, musicians, artists, tourists, who come in tens of thousands from Europe, America, Asia, Africa, to study German language, culture and technology.
- (3) Germans have a longer history of active promotion of their language and culture through institutions like the Goethe Institute and through their foreign aid and investments.

Forms of power

There are four forms of power which enable a country to play a major role in the world or in its region:

- (1) Military:
Japan has abjured this by Article 9 of her Constitution.
- (2) Diplomatic:
Japan lacks diplomatic influence in key capitals.
- (3) Financial:
Japan's strength is growing rapidly and she is becoming the major creditor nation.
- (4) Industrial:
Japan is fast becoming if it is not already the leading industrial power, with high capability in industrial engineering and manufacturing.

For the Asia Pacific region, the ideal arrangement is to have Japan's financial and industrial power complement US military and diplomatic power.

However, a US World and News Report (April 8, 1991) spoke for many Americans: "For the Japanese, the bitter lesson of the Gulf war is that money cannot buy them love, or even respect. Despite having ponied up US\$13 billion Japan watched with horror as its international stature shrank and relations with the United States sank to new lows."

This would not have been the case if Japan had participated in the Gulf War by sending transport-aircraft, minesweepers or other non-offensive, non-lethal units, or if Japan possessed the diplomatic and media influence to have helped to shape the policies that resulted in the expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait. However, in the long run, Japan cannot avoid its international obligations to participate in UN peacekeeping operations. She can fulfil these obligations by contributing units which are non-offensive units but are exposed to the danger of casualties so that not only American and European blood is shed for a UN cause.

Whether Japan can go further without alarming her neighbours, depends upon whether by her openness and sincerity she can change their perceptions of Japan's character and future goals. They have unforgettable memories of Japan's militaristic culture which resulted in unnecessary cruelty and inhumanity.

In Singapore on 3 May 1991, for the first time a Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Toshiki Kaifu, officially expressed his "sincere contrition" for the "unbearable sufferings and sorrow" of many peoples in Asia caused by Japan. This is a good beginning for a catharsis, a purification by purging her guilt, which will benefit both Japan and her former victims. Repressed feelings brought into the open can relieve both sides from the burden of terrible memories and what is worse, suspicions about the future.

However, young Japanese in schools must be part of this catharsis through their teachers and textbooks. When this is done Japan will be able to play a fuller role for peace and stability in the world, especially in Southeast Asia.

Media Influence Necessary For Diplomatic Influence

In a world of instant communications, media influence reinforces diplomatic influence. The way news is presented shapes opinion. And public attitudes towards a crisis as it develops, influences the stand a government can take. To illustrate this point, let me refer to the diplomatic and media influence of the US in the Gulf War. US diplomatic influence was able to bring together a remarkably diverse coalition support both in the UNSC and in military forces in the Gulf. Next consider the profound impact of the American media on the reporting of the Gulf War. CNN had a world audience, including many if not all world leaders during the Gulf War from January 16 to February 28. Everybody watched it "live" as events unfolded. A speech by President Bush on February 22 setting out terms for Iraq's withdrawal before the land war, was watched live worldwide and reacted to instantaneously. Those world leaders who missed it, quickly got to see a repeat broadcast. The impact was profound and worldwide, scenes through the window of the US President and his advisers drafting and redrafting his statement before he came out to the Rose Garden to deliver it to the world. Then Mr Gorbachev immediately phoned him.

Now other television companies from Britain, Europe and Japan are getting together to compete against CNN. I believe that for many years it will be easier for a British or European media consortium to get across to the world their view of events, than for a Japanese network, even if the Japanese TV network uses impeccable English in their presentation. Before non-Japanese will accept a view seen through Japanese spectacles, they must first understand and appreciate Japanese culture. This is so especially for countries in Asia. Asian peoples understand American,

British, French, even German culture. Many find parts of US and European culture and society admirable, and want to emulate those parts.

Therefore to have influence, Japan has to become more international-minded, more outward going in her outlook and less self-centred, more open and hospitable to foreigners, especially to fellow Asians, who rank low in Japanese esteem. A society which is courteous but not warm and friendly is not so readily accepted, admired, and emulated.

Compared to Washington, New York, London, Paris or Frankfurt, Tokyo is less cosmopolitan. If the educated elite in Asia today understands the Japanese language, like they do English, there will be deeper appreciation of Japanese culture and so readier acceptance of the Japanese view. For this to happen Japan must make people want to learn the Japanese language and appreciate Japanese culture. The figures of foreign students in the five largest industrial nations in 1989 are instructive: 37,000 in Japan, 385,000 America, 72,000 Britain, 138,000 France, 104,000 Germany. The Japanese Government must be alive to this problem because from 8,000 in 1980, growth has been a phenomenal 460% to reach 37,000 in 9 years. But the remaining gap shows what a long way Japan has still to go. If the Japanese continue to remain special and different from other peoples, which is what Japan's officials often told those who negotiate with them across the table, they risk isolation.

Japan's closer economic ties with East Asia

I have chosen to emphasise these intangibles rather than the concrete, like the Japanese role in the economic development and industrialisation of Asia. Japan has been the catalyst that has spread industrialisation in East Asia through trade, investments and tourism. And by her example, Japan can speed up this transformation by opening their markets further so that within 10 years the countries of East Asia (both Northeast and Southeast) may have as much trade

with Japan as with the US, and may have their exports to Japan equal their exports to the US.

The bigger the economies of East Asia, the bigger their markets. Japan will not be so totally dependent on the markets of US and EC for her exports. Moreover a large consumer market in Asia-Pacific makes the region a more attractive trading partner to US and EC and will check their protectionist lobbies. It will make for a more balanced and a more prosperous world.

PART II - POLITICAL STABILITY & DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

I shall now turn to the next subject of political stability and democracy in Asia. Democracy is the ideological answer of the West to Communism. The West has pushed democracy and human rights vigorously as a universal solution for countries all over the world regardless of history, tradition, cultural values, or economic conditions.

Universality of Democracy?

The first question then: Is Democracy universally valid? After WW2 when the British and French dismantled their empires in the 1940's - 60's, the British and French governments gave their newly independent colonies democratic constitutions modelled on their own. There were over 40 British type and over 25 French type constitutions. Twenty to forty years since then, the results have been patchy and uneven.

In spite of this, the West led by America puts the credo simply as democracy is universally good for all peoples, and that to progress, modernise and become industrial societies, they should become democracies. Now that the Cold War has ended, I hope it is possible for Western political scientists to write in more objective terms. Why has democracy not worked in most of these newly independent countries? In particular, why has an American based

constitution failed to work in America's only former colony, the Philippines? The Philippines experiment in democracy started with independence and elections in 1946. That experiment in democracy failed in 1972 with martial law, long before Marcos was ousted in 1986. A second American based constitution was promulgated by President Aquino in February 1987. Whilst a Constitutional Commission was sitting to frame this constitution, 4 coups were attempted. In May 1987, elections were held for a Senate and a House of Representatives. This still did not settle the loyalty of the Armed Forces because three more coup attempts followed.

