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### **U.S. Role in the Pacific**

**Q.** There's been a lot of talk about how power in this region, particularly in the future, will not be military; it will be economic. And that there is a perception among Asian nations that the United States is a declining economic power and that you have put too much emphasis on this tour as a panacea to America's economic ills. How do you answer that?

**The President.** I answer it by referring to able leaders of ASEAN countries who tell me what it is they'd like to see us do to be more active in Asian markets. I answer it by saying we are a Pacific power, and we're going to stay involved in the Pacific. We have disproportionate responsibilities for security around the world. And I think the Prime Minister would probably agree with that, and we are going to keep those commitments. And I'd leave it on a very broad basis like that.

*Note: The President's 116th news conference began at 11:40 a.m. in the courtyard at Istana Palace. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan and Richard G. Darman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.*

### **Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With the Singapore Lecture Group**

*January 4, 1992*

**The President.** Thank you, Mr. Minister, Prime Minister Goh, Senior Minister Lee. I'm delighted to be here, and thank you, sir, for that very kind introduction. Let me take this opportunity to say a few words about these two gentlemen I've just referred to.

Minister Lee, a quarter of a century ago, you led this small island of cultural and ethnic diversity, of limited physical resources, to independence. And then, through your vision and your force of intellect and will, you forged Singapore's nationhood. You stood courageously in a life and death struggle

against the Communists, and you prevailed. You led your nation and your region in the quest for peace and prosperity. It is my convinced view that future generations will honor the name of Lee Kuan Yew. And as you know well from your visits in my own home in Kennebunkport, Barbara's and mine, I am pleased to know you as a friend.

Prime Minister Goh, I salute you, sir, for your wisdom, for your vigor in carrying Singapore forward now on its path to the future. I am grateful for the wonderful talks we had this morning, and I pledge America's steadfast friendship as you lead Singapore in facing the challenges of the coming generation. And I'm also pleased that you, like many of your countrymen, came to the United States of America for part of your education. These too are ties that bind us together.

Now, on to the business at hand. It's an honor to deliver this lecture, following such leaders as Brian Mulroney and Helmut Schmidt and Rudd Lubbers, Bob Hawke, Mahathir bin Mohamad, and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and such distinguished thinkers as Henry Kissinger and Milton Friedman. And let me acknowledge Professor K.L. Sandhu, director, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies; A.V. Liventals, the chairman, Mobil Oil Singapore; Lee Hee Seng, deputy chairman and board of trustees, ISEAS; and Dr. Richard Hu, chairman of the Monetary Authority of Singapore and Finance Minister.

Let me also salute the members of the U.S.-ASEAN Business Council with whom I just met, who are here with us in this auditorium today.

The addresses in this series reflect the changes in our world. Your first lecturers focused on the ideological and military struggle between socialism and democratic capitalism, and especially between the United States and what we used to call the Soviet Union.

Think of that phrase for just a moment, "what we used to call the Soviet Union." When citizens pulled down the hammer and sickle 10 days ago and hauled up a new tricolor of freedom over the Kremlin, the Soviet Union ceased to exist, and the prospect of a new world opened before us.

That act culminated a decade of liberation, a time in which we witnessed the death

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for just a moment, the Soviet Union." own the hammer and hauled up a new tri e Kremlin, the Soviet and the prospect of ore us. decade of liberation, witnessed the death

throes of totalitarianism and the triumph of systems of government devoted to individual liberty, democratic pluralism, free markets, and international engagement.

As this struggle has drawn to a close, these lectures have shifted their focus from military confrontation to matters of economic co-operation. Our new world has little use for old ways of thinking about the roles and relations of nation-states. The cold war categories, North-South, East-West, capitalist-communist, no longer apply. The future simply belongs to nations that can remain on the cutting edge of innovation and information, nations that can develop the genius and harness the aspirations of their own people.

Individuals wield power as never before. An innovator, equipped with ideas and the freedom to turn them into inventions, can change the way we live and think. Governments that strive only to maintain a monopoly of power, rather than to strengthen the freedom of the individual, will fall by the wayside, swept away by the tides of innovation and entrepreneurship.

Liberating technologies, telephones, computers, facsimile machines, satellite dishes, and other devices that transmit news, information, and culture in ever greater volumes and at ever greater speeds, have disabled the weapons of tyranny.

The old world of splintered regions and ideologies has begun to give way to a global village universally committed to the values of individual liberty, democracy, and free trade and universally opposed, I might add, to tyranny and aggression.

If we are to realize the opportunities of this new era, we must address three intertwined challenges: The new requirements of peace and security, the challenge of promoting democracy, and the challenge of generating greater economic growth and prosperity around the world.

Consider first the challenge of peace and security. The world has learned, through two World Wars, and most recently, as Senior Minister Lee talked about, through Saddam Hussein's naked aggression, that the dogs of war can be unleashed anytime would-be aggressors doubt the commitment of the powerful to the security of the powerless.

As a nation that straddles two great oceans, a nation tempered by painful wartime experience, the United States remains committed to engagement in the Atlantic community and the Asia-Pacific region, and we are unalterably opposed to isolationism. That's my vow to you, as long as I am President of the United States of America.

A quarter century ago, many feared that free nations would fall like dominoes, remember the domino theory, fall like dominoes to the subversion of communism. Now, we can say with pride and a robust sense of irony that the totalitarian powers, the powers that fomented conflict the world over, have indeed become the dominoes of the 1990's.

This end to the cold war gives the United States an opportunity to restructure its military. Having said that, I want to assure you and all of our many friends in this part of the world that the closing of bases in the Philippines will not spell an end to American engagement. We will maintain a visible, credible presence in the Asia-Pacific region with our forward deployed forces and through bilateral defense arrangements with nations of the region.

That is why I'm pleased to announce that this morning we've reached agreement with the Government of Singapore to explore in detail how we can transfer a naval logistics facility from Subic Bay in the Philippines to Singapore in the next year. We appreciate Singapore's far-sighted approach to the security requirements of a new era.

The United States does not maintain our security presence as some act of charity. Your security and your prosperity serve our interests because you can better help build a more stable, more prosperous world. An unstable Asia burdened with repression does not serve our interests, nor does an Asia mired in poverty and despair. We need you as free and productive as you can be, and we understand that our security presence can provide a foundation for our mutual prosperity and shared defense.

But we also need your support in addressing the new threats of this new era, regional conflicts, weapons proliferation. And so, I'm pleased that the ASEAN nations are working with us to craft new and flexible arrange-

ments to ensure the common defense. Access agreements and increased ASEAN-U.S. dialog can help us work cooperatively to promote stability in the whole region. By working cooperatively, we better share the security responsibilities of the post-cold-war era.

Strong, credible security arrangements enabled us to meet the second challenge, the challenge of democracy, a challenge of shared interests and shared ideals.

Again, ASEAN is helping to spread positive political change in ways that reflect the values, aspirations, and cultures of the nations in this region. ASEAN is trying to help the former Communist States in Indochina reintegrate themselves in a world that respects free markets and free people. Those efforts are starting to produce very hopeful results.

Just a few weeks ago American diplomats arrived in Phnom Penh for the first time in 16 years. We owe that breakthrough to years of effort by many nations. But the Cambodian peace accord signed by Secretary Baker in Paris last October could not have existed without the help and the cooperation of ASEAN. This historic agreement offers the very real hope of national reconciliation to the long-suffering people of Cambodia.

And additionally, when the Paris conference agreed on a peace settlement for Cambodia, my Government offered to remove our trade embargo as the United Nations advance mission began to implement the settlement. And today I am pleased to announce the lifting of that embargo. Working with others, we need to turn attention to the economic reconstruction of that deeply wounded land, and so its new political reconciliation has a home from which to grow.

We are now normalizing our ties with Laos and have begun to move with Vietnam along a path marked by implementation of the Paris accords, and for the sake of many, many American families, the satisfactory resolution of our concerns, our deep concerns about POW and MIA's.

The key point is this: After being strong, determined, and patient, we finally can entertain realistic hopes of building lasting ties of interest and affection with Indochina. Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, more open political systems, and

open markets, form the building blocks for what I've called the new world order.

This movement toward democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of economic growth and building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political rivalry and military adventurism threaten international stability. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism, protectionism, can be at least as threatening to world order. The protectionist wars of the twenties and thirties deepened the Great Depression and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War.

On the other hand, during the past half century, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity here in Singapore, throughout free Asia, in Europe, and in the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to democracy, a fact that illustrates the indivisible relationship between security, democracy, and individual liberty.

The United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. Our trade with Singapore, it's increased tenfold during the past 16 years. We now export more to Singapore than to Italy or Spain, more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity.

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, helped initiate the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process 2 years ago, APEC. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free, market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

Now this is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of U.S. exports support many thousands of good American jobs.

A delegation of executives from major American businesses, from the automobile industry to computer and electronics firms, to food and energy companies, has joined me

#### Administration

in order to explain to free and fair trade. I want to learn more about how they will also work together. They will compete fairly, they will compete today also are the ASEAN countries. The United States businesses there exist in ASEAN.

The United States economic operation and to encourage. We agreed to a framework agreement. I propose that a treaty. When efforts through initiatives through approach can economic challenge.

Americans believe Nations can achieve prosperity when of the marketplace.

The General Trade can play an expanding free trade. And that's why on my trip I'm calling for of the internationalizing the world's trade. us in making GATT proposed draft agreement successful conclusion.

While all of us nations of that draft let the progress of the past. Now is collective response the dynamic trade to help us to convert to build the momentum. A successful Uruguay round can greater trade liberalization and greater prosperity.

GATT ensures that moving toward bilateral and not toward trilateral point out to an especially an informal

building blocks for world order.

Democracy leads for the future, the growth and building side.

Political rivalry and a ten international world doubt that economic nationalism, can be at world order. The priorities and thirties recession and set in tened the Second

During the past half trade have proce and prosperity hout free Asia, in States. This prosly to democracy, indivisible relation, nocracy, and indi-

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in order to express our national commitment to free and fair trade. Our executives will learn more about opportunities here, and they will also work to help other firms compete fairly throughout the world. With us today also are the American Ambassadors to the ASEAN countries. They will be returning to the United States soon to tell American businesses there about the opportunities that exist in ASEAN.

The United States is trying to establish an economic operating framework to facilitate and to encourage these ties. This past October we agreed to a new trade and investment framework agreement with Singapore. And I propose that we complement that agreement by negotiating a bilateral investment treaty. When combined with our global efforts through GATT and our regional initiatives through APEC, this comprehensive approach can enable us to meet the economic challenges of the post-cold-war era.

Americans believe in free and open trade. Americans can achieve astonishing levels of prosperity when they embrace the challenge of the marketplace.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade can play an especially crucial role in expanding freedom's economic frontiers. And that's why on each stop of this important trip I'm calling for urgent action on behalf of the international trading system. I am urging the world's trading nations to join with us in making GATT Director Dunkel's proposed draft agreement the basis for the successful conclusion of the Uruguay round.

While all of us have problems with portions of that draft, none of us can afford to let the progress it represents slip away into the past. Now is the moment for a strong collective response. And I particularly urge the dynamic trading nations of this region to help us to convince all GATT participants to build the momentum to achieve this agreement. A successful conclusion to this Uruguay round can prepare the way for even greater trade liberalization in years to come and greater prosperity for everyone.

GATT ensures that the world will continue moving toward broad economic integration and not toward trade blocs. I don't have to point out to an audience in Singapore, especially an informed audience like this, that

there's a huge difference between a free trade zone, an oasis of free trade, and a trade bloc that attempts to hold the rest of the world at bay. We resolutely oppose efforts to create economic fortresses anywhere.

On the other hand, we wholeheartedly endorse free trade agreements. Let me be clear on something. Our North American free trade agreement will beckon all nations to make the best of the resources and opportunities that the United States, Canada, and Mexico have to offer. NAFTA, that North American free trade agreement, is not a threat to Asia. It would not encourage the division of the world into trading blocs.

Instead, our increased growth can stimulate more trade with Asia. And we support efforts to build free trade agreements elsewhere, including among the ASEAN nations.

Consider your own experience. A regime of free trade has enabled Singapore to become one of the Four Tigers of Asia and one of the fastest developing nations on Earth. When other nations' economies falter, you suffer. The worldwide economic slowdown has slowed your rate of economic growth this year, although most nations would be overjoyed to settle for 6-percent growth. [Laughter] And I can speak for one. [Laughter] Singapore has one of the most open economies on Earth, and I appreciate Singapore's leadership on pressing for even greater market freedom around the world.

But we also need to consider the full import of economic development. An economy is the aggregate work, ingenuity, and optimism of a nation. The term "economy" encompasses what millions of people do with their lives. And therefore, when we talk about strengthening economies, about growth, about opportunity, we mean much more than signing trade pacts. We mean building better lives for our people.

Americans understand that no nation will prosper long without a first-rate educational system. And I've encouraged Americans to mount a revolution in education. We call it the America 2000 education strategy. America 2000 challenges our citizens to set high standards for their schools. It encourages all Americans to join forces in creating world-class schools. And meanwhile, we will continue to strengthen our university system, we

think the world's finest and the host today to over 200,000 students from Asia. Perhaps one may be a future Prime Minister. I am certain she'll be a good one. [Laughter] And our APEC educational partnership initiative is seeking to link these educational ties to our mutual economic interests.

Once we have given students basic skills, we must give them the freedom to make the most of the knowledge they have acquired. Tax cuts and deregulation in the 1980's helped unleash the greatest peacetime economic recovery in American history. And while in my country reducing the tax on capital gains is somewhat controversial politically, most of our competitors impose very low taxes on capital gains. Some, like Singapore, don't tax capital gains at all. We can learn from you. We can create a climate even more conducive to risk, to innovation, to the bold exploration of new technologies and ideas, and I'm confident that we will.

Beyond that, the nations of the world want to enjoy the blessings of growth without destroying the environment. And we need to achieve environmental protection without denying developing nations the opportunity to develop. The United States has environmental expertise and state-of-the-art environmental technology. The Asian nations have environmental challenges.

I am pleased to announce today that AID, the U.S. Trade Development Program, the Overseas Private Insurance [Investment] Corporation, OPIC, and our Ex-Im Bank have developed a creative approach in partnership with this region to better address the challenge of balancing the environmental protection with development. We hope we can coordinate our effort with those of other developed nations through various types of support, including U.S. equipment and technology. This will be good; it will be good for Asia's environment, good for American jobs.

In conclusion, the nations committed to democracy and free markets have brought the world to a new era, one that promises unprecedented freedom from violence and deprivation. But this world will not simply happen. It will require hard work, tough negotiation, sacrifice, and the courage of our

the counsels of defeatism and ignorance, we will build a better world, a world bound by common interests and goals.

Like you, Americans desperately want a world at peace, one in which no blood must be shed for the ideals we all share. So, we will maintain a vigorous security presence in order to prevent despots and tyrants from undermining the triumphs of freedom and democracy.

Like you, Americans want to live in a world enriched and enlivened by international trade in goods, in ideas, in cultures, and in dreams for the future. We want the opportunity to compete aggressively in the international marketplace. And at the same time our consumers want access to the best goods and services that your economies have to offer. We want to live in a world made better by the genius and achievement of every culture. So, we will advance the prospects for more open trade.

And like you, Americans want a world united and enlightened by freedom and justice, by political pluralism, by the universal commitment to individual liberty and prosperity. So, we will stand fast by our principles and remain confident, strong, and vigilant.

Since 1784, when an American trading ship, the *Empress of China*, sailed for Canton from New York, the United States has tried to build strong ties of commerce with Asia. We remain committed to that vision. And together, the United States and its Asian-Pacific allies can indeed build a world filled with economic tigers, nations growing rapidly, pioneering new intellectual, commercial, and cultural terrain, spreading the blessings of free markets, democracy, and peace. My trip through Asia this week marks a new start. The next step is up to all of us.

Thank you again. And may God bless you, the people of Singapore, people of the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Q. Ladies and gentlemen, we have a tight schedule, certain to squeeze out the question-and-answer session. We have a very few questions that the President has offered to meet. So, can I ask the questioners to be brief? Just State your name, and get

### Trading Blocs

Q. Mr. President, the economic interaction within the rope forging a single market between Canada, and Mexico moving toward an American free trade area, momentum in the 1990's. How, if we ensure that these trends toward inward-looking economic APEC as a body promote openness and counter the trends? Thank you.

The President. One, successful conclusion in. Therein lies the most important that can guarantee again. Secondly, accept my word North American free trade to contribute to dividing into blocs, into blocs that people's goods. That is not we are successful in the increase markets for America which has been economic help.

So, the first answer successful conclusion of. And the second answer that NAFTA, and I can see American participation there true of President Salinas. Brian Mulroney of Canada of having that free trade be a bloc to ASEAN about it. That isn't going

If I could think of a you. [Laughter] But that's got.

### U.S. Role in the Pacific

Q. Mr. President, countries in the Asia-Pacific see the U.S. continue economic and security role Pacific. But many are worried become the leader in competition especially in the Asia-Pacific region. How do you respond to this Japanese and stay in the competition Japan eventually become

George Bush, 1992

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**Trading Blocs**

**Q.** Mr. President, the trend in closer economic interaction within the region, with Europe forging a single market and the U.S., Canada, and Mexico moving towards a North American free trade area, all grow in momentum in the 1990's. How, in your opinion, can we ensure that these trends do not result in inward-looking economic blocs? How can APEC as a body promote greater economic openness and counter these inward-looking trends? Thank you.

**The President.** One, help us reach a successful conclusion in the GATT round. Therein lies the most important single step that can guarantee against trading blocs. Secondly, accept my word that nothing in the North American free trade agreement wants to contribute to dividing the world into trading blocs, into blocs that shut out other people's goods. That is not what it's about. If we are successful in the NAFTA, that will increase markets for Asian goods in South America which has been an area that needs economic help.

So, the first answer is, help with GATT, successful conclusion of the Uruguay round. And the second answer is, please understand that NAFTA, and I can only speak for American participation therein, and I'm sure it's true of President Salinas of Mexico and of Brian Mulroney of Canada, have no intention of having that free trade between ourselves be a bloc to ASEAN goods. Stop worrying about it. That isn't going to happen.

If I could think of a third reason, I'd tell you. [Laughter] But those are the two I've got.

**U.S. Role in the Pacific**

**Q.** Mr. President, I believe that most countries in the Asia-Pacific region want to see the U.S. continue to play a major economic and security role in the western Pacific. But many are worried that Japan may become the leader in the economic competition especially in trade and investments in the Asia-Pacific region. Will the U.S. respond to this Japanese economic challenge and stay in the competition? However, if Japan eventually becomes the preeminent investor and trader in the region, will the U.S.

remain engaged in the economies and the security of the region?

**The President.** Good question, and the answer is yes. We are, regardless of what happens, we are going to continue our cooperation in terms of security. That's a given. That's important. It's important, I think, to ASEAN. And I think it's very, very important to my country, the United States of America.

I'm not as gloomy as the question implied in terms of Japan dominating ASEAN. I would be worried about it if I thought that we would all acquiesce, including Singapore, in a bloc to offset Canada or to offset a perceived trading bloc in Europe. Then I would be concerned about that. But I don't think that is going to be the reality because we are going to forcefully, with our best we can offer in terms of economics and investment and two-way trade, stay involved in the area.

If you predicated it by saying the world will divide into three blocs, do we have any concern about domination from an economic superpower, which is Japan, I'd say you could have some concerns there. But that's not what I see as the reality. And I hope that in some way this trip contributes to the idea that we want to avoid blocs that shut people out and we want to open markets that cause people to come in.

And so, that is the way that I look at it right now. But we will stay engaged. I'm looking forward to the part of my trip that takes me to Japan. We have trade problems there. They're aware of it; we're going to talk to them. But it's not going to be exclusively on that. I'm interested, as you know, in creating jobs for Americans through fair trade, through access to markets, through matters of this nature. But we also have a wide array of other considerations that I will be discussing with the very able leaders of Japan. And it might well be that we will talk about the idea that we ought not to see this world divided up into regional blocs.

So, I'll do my best in that regard.

**Europe**

**Q.** It was with some irony that I read recently in the observation of Li Peng, Chinese Prime Minister, China's Prime Minister, that in fact, with events surrounding the dissolution of the ex-Soviet empire, events in

Yugoslavia, that in fact the single source of threat to your new world order is no longer security in Asia-Pacific but in fact Europe. Your comments, please.

