

**KEYNOTE SPEECH BY  
THE HON. DATO' SERI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI AHMAD BADAWI  
AT THE ASIA PACIFIC ROUNDTABLE AT KUALA LUMPUR  
1 JUNE 2005**

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ASSALAMUALAIKUM WARAHMATULLAHI WABARAKATUH AND GOOD AFTERNOON

YANG TERHORMAT BAPAK JUSUF WANANDI  
CHAIRMAN ASEAN-ISIS

DATO' JAWHAR HASSAN  
DIRECTOR GENERAL ISIS MALAYSIA

DISTINGUISHED PARTICIPANTS AND GUESTS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

1. I REGRET COMMENCING MY ADDRESS ON A DEPRESSING NOTE. BUT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION SINCE THE ROUNDTABLE LAST CONVENED TWELVE MONTHS AGO HAVE NOT BEEN VERY FAVOURABLE. THE DEVASTATING EFFECTS OF THE TSUNAMI THAT HIT COUNTRIES IN THE EASTERN AND NORTHERN PERIPHERIES OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AT THE END OF LAST YEAR ARE STILL BEING FELT FIVE MONTHS LATER. MORE THAN A QUARTER MILLION LIVES WERE LOST. MOST OF THE LIVES LOST WERE IN INDONESIA, BUT MANY ALSO DIED IN THAILAND, SRI LANKA, INDIA AND HERE IN MALAYSIA. MILLIONS MORE HAVE BEEN LEFT TRAUMATISED, HOMELESS AND WITHOUT MEANS OF SUSTENANCE. WE STILL CONTINUE TO BE EXPOSED TO THE AFTERSHOCKS TODAY.

2. OUR HEARTS GO TO THE VICTIMS WHO LOST THEIR LIVES AND TO THOSE WHO SURVIVED. THE TSUNAMI TRIGGERED ONE OF HISTORY'S MOST SPECTACULAR MULTINATIONAL EFFORTS FOR RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION. MY COUNTRY WAS ALSO INVOLVED IN THIS MUCH-NEEDED RELIEF EFFORT, ALTHOUGH WE TOO DID NOT ESCAPE THE WRATH OF THE TIDAL WAVE. THERE IS MUCH THAT REMAINS TO BE DONE, AND IT CAN TAKE AS MUCH AS A DECADE BEFORE REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION ARE COMPLETE. MALAYSIA CONTINUES TO BE COMMITTED TO THIS HUMANITARIAN CAUSE. THE TSUNAMI REMINDED ALL OF US, AS DID THE FINANCIAL CRISIS THAT SWEEPED THROUGH THE EAST ASIAN REGION SOME SEVEN YEARS AGO, THAT THREATS TO OUR SECURITY COME IN MANY FORMS, AND THAT WE MUST BE VIGILANT TOWARDS ALL OF THEM.

3. HERE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA THE SITUATION CONTINUES TO BE REMARKABLY STABLE AND PEACEFUL ON THE WHOLE. HOWEVER, WE ARE BESET BY SEVERAL DOMESTIC AND BILATERAL PROBLEMS OF A SECURITY NATURE. LONG-STANDING CONFLICTS CONTINUE TO FESTER IN MYANMAR, INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES. AFTER MORE THAN A DECADE OF PEACE AND STABILITY, VIOLENCE AND UNREST ARE AGAIN AFFLICTING THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES OF THAILAND. RELATIONS BETWEEN INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA BECAME STRAINED OVER EXPLORATION

RIGHTS GIVEN TO COMPANIES BY BOTH SIDES IN DISPUTED WATERS. VERY RECENTLY, RELATIONS BETWEEN THAILAND AND CAMBODIA ALSO CAME UNDER STRESS ALONG THEIR COMMON BORDER.