For many centuries democratic governments were found only in a few nations, where the character of the people and their circumstances were favourable: first in Britain, then exported to her former white colonies or dominions like America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

When Westerners speak candidly

From time to time a Western leader speaks out from the heart. Mrs Thatcher did this in March this year. She was in the United States to receive the Medal of Freedom from President Bush. In a TV interview, talking about Europeans who want political union she said: "We the UK are 700 years old. Germany's Parliament is only 40, Spain a dozen years old, Portugal even less." (Sunday Times, London, 10/3/91). She could have added that America's is over 200 years, Canada's 123, Australia's 90, New Zealand's 83. The French on the other hand have had 7 constitutions and governing charters in the 200 years since their revolution in 1789, and two of these were monarchical aristocracies, not democracies. And their present constitution is only 33 years old from 1958 when General De Gaulle took over after the collapse of the 4th French Republic.

Mrs Thatcher's view was that in spite of sharing a common European history and culture for over 2000 years since the Roman Empire, only the British can claim 700 years of

parliamentary democracy since Magna Carta. She also reminded the Germans that they have been democratic for only 40 years.

Pessimistic British view of democracy for Soviet Union

When Western commentators are not writing to convert a third world country to democracy, they are more objective. For example, when they discuss the Soviet Union, they say openly that democracy will not work. Jonathan Eyal, Director of Studies, Royal United Services Institute in London, in "The Independent" newspaper (March 22, 1991) said:

"The middle-class ethos, responsible in the West for enshrining compromise and moderation as supreme values, is still lacking in the USSR."

... ..

"They are, therefore, advising Mr Gorbachev to create domestic institutions, in order to provide his country with the instruments for a social dialogue."

"Yet democracy is not simply a matter of ballot boxes, elections or political parties. Indeed, democracy may not be a political system at all but, rather, a way of life which depends on an accepted social contract, mutual respect, moderation and the explicit acceptance that no one is the possessor of a universal truth."

... ..

He concluded that: "The Soviet empire will collapse sooner rather than later."

European historians ascribe Russia's lack of a liberal civic society to the fact that she missed the Renaissance (middle 15th -end 16th century) and also the Enlightenment (18th century). These were the two leavening experiences that lifted Western Europe to a more humane culture.

Now if democracy will not work for the Russians a

white Christian people, can we assume that it will naturally work with Asians?

Asia's Top Priority - Political Stability

The basic problem facing all Asian countries other than Japan is how to maintain political stability. Their old communities were in small territories ruled by tribal chiefs or sultans. European colonial governments later amalgamated these small territories into larger administrative units. Now these larger units embracing diverse peoples have become new nations.

Rupert Emerson, Professor of Government in Harvard, defines a nation thus:

"A single people, traditionally fixed on a well-defined territory, speaking the same language and preferably a language all its own, possessing a distinctive culture, and shaped to a common mould by many generations of shared historical experience".

Prof Robert Tilman, University of North Carolina, in his book "South East Asia and the Enemy Beyond" (Westview Press, 1987), pointed out that by this definition, Thailand is the only country in Southeast Asia which is a nation, and that only if Muslims in the South are excluded. He sums up the situation thus:

"For every ASEAN member there are tigers at the door, tigers in the jungles, and tigers in the kitchen. The future is fraught with risks for every state in the region. The association is a fragile organisation, and every state belonging to it is also fragile. Outside forces over which each has no control could loose centrifugal forces tugging at ASEAN unity. Outside forces might also set off internal chain reactions that could topple any of the current regimes and wipe out the gains of the last few decades."

Political stability during a period of transition to a modern state is under great stress. But stability is the basic pre-condition for success. Whole peoples must acquire new knowledge and new skills so that they can work, repair and maintain machines, both for industry and agriculture. To do this there must be the firm framework of law and order within which learning, working and excelling are encouraged and rewarded. Several countries like South Korea and Taiwan have succeeded in industrialising.

Need for democratic participation in NIEs

After they have achieved a certain level of modernisation, new pressures threaten their political stability. Their people's thinking and attitudes change as a result of education plus knowledge of the outside world especially America, Europe and Japan. Educated Koreans and Taiwanese then question the basis of the legitimacy of their governments. The governments of South Korea and Taiwan have adopted more representative forms of governments. Both are in the process of adjusting to and absorbing these changes. South Korea has had more difficulties, especially with their trade unions. Korean culture has always extolled the fighter who fights to the bitter end. The spirit of give and take, to live and let live, is not part of traditional Korean culture.

Traditional Culture and Democracy

Progress towards democracy amongst Asian countries has been uneven because often the losing side has been unwilling to accept the results of an election, and instead continued to agitate and oppose both inside and outside their legislative assemblies. This has led to instability, and as instability threatens progress, governments curtail democratic rights.

Many Asian countries which have worked democratic constitutions have from time to time, had to invoke emergency rule or martial law. Even the British have had to do this in Northern Ireland. For democracy to work without being

suspended from time to time, a people must acquire, if they have not inherited, cultural habits that make contending groups adjust differences or conflicts not by violence but by give and take. People must accept a view or policy as valid because that was the way the votes fell, whilst they work peacefully for a change in the next elections. But before this can happen, a people must have reached a certain high level of education and economic development which has produced a sizeable middle-class so that life is not such a fight for basic survival.

Japan reached that level long before WW2. South Korea and Taiwan reached that level in the late 1970's. They are now moving towards more representative government. People in South Korea and Taiwan are at a stage where the active participation of knowledgeable managers, engineers, supervisors and workers in decision-making on the factory floor has become a way of life. Such people naturally have the urge to extend this habit of participation to matters of government.

In China, a country with a large rural mass, some 80 per cent of her 1,100 million people, political change has to be differently geared for the rural and the urban areas. Peasants in the countryside are often content to live quiet lives and let the government be run by their betters, be they emperors or communist mandarins. This is why the Communists in Albania were able to garner support from the rural areas. The problem for China is how to accommodate the desire of their educated and knowledgeable people in the cities to decide how they are to be governed. These are people who are well-informed about other societies, including Taiwan and Hong Kong. But the 900 million peasants have different priorities and concerns. One-man one-vote for 1,100 million Chinese to choose a President, a Congress or a Senate, will lead to chaotic results. But then neither can a self perpetuating Communist party claim to represent the people. They have to win the support and cooperation of their educated in the cities because, without their participation, modernisation

will be slow and difficult.