**The President.** Mike, please elaborate. I didn't see the comment by Li Peng, and I need a little more of what he was talking about. Threat to Europe, in what sense?

**Q.** In the sense of the threat to the new world order that you referred to earlier, the theater of threat from a sort of geopolitical and military sense is no longer question marks over Asia-Pacific but more question marks over the European theater.

**The President.** Well, see, I wouldn't agree with the premise that in the past the concern wasn't about the Soviet Union, if that's what he was talking about. The major so-called "superpower confrontation" has been between the United States and the Soviet Union, Soviet Union with its satellites and the United States with its friends and allies. And now, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, we see that this doesn't exist. That major cold war security threat, if we handle things properly with the emergence of the Republics or this Commonwealth, should no longer concern us.

We're going to stay engaged with the Republics. We're going to stay engaged with the Commonwealth, helping in every way we can these now-fledgling democracies as they emerge and strengthen their independence. We want to see that there isn't a security threat from that part of the world.

I may be missing what he's getting at, but I just think we have to guard against unpredictability, and thus the security presence will remain in Asia. It may be different than it's been in the past. The whole makeup of the U.S. defenses has been changing, as you know, but we are going to retain, because of unforeseen circumstances and with the welcome of our friends in this area, a security presence here.

So, if the distinguished leader of China was implying that wasn't necessary anymore, fine. That's a good—and I'm confident that China is not seeking external hegemony. There was a time when everybody was much, much more concerned about that. But we'll be

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By that, I can't say that we think the only threats to worldwide security might emerge in this area; we don't. But we've had a Pacific presence, and we're going to continue to have a Pacific presence.

Still not sure I got to the point, but anyway, that's the answer.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. at the Westin Stamford Hotel in Singapore. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

### Remarks at a Breakfast With Korean and American Business Groups in Seoul

January 6, 1992

First, let me just thank our Korean business guests for taking time away from fantastically busy schedules to be with us today. I view this as an important meeting. I view this as a meeting where I undoubtedly will learn.

Secondly, I'd like to comment overall on our trip. A lot of this trip is about business and how we can do more, and thus creating opportunities in the United States, job opportunities; and similarly, if you believe as we do, and I'm sure everyone here does, of free trade, job opportunities here in Korea.

But in saying that, I wanted to also emphasize that I am not neglecting, because of this emphasis, my sincere concern about security considerations that bind us together, the cultural aspects, the scientific aspects that bind Korea and the United States together. So the trip is about a lot of things. But this breakfast, and obviously and properly, the focus is on business.

We watch in admiration the success of the companies that you all represent around here. We have with us a distinguished group of American businessmen who have taken a lot of time from their own busy lives to go with me. And I wondered at the beginning how all of this would be received by our foreign hosts. But in Australia and Singapore and then just a preliminary feeling here, I

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from the interch leaders from the only representativ many of them, a our leading busine So, they'll go back of how we further

I will say that I of the United St protection that a one's own econo one way to make resort to protectio to do that. But we I'm sure some of heck does this n commitment to fr I just want to assu committed. I th want that in spite tion.

I would like to person here, fro Korea, use whate your trading par where to get a s GATT round. Th vitally important should most be conclusion of that is important.

And the last pe some look at the agreement in Asi States worried round not finishi planning on form America and Sou on down past M

Let me tell al friends, that I d to acquiesce in trading blocs. Ar when successfull markets, force more prosperous ica. We're convi I am, and I think that a successfu

REVISED

THE SINGAPORE LECTURE  
WESTIN STAMFORD HOTEL  
JANUARY 4, 1991  
1 P.M.

12:50  
1:15  
28

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THE OLD WORLD OF SPLINTERED REGIONS AND IDEOLOGIES HAS BEGUN TO GIVE WAY TO A GLOBAL VILLAGE UNIVERSALLY COMMITTED TO THE VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY, AND FREE TRADE -- AND UNIVERSALLY OPPOSED TO TYRANNY AND AGGRESSION.

IF WE ARE TO REALIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES OF THIS NEW ERA, WE MUST ADDRESS THREE INTERTWINED CHALLENGES: THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF PEACE AND SECURITY, THE CHALLENGE OF PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, AND THE CHALLENGE OF GENERATING GREATER ECONOMIC GROWTH AND PROSPERITY AROUND THE WORLD.

CONSIDER FIRST THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE AND SECURITY. THE WORLD HAS LEARNED -- THROUGH TWO WORLD WARS, AND MOST RECENTLY, THROUGH SADDAM HUSSEIN'S NAKED AGGRESSION -- THAT THE DOGS OF WAR CAN BE UNLEASHED ANY TIME WOULD-BE AGGRESSORS DOUBT THE COMMITMENT OF THE POWERFUL TO THE SECURITY OF THE POWERLESS.

AS A NATION THAT STRADDLES TWO GREAT OCEANS -- A NATION TEMPERED BY PAINFUL WARTIME EXPERIENCE -- THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO ENGAGEMENT IN THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY AND THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION -- AND WE ARE UNALTERABLY OPPOSED TO ISOLATIONISM. THAT'S MY VOW TO YOU, AS LONG AS I AM PRESIDENT.

A QUARTER CENTURY AGO, MANY FEARED THAT FREE NATIONS WOULD FALL LIKE DOMINOES TO THE SUBVERSION OF COMMUNISM. NOW, WE CAN SAY WITH PRIDE AND A ROBUST SENSE OF IRONY THAT THE TOTALITARIAN POWERS -- THE POWERS THAT FOMENTED CONFLICT THE WORLD OVER -- HAVE BECOME THE DOMINOES OF THE 1990'S.

THIS END TO THE COLD WAR GIVES THE UNITED STATES AN OPPORTUNITY TO RESTRUCTURE ITS MILITARY. BUT I WANT TO ASSURE YOU AND ALL OF OUR MANY FRIENDS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, THAT THE CLOSING OF BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES WILL NOT SPELL THE END TO AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT. WE WILL MAINTAIN A VISIBLE, CREDIBLE PRESENCE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION WITH OUR FORWARD DEPLOYED FORCES, AND THROUGH BILATERAL DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WITH NATIONS OF THE REGION.

THAT IS WHY I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT THIS MORNING THE UNITED STATES HAS REACHED AGREEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SINGAPORE TO EXPLORE IN DETAIL HOW WE CAN TRANSFER A NAVAL LOGISTICS FACILITY FROM SUBIC BAY IN THE PHILLIPINES TO SINGAPORE IN THE NEXT YEAR. WE APPRECIATE SINGAPORE'S FAR-SIGHTED APPROACH TO THE SECURITY REQUIREMENTS OF A NEW ERA.

THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT MAINTAIN OUR SECURITY PRESENCE AS AN ACT OF CHARITY. YOUR SECURITY AND PROSPERITY SERVE OUR INTERESTS BECAUSE YOU CAN BETTER HELP BUILD A MORE STABLE, MORE PROSPEROUS WORLD. AN UNSTABLE ASIA BURDENED WITH REPRESSION DOES NOT SERVE OUR INTERESTS. NOR DOES AN ASIA MIRED IN POVERTY AND DESPAIR. WE NEED YOU AS FREE AND PRODUCTIVE AS YOU CAN BE, AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT OUR SECURITY PRESENCE CAN PROVIDE A FOUNDATION FOR OUR MUTUAL PROSPERITY AND SHARED DEFENSE.

BUT WE ALSO NEED YOUR SUPPORT IN ADDRESSING THE NEW THREATS OF THIS NEW ERA -- REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND WEAPONS PROLIFERATION. SO I AM PLEASED THAT THE ASEAN NATIONS ARE WORKING WITH US TO CRAFT NEW AND FLEXIBLE ARRANGEMENTS TO ENSURE THE COMMON DEFENSE. ACCESS AGREEMENTS AND INCREASED ASEAN-US DIALOGUE CAN HELP US WORK COOPERATIVELY TO PROMOTE STABILITY IN THIS REGION. BY WORKING COOPERATIVELY, WE BETTER SHARE THE SECURITY RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE POST-COLD WAR ERA.

STRONG, CREDIBLE SECURITY AGREEMENTS ENABLE US TO MEET THE SECOND CHALLENGE, THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY -- A CHALLENGE OF SHARED INTERESTS AND IDEALS.

AGAIN, ASEAN IS HELPING TO SPREAD POSITIVE POLITICAL CHANGE, IN WAYS THAT REFLECT THE VALUES, ASPIRATIONS, AND CULTURES OF THE NATIONS IN THIS REGION. ASEAN IS TRYING TO HELP THE FORMER COMMUNIST STATES IN INDOCHINA REINTEGRATE THEMSELVES IN A WORLD THAT RESPECTS FREE MARKETS AND FREE PEOPLE. THOSE EFFORTS ARE STARTING TO PRODUCE HOPEFUL RESULTS.

JUST A FEW WEEKS AGO AMERICAN DIPLOMATS ARRIVED IN PHNOM PENH FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 16 YEARS. WE OWE THAT BREAKTHROUGH TO YEARS OF EFFORT BY MANY NATIONS. BUT, THE CAMBODIAN PEACE ACCORD SIGNED BY SECRETARY BAKER IN PARIS LAST OCTOBER COULD NOT HAVE EXISTED WITHOUT THE HELP AND COOPERATION OF ASEAN. THIS HISTORIC AGREEMENT OFFERS THE VERY REAL HOPE OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION TO THE LONG-SUFFERING PEOPLE OF CAMBODIA. ADDITIONALLY, WHEN THE PARIS CONFERENCE AGREED ON A PEACE SETTLEMENT FOR CAMBODIA, MY GOVERNMENT OFFERED TO REMOVE OUR TRADE EMBARGO AS THE (UN)<sup>U.N.</sup> ADVANCE MISSION BEGAN TO IMPLEMENT THE SETTLEMENT. TODAY I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THE LIFTING OF THAT EMBARGO. WORKING WITH OTHERS, WE NEED TO TURN ATTENTION TO THE ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THAT DEEPLY WOUNDED LAND, SO ITS NEW POLITICAL RECONCILIATION HAS A HOME FROM WHICH TO GROW.

WE ARE NOW NORMALIZING OUR TIES WITH LAOS AND HAVE BEGUN TO MOVE WITH VIETNAM ALONG A PATH MARKED BY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS ACCORDS, AND FOR THE SAKE OF MANY, MANY AMERICAN FAMILIES, THE SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF OUR CONCERNS ABOUT POW/MIA'S.

THE KEY POINT IS THIS: AFTER BEING STRONG, DETERMINED, AND PATIENT, WE FINALLY CAN ENTERTAIN REALISTIC HOPES OF BUILDING LASTING TIES OF INTEREST AND AFFECTION WITH INDOCHINA. ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS ASEAN, WHICH PROMOTE SECURITY, MORE OPEN POLITICAL SYSTEMS, AND OPEN MARKETS, FORM THE BUILDING BLOCKS FOR WHAT I HAVE CALLED THE NEW WORLD ORDER.

THIS MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRACY LEADS US TO THE THIRD CHALLENGE FOR THE FUTURE, THE CHALLENGE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND BUILDING A WORLD OF OPEN AND FAIR TRADE.

EVERYONE AGREES THAT POLITICAL RIVALRY AND MILITARY ADVENTURISM THREATEN INTERNATIONAL STABILITY. BUT NO ONE SHOULD DOUBT THAT ECONOMIC ISOLATIONISM -- PROTECTIONISM -- CAN BE AT LEAST AS THREATENING TO WORLD ORDER. THE PROTECTIONIST WARS OF THE 1920'S AND 1930'S DEEPENED THE GREAT DEPRESSION, AND SET IN MOTION CONFLICTS THAT HASTENED THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

ON THE OTHER HAND, DURING THE PAST HALF CENTURY, ENGAGEMENT AND TRADE HAVE PRODUCED UNPRECEDENTED PEACE AND PROSPERITY -- HERE, IN SINGAPORE; THROUGHOUT FREE ASIA; IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS PROSPERITY ALSO HAS LED NATURALLY TO DEMOCRACY -- A FACT THAT ILLUSTRATES THE INDIVISIBLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

THE UNITED STATES WILL REMAIN ENGAGED ECONOMICALLY, ESPECIALLY IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. THE ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION HAS BECOME THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC DYNAMO. OUR TRADE WITH SINGAPORE HAS INCREASED TENFOLD DURING THE PAST 16 YEARS. WE NOW EXPORT MORE TO SINGAPORE THAN TO ITALY OR SPAIN; MORE TO INDONESIA THAN TO THE WHOLE OF EASTERN EUROPE. THE ECONOMIES HERE CONTINUE TO GROW AT AN ASTONISHING RATE, WHILE ENJOYING IMPRESSIVE INCOME EQUALITY AND GENERAL PROSPERITY.

THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, ALONG WITH OTHER NATIONS IN THE REGION, HELPED INITIATE THE ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROCESS TWO YEARS AGO. APEC OFFERS A POWERFUL VEHICLE FOR SUSTAINING FREE, MARKET-BASED TRADE, FOR ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF REGIONAL AND GLOBAL TRADE LIBERALIZATION, AND FOR STRENGTHENING THE COHESION AND INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION.

THIS IS IMPORTANT TO US. MOST OF AMERICA'S RECENT ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS COME FROM EXPORT INDUSTRIES. EACH BILLION DOLLARS' WORTH OF U.S. EXPORTS SUPPORT MANY THOUSANDS OF GOOD AMERICAN JOBS.

A DELEGATION OF EXECUTIVES FROM MAJOR AMERICAN BUSINESSES -- FROM THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY TO COMPUTER AND ELECTRONICS FIRMS, TO FOOD AND ENERGY COMPANIES -- HAS JOINED ME IN ORDER TO EXPRESS OUR NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO FREE AND FAIR TRADE. OUR EXECUTIVES WILL LEARN MORE ABOUT OPPORTUNITIES HERE, AND THEY WILL ALSO WORK TO HELP OTHER FIRMS COMPETE FAIRLY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

WITH US TODAY ARE THE AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TO THE ASEAN COUNTRIES. THEY WILL BE RETURNING TO THE UNITED STATES SOON TO TELL AMERICAN BUSINESSES THERE ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT EXIST HERE IN ASEAN.

THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO ESTABLISH AN ECONOMIC OPERATING FRAMEWORK TO FACILITATE AND ENCOURAGE THESE TIES. THIS PAST OCTOBER WE AGREED TO A NEW TRADE AND INVESTMENT FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT WITH SINGAPORE. I PROPOSE THAT WE COMPLEMENT THAT AGREEMENT BY NEGOTIATING A BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY. WHEN COMBINED WITH OUR GLOBAL EFFORTS THROUGH GATT, AND OUR REGIONAL INITIATIVES THROUGH APEC, THIS COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH CAN ENABLE US TO MEET THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF THE POST-COLD WAR ERA.

AMERICANS BELIEVE IN FREE AND OPEN TRADE. NATIONS CAN ACHIEVE ASTONISHING LEVELS OF PROSPERITY WHEN THEY EMBRACE THE CHALLENGE OF THE MARKETPLACE.

THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE CAN PLAY AN ESPECIALLY CRUCIAL ROLE IN EXPANDING FREEDOM'S ECONOMIC FRONTIERS. THAT'S WHY ON EACH STOP OF THIS TRIP I'M CALLING FOR URGENT ACTION ON BEHALF OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM. I AM URGING THE WORLD'S TRADING NATIONS TO JOIN WITH US IN MAKING GATT DIRECTOR DUNKEL'S PROPOSED DRAFT AGREEMENT THE BASIS FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE URUGUAY ROUND. WHILE ALL OF US HAVE PROBLEMS WITH PORTIONS OF THAT DRAFT, NONE OF US CAN AFFORD TO LET THE PROGRESS IT REPRESENTS SLIP AWAY. NOW IS THE MOMENT FOR A STRONG COLLECTIVE RESPONSE. I PARTICULARLY URGE THE DYNAMIC TRADING NATIONS OF THIS REGION TO HELP US TO CONVINCING ALL GATT PARTICIPANTS TO BUILD THE MOMENTUM TO ACHIEVE THIS AGREEMENT. A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THE URUGUAY ROUND CAN PREPARE THE WAY FOR EVEN GREATER TRADE LIBERALIZATION IN YEARS TO COME -- AND GREATER PROSPERITY FOR EVERYONE.

GATT ENSURES THAT THE WORLD WILL CONTINUE MOVING TOWARD BROAD ECONOMIC INTEGRATION -- AND NOT TOWARD TRADE BLOCS. I DON'T HAVE TO POINT OUT TO AN AUDIENCE IN SINGAPORE THAT THERE'S A HUGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A FREE TRADE ZONE -- AN OASIS OF FREE TRADE -- AND A TRADE BLOC THAT ATTEMPTS TO HOLD THE REST OF THE WORLD AT BAY. WE RESOLUTELY OPPOSE EFFORTS TO CREATE ECONOMIC "FORTRESSES" -- ANYWHERE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WE WHOLEHEARTEDLY ENDORSE FREE-TRADE AGREEMENTS. OUR NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WILL BECKON ALL NATIONS TO MAKE THE BEST OF THE RESOURCES AND OPPORTUNITIES THAT THE UNITED STATES, CANADA AND MEXICO HAVE TO OFFER. NAFTA IS NOT A THREAT TO ASIA. IT WOULD NOT ENCOURAGE THE DIVISION OF THE WORLD INTO TRADING BLOCS. INSTEAD, OUR INCREASED GROWTH CAN STIMULATE MORE TRADE WITH ASIA. AND WE SUPPORT EFFORTS TO BUILD FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS ELSEWHERE, INCLUDING AMONG THE ASEAN NATIONS.


CONSIDER YOUR OWN EXPERIENCE. A REGIME OF FREE TRADE HAS ENABLED SINGAPORE TO BECOME ONE OF THE FOUR TIGERS OF ASIA, AND ONE OF THE FASTEST DEVELOPING NATIONS ON EARTH. WHEN OTHER NATIONS' ECONOMIES FALTER, YOU SUFFER. THE WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN HAS SLOWED YOUR RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH THIS YEAR -- ALTHOUGH MOST NATIONS WOULD BE OVERJOYED TO SETTLE FOR SIX-PERCENT GROWTH. SINGAPORE HAS ONE OF THE MOST OPEN ECONOMIES ON EARTH, AND I APPRECIATE SINGAPORE'S LEADERSHIP IN PRESSING FOR EVEN GREATER MARKET FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD.

BUT WE ALSO NEED TO CONSIDER THE FULL IMPORT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. AN ECONOMY IS THE AGGREGATE OF WORK, INGENUITY AND OPTIMISM OF A NATION. THE TERM "ECONOMY" ENCOMPASSES WHAT MILLIONS OF PEOPLE DO WITH THEIR LIVES. THEREFORE, WHEN WE TALK ABOUT STRENGTHENING ECONOMIES, ABOUT GROWTH, ABOUT OPPORTUNITY, WE MEAN MUCH MORE THAN SIGNING TRADE PACTS. WE MEAN BUILDING BETTER LIVES FOR OUR PEOPLE.


AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THAT NO NATION WILL PROSPER LONG WITHOUT A FIRST-RATE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. I HAVE ENCOURAGED AMERICANS TO MOUNT A REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION, WHICH WE CALL THE AMERICA 2000 EDUCATION STRATEGY. AMERICA 2000 CHALLENGES CITIZENS TO SET HIGH STANDARDS FOR THEIR SCHOOLS, AND IT ENCOURAGES ALL AMERICANS TO JOIN FORCES IN CREATING WORLD-CLASS SCHOOLS. MEANWHILE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN OUR UNIVERSITY SYSTEM, THE WORLD'S FINEST -- AND THE HOST TODAY TO OVER 200,000 STUDENTS FROM ASIA. PERHAPS ONE MAY BE A FUTURE PRIME MINISTER. [[ I AM CERTAIN SHE WILL BE A GOOD ONE. ]] AND OUR APEC EDUCATIONAL PARTNERSHIP INITIATIVE IS SEEKING TO LINK THESE EDUCATIONAL TIES TO OUR MUTUAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

ONCE WE HAVE GIVEN STUDENTS BASIC SKILLS, WE MUST GIVE THEM THE FREEDOM TO MAKE THE MOST OF THE KNOWLEDGE THEY HAVE ACQUIRED. TAX CUTS AND DEREGULATION IN THE 1980'S HELPED UNLEASH THE GREATEST PEACETIME ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN AMERICAN HISTORY. WHILE IN MY COUNTRY REDUCING THE TAX ON CAPITAL GAINS IS CONTROVERSIAL, MOST OF OUR COMPETITORS IMPOSE VERY LOW TAXES ON CAPITAL GAINS. SOME, LIKE SINGAPORE, DON'T TAX CAPITAL GAINS AT ALL. WE CAN LEARN FROM YOU -- WE CAN CREATE A CLIMATE EVEN MORE CONDUCIVE TO RISK, TO INNOVATION, TO THE BOLD EXPLORATION OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND IDEAS -- AND I'M CONFIDENT THAT WE WILL.