4. TERRORISM CONTINUES TO BE A MATTER OF CONCERN IN THE REGION DESPITE THE PUNITIVE AND DISRUPTIVE MEASURES TAKEN. THE AL QAEDA-LINKED JEMAAH ISLAMIAH POSES A PERSISTENT THREAT TO UNITED STATES AND ALLIED INTERESTS AS WELL AS THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF INDONESIA, THE PHILIPPINES, MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

5. OF EVEN GRAVER IMPORT TO FUTURE SECURITY AND STABILITY IN THE ASIA PACIFIC ARE DEVELOPMENTS FARTHER NORTH INVOLVING THE NORTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES. I FEAR THAT WE HAVE REACHED A PIVOTAL JUNCTURE IN OUR HISTORY, FOR A SEEMINGLY INEXORABLE TREND TOWARDS AGGRAVATION OF THREATS HAS BEEN SET IN MOTION RECENTLY. THE TRAGIC IRONY IS THAT THIS AGGRAVATION IS COMPLETELY UNNECESSARY AND DOES NOT SERVE ANY COUNTRY'S FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS. THE CONSEQUENCES TO THE REGION AND THE WORLD WILL BE NOTHING LESS THAN CATASTROPHIC IF CURRENT TRENDS CONTINUE. ANY FUTURE CONFLICT WILL DRAW INTO ITS VORTEX THE WORLD'S MOST POTENT ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWERS WITH A HISTORY OF BITTER WAR AGAINST EACH OTHER, THOUGH THE ALIGNMENTS WILL BE DIFFERENT THIS TIME AROUND.

6. UNTIL RECENTLY, CHINA HAD NEVER BEEN OPENLY DECLARED A MILITARY THREAT OR POTENTIAL THREAT. SOME COUNTRIES MAY HAVE QUIETLY HARBOURED THAT VIEW HOWEVER TENUOUS THE GROUNDS, BUT NONE OVERTLY DESCRIBED CHINA AS A POTENTIAL THREAT. THIS HAS NOW CHANGED. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN HAVE ISSUED A JOINT STATEMENT DECLARING TAIWAN A MATTER OF MUTUAL SECURITY CONCERN.

7. SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS HAVE ALSO DETERIORATED OVER A NUMBER OF OTHER ISSUES. THE DISPUTE OVER THE SENKAKUS, ACTIVITIES BY BOTH COUNTRIES IN DISPUTED WATERS IN THE EAST CHINA SEA, FRESH PROTESTS REGARDING VISITS TO THE YASUKUNI SHRINE, RISING ANTI-JAPANESE SENTIMENT AND THE TARGETING OF JAPANESE BUSINESSES IN CHINA, AND CHINA'S VIEWS WHICH ARE CONSIDERED UNSUPPORTIVE OF JAPAN'S PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ARE ADDING TO THE STRAINS. BEHIND ALL THIS IS THE PERCEPTION, IN CHINA AND ELSEWHERE, THAT CHINA'S GROWING STRATEGIC WEIGHT AS A RESULT OF ITS ECONOMIC RISE AND CONCOMITANT MILITARY ENHANCEMENT, ARE INTENSIFYING MEASURES TO KEEP CHINA DOWN.

8. DEEPLY ETCHED MEMORIES OF FOREIGN OCCUPATION ALSO SUSTAIN THE DISTRUST AND ILL-FEELING BETWEEN CHINA AND THE TWO KOREAS ON THE ONE HAND AND JAPAN ON THE OTHER. THEY FORM A STUBBORN OBSTACLE TO

RECONCILIATION IN A PART OF THE WORLD WHERE THE GHOSTS OF CONFLICTS DATING FROM A HUNDRED YEARS AGO STILL LINGER.

9. THE CONFRONTATION OVER NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAMME CONTINUES UNABATED. COUNTRIES ADVOCATING MODERATION AND MUTUAL ACCOMMODATION HAVE SO FAR BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL AS THE HARDLINERS HAVE THEIR WAY. IN THE MEANTIME THE REGION AND THE WORLD ARE INCREASINGLY FACING THE PROSPECT OF YET ANOTHER NUCLEAR WEAPON STATE, THIS TIME IN THE FORM OF NORTH KOREA.

10. THE NUCLEAR PROBLEM INVOLVING NORTH KOREA, OVERLAID WITH PRESSURES FOR REGIME CHANGE, SHOULD NOT OBSCURE THE OTHER GREAT ISSUE ON THE PENINSULA. THIS IS THE CONTINUING EFFORTS OF A NATION DIVIDED BY THE EXIGENCIES OF WAR HALF A CENTURY AGO TO REUNIFY UNDER A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULA.