Political Change - a Darwinian Process

Each country in Asia will chart its own way forward. Every country wants to be developed and wealthy. They will adopt and adapt those features or attributes of successful countries, which they think will help them succeed. If these features work and improve their rate of progress, they will be permanently incorporated. If they do not work or cause difficulties, they will be abandoned. It is akin to social Darwinism, a process of trial and error in which survival is the test of what works.

In the present stage of human civilisation, industrialisation has meant urbanisation. The result is large and dense concentrations of people who are well informed through radio, TV, newspapers and have access to worldwide information by telephone, fax and computers. To succeed in governing such a society, a government must have legitimacy, ie acceptance by its people that it has the right to govern them. The lack of legitimacy is the crisis Communist governments of Eastern Europe have faced and the government of Soviet Union still faces.

Simply modelling a system on the American, British or West European constitution is not how Asian countries will or can go about it. The peoples of Asia want higher standards of living in an orderly society. They want to have as much individual choice in life-style, political liberties and freedoms as is compatible with the interests of the community. After a certain stage of advance in education and industrialisation, a people may need representative government however chosen in order to reconcile conflicting group interests in society and maintain social order and stability. Representative government is also one way for a people to forge a new consensus, a social compact, on how a society settles the trade-off between further rapid economic growth and individual freedoms.

South Korea and Taiwan have succeeded and become industrialised and have gone towards more representative government. TV, tourism and information technology have speeded up this process of learning, imitating, and changing. Every country must evolve its own style of representative government. Indeed a country is not likely to succeed unless it adapts or modifies US or European democratic practices to fit its different circumstances. In a world where markets and competition are global, a government has to create a consensus to get its people, workers, management and government, to co-operate in order to succeed. In a modern industrial economy, a people must support the major decisions which shape their destiny because active worker participation is the basis of high productivity. And when their higher productivity raises their standards of education and living to a sufficiently high level, they are more likely to settle differences by accepting that, until the next elections, the majority view as expressed in last elections is decisive.

In Singapore, the British gave us their form of Parliamentary government. Our problem has been how to maintain stability in spite of the destabilising tendencies of one-man one-vote in a new society divided by race, language and religion. We have had to put political stability as the first priority. As we progressed to higher educational and economic levels, we have widened participation in decision making. But no Singaporean leader can afford to put political theory above the practical need of stability and orderly progress. On this, I believe I speak for most, if not all of Asia, at present.

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December 12, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: MICHELE NIX

SUBJECT: SINGAPORE LECTURE SERIES

The event will be held at the Westin-Stamford Hotel in the Raffles Ballroom. The Westin-Stamford is across the street from the Raffles Hotel (where POTUS has other event). Approximately 2,000-2,500 people are expected to attend -- American and Singaporean business leaders, academics, and government officials.

Sr. Minister of the Lecture Series (put on by the Institute for Southeast Asian Affairs -- its 10th year of the series) is Lee Kuan Yew, former Prime Minister. [Lee is a good friend of the Pres and First Lady; he visited here in January.] Lee is the George Washington of Singapore. He is very well thought of by Singaporeans and people in the Southeast Asia region. He was elected in 1959. Considered a visionary leader, Lee brought independence to his country and took Singapore from a developing country to a developed one. His leadership is considered a spectacular economic success story. He stepped down in 1990 and his protege, Goh Chok Tong, took over.

Lee also remains very outspoken for a U.S. presence in Singapore. He favors a U.S. security umbrella -- contending that it provided stability and security thus allowing Singapore to prosper under a favorable security climate.

Per DCM Arthur Kobler: the mood of the audience will be very favorable toward POTUS. He is very well respected. However, their concern lies in a U.S. commitment and ability to maintain a presence in wake of the Cold War end. The fear is that, given our weak economy, if U.S. businesses do not remain competitive, another superpower could overtake their markets. They'd prefer a balance rather than a deluge of Japanese interests.

Kobler suggests: do not drown them in statistical reports, but in language that is foremost encouraging and comforting -- and that offers a sense of vision for the future of the region, not just Singapore.

Acknowledgements to date include: Lee Kuan Yew; Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong; Deputy Prime Minister Br. General Lee Hsien Long (Lee's son); and Director of the Institute K.S. Sandhu

I've included the following: Draft remarks from State; trade info from USTR; color material; general info on Singapore -- demographics, gov't, etc. (I should receive additional info from State [bios, speech excerpts, etc.] later today.)

COLOR

Joke material would work best if centered on universal themes -- family, for example (Barbara, children).

This Chinese Year is ending -- the year of the ram. The next Chinese New Year, coming up on Feb. 4, is the year of the monkey. The end of the lunar year in Singapore is considered a time to settle all debts, settle all scores. Everyone starts out the new year being very friendly to one another.

Christmas is celebrated here. Santa Claus is everywhere on the streets and in the shops, encouraging consumers to spend.

Singapore is a spotlessly clean -- some say sterile -- modern metropolis, surrounded by green, groomed parks and populated by 2.7 million extremely polite, well-mannered people.

The main production categories are oil refining, shipbuilding and repair, electrical and electronic equipment, non-electrical machinery, chemicals, foods and beverages, and printing and publishing.

Singapore ranks among the world's busiest seaports.

Singapore's chief trading partners are the US, Japan, Malaysia, the European Economic Community, and (for oil) the Middle East.

Singapore's modern history begins with an Englishman, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. In 1819, Raffles acquired the island from the Malay Sultan of Johor on behalf of the British East India Company. With extraordinary foresight, he laid the foundations for a great modern city, envisaging the transformation of a tiny fishing village into a free-trade emporium that would have global importance.

National Anthem

Let us, the people of Singapore, together march forward towards happiness. Our noble aspiration is to see Singapore achieve success. Let us unite in a new spirit. We all pray: "May Singapore Progress", "May Singapore Progress."

US and Asia Statistical Handbook, 1990

Unemployment rate 2.0%

Land Area: 239 square miles

Cultivated Land Area: 9%

Resources: none

Major agricultural product: hogs, poultry, orchids, vegetables

Major imports: capital equipment, manufactured goods, transport equipment, consumer goods.

Major exports: machinery, manufactured goods, transport equipment, refined petroleum, rubber, electronics.

GDP: 1989 -- 24 billion US dollars

1989 Singaporean Direct Investment in the US: US\$ 1,216,000,000

Cable re: trip

-- The first American Consul in Singapore came to this area in 1834. He was Joseph Balestier. He was accompanied by his spouse Maria Revere Balestier, daughter of Paul Revere. He officially became consul in 1837.

-- The Balestiers are remembered here by a bell cast in the Revere works in Boston, which was presented to the original church of St. Andrew by Maria Revere Balestier. As you know, that bell is now in Singapore's National Museum.

SINGAPORE

From Malay Proverbs, by Sir Richard Winstedt and Dr. Tan Chin Kwang:

* Malay: "Kalau seponon kayu banyak akarnya lagi teghu, apa ditakutkan ribut?"