BEYOND THAT, THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WANT TO ENJOY THE BLESSINGS OF GROWTH WITHOUT DESTROYING THE ENVIRONMENT. YET WE NEED TO ACHIEVE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION WITHOUT DENYING DEVELOPING NATIONS THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP. THE UNITED STATES HAS ENVIRONMENTAL EXPERTISE AND STATE-OF-THE-ART ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGY. THE ASIAN NATIONS HAVE ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES.



I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TODAY THAT A.I.D., THE U.S. TRADE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INSURANCE CORPORATION, AND OUR EXIMBANK HAVE DEVELOPED A CREATIVE APPROACH IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THIS REGION TO BETTER ADDRESS THE CHALLENGE OF BALANCING ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION WITH DEVELOPMENT. WE HOPE WE CAN COORDINATE OUR EFFORT WITH THOSE OF OTHER DEVELOPED NATIONS, THROUGH VARIOUS TYPES OF SUPPORT, INCLUDING U.S. EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY. THIS WILL BE GOOD FOR ASIA'S ENVIRONMENT AND GOOD FOR AMERICAN JOBS.



IN CONCLUSION, THE NATIONS COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS HAVE BROUGHT THE WORLD TO A NEW ERA, ONE THAT PROMISES UNPRECEDENTED FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND DEPRIVATION. BUT THIS WORLD WILL NOT SIMPLY HAPPEN. IT WILL REQUIRE HARD WORK, TOUGH NEGOTIATION, SACRIFICE, AND THE COURAGE OF OUR CONVICTIONS. IF WE CAST OUR LOT WITH THE FORCES OF ENLIGHTENMENT AND FREEDOM OVER THE COUNSELS OF DEFEATISM AND IGNORANCE, WE WILL BUILD A BETTER WORLD -- A WORLD BOUND BY COMMON INTERESTS AND GOALS.

LIKE YOU, AMERICANS WANT A WORLD AT PEACE, ONE IN WHICH NO BLOOD MUST BE SHED FOR THE IDEALS WE ALL SHARE. SO WE WILL MAINTAIN A VIGOROUS SECURITY PRESENCE IN ORDER TO PREVENT DESPOTS AND TYRANTS FROM UNDERMINING THE TRIUMPHS OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

LIKE YOU, AMERICANS WANT TO LIVE IN A WORLD ENRICHED AND ENLIVENED BY INTERNATIONAL TRADE -- IN GOODS, IN IDEAS, IN CULTURES, AND IN DREAMS FOR THE FUTURE. WE WANT THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMPETE AGGRESSIVELY IN THE INTERNATIONAL MARKETPLACE. AND AT THE SAME TIME OUR CONSUMERS WANT ACCESS TO THE BEST GOODS AND SERVICES THAT YOUR ECONOMIES HAVE TO OFFER. WE WANT TO LIVE IN A WORLD MADE BETTER BY THE GENIUS AND ACHIEVEMENT OF EVERY CULTURE. SO WE WILL ADVANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR MORE OPEN TRADE.

AND LIKE YOU, AMERICANS WANT A WORLD UNITED AND ENLIGHTENED BY FREEDOM AND JUSTICE, BY POLITICAL PLURALISM, AND BY THE UNIVERSAL COMMITMENT TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND PROSPERITY. SO WE WILL STAND FAST BY OUR PRINCIPLES -- AND REMAIN CONFIDENT, STRONG, AND VIGILANT.

SINCE 1784, WHEN AN AMERICAN TRADING SHIP, THE EMPRESS OF CHINA, SAILED FOR CANTON FROM NEW YORK, THE UNITED STATES HAS TRIED TO BUILD STRONG TIES OF COMMERCE WITH ASIA. WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO THAT VISION.

TOGETHER, THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ASIAN-PACIFIC ALLIES CAN BUILD A WORLD FILLED WITH ECONOMIC TIGERS -- NATIONS GROWING RAPIDLY; PIONEERING NEW INTELLECTUAL, COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL TERRAIN; SPREADING THE BLESSINGS OF FREE MARKETS, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE. MY TRIP THROUGH ASIA THIS WEEK MARKS A NEW START. THE NEXT STEP IS UP TO US ALL.

THANK YOU AGAIN. MAY GOD BLESS YOU AND THE UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA.

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~~KL Sandhu,~~  
Prof.

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Newton Avenue  
Road

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THE OLD WORLD OF SPLINTERED REGIONS AND IDEOLOGIES HAS BEGUN TO GIVE WAY TO A GLOBAL VILLAGE UNIVERSALLY COMMITTED TO THE VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY, AND FREE TRADE -- AND UNIVERSALLY OPPOSED TO TYRANNY AND AGGRESSION.

IF WE ARE TO REALIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES OF THIS NEW ERA, WE MUST ADDRESS THREE INTERTWINED CHALLENGES: THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF PEACE AND SECURITY, THE CHALLENGE OF PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, AND THE CHALLENGE OF GENERATING GREATER ECONOMIC GROWTH AND PROSPERITY AROUND THE WORLD.

CONSIDER FIRST THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE AND SECURITY. THE WORLD HAS LEARNED -- THROUGH TWO WORLD WARS, AND MOST RECENTLY, THROUGH SADDAM HUSSEIN'S NAKED AGGRESSION -- THAT THE DOGS OF WAR CAN BE UNLEASHED ANY TIME WOULD-BE AGGRESSORS DOUBT THE COMMITMENT OF THE POWERFUL TO THE SECURITY OF THE POWERLESS.

AS A NATION THAT STRADDLES TWO GREAT OCEANS -- A NATION TEMPERED BY PAINFUL WARTIME EXPERIENCE -- THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO ENGAGEMENT IN THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY AND THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION -- AND WE ARE UNALTERABLY OPPOSED TO ISOLATIONISM. THAT'S MY VOW TO YOU, AS LONG AS I AM PRESIDENT.

A QUARTER CENTURY AGO, MANY FEARED THAT FREE NATIONS WOULD FALL LIKE DOMINOES TO THE SUBVERSION OF COMMUNISM. NOW, WE CAN SAY WITH PRIDE AND A ROBUST SENSE OF IRONY THAT THE TOTALITARIAN POWERS -- THE POWERS THAT FOMENTED CONFLICT THE WORLD OVER -- HAVE BECOME THE DOMINOES OF THE 1990'S.

THIS END TO THE COLD WAR GIVES THE UNITED STATES AN OPPORTUNITY TO RESTRUCTURE ITS MILITARY. BUT I WANT TO ASSURE YOU AND ALL OF OUR MANY FRIENDS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, THAT THE CLOSING OF BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES WILL NOT SPELL THE END TO AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT. WE WILL MAINTAIN A VISIBLE, CREDIBLE PRESENCE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION WITH OUR FORWARD DEPLOYED FORCES, AND THROUGH BILATERAL DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WITH NATIONS OF THE REGION.

THAT IS WHY I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT THIS MORNING THE UNITED STATES HAS REACHED AGREEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SINGAPORE TO EXPLORE IN DETAIL HOW WE CAN TRANSFER A NAVAL LOGISTICS FACILITY FROM SUBIC BAY IN THE PHILLIPINES TO SINGAPORE IN THE NEXT YEAR. WE APPRECIATE SINGAPORE'S FAR-SIGHTED APPROACH TO THE SECURITY REQUIREMENTS OF A NEW ERA.

THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT MAINTAIN OUR SECURITY PRESENCE AS AN ACT OF CHARITY. YOUR SECURITY AND PROSPERITY SERVE OUR INTERESTS BECAUSE YOU CAN BETTER HELP BUILD A MORE STABLE, MORE PROSPEROUS WORLD. AN UNSTABLE ASIA BURDENED WITH REPRESSION DOES NOT SERVE OUR INTERESTS. NOR DOES AN ASIA MIRED IN POVERTY AND DESPAIR. WE NEED YOU AS FREE AND PRODUCTIVE AS YOU CAN BE, AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT OUR SECURITY PRESENCE CAN PROVIDE A FOUNDATION FOR OUR MUTUAL PROSPERITY AND SHARED DEFENSE.

BUT WE ALSO NEED YOUR SUPPORT IN ADDRESSING THE NEW THREATS OF THIS NEW ERA -- REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND WEAPONS PROLIFERATION. SO I AM PLEASED THAT THE ASEAN NATIONS ARE WORKING WITH US TO CRAFT NEW AND FLEXIBLE ARRANGEMENTS TO ENSURE THE COMMON DEFENSE. ACCESS AGREEMENTS AND INCREASED ASEAN-US DIALOGUE CAN HELP US WORK COOPERATIVELY TO PROMOTE STABILITY IN THIS REGION. BY WORKING COOPERATIVELY, WE BETTER SHARE THE SECURITY RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE POST-COLD WAR ERA.

STRONG, CREDIBLE SECURITY AGREEMENTS ENABLE US TO MEET THE SECOND CHALLENGE, THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY -- A CHALLENGE OF SHARED INTERESTS AND IDEALS.

AGAIN, ASEAN IS HELPING TO SPREAD POSITIVE POLITICAL CHANGE, IN WAYS THAT REFLECT THE VALUES, ASPIRATIONS, AND CULTURES OF THE NATIONS IN THIS REGION. ASEAN IS TRYING TO HELP THE FORMER COMMUNIST STATES IN INDOCHINA REINTEGRATE THEMSELVES IN A WORLD THAT RESPECTS FREE MARKETS AND FREE PEOPLE. THOSE EFFORTS ARE STARTING TO PRODUCE HOPEFUL RESULTS.

JUST A FEW WEEKS AGO AMERICAN DIPLOMATS ARRIVED IN PHNOM PENH FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 16 YEARS. WE OWE THAT BREAKTHROUGH TO YEARS OF EFFORT BY MANY NATIONS. BUT, THE CAMBODIAN PEACE ACCORD SIGNED BY SECRETARY BAKER IN PARIS LAST OCTOBER COULD NOT HAVE EXISTED WITHOUT THE HELP AND COOPERATION OF ASEAN. THIS HISTORIC AGREEMENT OFFERS THE VERY REAL HOPE OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION TO THE LONG-SUFFERING PEOPLE OF CAMBODIA. ADDITIONALLY, WHEN THE PARIS CONFERENCE AGREED ON A PEACE SETTLEMENT FOR CAMBODIA, MY GOVERNMENT OFFERED TO REMOVE OUR TRADE EMBARGO AS THE UN ADVANCE MISSION BEGAN TO IMPLEMENT THE SETTLEMENT. TODAY I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THE LIFTING OF THAT EMBARGO. WORKING WITH OTHERS, WE NEED TO TURN ATTENTION TO THE ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THAT DEEPLY WOUNDED LAND, SO ITS NEW POLITICAL RECONCILIATION HAS A HOME FROM WHICH TO GROW.

WE ARE NOW NORMALIZING OUR TIES WITH LAOS AND HAVE BEGUN TO MOVE WITH VIETNAM ALONG A PATH MARKED BY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS ACCORDS, AND FOR THE SAKE OF MANY, MANY AMERICAN FAMILIES, THE SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF OUR CONCERNS ABOUT POW/MIA'S.

THE KEY POINT IS THIS: AFTER BEING STRONG, DETERMINED, AND PATIENT, WE FINALLY CAN ENTERTAIN REALISTIC HOPES OF BUILDING LASTING TIES OF INTEREST AND AFFECTION WITH INDOCHINA. ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS ASEAN, WHICH PROMOTE SECURITY, MORE OPEN POLITICAL SYSTEMS, AND OPEN MARKETS, FORM THE BUILDING BLOCKS FOR WHAT I HAVE CALLED THE NEW WORLD ORDER.

THIS MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRACY LEADS US TO THE THIRD CHALLENGE FOR THE FUTURE, THE CHALLENGE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND BUILDING A WORLD OF OPEN AND FAIR TRADE.

EVERYONE AGREES THAT POLITICAL RIVALRY AND MILITARY ADVENTURISM THREATEN INTERNATIONAL STABILITY. BUT NO ONE SHOULD DOUBT THAT ECONOMIC ISOLATIONISM -- PROTECTIONISM -- CAN BE AT LEAST AS THREATENING TO WORLD ORDER. THE PROTECTIONIST WARS OF THE 1920'S AND 1930'S DEEPENED THE GREAT DEPRESSION, AND SET IN MOTION CONFLICTS THAT HASTENED THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

ON THE OTHER HAND, DURING THE PAST HALF CENTURY, ENGAGEMENT AND TRADE HAVE PRODUCED UNPRECEDENTED PEACE AND PROSPERITY -- HERE, IN SINGAPORE; THROUGHOUT FREE ASIA; IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS PROSPERITY ALSO HAS LED NATURALLY TO DEMOCRACY -- A FACT THAT ILLUSTRATES THE INDIVISIBLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

THE UNITED STATES WILL REMAIN ENGAGED ECONOMICALLY, ESPECIALLY IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. THE ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION HAS BECOME THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC DYNAMO. OUR TRADE WITH SINGAPORE HAS INCREASED TENFOLD DURING THE PAST 16 YEARS. WE NOW EXPORT MORE TO SINGAPORE THAN TO ITALY OR SPAIN; MORE TO INDONESIA THAN TO THE WHOLE OF EASTERN EUROPE. THE ECONOMIES HERE CONTINUE TO GROW AT AN ASTONISHING RATE, WHILE ENJOYING IMPRESSIVE INCOME EQUALITY AND GENERAL PROSPERITY.

THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, ALONG WITH OTHER NATIONS IN THE REGION, HELPED INITIATE THE ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROCESS TWO YEARS AGO. APEC OFFERS A POWERFUL VEHICLE FOR SUSTAINING FREE, MARKET-BASED TRADE, FOR ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF REGIONAL AND GLOBAL TRADE LIBERALIZATION, AND FOR STRENGTHENING THE COHESION AND INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION.

THIS IS IMPORTANT TO US. MOST OF AMERICA'S RECENT ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS COME FROM EXPORT INDUSTRIES. EACH BILLION DOLLARS' WORTH OF U.S. EXPORTS SUPPORT MANY THOUSANDS OF GOOD AMERICAN JOBS.

A DELEGATION OF EXECUTIVES FROM MAJOR AMERICAN BUSINESSES -- FROM THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY TO COMPUTER AND ELECTRONICS FIRMS, TO FOOD AND ENERGY COMPANIES -- HAS JOINED ME IN ORDER TO EXPRESS OUR NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO FREE AND FAIR TRADE. OUR EXECUTIVES WILL LEARN MORE ABOUT OPPORTUNITIES HERE, AND THEY WILL ALSO WORK TO HELP OTHER FIRMS COMPETE FAIRLY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

WITH US TODAY ARE THE AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TO THE ASEAN COUNTRIES. THEY WILL BE RETURNING TO THE UNITED STATES SOON TO TELL AMERICAN BUSINESSES THERE ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT EXIST HERE IN ASEAN.

THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO ESTABLISH AN ECONOMIC OPERATING FRAMEWORK TO FACILITATE AND ENCOURAGE THESE TIES. THIS PAST OCTOBER WE AGREED TO A NEW TRADE AND INVESTMENT FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT WITH SINGAPORE. I PROPOSE THAT WE COMPLEMENT THAT AGREEMENT BY NEGOTIATING A BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY. WHEN COMBINED WITH OUR GLOBAL EFFORTS THROUGH GATT, AND OUR REGIONAL INITIATIVES THROUGH APEC, THIS COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH CAN ENABLE US TO MEET THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF THE POST-COLD WAR ERA.

AMERICANS BELIEVE IN FREE AND OPEN TRADE. NATIONS CAN ACHIEVE ASTONISHING LEVELS OF PROSPERITY WHEN THEY EMBRACE THE CHALLENGE OF THE MARKETPLACE.

THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE CAN PLAY AN ESPECIALLY CRUCIAL ROLE IN EXPANDING FREEDOM'S ECONOMIC FRONTIERS. THAT'S WHY ON EACH STOP OF THIS TRIP I'M CALLING FOR URGENT ACTION ON BEHALF OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM. I AM URGING THE WORLD'S TRADING NATIONS TO JOIN WITH US IN MAKING GATT DIRECTOR DUNKEL'S PROPOSED DRAFT AGREEMENT THE BASIS FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE URUGUAY ROUND. WHILE ALL OF US HAVE PROBLEMS WITH PORTIONS OF THAT DRAFT, NONE OF US CAN AFFORD TO LET THE PROGRESS IT REPRESENTS SLIP AWAY. NOW IS THE MOMENT FOR A STRONG COLLECTIVE RESPONSE. I PARTICULARLY URGE THE DYNAMIC TRADING NATIONS OF THIS REGION TO HELP US TO CONVINCING ALL GATT PARTICIPANTS TO BUILD THE MOMENTUM TO ACHIEVE THIS AGREEMENT. A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THE URUGUAY ROUND CAN PREPARE THE WAY FOR EVEN GREATER TRADE LIBERALIZATION IN YEARS TO COME -- AND GREATER PROSPERITY FOR EVERYONE.

GATT ENSURES THAT THE WORLD WILL CONTINUE MOVING TOWARD BROAD ECONOMIC INTEGRATION -- AND NOT TOWARD TRADE BLOCS. I DON'T HAVE TO POINT OUT TO AN AUDIENCE IN SINGAPORE THAT THERE'S A HUGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A FREE TRADE ZONE -- AN OASIS OF FREE TRADE -- AND A TRADE BLOC THAT ATTEMPTS TO HOLD THE REST OF THE WORLD AT BAY. WE RESOLUTELY OPPOSE EFFORTS TO CREATE ECONOMIC "FORTRESSES" -- ANYWHERE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WE WHOLEHEARTEDLY ENDORSE FREE-TRADE AGREEMENTS. OUR NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WILL BECKON ALL NATIONS TO MAKE THE BEST OF THE RESOURCES AND OPPORTUNITIES THAT THE UNITED STATES, CANADA AND MEXICO HAVE TO OFFER. NAFTA IS NOT A THREAT TO ASIA. IT WOULD NOT ENCOURAGE THE DIVISION OF THE WORLD INTO TRADING BLOCS. INSTEAD, OUR INCREASED GROWTH CAN STIMULATE MORE TRADE WITH ASIA. AND WE SUPPORT EFFORTS TO BUILD FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS ELSEWHERE, INCLUDING AMONG THE ASEAN NATIONS.

CONSIDER YOUR OWN EXPERIENCE. A REGIME OF FREE TRADE HAS ENABLED SINGAPORE TO BECOME ONE OF THE FOUR TIGERS OF ASIA, AND ONE OF THE FASTEST DEVELOPING NATIONS ON EARTH. WHEN OTHER NATIONS' ECONOMIES FALTER, YOU SUFFER. THE WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN HAS SLOWED YOUR RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH THIS YEAR -- ALTHOUGH MOST NATIONS WOULD BE OVERJOYED TO SETTLE FOR SIX-PERCENT GROWTH. SINGAPORE HAS ONE OF THE MOST OPEN ECONOMIES ON EARTH, AND I APPRECIATE SINGAPORE'S LEADERSHIP IN PRESSING FOR EVEN GREATER MARKET FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD.