11. REGIONAL SECURITY IS ALSO SERIOUSLY CHALLENGED BY THE CONTINUING HOSTILITIES AND TENSIONS ACROSS THE TAIWAN STRAITS AS CHINA SEEKS TO RESTORE WHAT IT PERCEIVES AS ITS TERRITORIAL AND NATIONAL INTEGRITY. THE SITUATION REMAINS THE SINGLE MOST LIKELY FLASHPOINT FOR MILITARY CONFRONTATION. ON THIS FRONT TOO, POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES THAT CAN EASILY CO-EXIST COLLIDE INSTEAD.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

12. I FEEL OBLIGED TO FLAG JUST ONE MORE MAJOR THREAT LOOMING OVER THE ASIA PACIFIC. THIS IS THE THREAT OF AN AVIAN INFLUENZA PANDEMIC ORIGINATING IN THE REGION. ACCORDING TO THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION, THE FLU COULD CLAIM THE LIVES OF ANYTHING UP TO SEVEN MILLION PEOPLE, MAKE MORE THAN A BILLION PERSONS ILL AND HOSPITALISE UP TO 28 MILLION OF THEM. SO FAR THE CASES OF HUMAN INFECTION HAVE BEEN FROM ANIMALS, BUT THE FIRST CASES OF SUSPECTED HUMAN-TO-HUMAN TRANSMISSION ARE ALREADY BEING REPORTED. IF AVIAN FLU SPREADS UNCHECKED AND MERGES WITH THE H.I.V./AIDS PANDEMIC, THE WORLD INCLUDING THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION MUST BRACE ITSELF FOR A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER OF COLOSSAL PROPORTIONS. OVER 9.2 MILLION PEOPLE IN THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION AND SOUTH ASIA ARE ALREADY ESTIMATED TO BE INFECTED WITH H.I.V./AIDS.

13. INFECTIOUS DISEASES RECOGNISE NO BORDERS. IN THE CASE OF AVIAN FLU, MIGRATORY BIRDS, ANIMALS AND HUMANS CAN CARRY THE VIRUS ACROSS SEAS AND CONTINENTS TO INFECT ALL CORNERS OF THE PLANET. "ASIAN" FLU CAN EASILY BECOME A MISNOMER, AND BECOME GLOBAL FLU. IT IS THEREFORE IMPERATIVE THAT ALL EFFORTS ARE TAKEN TO CONTAIN AND ELIMINATE THE DISEASE. GLOBAL HEALTH ORGANISATIONS, NATIONAL HEALTH INSTITUTIONS AND RESEARCH CENTRES SHOULD JOIN HANDS TO DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT

MEASURES THAT CAN CHECK AND DEFEAT THIS LATEST THREAT TO HUMAN WELL-BEING.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

14. LET ME RETURN NOW TO THE DETERIORATION IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN AND THE HARDENING OF THE STRATEGIC ALIGNMENTS IN THE REGION THAT IS CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE. AS I STATED EARLIER, THIS CAN HAVE POTENTIALLY DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES ON REGIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY. IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES, THE REGION AND THE WORLD THAT THE SLIDE IS ARRESTED, AND THAT HARMONIOUS RELATIONS PREVAIL. IT IS ALSO IN THE INTERESTS OF EVERYONE THAT DEFENCE AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN THE REGION DO STRENGTHEN PEACE AND TRANQUILLITY, RATHER THAN ADD TO TENSIONS AND PRECIPITATE THE VERY THREATS THEY ARE DESIGNED TO AVERT.

15. WITH REGARD TO SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS, I BELIEVE THERE ARE THREE PRIMARY OBSTACLES THAT NEED TO BE OVERCOME, NAMELY HISTORY, POLITICS AND GEOGRAPHY. LET ME SUGGEST THAT THERE ARE THREE POSSIBLE APPROACHES FOR REDUCING TENSIONS AND FINDING SOLUTIONS.

16. FIRST, EACH SIDE COULD MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND AND ACCOMMODATE THE CONCERNS AND GRIEVANCES OF THE OTHER PARTY. A SMALL CONCESSION THAT DOES NOT IMPINGE IN ANY WAY UPON THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE NATION CONCERNED IS ALL THAT MAY BE NEEDED TO SOOTH HISTORICAL SENSITIVITIES AND RESTORE GOODWILL. SMALL STEPS TAKEN BY BOTH SIDES CAN BRING ENORMOUS MUTUAL BENEFIT. A VISIT WITHHELD, AS WELL AS A DAMAGE COMPENSATED, WILL GO A CONSIDERABLE WAY TOWARDS COOLING EMOTIONS AND MENDING RELATIONS.