English translation: If a tree has roots many and firm, there is no need to fear the tempest.

Meaning: He who has many friends ready to help need not fear threats.

Confucian Sayings:

The master said,... 'Have no friends not equal to yourself.'

The master said,... 'To be fond of learning is to be near to knowledge. To practice with vigor is to be near to magnanimity. To possess the feeling of shame is to be near to energy. He who knows these three things, knows how to cultivate his own character. Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the kingdom the kingdom with all its states and families.'

"Wisdom, compassion and courage -- these are the three universally recognized moral qualities of men."

Encyclopedia Americana

Singapore is the smallest nation in Southeast Asia (an island city-state).

Singapore was founded in 1819 by a British trading company, and came under direct British rule in 1867. Free trade and, until 1930, unrestricted immigration made it a prosperous colony with a largely Chinese population. Singapore was also Britain's most strongly fortified naval base in Asia, but it fell helplessly to a rearward attack by the Japanese army in WWII.

Trade, together with services such as shipping, storage, banking, insurance, and telecommunications have given Singaporeans the reputation of being the most highly skilled middlemen of Asia.

When Singapore became self-governing in 1959, its leaders recognized that the commercial sector alone could not sustain the island's economic growth in the face of rapid population increase and accelerated competition from neighboring countries.

by Nigel Fisher
Nigel Fisher is the
editor of the
monthly travel
publication
Voyager
International. He
has traveled
extensively
throughout Asia
and the world.

Introduction

As you are efficiently processed through Changi International Airport, then whisked away in a taxi or air-conditioned coach along a park-lined expressway to your high-rise hotel, don't let first impressions lead you to write Singapore off as just another modern international city. Though it may no longer be the richly exotic and romantic city so vividly documented by Conrad and Kipling, Singapore is yet a unique city where the flavor, spirituality, and gentle manners of the East peacefully co-exist with the comforts, conveniences, and efficiency of the West.

Here you'll find some of the world's most luxurious hotels, offering incomparable service and all the amenities, from fitness centers with computer-monitored exercise equipment to thick terry-cloth bathrobes. On Orchard Road, smartly dressed shoppers browse among glittering shop windows before heading into the dozens of huge side-by-side shopping complexes, jam-packed with boutiques carrying the latest Paris fashions or Japanese electronics at irresistible prices. And in elegant French restaurants, with gleaming silver and crystal and elaborate displays of orchids and roses, tuxedoed waiters serve some of the best cuisine this side of the Seine.

Here you'll also find ethnic neighborhoods, built up around mosques and temples, where Chinese or Indian or Malay merchants dressed in traditional garb hawk the herbal medicines or spices or batiks that spill out of their small shops onto the narrow streets. At the many food centers that dot the city, Teochew and Hokkien, Tamil and Malay cooks in adjacent open-front stalls whip up authentic and delicious dishes whose recipes have been handed down in their families for generations.

To arrive in Singapore is to step into a world where the muezzin call to prayer competes with the bustle of capitalism; where old men play mah-jongg in the streets and white-clad bowlers send the ball flying down well-tended cricket pitches; where Chinese fortune tellers and high-priced management consultants advise the same entrepreneur.

This great diversity of lifestyles, cultures, and religions thrives within the framework of a well-ordered society. Singapore is a spotlessly clean—some say sterile—modern metropolis, surrounded by green, groomed parks and populated by 2.7 million extremely polite, well-mannered people.

Malays, who have the oldest historical claim to Singapore, today account for 14.9% of its population. Their faith in Allah and their orientation to family and service to the community provide a more relaxed, peaceful, and communal flavor and act as a counterpoint to the entrepreneurial vigor of the Chinese.

Though the Chinese make up approximately 76% of the population, their ranks comprise at least half a dozen different ethnic groups—Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka, Fukien, Hainanese—each with its own language, mythology, and especially cuisine. They came as impoverished immigrants in the 19th century and now hold the economic and political strings of the island nation.

Singapore's Indian population, who also descend from 19th-century immigrants, are almost as ethnically diverse as the Chinese. While the majority are Hindu Tamils from South In-

dia, there are also Muslims from South India and, in smaller numbers, Bengalis, Biharis, Gujaratis, Marathis, Kashmiris, and Punjabis. From Sri Lanka come other Hindu Tamils and the Sinhalese (often mistaken for Indians), who are neither Hindu nor Muslim but follow the teachings of Hinayana Buddhism.

Today, Indians, who account for 7% of Singapore's population, remain deeply tied to their community and traditional customs. Hinduism remains a powerful force—Singapore has more than 20 major temples devoted to Hindu gods—and some of the Tamil Hindu festivals, such as Thaipusam, are expressed with more feverish ritualism than in India. Indian food, too, remains true to its roots; it has been said that one can eat better curries in Singapore than in India.

While the Malays, Chinese, and Indians account for 97% of Singapore's population, other ethnic groups—from Eurasians to Filipinos, from Armenians to Thais—contribute significantly to the nation's cultural mix. Understandably, the British and the heritage of their colonial stay is profoundly felt even though Singapore became an independent nation in 1967.

In a part of the world where histories tend to be ancient and rich, Singapore is unique in having almost no history at all. Modern Singapore tends to date its history from the early morning of January 29, 1819, when a representative of the British East India Company, Thomas Stamford Raffles, stepped ashore at Singa Pura (Sanskrit for "lion city"), as the island was then called, hoping to establish a British trading settlement on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. The two sons of the previous sultan, who had died six years earlier, were in dispute over who would inherit the throne. Raffles backed the claim of the elder brother, Tunku Hussein Mohamed Shah, and proclaimed him sultan. Offering to support the new sultanate with British military strength, Raffles persuaded him to grant the British a lease allowing them to establish a trading post on the island in return for an annual rent; within a week the negotiations were concluded. (A later treaty ceded the island outright to the British.)

Thus began the continual rapid changing and adapting that characterizes Singapore to this day: Within three years, the small fishing village, surrounded by swamps and jungle and populated by only tigers and 200 or so Malays, had become a boomtown of 10,000 immigrants, administered by 74 British employees of the East India Company.

As Singapore grew, the British erected splendid public buildings, churches, and hotels, often using Indian convicts for labor. The Muslim, Hindu, Taoist, and Buddhist communities—swelling rapidly from the influx of fortune-seeking settlers from Malaya, India, and South China—built mosques, temples, and shrines. Magnificent houses for wealthy merchants sprang up, and the harbor became lined with *godowns* (warehouses) to hold all the goods passing through the port.

