

MPs' TRIBUTES TO MR LEE

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MASAGOS ZULKIFLI
MR LEE SAFEGUARDED MINORITIES' SELF-ESTEEM

CHIA YONG YONG

I WOULD NOT BE WHAT I AM TODAY IF NOT FOR HIM



INDRANEE RAJAH

HE CARED DEEPLY FOR SINGAPOREANS AND SINGAPORE



CHRISTOPHER DE SOUZA

THANK YOU, MR LEE, FOR YOUR ENCOURAGEMENT



THE STRAITS TIMES

— CELEBRATING 170 YEARS, SINCE 1845 —

FRIDAY, MARCH 27, 2015

MPs hail Mr Lee's 60 years in House

Longest-serving MP had served Tanjong Pagar since 1955, became founding PM, and shaped today's Singapore



At yesterday's special sitting of Parliament to pay tribute to Mr Lee Kuan Yew, a spray of white flowers occupied his chair (left). The simple, 110-minute session ended with a minute of silence. PHOTOS: MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS AND INFORMATION

By **CHUA MUI HOONG**
OPINION EDITOR

AN EMPTY chair with a small spray of white flowers was a poignant reminder of a vast gap in Parliament House yesterday.

Mr Lee Kuan Yew's seat in the front row, fourth from the corner, opposite the Front Bench, was empty.

He will never sit there again. When former deputy prime minister Wong Kan Seng came in and was confronted with the sight, he took his seat next to it and dabbed his eyes discreetly. He later described the day as one of the saddest of his life.

Mr Goh Chok Tong, whose seat is on the other side of Mr Lee's, kept looking left. "But he was not there," he said later.

Yesterday, the House that Mr Lee served for 60 years gave him a fitting farewell, with a special 110-minute sitting both understated and simple. Most male MPs wore white shirts and dark ties with black ribbons; the women came in dark dresses and jackets, white roses on their chests.

In the public galleries were former MPs, unionists, civil servants, students and members of the Lee family.

The 11 MPs who spoke recorded the nation's thanks for Mr Lee's contributions and highlighted his role in leading Singapore from mudflats to metropolis and in building a multiracial society.

Speaker Halimah Yacob kicked off the proceedings, recounting how Mr Lee entered the colonial Legislative Assembly as the Mem-

ber for Tanjong Pagar in 1955.

He led the People's Action Party to victory and self-government in 1959. He went on to lead Singapore for 31 years till 1990 as Prime Minister, and remained in Cabinet until 2011. He was still representing Tanjong Pagar when he died on Monday, aged 91, the longest-serving MP.

Madam Halimah highlighted remarks he made in 1999, when MPs moved from the old Parliament House to the current building. Noting that Parliament was an arena for the contest of ideas on policies, he said: "In this Chamber, we are playing for keeps. The future of Singapore and its people... is not a question for light-hearted banter."

Matters of life and death, of policy and politics, were raised by

Mr Lee over the decades.

Leader of the House Ng Eng Hen highlighted one milestone - Mr Lee's call to Singaporeans to adapt to the reality of the British military withdrawal in 1968, taking away one-fifth of Singapore's GDP: "Adapt and adjust, without any whimpering or wringing of hands." He added that "the world does not owe us a living and ... we cannot live by the begging bowl".

That hard-headed approach would extend to debates on bilingualism, the judiciary, ministerial salaries and race, among others.

Mr Low Thia Khiang of the Workers' Party credited Mr Lee's "outstanding wisdom and courage" in promoting Singapore to the world, and winning the respect of major powers.

But his remark that "many Singaporeans were sacrificed during the process of nation-building and policymaking" drew a swift rebuttal from Ms Indranee Rajah that the sacrifice required was to "set aside divisions and animosity in the interest of national unity".

Mr Masagos Zulkifli said in Malay that Mr Lee's most precious legacy is "a harmonious, multiracial society". The Malay community in Singapore, he said, was proud that it could compete and excel in education and employment on an equal footing, without

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ter a state funeral.

Ms Indranee said Singaporeans responded thus because they knew that all of Mr Lee's actions sprang from his deep care for Singaporeans. She said that was Mr Lee's legacy: "a people united; a people with heart; a nation strong and free".

The most emotional tribute came from someone who never met Mr Lee.

Nominated MP Chia Yong Yong, who uses a wheelchair, said that if she had been born anywhere else in Asia, "as a girl with a disability coming from a poor family with no connections, I would not have been able to go to school, enter a profession and serve the community today".

In words that drew hearty thumps of approval in the House, and will resonate with many more outside it, Ms Chia said: "Son of Singapore. Father of Singapore. Pardon my inability to craft a tribute worthy of you. Words fail me."

"And today, all that I can say to you, my first Prime Minister, is what I never had the opportunity to tell you in person: Thank you, Mr Lee."

MPs then stood to observe a minute of silence, before filing out in groups to pay homage to the man who started it all.

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Germanwings co-pilot 'deliberately crashed plane'

THE co-pilot of the Germanwings plane that crashed in the French Alps, killing all 150 people aboard, appears to have brought the A-320 Airbus down deliberately, a French prosecutor said yesterday.

German Andreas Lubitz, 28, left in control of the Airbus after the captain left the cockpit,

refused to reopen the door and operated a control that sent the plane into its fatal descent on Tuesday, the prosecutor from the city of Marseille said. The prosecutor said Lubitz was not known to be a terrorist and there were no grounds to consider the crash to be a terrorist incident.

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LYING IN STATE

More organised, but more people

Wait more pleasant with new queue system, but delay is as long as before

By RACHEL AU-YONG, MIRANDA YEO and WALTER SIM

A NEW queue system put in place yesterday for people to pay their last respects to the late Mr Lee Kuan Yew shortened waiting times in the morning, but could not hold back the unceasing crowd by nightfall.

Early birds who began lining up in the morning to get to Parliament House, where Mr Lee is lying in state, did so in 45 minutes. But by 11pm, an official announcement said the wait would take seven hours.

However, such was the sheer volume of numbers that ushers on the ground said the reality was an eight-hour wait. This put the queue time back to what it was the day before, on the first day of public mourning.

The number of visitors over the two days, as of 11pm yesterday, was 147,791.

Yesterday, even those in the "priority" queue – for the elderly with their families, and those with children or special needs – were told by ushers the wait would be at least seven hours.

And as day turned to night, the priority queue began restricting entry for the elderly to those accompanied by only one adult – as at least one family of three found out to their dismay and told The Straits Times about it.

Secretary Lily Wong, 60, like many others, left the priority queue on hearing of the longer delay. "I'm not dressed to go to work tomorrow," she said.

An usher advised people to go to community clubs to pay their respects, or "come back around 3am when the air is more cooling".

However, those in the crowd said the wait was made more pleasant than the day before thanks to better organisation, shelter, clear instructions from ushers and refreshments handed out along the way by well-wishers.

For the first day of the lying-in-state, Wednesday, queues had extended around the city district and waiting times were as long as eight hours. After times to pay respects were extended first to midnight, then to 24 hours, people continued to arrive all night.

But at 7am yesterday, a new system for the queues took effect.

Members of the public may pay their respects to the late Mr Lee Kuan Yew all day today, overnight and until 8pm tomorrow.

State funeral organisers designated the Padang as the sole entrance for the queue, whereas before, haphazard lines caused confusion about where to join the queue.

Yesterday, there were ushers who walked the length of the helix holding signs, directing those aged above 60, the infirm and those pregnant or with children to "keep to the right" for priority lines. While there was a priority line the day before, not many had known about it until news reports surfaced. The ushers shepherded the rest towards the Padang, where the normal queue began.

The Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) had worked through the night to put up barricades and shade tents there. By 6.45am yesterday, barricades marking out clear paths and 102 tents had been

set up. Work continued through the afternoon to set up more tents. Engineer Elvin Foo, 33, who works in the area, said he had intended to join the queue on Wednesday with his colleagues. "The queue was all over the place," he said. "It's much better today, with one place to join the queue."

Mrs Suzie Laing, 57, a real estate agent, said: "Today's queues are more organised."

By 4pm, an unrelenting stream of citizens extended round War Memorial Park and through the City Hall underpass, then filed through the new lines at the Padang, until at last they reached Parliament House. Good Samaritans – companies and individuals alike – made the waiting easier by giving out refreshments and hand-fans. Temasek Holdings loaned out 30,000 umbrellas.

Housewife Joelle Lu, 31, meanwhile, who arrived in the late morning, was grateful for the relatively shorter priority queue that she could enter with her twin sons, aged 18 months. She said: "The line to pay respects to Mr Goh Keng Swee (former Deputy Prime Minister and finance minister who died in 2010) was already a two-hour wait – no doubt Mr Lee's would be longer. I'm glad they announced this queue, so that mothers can still pay their respects to Mr Lee without putting the children through too much stress."

Inside Parliament House, ushers repeatedly urged crowds not to stop, and "to pay your respects as you move". One elderly Indian woman, however, paused to stoop and touch the ground near Mr Lee's casket. With tears running down her cheeks, she then brought her fingertips to her eyes – a move that signifies respect, according to customary Indian practice.

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Turnout exceeded our expectations: Khaw

THE crowds that turned up in the tens of thousands to bid Mr Lee Kuan Yew a final goodbye were far bigger than expected, said National Development Minister Khaw Boon Wan yesterday.

About 147,800 people have paid their last respects to Mr Lee at Parliament House in the last two days, with people waiting in long queues round the clock.

"When we planned this one week of national mourning, we of course expected a tremendous outpouring of emotions. But the reality exceeded our expectations," Mr Khaw said at a tribute to Mr Lee held by People's Action Party activists last night.

"We thought we would just close at 8pm. But very quickly, we

found that we were wrong. And now even with 24 hours, we are afraid that we will not be able to fully fulfil the wishes of Singaporeans. But we will do our best."

What was reassuring was that despite the long wait, people were calm, Mr Khaw said. "People are sad, yes, but there isn't this fear or worry that the great man has passed on and Singapore will collapse," he said.

"That shows the great achievement of this man. He made sure that a post-Lee Kuan Yew society will continue to be sustainable and continue to be successful."

People have until 8pm tomorrow to pay homage to Mr Lee who is lying in state.

FIONA CHAN



(Left) The priority queue. (Above) The normal queue in the Padang, with shade tents. (Left, below) People paying their respects to Mr Lee. PHOTOS: MARK CHEONG, KEVIN LIM, NEO XIAOBIN (SHOT FROM SWISSOTEL THE STAMFORD)

Crowds queue overnight to pay their last respects

By CHARISSA YONG

ON ANY other week, the streets of the Central Business District would have been empty after midnight.

But in the early hours yesterday morning, it was abuzz with thousands of people making the most of the extended 24-hour entry into Parliament House to pay their last respects to Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

Already, from morning until midnight on Wednesday, a total of 50,420 visitors had passed through.

As night became day, the stream of people joining the designated lines stretching for kilometres around the Padang or at Hong Lim Park never let up.

At 1am, the crowd was mostly younger people arriving after work. Several senior citizens also gamely waited in line with their families, rather than joining the priority pioneer queue.

One mourner, Mr Veerakan Aran, 45, who works in estate management, came at night as he was unable to get time off in the day. "To see Mr Lee, going a day without sleep should be fine. He was a great leader and I'm not going to be able to see him again if

I miss this opportunity."

The lying in state ends at 8pm tomorrow.

The estimated waiting time as of 12.30am yesterday was about three hours, but this shortened to one or two hours by 2am.

At Hong Lim Park, politicians, including Minister in the Prime Minister's Office Grace Fu and Manpower Minister Tan Chuan-jin, chatted separately with those waiting in line.

Over at the Padang, as 4am approached, students in uniform joined the line on the perimeter, while on the Padang field itself, squads of military personnel worked tirelessly to set up crowd control barriers in preparation for the day ahead.

Primary school pupils were accompanied by parents in office attire.

Organisers had announced that queuing would start at the Padang from 7am yesterday, and just before 5.30am, crowds were directed there.

By then, barriers topped with black tents – to provide shelter – had been set up in a zig-zag formation for queuing.

And another day of mourning began anew.

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STABLE AND PROSPEROUS

"Before the time of the People's Action Party (PAP), my father had been bedridden since I was 11. There was very little financial aid for us, and we all suffered because of it.

Now, my job relies on people having stable finances, and the fact that the job is doing well means that the country is doing well, something that we owe to Mr Lee. I think that Mr Lee has helped our little red dot to glow like a sun."

Mr Low Kim Suan, 67, a financial consultant at NTUC Income, recalling the lack of social assistance before Mr Lee and the PAP came to power

GOLDEN HANDSHAKE

"Twenty years back, Mr Lee visited the Yishun area, and he shook hands with my daughter. I told her, don't wash your hands, Lee Kuan Yew's handshake will bring you good fortune."

Mr Teo Hock, 60, a coffee shop worker, recalling his excitement upon meeting Mr Lee in person for the first time

FROM KAMPUNG TO FLAT

"I remember that Mr Lee came to Yishun Kampung back in 1966. I was five years old then. When he laughed and smiled, we felt compelled to do the same. It was very addictive. To me, he felt like a citizen just like us, not a very high-and-mighty leader like the heads of other countries. He was the first person to get a flat in our family was our maternal grandmother. It was a Toa Payoh flat, much bigger than what we had in the kampung, and so much more comfortable."

Madam Peh Geok Choo, an office cleaner

PASSPORT THAT ALWAYS IMPRESSES

"When I travel overseas and immigration officers see the red passport I hand them, they always look very impressed or in awe. I think that if not for Mr Lee being here, we would not be able to get a reaction like this."

Madam Alice Foo, 51, a hawker

WOOLING FOREIGN FIRMS

"(Foreign) investors do not come in easily; they need to be convinced... Mr Lee managed to do that, and get them to stay in the country.

Even now, all the big countries say they have missed a great friend. They understand how great a person he was."

Mr Peter Goh, 66, who says he would not have got his job at Japanese company Murata Electronics if not for Mr Lee's efforts in attracting foreign investors to Singapore

A CARING PERSON

"I met Mr Lee during his pre-election campaigns in Hougang. This was before he became Prime Minister, before 1959.

I was drawing water from a well at that time. He stopped to ask me if that water was clean enough to drink.

That proved to me immediately that he was a very caring person, and that he was able to interact easily with the people he met."

Madam Irene Tay, 66, a former businesswoman, on her experience speaking to Mr Lee when she was a pupil at Xin Min Primary School

A FIRM HAND

"He was always very friendly to Singaporeans... Yes, he was straight-talking but he needed to be firm in order to get things done. I can still remember when he cried on national TV when we separated from Malaysia. I've always respected him for that.

He contributed to our lives in such meaningful ways. Without his leadership, we wouldn't be living so comfortably in our Housing Board flats today. We probably also wouldn't have clean water or accessible transport."

Madam Ho Chow Toh, 83, who queued alone at the Padang from 3pm to 7pm



(From left) After waiting patiently in line for their moment in front of Mr Lee's casket, people said their goodbyes to him in personal ways. Among the thousands who filed past yesterday were those who wept, knelt, waved, saluted and bowed. ST PHOTOS: ONG WEE JIN, MARK CHEONG



THE STATE FUNERAL

Mr Lee Kuan Yew
1923 - 2015

Bill Clinton will lead US delegation

Former US leader will be joined by past and current envoys, Kissinger

By RAVI VELLOOR
ASSOCIATE EDITOR

SINGAPORE'S closest friends and allies are gathering to mourn the loss of Mr Lee Kuan Yew, in a remarkable tribute to a man who stepped down from national leadership almost a quarter of a century ago.

United States President Barack Obama, who spoke with Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong on Tuesday, reached out to his Democratic Party's eminece grise, former president Bill Clinton, to lead the US presidential delegation for Sunday's funeral service for Mr Lee.