BUT WE ALSO NEED TO CONSIDER THE FULL IMPORT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. AN ECONOMY IS THE AGGREGATE OF WORK, INGENUITY AND OPTIMISM OF A NATION. THE TERM "ECONOMY" ENCOMPASSES WHAT MILLIONS OF PEOPLE DO WITH THEIR LIVES. THEREFORE, WHEN WE TALK ABOUT STRENGTHENING ECONOMIES, ABOUT GROWTH, ABOUT OPPORTUNITY, WE MEAN MUCH MORE THAN SIGNING TRADE PACTS. WE MEAN BUILDING BETTER LIVES FOR OUR PEOPLE.

AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THAT NO NATION WILL PROSPER LONG WITHOUT A FIRST-RATE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. I HAVE ENCOURAGED AMERICANS TO MOUNT A REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION, WHICH WE CALL THE AMERICA 2000 EDUCATION STRATEGY. AMERICA 2000 CHALLENGES CITIZENS TO SET HIGH STANDARDS FOR THEIR SCHOOLS, AND IT ENCOURAGES ALL AMERICANS TO JOIN FORCES IN CREATING WORLD-CLASS SCHOOLS. MEANWHILE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN OUR UNIVERSITY SYSTEM, THE WORLD'S FINEST -- AND THE HOST TODAY TO OVER 200,000 STUDENTS FROM ASIA. PERHAPS ONE MAY BE A FUTURE PRIME MINISTER. [[ I AM CERTAIN SHE WILL BE A GOOD ONE. ]] AND OUR APEC EDUCATIONAL PARTNERSHIP INITIATIVE IS SEEKING TO LINK THESE EDUCATIONAL TIES TO OUR MUTUAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

ONCE WE HAVE GIVEN STUDENTS BASIC SKILLS, WE MUST GIVE THEM THE FREEDOM TO MAKE THE MOST OF THE KNOWLEDGE THEY HAVE ACQUIRED. TAX CUTS AND DEREGULATION IN THE 1980'S HELPED UNLEASH THE GREATEST PEACETIME ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN AMERICAN HISTORY. WHILE IN MY COUNTRY REDUCING THE TAX ON CAPITAL GAINS IS CONTROVERSIAL, MOST OF OUR COMPETITORS IMPOSE VERY LOW TAXES ON CAPITAL GAINS. SOME, LIKE SINGAPORE, DON'T TAX CAPITAL GAINS AT ALL. WE CAN LEARN FROM YOU -- WE CAN CREATE A CLIMATE EVEN MORE CONDUCIVE TO RISK, TO INNOVATION, TO THE BOLD EXPLORATION OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND IDEAS -- AND I'M CONFIDENT THAT WE WILL.

BEYOND THAT, THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WANT TO ENJOY THE BLESSINGS OF GROWTH WITHOUT DESTROYING THE ENVIRONMENT. YET WE NEED TO ACHIEVE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION WITHOUT DENYING DEVELOPING NATIONS THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP. THE UNITED STATES HAS ENVIRONMENTAL EXPERTISE AND STATE-OF-THE-ART ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGY. THE ASIAN NATIONS HAVE ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES.

I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TODAY THAT A.I.D., THE U.S. TRADE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INSURANCE CORPORATION, AND OUR EXIMBANK HAVE DEVELOPED A CREATIVE APPROACH IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THIS REGION TO BETTER ADDRESS THE CHALLENGE OF BALANCING ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION WITH DEVELOPMENT. WE HOPE WE CAN COORDINATE OUR EFFORT WITH THOSE OF OTHER DEVELOPED NATIONS, THROUGH VARIOUS TYPES OF SUPPORT, INCLUDING U.S. EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY. THIS WILL BE GOOD FOR ASIA'S ENVIRONMENT AND GOOD FOR AMERICAN JOBS.

IN CONCLUSION, THE NATIONS COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS HAVE BROUGHT THE WORLD TO A NEW ERA, ONE THAT PROMISES UNPRECEDENTED FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND DEPRIVATION. BUT THIS WORLD WILL NOT SIMPLY HAPPEN. IT WILL REQUIRE HARD WORK, TOUGH NEGOTIATION, SACRIFICE, AND THE COURAGE OF OUR CONVICTIONS. IF WE CAST OUR LOT WITH THE FORCES OF ENLIGHTENMENT AND FREEDOM OVER THE COUNSELS OF DEFEATISM AND IGNORANCE, WE WILL BUILD A BETTER WORLD -- A WORLD BOUND BY COMMON INTERESTS AND GOALS.

LIKE YOU, AMERICANS WANT A WORLD AT PEACE, ONE IN WHICH NO BLOOD MUST BE SHED FOR THE IDEALS WE ALL SHARE. SO WE WILL MAINTAIN A VIGOROUS SECURITY PRESENCE IN ORDER TO PREVENT DESPOTS AND TYRANTS FROM UNDERMINING THE TRIUMPHS OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

LIKE YOU, AMERICANS WANT TO LIVE IN A WORLD ENRICHED AND ENLIVENED BY INTERNATIONAL TRADE -- IN GOODS, IN IDEAS, IN CULTURES, AND IN DREAMS FOR THE FUTURE. WE WANT THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMPETE AGGRESSIVELY IN THE INTERNATIONAL MARKETPLACE. AND AT THE SAME TIME OUR CONSUMERS WANT ACCESS TO THE BEST GOODS AND SERVICES THAT YOUR ECONOMIES HAVE TO OFFER. WE WANT TO LIVE IN A WORLD MADE BETTER BY THE GENIUS AND ACHIEVEMENT OF EVERY CULTURE. SO WE WILL ADVANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR MORE OPEN TRADE.

AND LIKE YOU, AMERICANS WANT A WORLD UNITED AND ENLIGHTENED BY FREEDOM AND JUSTICE, BY POLITICAL PLURALISM, AND BY THE UNIVERSAL COMMITMENT TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND PROSPERITY. SO WE WILL STAND FAST BY OUR PRINCIPLES -- AND REMAIN CONFIDENT, STRONG, AND VIGILANT.

SINCE 1784, WHEN AN AMERICAN TRADING SHIP, THE EMPRESS OF CHINA, SAILED FOR CANTON FROM NEW YORK, THE UNITED STATES HAS TRIED TO BUILD STRONG TIES OF COMMERCE WITH ASIA. WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO THAT VISION.

TOGETHER, THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ASIAN-PACIFIC ALLIES CAN BUILD A WORLD FILLED WITH ECONOMIC TIGERS -- NATIONS GROWING RAPIDLY; PIONEERING NEW INTELLECTUAL, COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL TERRAIN; SPREADING THE BLESSINGS OF FREE MARKETS, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE. MY TRIP THROUGH ASIA THIS WEEK MARKS A NEW START. THE NEXT STEP IS UP TO US ALL.

THANK YOU AGAIN. MAY GOD BLESS YOU AND THE UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA.

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SNOW/NIX  
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December 27, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE SINGAPORE LECTURE  
SINGAPORE WESTIN HOTEL  
JANUARY 4, 1991  
1 P.M.

Prime Minister Goh, Senior Minister Lee, thank you for that very kind introduction. Let me take this opportunity to say a few words about these two gentlemen.

Minister Lee, a quarter century ago, you led this small island of cultural and ethnic diversity, of limited physical resources, to independence. Then, through your vision and your force of intellect and will, you forged Singapore's nationhood. You stood courageously in a life and death struggle against the communists -- and you prevailed. You led your nation and your region in the quest for peace and prosperity. Future generations will honor the name of Lee Kwan Yew. And as you know well from your visits to my home in Kennebunkport, I am pleased to know you as a friend.

Prime Minister Goh, I salute you for your wisdom and your vigor in carrying Singapore forward on its path to the future. I pledge America's steadfast friendship as you lead Singapore in facing the challenges of the coming generation. And I am also pleased that you, like many of your countrymen, came to my country for part of your education. These, too, are ties that bind us together.

It's an honor to deliver this lecture, following and such accomplished leaders as Brian Mulroney, Helmut Schmidt, Rudd Lubbers, Bob Hawke, Mahathir bin Mohamad and Valery Giscard D'Estaing and such distinguished thinkers as Henry Kissinger and Milton Friedman. [additional acknowledgments]

The addresses in this series reflect the changes in our world. Your first lecturers focused on the ideological and military struggle between socialism and democratic capitalism -- and especially between the United States and what we used to call the Soviet Union.

Think of that phrase for a moment -- "what we used to call the Soviet Union." When citizens pulled down the hammer and sickle ten days ago, and hauled up a new tricolor of freedom over the Kremlin, the Soviet Union ceased to exist -- and the prospect of a new world opened before us.

That act culminated a decade of liberation -- a time in which we witnessed the death throes of totalitarianism, and the triumph of systems of government devoted to individual liberty, democratic pluralism, free markets and international engagement.

As this struggle has drawn to a close, these lectures have shifted their focus from military confrontation to matters of economic cooperation.

Our new world has little use for old ways of thinking about the roles and relations of nation-states. The Cold War categories -- North-South, East-West, capitalist-communist -- no longer apply. The future simply belongs to nations that can

remain on the cutting edge of innovation and information; nations that can develop the genius and harness the aspirations their people.

Individuals wield power as never before. An innovator equipped with ideas and the freedom to turn them into inventions can change the way we live and think. Governments that strive only to maintain a monopoly of power, rather than to strengthen the freedom of the individual, will fall by the wayside, swept away by entrepreneurial and intellectual tides.

Liberating technologies -- telephones, computers, facsimile machines, satellite dishes and other devices that transmit news, information and culture in ever greater volumes and at ever greater speeds -- have disabled the weapons of tyranny.

The old world of splintered regions and ideologies has begun to give way to a global village universally committed to the values of individual liberty, democracy, and free trade -- and universally opposed to aggression and tyranny.

If we are to realize the opportunities of this new era, we must address three intertwined challenges: the new requirements of peace and security, the challenge of promoting democracy, and the challenge of generating greater economic growth and prosperity around the world.

Consider first the challenge of peace and security. The world has learned -- through two world wars, and most recently, through Saddam Hussein's naked aggression -- that the dogs of war

can be unleashed any time would-be aggressors doubt the commitment of the powerful to the security of the powerless.

As a nation that straddles two great oceans -- a nation tempered by painful wartime experience - the United States remains committed to engagement in the Atlantic Community and the Asia Pacific region -- and unalterably opposed to isolationism. That's my vow to you, as long as I am President.

A quarter century ago, many feared that free nations would fall like dominoes to the subversion of communism. Now, we can say with pride and a robust sense of irony that the totalitarian powers -- the powers that fomented war all over the globe -- have become the dominoes of the 1990s.

This end to the Cold War gives the United States an opportunity to restructure its military. But I want to assure you and all of those in this region, that the closing of bases in the Philippines will not spell the end to American engagement. We will maintain a visible, credible presence in the Asia-Pacific region with our forward deployed forces, and through bilateral defense arrangements with nations of the region.

That is why I am pleased to announce that this morning the United States has reached agreement with the Government of Singapore to explore in detail how we can transfer a naval logistics facility from Subic Bay in the Phillipines to Singapore over the next year. We appreciate Singapore's far-sighted approach to the security requirements of a new era.

The United States does not maintain this presence as an act of charity. Your security and prosperity serve our interests because you can better help build a more stable, more prosperous world. An unstable, unfree Asia does not serve our interests. Nor does an Asia mired in poverty and despair. We need you as free and productive as you can be, and we understand that our security presence can provide a foundation for our mutual prosperity.

But we also need your support in addressing the new threats of this new era -- regional conflicts and weapons proliferation. So I am pleased that the ASEAN nations are working with us to craft new and flexible methods for protecting our mutual security interests. Access agreements and increased ASEAN-US dialogue can help us work in harmony to promote stability in this region. By working cooperatively, we better share the security responsibilities of the post-Cold War era.

Strong, credible security agreements enable us to meet the second challenge, the challenge of democracy -- a challenge of shared interests and ideals.

Again, ASEAN is helping to spread positive political change, in ways that reflect the values, aspirations, and cultures of the nations in this region. ASEAN is trying to help the former communist states in Indochina reintegrate themselves in a world that respects free markets and free people. Those efforts are starting to produce hopeful results.

Just a few weeks ago American diplomats arrived in Phnom Penh for the first time in 16 years. We owe that breakthrough to years of effort by many of the nations. But, the Cambodian peace accord signed by Secretary Baker in Paris last October could not have existed without the help and cooperation of ASEAN. This historic agreement offers the very real hope of national reconciliation to the long-suffering people of Cambodia. Additionally, when the Paris Conference agreed on a peace settlement for Cambodia, my government offered to remove our trade embargo as the UN Advance Mission began to implement the settlement. Today I am pleased to announce the lifting of that embargo. Working with others, we need to turn attention to the economic reconstruction of that deeply wounded land, so its new political reconciliation has a home from which to grow.

We are now normalizing our ties with Laos and have begun with Vietnam along a path marked by implementation of the Paris Accords, and for the sake of many, many American families, the satisfactory resolution of our concerns about POW/MIAs.

The key point is this: after being strong, determined, and patient, we finally can entertain realistic hopes of building lasting ties of interest and affection with Indochina. Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, more open political systems, and open markets, form the building blocks for what I have called the New World Order.

This movement toward democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of economic growth and building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political rivalry and military adventurism threaten international stability. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism -- protectionism -- can be at least as threatening to world order. The protectionist wars of the 1920s and 1930s deepened the Great Depression, and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War.

On the other hand, during the past half century, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity -- here, in Singapore; throughout free Asia; in Europe and the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to democracy -- a fact that illustrates the indivisible relationship between security, democracy and individual liberty.

The United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. Our trade with Singapore has increased tenfold during the past 16 years. We exported more to Singapore last year than to Italy or Spain; more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate, while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity.

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, helped initiate the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process two years ago. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free,

market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

This is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of U.S. exports support many thousands of good American jobs.

A delegation of executives from major American businesses -- from the automobile industry to computer and electronics firms, to food and energy companies -- has joined me in order to express our national commitment to free and fair trade. Our executives will learn more about opportunities here, and they will also work to help other firms compete fairly throughout the world.

The United States is trying to establish an economic operating framework to facilitate and encourage these ties. This past October we agreed to a new Trade and Investment Framework Agreement with Singapore. I propose that we complement that Agreement by negotiating a Bilateral Investment Treaty. When combined with our global efforts through GATT, and our regional initiatives through APEC, this comprehensive approach can enable us to meet the economic challenges of the post-Cold War era.

I believe in free and open trade. Nations can achieve astonishing levels of prosperity when they embrace the challenge of the marketplace.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade can play an especially crucial role in expanding freedom's frontiers. That's

why on each stop of this trip I'm calling for urgent action on behalf of the international trading system. I am urging others to join with us in making GATT Director Dunkel's proposed draft agreement the basis for a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. While all of us have problems with portions of that draft, none of us can afford to let the progress it represents slip away. Now is the moment for a strong collective response. I particularly urge the dynamic trading nations of this region to help us to convince all GATT participants to build the momentum to achieve this agreement. A successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round can prepare the way for even greater trade liberalization in years to come -- and greater prosperity for everyone.

GATT ensures that the world will continue moving toward broad economic integration -- and not toward trade blocs. I don't have to me point out to an audience in Singapore that there's a huge difference between a free trade zone -- an oasis of free trade -- and a trade bloc that attempts to hold the rest of the world at bay. We resolutely oppose efforts to create economic "fortresses" -- anywhere.

On the other hand, we wholeheartedly endorse free-trade agreements. Our North American Free Trade Agreement will beckon all nations to make the best of the resources and opportunities that the United States, Canada and Mexico have to offer. NAFTA is not a threat to Asia. It would not encourage the division of

the world into trading blocs. Instead, our increased growth can stimulate more trade with Asia. And we support efforts to build free trade agreements elsewhere, including among the ASEAN nations.

Consider your own experience. A regime of free trade has enabled Singapore to become one of the Four Tigers of Asia, and one of the fastest developing nations on earth. When other nations' economies falter, you suffer. The worldwide economic slowdown has slowed your rate of economic growth this year -- although most nations would be overjoyed to settle for six-percent growth. Singapore has one of the most open economies on earth, and I appreciate Singapore's leadership in pressing for even greater market freedom around the world.

But we also need to consider the full import of economic development. An economy is the aggregate work, ingenuity and optimism of a nation. The term "economy," encompasses what millions of people do with their lives. Therefore, when we talk about strengthening economies, about growth, about opportunity, we mean much more than signing trade pacts. We mean building better lives for our people.

Americans understand that no nation will prosper long without a first-rate educational system. I have encouraged Americans to mount a revolution in education, which we call the America 2000 Education Strategy. America 2000 challenges citizens to set high standards for their schools, and it encourages all Americans to join forces in creating world-class

schools. Meanwhile, we will continue to strengthen our university system, the world's finest -- and the host today to over 200,000 students from Asia. Perhaps one may be a future Prime Minister. [[ I am certain she will be a good one. ]] And our APEC Educational Partnership initiative is seeking to link these educational ties to our mutual economic interests.

Once we have given students basic skills, we must give them the freedom to make the most of the knowledge they have acquired. Tax cuts and deregulation in the 1980s helped unleash the greatest peacetime economic recovery in American history. While in my country reducing the tax on capital gains is controversial, most of our competitors impose very low taxes on capital gains. Some, like Singapore, don't tax capital gains at all. We can learn learn from you -- we can create a climate even more conducive to risk, to innovation, to the bold exploration of new technologies and ideas -- and I'm confident that we will.

Beyond that, the nations of the world want to enjoy the blessings of growth without destroying the environment. Yet we need to achieve environmental protection without denying developing nations the opportunity to develop. The United States has environmental expertise and state-of-the-art environmental technology. The Asian nations have environmental challenges.

I am pleased to announce today that AID, the US Trade Development Program, the Overseas Private Insurance Corporation, and our Eximbank have developed a creative approach in partnership with the region to address your environmental

concerns while promoting the export of U.S. equipment and technology. This will be good for Asia's environment and good for American jobs.

In conclusion, the nations committed to democracy and free markets have brought the world to a new era, one that promises unprecedented freedom from violence and deprivation. But this world will not simply happen. It will require hard work, tough negotiation, sacrifice, and the courage of our convictions. If we cast our lot with the forces of enlightenment and freedom over the counsels of defeatism and ignorance, we will build a better world -- a world bound by common interests and goals.

Like you, Americans want a world at peace, one in which no blood must be shed for the ideals we all share. So we will maintain a vigorous security presence in order to prevent despots and tyrants from rolling back the triumphs of freedom and democracy.

Like you, Americans want to live in a world enriched and enlivened by international trade -- in goods, in ideas, in cultures, and in dreams for the future. We want the opportunity to compete aggressively in the international marketplace and at the same time our consumers want access to the best goods and services that your companies have to offer. We want to live in a world made better by the genius and achievement of every culture. So we will advance the prospects for more open trade.

And like you, Americans want a world united and enlightened by freedom and justice, by political pluralism, and by the

universal commitment to individual liberty and prosperity. So we will stand fast by our principles -- and remain confident, strong, and vigilant.

Since 1784, when an American trading ship, the Empress of China, sailed for Canton from New York, the United States has tried to build strong ties of commerce with Asia. We remain committed to that vision.

Together, the United States and its Asian-Pacific allies can build a world filled with economic tigers -- nations growing rapidly; pioneering new intellectual, commercial and cultural terrain; spreading the blessings of free markets, democracy and peace. My trip through Asia this week marks a new start. The next step is up to us all.

Thank you again. May God bless you and the United States of America.

# # # #

*TO Sit Room @ 10:30  
JB*

2 January 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM: MICHELE NIX *MB for MN*  
SUBJECT: FACT/SPELL CHECK OF SINGAPORE LECTURE SERIES  
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

EDITS ----

Page One: Slug should read: Singapore Westin-Samford Hotel,  
January 4, 1992

First graph, 5th sentence: Bin Mohamad (captial B in  
Bin)

Page 3: 6th graph, 2nd sentence: Tens of thousands bear (remove  
extra of)

Page 5: 3rd graph, first sentence: Almost two months ago  
(instead of Just a few weeks ago) per Robert Wang at  
State Dept., Singapore Desk. First official arrival  
Nov. 11)

5th graph, first sentence: have begun discussing  
normalization with Vietnam (instead of have begun  
normalizing relations with) per R. Wang

Page 6: 6th graph, second sentence: Ecomonic (delete extra m)

6th graph, 3rd sentence: Tiananmen Square (not  
Tienanmen) as spelled by China desk at State

Page 7: first graph, first word: democracy (add the a)

3rd graph , 2nd sentence: We exported more... delete  
Italy -- actually our exports with Singapore equal  
Italy (8.0 billion). Can substitute Switzerland (4.9  
billion), Greece (765 million), or Isreal (3.2  
billion). Info per Laura Anderson, USTR

Page 8: last graph, last sentence: host close to 230,000  
students (add close and change to new number) per  
1990-91 figures form the Alfred Julian Institute

Page 10: 4th graph, last sentence: elsewhere (add the e after s)

Page 11: 2nd graph, first sentence: enlightenment (add en)

Hope all is well. Happy New Year. The year of the Monkey.