It was certainly an exotic trade that poured through Singapore. Chinese junks came loaded with tea, porcelain, silks, and artworks; Bugis (Indonesian) schooners carried in cargos of precious spices, rare tropical hardwoods, camphor, and produce from all parts of Indonesia. These goods, and more like

them from Siam, the Philippines, and elsewhere in the region, were traded in Singapore for manufactured textiles, coal, iron, cement, weapons, and machinery and other fruits of Europe's industrial revolution. Another major product traded here by the British was opium, grown in India and sold to mainland China.

By the turn of the century, Singapore had become the entrepôt of the East, a mixture of adventurers and "respectable middle classes." World War I hardly touched the island, although its defenses were strengthened to support the needs of the British navy, for which Singapore was an important base. When World War II broke out, the British were complacent about the impregnability of Singapore, expecting that any attack would come from the sea and that they were well prepared to meet such an attack. But the Japanese landed to the north, in Malaya. The two British battleships that had been posted to Singapore were sunk, and the Japanese land forces raced down the peninsula on bicycles.

In February 1942 the Japanese captured Singapore. Huge numbers of Allied civilians and military were sent to Changi Prison; others were marched off to prison camps in Malaya or to work on the notorious "Death Railway" in Thailand. The 3½ years of occupation was a time of privation and fear for the civilian population; up to 100,000 deaths are estimated during this period. The Japanese surrendered on August 21, 1945, and the Allied military forces returned to Singapore. However, the security of the British Empire was never again to be felt, and independence for British Southeast Asia was only a matter of time.

In 1957 the British government agreed to the establishment of an elected 51-member legislative assembly in Singapore. General elections in 1959 gave an overwhelming majority—43 of 51 seats—to the People's Action Party (PAP), and a young Chinese lawyer named Lee Kuan Yew became Singapore's first prime minister. In 1963 Singapore became part of the Federation of Malaysia, along with the newly independent state of Malaya.

Mainly due to Malays' anxiety over a possible takeover by the ethnic Chinese, the federation broke up two years later and Singapore became an independent sovereign state. The electorate has remained faithful to Lee Kuan Yew and the PAP. Today there is only one opposition member in Parliament, though, at the last election, the PAP's popular majority was the lowest it has ever been. Singaporeans don't necessarily like the fact that Lee Kuan Yew's will substantially decides their future, but they recognize that it is largely as a result of his firm control and acumen that Singapore is a safe, clean, comfortable, prosperous nation. Lee Kuan Yew promises to resign at the end of 1990, after 31 years in office. Because his son is unable to immediately step into his shoes, however, Yew will remain influential in government as a senior minister.

Staying in Singapore

Getting Around Singapore

By Subway The most recent addition to Singapore's public transport system is a superb subway, known as the MRT, consisting of two lines that run north-south and east-west and cross at the City Hall and Raffles Place interchanges. The System includes a total of 42 stations along 67 km (42 mi). All cars and underground stations are air-conditioned, and the trains operate between 5:45 AM and midnight daily.

Tickets may be purchased in the stations from vending machines (which give change) or at a booth. There's a S\$2 fine for underpaying, so make sure you buy the right ticket for your destination. Fares start at S\$.50 for about two stations; the maximum fare is S\$1.10. The fare between Orchard Road Station and Raffles Place Station (in the business district) is S\$.60. For information, call 732-4411.

By Bus Buses are much cheaper than taxis and—with a little practice—easy to use. During rush hours, they can be quicker than cabs, since there are special bus lanes along the main roads. Some buses are air-conditioned, and service is frequent—usually every five to 10 minutes on most routes. Even without the excellent *Bus Guide*, available for S\$.75 at any bookstore, finding your way around is relatively easy. Bus stops close to sightseeing attractions have signs pointing out the attractions.

The minimum fare is S\$.40, the maximum S\$.80. Exact change is necessary (conductors cannot give change) and should be deposited in the box as you enter the bus. Remember to collect your ticket. Bus numbers are clearly marked, and most stops have a list of destinations with the numbers of the buses that service them. Buses run from 5:30 or 6 AM until around 11:30 PM.

The Singapore Explorer Bus Ticket, which may be purchased at most major hotels, lets you travel anywhere on the island on any bus operated by Singapore Bus Service (SBS—the red-and-white buses) or Trans Island Bus Service (TIBS—the orange-and-yellow buses). You may embark and disembark as frequently as you like, flashing your pass as you board. A one-day pass costs S\$5 and a three-day pass costs S\$12. With this ticket you also receive an Explorer Bus Map with color-coded routes showing bus stops and all major points of interest. For further details, call the Singapore Bus Service Passenger Relations Center (tel. 287-2727).

Coming from Malaysia, you can board a public bus at the Johore bus station or after the Malaysia checkpoint, at the causeway. You get off the bus on the other side of the causeway at the Singapore checkpoint, then reboard the bus for the ride into the city's center. Since you may not be reboarding the same bus—depending on the line at Immigration—do not leave your belongings behind when you get off.

By Taxi There are more than 10,000 taxis in Singapore, strictly regulated and metered. Many are air-conditioned. The starting fare is S\$1.90 for the first 1.5 km (0.9 mi) and S\$.10 for each subsequent 275 meters (900 feet). After 10 km (6 mi) the rate in-

lic transportation system that provides easy, low-cost access around the city of Singapore and the island.

Taxes There is no sales tax in Singapore. A 4% government tax is added to restaurant and hotel bills; sometimes a 10% service charge is added as well. There is a S\$12 airport departure tax (for travelers to Malaysia, the tax is S\$5). It is payable at the airport. To save time and avoid standing in line, you can buy a tax voucher at your hotel or any airline office.

Sample Prices Cup of coffee, 50¢; large bottle of beer, \$2; lunch at a hawker stand, \$5; dinner at an elegant restaurant, \$25; full breakfast at a luxury hotel, \$9. The cost of a standard double room: moderate, \$75-\$115; very expensive, over \$150.

Language

Singapore is a multiracial society with four official languages: Malay, Mandarin, Tamil, and English. The national language is Malay; the lingua franca is English. English, also the language of administration, is a required course for every schoolchild, and is used in the entrance examinations for universities. Hence, virtually all Singaporeans speak English with varying degrees of fluency. Mandarin is increasingly replacing the other Chinese dialects. However, many Chinese will use SinEnglish, a Singaporean version of English, to converse with other ethnic groups, including other Chinese.

Opening and Closing Times

Businesses are generally open weekdays 9 or 9:30 to 5 or 5:30; some, not many, are also open on Saturday mornings.

Banks Banking hours are weekdays 10-3, Saturday 9:30-11:30 AM. Branches of the Development Bank of Singapore stay open until 3 PM on Saturday. The bank at Changi airport is open whenever there are flights. Money-changers operate whenever there are customers in the shopping centers they serve.

Museums Many museums close on Monday; otherwise, they are generally open 9-5.