Mr Clinton, who continues to be enormously popular in his country, will be accompanied by Dr Henry Kissinger, who was secretary of state to former president Richard Nixon and had been a longstanding friend of Mr Lee's since they first met at Harvard University in 1967.

Also in the official US delegation are former national security adviser Tom Donilon, US Ambassador to Singapore Kirk Wagar and Mr Steven Green, a former American envoy to Singapore.

Vice-President Joe Biden yesterday signed the condolence book for Mr Lee at the Singapore Embassy in Washington.

"What a wonderful legacy Mr Lee Kuan Yew left his beloved country Singapore. I met scores of



US Vice-President Joe Biden signing the condolence book at the Singapore Embassy in Washington yesterday. He wrote that he had met many world leaders but few possessed the insight and wisdom of Mr Lee. ST PHOTO: JEREMY AU YONG

world leaders in my time in office but few possessed the insight and wisdom of (Mr Lee)," he wrote.

One of his fondest and lasting memories was meeting Mr Lee in Singapore last year, he wrote. "We discussed the relative position and prospect of India, China, Russia and the United States – the breadth and depth of his understanding impressed me.

"My only regret was that I did not have a full week just to ask him questions regarding world affairs."

More global leaders confirmed their attendance for Sunday's funeral, while Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak flew down to pay his respects to Mr Lee at the wake yesterday.

Mr Najib was accompanied by his wife and four Cabinet minis-

ters, including Foreign Minister Anifah Aman.

Reports said Malaysia will be represented at the funeral by its King, Tuanku Abdul Halim Mu'adzam Shah.

Also here for the funeral is Israeli President Reuven Rivlin, who told reporters before his departure that he was travelling with "a sense of respect" for the people of Singapore.

"I am going to represent Israel and its citizens not only to express condolences at the passing of the founder of Singapore, but also to express our appreciation for his work as an important and valued leader," Mr Rivlin said, referring to the founding Prime Minister.

"Israel sees Singapore as a significant and important friend," he

added.

Other global figures who have confirmed their attendance include Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Prime Minister Tony Abbott of Australia, Indonesian President Joko Widodo, South Korean President Park Geun Hye, Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen, Myanmar President Thein Sein, Thai Prime Minister Prayut Chan-ocha and Prime Minister Thongsing Thammavong of Laos.

Japan's Prime Minister, Mr Shinzo Abe, is trying to juggle his legislative agenda to travel to Singapore, officials in Tokyo said.

Across the world, leaders continued to mourn Mr Lee's passing.

Germany, one of the first 13 countries to recognise Singapore's independence, yesterday described Mr Lee as a "remarkable historical figure" as President Joachim Gauck and Chancellor Angela Merkel sent their condolences.

Among those who called PM Lee over the past few days were Mr Obama, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon.

In Beijing, President Xi Jinping, Premier Li Keqiang and Communist Party and government leaders sent wreaths yesterday to the Singapore Embassy.

In a rare move, four of the seven members of the Politburo Standing Committee – namely Mr Xi, Mr Li, National People's Congress chief Zhang Dejiang and Executive Vice-Premier Zhang Gaoli – sent their condolences on Monday. An official spokesman said a senior leader from China will be attending the funeral service.

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WHO IS COMING



MALAYSIA

Malaysian King, Sultan Abdul Halim Mu'adzam Shah, who sent condolences on Monday, will attend the funeral service on Sunday.



INDONESIA

President Joko Widodo will arrive on Sunday for the state funeral, Indonesia's Cabinet Secretary Andi Widjajanto told reporters on Monday.



UNITED STATES

Former US president Bill Clinton will lead a high-level delegation to Singapore which will include US Ambassador to Singapore Kirk Wagar, former US ambassador to Singapore Steven Green and former US national security adviser Tom Donilon. Notable US statesman Henry Kissinger, who had a close friendship with Mr Lee, will also make the trip.



INDIA

India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi has called Mr Lee a "lion among leaders", as he led the tributes and condolences pouring in from all over India on the demise of Singapore's founding prime minister. His government announced on Tuesday that he would be attending the funeral.



AUSTRALIA

Australia's Prime Minister Tony Abbott on Wednesday said in a statement that he would join other national leaders at the funeral. "Sunday will be a day on which to celebrate Mr Lee's many achievements, as well as to mourn his passing," he added.



SOUTH KOREA

The office of South Korean President Park Geun Hye confirmed on Monday that she will attend the state funeral, as Ms Park offered deep condolences to Singaporeans over the death of Mr Lee, whom she called a friend of South Koreans.



THAILAND

Thailand's Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha will be attending the state funeral. He said in an interview on Tuesday: "(Mr Lee) laid a concrete foundation for the development of every aspect of Singapore, based on good governance and morality. He put public interest above self."



MYANMAR

Myanmar President Thein Sein will attend the funeral on Sunday.

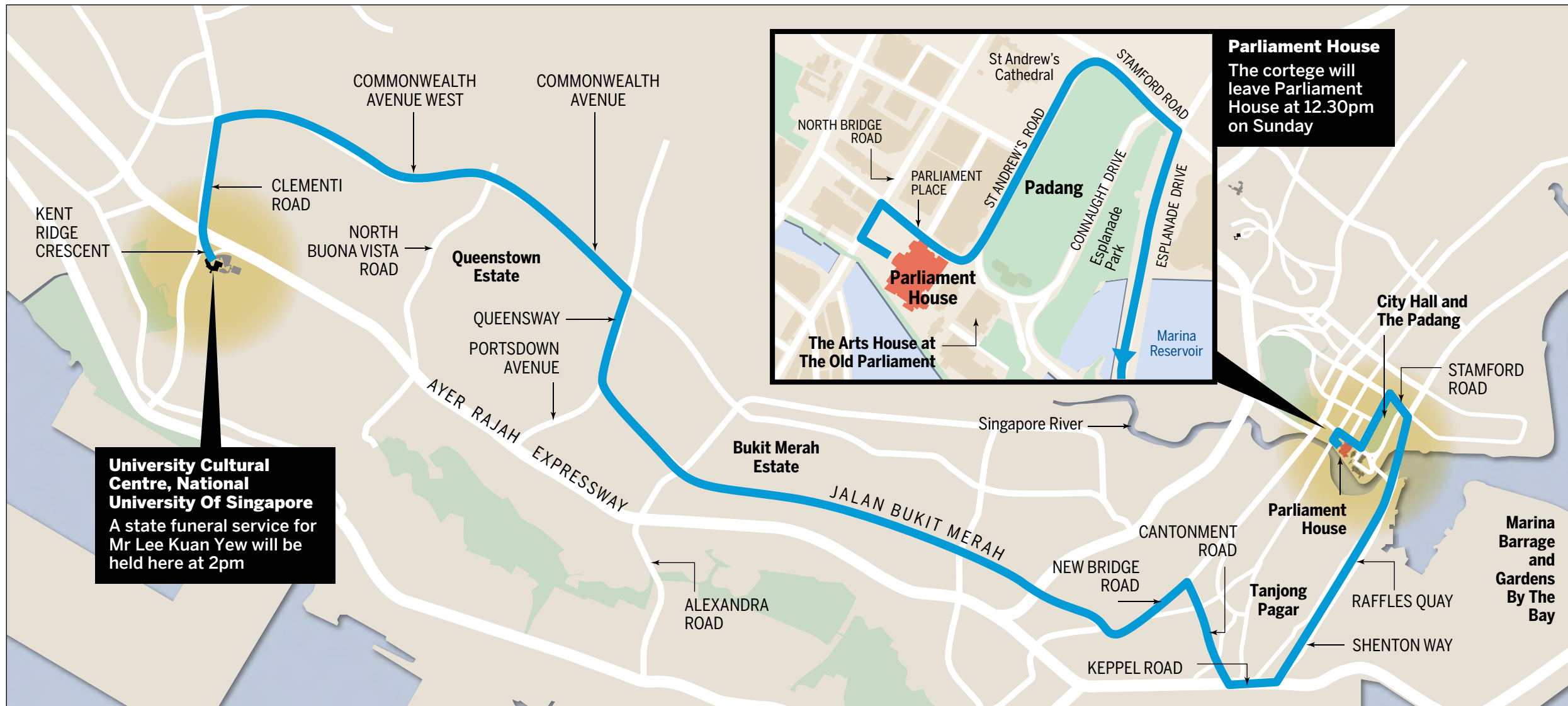


ISRAEL

Israeli President Reuven Rivlin travelled on Wednesday to Singapore to pay his respects to Mr Lee. "I am travelling with a sense of respect for the great people of Singapore upon the death of a significant leader such as Lee Kuan Yew," he said in a statement before flying. "Israel sees Singapore as a significant and important friend."

State funeral service route

The route starts at Parliament House and ends at the University Cultural Centre



Procession to pass landmarks, heartland

Ten eulogies will be delivered at funeral service on Sunday

AS A week of public mourning for Mr Lee Kuan Yew comes to an end, his funeral procession on Sunday will pass the heartland and landmarks in the heart of the city, such as the Old Parliament House.

Members of the public can line the 15.4km route that the procession will take from Parliament House to the University Cultural Centre (UCC) at the National University of Singapore, where the funeral service will be held.

Along the way, the procession

will also pass City Hall, the Padang, NTUC Centre and Singapore Conference Hall.

The event will be telecast live on TV and online at the website www.rememberingleekuan-yew.sg

The procession will start at 12.30pm, according to details that the state funeral organising committee released online yesterday.

Following the procession, the funeral service for Mr Lee, who

died on Monday, will be held at the UCC from 2pm to 5.15pm.

Members of Mr Lee's family, President Tony Tan Keng Yam, Cabinet ministers, representatives of the judiciary, Members of Parliament, foreign leaders and Singaporeans from all walks of life will attend the funeral service.

Mr Peter Ong, who heads the Civil Service, will be the master of ceremony at the service.

Ten eulogies will be delivered,

in the following order:

- Mr Lee's elder son, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong;
- President Tony Tan Keng Yam;
- Emeritus Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong;
- Former Cabinet minister Ong Pang Boon;
- Former Cabinet minister S. Dhanabalan;
- Former senior minister of state Sidek Sanusi;
- Trade unionist G. Muthukuma-

rasamy;

- Tanjong Pagar community leader Leong Chun Loong;
- Civil servant Cassandra Chew, a former journalist; and
- Mr Lee's younger son, Mr Lee Hsien Yang.

After the funeral service, the late Mr Lee will make his final journey to Mandai Crematorium. The cremation service will be private.

CHARISSA YONG



Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, seen with his wife Ho Ching, bowing as Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak (centre) and his wife, Datin Seri Rosmah Mansor, pay their respects to Mr Lee. Also present are (third from left) Malaysia's Natural Resources and Environment Minister G. Palanivel, Foreign Minister Anifah Aman, Transport Minister Liow Tiong Lai and Minister in the Prime Minister's Office Mah Siew Keong. ST PHOTO: KEVIN LIM

One of the great men in history: Najib

By RACHEL AU-YONG

CALLING him a "great man", Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak yesterday thanked Mr Lee Kuan Yew for strengthening ties between Malaysia and Singapore.

He also credited him with helping to "shape South-east Asia as a region of peace and prosperity".

Datuk Seri Najib arrived at Parliament House around noon yesterday to pay his final respects to Singapore's first Prime Minister, and to express his "heartfelt condolences", and those of the Malaysian government and people, on his passing.

"Mr Lee Kuan Yew was a great man whose leadership, vision, fortitude and perseverance helped shape modern Singapore into what it is today: an advanced

economy finding its own place in the world. All Singaporeans owe him a debt of gratitude," he told reporters later.

"Mr Lee Kuan Yew also was a man who helped shape South-east Asia as a region of peace and prosperity," he added.

"He will go down as one of the great men in history, whose vision and leadership helped make this world a better place, and I'd like to thank him for strengthening the bilateral ties between Malaysia and Singapore."

Yesterday, Mr Najib was accompanied by his wife, Datin Seri Rosmah Mansor, and four ministers – Foreign Minister Anifah Aman, Transport Minister Liow Tiong Lai, Natural Resources and Environment Minister G. Palanivel and Minister in the Prime Minister's

VISION AND LEADERSHIP

He will go down as one of the great men in history, whose vision and leadership helped make this world a better place, and I'd like to thank him for strengthening the bilateral ties between Malaysia and Singapore.

– Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak

Office Mah Siew Keong.

Sheikh Hamed Bin Zayed Al-Nahyan, the United Arab Emirates' chairman of Crown Prince Court and the UAE government's representative, also paid his respects, as did Indonesia's Parliament Speaker Setya Novanto, the head of the Regional Representatives Council Irman Gusman, and several Indonesian MPs.

Sultan Nazrin Shah of Perak and Malaysian Defence Minister Hishammuddin Hussein signed the condolence book at the Singapore High Commission in Kuala Lumpur. Sultan Nazrin wrote: "Lee Kuan Yew was a leader of vision who founded and nurtured a country. The world has lost a great statesman."

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Some shops to close on Sunday in mark of respect

By JESSICA LIM
CONSUMER CORRESPONDENT

SEVERAL businesses will close on Sunday as a mark of respect for former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, whose funeral will be held that afternoon.

Others will drop their sales events and freeze operations from 2pm – the time the service begins.

Department stores Tangs, which has outlets in Vivocity and Orchard, and Metro, with five branches here, will close for all of Sunday – their second-busiest day of the week.

So will Mothercare's 14 outlets, accessory chain Accessorize's seven outlets, two Island Shop boutiques, apparel store Cache Cache's two outlets and children's clothes store King Kow.

The 48-outlet Ya Kun Kaya Toast will halt operations from 2pm to 4pm, and three retailers in The Shoppes at Marina Bay Sands have postponed their events, including Cath Kidston's island-wide marketing campaign and the official store opening event of Kate Spade New York.

Ms Sherri Lim, Tangs' vice-president of store operations and human resources, said the decision to close is "a gesture of respect".

Tangs has about 1,000 employees. Sunday sales contribute about 15 per cent of its weekly revenue. "The closure will also enable our staff to pay their final respects to Mr Lee Kuan Yew," she said.

Metro's advertising and promo-

tions manager Veronica Lee said the decision to shut was to give its 500 staff members "a day for silence and reflection".

Singapore Polytechnic senior retail lecturer Sarah Lim estimates the closure will cost each department store more than \$200,000.

Shutting on Sunday will cost King Kow, which has just one outlet in Paragon, between \$3,000 and \$5,000. Its 10 employees will head to Parliament House on Saturday night, where Mr Lee's body is lying in state.

"If we close on Sunday, staff don't have to rush home – the queue may be very long," said company spokesman Sally Maisarah, adding that weekends make up 60 per cent of total weekly takings. "We still have to pay rent. We lose money, but we feel we must close as a mark of respect for our founder."