Changes phoned in by Michelle Nix @ 9am. 2 Jan., 92 to Stanton

SNOW/NIX  
SING.TS  
DRAFT THREE  
December 27, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE SINGAPORE LECTURE  
SINGAPORE ~~WESTIN HOTEL~~ WESTIN-STAMFORD HOTEL  
JANUARY 4 1992  
1 P.M.

→  
→  
→  
Prime Minister Goh, Senior Minister Lee, thank you for that very kind introduction. It's an honor to deliver this lecture, following such distinguished thinkers as Henry Kissinger and Milton Friedman and such accomplished leaders as Brian Mulroney, Helmut Schmidt, Rudd Lubbers, Bob Hawke, Mahathir bin Mohamad and Valery Giscard D'Estaing. [additional acknowledgments]

The addresses in this series reflect the changes in our world. Your first lecturers focused on the ideological and military struggle between socialism and democratic capitalism -- and especially between the United States and what we used to call the Soviet Union.

Think of that phrase for a moment -- "what we used to call the Soviet Union." When citizens pulled down the hammer and sickle last week, and hauled up a new tricolor of freedom over the Kremlin, the Soviet Union ceased to exist -- and the prospect of a new world blossomed before us.

That act culminated a decade of liberation -- a time in which we witnessed the death throes of totalitarianism, and the triumph of systems of government devoted to individual liberty, democratic pluralism, free markets and international engagement.

The old world of splintered regions and ideologies has begun to give way to a global village universally committed to the values of individual liberty, democracy, free trade, and universally opposed to aggression and tyranny.

This world poses three intertwined challenges: the challenge of peace and security, the challenge of democracy, and the challenge of market freedom.

Consider first the challenge of peace and security.

The world has learned -- through two world wars, and most recently, through Saddam Hussein's naked aggression -- that isolationism invites provocation and war.

As a nation that straddles two great oceans, the United States remains committed to engagement in the Atlantic Community and the Asia Pacific region -- and unalterably opposed to isolationism.

Engagement serves the interests of long-term peace. More than 58,000 Americans died in Vietnam. Tens of thousands ~~of~~ bear physical and psychological scars for their service. Although doubters of the age tried to demean their sacrifice, you understood their achievements. I know that many in Singapore argue that our engagement in Vietnam granted this nation a quarter century's head-start on its future.

A quarter century ago, we feared that free nations would fall like dominoes. Now, we can say with satisfaction, relief and a robust sense of irony that the totalitarian powers, the

Strong, credible security agreements enable us to meet the second challenge, the challenge of democracy -- a challenge of shared interests and ideals.

Again, ASEAN has played a crucial role in spreading democracy, in ways that reflect the values, aspirations, and cultures of the nations in this region. ASEAN has worked hard to drag Burma away from the dark shadows of dictatorial tyranny; it has helped former communist states in Indochina to join a new order for the ages. I am happy to say that those efforts already have produced hopeful results.

*\* Almost two months ago*  
~~Just a few weeks ago~~ American diplomats arrived in Phnom Penh for the first time in 16 years. We owe that breakthrough to many of the nations represented here today.

By the same token, the Cambodian peace accord signed by Secretary Baker in Paris last October would not have existed without the help and cooperation of ASEAN. This historic agreement offers the very real hope of peace and freedom to the long-suffering people of Cambodia.

We have normalized our ties with Laos and have begun *discussing* normalizing <sup>ation</sup> ~~relations~~ with Vietnam. With your help, we hope to resolve our remaining concerns with Vietnam -- the full implementation of the Paris Accords, and for the sake of many, many American families, the satisfactory resolution of our concerns about POW/MIAs.

The key point is this: We finally can entertain realistic hopes of building lasting ties of interest and affection with

\* First official arrival Nov. 11, per Robert Wang, Singapore desk, State Dept.  
 [Suggested language by R. Wang]

Indochina. Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, democracy and open markets, form the building blocks for what I have called the New World Order.

This victory for democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political and military isolationism threaten to destabilize the world. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism -- protectionism -- can be at least as devastating.

The protectionist wars of the 1920s and 1930s deepened the Great Depression, and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War. The collapse of the international economic system enabled demagogues to sell the poisons of socialism and state control -- and to enslave whole nations for decades.

During the past half century, on the other hand, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity -- here, in Singapore; throughout free Asia; in Europe and the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to democracy -- a fact that illustrates the indivisible relationship between security, democracy and individual liberty.

Consider the recent history of China. Economic reforms in 1978 set off a decade of rapid economic growth -- with average annual growth rates of ten percent. This prosperity also fostered hopes of democracy -- hopes that were crushed brutally in Tiananmen Square. Since that horrifying moment, Chinese

→ spelling per China desk State Dept. ←



democracy has suffered -- and so has the Chinese economy. This is only natural. People who fear for their futures aren't likely to engage in the kinds of activities -- hard work, savings, education, planning -- that keep an economy and a society moving.

In any event, the United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate, while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity. You have lifted yourselves up. Through hard work and dedication, you have transformed this region. Today, the United States conducts more trade with the Asian-Pacific region than with Europe.

Our trade with Singapore has increased tenfold during the past 16 years. We exported more to Singapore last year than to ~~Italy~~ or Spain; more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. And our trade with ASEAN nations now approaches our total trade volume with Germany.

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, initiated the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process two years ago. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free, market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

This is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of merchandise exports can support more than 19,000 good

x our exports w/ Singapore  
equal that of Italy (\$8.0 billion).  
can substitute Switzerland (\$4.9 billion).  
(INFO PER LAUREA ANDERSON, USFR)

American jobs. Each billion dollars worth of agricultural exports can support more than 25,000 jobs.

A delegation of major American businesses -- from the automobile industry to computer and electronics firms -- has joined me in order to express our national commitment to free and open trade. Our executives will learn more about trade opportunities here, and they will also work to help our companies compete fairly throughout the world.

But we should not think of economic development too narrowly. An economy is nothing more than the collected work, ingenuity and optimism of a nation. The term "economy," encompasses what millions of people do with their lives. Therefore, when we talk of strengthening economies, we mean much more than signing trade pacts. We mean building better lives for everyone through policies that make us more competitive in the international marketplace.

Americans understand that no nation will prosper long without a first-rate educational system. In recent years, our primary and secondary educational system has not kept pace with the world. I have encouraged Americans to mount a revolution in education, which we call the America 2000 Education Strategy. America 2000 challenges citizens to set high standards for their schools, and it encourages all Americans to join forces in creating world-class schools. Meanwhile, we will continue to strengthen our university system, the world's finest -- and the host today to ~~205,000~~ students from Asia.


close 230,000

1990-91 Finance → 07.9 822 der Alfred Julian Inst.

many countries maintain trade barriers for cultural or political reasons, those barriers make no more sense than the wall that once divided the city of Berlin.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will play a crucial role in expanding freedom's frontiers. A successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round can prepare the way for even greater trade liberalization in years to come -- and greater prosperity for everyone.

GATT ensures that the world will continue moving toward broad economic integration -- and not toward trade blocs. We in the United States have no desire to break into trade factions. There's a huge difference between a free trade zone -- an oasis of free trade -- and a trade bloc that attempts to hold the rest of the world at bay. We resolutely oppose efforts to create economic "fortresses" -- anywhere.

On the other hand, we wholeheartedly endorse free-trade agreements. Our North American Free Trade Agreement will beckon all nations to make the best of the resources and opportunities that the United States, Canada and Mexico have to offer. And we support efforts to build free trade agreements elsewhere. 

Consider your own experience. A regime of free trade has enabled Singapore to become one of the Four Tigers of Asia, and one of the fastest developing nations on earth. When other nations' economies falter, you suffer. The worldwide economic slowdown has slowed your rate of economic growth this year -- although most nations would be overjoyed to settle for six-

percent growth. Singapore has one of the most open economies on earth, and I appreciate Singapore's leadership in pressing for even greater market freedom around the world.

Together, nations committed to democracy and free markets have brought the world to the brink of a new era, one that promises unprecedented freedom from violence and deprivation. But we can achieve that future only if we work together to create it. This world will not simply happen: It will require hard work, tough negotiation, sacrifice, and the courage of our convictions.

→ Yet if we cast our lot with the forces of enlighten<sup>en</sup>ment over the counsels of defeatism and ignorance; if we cast our lot with the forces of freedom; we will build a better world. We will build a world bound by common interests and goals; a world united in its determination to avoid depression and global war.

I know I have covered an enormous amount of ground in my talk. So let me describe in concrete terms what the United States seeks -- in its own interests -- from the new world we will build.

Americans want a world at peace, one in which no American will have to shed blood for the ideals we all share. Americans want to maintain a vigorous security presence in order to prevent despots from fomenting war, and to stall tyrants who want to roll back the triumphs of freedom and democracy.

Americans want to live in a world enriched and enlightened by international trade -- in goods, in ideas, in cultures, and in

31 DEC 3 WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 1/3/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SINGAPORE LECTURE SERIES

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DELAND	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

92 JAN 3 09:00

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1991

**INFORMATION**

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST  
FROM: TONY SNOW  
SUBJECT: SINGAPORE LECTURE SERIES**I. SUMMARY**

On Saturday, January 4, 1992, at 12:15 p.m. in the Raffles Ballroom of the Westin-Stamford Hotel, you will deliver remarks to approximately 2,500 Singaporean and American business leaders as part of the Singapore Lecture Series. You will be introduced by Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew.

**II. DISCUSSION**

Your remarks (19 minutes, on prompter) focus on the progress and promising future of the Southeast Asia region -- and what that means for Americans and the region regarding matters of trade and international peace.

SNOW/NIX  
SING.TS  
DRAFT THREE  
December 27, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE SINGAPORE LECTURE  
SINGAPORE WESTIN HOTEL  
JANUARY 7, 1991  
1 P.M.

Prime Minister Goh, Senior Minister Lee, thank you for that very kind introduction. It's an honor to deliver this lecture, following such distinguished thinkers as Henry Kissinger and Milton Friedman and such accomplished leaders as Brian Mulroney, Helmut Schmidt, Rudd Lubbers, Bob Hawke, Mahathir bin Mohamad and Valery Giscard D'Estaing. [additional acknowledgments]

The addresses in this series reflect the changes in our world. Your first lecturers focused on the ideological and military struggle between socialism and democratic capitalism -- and especially between the United States and what we used to call the Soviet Union.

Think of that phrase for a moment -- "what we used to call the Soviet Union." When citizens pulled down the hammer and sickle last week, and hauled up a new tricolor of freedom over the Kremlin, the Soviet Union ceased to exist -- and the prospect of a new world blossomed before us.

That act culminated a decade of liberation -- a time in which we witnessed the death throes of totalitarianism, and the triumph of systems of government devoted to individual liberty, democratic pluralism, free markets and international engagement.

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As this struggle has drawn to a close, these lectures have shifted their focus from military confrontation to matters of economic cooperation.

Today, we stand at the dawn of a new era in international relations -- an era filled with its own dangers and challenges, but bright with possibilities the likes of which we never have seen.

This world has little use for our old ways of thinking about the roles and relations of nation-states. The old categories -- North-South, East-West, capitalist-communist -- no longer apply. We define national power more in terms of economic and intellectual prowess than in terms of sheer military might. The future belongs not necessarily to the nations with the greatest armies, as to nations that can remain on the cutting edge of innovation and information; nations that can develop the genius and harness the ambitions of their people.

Individuals wield power as never before. An innovator equipped with ideas and the freedom to turn them into inventions can change the way we live and think. Governments that strive only to maintain a monopoly on force, rather than to strengthen the freedom and power of the individual, will fall by the wayside, swept away by entrepreneurial and intellectual tides.

Liberation technologies -- telephones, computers, satellite dishes and other devices that transmit news, information and culture in ever greater volumes and at ever greater speeds -- have disabled the old weapons of tyranny.

3

The old world of splintered regions and ideologies has begun to give way to a global village universally committed to the values of individual liberty, democracy, free trade, and universally opposed to aggression and tyranny.

This world poses three intertwined challenges: the challenge of peace and security, the challenge of democracy, and the challenge of market freedom.

Consider first the challenge of peace and security.

The world has learned -- through two world wars, and most recently, through Saddam Hussein's naked aggression -- that isolationism invites provocation and war.

As a nation that straddles two great oceans, the United States remains committed to engagement in the Atlantic Community and the Asia Pacific region -- and unalterably opposed to isolationism.

Engagement serves the interests of long-term peace. More than 58,000 Americans died in Vietnam. Tens of thousands of bear physical and psychological scars for their service. Although doubters of the age tried to demean their sacrifice, you understood their achievements. I know that many in Singapore argue that our engagement in Vietnam granted this nation a quarter century's head-start on its future.

A quarter century ago, we feared that free nations would fall like dominoes. Now, we can say with satisfaction, relief and a robust sense of irony that the totalitarian powers, the

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powers that fomented war all over the globe, have become the dominoes of the 1990s.

This end to the Cold War gives the United States an opportunity to restructure its military. The closing of bases in the Philippines will not spell the end to American engagement. We will maintain a visible, credible presence in the Asia-Pacific region with our forward deployed forces, and through bilateral defense arrangements with nations of the region.

We don't maintain this presence out of charity. Your security and prosperity serve our interests, not simply because you share our basic ideals, not just because your market beckons, not just because you command one of the most strategic waterways on earth. Your wealth and health serve our interests. They will help us build a world in which nations take full advantage of the productivity, genius and ambitions of other nations.

An unstable Asia doesn't help us. An unfree Asia doesn't help us. A poverty stricken Asia doesn't help us. We need you as free and productive as you can be, and we understand that our security presence can provide a foundation for our mutual prosperity.

But we also need your support in devising arrangements that suit our mutual interests. I'm happy that the ASEAN nations have helped us craft new and flexible methods for protecting America's security interests. Access agreements and ASEAN-US dialog about issues of mutual concern can help us work in harmony to promote

to this region.

5

Strong, credible security agreements enable us to meet the second challenge, the challenge of democracy -- a challenge of shared interests and ideals.

Again, ASEAN has played a crucial role in spreading democracy, in ways that reflect the values, aspirations, and cultures of the nations in this region. ASEAN has worked hard to drag Burma away from the dark shadows of dictatorial tyranny; it has helped former communist states in Indochina to join a new order for the ages. I am happy to say that those efforts already have produced hopeful results.

Just a few weeks ago American diplomats arrived in Phnom Penh for the first time in 16 years. We owe that breakthrough to many of the nations represented here today.

By the same token, the Cambodian peace accord signed by Secretary Baker in Paris last October would not have existed without the help and cooperation of ASEAN. This historic agreement offers the very real hope of peace and freedom to the long-suffering people of Cambodia.

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Indochina. Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, democracy and open markets, form the building blocks for what I have called the New World Order.

This victory for democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political and military isolationism threaten to destabilize the world. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism -- protectionism -- can be at least as devastating.

The protectionist wars of the 1920s and 1930s deepened the Great Depression, and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War. The collapse of the international economic system enabled demagogues to sell the poisons of socialism and state control -- and to enslave whole nations for decades.

During the past half century, on the other hand, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity -- here, in Singapore; throughout free Asia; in Europe and the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to democracy -- a fact that illustrates the indivisible relationship between security, democracy and individual liberty.

Consider the recent history of China. Economic reforms in 1978 set off a decade of rapid economic growth -- with average annual growth rates of ten percent. This prosperity also fostered hopes of democracy -- hopes that were crushed brutally in Tiananmen Square. Since that horrifying moment, Chinese

7

democracy has suffered -- and so has the Chinese economy. This is only natural. People who fear for their futures aren't likely to engage in the kinds of activities -- hard work, savings, education, planning -- that keep an economy and a society moving.

In any event, the United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate, while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity. You have lifted yourselves up. Through hard work and dedication, you have transformed this region. Today, the United States conducts more trade with the Asian-Pacific region than with Europe.

Our trade with Singapore has increased tenfold during the past 10 years. We exported more to Singapore last year than to Italy or Spain; more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. And our trade with ASEAN nations now approaches our total trade volume with Germany.

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, initiated the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process two years ago. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free, market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

This is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of merchandise exports can support more than 19,000 good

8

American jobs. Each billion dollars worth of agricultural exports can support more than 25,000 jobs.

A delegation of major American businesses -- from the automobile industry to computer and electronics firms -- has joined me in order to express our national commitment to free and open trade. Our executives will learn more about trade opportunities here, and they will also work to help our companies compete fairly throughout the world.

But we should not think of economic development too narrowly. An economy is nothing more than the collected work, ingenuity and optimism of a nation. The term "economy," encompasses what millions of people do with their lives. Therefore, when we talk of strengthening economies, we mean much more than signing trade pacts. We mean building better lives for everyone through policies that make us more competitive in the international marketplace.

Americans understand that no nation will prosper long without a first-rate educational system. In recent years, our primary and secondary educational system has not kept pace with the world. I have encouraged Americans to mount a revolution in education, which we call the America 2000 Education Strategy. America 2000 challenges citizens to set high standards for their schools, and it encourages all Americans to join forces in creating world-class schools. Meanwhile, we will continue to strengthen our university system, the world's finest -- and the host today to 205,000 students from Asia.

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Once we have given students basic skills, we must give them the freedom to make the most of the knowledge they have acquired. Tax cuts and deregulation in the 1980s unleashed the greatest peacetime economic recovery in American history. I have tried to build on that record by seeking a dramatic reduction in capital gains taxes. After all, most of our competitors impose very low taxes on capital gains. Some, like Singapore, don't tax capital gains at all. We must create a climate conducive to risk, to innovation, to the bold exploration of new technologies and ideas -- and we will.

The nations of the world want to enjoy the blessings of growth without destroying our environment. Yet we must struggle to protect that environment without denying poorer nations the opportunity to develop as they wish. We must understand that regulations designed to protect the environment sometimes can strangle economies and hamper our efforts to develop technologies that would make our habitat even cleaner.

Politicians sometimes flatter themselves by pretending that they can regulate troublesome problems out of existence. Too often, however, those well-meaning efforts merely stall progress toward real and lasting solutions. Together, we all must work to discover the boundaries of prudent regulation -- and the best way to cultivate new jobs, new development, new economic growth.

Above all, I believe in open and fair trade. Nations can achieve astonishing levels of prosperity when they submit themselves to the bracing competition of the marketplace. While

10

many countries maintain trade barriers for cultural or political reasons, those barriers make no more sense than the wall that once divided the city of Berlin.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will play a crucial role in expanding freedom's frontiers. A successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round can prepare the way for even greater trade liberalization in years to come -- and greater prosperity for everyone.

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11

percent growth. Singapore has one of the most open economies on earth, and I appreciate Singapore's leadership in pressing for even greater market freedom around the world.

Together, nations committed to democracy and free markets have brought the world to the brink of a new era, one that promises unprecedented freedom from violence and deprivation. But we can achieve that future only if we work together to create it. This world will not simply happen: It will require hard work, tough negotiation, sacrifice, and the courage of our convictions.

Yet if we cast our lot with the forces of enlightenment over the counsels of defeatism and ignorance; if we cast our lot with the forces of freedom; we will build a better world. We will build a world bound by common interests and goals; a world united in its determination to avoid depression and global war.

I know I have covered an enormous amount of ground in my talk. So let me describe in concrete terms what the United States seeks -- in its own interests -- from the new world we will build.

Americans want a world at peace, one in which no American will have to shed blood for the ideals we all share. Americans want to maintain a vigorous security presence in order to prevent despots from fomenting war, and to stall tyrants who want to roll back the triumphs of freedom and democracy.

Americans want to live in a world enriched and enlightened by international trade -- in goods, in ideas, in cultures, and in

12

dreams for the future. We want to live in a world made better by the geniuses and achievements of every culture.