Shops Shop opening times vary. Department stores and many shops in big shopping centers are generally open seven days a week from about 10 to 8 (later some evenings). Smaller shops tend to close on Sundays, although there is no firm rule now that competition is so intense.

National Holidays

The following are national holidays: Jan. 1 (New Year's Day); Jan. 27, 28 (Chinese New Year); Good Friday (Apr. 13); Hari Raya Puasa (Apr. 26); Labor Day (May 1); Vesak Day (May 9); Hari Raya Haji (July 3); National Day (Aug. 9); Dee'pavali (Oct. 7); Dec. 24.

Festivals and Seasonal Events

Singapore is a city of festivals, from the truly exotic to the strictly-for-tourists. The exact dates vary from year to year according to the lunar or Islamic calendar.

Mid-Jan. During Ponggal, the four-day harvest festival, Tamil Indians from South India offer rice, curries, vegetables, sugarcane, and spices in thanksgiving to the Hindu gods. In the evening, the celebration takes place at the temples, where rice is cooked while prayers are chanted to the music of bells, drums, clarinets, and conch shells. The Perumal Temple of Serangoon Road is the best place to view these rites.

Mid-Jan.-Feb. **Thaipusam**, probably the most spectacular—and certainly the most gruesome—festival in Asia, celebrates the victory of the Hindu god Subramaniam over the demon Idumban. After night-long ritual purification and chanting, penitents enter a trance and pierce their flesh with knives, steel rods, and fish hooks, which they wear during the procession. The 8.1-km (5-mi) procession begins at the Perumal Temple on Serangoon Road, passes the Sri Mariamman Temple on South Bridge Road, and ends at the Chettiar Temple.

Chinese New Year is the only time the Chinese stop working. The lunar New Year celebration lasts for 15 days, and most shops and businesses close for about a week.

Feb. The end of the Chinese New Year is marked by the **Chingay Procession**. Chinese, Malays, and Indians all get into the act for this event. Clashing gongs and beating drums, lion dancers lead a procession of Chinese stilt-walkers, swordsmen, warriors, acrobats, and characters from Chinese myth and legend.

Feb. or Mar. The **Birthday of the Monkey God** celebrates this character greatly loved by the Chinese. His birth is marked with a festival twice a year in Chinese temples—once in the spring and again around September. Mediums, with skewers piercing their cheeks and tongues, go into trances. Chinese street operas and puppet shows are usually performed in temple courtyards, and processions are held at the temples along Eng Hoon and Cumming streets.

Apr.-May **Ramadan** is the month of daytime fasting among the city's Muslim population. Food stalls in Bussorah Street and around the Sultan Mosque sell a variety of dishes at the end of the day's fast.

May or June The **Birthday of the Third Prince** celebrates this child god. The Chinese worship him as a hero and a miracle-worker. A temple in his honor is located at the junction of Clarke Street and North Boat Quay, near Chinatown; on his birthday, it is crowded with noisy worshipers who come to watch the flashy Chinese operas, which begin around noon.

Vesak Day commemorates the Buddha's birth, Enlightenment, and death. It is the most sacred annual festival in the Buddhist calendar. Throughout the day, starting before dawn, saffron-robed monks chant holy sutras in all the major Buddhist temples. Captive birds are set free. Candlelight processions are held around some of the temples in the evening.

June The **Dragon Boat Festival** commemorates the martyrdom of Qu Yuan, a Chinese poet and minister of state during the Chou dynasty (4th century BC), who was exiled for speaking out against court corruption and finally threw himself into the river. On seeing Qu Yuan's final and desperate act, local fishermen thrashed the water with their oars and beat drums to prevent fish from devouring their drowning hero. The anniversary of his death is cele-

brated with a regatta of boats decorated with dragon heads and painted in brilliant colors.

- July** During the Birdsong Festival, owners of tuneful birds hold competitions to see whose chirps best.
- Aug. 9** **National Day**, the anniversary of the nation's independence, is a day of processions, fireworks, folk and dragon dances, and national pride. The finest view is from the Padang, where the main participants put on their best show. Tickets for special seating areas are available through the STPB.
- Aug.-Sept.** For a month each year, during the Chinese Festival of the Hungry Ghosts, the Gates of Hell are opened and ghosts are free to wander the Earth. The unhappy ghosts, those who died without descendants, may cause trouble and must therefore be placated with offerings. Imitation money ("Hell money") and joss sticks are burned, and prayers are said at all Chinese temples and in front of Chinese shops and homes. Chinese-opera (*wayang*) performances are held on open-air stages set up in the streets.
- Sept.** The Mooncake Festival, a traditional Chinese celebration, is held on the night of the year when the full moon is thought to be at its brightest. The Chinese have nighttime picnics and carry lanterns through the streets. Mooncakes—sweet pastries filled with red-bean paste, lotus seeds, nuts, and egg yolks—are eaten in abundance.
- Sept.-Oct.** During the nine-day Navarathri Festival, Hindus pay homage to three goddesses: Parvati, consort of Shiva the Destroyer; Lakshmi, goddess of wealth and consort of Vishnu the Protector; and Sarawathi, goddess of education and consort of Brahma the Creator. On all nights, at the Chettiar Temple on Tank Road, there are performances of classical Indian music, drama, and dancing from 7 to 10. On the last evening, the image of a silver horse is taken from its home in the Chettiar Temple and paraded around the streets.
- Oct.** The Chinese believe that the deities celebrated in the Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods can cure illness, bring good luck and wealth, and encourage longevity. They are honored in most Chinese temples on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month; the celebrations are at their most spectacular in the temples on Upper Serangoon Road and at Lorong Tai Seng.
- Oct.-Nov.** In the Thimithi Festival, Indian Hindus honor the goddess Duropadai by walking on fire. According to myth, Duropadai proved her chastity by walking over flaming coals. Today worshippers repeat her feat by walking barefoot over a bed of red-hot embers. See the spectacle at the Sri Mariamman Temple on South Bridge Road.
- Deepavali celebrates the triumph of Krishna over the demon king Nasakasura. All Indian homes and temples are decorated with oil lamps and garlands. In Little India the streets are brilliantly illuminated.
- Nov.** Merlion Week is Singapore's version of Carnival, with food fairs, fashion shows, masquerade balls, and fireworks displays. Brochures of the activities are available in every hotel.
- Nov.-Dec.** Being a multiracial society, Singapore has taken Christmas to its commercial heart. All the shops are deep in artificial snow,

and a Chinese Santa Claus appears every so often to encourage everyone to buy and give presents.

Tipping

Tipping is not customary in Singapore, and the government actively discourages it. It is prohibited at the airport and not encouraged in hotels that levy a 10% service charge or in restaurants. Hotel bellboys are usually tipped S\$1 per bag for handling luggage. Taxi drivers are not tipped by Singaporeans.