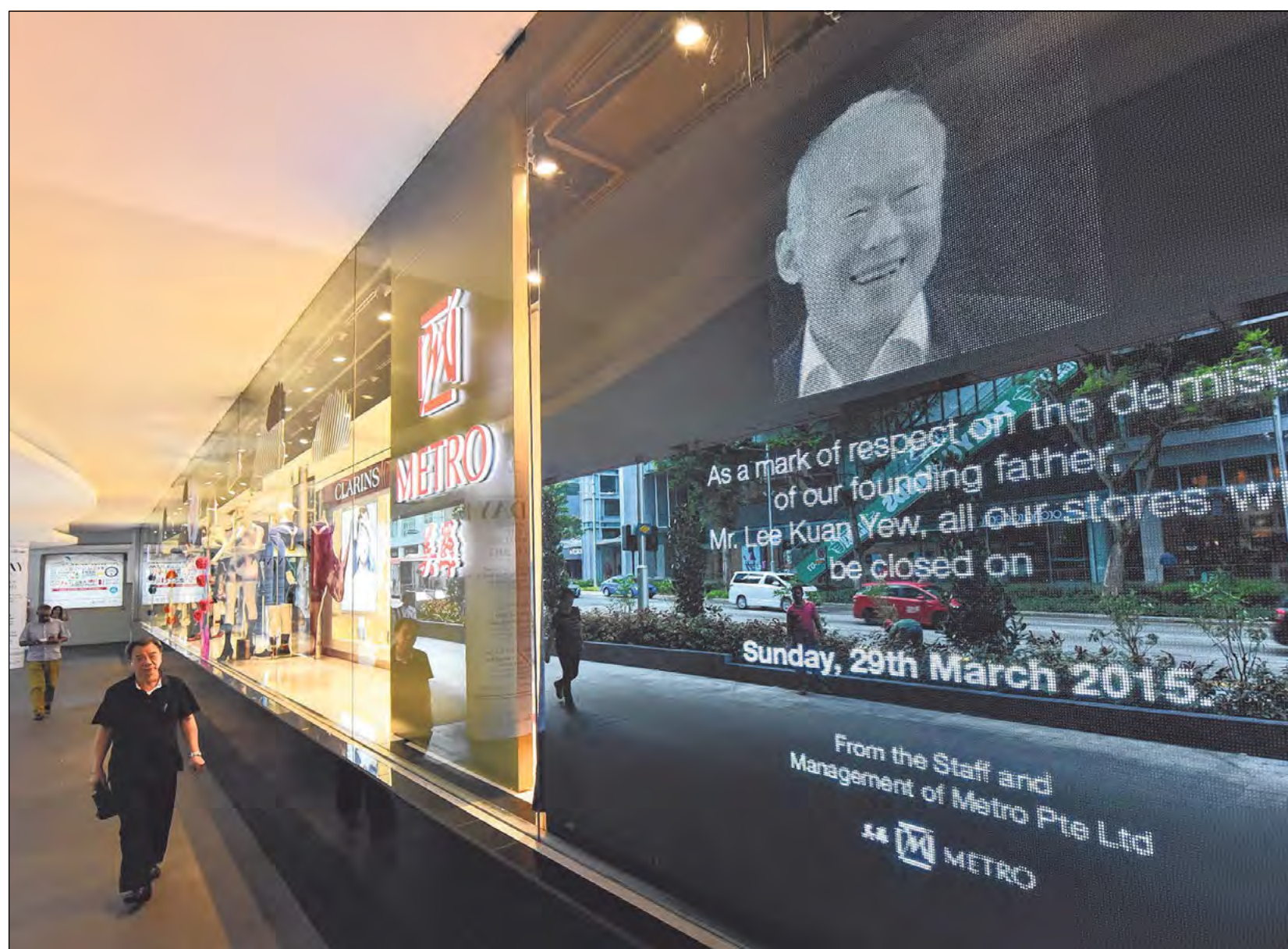
The majority of businesses, however, will remain open, including major retailer Courts and department stores Robinsons and Takashimaya.

It is also business as usual at supermarkets such as Sheng Siong and NTUC FairPrice.

Malls contacted by The Straits Times said that no other tenants have informed them about shutting on Sunday and the Singapore Retailers Association is not aware of other closures.

Takashimaya said it decided to remain open because "we still have tourists coming in and we want to take care of our customers."

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(Above) Department store Metro's Centropoint branch and its four other outlets will close on Sunday to give its 500 employees "a day for silence and reflection".

(Left) The national flag flying at half-mast outside the Paragon shopping mall in Orchard Road.

PHOTOS: LIM YAOHUI FOR THE STRAITS TIMES, BLOOMBERG

PARLIAMENT SITTING

Emotional session as MPs laud the man who cared

Some choke back tears as they speak of Mr Lee's legacy



PM Lee Hsien Loong standing together with his family members as they watch as the Cabinet ministers pay their respects to Mr Lee after the special parliamentary session at the Parliament House yesterday. ST PHOTO: KUA CHEE SIONG

'He cared deeply'

"IN THE last week, we have seen a tremendous outpouring of love for Mr Lee. Thousands – young, old, rich, poor, from all races, religions and all walks of life – came. First, to wish him well and, then, to say goodbye.

I have been at Tanjong Pagar Community Club every day, the last five days. You have also seen the queues that have snaked around this Parliament. You have to be there among the people to understand.

What is the essence of the man that inspires such an overwhelming reaction? Some might say it's his vision, his drive, his intellect.

But these alone would not have been enough to generate this wellspring of emotion.

The real secret of Mr Lee Kuan Yew's enduring bond with Singaporeans is that we all fundamentally understood that (this) vision, drive and intellect were all powered by one thing – he cared.

He cared deeply for Singaporeans and Singapore, and all his actions were driven by a desire to make things better for them. Singapore was his life's work.

And people know this. So just as he was there for us on that amazing journey from Third World to First, Singaporeans have been here for him in the last days of his life and now for his final journey."

– **Senior Minister of State for Law and Education Indraneel Rajah (Tanjong Pagar GRC)**

'He respected women'

"MR LEE never described himself as a feminist, yet his policies made an immense difference to women.

Mr Lee had always valued education, ensuring that a good part of the national Budget went towards education even when our country's resources were meagre.

This helped many women get educated and get jobs. We now see

successful women in many fields. Women can walk on our streets without fearing for our personal safety, enjoying a degree of freedom yet to be fully realised in many other societies.

Mr Lee's loving and lasting union with Mrs Lee has set an excellent example for many families.

Mr Lee's basic attitude towards women was one of respect, and set the tone for

gender equality in society. He believed that traditional notions of male dominance and men refusing to marry their equals were outdated, and must change with the times.

Without Mr Lee, the women of Singapore would not have enjoyed so many gains in so short a time."

– **Minister of State for Education and Communications and Information Sim Ann**

'Build on his legacy'

"SOME say that he was ruthless, unforgiving, unrelenting. But the children of his political foes had rights and opportunities like any other children. They were able to enter professions, able to become lawyers, doctors, public servants – because, this is Singapore.

Did he do well for Singapore? Look around us. We can say what we will, history shall be the judge.

History will judge those who act, and history will judge those who only speak. As for me, I am convinced that if I were born in

Singapore in an earlier era, or if I were born in a similar era but in another Asian country, I would not, being a girl with a disability coming from a poor family with no connections, I would not have been able to go to school, enter a profession and serve the community today.

Shortly after he took office, he said he had the lives of a few million people to account for. He said Singapore would survive.

By any measure, Singapore has more than survived. Today, we are a reckoned player in the

international scene.

Today, our lives have improved, and Singaporeans have a strong foundation upon which to work hard, to make life better for ourselves and our children.

He has completed his sojourn with us. But his journey, and the journey that he and our forefathers began, has not ended. That journey will continue. This is our Singapore. And we will build it, and we will protect it."

– **Nominated MP Chia Yong Yung, a wheelchair-user, on how people here can do well, regardless of their background**

By **RACHEL CHANG**
ASSISTANT POLITICAL EDITOR

KEEPING promises is a strong Lee Kuan Yew trait that forged the bond he had with Singaporeans, who trusted him through painful and disruptive policies.

In chaotic times and through tough measures that would pay off only later, his steel, clarity and confidence became theirs, said Leader of the House Ng Eng Hen in a stirring address yesterday at a special Parliament sitting to pay tribute to Mr Lee.

He died on Monday, aged 91. Trade unions were crushed, work hours extended and conscription entrenched in a "fundamen-

tal overhaul of what Singaporeans were accustomed to," Dr Ng, who is Defence Minister, recalled of the country's nascent years.

Mr Lee and his Government chose to persuade Singaporeans to do, again and again, what was necessary but painful because, as the man himself declared in 1968, "we are not an easy-going people". A soft people would leave things be and hope for the best, he said then.

But, he added, because "we have restless minds, forever probing and testing, seeking new and better solutions to old and new problems, we shall never be tried and found wanting".

And Mr Lee and his Govern-

ment delivered, said Dr Ng, who throughout his speech quoted from several parliamentary addresses of Mr Lee's to, he said, "capture the essence" of the most electrifying presence the House has ever seen.

Mr Lee always reminded his younger colleagues to "under-promise and over-deliver", added Dr Ng. "Say less and do more. What you promise, you must deliver and more. Mr Lee walked his talk."

In her opening remarks of tribute, Speaker of the House Halimah Yacob said Mr Lee was a "conviction politician".

"People could see he did not make decisions for his own

self-aggrandisement or personal benefit, but for the benefit of Singapore, she said.

"People respected and followed him because of one very important element: trust," she said. Both Madam Halimah and Dr Ng spoke of Mr Lee's distaste for "froth over substance", for "silver tongues and sweet, empty promises" and for vanity structures.

In 1999, Mr Lee had said of the new Parliament House's modestness that "behind the understatement lies great strengths of character, integrity and determination".

"That is what will see Singapore through, not the grand statements and monuments in brick and mortar or steel and concrete,



Leader of the House and Defence Minister Ng Eng Hen said Mr Lee always reminded his younger colleagues to "under-promise and over-deliver".

with which so many other new nations try to impress themselves and their followers." Mr Lee could very well have been describing himself and his own life with that statement, said Madam Halimah.

Former deputy prime minister Wong Kan Seng, voice choking with emotion, recalled a Mr Lee who, unlike what some think, would listen, could be persuaded and respected his successors' decisions even when they differed from his. "When many leaders of his time hung on to power, Mr Lee was a firm believer and practitioner in self-renewal of leadership," said Mr Wong.

Dr Ng said Mr Lee never had the time for the question of how

history would judge him. Once, he replied: "I'll be dead by then."

"Mr Lee, we would like to tell you that Singaporeans have decided," said Dr Ng. "Thousands upon thousands have lined the streets. They queued for hours under the hot sun to pay their respects here. They did so spontaneously (in) an outpouring of gratitude and admiration for what you have done for their lives."

He added: "They have pronounced the final judgment on your life's work. It is a great work that has surpassed all expectations. It is called Singapore, and filled with Singaporeans who love and revere you."

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Bilingual policy 'our cultural ballast'

By **THAM YUEN-C**

AS CHILDREN, Senior Minister of State Masagos Zulkifli and his siblings were described as "Lee Kuan Yew's children" by an uncle in Malaysia. The uncle felt his younger relatives, who had remained in Singapore after separation from Malaysia in 1965, may be unfairly treated in a country with a Chinese majority, and had coined the phrase to tease them.

Recalling this in Parliament yesterday, Mr Masagos said in Malay: "Before he passed away...my uncle still teased us as Lee Kuan Yew's children. However, this time he added that he was proud and full of admiration because we were able to become professionals and could compete in the Lion City with the other races."

His story was among several recounted by Members of Parliament representing different ethnic groups, as they lauded Mr Lee Kuan Yew for delivering on his vision of a united society regardless of race, language or religion.

Mr Masagos said at a special Parliament sitting to pay tribute to Singapore's first Prime Minister that such a society has allowed the Malay-Muslim community to practise its religion peacefully.

It has also "safeguarded" the community's self-esteem by proving its members could attain success through their own merit, instead of through favouritism, he added, choking with emotion.

Religious and world leaders he had met have expressed admiration for it, he said, adding: "This is the identity of Singapore Muslims that was built by Mr Lee."

Mr Christopher de Souza (Holland-Bukit Timah GRC) said Mr Lee's conviction about multi-racialism had been an "immense assurance" to minority groups.

The Eurasian community, despite being one of the smallest here, had "made their way in our nation, taking opportunities presented to them, on merit".

This was also the case for Singaporean Indians, who make up only 10 per cent of the population, said Mr Vikram Nair (Sembawang GRC) in Tamil.

He pointed out the Tamil language is one of Singapore's official languages, and that this was provided for in the Constitution because of Mr Lee's multiracial and multilingual policies.

Minister of State Sim Ann also spoke about how Mr Lee had made sure each ethnic group studied its mother tongue language, on top of Singapore's working language: English. This policy of bilingualism had ensured Singapore could preserve its "cultural ballast" while still creating a "common space" to "unite all races".

Adjusting to this had been painful for some, Ms Sim conceded, but bilingualism had laid the foundation for harmonious communication between all races, she said. "He has led us on the road to bilingualism, in pursuit of unity as one people, the preservation of our cultural ballast, and ease of interaction with the world."

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'Always cared for workers'

"IN 2003, when Sars broke out, he knew that I was associated with the taxi associations, and was the first one to send me an e-mail. He wanted to know what the association was doing to help the taxi drivers, and he said if we need his help, he would try his best to help. He said: 'I can help you to send a message to all the taxi drivers.' So, we got a message signed by him, and we passed on this message to all the taxi drivers, telling them what they must pay attention to.

So, we can see that he was very concerned about workers' welfare. He often met the union leaders.

He saw a greater purpose, which is to bring better jobs for Singapore workers, and better lives for Singaporeans. The Industrial Relations Bill and the Employment Act in 1968, he was the main driver behind them."

– **Mr Seng Han Thong (Ang Mo Kio GRC) on Mr Lee Kuan Yew's concern for workers**



A screen grab of the live telecast in Parliament yesterday showing Mr Lee's family attending the special session as MPs paid tribute to their patriarch and founding Prime Minister. PHOTO: CHANNEL NEWS ASIA

Low: S'pore's progress has come at a price

By **JANICE HENG**

THE late Mr Lee Kuan Yew was an extraordinary leader who guided Singapore's progress from its tumultuous beginnings, said opposition leader Low Thia Khiang (Aljunied GRC).

He praised Mr Lee's contributions to Singapore's economic progress and his success in uniting and building a multicultural Singapore.

"This is an achievement that is not possible without Mr Lee. My deepest respect goes to founding Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew," said Mr Low, who went on to add that, in the process of nation-building, "many Singaporeans were sacrificed".

At a special Parliament sitting in memory of Singapore's first Prime Minister, Mr Low commended the late Mr Lee's fighting spirit, tenacity and sincerity, which took Singapore from Third World to First.

But the People's Action Party's one-party rule was not key to this transformation, he said. Many Singaporeans were sacrificed in the process of development, he added. "Society has paid the price for it."

Mr Lee was thus a controversial figure in some people's eyes, said Mr Low, who is Workers' Party secretary-general and the longest-serving opposition member in Parliament today.

Mr Lee crafted policies based on the situation at the time, making rational choices in the interests of the country.

Yet policymaking should not just be rational, but also humane and compassionate, said Mr Low.

"Only in this way can policy-making avoid harming people and creating resentment."

If resentment builds over time, it could hurt national unity and cause citizens to feel estranged, he added.

But Mr Low also gave credit to Mr Lee for being reasonable and open-minded, saying: "From my dealings with Mr Lee in Parliament, I don't think he was an autocrat, but bilingualism had laid the foundation for harmonious communication between all races, she said.

"He has led us on the road to bilingualism, in pursuit of unity as one people, the preservation of our cultural ballast, and ease of interaction with the world."

Ms Indraneel Rajah (Tanjong Pagar GRC), seemed to object to Mr Low's mention of sacrifice.

Without referring directly to Mr Low, she said: "It was not people who were sacrificed but the things which would have made us a lesser people, a lesser country than we are today."

"(Mr Lee) called upon us to make sacrifices in accordance with some very basic principles: humanity, integrity, thrift, welfare of the people," Singapore gave up "laziness, corruption, division, hatred of other races".

"The other kind of sacrifice we were asked to make, was to set aside divisions and animosity in the interest of national unity," she said, adding that it was the late Mr Lee who made the biggest sacrifice of all.

She quoted Mr Lee's own words about his sacrifice: "At the end of the day, what have I got? A successful Singapore. What have I gained? My life."

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Former Deputy Prime Minister Wong Kan Seng, voice choking with emotion, recalled a Mr Lee who, unlike what some think, would listen, and

respected his successors' decisions. PHOTO: MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS AND INFORMATION

'Mr Lee was a mentor'

"MR LEE knew that I was the youngest MP in the 2006 batch. Although many do not know this, he would encourage me whenever the opportunity arose and remind (us) that what we do as MPs is worthwhile and lasting even though

it is tough.