Americans want the opportunity to compete aggressively in the international marketplace. Workers in Seattle and Seacaucus want the chance to compete for business in Singapore and beyond. At the same time American consumers want access to the best goods and services that your companies have to offer.

Americans want a world united and enlivened by free trade and fair trade; by a universal commitment to individual liberty, political pluralism, and greater individual prosperity and personal fulfillment.

Since 1784, when the Empress of China sailed for Canton from New York, the United States has tried to build strong ties of commerce with Asia, while working to prevent hegemonic powers from stalling freedom's progress. We remain committed to that vision.

Together, the United States and its Asian-Pacific allies can build a world filled with economic tigers -- nations growing rapidly; pioneering new intellectual, commercial and cultural terrain; spreading the blessings of liberty, democracy and free markets. My trip through Asia this week marks a start: The next step is up to us all.

Thank you again. May God bless you and the United States of America.

# # # #

SNOW/NIX  
SING.TS  
DRAFT THREE  
December 27, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE SINGAPORE LECTURE  
SINGAPORE WESTIN HOTEL  
JANUARY 4, 1991  
1 P.M.

Prime Minister Goh, Senior Minister Lee, thank you for that very kind introduction. Let me take this opportunity to say a few words about these two gentlemen.

Minister Lee, a quarter century ago, you led this small island of cultural and ethnic diversity, of limited physical resources, to independence. Then, through your vision and your force of intellect and will, you forged Singapore's nationhood. You stood courageously in a life and death struggle against the communists -- and you prevailed. You led your nation and your region in the quest for peace and prosperity. ~~Future generations will honor~~ the name of Lee Kwan Yew for years to come. *will be honored by many generations to come.*

Prime Minister Goh, I salute you for your wisdom and your vigor in carrying Singapore forward on its path to the future. I pledge America's steadfast friendship as you lead Singapore in facing the challenges of the coming generation.

It's an honor to deliver this lecture, following such distinguished thinkers as Henry Kissinger and Milton Friedman and such accomplished leaders as Brian Mulroney, Helmut Schmidt, Rudd Lubbers, Bob Hawke, Mahathir bin Mohamad and Valery Giscard D'Estaing. [additional acknowledgments]

The addresses in this series reflect the changes in our world. Your first lecturers focused on the ideological and military struggle between socialism and democratic capitalism -- and especially between the United States and what we used to call the Soviet Union.

Think of that phrase for a moment -- "what we used to call the Soviet Union." When citizens pulled down the hammer and sickle ten days ago, and hauled up a new tricolor of freedom over the Kremlin, the Soviet Union ceased to exist -- and the prospect of a new world blossomed before us.

That act culminated a decade of liberation -- a time in which we witnessed the death throes of totalitarianism, and the triumph of systems of government devoted to individual liberty, democratic pluralism, free markets and international engagement.

As this struggle has drawn to a close, these lectures have shifted their focus from military confrontation to matters of economic cooperation.

Our new world has little use for old ways of thinking about the roles and relations of nation-states. The Cold War categories -- ~~North-South~~, <sup>First World - Third World</sup> East-West, <sup>work</sup> capitalist-communist -- no longer apply. The future belongs to nations that can ~~remain on~~ <sup>work</sup> the cutting edge of innovation and ~~information~~, nations that can develop the genius and harness the aspirations <sup>of</sup> their people.

Individuals wield power as never before. An innovator equipped with ideas and the freedom to turn them into inventions can change the way we live and think. Governments that strive

*with the tools of the information revolution and to be at*

*the tides of innovation and entrepreneurship,*

only to maintain a monopoly of power, rather than to strengthen the freedom of the individual, will fall by the wayside, swept away by ~~entrepreneurial and intellectual tides.~~

*TAXes, personal*

Liberation technologies -- telephones, computers, satellite dishes and other devices that transmit news, information and culture in ever greater volumes and at ever greater speeds -- have disabled the weapons of tyranny.

The old world of splintered regions and ideologies ~~has begun to give way~~ *fast is giving* to a global village *whose culture stresses* ~~universally committed~~ to the values of individual liberty, democracy, free trade, and *is* universally opposed to *aggression and* tyranny.

If we are to realize the opportunities of this new era, we must *respond to* ~~address~~ three intertwined challenges: the new requirements of peace and security, *promotion of* ~~the challenge of promoting~~ democracy, and the challenge of generating greater economic growth and prosperity around the world.

Consider first the challenge of peace and security. The world has learned -- through two world wars, and most recently, through Saddam Hussein's naked aggression -- that the dogs of war can be unleashed any time would-be aggressors doubt the *international community to defend* ~~commitment of the powerful to the security of the powerless.~~

*The self-indulgence of isolationism only tempts the aggressor.*

~~And~~ *we are* as a nation that straddles two great oceans -- a nation tempered by painful wartime experience - the United States remains committed to engagement in the Atlantic Community and the Asia Pacific region, ~~and~~ *we are* unalterably opposed to isolationism!

A quarter century ago, many feared that free nations would fall like dominoes to the subversion of communism. Now, we can say with pride and a robust sense of irony that the totalitarian powers -- the powers that fomented ~~war all over the globe~~ <sup>instability and conflict the world over</sup> -- have become the dominoes of the 1990s.

~~This end~~ <sup>The ending of</sup> the Cold War <sup>was</sup> gives the United States an opportunity to restructure its military. <sup>to reflect the challenges of the times</sup> The closing of bases in the Philippines will not spell the end to American <sup>'s security</sup> engagement <sup>in this region</sup>. We will maintain a visible, credible presence in the Asia-Pacific <sup>theater</sup> ~~region~~ with our forward deployed forces, and through bilateral defense arrangements with <sup>our many friends in this part of the world</sup> nations of the region. As a matter of fact, this morning I reached agreement with the Government of Singapore to explore in detail how we can transfer a naval logistics facility from Subic Bay in the Philippines to Singapore <sup>in the new</sup> over the next year. Might I say, we appreciate Singapore's far-sighted approach to the security requirements of a new era.

We don't maintain <sup>our security</sup> ~~this~~ presence as an act of charity. Your security and prosperity serve our interests because you can ~~better~~ help build a more stable, more prosperous world. An unstable, <sup>burdened with poverty and repression</sup> ~~unfree~~ Asia does not serve our interests. ~~Nor does an Asia mired in poverty and despair.~~ We need you as free and productive as you can be, and we understand that our security presence can provide a foundation for our mutual prosperity, <sup>and shared defense</sup> and <sup>security</sup> defense.

~~But~~ we also need your support in addressing the new <sup>security</sup> threats <sup>1</sup> of ~~this new era~~ <sup>the post Cold War</sup> -- regional conflicts and weapons proliferation.

So I am pleased that <sup>our</sup> ~~the~~ ASEAN nations <sup>(friends are helping)</sup> have helped us craft new

*arrangements to ensure the common defense.*

and flexible ~~methods for protecting our mutual security interests~~ to meet. Access agreements and increased ASEAN-US dialogue ~~can~~ *will* help us work ~~in harmony~~ *cooperatively* to promote stability in this region.

Strong, credible security agreements *also* enable us to meet the second challenge, the challenge of democracy -- a challenge of shared interests and ideals.

Again, ASEAN is helping to spread democracy, in ways that reflect the values, aspirations, and cultures of the nations *in the Asia-Pacific.* ~~this region.~~ ASEAN is trying to help the ~~former~~ communist states *of* ~~in~~ Indochina *promote reform and* reintegrate themselves *into* a world that *is throwing on* respects free markets and free people. Those efforts are starting to produce hopeful results.

Just a few weeks ago American diplomats arrived in Phnom Penh for the first time in 16 years. We owe that breakthrough to years of effort by ~~many of the nations represented here today.~~ *ASEAN to end the war over Cambodia.*

The Cambodian peace accord signed by Secretary Baker in Paris last October ~~could not have existed without the help and cooperation of ASEAN.~~ This historic agreement offers the very real hope of national reconciliation to the long-suffering people of Cambodia. *As part of our nation's approach to promoting reconciliation throughout Indochina* ~~Additionally, when the Paris Conference agreed on a~~ ~~peace settlement for Cambodia,~~ my government offered to remove our trade embargo *against Cambodia* as the UN Advance Mission began to implement *Paris* the settlement. *soon as* Today I am pleased to announce the lifting of that embargo.

We *recently upgraded* ~~are now normalizing~~ our ties with Laos, *we* and have begun *to walk* with Vietnam *towards normalization* along a path marked by implementation of the Paris

agreement on Cambodia

our servicemen still missing in action.

~~Accords~~, and for the sake of many, many American families, the satisfactory resolution of our concerns about ~~POW/MIAs~~.

decades of struggle against totalitarian aggression;

The key point is this: after being strong, determined, and patient we finally can entertain realistic hopes of building lasting ties of interest and affection with Indochina.

reconciliation and reconstruction throughout

Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, democracy and open markets, form the building blocks for what I have called the New World Order.

peace and reconstruction in Southeast Asia

This victory for democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political rivalry and military adventurism threaten international stability. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism -- protectionism -- can be at least as threatening to world order. The protectionist wars of the 1920s and 1930s deepened the Great Depression, and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War.

at just

On the other hand, during the past half century, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity -- here, in Singapore; throughout free Asia; in Europe and the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to the growth of democracy -- a fact that illustrates the indivisible relationship between security, economic well-being, democracy and individual liberty.

in the growth of

The United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. Our trade with Singapore

dynamic region countries of the are

has increased tenfold <sup>over</sup> during the past 16 years. We exported <sup>now</sup> more to Singapore ~~last year~~ than to Italy or Spain; more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate, while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity.

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, initiated <sup>two years ago</sup> the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process, ~~two years ago~~. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free, market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

This is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from <sup>our</sup> export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of U.S. exports support <sup>nearly twenty</sup> thousands of good American jobs.

A delegation of major American businesses <sup>men</sup> -- from the automobile industry to computer and electronics firms -- has joined me in order to express our national commitment to free and open trade. Our executives will learn more about trade opportunities here, and they will also work to help our companies compete fairly throughout the world.

The United States is trying to establish an economic operating framework to facilitate and encourage these ties. This past October we agreed to a new Trade and Investment Framework Agreement with Singapore. I also would propose that we negotiate a Bilateral Investment Treaty. When combined with our global efforts through GATT, and our regional initiatives through APEC,

this comprehensive approach can enable us to meet the economic challenges of the post-Cold War era.

*Americans*  
I believe in open and fair trade. Nations can achieve astonishing levels of prosperity when they embrace the challenge of the marketplace.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade can play a crucial role in expanding freedom's *economic* frontiers. That's why on each stop of this trip I'm calling for urgent action *in support* on behalf of the international trading system. I am urging *the world's trading nations* others to join with us in support of GATT Director Dunkel's proposed draft agreement. While all of us have problems with portions of that draft, none of us can afford to let the progress it represents slip away. Now is the moment for a strong collaborative response *from those who have prospered on open trade.* I particularly urge the dynamic trading nations of this region to help us to convince all GATT participants to build the momentum achieve this agreement. A successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round can prepare the way for even greater trade liberalization in years to come -- and greater prosperity for everyone.

GATT ensures that the world will continue moving toward broad economic integration -- and not toward trade *ing* blocs. Let me point out that there's a huge difference between a free trade zone -- an oasis of free trade -- and a trade bloc that attempts to hold the rest of the world at bay. We resolutely oppose efforts to create economic "fortresses" -- anywhere.


*(a world fragmented into rival*

On the other hand, we wholeheartedly endorse free-trade agreements. Our North American Free Trade Agreement will beckon all nations to make the best of the resources and opportunities that the United States, Canada and Mexico have to offer. Our increased growth can stimulate more trade with Asia. And we support efforts to build free trade agreements elsewhere, including among the ASEAN nations.

Consider your own experience. A regime of free trade has enabled Singapore to become one of the Four Tigers of Asia, and one of the fastest developing nations on earth. When other nations' economies falter, you suffer. The worldwide economic slowdown has slowed your rate of economic growth this year -- although most nations would be overjoyed to settle for six-percent growth. Singapore has one of the most open economies on earth, and I appreciate Singapore's leadership in pressing for even greater market freedom around the world.

But we also need to consider the full import of economic development. An economy is the aggregate work, ingenuity and optimism of a nation. The term "economy" encompasses what millions of people do with their lives. Therefore, when we talk of strengthening economies, we mean much more than signing trade pacts. We mean building better lives for our people.

Americans understand that no nation will prosper long without a first-rate educational system. I have encouraged Americans to mount a revolution in education, which we call the America 2000 Education Strategy. America 2000 challenges

citizens to set high standards for their schools, and it encourages all Americans to join forces in creating world-class schools. Meanwhile, we will continue to strengthen our university system, the world's finest -- and the host today ~~to~~  over 200,000 students from Asia. And our APEC Educational Partnership initiative is seeking to link these educational ties to our mutual economic interests.

Once we have given students basic skills, we must give them the freedom to make the most of the knowledge they have acquired. Tax cuts and deregulation in the 1980s helped unleash the greatest peacetime economic recovery in American history. While in my country reducing the tax on capital gains is controversial, most of our competitors impose very low taxes on capital gains. Some, like Singapore, don't tax capital gains at all. We can learn from you -- we can create a climate even more conducive to risk, to innovation, to the bold exploration of new technologies and ideas -- and I'm confident that we will.

Beyond that, the nations of the world want to enjoy the blessings of growth without destroying the environment. Yet we struggle to achieve environmental protection without denying developing nations the opportunity to develop. The United States has environmental expertise and state-of-the-art environmental technology. The Asian nations have environmental challenges. I am pleased to tell you that AID, the US Trade Development Program, the Overseas Private Insurance Corporation, and our Eximbank have developed a creative approach in partnership with

the region to address your environmental concerns while <sup>making available</sup> ~~promoting~~ ~~the export of~~ U.S. equipment and technology. This will be good for Asia's environment and good for American jobs.

In conclusion, the nations committed to democracy and free markets have brought the world to a new era, one that promises unprecedented freedom from violence and deprivation. But this world will not simply happen. It will require hard work, tough negotiation, sacrifice, and the courage of our convictions. If we cast our lot with the forces of enlightenment and freedom over the counsels of <sup>isolation and protectionism</sup> ~~defeatism and ignorance~~, we will build a better world -- a world bound by common interests and <sup>shared</sup> ~~goals~~.

Like you, Americans want a world at peace, one in which no blood must be shed for the ideals we all share. So we will maintain a vigorous security presence in order to prevent ~~despots~~ ~~and tyrants~~ from <sup>undermining</sup> ~~rolling back~~ the triumphs of freedom and democracy.

Like you, Americans want to live in a world enriched and enlivened by international trade -- in goods, in ideas, in cultures, and in dreams for the future. We want the opportunity to compete aggressively in the international marketplace, and at the same time our consumers want access to the best goods and services that your <sup>economies</sup> ~~companies~~ have to offer. We want to live in a world made better by the geniuses and achievements of every culture. So we will advance the prospects for more open trade.

And like you, Americans want a world <sup>ennobled</sup> ~~united and enlightened~~ by freedom and justice, by political pluralism, and by the universal commitment to individual liberty and prosperity.

Since 1784, when the Empress of China sailed for Canton from New York, the United States has tried to build strong ties of commerce with Asia. We remain committed to that vision.

Together, the United States and its Asian-Pacific allies can build a world filled with economic tigers -- nations growing rapidly; pioneering new intellectual, commercial and cultural terrain; spreading the blessings of liberty, democracy and free markets. My trip through Asia this week marks a ~~start~~: The next <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> up to us all. *voyage into this new world:*

Thank you again. May God bless you and the United States of America.

# # # #

SNOW/NIX  
SING.TS  
DRAFT THREE  
December 27, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE SINGAPORE LECTURE  
SINGAPORE WESTIN HOTEL  
JANUARY 4, 1991  
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Prime Minister Goh, Senior Minister Lee, thank you for that very kind introduction. Let me take this opportunity to say a few words about these two gentlemen.

Minister Lee, a quarter century ago, you led this small island of cultural and ethnic diversity, of limited physical resources, to independence. Then, through your vision and your force of intellect and will, you forged Singapore's nationhood. You stood courageously in a life and death struggle against the communists -- and you prevailed. You led your nation and your region in the quest for peace and prosperity. Future generations will honor the name of Lee Kwan Yew [for years to come.] *(Retired)*

Prime Minister Goh, I salute you for your wisdom and your vigor in carrying Singapore forward on its path to the future. I pledge America's steadfast friendship as you lead Singapore in facing the challenges of the coming generation.

It's an honor to deliver this lecture, following such distinguished thinkers as Henry Kissinger and Milton Friedman and such accomplished leaders as Brian Mulroney, Helmut Schmidt, Rudd Lubbers, Bob Hawke, Mahathir bin Mohamad and Valery Giscard D'Estaing. *and* [additional acknowledgments]

The addresses in this series reflect the changes in our world. Your first lecturers focused on the ideological and military struggle between socialism and democratic capitalism -- and especially between the United States and what we used to call the Soviet Union.

Think of that phrase for a moment -- "what we used to call the Soviet Union." When citizens pulled down the hammer and sickle ten days ago, and hauled up a new tricolor of freedom over the Kremlin, the Soviet Union ceased to exist -- and the prospect of a new world <sup>opened</sup> [blossomed] before us. ?

That act culminated a decade of liberation -- a time in which we witnessed the death throes of totalitarianism, and the triumph of systems of government devoted to individual liberty, democratic pluralism, free markets and international engagement.

As this struggle has drawn to a close, these lectures have shifted their focus from military confrontation to matters of economic cooperation.

Our new world has little use for old ways of thinking about the roles and relations of nation-states. The Cold War categories --North-South, East-West, capitalist-communist -- no longer apply. The future belongs to nations that can remain on the cutting edge of innovation and information; nations that can develop the genius and harness the aspirations their people.

Individuals wield power as never before. An innovator equipped with ideas and the freedom to turn them into inventions can change the way we live and think. Governments that strive

only to maintain a monopoly of power, rather than to strengthen the freedom of the individual, will fall by the wayside, swept away by entrepreneurial and intellectual tides.

Liberation technologies -- telephones, computers, satellite dishes and other devices that transmit news, information and culture in ever greater volumes and at ever greater speeds -- have disabled the weapons of tyranny.

The old world of splintered regions and ideologies has begun to give way to a global village universally committed to the values of individual liberty, democracy, free trade, and universally opposed to aggression and tyranny.

If we are to realize the opportunities of this new era, we must address three intertwined challenges: the new requirements of peace and security, the challenge of promoting democracy, and the challenge of generating greater economic growth and prosperity around the world.

Consider first the challenge of peace and security. The world has learned -- through two world wars, and most recently, through Saddam Hussein's naked aggression -- that the dogs of war can be unleashed any time would-be aggressors doubt the commitment of the powerful to the security of the powerless.

And, as a nation that straddles two great oceans -- a nation tempered by painful wartime experience - the United States remains committed to engagement in the Atlantic Community and the Asia Pacific region -- and unalterably opposed to isolationism.

A quarter century ago, many feared that free nations would fall like dominoes to the subversion of communism. Now, we can say with pride and a robust sense of irony that the totalitarian powers -- the powers that fomented war all over the globe -- have become the dominoes of the 1990s.

This end to the Cold War gives the United States an opportunity to restructure its military. The closing of bases in the Philippines will not spell the end to American engagement. We will maintain a visible, credible presence in the Asia-Pacific region with our forward deployed forces, and through bilateral defense arrangements with nations of the region. As a matter of fact, this morning I reached agreement with the Government of Singapore to explore in detail how we can transfer a naval logistics facility from Subic Bay in the Philippines to Singapore over the next year. Might I say, we appreciate Singapore's far-sighted approach to the security requirements of a new era.

We don't maintain this presence as an act of charity. Your security and prosperity serve our interests because you can better help build a more stable, more prosperous world. An unstable, unfree Asia does not serve our interests. Nor does an Asia mired in poverty and despair. We need you as free and productive as you can be, and we understand that our security presence can provide a foundation for our mutual prosperity.

But we also need your support in addressing the new threats of this new era -- regional conflicts and weapons proliferation. So I am pleased that the ASEAN nations have helped us craft new

and flexible methods for protecting our mutual security interests to meet. Access agreements and increased ASEAN-US dialogue can help us work in harmony to promote stability in this region.