Guided Tours

A wide range of sightseeing tours cover the highlights of Singapore. They are especially convenient for business travelers or others on a tight schedule and can be easily arranged through the tour desks in hotels. The following are a few of the tour operators providing services through major hotels, but there are many others as well. RMG Tours (5001 Beach Rd., #08-12 Golden Mile Complex, tel. 298-3944) organizes nightlife and food tours. Siakson Coach Tours (3 Miller St., Siakson Bldg., tel. 336-0268) has daily tours to the zoo and Mandai Gardens, plus excursions to Malaysia. Tour East International (163 Tanglin Rd., tel. 235-5205) offers a variety of tours in Singapore and excursions to Malaysia and Indonesia. Elpin Tours and Limousine Services (317 Outram Rd., #02-23 Glass Hotel, tel. 235-3111) arranges tours of Sentosa Island.

The itineraries offered by the different tour operators are very similar. Tours can take two hours or the whole day, and prices range from S\$16 to S\$70. Most are operated in comfortable, air-conditioned coaches with guides and include pickup and return at your hotel. Tour agencies can also arrange private-car tours with guides; these are considerably more expensive.

Orientation City Highlights

These are 3½-hour tours, given in the morning or the afternoon. Itineraries vary slightly, but generally you will be shown some of the major sightseeing and shopping areas, including Orchard Road, the high-rise business district along Shenton Way, and the historic buildings along the Padang. You will also see Chinatown and probably the Thian Hock Keng Temple. A visit to the Sri Mariamman Temple, a stroll through the beautiful Botanical Gardens, a drive up Mount Faber for a panoramic view of the city, and a visit to a handicraft factory are also likely to be included. A morning city tour usually features the "Instant Asia" cultural show.

City and East or West Coast

If the tour covers the east coast, you'll see the city highlights and visit some rural sights, such as a Malay village and/or the Kuan Yin Temple. You may also visit the infamous Changi Prison and drive through the green coastal area. This tour takes 4½ hours. The west-coast tour includes the Chinese and Japanese gardens and the Jurong Bird Park.

Boat Trips

Water Tours (3-A, 1st floor, Clifford Pier, tel. 914-4519) operates motorized junks for cruises in the harbor and to Kusu Island. J & N Cruise (24 Raffles Pl., #26-02 Clifford Centre, tel. 533-2733) operates the *Equator Dream*, a catamaran that offers lunch, high tea, and dinner cruises (with disco) around the harbor and to the islands. **Island Cruises** (50 Collyer Quay, #01-27 Overseas Union House, tel. 221-8333) offers breakfast,

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Singapore and Am Bus. Community
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Diplomatic charm

Who'll be there? Singapore
How many? 2,000 - 2,500 people
Business & Academic
Who to acknowledge? Lee Kuan Yew, Br General Lee Hsien Long, Dep. Prime Minister
Points to address? Acknowledge Lee
Institute this is 10th Year of Lecture Series
Independent Director K.S. Sandhu

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U.S. business with not remain competitive
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AMERICAN PRESENCE IN SINGAPORE

1. The United States Government Representation and Activities

- A. The Embassy: The United States Ambassador in Singapore is Robert D. Orr. He heads the U.S. Embassy and is responsible for its component organizations listed below. The Embassy maintains communication with the Government of Singapore at all levels, reports on local developments, promotes U.S. economic and commercial interests, protects the welfare of American citizens, documents travelers to the United States, and maintains liaison with other diplomatic missions. In the administrative field, the Embassy regularly is called upon to assist with procurement in Singapore of supplies for most of the other Embassies in the region. Singapore also is the medical evacuation point for Indonesia. There are no U.S. economic assistance programs in Singapore, no Peace Corps, and no PL 480 programs. The Embassy is located at 30 Hill Street.
- B. The United States Information Service offices are in the Tung Building. The staff handles the information and cultural programs for the Embassy, and runs the Resource Center (library), which is located on the 15th floor of the Tung Building, Collyer Quay.
- C. The Foreign Commercial Service provides export assistance, promotion and counseling to U.S. companies wanting to develop markets in Singapore. From their office and commercial library located at One Colombo Court #05-12, the FCS staff produces a broad range of in depth market research reports, organizes and hosts trade missions and trade shows, and identifies emerging trade opportunities with the primary goal of promoting the increased sale of U.S. goods and services in Singapore.
- D. The Agricultural Trade Office, in Liat Towers, is the U.S. Department of Agriculture office in Singapore. Its primary objective is to promote the exportation of U.S. foods. The office is shared with representatives of the American Soybean Association, the U.S. Wheat Associates, the U.S. Poultry and Egg Export Council, and the U.S. Meat Export Federation.
- E. The U.S. Refugee Office was set up to process Indo-Chinese refugees for possible resettlement in the U.S. Now a part of the Embassy consular section, the office has responsibility for both Singapore and Indonesia.
- F. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service interviews Indo-Chinese refugees and deters illegal immigration to the United States throughout the region. The office can also assist the American community with foreign adoptions, petitions for foreign spouses and inquiries on naturalization proceedings.
- G. The Internal Revenue Service is the regional office for the IRS and is available for tax consultation by the American community. It is located in the Embassy.

K. Federal Aviation Administration is located in the Embassy. It serves to promote the development of international civil aviation in Southeast Asia.

L. United States Customs Service is an enforcement office responsible for conducting and coordinating Customs investigations on a wide variety of case categories. Its second function is as an advisory service to tourists, etc. The office is on the first floor of the Embassy.

II. Private American Representation: Singapore has an active American community which currently numbers over 7,000 U.S. citizens, including dependents. Principally, they represent U.S. business, religious and educational organizations. Also included are a large number of dependent families of U.S. citizens working in Indonesia. The community has developed several organizations to advance its collective interests:

A. The American Association, founded in 1917, has been the prime mover in originating many other American organizations and continues to coordinate their activities. The American Association publishes "Living In Singapore", the Singapore American Newspaper and organizes several American national holiday activities such as the George Washington Ball, Fourth of July picnic, and various recreational activities.

B. The American Business Council serves much the same function as an American Chamber of Commerce. It holds periodic functions featuring speakers on topics of current interest, and maintains an office and reference library at #16-07 Shaw Center. There are approximately 800 American firms represented in Singapore.

C. The American Women's Association is the organization of the American women in the community. It is a part of the American Association but functions separately. The AWA undertakes many charitable projects, welcomes newcomers to the community, and maintains a schedule of tours, classes and social functions. There are more than 1300 members, both American and non-American.

D. The Singapore American School is a private institution which provides educational facilities from preschool through high school on American standards for American children. The school currently has about 2000 students.

E. The Singapore American Community Action Council (SACAC) was set up by the American community to deal with social problems encountered by Americans living in Singapore, particularly young people. Sports, counselling and referral services, student employment programs, drama groups, etc. are available through SACAC.