I had the opportunity to travel with Mr Lee Kuan Yew and Mrs Lee to Indonesia and then to India, on official visits there. In between the official meetings and calls, when it was just the Singapore

delegation, he would ask over dinner or in the hotel room: Are you learning? How have you learnt? What have you learnt? He was a mentor, and he encouraged.

Thank you, Mr Lee, for

your personal encouragement. Thank you, Sir, for laying the foundations of the Singapore we have today."

– **Mr Christopher de Souza (Holland-Bukit Timah GRC), 39, on how Mr Lee played a mentoring role to younger MPs**

'He boosted ties with China'

"FOR many years he was the main driver for closer relations between China and Singapore. He encouraged our enterprises to go to China and the region to invest, to widen the space for our businesses.

In order to seize the business opportunities in China, Mr Lee

established Business China and integrated the strengths from the various circles in politics, in business and academia and promoted the economic and cultural bi-directional cooperation between the two countries... We remember him best by developing further the

country that he established, to continue his lifelong enterprise so that it will reach greater heights... Singapore under the guidance of his spirit will continue to develop."

– **Nominated MP Thomas Chua, president of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry**

IN HIS OWN WORDS

Mr Lee Kuan Yew
1923 - 2015



When Parliament convened yesterday to pay homage to its longest-serving member, speaker after speaker referred to the major speeches that Mr Lee Kuan Yew had made in the House at key moments in the nation's history. Perhaps the Parliament's most electrifying presence ever, he pulled no punches and spoke with clarity and conviction on the challenges facing Singapore at various stages of its evolution. Here are edited excerpts from 10 significant speeches he delivered in the House over his 60 years as MP for Tanjong Pagar.

JULY 21, 1959

SURVIVAL

Vow to cleanse the system of the evils of the past

MR SPEAKER, Sir, may I say that the PAP

Government had put its cards on the table before it assumed office. We did it over three months of campaigning beginning from the famous day of 15th February at Hong Lim.

It was there the Deputy Prime Minister said things and set off a chain reaction which finally ended with the routing of the rogues and scallywags that used to haunt this Chamber.

We have placed before the people the mandate that we are sought of them. We did not try to deceive anyone.

We know exactly what is expected of us because we have made these promises. Unlike the previous government, we gave no hostages to fortune.

Plainly and simply, we took the stand which we knew was necessary and in the interest of the survival of the democratic state in order, first, to cleanse the system of the evils of the past, and to retrieve some of the liberalism, the tolerance which were the good things we should carry into the future.

I tell the Opposition this. They provide us, and I hope they will continue to provide us in the next five years, with that vivid

The People's Action Party had just swept the 1959 Legislative Assembly General Election, winning 43 out of 51 seats. It was the first time the PAP, which up till then was an opposition party, had come to power. Mr Lee Kuan Yew was 35 years old when he delivered his first speech in the Legislative Assembly as Prime Minister, attacking those who stood against the PAP and even the civil servants opposed to its policy changes. He also assured voters that the PAP stood with the masses and that party leaders remained dedicated to the service of Singapore.

contrast which will throw up the virtues of the PAP into magnificence.

If we fail, let me tell them that this is not a constitutional position of Tweedledum and Tweedledee, Democrats and Republicans in America, or Tories and Labour in Britain.

If we fail, and we are unable to make the system work, it is not they who are going to come back.

They will be fleeing for their lives, because behind us there is no other alternative which is prepared to work the democratic system.

And therefore, in the last analysis, if we fail, then brute force returns.

I am sure no one in this House nor anyone in the country would want this to happen. And therefore, I say to all those who wish us ill, that if we fail, woe betide them.

But to those who wish us well, I give this message. This is a Government consisting of people who put their ideas, their ideals and the welfare of their people above themselves.

This is a party which has the courage of its convictions, which is prepared to pursue what it believes to be right in the interest

of the people without deviating for opportunist reasons.

This will be an era which will light up the dark pages of the history of Singapore, post 1945.

If we succeed, as we intend to, in building a climate not only of national solidarity but a climate in which the ordinary people begin to believe that institutions of government in the country are run by people who are loved and revered because they are working for the mass of the people, then we will have done a service, not only to ourselves, our party and our movement, but we will also have done a service to the democratic socialist movement.

Until the advent of the PAP, no group proclaiming the democratic socialist cause ever struck roots in the mass of the people.

Let me say, Mr Speaker, Sir, judge us not in the next five years by the standards of the British House of Commons and the British Government in Whitehall.

Judge our performance in the context of our objectives and the realities of our situation, and at the end of five years, you will certainly not find us wanting in courage, in skill, and in sincerity."



JULY 1, 1959: Mr Lee Kuan Yew entering the Legislative Assembly Chamber for the Assembly's first session. ST FILE PHOTO

DEC 14, 1965

RACIAL POLITICS

Quest for a just and enduring future for everyone

SIR, we are nearly two million people - 1.9 million in an island of 224 square miles with a few adjacent islands.

The statistics do not tell the world the factor that really decides performance, the quality of each individual digit, the intensity of the effort that the digits are capable of, and the efficacy of the framework within which they can be marshalled and organised for high performance.

For us, survival has always been hazardous. We sought to make it less so by seeking the larger framework of Malaysia, but it was not to be.

We are on our own... not helpless, but nevertheless in the centre of an extremely tumultuous arena of conflict.

Our survival depends upon our capacity first to discern where the dangers are for us as a distinct and separate community in South-east Asia; and, second, our ability to convince the bigger powers interested in this region that it is in their interests to ensure our separate survival, and in the end, whatever happens, to ensure that we have got enough will and capacity to see that no policies, no solutions, are attempted which will destroy our right to be ourselves in this corner of South-east Asia.

Whilst we are unable to say, having gone through so many changes in a matter of two years, what will happen in the next two years, I think we can safely predict that in two decades, either there is a tolerant, multiracial society comprising us in this region, or this will be an area of constant strife, very much like what the Balkan States were before and after the First World War.

We are here in South-east Asia for better or for worse, and we are here to stay.

Our policies are designed to ensure that we stay peacefully in South-east Asia in accord and amity with our neighbours, but with a right to decide how we order our own lives in our own home.

Every action, every policy, must be decided by this yardstick.

Any policy which endangers our long-term interests as a separate and distinct community in this region must be eschewed.

Any act, any programme, any decision which will help to secure a more enduring future for ourselves and our progeny in this region must be pursued, whatever the sacrifice.

We have not sought this particular formula of survival, but it is now the basis on which we move forward; and with independence comes the bigger powers interested in this region that it is in their interests to ensure our separate survival, and in the end, whatever happens, to ensure that we have got enough will and capacity to see that no policies, no solutions, are attempted which will destroy our right to be ourselves in this corner of South-east Asia.

It is with confidence - a confidence born out of the past performance of our people - that we feel we can overcome problems of economic development, problems of unemployment.

But in the other wider fields of inter-racial harmony and tolerance, there are so many other factors that even though we are independent, we have not got an exclusive prerogative to decide what is to be that relationship even between our own citizens.

For as I have said, Mr Speaker, Sir, there are other factors, factors outside our dispensation,

which can affect our own position.

But whatever the result will be, we would like those who come after us to believe, and to have grounds for believing, that we did not leave a stone unturned in seeking a just and enduring future for all the people who made up the society - those who were here when the British came, those who came when the British were in control, and those who are willy-nilly now rooted in this corner of South-east Asia and whose destinies are interwoven - whatever we would have wished it to be."



Two overturned cars in Paya Lebar Road, near the Geylang Fire Station, during the 1964 racial riots. Mr Lee said in 1965: "Whilst we are unable to say... what will happen in the next two years, I think we can safely predict that in two decades, either there is a tolerant, multiracial society comprising us in this region, or this will be an area of constant strife, very much like what the Balkan States were before and after the First World War." ST FILE PHOTO



Opposition politicians Chiam See Tong (left) and J. B. Jeyaretnam at a televised debate in 1988. In a 1986 speech, Mr Lee Kuan Yew rebutted Mr Chiam's remarks that the PM dominated the civil service and MPs among others, as well as Mr Jeyaretnam's allegations of government interference in the courts. ST FILE PHOTO

Absurd to suggest judges fall in line with Govt's wishes

JULY 30, 1986

JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE

As Prime Minister in the 1980s, two of Mr Lee Kuan Yew's fiercest opponents were veteran opposition politicians Chiam See Tong and the late J. B. Jeyaretnam, the MPs for Potong Pasir and Anson respectively. In this speech, Mr Lee rebuts allegations of government interference in the Subordinate Courts by Mr Jeyaretnam - the subject of a Commission of Inquiry which found no evidence of it - as well as Mr Chiam's remarks that the PM "dominates the universities, the civil service, statutory boards. I think, even Members of Parliament"

THE Subordinate Court judges are controlled by the High Court judges who can only be removed by impeachment here in this House, by a two-thirds majority.

But in Singapore, we have an extra supervision on them. When they write their judgments, they know that it could go up to the Privy Council and judges, nothing to do with Singapore, will scrutinise whether their findings are in accordance with the law.

I cannot explain why some judgments take so long. I do not understand it. But I can only assume that the judges are extremely careful when they write their judgments, that it will stand scrutiny. And if it does not, they get sparks knocked off them. It is an eminently reasonable arrangement, has worked and will work.

Until the Member for Anson

came along, nobody had any doubts as to the integrity of the Courts. But first he attacked the judges, then he attacked the High Court judges from his strictures.

Now he has condemned Mr (T. S.) Sinnathuray, the Attorney-General, the Chief Justice, and he has also ruled out all High Court Judges from hearing the Commission on the allegations he made. So he has broadened out over a wide field.

The Member for Potong Pasir has been the logic of the extension one step further. Since there is no proof... that any member of the Executive interfered in the workings of the Courts, it has nothing to do with Government.

(Mr Chiam) now says, because I have been here for 25 years, I have become so dominant, so dominating, such a big banyan tree with such widespread

roots, that they all do my bidding...

I have two hands, two eyes, two feet, less teeth than I started off life with. And I do my job to maintain the system so that it will last, what we have built can survive the creator generation.

This is a very serious problem. And if (younger leaders) do not know how to deal with roughnecks, like the Member for Anson, then this whole thing will go upside down. I would never allow any challenge to the integrity of the system to go past and it should never be allowed.

Therefore, we shall have this opportunity to hear the Member for Anson add the essential ingredients that will transform this picture and show that there were reasons why judges as they wrote their judgments were looking over their shoulders, fearful, transferred out, demoted, humiliated, and therefore all

judgments went in accordance with the wishes of the Government or the Prime Minister. It is an absurd, ludicrous proposition.

For 23 years, from 1963 to 1986, (Wee Chong Jin) has been the Chief Justice. I have been the Prime Minister from 1959. I have never discussed any case with him. It is a way of life. We meet socially. There are certain conventions. I do not ring up the Chief Justice and say, 'Send me your judgment.' Are we out of our minds? And say, 'By the way, Mr Chiam ought to be fixed, you know. He is a strange man.'

It is not the way a government is run. If you run a government that way, you end up like the Philippines. Because at some stage, it will all come out. It will all come out, what President (Ferdinand) Marcos said to the judges and to the prosecutor, and so on and so forth."

Maintaining confidence in Singapore's continued stability

SEPT 8, 1967

WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS

In 1967, the British announced that they would be withdrawing their military presence from bases all over Asia, including Singapore. The British bases in Singapore, built from the 1930s, contributed as much as 20 per cent of Singapore's economy at the time. In his speech to the House, Mr Lee Kuan Yew laid out the difficult options on the table.

IT IS a problem of considerable magnitude and complexity. Put simply, it is this: what to do with this vast military complex, one naval base and a dockyard, three military airfields, and a vast army complex of workshops, supply depots and other supporting services.

For whilst we will inherit all the fixtures which have been built over the years on lands made available by the Singapore Government to the British armed services, we will also inherit more than 40,000 bread-winners and their families who have come to Singapore from India, West Malaysia, and from places as far off as Hong Kong and Weihaiwei.

With their families, they now



A farewell parade on Oct 29, 1971 at Kangar Barracks in Sembawang, where the Union Jack came down in Singapore for the last time, marking the end of British military command here. ST FILE PHOTO

comprise some half a million persons; three-quarters of them are now our citizens.

Both in their public statements and in discussions and communications between British ministers and ourselves, they have made it plain that they shared our interests in maintaining confidence in the continued stability and prosperity of Singapore and were anxious to

assist in meeting economic problems which the run-down of their bases, according to programme, will cause.

They have stated that they would be ready to consider with us the most effective and productive uses of the economic and technical resources they could provide.

Mr Speaker, however significant the aid, the future of

Singapore depends upon our capacity to maintain orderly and stable economic and social conditions as we go through the pangs of withdrawal of British base expenditure. The success of this operation depends upon three factors.

First, our ability to maintain that climate of quiet confidence and the establishment of labour attitudes and social conditions

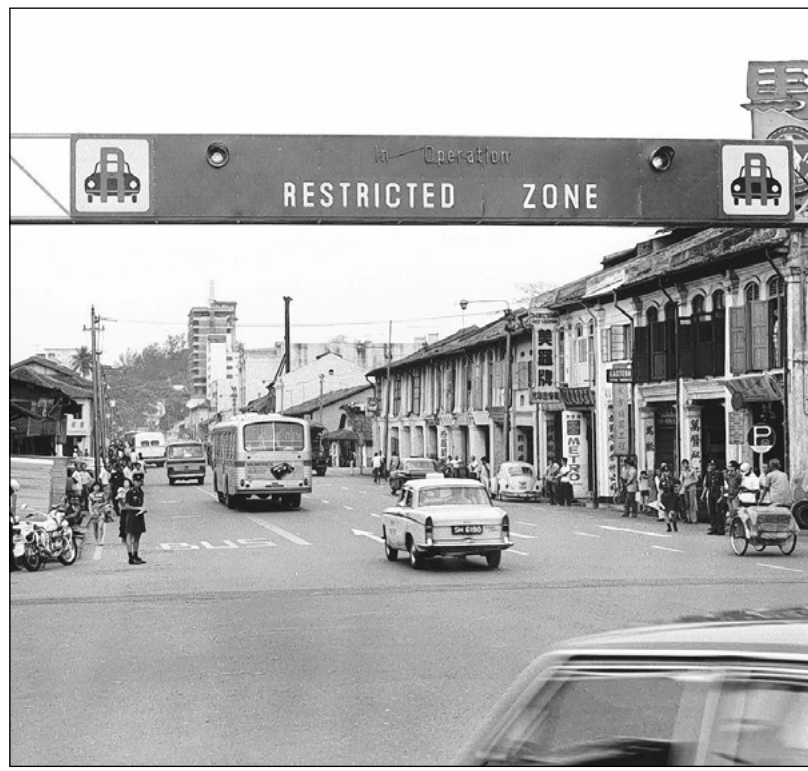
which will assure local investors and overseas investors of the certainty of their planning assumptions for the establishment and expansion of their industries.

Second, the capacity of our population to adapt and to adjust, without any whimpering or wringing of hands, as a way of life to which they have been accustomed for over 30 years comes to an end.

The least of the changes contemplated means that dockyard workers, working on naval vessels for naval commanders, who are not concerned with the time a vessel is out of service whilst undergoing repairs, have now to adjust their attitudes to work and adapt their methods of work, and also the manner in which they may be rewarded for work, to meet the needs of shipowners who want their vessels repaired in as little a time as possible, as every hour in repair means vast sums of money in loss of earnings.

At the worst, it means being able, sometimes at a very difficult age of life for the people in their middle 40s and above, to make the painful change of earning a living in a different way - from being a storekeeper or a clerk to a skilled, semi-skilled or even a manual worker.

The third factor is whether the economic aid that we have been promised will be substantial enough and utilised intelligently enough to create the maximum number of jobs."