17. EVENTUALLY OF COURSE, THE GOAL SHOULD BE TO RECONCILE WITH THE BITTER PAST, NOT ONLY ON THE PART OF JAPAN AND CHINA, BUT ALSO ON THE PART OF THE TWO KOREAS, AS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN EUROPE. THIS WOULD BE EASIER IF ON THE ONE HAND NARROW NATIONALIST INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORY ARE NOT CONDONED, AND ON THE OTHER, THERE ARE NO EXTREME AND REPEATED DEMANDS FOR CONTRITION. IF HISTORY IS SUCCESSFULLY LAID TO REST, IT WILL MAKE POSSIBLE A NEW ERA OF MUTUAL TRUST AND DYNAMIC COOPERATION.

18. SECOND, EACH SIDE COULD MAKE GREATER USE OF QUIET DIPLOMACY TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES. DIPLOMACY CONDUCTED IN THE BLARE AND GLARE OF PUBLICITY HAS ITS USES, BUT OFTEN PROVIDES LESS ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE AND ACCOMMODATION. THE MEDIA HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN THIS REGARD. IT COULD REFRAIN FROM WHIPPING UP POPULAR SENTIMENT AT HOME AND ANTAGONISING PUBLIC OPINION IN THE OTHER COUNTRY, EVEN AS IT PROVIDES NECESSARY INFORMATION.

19. THIRD, THE SOONER THE OUTSTANDING TERRITORIAL DISPUTES IN NORTHEAST ASIA ARE RESOLVED THE BETTER IT WOULD BE FOR LONG-TERM PEACE AND STABILITY. IN EVERY CONTINENT, NOT LEAST IN EUROPE, DISPUTES OVER TERRITORY HAVE OFTEN LED TO WAR. THIS HAPPENED IN NORTHEAST ASIA BEFORE. IT CAN EASILY HAPPEN AGAIN. TERRITORIAL DISPUTES OFTEN ALSO STRAIN RELATIONS AND FUEL MILITARY COMPETITION. WHERE BILATERAL APPROACHES FAIL IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO EXPLORE INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, AS HAS BEEN ATTEMPTED SUCCESSFULLY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

20. IN MY VIEW, THE STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY AND DEFENCE ALLIANCES IN THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION IS BOTH UNNECESSARY AND DESTABILISING. IT IS HAPPENING WITHOUT CREDIBLE CAUSE, AND AT A TIME WHEN IT IS LEAST JUSTIFIED. IT SERVES TO PROVOKE MORE THAN IT REASSURES.

21. THE STRENGTHENING OF ALLIANCES MAY BE UNDERSTANDABLE IF THERE IS A RISING MILITARY POWER, OR COALITION OF MILITARY POWERS, THAT WILL SOON THREATEN THE MILITARY SUPREMACY OF THE EXISTING HEGEMONIC ORDER. BUT THIS IS NOT THE CASE EITHER, WHETHER IN THE ASIA PACIFIC OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD.

22. NO ONE HOWEVER, CAN IGNORE THE RAPIDLY GROWING STRATEGIC WEIGHT OF CHINA. CHINA HAS ONE-SIXTH OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION. CHINA'S ECONOMY IS NOW LARGER THAN JAPAN'S IN P.P.P. TERMS, AND IS SECOND ONLY TO THE UNITED STATES. AT PRESENT RATES OF GROWTH, CHINA WILL BECOME THE WORLD'S LARGEST ECONOMY IN P.P.P. TERMS WITHIN TWO DECADES. WHEN THIS HAPPENS, IT WILL MARK A RETURN TO HISTORY BETWEEN THE 15TH AND 17TH CENTURIES, WHEN CHINA WAS THE WORLD'S LARGEST ECONOMY. WHATEVER THE CASE, THIS CENTURY WILL AT LEAST MARK A CONTEST FOR ECONOMIC SUPREMACY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES, CHINA AND INDIA, WITH A UNITED EUROPE AND JAPAN NOT FAR BEHIND.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