F. The Singapore American Newspaper, published monthly, is supported entirely by advertisers, produced by a staff of volunteer Americans and mailed free of charge to all American residents requesting copies. The newspaper tells of happenings in the community and provides news of the American school and of the American Women's Association, as well as giving information about local culture, sports and other activities in the American community.

EXCERPTS FROM JOHNSON SPEECHES. (JOHNSON FIRST PRES TO VISIT AUSTRALIA.)

- From Johnson speech in Canberra (October 21, 1966) --
" . . . he serves his nation who understands his times."
- Johnson also relayed these words of a Chinese philosopher:
"Of a great leader, who talks little,
When his work is done, his aim fulfilled,
They will all say
'We did this ourselves!'"
- Non-isolationism reference from Johnson speech (October 22, 1966 at Art Gallery in New South Wales): "I have had an old lesson reinforced in my mind during the past few days that I have been away from my country. A great society cannot end at the water's edge in New York or in Los Angeles -- nor can it end at the water's edge in Sydney or in Perth. A truly great society can exist only in a great and unifying world that is dedicated to bringing out the best in people from all over the world."

More color --

- Letter excerpt from convict after arriving in Australia:
"Blessed and sweet Liberty, that I had been doomed to forfeit in a place of unparalleled torture and sin, now appeared to me in all its grandeur."
- Possible tie-in with yesterday's anniversary of our Bill of Rights. The Constitution for the Commonwealth of Australia came to force on January 1, 1901 (POTUS speech on January 2 -- 91 years later -- an anniversary reference also)
- The first landing of convicts occurred in 1788, with the arrival of the First Fleet at Botany Bay -- "the Noah's ark of small-time criminality" -- and continued until the last ship in 1868
- "Australia is so good that, just tickle her with a hoe, and she laughs with a harvest." -- Douglas Jerrold
- Thomas Paine said at the time of our country's great Revolution -- "If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace."

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(Hinchliffe/Nix)
December 12, 1991 12 p.m.
CORAL Draft One

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CORAL SEA COMMEMORATIVE COUNCIL
FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1992
MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA**

World Congress Centre
Otway Rm.

Large Convention
Hall

Thank you, Sir Eric. And special greetings to Ambassador Mel Sembler. It's great to be in Australia -- I certainly feel at home in "Bush Country." \\\

Australians have a reputation for warmth and hospitality. So as we were driving over today I told Barbara how moved I was that all these people were waving to me. "Sorry, George," she said. "That's the Australian Wave. It's fly season." \\\

I'm honored to meet with this very special council. On a personal level, the Coral Sea Commemoration has always meant a lot to me. As a 19-year-old Navy fighter pilot in the South Pacific in May 1942, I felt keenly the significance of the battle itself. And as a somewhat-older Vice President in 1982, I had the privilege to speak in Sydney at the Coral Sea Ball.

We must remember all the Coral Sea events. In particular, we must celebrate the extraordinary friendship they represent. The United States and Australia are inseparable allies. Our countries have always had a special bond -- forged out of our shared roots of frontier spirit, rugged individualism, and free enterprise. As Sir Nicholas Parkinson put it, there is and should be a "natural alliance" between us.

This century, that alliance has been firmly cemented with the glue of shared sacrifice. We've fought side by side 4 times in defense of the principles we share. There's no greater example

of that cooperation than the Battle of the Coral Sea, where we joined forces to turn back the Japanese military advance.

You all know how important that battle was. Our ships took part in the first major aircraft carrier engagement of the war; and in the first naval battle in history in which surface ships didn't sight each other. Together, we handed Japan its first reverse -- and together we prevented it from achieving air superiority in the Coral Sea. It was a crucial strategic victory, and it also gave our forces invaluable morale -- enabling the Allies to never again lose the initiative in the Pacific.

But one of the most significant legacies of the year that began with the Battle of the Coral Sea is the origin of our bilateral alliance. That's why you outstanding citizens should be congratulated by both our nations on the work you're doing -- for you look to the future while honoring the past.

The programs you sponsor will assure that the critical events of 1942 receive the attention they deserve. The fact that 50 years later so many prominent Australians have accepted Sir Eric's invitation to join this Council shows that what young Americans and Australians achieved together in the defense of freedom has not been forgotten.

I bring special thanks from over 1 million American men and women who served in your great and beautiful country during WWII. I hope many of them will return here next year to take part in this unique commemoration -- when I go home I'll tell them first-hand of the open, warmhearted Aussie welcome they'll receive.

*Some of
1 million
died*

[Oz-ee]
^

I know you've been working hard to raise funds especially for activities designed to appeal to young Australians. We attach great importance to the future of our alliance -- and the upcoming generations are the ones who will maintain it. We want the young people of both our countries to understand our history, and to remember and respect the full sweep of American-Australian military cooperation in 1942 -- starting with the Battle of the Coral Sea, which was the "end of the beginning."

I'm sure this Council's work will strengthen and sustain our Alliance -- one that has matured and that is as relevant today as it ever was. My best wishes to you throughout this commemorative year. May God bless our countries -- and the brave sons and daughters who died to keep them free.

#

SINGAPORE TIDBITS

Orchard Road: Orchard Road is famous in Singapore as a major business district -- "smartly dressed shoppers . . . glittering shops . . . with the latest in Paris fashions or Japanese electronics." [The Singaporean and American business audience would be familiar with a reference to Orchard Road (re business, economy).]

Nigel Fisher, editor of Voyager International, wrote of Singapore's ability to blend cultural diversity with a well-ordered society:

"To arrive in Singapore is to step into a world where the muezzin call to prayer competes with the bustle of capitalism; where old men play mah-jongg in the streets and white-clad bowlers send the ball flying down well-tended cricket pitches; where Chinese fortune tellers and high-priced management consultants advise the same entrepreneur."

"Values are formed out of the history and experience of a people. One doesn't learn what is right and wrong out of a book. One absorbs these notions through the mother's milk."

Lee Kuan Yew, interview, Nov. 1991

"The ball of liberty, I believe most piously, is not so well in motion that it will roll around the globe . . . for light and liberty go together."

-- Thomas Jefferson

"To look up and not down,
To look forward and not back,
To look out and not in, and
To lend a hand."

-- E. E. Hale (son of Nathan Hale): Ten Times One is Ten, 1870.

- Singapore has approx. 7,000 U.S. citizens, including dependents, representing U.S. business, religious and educational organizations.
- Westin Corporate Headquarters confirms that the Westin-Stamford (where POTUS speaks) is the tallest hotel in the world.
- Singapore has an excellent metro system -- which they copied from us. They sent a team to study the DC area metro system and then applied it to Singapore's needs.

- Cameras are posted at traffic intersections. If you run a red light, they "snap away" and come and get you.