The Area Licensing Scheme in operation in Bencoolen Street in 1975. The scheme was unpopular but Mr Lee did not flinch from implementing it. ST FILE PHOTO

unanimously and completely.

This is a marathon, not a hundred-yard spurt. With (an MP's) every passing speech, with every passing act, the character, the style, the strength, the weaknesses are etched in the minds of the public. You can do a PR job, as has been written in American books after the making of presidents, where you have a vast electorate of 200 million people, with over 120 million potential voters, with the help of radio and TV, and you suddenly find, with a whole host of ghost

writers and advisers, that the man becomes scholarly, learned, solicitous in his speech. Catch him at a press conference and a question-and-answer session, where the ghosts cannot whisper to him, and the man is betrayed.

What I wish to remind Members is this: that we take them seriously, and over a period of time, we begin to take some MPs more seriously than others because they have done their homework. It is a question of getting to know them, familiarity over a long stretch of time.

Of course, the Area Licensing Scheme was unpopular. Of course, car taxes were unpopular. But gentlemen, which would you have? A jammed-up Singapore with car owners exasperated, bus passengers exasperated, or 20,000 to 30,000 car owners having to lay up their cars and hundreds of thousands going through in buses or in shared cars?

We made that decision, and it was right. Of course. If we had an election period, like the New Zealanders and the Australians have, for three years instead of five years, that is more difficult. But (former Australian prime minister) Sir Robert Menzies, in spite of three-year periods, won and stayed in office for 12 years.

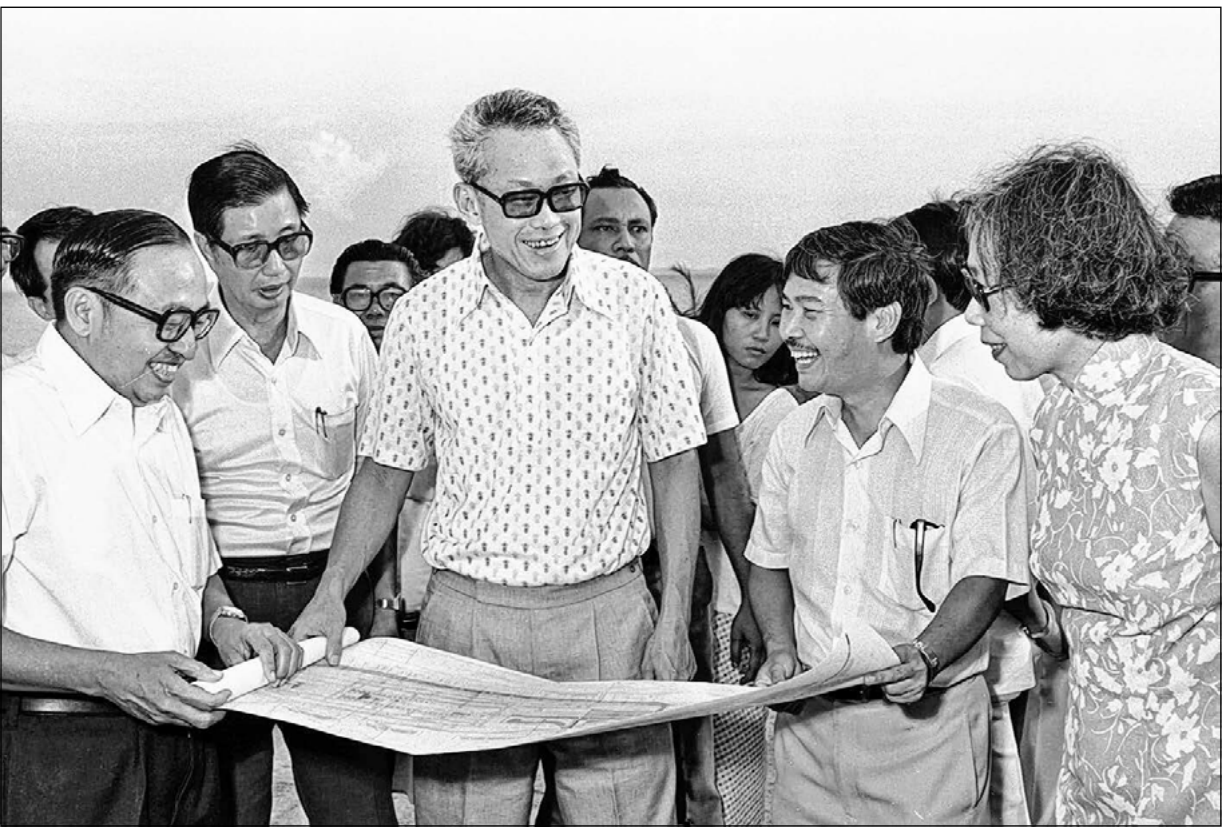
He knew that popular representative government means that, sometimes, even when 55 per cent... are against you, if it is right, proceed. When it works out all right, they will swing back. But if you flinch, then that 55 per cent becomes 65 per cent, and you are out."

IN HIS OWN WORDS

JAN 26, 1987

CORRUPTION

Teh Cheang Wan case: No way a minister can avoid investigations



National Development Minister Teh Cheang Wan (left) showing Mr Lee a plan of the Changi Airport project in this 1979 photo. Mr Teh committed suicide in December 1986 while under investigation for accepting bribes. ST FILE PHOTO

“It is with sadness that I make this statement on the suicide of Mr Teh Cheang Wan.

On Sunday Dec 14 last year, at about 9.10am at my home, my security officer, Inspector Ho Wah Hui, told me that Mr Teh's security officer, Sergeant Richard Kua, had come, carrying a letter given to him by Mrs Teh for me. Mrs Teh had told him that Teh Cheang Wan's body was found cold in bed at about 8am.

I opened the envelope and read the undated note. It read: “Prime Minister I have been feeling very sad and depressed for the last two weeks. I feel responsible for the occurrence of this unfortunate incident and I feel I should accept full responsibility. As an honourable oriental gentleman, I feel it is only right that I should pay the highest penalty for my mistake.

Yours faithfully, (Signed) Teh Cheang Wan” I noted “9.15” as the time I read it, on the corner of the envelope. Then I rang up Mrs Teh at her home. She gave me her account of how she discovered that Teh Cheang Wan had not awakened from his sleep. I asked if a doctor had been called to certify his death. She handed the telephone to her daughter, Dr Teh Kwan Geok, who said that they were paying for Dr Charles Teh, the physician who had been treating Teh Cheang Wan for his high blood pressure.

The daughter said her mother hoped the cremation would not be delayed by an autopsy. I said that depended on whether the doctor would certify that the death was natural. I said I would visit them later.

I immediately rang up the Cabinet secretary, Mr Wong Chooi Sen, and then my colleague, Goh Chok Tong. I asked them both to go over to Mrs Teh to render what help was needed.

At about 11.10am, Wong Chooi Sen informed me that Dr Toh had examined the body but could not certify that death was by natural causes. My wife and I went over to visit Mrs Teh at Jalan Bukit Tunggal. She was not happy at an autopsy but agreed that an autopsy had to be held. I showed her the handwritten letter by Teh Cheang Wan.

That Sunday evening, Dec 14, Dr Kwa Soon Bee, permanent secretary, Ministry of Health, told me over the telephone that the death was caused by an overdose of Amytal Barbiturate. On Tuesday, Dec 16, I wrote a letter of condolence to Mrs Teh and to acknowledge the significant contributions Teh Cheang Wan has made in the HDB. I knew then that there would have to be a Coroner's inquest which would disclose his suicide and the reasons for it.

Members have read the evidence placed before the Coroner at the inquest on Jan 20.

This jaw-dropping speech revealed then-Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's zero tolerance of corruption. He kicks off the parliamentary session by reading out a suicide note addressed to him, written by the Minister for National Development Teh Cheang Wan, who had died suddenly a month before. Mr Lee goes on to reveal for the first time that Teh was being investigated for accepting bribes.

The director of the CPIB (Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau), Mr Evan Yeo, had seen me on Nov 21 on a complaint of corruption against Teh Cheang Wan. I asked that investigations be discreet because once people come to know that the CPIB was investigating so prominent a Minister as that for National Development, the news would spread like wildfire.

The Ministry of National Development has more opportunities for corrupt practices than any other. A Minister's reputation would be put to severe test by an investigation. Such an investigation could not be kept secret. Therefore, once open investigations had started, they would have to go on until all the evidence is uncovered to show either that the complaints are baseless, or that there is enough evidence to submit to the Attorney-General for him to place before a Court of Law for trial and judgment.

On Nov 27, the director of the CPIB wrote to me giving a summary of the evidence he had gathered and asked for my permission for an open investigation. I was satisfied that there were sufficient grounds to do so. On Nov 28, I approved open investigations.

On Dec 2, the director and his senior assistant director, Mr Tan Ah Leak, for the first time interrogated Teh Cheang Wan at the Istana Villa. They confronted him with Liaw Tee Kee, the contractor, who said that he, as the intermediary, had handed two sums of \$500,000 each to Teh Cheang Wan. The director was satisfied that Liaw was a truthful witness.

He reported this to me. I asked the Cabinet secretary, Wong Chooi Sen, to ask Teh Cheang Wan to take leave of absence until Dec 31. By then the investigations would have been completed and the Attorney-General would have decided whether or not to prosecute. The investigation paper was sent to the Attorney-General on Dec 11. Teh Cheang Wan died on Dec 14.

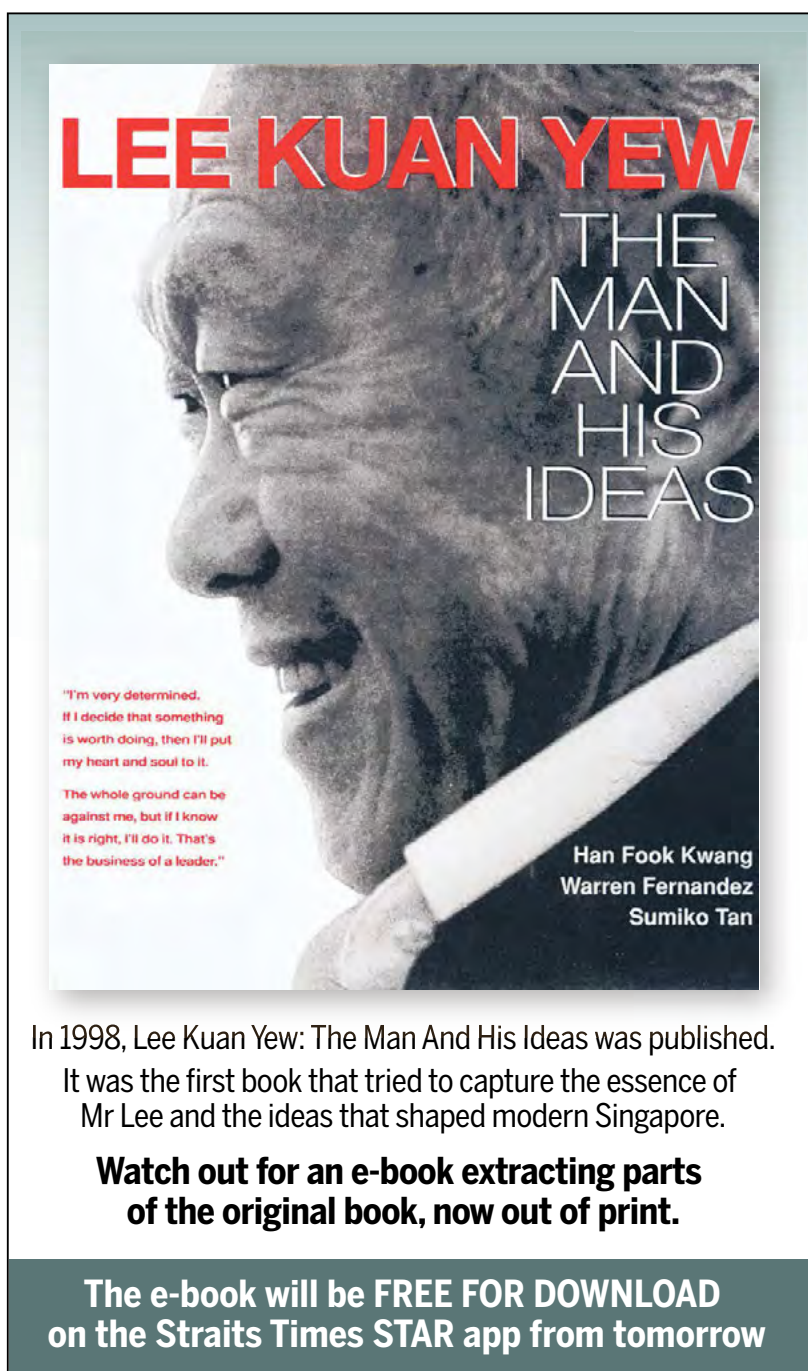
We all know Teh Cheang Wan. He was a man of considerable ability. Behind his diffident manner and demeanour and his Hokkien-accented ungrammatical English was a sharp clear mind. After open investigations started, we did not meet. I received a letter from him dated Saturday, Dec 13, 1986, that morning. The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of National Development, Mr Koh Cher Siang, was on overseas leave and was recalled by Teh Cheang Wan to vet his draft and correct his grammar. Mr Teh's personal assistant typed the letter before he signed it.

It was identical in terms to a letter he sent to the director of the CPIB on the same date. In his letter he denied the charge that he had on two occasions been given half a million dollars of

which he kept \$400,000 and gave Mr Liaw, the contractor, \$100,000. He went on to write: “If I am brought to trial, the very process of it, which will be painful and long, will certainly be the end of me even if I am found innocent.”

Sir, there is no way a Minister can avoid investigations, and a trial if there is evidence to support one. Teh Cheang Wan chose death rather than face a trial on the charges of corruption which the Attorney-General had yet to settle. The effectiveness of our system to check and to punish corruption rests, first, on the law against corruption contained in the Prevention of Corruption Act; second, on a vigilant public ready to give information on all suspected corruption; and third, on a CPIB which is scrupulous, thorough, and fearless in its investigations.

For this to be so, the CPIB has to receive the full backing of the Prime Minister under whose portfolio it comes. But the strongest deterrent is in a public opinion which censures and condemns corrupt persons, in other words, in attitudes which make corruption so unacceptable that the stigma of corruption cannot be washed away by serving a prison sentence.”



In 1998, Lee Kuan Yew: The Man And His Ideas was published.

It was the first book that tried to capture the essence of Mr Lee and the ideas that shaped modern Singapore.

Watch out for an e-book extracting parts of the original book, now out of print.

The e-book will be FREE FOR DOWNLOAD on the Straits Times STAR app from tomorrow



SEPT 6, 1999: Mr Lee working alone inside the chambers of the old Parliament House (now the Arts House).

PHOTO: LIANHE ZAOBAO

Higher pay will attract most talented team, so country can prosper

NOV 1, 1994

MINISTERIAL SALARY

In debating the motion to change the formula to calculate ministerial pay, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, then Senior Minister, put up a robust argument for paying ministers good salaries. He said that the private sector had taken away many good men and women from the Government, and without good people, the country would suffer.

“SIR, my generation of political leaders have become dinosaurs, an extinct breed of men who went into politics because of the passion of their convictions.

The problem now is a simple one: How to select younger leaders when the conditions that had motivated the Old Guards to sacrifice promising prospects of a good life for a political cause are no longer obtainable in a completely different social climate? This change in climate is inevitable with economic progress and a change in social values.

Let me explain very simply, Mr Speaker, that MPs are real men and women, just like you and me, with real families who have real aspirations in life. So when we talk of all these high-falutin, noble, lofty causes, remember at the end of the day, very few people become priests. The corporate world in Singapore knows that PAP MPs have been carefully selected. A PAP MPship is like a Good Housekeeping seal, a hallmark of character and integrity that adds value to a person. I instituted the practice.