Strong, credible security agreements enable us to meet the second challenge, the challenge of democracy -- a challenge of shared interests and ideals.

Again, ASEAN is helping to spread democracy, in ways that reflect the values, aspirations, and cultures of the nations in this region. ASEAN is trying to help the former communist states in Indochina reintegrate themselves in a world that respects free markets and free people. Those efforts are starting to produce hopeful results.

Just a few weeks ago American diplomats arrived in Phnom Penh for the first time in 16 years. We owe that breakthrough to years of effort by many of the nations represented here today. The Cambodian peace accord signed by Secretary Baker in Paris last October could not have existed without the help and cooperation of ASEAN. This historic agreement offers the very real hope of national reconciliation to the long-suffering people of Cambodia. Additionally, when the Paris Conference agreed on a peace settlement for Cambodia, my government offered to remove our trade embargo as the UN Advance Mission began to implement the settlement. Today I am pleased to announce the lifting of that embargo.

We are now normalizing our ties with Laos and have begun with Vietnam along a path marked by implementation of the Paris

Accords, and for the sake of many, many American families, the satisfactory resolution of our concerns about POW/MIAs.

The key point is this: after being strong, determined, and patient we finally can entertain realistic hopes of building lasting ties of interest and affection with Indochina. Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, democracy and open markets, form the building blocks for what I have called the New World Order.

This victory for democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political rivalry and military adventurism threaten international stability. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism -- protectionism -- can be at least as threatening to world order. The protectionist wars of the 1920s and 1930s deepened the Great Depression, and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War.

On the other hand, during the past half century, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity -- here, in Singapore; throughout free Asia; in Europe and the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to democracy -- a fact that illustrates the indivisible relationship between security, democracy and individual liberty.

The United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. Our trade with Singapore

has increased tenfold during the past 16 years. We exported more to Singapore last year than to Italy or Spain; more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate, while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity.

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, initiated the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process two years ago. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free, market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

This is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of U.S. exports support thousands of good American jobs.

A delegation of major American businesses -- from the automobile industry to computer and electronics firms -- has joined me in order to express our national commitment to free and open trade. Our executives will learn more about trade opportunities here, and they will also work to help our companies compete fairly throughout the world.

The United States is trying to establish an economic operating framework to facilitate and encourage these ties. This past October we agreed to a new Trade and Investment Framework Agreement with Singapore. I also would propose that we negotiate a Bilateral Investment Treaty. When combined with our global efforts through GATT, and our regional initiatives through APEC,

this comprehensive approach can enable us to meet the economic challenges of the post-Cold War era.

I believe in open and fair trade. Nations can achieve astonishing levels of prosperity when they embrace the challenge of the marketplace.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade can play a crucial role in expanding freedom's frontiers. That's why on each stop of this trip I'm calling for urgent action on behalf of the international trading system. I am urging others to join with us in <sup>making</sup> [support of] GATT Director Dunkel's proposed draft *the basis* *for successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round* agreement. While all of us have problems with portions of that draft, none of us can afford to let the progress it represents slip away. Now is the moment for a strong collaborative response. I particularly urge the dynamic trading nations of this region to help us to convince all GATT participants to build the momentum achieve this agreement. A successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round can prepare the way for even greater trade liberalization in years to come -- and greater prosperity for everyone.

GATT ensures that the world will continue moving toward broad economic integration -- and not toward trade blocs. Let me point out that there's a huge difference between a free trade zone -- an oasis of free trade -- and a trade bloc that attempts to hold the rest of the world at bay. We resolutely oppose efforts to create economic "fortresses" -- anywhere.

*NAPTA is not a threat to Asia. It would not encourage the division of the world into trading blocs. Instead, its*

On the other hand, we wholeheartedly endorse free-trade agreements. Our North American Free Trade Agreement will beckon all nations to make the best of the resources and opportunities that the United States, Canada and Mexico have to offer. Our increased growth can stimulate more trade with Asia. And we support efforts to build free trade agreements elsewhere, including among the ASEAN nations.

Consider your own experience. A regime of free trade has enabled Singapore to become one of the Four Tigers of Asia, and one of the fastest developing nations on earth. When other nations' economies falter, you suffer. The worldwide economic slowdown has slowed your rate of economic growth this year -- although most nations would be overjoyed to settle for six-percent growth. Singapore has one of the most open economies on earth, and I appreciate Singapore's leadership in pressing for even greater market freedom around the world.

But we also need to consider the full import of economic development. An economy is the aggregate work, ingenuity and optimism of a nation. The term "economy," encompasses what millions of people do with their lives. Therefore, when we talk of strengthening economies, we mean much more than signing trade pacts. We mean building better lives for our people.

Americans understand that no nation will prosper long without a first-rate educational system. I have encouraged Americans to mount a revolution in education, which we call the America 2000 Education Strategy. America 2000 challenges

citizens to set high standards for their schools, and it encourages all Americans to join forces in creating world-class schools. Meanwhile, we will continue to strengthen our university system, the world's finest -- and the host today to over 200,000 students from Asia. And our APEC Educational Partnership initiative is seeking to link these educational ties to our mutual economic interests.

Once we have given students basic skills, we must give them the freedom to make the most of the knowledge they have acquired. Tax cuts and deregulation in the 1980s helped unleash the greatest peacetime economic recovery in American history. While in my country reducing the tax on capital gains is controversial, most of our competitors impose very low taxes on capital gains. Some, like Singapore, don't tax capital gains at all. We can learn from you -- we can create a climate even more conducive to risk, to innovation, to the bold exploration of new technologies and ideas -- and I'm confident that we will.

Beyond that, the nations of the world want to enjoy the blessings of growth without destroying the environment. Yet we struggle to achieve environmental protection without denying developing nations the opportunity to develop. The United States has environmental expertise and state-of-the-art environmental technology. The Asian nations have environmental challenges. I am pleased to tell you that AID, the US Trade Development Program, the Overseas Private Insurance Corporation, and our Eximbank have developed a creative approach in partnership with

the region to address your environmental concerns while promoting the export of U.S. equipment and technology. This will be good for Asia's environment and good for American jobs.

In conclusion, the nations committed to democracy and free markets have brought the world to a new era, one that promises unprecedented freedom from violence and deprivation. But this world will not simply happen. It will require hard work, tough negotiation, sacrifice, and the courage of our convictions. If we cast our lot with the forces of enlightenment and freedom over the counsels of defeatism and ignorance, we will build a better world -- a world bound by common interests and goals.

Like you, Americans want a world at peace, one in which no blood must be shed for the ideals we all share. So we will maintain a vigorous security presence in order to prevent despots and tyrants from rolling back the triumphs of freedom and democracy.

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Thank you again. May God bless you and the United States of America.

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SNOW/NIX  
SING.TS  
DRAFT THREE  
December 27, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE SINGAPORE LECTURE  
SINGAPORE WESTIN HOTEL  
JANUARY 4, 1991  
1 P.M.

Prime Minister Goh, Senior Minister Lee, thank you for that very kind introduction. Let me take this opportunity to say a few words about these two gentlemen.

Minister Lee, a quarter century ago, you led this small island of cultural and ethnic diversity, of limited physical resources, to independence. Then, through your vision and your force of intellect and will, you forged Singapore's nationhood. You stood courageously in a life and death struggle against the communists -- and you prevailed. You led your nation and your region in the quest for peace and prosperity. Future generations will honor the name of Lee Kwan Yew for years to come.

*Bob has* ~~I also remember those personal moments -- jogging together in Kennelbunk part,~~ *long conversations into the night*  
Prime Minister Goh, I salute you for your wisdom and your vigor in carrying Singapore forward on its path to the future. I pledge America's steadfast friendship as you lead Singapore in facing the challenges of the coming generation.

It's an honor to deliver this lecture, following such distinguished thinkers as Henry Kissinger and Milton Friedman and such accomplished leaders as Brian Mulroney, Helmut Schmidt, Rudd Lubbers, Bob Hawke, Mahathir bin Mohamad and Valery Giscard D'Estaing. [additional acknowledgments]

The addresses in this series reflect the changes in our world. Your first lecturers focused on the ideological and military struggle between socialism and democratic capitalism -- and especially between the United States and what we used to call the Soviet Union.

Think of that phrase for a moment -- "what we used to call the Soviet Union." When citizens pulled down the hammer and sickle ten days ago, and hauled up a new tricolor of freedom over the Kremlin, the Soviet Union ceased to exist -- and the prospect of a new world blossomed before us.

That act culminated a decade of liberation -- a time in which we witnessed the death throes of totalitarianism, and the triumph of systems of government devoted to individual liberty, democratic pluralism, free markets and international engagement.

As this struggle has drawn to a close, these lectures have shifted their focus from military confrontation to matters of economic cooperation.

Our new world has little use for old ways of thinking about the roles and relations of nation-states. The Cold War categories -- North-South, East-West, capitalist-communist -- no longer apply. The future belongs to nations that can remain on the cutting edge of innovation and information; nations that can develop the genius and harness the aspirations their people.

Individuals wield power as never before. An innovator equipped with ideas and the freedom to turn them into inventions can change the way we live and think. Governments that strive

only to maintain a monopoly of power, rather than to strengthen the freedom of the individual, will fall by the wayside, swept away by entrepreneurial and intellectual tides.

Liberation technologies -- telephones, computers, satellite dishes and other devices that transmit news, information and culture in ever greater volumes and at ever greater speeds -- have disabled the weapons of tyranny.

The old world of splintered regions and ideologies has begun to give way to a global village universally committed to the values of individual liberty, democracy, free trade, and universally opposed to aggression and tyranny.

If we are to realize the opportunities of this new era, we must address three intertwined challenges: the new requirements of peace and security, the challenge of promoting democracy, and the challenge of generating greater economic growth and prosperity around the world.

Consider first the challenge of peace and security. The world has learned -- through two world wars, and most recently, through Saddam Hussein's naked aggression -- that the dogs of war can be unleashed any time would-be aggressors doubt the commitment of the powerful to the security of the powerless.

And, as a nation that straddles two great oceans -- a nation tempered by painful wartime experience -- the United States remains committed to engagement in the Atlantic Community and the Asia Pacific region -- and unalterably opposed to isolationism.

A quarter century ago, many feared that free nations would fall like dominoes to the subversion of communism. Now, we can say with pride and a robust sense of irony that the totalitarian powers -- the powers that fomented war all over the globe -- have become the dominoes of the 1990s.

This end to the Cold War gives the United States an opportunity to restructure its military. The closing of bases in the Philippines will not spell the end to American engagement. We will maintain a visible, credible presence in the Asia-Pacific region with our forward deployed forces, and through bilateral defense arrangements with nations of the region. ~~As a matter of fact,~~ fact, this morning I reached agreement with the Government of Singapore to explore in detail how we can transfer a naval logistics facility from Subic Bay in the Philippines to Singapore over the next year. Might I say, we appreciate Singapore's far-sighted approach to the security requirements of a new era.

We don't maintain this presence as an act of charity. Your security and prosperity serve our interests because you can better help build a more stable, more prosperous world. An unstable, unfree Asia does not serve our interests. Nor does an Asia mired in poverty and despair. We need you as free and productive as you can be, and we understand that our security presence can provide a foundation for our mutual prosperity.

But we also need your support in addressing the new threats of this new era -- regional conflicts and weapons proliferation. So I am pleased that the ASEAN nations have helped us craft new

and flexible methods for protecting our mutual security interests to meet. Access agreements and increased ASEAN-US dialogue can help us work in harmony to promote stability in this region.

Strong, credible security agreements enable us to meet the second challenge, the challenge of democracy -- a challenge of shared interests and ideals.

Again, ASEAN is helping to spread democracy, in ways that reflect the values, aspirations, and cultures of the nations in this region. ASEAN is trying to help the former communist states in Indochina reintegrate themselves in a world that respects free markets and free people. Those efforts are starting to produce hopeful results.

Just a few weeks ago American diplomats arrived in Phnom Penh for the first time in 16 years. We owe that breakthrough to years of effort by many of the nations represented here today. The Cambodian peace accord signed by Secretary Baker in Paris last October could not have existed without the help and cooperation of ASEAN. This historic agreement offers the very real hope of national reconciliation to the long-suffering people of Cambodia. Additionally, when the Paris Conference agreed on a peace settlement for Cambodia, my government offered to remove our trade embargo as the UN Advance Mission began to implement the settlement. Today I am pleased to announce the lifting of that embargo.

We are now normalizing our ties with Laos and have begun with Vietnam along a path marked by implementation of the Paris

Accords, and for the sake of many, many American families, the satisfactory resolution of our concerns about POW/MIAs.

The key point is this: after being strong, determined, and patient we finally can entertain realistic hopes of building lasting ties of interest and affection with Indochina. Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, democracy and open markets, form the building blocks for what I have called the New World Order.

This victory for democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political rivalry and military adventurism threaten international stability. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism -- protectionism -- can be at least as threatening to world order. The protectionist wars of the 1920s and 1930s deepened the Great Depression, and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War.

On the other hand, during the past half century, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity -- here, in Singapore; throughout free Asia; in Europe and the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to democracy -- a fact that illustrates the indivisible relationship between security, democracy and individual liberty.

The United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. Our trade with Singapore

has increased tenfold during the past 16 years. We exported more to Singapore last year than to Italy or Spain; more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate, while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity.

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, initiated the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process two years ago. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free, market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

This is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of U.S. exports support thousands of good American jobs.

A delegation of major American businesses -- from the automobile industry to computer and electronics firms -- has joined me in order to express our national commitment to free and open trade. Our executives will learn more about trade opportunities here, and they will also work to help our companies compete fairly throughout the world.

The United States is trying to establish an economic operating framework to facilitate and encourage these ties. This past October we agreed to a new Trade and Investment Framework Agreement with Singapore. I also would propose that we negotiate a Bilateral Investment Treaty. When combined with our global efforts through GATT, and our regional initiatives through APEC,

this comprehensive approach can enable us to meet the economic challenges of the post-Cold War era.

I believe in <sup>free and</sup> open ~~and fair~~ trade. Nations can achieve astonishing levels of prosperity when they embrace the challenge of the marketplace.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade can play a crucial role in expanding freedom's frontiers. That's why on each stop of this trip I'm calling for urgent action on behalf of the international trading system. I am urging others to join with us in support of GATT Director Dunkel's proposed draft agreement. While all of us have problems with portions of that draft, none of us can afford to let the progress it represents slip away. Now is the moment for a strong collaborative response. I particularly urge the dynamic trading nations of this region to help us to convince all GATT participants to build the momentum <sup>to</sup> achieve this agreement. A successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round <sup>^</sup> can prepare the way for even greater trade liberalization in years to come -- and greater prosperity for everyone.

GATT ensures that the world will continue moving toward broad economic integration -- and not toward trade blocs. <sup>I don't have to</sup> ~~Let me~~ point out <sup>to an audience in Singapore</sup> <sup>^</sup> that there's a huge difference between a free trade zone -- an oasis of free trade -- and a trade bloc that attempts to hold the rest of the world at bay. We resolutely oppose efforts to create economic "fortresses" -- anywhere.

On the other hand, we wholeheartedly endorse free-trade agreements. Our North American Free Trade Agreement will beckon all nations to make the best of the resources and opportunities that the United States, Canada and Mexico have to offer. Our increased growth can stimulate more trade with Asia. And we support efforts to build free trade agreements elsewhere, including among the ASEAN nations.

Consider your own experience. A regime of free trade has enabled Singapore to become one of the Four Tigers of Asia, and one of the fastest developing nations on earth. When other nations' economies falter, you suffer. The worldwide economic slowdown has slowed your rate of economic growth this year -- although most nations would be overjoyed to settle for six-percent growth. Singapore has one of the most open economies on earth, and I appreciate Singapore's leadership in pressing for even greater market freedom around the world.

But we also need to consider the full import of economic development. An economy is the aggregate work, ingenuity and optimism of a nation. The term "economy," encompasses what millions of people do with their lives. Therefore, when we talk of strengthening economies, we mean much more than signing trade pacts. We mean building better lives for our people.

Americans understand that no nation will prosper long without a first-rate educational system. I have encouraged Americans to mount a revolution in education, which we call the America 2000 Education Strategy. America 2000 challenges

citizens to set high standards for their schools, and it encourages all Americans to join forces in creating world-class schools. Meanwhile, we will continue to strengthen our university system, the world's finest -- and the host today to over 200,000 students from Asia. And our APEC Educational Partnership initiative is seeking to link these educational ties to our mutual economic interests.

Once we have given students basic skills, we must give them the freedom to make the most of the knowledge they have acquired. Tax cuts and deregulation in the 1980s helped unleash the greatest peacetime economic recovery in American history. While in my country reducing the tax on capital gains is controversial, most of our competitors impose very low taxes on capital gains. Some, like Singapore, don't tax capital gains at all. We can learn from you -- we can create a climate even more conducive to risk, to innovation, to the bold exploration of new technologies and ideas -- and I'm confident that we will.

Beyond that, the nations of the world want to enjoy the blessings of growth without destroying the environment. Yet we struggle to achieve environmental protection without denying developing nations the opportunity to develop. The United States has environmental expertise and state-of-the-art environmental technology. The Asian nations have environmental challenges. I am pleased to tell you that AID, the US Trade Development Program, the Overseas Private Insurance Corporation, and our Eximbank have developed a creative approach in partnership with

the region to address your environmental concerns while promoting the export of U.S. equipment and technology. This will be good for Asia's environment and good for American jobs.

In conclusion, the nations committed to democracy and free markets have brought the world to a new era, one that promises unprecedented freedom from violence and deprivation. But this world will not simply happen. It will require hard work, tough negotiation, sacrifice, and the courage of our convictions. If we cast our lot with the forces of enlightenment and freedom over the counsels of defeatism and ignorance, we will build a better world -- a world bound by common interests and goals.

Like you, Americans want a world at peace, one in which no blood must be shed for the ideals we all share. So we will maintain a vigorous security presence in order to prevent despots and tyrants from rolling back the triumphs of freedom and democracy.

Like you, Americans want to live in a world enriched and enlivened by international trade -- in goods, in ideas, in cultures, and in dreams for the future. We want the opportunity to compete aggressively in the international marketplace and at the same time our consumers want access to the best goods and services that your companies have to offer. We want to live in a world made better by the geniuses and achievements of every culture. So we will advance the prospects for more open trade.

And like you, Americans want a world united and enlightened by freedom and justice, by political pluralism, and by the universal commitment to individual liberty and prosperity.

Since 1784, when the Empress of China sailed for Canton from New York, the United States has tried to build strong ties of commerce with Asia. We remain committed to that vision.

Together, the United States and its Asian-Pacific allies can build a world filled with economic tigers -- nations growing rapidly; pioneering new intellectual, commercial and cultural terrain; spreading the blessings of liberty, democracy and free markets. My trip through Asia this week marks a start: The next step is up to us all.

Thank you again. May God bless you and the United States of America.

*Republic of Singapore?*

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Minister Lee, a quarter century ago, you led this small island of cultural and ethnic diversity, of limited physical resources, to independence. Then, through your vision and your force of intellect and will, you forged Singapore's nationhood. You stood courageously in a life and death struggle against the communists -- and you prevailed. You led your nation and your region in the quest for peace and prosperity. Future generations

*POTUS asked to add from your visit to my home in Kennelhookport, I am pleased to ~~know~~ know you as a friend*  
Prime Minister Goh, I salute you for your wisdom and your

vigor in carrying Singapore forward on its path to the future. I pledge America's steadfast friendship as you lead Singapore in

facing the challenges of the coming generation. *And I am also pleased that you, like many of your countrymen, came to my country for part of your education. These, too, are ties that bind us.*  
It's an honor to deliver this lecture, following such

distinguished thinkers as Henry Kissinger and Milton Friedman and such accomplished leaders as Brian Mulroney, Helmut Schmidt, Rudd Lubbers, Bob Hawke, Mahathir bin Mohamad and Valery Giscard

D'Estaing. Let me also acknowledge at this time, A. V. Leiventals [Chairman, Mobil Oil Singapore], Lee Hee Seng [Deputy Chairman and Board of Trustees, ISEAS], and Dr. Richard Hu [Chairman, Monetary Authority of Singapore and Finance Minister].