23. I HAPPEN TO HOLD THE VIEW THAT THE CHINA OF TOMORROW, NO LESS THAN THE CHINA OF TODAY, WILL BE A FORCE FOR PEACE AND STABILITY UNLESS ITS INTEGRITY AND VITAL INTERESTS ARE THREATENED. NEVERTHELESS, ANY NATION THAT IS ABLE TO AMASS MASSIVE STRATEGIC CLOUT CANNOT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED. POWER OFTEN TRIGGERS AMBITIONS FOR DOMINANCE. WHEN IT IS PREPONDERANT ENOUGH, POWER CAN STIMULATE ASPIRATIONS FOR REGIONAL OR GLOBAL HEGEMONY. ANY HEGEMONY, FROM WHATEVER SOURCE, IS INHERENTLY UNDESIRABLE. HEGEMONY BREEDS ARROGANCE AND A SELF-ENDOWED SENSE OF EXCEPTIONALISM. IT KINDLES TENDENCIES FOR EXCESS, AND FOR THE IMPOSITION OF ONE'S OWN AGENDA UPON OTHERS.

24. WE IN THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION SHOULD THEREFORE WORK TOWARDS A REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ORDER THAT INHIBITS HEGEMONY AND CURBS ITS EXCESSES. THE ARGUMENT THAT HEGEMONY, EVEN IF NOT DESIRABLE, IS NECESSARY FOR PEACE AND STABILITY, CAN ONLY BE VALID FOR AN ANARCHIC ENVIRONMENT. EVEN THEN, IT CAN ONLY BE VALID TO A DEGREE. FORTUNATELY, SUCH AN ENVIRONMENT NO LONGER EXISTS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER BASED ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL NORMS THAT GOVERN INTER-STATE BEHAVIOUR. IN SOME REGIONS SUCH AS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, WE HAVE REINFORCED THIS INTERNATIONAL ORDER WITH REGIONAL NORMS AND RULES OF CONDUCT.

25. HOWEVER, WE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THIS INTERNATIONAL ORDER FURTHER, BECAUSE IT IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY ROBUST. IT IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY EFFECTIVE IN DISCOURAGING HEGEMONIC BEHAVIOUR. THE MOST POWERFUL STATES CAN STILL FLOUT INTERNATIONAL LAW AND BE ACCOUNTABLE, IF AT ALL, ONLY TO THEMSELVES. WE THEREFORE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE REGIME OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL NORMS. EQUALLY IMPORTANTLY, WE MUST REINFORCE THE PENALTIES AND DETERRENTS FOR VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND NORMS. BEYOND THESE, WE MUST REFORM AND STRENGTHEN GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS AND REGIONAL STRUCTURES THAT PROMOTE A JUST AND PEACEFUL ORDER.

26. IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AS IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, A JUST AND PEACEFUL ORDER CAN ONLY BE FORTHCOMING FROM A SYSTEM THAT IS BASED ON STRONG PRINCIPLES OF GOOD DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE. AMONG THESE PRINCIPLES ARE UNIVERSAL ENFRANCHISEMENT; THE EQUALITY OF THOSE WHO CONSTITUTE THE GLOBAL AND REGIONAL CITIZENRY; JUST LAW; THE RULE OF LAW; RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER; THE PURSUIT OF COMMON WELL-BEING; MUTUAL RESPECT; MUTUAL TOLERANCE; GOVERNANCE THROUGH CONSULTATION AND MAXIMAL CONSENSUS; PROTECTION OF RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHTS OF VULNERABLE AND DISADVANTAGED GROUPS; TRANSPARENCY; AND ACCOUNTABILITY.

27. ALL STATES, AND ESPECIALLY THE MAJOR POWERS, SHOULD PUT THEIR FULL WEIGHT BEHIND THIS INITIATIVE, BECAUSE IT BENEFITS THEIR LONG-TERM INTEREST. EVEN THE STATES THAT ARE THE MOST POWERFUL NOW, WHO MAY SEE LITTLE INCENTIVE IN FURTHER SUBMITTING THEMSELVES TO A MORE BINDING AND EGALITARIAN FRAMEWORK THAT CONSTRAINS HEGEMONIC BEHAVIOUR, WOULD FIND IT IN THEIR BEST LONG-TERM INTEREST TO DO SO. THIS IS BECAUSE THEIR PRIMACY IS ONLY TEMPORARY. HISTORY IS REplete WITH EXAMPLES OF THE FALL OF EMPIRES THAT THOUGHT THAT THE SUN WOULD NEVER SET ON THEM.