If you look through the MP list, from 1955 onwards, you will find that in 1955 we had two barbers, two postmen, clerks, but they were unionists. They are not ordinary people. But with rising standards, every election term, I had to move with the higher educational level of the voters, something Mr Chiam (See Tong) learnt rather late. So he discovered that he had to get graduates. I knew that. By 1968, I started moving in that direction.

I am pitting my judgment, after 40 years in politics, and I have been in this Chamber since 1955, against all the arguments on the other side. I said this is necessary for Singapore. I say face up to the facts, get a good generation in, get the best of this generation.

And if we can keep (an) honest, competent government, never mind about its being brilliant, that is a tremendous achievement. So it is crucial when you have tranquil Singapore that you recognise that politics demands that extra of a person, a commitment to people and to

ideals. You are not just doing a job. This is a vocation. Not unlike the priesthood, you must feel for people, you must want to change society and make lives better.

If I had not done that and got no satisfaction out of it, then I would have been a fool doing it because I could have gone back to Lee and Lee unemployed years ago and ridden the boom and sat back, probably at least as rich as my brother, or my two brothers – one is a doctor, another a lawyer.

But why not? But somebody has to do this in order that they can prosper. And I am saying those who do this deserve not to be penalised or you will get nobody doing this.

One journalist told me that there was some public concern that these higher salaries would change, and I quote him, “the name of the game and attract a different type of person with different motivations”.

It is possible that politically and socially uncommitted people from the higher management and professional brackets will be attracted to the idea of public office for this higher pay. I doubt it.

But if it is so, and they can do better than the present Ministers, they should come out and offer themselves as the alternative. That would be good for Singapore.

If this salary formula can draw out higher quality men into politics, whatever their motivations, I say, let us have them. It is better than the Opposition we now have...

I make no apologies for collecting the most talented team I could find. Without them, none of you would be enjoying life here in Singapore, including the reporters up there. I say this without any compunction. What pays for all this? A Singapore economy which has been so finely tuned that it is able to take advantage of every opportunity that comes our way. What on earth are we arguing about? Except people get envious and they say, “They should really be sacrificing.”

If it were possible to carry on with the system, I will be in favour of carrying on with what I have been familiar with. But I know it is not possible.”

English for trade; mother tongue to preserve identity

NOV 24, 2004

BILINGUALISM

This speech in its entirety, made in support of a revised, more flexible Chinese-language curriculum while he was Minister Mentor, is one of the most complete statements of Mr Lee Kuan Yew's views on bilingualism and language policy.

“Start off from where we were, let us say after the war, 1945, or even 1965. We were in different communal groups – Malay kampangs, Chinese villages. You would see Hainanese at Lorong Tai Seng, Malays in Kampong Ubi, and so on.

(My Old Guard colleague) Mr (S) Rajaratnam was the exponent of “we can create a race of Singaporeans”. Ideally, I would go along with him. But, realistically, I knew it was going to be one long, hard slog; maybe we'll never get there, but we should try. Ask yourself this question. If your child brings back a boyfriend or a girlfriend of a different race, will you be delighted? I will answer you frankly, I do not think I will. I may eventually accept it. So it is deep in the psyche of a human being.

Before we entered Malaysia when we negotiated the terms of entry, education, language and culture were such important subjects... Right from the start, education was already a red-hot issue.

What did we do as a Government? From 1959 to 1965, we had a laissez-faire policy. We inherited from the British, English schools, Malay schools, Tamil schools and other schools. When we became independent in 1965, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce committee came to see me in my office, then at City Hall. They urged me to have Chinese as our national and official language. I looked them in the eye and said, “You must be mad, and I don't want to hear any more of that from you. If you do, you are entering the political arena. I have to fight you. Because Singapore will come apart.”

Supposing I had been otherwise inclined, which my colleagues would not have allowed, and had said, “Yes, okay.” What would have happened to Singapore? Where would the Malays be, and the Indians, what future would they have? The English-educated Chinese would also be against us. The country would fall apart. Let us assume that we were all Chinese, no Malays, no Indians. Could we make a living with Chinese as our language of government and our national language? Who is going to trade with us? What do we do? How do we get access to knowledge? There was no choice.

Having made English the working language of government and administration, what do we do about the mother tongues? If we had no set policy and allowed free market practices, free choice, all mother tongues would have eventually vanished. Because the first business of any parent is to make sure that his or



Mr Lee Kuan Yew speaking at the launch of the Speak Mandarin Campaign's 30th anniversary celebrations in March 2009. PHOTO: MY PAPER

her child can make a living. Therefore, we decided that, however unpleasant, however contrary to the concept of a homogeneous society, each racial group would learn his mother tongue as a second language.

Most unhappy for English-speaking Chinese homes and, I am sure, also for Indian homes. For Malays, nearly all of them spoke Malay at home; so they were happy. Was that policy right or wrong? If you bring me back to 1965, I would say that is the policy I would still adopt... Did I legislate it (tell Chinese-medium school students) you go to English school, and (learn) Chinese as a second language?

I think we would have lost the next election. Because after Independence, the enrolment for Chinese schools increased; 1960, over 55 per cent. Many parents thought, “Yes. Let's do Chinese now. We are out of Malaysia.” I left it alone. By the 1970s, the job market decided what

parents chose, and the rush began to English schools... It became so rapid that I had no choice but to urge parents to go slow, because we could not produce enough English teachers.

So I faced the problem of the Chinese-medium Nanyang University. By 1978, Nanyang University was in dire straits... It was so bad that when a Nanyang graduate applied for a job, he would produce his school certificate. Because employers knew that the Nanyang graduates of the 1950s and 60s were not the same as the Nanyang graduates of the late 70s. The (good) students had moved across to English schools.

Do we allow this to go on? What was the solution? We tried to convert Nantah from within, get the teachers to lecture in English because they all had American PhDs. They could not. They had lost their English fluency. So we moved the whole campus into University of Singapore... We decided to merge

the two universities and made it the National University of Singapore.

I have been berated all these years by the Chinese-educated in Malaysia for having killed Chinese education. I am a convenient excuse for letting off their frustrations. They are not really hating me. They are saying, “Look. Please don't go that way in Malaysia.”

If you have a unified system based on the national language, that will be a big problem for the Chinese community. It is not a problem here because I never forced anybody into the English stream. They could have chosen Chinese as their primary language and English as a secondary language. But career prospects determined what they chose.

Will we ever become completely homogeneous, a melting of languages and cultures? No. Why did we take this route? Because we have no other choice. If we have only English and we allowed the other languages to atrophy and vanish, we face a very serious problem of identity and culture.

How do I know this? Because I learnt Chinese late in life, and I rediscovered snapshots of what I heard when my parents, my grandparents spoke: “Ahl yes, that was what they meant.” It resonates, pulled at my heartstrings. Would I want to see it lost? Absolutely not!...

I tell all parents, “Look at your child carefully. Consider how much he can take – one or the other – and decide what you want.” I will give you a series of options. You want Chinese as your master language, go ahead. You want English, how much. And how much Chinese. A series of options. But remember the choice is yours. If you make the wrong decision over your child's capability, do not blame the Government.

‘Equality is an aspiration, it is not reality, it is not practical’

AUG 19, 2009

MINORITIES

In a motion to continue to affirm the tenets in the National Pledge when dealing government policies, Nominated MP Veeva Sadashan questioned if it was time for Singapore to move beyond race and treat everyone as an equal. The next day, Mr Lee Kuan Yew delivered one of his last major speeches in Parliament and took it upon himself to “bring the House back to earth”.

He argued that equality of men is an aspiration rather than the reality. “Sir, I had not intended to intervene in any debate. But I was doing physiotherapy just now and reading the newspapers and I thought I should bring the House back to earth.

Mr Rajaratnam had great virtues in the midst of despondency after a series of race riots when we were thrown out during Independence. And our Malays in Singapore were apprehensive that now that we were the majority, we would in turn treat them the way a Malay majority treated us.

He drafted these words and rose above the present. He was a great idealist.

It came to me; I trimmed out the unachievable and the Pledge, as it stands, is his work after I have trimmed it.

Was it an ideology? No, it is an aspiration. Will we achieve it? I do not know. We will have to keep on trying. Are we a nation? In transition.

I want to move an amendment to this amendment that “acknowledges the progress that Singapore has made in the 50 years since it attained independence, and the progress in nation building and achieving the aspirations and tenets...” These were aspirations. This was not an ideology.

Sir, reference was made to the Constitution. The constitution of Singapore enjoins us to specially look after the position of the Malays and other minorities. It comes under Articles 152 and 153...

We explicitly state in our Constitution a duty on behalf of the Government not to treat everybody as equal.

It is not reality, it is not practical, it will lead to grave and irreparable damage if we work on that principle. So this was an aspiration.

As Malays have progressed and a number have joined the middle class with university degrees and professional qualifications, we have asked Mendaki to agree not to have their special rights of free education at university but to take what they were entitled to; put those fees to help more disadvantaged Malays.

So, we are trying to reach a position where there is a level playing field for everybody which is going to take decades, if not centuries, and we may never get there.

Now let me read the American Constitution. In its Declaration of Independence on 4th July 1776, adopted in Congress, the Declaration read, in the second paragraph:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed...”

Nowhere does it say that the blacks would be differently treated.

But the blacks did not get the vote until the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s with Martin Luther King and his famous speech “We Dare to Dream”. An enormous riot took place and eventually President Johnson passed the Civil Rights Act, and it took many more decades before the southern states, which kept the blacks in their position, allowed the registration of black voters and subsequently even after that, to allow black students to go into the schools.

It was 200 years before an exceptional half-black American became president. So, my colleague has put it:

trying to put square pegs into round holes, never make the pegs the same? No.

You suggest to the Malays that we should abolish these provisions in the Constitution and you will have grave disquiet. So we start on the basis that this is reality. We will not be able to get a Chinese minister or an Indian minister to persuade Malay parents to look after their daughters more carefully and not have teenage pregnancies which lead to failed marriages; subsequent marriages also fail, and delinquents.

Can a Chinese MP or an Indian MP do that? They will say, “You are interfering in my private life.” But we have funded Mendaki and Muis, and they have a committee to try and reduce the number of such unhappy outcomes.

Can a Chinese MP or an Indian MP do that? They will say, “You are interfering in my private life.” But we have funded Mendaki and Muis, and they have a committee to try and reduce the number of such unhappy outcomes.

It may take us centuries before we get to a similar position as the Americans. They go to wars – the blacks and the whites.

In the First World War, they did not carry arms, they carried the ammo, they were not given the honour to fight. In the Second World War, they went back, they were ex-GIs – those who could make it to university were given the GI grants – but they went back to their black ghettos (in 1945) and they stayed there. And today there are still black ghettos.

These are realities. The American Constitution does not say that it will treat blacks differently but our Constitution spells out the duty of the Government to treat Malays and other minorities with extra care.

So the basis on which the Nominated Member has placed his arguments is false and flawed. It is completely untrue. It has got no basis whatsoever.

And I thought to myself, perhaps I should bring this House back to earth and remind everyone both whites and blacks that there is one starting point, what is our base, and if we do not recognise where we started from, and that these are our foundations, we will fail.

TRIBUTES: A NATION GRIEVES

Singaporeans 'know importance of what Mr Lee stood for'

Queues to pay last respects reflect the regard people have for him: Khaw

By LIM YAN LIANG

THE crowds that have formed over the last two days to pay their final respects to former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew are a reflection of the regard people have for the man and what he stood for, People's Action Party (PAP) chairman Khaw Boon Wan said last night.

He told more than 300 party activists at an event to pay tribute to Mr Lee that the outpouring of emotions exceeded the authorities' expectations.

This led to an extension of visiting times at Parliament House to 24 hours.

"And now even with 24 hours, we are afraid that we will not be able to fully fulfil the wishes of Singaporeans," he said at the event in the party's New Upper

Changi Road headquarters, which began with a minute of silence in remembrance of Mr Lee.

"But we will do our best." That so many would queue for up to eight hours to say their final goodbyes to Mr Lee showed that Singaporeans knew the importance of what he stood for.

Mr Khaw said this included good, honest government; and an ability to speak the hard truths when required.

"A key ingredient of sound politics is honest, able people," Mr Khaw said to the activists, who are from his PAP Sembawang branch.

"Please come forward because if you are not willing to come forward, then the vacuum will be filled by opportunists, or worse, by smart people for selfish reasons."

Another key ingredient is a society that supports candidates who demonstrate these values, and which is willing to swallow the bitter pill if necessary, he said.

"The people, the masses, must themselves also embrace sound politics and support it," said Mr Khaw.

"They must be able to discern what is a sweet tongue, empty promises, populist measures, against the honest truth – what Comrade Lee Kuan Yew always called the hard truth – and support that party, support those candidates."

While Mr Lee had successfully built up Singapore's reserves, an irresponsible Government can still "wipe them clean" in a term or two in office, he said.

And should Singapore have to start from scratch, like it did 50 years ago, it would be virtually impossible to succeed again.

Citing Myanmar as an example, Mr Khaw said they had realised the way forward: to start with labour-intensive industries,



PAP members penning their tributes to Mr Lee at the party's headquarters yesterday. The tribute began with a minute of silence in remembrance of Mr Lee. PHOTO: LIM YAGHUI FOR THE STRAITS TIMES

and work their way upwards.

"It is a huge country, with all sorts of natural resources: minerals, natural gas, oil. Whatever you say, they have it," he said. "And 60 million people: they can start afresh, they know."

But Singapore has neither natural resources nor a domestic market the size of Myanmar, he said. He also gave an example of Mr

Lee's far-sighted vision: he had dreamt about a modern Marina Bay when it was just a "dirty, smelly, Singapore river flowing into the sea".

"What do we see of Marina Bay today? A beautiful skyline, absolutely world class," he said.

"The marvellous thing is, it's not even finished yet – the plan that he has left us, in our Ministry

(of National Development), was many times bigger than what you see today. As the Americans say, 'You ain't seen nothing yet'. It will be truly wonderful."

At the end of Mr Khaw's speech, Chua Chu Kang GRC MP Alex Yam led activists in a rallying cry of "Majulah PAP! Majulah Singapura!"

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Over 500 turn up at memorial service by Buddhist group

By ISAAC NEO

BUDDHISTS from all over Singapore met to remember Mr Lee Kuan Yew yesterday at a memorial service organised by the Singapore Buddhist Federation (SBF).

The service at Kong Meng San Phor Kark See Monastery drew more than 500 members of the public as well as monks. It was also the first in a series of religious events to mark Mr Lee's passing.

The congregation in the temple in Sin Ming Avenue observed a minute of silence, before bowing three times in respect for Mr Lee.

Devotees then recited, for an hour, the Avatamsaka Sutra, which reiterates how the existence of each individual becomes more meaningful through connections with other people.

SBF's president, Venerable Seck Kwang Phing, said Mr Lee "respected all religions". "He interacted very closely with leaders of all the religious groups in Singapore, resulting in the harmonious society that we have today."

The guest of honour, Senior Minister of State Josephine Teo, said: "Day and night, Mr Lee's main priority wasn't his own matters. It was how our nation would continue to be prosperous, and whether people would have good lives."

Mrs Teo, who is MP for the Bishan-Toa Payoh GRC, also recounted how she had been given the chance to go with Mr Lee on his trips and witness how he interacted with foreign leaders.

"He helped Singapore establish a foothold on the world stage, to ensure that whenever we would bring out our red passport, we were not looked down upon."

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A memorial service for Mr Lee was held at Kong Meng San Phor Kark See Monastery yesterday. Organised by the Singapore Buddhist Federation, it was the first in a series of religious events to mark the former Prime Minister's passing. More than 500 members of the public as well as monks attended the service. ST PHOTO: CHEW SENG KIM

Tribute centres continue to be packed

By SAMANTHA GOH and ISAAC NEO

AFTER two difficult days of mourning, Emeritus Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong said he felt better yesterday.