The addresses in this series reflect the changes in our world. Your first lecturers focused on the ideological and military struggle between socialism and democratic capitalism -- and especially between the United States and what we used to call the Soviet Union.

Think of that phrase for a moment -- "what we used to call the Soviet Union." When citizens pulled down the hammer and sickle ten days ago, and hauled up a new tricolor of freedom over the Kremlin, the Soviet Union ceased to exist -- and the prospect of a new world blossomed before us.

That act culminated a decade of liberation -- a time in which we witnessed the death throes of totalitarianism, and the triumph of systems of government devoted to individual liberty, democratic pluralism, free markets and international engagement.

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the cutting edge of innovation and information; nations that can develop the genius and harness the aspirations their people.

Individuals wield power as never before. An innovator equipped with ideas and the freedom to turn them into inventions can change the way we live and think. Governments that strive only to maintain a monopoly of power, rather than to strengthen the freedom of the individual, will fall by the wayside, swept away by entrepreneurial and intellectual tides.

Liberation technologies -- telephones, computers, satellite dishes and other devices that transmit news, information and culture in ever greater volumes and at ever greater speeds -- have disabled the weapons of tyranny.

The old world of splintered regions and ideologies has begun to give way to a global village universally committed to the values of individual liberty, democracy, free trade, and universally opposed to aggression and tyranny.

If we are to realize the opportunities of this new era, we must address three intertwined challenges: the new requirements of peace and security, the challenge of promoting democracy, and the challenge of generating greater economic growth and prosperity around the world.

Consider first the challenge of peace and security. The world has learned -- through two world wars, and most recently, through Saddam Hussein's naked aggression -- that the dogs of war can be unleashed any time would-be aggressors doubt the commitment of the powerful to the security of the powerless.

And, as a nation that straddles two great oceans -- a nation tempered by painful wartime experience - the United States remains committed to engagement in the Atlantic Community and the Asia Pacific region -- and unalterably opposed to isolationism.

*This is my vow to you, as long as I am President.*

A quarter century ago, many feared that free nations would fall like dominoes to the subversion of communism. Now, we can say with pride and a robust sense of irony that the totalitarian powers -- the powers that fomented war all over the globe -- have become the dominoes of the 1990s.

*possible  
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*But I want to assure, I all those of this region, that*

This end to the Cold War gives the United States an opportunity to restructure its military. The closing of bases in the Philippines will not spell the end to American engagement.

We will maintain a visible, credible presence in the Asia-Pacific region with our forward deployed forces, and through bilateral defense arrangements with nations of the region. (As a matter of

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lead*

fact, *That's why I'm pleased to announce* this morning *that we the United States have* reached agreement with the Government of Singapore to explore in detail how we can transfer a naval

logistics facility from Subic Bay in the Philippines to Singapore over the next year. ~~Might I say,~~ We appreciate Singapore's far-sighted approach to the security requirements of a new era.

*Close  
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By working cooperatively, we <sup>better</sup> share the <sup>security</sup> responsibilities of the post-Cold War era. (make ongoing)

5

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But we also need your support in addressing the new threats of this new era -- regional conflicts and weapons proliferation. So I am pleased that the ASEAN nations have helped us craft new and flexible methods for protecting our mutual security interests to meet. Access agreements and increased ASEAN-US dialogue can help us work in harmony to promote stability in this region.

Strong, credible security agreements enable us to meet the second challenge, the challenge of democracy -- a challenge of shared interests and ideals.

I know this doesn't sound good, but I worry well get it if we use democ here (you use it really in the labor

positive political changes

Again, ASEAN is helping to spread ~~democracy~~, in ways that reflect the values, aspirations, and cultures of the nations in this region. ASEAN is trying to help the former communist states in Indochina reintegrate themselves in a world that respects free markets and free people. Those efforts are starting to produce hopeful results.

Just a few weeks ago American diplomats arrived in Phnom Penh for the first time in 16 years. We owe that breakthrough to years of effort by many of the nations represented here today. The Cambodian peace accord signed by Secretary Baker in Paris last October could not have existed without the help and cooperation of ASEAN. This historic agreement offers the very real hope of national reconciliation to the long-suffering people of Cambodia. Additionally, when the Paris Conference agreed on a peace settlement for Cambodia, my government offered to remove

our trade embargo as the UN Advance Mission began to implement the settlement. Today I am pleased to announce the lifting of that embargo. *Working with others, we need to turn attention to the economic reconstruction as well as political stability of the deeply wounded land, so it's not just new political reconstruction has a base from which to grow*

~~of that deeply wounded land that must~~ ~~well as political stability of that deeply wounded~~

We are now normalizing our ties with Laos and have begun with Vietnam along a path marked by implementation of the Paris Accords, and for the sake of many, many American families, the satisfactory resolution of our concerns about POW/MIAs.

The key point is this: after being strong, determined, and patient we finally can entertain realistic hopes of building lasting ties of interest and affection with Indochina.

Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, *more open political systems,* ~~democracy~~ and open markets, form the building blocks for what I have called the New World Order.

*The movement towards*  
~~This victory~~ for democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political rivalry and military adventurism threaten international stability. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism -- protectionism -- can be at least as threatening to world order. The protectionist wars of the 1920s and 1930s deepened the Great Depression, and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War.

On the other hand, during the past half century, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity -- here, in Singapore; throughout free Asia; in Europe and the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to



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The United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. Our trade with Singapore has increased tenfold during the past 16 years. We exported more to Singapore last year than to Italy or Spain; more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate, while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity.

(Other is a factual stretch)

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, *helped* initiated the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process two years ago. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free, market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

*Better to use a large number*

This is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of U.S. <sup>merchandise</sup> exports support <sup>at about 20,000</sup> thousands of good American jobs.

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*that we implement this agreement*

The United States is trying to establish an economic operating framework to facilitate and encourage these ties. This past October we agreed to a new Trade and Investment Framework Agreement with Singapore. I ~~also would propose~~ <sup>by</sup> that ~~we~~ <sup>ing</sup> negotiate a Bilateral Investment Treaty. When combined with our global efforts through GATT, and our regional initiatives through APEC, this comprehensive approach can enable us to meet the economic challenges of the post-Cold War era.

I believe in open and fair trade. Nations can achieve astonishing levels of prosperity when they embrace the challenge of the marketplace.

*an especially*

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*collaborative sounds like WWII bad guys*

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Perhaps one of them will be a future PM of Singapore.

about growth, about opportunity,

10

of strengthening economies, we mean much more than signing trade pacts. We mean building better lives for our people.

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developing nations the opportunity to develop. The United States has environmental expertise and state-of-the-art environmental technology. The Asian nations have environmental challenges.

9 So I am pleased to <sup>announce today</sup> ~~tell you~~ that AID, the US Trade Development Program, the Overseas Private Insurance Corporation, and our Eximbank have developed a creative approach in partnership with the region to address your environmental concerns while promoting the export of U.S. equipment and technology. This will be good for Asia's environment and good for American jobs.

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From: Tony Snow

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As this struggle has drawn to a close, these lectures have shifted their focus from military confrontation to matters of economic cooperation.

Today, we stand at the dawn of a new era in international relations -- an era filled with its own dangers and challenges, but bright with possibilities the likes of which we never have seen.

This world has little use for our old ways of thinking about the roles and relations of nation-states. The old categories -- North-South, East-West, capitalist-communist -- no longer apply. We define national power more in terms of economic and intellectual prowess than in terms of sheer military might. The future belongs not necessarily to the nations with the greatest armies, as to nations that can remain on the cutting edge of innovation and information; nations that can develop the genius and harness the ambitions of their people.

Individuals wield power as never before. An innovator equipped with ideas and the freedom to turn them into inventions can change the way we live and think. Governments that strive only to maintain a monopoly on force, rather than to strengthen the freedom and power of the individual, will fall by the wayside, swept away by entrepreneurial and intellectual tides.

Liberation technologies -- telephones, computers, satellite dishes and other devices that transmit news, information and culture in ever greater volumes and at ever greater speeds -- have disabled the old weapons of tyranny.

The old world of splintered regions and ideologies has begun to give way to a global village universally committed to the values of individual liberty, democracy, free trade, and universally opposed to aggression and tyranny.

This world poses three intertwined challenges: the challenge of peace and security, the challenge of democracy, and the challenge of market freedom.

Consider first the challenge of peace and security.

The world has learned -- through two world wars, and most recently, through Saddam Hussein's naked aggression -- that isolationism invites provocation and war.

As a nation that straddles two great oceans, the United States remains committed to engagement in the Atlantic Community and the Asia Pacific region -- and unalterably opposed to isolationism.

Engagement serves the interests of long-term peace. More than 58,000 Americans died in Vietnam. Tens of thousands of bear physical and psychological scars for their service. Although doubters of the age tried to demean their sacrifice, you understood their achievements. I know that many in Singapore argue that our engagement in Vietnam granted this nation a quarter century's head-start on its future.

A quarter century ago, we feared that free nations would fall like dominoes. Now, we can say with satisfaction, relief and a robust sense of irony that the totalitarian powers, the

powers that fomented war all over the globe, have become the dominoes of the 1990s.

This end to the Cold War gives the United States an opportunity to restructure its military. The closing of bases in the Philippines will not spell the end to American engagement.

We will maintain a visible, credible presence in the Asia-Pacific region with our forward deployed forces, and through bilateral

defense arrangements with nations of the region. *This morning I reached*

*agreement with the Government of Singapore to explore in detail how we can transfer a <sup>naval</sup> logistics facility from*

We don't maintain this presence out of charity. Your

*Subic Bay in the Philippines to Singapore over the year ahead. We appreciate Singapore's farsighted*

security and prosperity serve our interests, not simply because

you share our basic ideals, not just because your market beckons,

not just because you command one of the most strategic waterways

on earth. Your wealth and health serve our interests. They will

help us build a world in which nations take full advantage of the productivity, genius and ambitions of other nations.

An unstable Asia doesn't help us. An unfree Asia doesn't help us. A poverty stricken Asia doesn't help us. We need you as free and productive as you can be, and we understand that our security presence can provide a foundation for our mutual prosperity.

But we also need your support in devising arrangements that suit our mutual interests. I'm happy that the ASEAN nations have helped us craft new and flexible methods for protecting America's security interests. Access agreements and ASEAN-US dialog about issues of mutual concern can help us work in harmony to promote stability in this region.

Strong, credible security agreements e  
second challenge, the challenge of democrac  
shared interests and ideals.

Again, ASEAN has played a crucial role  
democracy, in ways that reflect the values,  
cultures of the nations in this region. AS  
drag Burma away from the dark shadows of dictatorial tyranny; it  
has helped former communist states in Indochina to join a new  
order for the ages. I am happy to say that those efforts already  
have produced hopeful results.

Just a few weeks ago American diplomats arrived in Phnom  
Penh for the first time in 16 years. We owe that breakthrough to  
many of the nations represented here today.

By the same token, the Cambodian peace accord signed by  
Secretary Baker in Paris last October would not have existed

without the help and cooperation of ASEAN. This historic  
agreement offers the very real hope of peace and freedom to the  
long-suffering people of Cambodia. Today I am announcing the  
lifting of our trade embargo on Cambodia in keeping with my government

We have normalized our ties with Laos and have begun  
normalizing relations with Vietnam. With your help, we hope to  
resolve our remaining concerns with Vietnam -- the full  
implementation of the Paris Accords, and for the sake of many,  
many American families, the satisfactory resolution of our  
concerns about POW/MIAs.

The key point is this: We finally can entertain realistic  
hopes of building lasting ties of interest and affection with

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offered to  
began to  
implement  
the  
settlement  
step by step

When the Paris Conference agreed on a peace settlement for Cambodia, my government  
offered to remove our trade embargo as the UN Advance Mission  
began to implement the settlement  
Today I am announcing the lifting of our trade embargo on Cambodia in keeping with my government

Indochina. Organizations such as ASEAN, which promote security, democracy and open markets, form the building blocks for what I have called the New World Order.

This victory for democracy leads us to the third challenge for the future, the challenge of building a world of open and fair trade.

Everyone agrees that political and military isolationism threaten to destabilize the world. But no one should doubt that economic isolationism -- protectionism -- can be at least as devastating.

The protectionist wars of the 1920s and 1930s deepened the Great Depression, and set in motion conflicts that hastened the Second World War. The collapse of the international economic system enabled demagogues to sell the poisons of socialism and state control -- and to enslave whole nations for decades.

During the past half century, on the other hand, engagement and trade have produced unprecedented peace and prosperity -- here, in Singapore; throughout free Asia; in Europe and the United States. This prosperity also has led naturally to democracy -- a fact that illustrates the indivisible relationship between security, democracy and individual liberty.

Consider the recent history of China. Economic reforms in 1978 set off a decade of rapid economic growth -- with average annual growth rates of ten percent. This prosperity also fostered hopes of democracy -- hopes that were crushed brutally in Tienanmen Square. Since that horrifying moment, Chinese

democracy has suffered -- and so has the Chinese economy. This is only natural. People who fear for their futures aren't likely to engage in the kinds of activities -- hard work, savings, education, planning -- that keep an economy and a society moving.

In any event, the United States will remain engaged economically, especially in this part of the world. The Asian-Pacific region has become the world's economic dynamo. The economies here continue to grow at an astonishing rate, while enjoying impressive income equality and general prosperity. You have lifted yourselves up. Through hard work and dedication, you have transformed this region. Today, the United States conducts more trade with the Asian-Pacific region than with Europe.

Our trade with Singapore has increased tenfold during the past 16 years. We exported more to Singapore last year than to Italy or Spain; more to Indonesia than to the whole of Eastern Europe. And our trade with ASEAN nations now approaches our total trade volume with Germany.

The ASEAN countries, along with other nations in the region, initiated the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation process two years ago. APEC offers a powerful vehicle for sustaining free, market-based trade, for advancing the cause of regional and global trade liberalization, and for strengthening the cohesion and interdependence of the Asia-Pacific region.

This is important to us. Most of America's recent economic growth has come from export industries. Each billion dollars' worth of merchandise exports can support more than 19,000 good

American jobs. Each billion dollars worth of agricultural exports can support more than 25,000 jobs.

A delegation of major American businesses -- from the automobile industry to computer and electronics firms -- has joined me in order to express our national commitment to free and open trade. Our executives will learn more about trade opportunities here, and they will also work to help our companies compete fairly throughout the world.

But we should not think of economic development too narrowly. An economy is nothing more than the collected work, ingenuity and optimism of a nation. The term "economy," encompasses what millions of people do with their lives. Therefore, when we talk of strengthening economies, we mean much more than signing trade pacts. We mean building better lives for everyone through policies that make us more competitive in the international marketplace.

Americans understand that no nation will prosper long without a first-rate educational system. In recent years, our primary and secondary educational system has not kept pace with the world. I have encouraged Americans to mount a revolution in education, which we call the America 2000 Education Strategy. America 2000 challenges citizens to set high standards for their schools, and it encourages all Americans to join forces in creating world-class schools. Meanwhile, we will continue to strengthen our university system, the world's finest -- and the host today to 205,000 students from Asia.

Once we have given students basic s  
 the freedom to make the most of the know  
 Tax cuts and deregulation in the 1980s u  
 peacetime economic recovery in American  
 build on that record by seeking a dramati  
 gains taxes. After all, most of our cor  
 taxes on capital gains. Some, like Singapore, don't tax capital  
 gains at all. We must create a climate conducive to risk, to  
 innovation, to the bold exploration of new technologies and ideas  
 -- and we will.

The nations of the world want to enjoy the blessings of  
 growth without destroying our environment. Yet we must struggle  
 to protect that environment without denying poorer nations the  
 opportunity to develop as they wish. We must understand that  
 regulations designed to protect the environment sometimes can  
 strangle economies and hamper our efforts to develop technologies  
 that would make our habitat even cleaner. *The US has expertise and technol-  
 ogy to bring to bear in the fast  
 growing economies of this region. In partnership with the region, AID, the US trade Development*

Politicians sometimes flatter themselves by pretending that  
 they can regulate troublesome problems out of existence. Too  
 often, however, those well-meaning efforts merely stall progress  
 toward real and lasting solutions. Together, we all must work to  
 discover the boundaries of prudent regulation -- and the best way  
 to cultivate new jobs, new development, new economic growth.

Above all, I believe in open and fair trade. Nations can  
 achieve astonishing levels of prosperity when they submit  
 themselves to the bracing competition of the marketplace. While

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many countries maintain trade barriers for cultural or political reasons, those barriers make no more sense than the wall that once divided the city of Berlin.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will play a crucial role in expanding freedom's frontiers. A successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round can prepare the way for even greater trade liberalization in years to come -- and greater prosperity for everyone.

GATT ensures that the world will continue moving toward broad economic integration -- and not toward trade blocs. We in the United States have no desire to break into trade factions. There's a huge difference between a free trade zone -- an oasis of free trade -- and a trade bloc that attempts to hold the rest of the world at bay. We resolutely oppose efforts to create economic "fortresses" -- anywhere.

On the other hand, we wholeheartedly endorse free-trade agreements. Our North American Free Trade Agreement will beckon all nations to make the best of the resources and opportunities that the United States, Canada and Mexico have to offer. And we support efforts to build free trade agreements elsewhere.

Consider your own experience. A regime of free trade has enabled Singapore to become one of the Four Tigers of Asia, and one of the fastest developing nations on earth. When other nations' economies falter, you suffer. The worldwide economic slowdown has slowed your rate of economic growth this year -- although most nations would be overjoyed to settle for six-

percent growth. Singapore has one of the most open economies on earth, and I appreciate Singapore's leadership in pressing for even greater market freedom around the world.

Together, nations committed to democracy and free markets have brought the world to the brink of a new era, one that promises unprecedented freedom from violence and deprivation. But we can achieve that future only if we work together to create it. This world will not simply happen: It will require hard work, tough negotiation, sacrifice, and the courage of our convictions.

Yet if we cast our lot with the forces of enlightenment over the counsels of defeatism and ignorance; if we cast our lot with the forces of freedom; we will build a better world. We will build a world bound by common interests and goals; a world united in its determination to avoid depression and global war.

I know I have covered an enormous amount of ground in my talk. So let me describe in concrete terms what the United States seeks -- in its own interests -- from the new world we will build.

Americans want a world at peace, one in which no American will have to shed blood for the ideals we all share. Americans want to maintain a vigorous security presence in order to prevent despots from fomenting war, and to stall tyrants who want to roll back the triumphs of freedom and democracy.

Americans want to live in a world enriched and enlightened by international trade -- in goods, in ideas, in cultures, and in

dreams for the future. We want to live in a world made better by the geniuses and achievements of every culture.

Americans want the opportunity to compete aggressively in the international marketplace. Workers in Seattle and Seacaucus want the chance to compete for business in Singapore and beyond. At the same time American consumers want access to the best goods and services that your companies have to offer.

Americans want a world united and enlivened by free trade and fair trade; by a universal commitment to individual liberty, political pluralism, and greater individual prosperity and personal fulfillment.

Since 1784, when the Empress of China sailed for Canton from New York, the United States has tried to build strong ties of commerce with Asia, while working to prevent hegemonic powers from stalling freedom's progress. We remain committed to that vision.

Together, the United States and its Asian-Pacific allies can build a world filled with economic tigers -- nations growing rapidly; pioneering new intellectual, commercial and cultural terrain; spreading the blessings of liberty, democracy and free markets. My trip through Asia this week marks a start: The next step is up to us all.

Thank you again. May God bless you and the United States of America.

# # # #

*Quarter century*  
Senior Minister Lee, not only Singaporeans but the people of my country and all the peoples of the free world owe you a debt of gratitude. ~~Three decades~~ ago you led this little island with its cultural and ethnic diversity and its limited physical resources to independence. Then through your vision and your force of intellect and will, you forged Singapore ~~into a great nationhood.~~

*early days*  
During the ~~infancy of independent~~ Singapore, you stood courageously in life-or-death struggle against the Communists -- and you prevailed. You have led your nation and your region in attaining peace, prosperity and social progress. For generations to come free peoples will ~~venerate~~ Lee Kwan Yew and his achievements. *honor the name of*

Prime Minister Goh, I salute you for your wisdom and your vigor in carrying Singapore forward on its path to the future. I pledge America's steadfast friendship as you lead Singapore in facing the challenges of the coming generation.