28. INDEED, THIS IS A PARTICULARLY OPPORTUNE MOMENT TO UNDERTAKE THIS ENTERPRISE FOR THE REFORM AND ENHANCEMENT OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE. WE ARE AT THE CONFLUENCE OF AT LEAST THREE FAVOURABLE FACTORS. THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE FACTORS IS THAT LATER THIS YEAR, IN SEPTEMBER, WORLD LEADERS WILL GATHER IN NEW YORK TO REVIEW THE PROGRESS MADE IN THE

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS MILLENNIUM DECLARATION. THEY WILL CONSIDER THE REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL. IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THE REPORT IS MOST APTLY AND SIGNIFICANTLY ENTITLED "IN LARGER FREEDOM: TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT, SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL". THIS GATHERING OF WORLD LEADERS PROVIDES A RARE AND VALUABLE OPPORTUNITY TO ENHANCE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE. WE MUST APPREHEND THIS OPPORTUNITY.

29. THE SECOND FAVOURABLE FACTOR FOR CONSTRUCTIVE REFORM IS THAT THE MOST POWERFUL NATION TODAY, THE ONE WITH THE GREATEST CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE CHANGE, NAMELY THE UNITED STATES, IS ALSO THE NATION THAT HAS BEEN MOST COMMITTED TO PRINCIPLES OF GOOD INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE. IN SAYING THIS I AM NOT UNMINDFUL OF THE GENERALLY HELD VIEW THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS STRAYED FROM SOME OF THESE PRINCIPLES, ESPECIALLY IN RECENT YEARS. BUT I ALSO TAKE NOTE OF THE FACT THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT ARCHITECT OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS CHARTER, AND THE LARGEST CONTRIBUTOR TO THE ORGANISATION, IS ALSO THE UNITED STATES. MANY OF THE NOBLE IDEAS AND IDEALS THAT INSPIRED THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS CHARTER CAME FROM THE UNITED STATES. THE WORLD THEREFORE LOOKS TO THAT NATION FOR ANOTHER INSPIRED MOMENT OF LEADERSHIP. WE HOPE IT WILL BE ABLE TO RISE TO THE OCCASION, AND NOT FAIL US.

30. THE THIRD FAVOURABLE FACTOR IS CHINA. IF CHINA IS INDEED SET TO EMERGE AS ONE OF THE LEADING POWERS OF TOMORROW, THEN WE CAN ALSO BE OPTIMISTIC. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT CHINA WILL CHAMPION CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE AND NOT OBSTRUCT IT, FOR IF ANY NATION IS AGAINST HEGEMONY, IT IS CHINA. INDEED, CHINA HAS REPEATEDLY DECLARED ITS OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY, AND THIS FORMS A CENTRAL PILLAR OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY. WE HOPE CHINA WILL NOT FAIL US.

31. WE ALSO LOOK TO ALL NATIONS, HERE IN THE ASIA PACIFIC AND ELSEWHERE, TO HELP FOSTER AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER THAT IS MORE RELEVANT TO THE TIMES. WE SEEK AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER THAT IS MORE REPRESENTATIVE, AND THAT BETTER REFLECTS THE INTERESTS OF THE MAJORITY IN THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY. WE SEEK AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN WHICH ALL NATIONS, SMALL AS WELL AS LARGE, CAN BE EQUALLY ASSURED OF SECURITY AND AN EQUITABLE OPPORTUNITY TO PROSPER.

32. CERTAINLY, OPPORTUNITIES FOR REFORM AND ENHANCEMENT OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE ARE FEW AND FAR BETWEEN. WE THEREFORE LOOK TO COURAGEOUS AND ENLIGHTENED LEADERS TO DISPLAY HISTORIC STATESMANSHIP AND TO SEIZE THE DAY TO SECURE THE WORLD A MORE JUST, PEACEFUL AND PROPITIOUS FUTURE.

33. ON THAT NOTE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I WISH YOU A SUCCESSFUL AND REWARDING CONFERENCE.

THANK YOU.