Mr Goh said his "heart began to feel a bit lighter".

"The reason is quite simple. There is this inspiration in watching the way the country has come together. Knowing that Singaporeans felt so much for Mr Lee Kuan Yew, I felt a little easier in my heart. The heaviness became a little lighter," he said.

Mr Goh was speaking to reporters after visiting a tribute centre at Kembanagan Community Club, where hundreds of people turned up to pay their last respects to Mr Lee, who died on

Monday morning.

For Madam Cheng Swan Puak, 86, who turned up at the tribute site at Yishun, it was not just to pay her last respects to the leader of the country but the friendly man who was a neighbour first.

Back in the 1950s, Madam Cheng stayed at her parents' home along Oxley Road next to the former Prime Minister's home.

"The outside of his house was always surrounded by security officers," said Madam Cheng. "Although we rarely saw him, he always greeted us when we passed by the house."

Mr Lee's home was "very sparse, with no television, air conditioning, or luxuries of any kind," she said.

At Hong Lim Park, the Malay/Muslim community also

came together on Thursday to honour Mr Lee.

Yayasan Mendaki was joined by other Malay/Muslim organisations, such as the Singapore Muslim Women's Association or PPIS, and Singapore Kadayannilur Muslim League, in paying tribute.

Ms Rahayu Mohamed, president of PPIS, read a poem titled A Great Man in tribute of Mr Lee, which described his dedication to building Singapore.

She said Mr Lee's firmness educated Singaporeans to be pragmatic, to focus on development, which is what she thinks the younger generation has to continue to learn to ensure stability and progress.

A total of 10 community sites will be opened for 24 hours.

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Mourners bearing flowers and notes paying their last respects to Mr Lee at the community tribute centre at Sembawang yesterday. PHOTO: SAMANTHA GOH

'Fly flag on

By KASH CHEONG

DISPLAY the national flag as a symbol of unity this Sunday when the state funeral of Singapore's founding father Lee Kuan Yew takes place, a group of young grassroots leaders has suggested.

The group from East Coast GRC hopes that rules will be relaxed to allow Singaporeans to hang the national flag outside their homes on Sunday. Outside the National Day celebrations period from July 1 to Sept 30, restrictions on flying the flag apply.

Displaying the national flag en masse is a symbol of unity, a cause that Mr Lee dedicated his life to, said Mr Lim Swee Say, an MP for East Coast GRC.

"In his final journey, we want to tell Mr Lee, 'Rest in peace, we assure you that as Singaporeans

Sunday in show of unity'

we will build on your legacy in unity in confidence, SG100 will be a Singapore better than today," said Mr Lim, as he introduced the idea mooted by about 50 grassroots volunteers.

One volunteer, finance executive Leong Yi Xing, 32, said: "Mr Lee has improved my parents' lives, my grandparents' lives."

He added: "But more than that, he rallied the nation. His greatest legacy is the seed that he planted in each of our hearts, this hope, confidence and positivity... so that we know we can fight together and build upon the foundation he left us."

"We should display the flag together to show unity. I am very sure that this is the kind of attitude that Mr Lee would have wanted us to have," he said.

Guidelines on the National Her-

itage Board's website note that outside the National Day celebrations period the flag must be flown from a flagpole. And if it is displayed or flown at night, it should be properly illuminated.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Culture, Community and Youth said it is looking into the request.

Another grassroots leader behind the idea, academic Yusuf Ali, 36, said: "A lot of people say this is a time for grief, but at the same time grief and confidence are not mutually exclusive."

"You can express grief and, at the same time, express confidence for the future. Confidence that we have what it takes as a people to really punch above our weight and carry on the legacy that has been around for the last 50 years."

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Umbrellas, courtesy of Temasek Holdings, available for loan to members of the public queuing to pay their respects to Mr Lee yesterday. People could pick up the umbrellas at the starting point of the queue and return them near the end point. Across the Padang and surrounding areas, hundreds of people, some of whom were there on behalf of their companies, doled out aid to those in line. ST PHOTO: LIM SIN THAI

Strangers give out umbrellas, food, drinks

Good Samaritans show random acts of kindness to those standing in line

By CHARISSA YONG and AW CHENG WEI

SEVENTY-one-year-old Mr Foh Keng Yin was moved to action when he saw scenes on television of people queuing for hours in the sun to pay their last respects to Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

The director of metal fixtures supplier Yew Lee Metal Works bought 1,000 umbrellas from an industry partner for \$3,000.

Yesterday, Mr Foh and three of his employees gave the umbrellas for free to people waiting in line near Cavenagh Bridge.

He said in Mandarin: "Giving them some respite from the hot sun is the least I can do."

His generosity was mirrored by acts of charity by hundreds of other individuals, some of whom were there on behalf of their companies.

Across the Padang field and its surrounding areas, they distributed free umbrellas, bottled water and even chicken pies to the thousands waiting in line.

About 20 staff volunteers from

Temasek Holdings distributed ponchos and biscuits, and loaned out 30,000 umbrellas.

A company spokesman declined to reveal the cost, but said it was "a small gesture of support". Their efforts will continue until tomorrow night.

A grateful Mr Tan Ah Seng, 67, took shelter under an umbrella that he received as he waited for 1 1/2 hours to enter Parliament House, where Mr Lee will lie in state until 8pm tomorrow.

"It's been quite helpful," said Mr Tan, smiling as he added: "I am almost near him (Mr Lee)."

Institute of Technical Education student Lloyd Lum, 21, who paid his respects to Mr Lee earlier in the morning, remembered how he felt while waiting in line, and thought that those behind him would feel thirsty.

So when he saw a Facebook post – by a creative agency he declined to name – calling for volunteers to give out packet drinks, the student signed up on the spot.

"The weather was getting hotter and I didn't think people



(From top) Nineteen-year-old Gelivia Chong, a volunteer roped in by Youth Corps Singapore, distributing water, Toyogo staff giving out fans and FairPrice staff handing out free crackers to students. ST PHOTOS: NEO XIAOBIN, LIM SIN THAI

Relive LKY's greatest moments, captured on camera through the years

Get this commemorative photo album at bookstores for \$25 (before GST)

LEGACY FOR THE YOUNG

"One thing that I was very encouraged by was to see children filing past the casket, and they were brought there by either their parents or their teachers."

"And I've read so many stories of parents who deliberately brought their young children, who probably wouldn't know who Mr Lee was."

"Last night, when I was at the Botanic Gardens tribute site, I saw a little card written by a young Singaporean. He must be very young, I think he's probably in kindergarten. It read: 'Dear Mr Lee, thank you for my house because every night I sleep peacefully in my bed.'"

"So I think that as young children come through and as we continue to impress upon young Singaporeans the enormity of what Mr Lee has contributed to all of us, I think that will go a long way in making sure that our young Singaporeans know and remember that the values that Mr Lee stood for are the values that can carry us for a long, long time to come."

– Head of Civil Service Peter Ong, who took part in a 30-minute vigil by the late Mr Lee Kuan Yew's body yesterday, on whether future generations will remember Mr Lee's contributions

COLOUR DOESN'T MATTER

"White? Black? What's in a colour? Just wear your heart on your sleeve. I for one believe that even as we mourn and grieve, we are also celebrating his life and our Singapore. It's something really remarkable, isn't it?"

"So whether it's the gorgeous hues of sunset at Marina Bay, a red and white tribute of a significant line in our pledge on my personal page profile shot or a black and white profile shot... we are of one heart."

"Regardless of race, language or religion. Or colour."

"A man came up to me yesterday apologising repeatedly that he was in a brightly coloured shirt. 'I had to rush over after work and was worried I couldn't make it in time.'"

"Uncle, what matters is that you cared enough to come. Doesn't matter the colour. Thank you."

– Manpower Minister Tan Chuan-Jin, weighing in on the debate over whether one should wear black or white on Sunday to mark Mr Lee's funeral, in a Facebook post yesterday

CROWDS FOR MR LEE

"From the casket leaving Istana, across Bras Basah, to North Bridge Road to Parliament House – the outpouring of emotion has been exceptional."

"People from all walks of life – the disabled, men on crutches, some with one leg, the elderly on canes and wheelchairs, ladies (young and old) sobbing inconsolably, strangers hugging one another, young students and volunteers offering drinks to the people, restaurants offering free bottled water and snacks to those in the queues."

Some queued for eight hours but that wasn't going to stop them from saying goodbye to Mr Lee.

I spent (Wednesday) around Parliament, speaking with and thanking our people who had come to pay their respect to Mr Lee.

"Around 1.30am, outside Parliament, I was still being approached by large numbers of people offering their condolences. Many shared their impressions and encounters with Mr Lee. Their emotions were obvious. One lady told me that she works in the UK. She didn't come back for relatives passing away. But she came back for Mr Lee. Many stories of people making special effort to come and pay the respect to Mr Lee."

– Law and Foreign Affairs Minister K. Shanmugam, on the people from all walks of life queuing up outside Parliament House for hours to say their final goodbyes to the late Mr Lee

TRIBUTES: A NATION GRIEVES

His purpose? To secure the future of Singapore

This is an excerpt from a speech delivered at the Singapore Press Holdings memorial for Mr Lee Kuan Yew yesterday

By HAN FOOK KWANG
EDITOR AT LARGE

IT IS somewhat ironic that when I was serving the Government as a civil servant, I hardly saw him but, outside of it, as a journalist, I had the privilege to do so on many occasions.

In fact I met him in my first year in The Straits Times in 1989. This was at a lunch at the Istana Annex in a small dining room. There would usually be two or three journalists invited for these lunches.

I have often wondered why he took the trouble to meet young journalists. Obviously he wanted to influence us, to make us understand his point of view, and he was willing to invest the time to do this. But I also think he wanted to understand our business, the media business, and he did so through these interactions.

Of all the ministers, he invested the most time on journalists, even though you might think that, of all the ministers, he would have many more important issues to deal with. It shows how he operated. If a thing was important to him, it was worth the time to invest in it, to understand it well so

he could deal with it.

Even though he did most of the talking, these lunches were occasions for us to ask him any question, on the big geopolitical issues of the day or on the latest policy announcement in Singapore.

For a young journalist like me, it was like winning one of those million-dollar auctions to have lunch with (investment guru) Warren Buffett.

Later on, my interaction with him was mainly over several books we did together. It started with Lee Kuan Yew: The Man And His Ideas in 1995 – the first book in which he was involved.

To do this book, I had to read all of his speeches spanning, at the time, almost 50 years. Those were the days before the Internet became what it is today and, at the click of a mouse, you can pretty much find almost all his speeches. At that time, I read them in hard copy form – more than 2,000 speeches – over many days. The book sold very well, close to 100,000 copies, which was unheard of then for a local book.

But the book also did one other thing that might not be so well known. Before the book, he told me he did not believe in writing memoirs. He said only Western leaders did memoirs, to embellish their reputation and legacy – Chinese leaders, for example, never wrote memoirs.

I think the success of The Man And His Ideas changed his mind, and a year later, he decided to write his two-volume memoirs. After that, we could not stop him.



Straits Times journalists Sumiko Tan and Han Fook Kwang interviewing Mr Lee in 1995 for the book Lee Kuan Yew: The Man And His Ideas – the first book the former Prime Minister was involved in. ST FILE PHOTO

There was the bilingual book, My Lifelong Challenge: Singapore's Bilingual Journey; there were also Hard Truths To Keep Singapore Going; and One Man's View Of The World.

And there possibly would have been some more if his health had not taken a turn for the worse.

In fact, soon after the launch of One Man's View Of The World in 2013, he asked for a further edition of the book to be done. We agreed to add two chapters to it.

Several additional interviews were done last year and the drafts are now with his special assistant.

What is my lasting impression of him from doing these books? There are several. First, we all know how meticulous he was and how much attention to detail he gave to those issues he considered important. In the case of his books, it meant writing and rewriting the drafts many many times.

His secretary had to number each draft to keep track of the changes and it was not unusual to see draft number 20 of the same

page being circulated. He would send these drafts to many people for comments and suggestions.

And he was very open to making changes. We often think of Mr Lee as that strong-willed person impervious to other views. Of course on many issues, he was. But in the writing of his books, he was very open to suggestions.

My second impression is over how intense he was as a person, and how in his every waking moment, he was consumed with the lifelong project which is Singapore.

He had no time for any other business. This was most evident when we were doing the book Hard Truths, where we interviewed him for more than 30 hours. Several of these sessions were to discuss some of his most controversial positions on politics, democracy, race and religion and the vulnerability of Singapore. Not unexpectedly he was combative, and we found ourselves at the receiving end of many of his robust rebuttals.

Now, four years later when I look back at these sessions, it is not his combativeness or the actual arguments I remember. It is the intensity of the man, the complete focus on wanting to secure Singapore's future as much as he could possibly do.

Even at an age when many others would be happy to go quietly into the sunset and enjoy their retirement, he was still at it, trying to persuade younger Singaporeans to his point of view. He was 86 when we interviewed him for the book Hard Truths in 2010. He was 88 when we worked with him for the next book, One Man's View Of The World.

By that time, he was already quite frail and weakening by the day. On some days, he hiccupped non-stop during the interview. He was having gastric problems. Halfway through several interviews, he had to stop to take his medicine. On other days, his voice was weak, his stamina wanting. Yet he persisted.

Why was he still so concerned

about Singapore to want to spend so many hours with journalists probing and questioning him?

Let me quote one answer he gave: "My purpose is to secure Singapore's future, and anything that consolidates or increases the stability and security for Singapore, I am in favour of. I've finished my job. I don't need any more achievements. I mean it's as simple as that. What is it I can do? Consolidate from my experience what I think would help it continue in a safe condition. Can it be forever? No, I cannot say that. I mean you look at all the city-states..."

That was an 86-year-old man still egging Singapore on to do better. He does not need to worry about Singapore any more. He has done all he possibly could to put Singapore in a position to better secure its future.

Now, it is our turn to worry whether his worry will come true. hanfk@sph.com.sg

He was a complex man who evoked many emotions

The following is a tribute to Mr Lee Kuan Yew by the former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is reprinted with the author's permission.

By BILAHARI KAUSIKAN



Mr Lee never hesitated to do what necessity dictated for Singapore's interests, says Mr Bilahari Kausikan.

THOSE of us who were privileged to work with Mr Lee Kuan Yew in whatever capacity, cannot but feel a profound personal sense of grief. Mr Lee was not only a great leader – that is obvious – he was a man, human, and thus inevitably complex. He evoked the entire range of human emotions, and evoked them strongly. His legacy will be many-faceted and debated for many years.

As a young MFA officer, I was fortunate to have attended many meetings with Mr Lee and to have travelled with him. Later in my career, I sat in on policy discussions, several at times of crisis. I never intended to be a civil servant. I had prepared myself for an academic career. But I soon realised that most of what I thought I knew was at least superficial, if not downright irrelevant. My real education in international relations began only when my life intersected, however tangentially, with Mr Lee.

First of all, I learnt not to be ashamed to be a patriot. To be young, as I then was, the term carries a vague, undefinable whiff of unfashionable mustiness. But to serve the Republic of Singapore in any capacity is no mean profession. Obviously, Singapore does not survive, no other value can be realised in this vale of tears we call the world.

You may think that all diplomats or all statesmen must obviously serve their countries' interests. Well, they certainly ought to. But as I grew more experienced in the craft of diplomacy, I observed that this was all too often the exception rather than the rule; that too many leaders and diplomats, from too many countries, too often confuse personal interests with national interests, or convince themselves that these are synonymous.

Second, I learnt that the pursuit and defence of Singapore's interests must be grounded in a clinical and clear-eyed, indeed cold-blooded and intellectually ruthless, understanding of the environment in which a small country operates. Small countries cannot afford illusions. Mr Lee never mistook the necessary politesse and hypocrisies of statecraft and diplomacy for reality. He took as

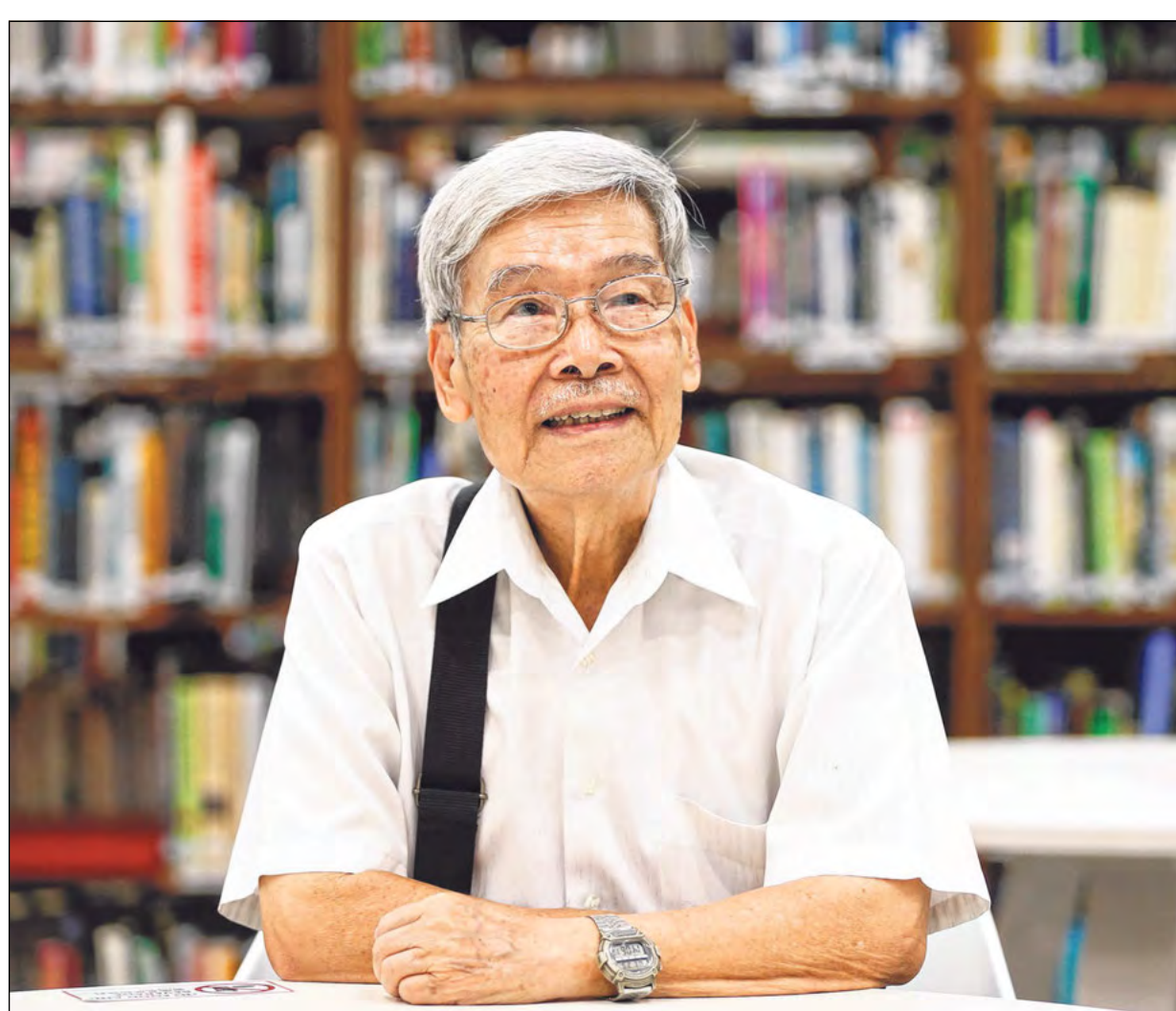
the starting point the world as it is; a world as full of promise and opportunity but a world also inevitably flawed and, so, often perilous. Mr Lee invariably cut through all the fluff that usually conceals the hard realities of international relations. He zeroed in on the very core of any issue or situation. His analysis was always holistic, enriched and given depth and breadth by his realistic understanding of history, of different cultures and, ultimately, of human nature in all its rich variety. He pursued what was possible in practice, not what was desirable on principle. He wanted to get things done. He always dared to try – Singapore would not exist otherwise – but was not given to chasing chimera. This is again rarer than one might expect. Mr Lee never stopped learning and was never too proud to seek information even from the most junior, and certainly never too proud to change his mind whenever the situation warranted.

Third, I learnt no leader, however talented, can achieve much alone. Mr Lee was undoubtedly a great leader, but he was the great leader of a great team and of a great people. Leadership is not a matter of intellect alone. His sense of mission, his dedication to and passion for Singapore inspired an entire generation of Singaporeans from all walks of life to defy the odds and to serve some cause larger than themselves.

My generation of MFA officers have tried to pass on what we felt righteous to a younger generation of Foreign Service officers. But this is possibly the hardest lesson to impart.

The Singapore that you see around us today and which many young Singaporeans take for granted is a totally unnatural place. We exist only by dint of human endeavour, not by any God-given right. What was created by human endeavour must be maintained by human endeavour. My generation of Foreign Service officers and the generation before us are proud to have contributed in some small measure to Singapore's unlikely success.

Singapore will be preserved only if the next generation shares that passion from which flows the determination to overcome challenges that cannot now be foreseen. Mr Lee is gone.



(Above) Mr Wong Yew Kwan remembers Mr Lee as a man who "wanted things to be tried out". It was Mr Lee's idea to plant Angsana trees to provide shade. (Top) Mr Lee planting a tree in Bukit Merah in 2003 on Tree Planting Day. He believed that turning Singapore into a Garden City would give it a competitive edge over other cities. ST PHOTOS: ST FILE, KEVIN LIM

A shared Singapore moment

This commentary appeared in The Business Times yesterday

By WONG WEI KONG
EXECUTIVE EDITOR AND NEWS EDITOR
THE BUSINESS TIMES

I HADN'T thought I would be moved as much, but I am.

As a student of history, I have always viewed great men with a certain wariness, conscious that how history would come to judge such men could be very different from the time when they were alive, or at their passing. History can be fickle – as fickle as the shifting mood of each generation. But I would dare venture that Mr Lee Kuan Yew's greatness in history is assured – if not to the world at large, then certainly to Singapore and Singaporeans.

I belong to what I call the "straddle" generation. I grew up in the years Mr Lee was Prime Minister; in my young adulthood, I witnessed the transition of leadership to the second generation.

My family went through the Lee Kuan Yew transformation. My father was Straits Chinese, and my mother, an immigrant from China. One grandfather, a lawyer, drove a cab, the other had a farm. Still, my parents received an English education and became teachers. I am old enough to remember moving from a wooden house in Bukit Timah to a brand-new HDB flat. In school, I struggled with learning Chinese under Mr Lee's bilingual policy, and protested when I had to spell my name in hanyu pinyin. I was interested enough in politics as a schoolboy to go listen to Mr Lee's fiery election speeches in Fullerton Square.

I served national service – the bedrock of his defence policy – dreading the experience while it



The gun carriage carrying Mr Lee Kuan Yew's body heading along North Bridge Road to Parliament House.

lasted, but cherishing it at its close. In the reserves, when family and work commitments beckoned, the thought of seeking a deferment arose before each annual medical exercise; yet, almost every time, I put on my greens and went – just as he would have expected me to do.

As a journalist, the last major news event in which I covered Mr Lee was the severe acute respiratory syndrome (Sars) crisis of 2003. The younger ministers were handling the crisis, but Mr Lee, then Senior Minister, called a press conference to make this point: Singapore was threatened, so he had to speak. He had fought many battles, but Sars could prove a deadly foe than any Singapore had faced. Every Singaporean had a part in the fight, and one careless slip could cost everyone dearly. The government would not hesitate to take tough action against anyone breaking quarantine laws and endangering others, "so let's get a grip on ourselves," he said.



SPH staff, including chairman Lee Boon Yang (sixth from left) and CEO Alan Chan (seventh from left), observing a minute of silence during a memorial service held by the company for Mr Lee yesterday. Mr Chan, who was Mr Lee's principal private secretary from 1994 to 1997, said during his speech that he was "most grateful for what Mr Lee and his first-generation leaders have done for us". ST PHOTO: CAROLINE CHIA

SPH holds service to honour nation's 'architect and founding father'

By KOK XING HUI

MORE than 700 employees of media group Singapore Press Holdings (SPH) observed a minute of silence yesterday at its memorial service for Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

The one-hour service at the SPH Media Centre auditorium started with the showing of a video by SPH Razor on the life of Mr Lee and ended with staff singing the National Anthem.

SPH chief executive officer Alan Chan and staff from four SPH daily newspapers who had interacted with Mr Lee in the course of their work also paid tribute to Singapore's first Prime Minister.

As a young conscript in 1971,

Mr Chan said he saw "two old uncle corporals" having rice and curry sauce, lunch at a makeshift stall. When asked, one said he had to support three children on a \$220 salary, and every cent counted.

"When I now see our well-fed, well-travelled and well-travelled Singaporeans, I am most grateful for what Mr Lee and his first-generation leaders have done for us. We have come a long way," said Mr Chan, who worked as Mr Lee's principal private secretary from 1994 to 1997.

SPH chairman Lee Boon Yang, a former Cabinet minister under Mr Lee, also attended the service. He said in a statement: "I have

always thought of Mr Lee as the architect and founding father of Singapore. Mr Lee was always very focused and serious. He seldom engaged in small talk. He would drill deeply into every issue, whether it was a policy revision or something new."

The Straits Times editor at large Han Fook Kwang shared what he learnt about Mr Lee from working with him on his books.

"First, we all know how meticulous he was and how much attention to detail he gave to those issues he considered important. In the case of his books, it meant writing and rewriting the drafts many, many times," he said.

"My second impression is over how intense he was as a person, and how in his every waking moment, he was consumed with the lifelong project which is Singapore."

"He had no time for any other business. This was most evident when we were doing the book Hard Truths, where we interviewed him for more than 30 hours."

Mr Azhagiapandiyan Duraiswamy, deputy editor of Tamil Murasu, spoke of how Mr Lee made sure that "the Indians, along with the Malays, had a place in the Singapore sun".

Mr Lee ensured that Tamil, spoken by less than 5 per cent of the

population, not only survived but also had opportunities to flourish. He said: "Nowhere else in the world is Tamil language an official language of the nation today."

Ms Yew Lun Tian, a correspondent at Lianhe Zaobao, recounted how a Saudi prince once offered him the private plane to Mr Lee so he could travel back to Singapore in comfort.

"The Singapore that Mr Lee and his team built is already 50 years old. It's time we can tell him, 'We've got this, please rest assured and get on with your journey,'" she said in Mandarin.

Mr Chairul Fahmy Hussaini, deputy digital editor of Berita Harian, recalled how he was once

Visionary behind Garden City even decided what trees to plant

By SAMANTHA BOH

MR LEE Kuan Yew did not just have a broad vision of transforming Singapore into a Garden City, but played a key role when it came to the detailed planning.

It was he, for instance, who ensured that flyovers had gaps to let light and rain through, allowing plants to grow underneath.

Singapore's first Prime Minister also gave the instruction to plant rain trees and Angsana trees as their huge crowns provide plenty of shade.

From the dozen occasions when he met Mr Lee over his eight years in office from 1974 to

1982, Mr Wong Yew Kwan, Singapore's first Commissioner of Parks and Recreation, said it was evident that Mr Lee knew precisely what he wanted.

And saying "no" was never an option.

"He said, 'If from the start, you say it cannot be done, I'll chop off your head. But if you try it three times and fail, I'll still give you a gold medal,'" recalled Mr Wong, who is now 82 years old.

"He wanted things to be tried out." Mr Lee believed that turning Singapore into a Garden City would give it a competitive advantage over other cities.

He wrote in his 2000 memoir, From Third World To First: "After independence, I searched for some dramatic way to distinguish ourselves from other Third World countries. I settled for a clean and green Singapore."

"Greening is the most cost-effective project I have launched."

Mr Wong, who spoke to The Straits Times on Wednesday at the Botanic Centre in the Botanic Gardens, said: "He had a vision that if you wanted people to come and stay in Singapore, you must have a place nice for them to live in."

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MR LEE AND CHINA

First foreign leader to see terracotta warriors

Accolades pour in recognising Mr Lee's role in China reforms

By KOR KIAN BENG
CHINA BUREAU CHIEF
IN BEIJING

ON HIS first trip to China in May 1976, former Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew learnt about the discovery of terracotta warriors two years earlier in northern Shaanxi province.

Keen to see them, he made a last-minute request to then Vice-Premier Li Xiannian, who facilitated a detour to Shaanxi's provincial capital Xi'an, making Mr Lee the first foreign leader to view one of the world's major wonders.

Former Chinese journalists who reported on his Xi'an visit described the Singapore leader as an affable person who did not mind trodding on the muddy paths at the discovery site, then still not open to the public.

After Mr Lee's death on Monday, this little-known piece of trivia emerged in Chinese media to show the country's regard for Singapore's

founder Prime Minister and the favourable impressions he left on its people from early on.

In a rare move, four out of the seven members in the apex Politburo Standing Committee sent condolences over Mr Lee's death, which was reported prominently on the front pages of major dailies, including the mouthpieces of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army.

President Xi Jinping lamented Mr Lee's death "as a loss to the international community", while Premier Li Keqiang said that the Singapore statesman's "contributions towards China's reform and opening up will be recorded in history". Both accolades are hardly used for foreign leaders, say analysts.

The plethora of accolades heaped on Mr Lee by officials and the media included descriptions such as "China's old friend", "world-class strategist" and "China's pure friend".

China's respect for Mr Lee, stemming from a sense of pride in him as an ethnic Chinese who managed to steady Singapore through a bleak situation after its 1965 split from Malaysia, has grown since then due to various reasons, say analysts.

One was Mr Lee's prescient view on the country's re-emergence as a force – a stand he took publicly from as early as 1967 in a televised interview by NBC News in the United States.

Asked if China, which was then in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, could become a strongly unified country again, Mr Lee said: "I would say they are determined, as a people, to unify and build a modern, powerful, wealthy China nation and I say good luck to them."

China is also thankful for the pivotal role that Mr Lee played in its reform and opening-up policy since the late 1970s.

When Deng Xiaoping saw the governance model of a dominant one-party rule and free economy

in a Chinese-majority society during a visit to Singapore in 1978, it reinforced the late Chinese strongman's resolve to open up China.

In 1992, Deng's favourable impressions of Singapore led him to hail the Republic as a model of development for China to emulate, during his famous "southern tour" of the coastal provinces to push economic reforms further.

His call led to Chinese officials being dispatched to Singapore to study its public policies, and later prompted Mr Lee and Deng to agree on the first government-to-government project in the Suzhou Industrial Park in 1994 to help China with its industrial upgrading efforts.

Mr Eagle Lyu, 31, a civil servant from coastal Zhejiang province who signed the condolence book for Mr Lee at the Singapore Embassy in Beijing, said he was grateful that Mr Lee was generous in sharing Singapore's expertise with China.

"Looking at places like Suzhou, you can tell that they are governed better the minute you are there. I think that can be attributed to how many of the Chinese officials there have also been trained in Singapore."

Another who signed the condolence book was Mr Chen Kaifan, 34, a PhD student at Tsinghua University studying Singapore's political party system.

"While having elections in China might not be possible, China can learn from Singapore in areas such as corruption control and its practical, non-ideological approach to problems," he said.

Sino-Asian expert Deng Shichao of Jinan University in Guangzhou said China is also grateful that Mr Lee, who made 33 visits in 37 years from 1976, acted as its bridge with the outside world, especially with the West-ern countries.

Mr Lee was the only Singapore leader to have met five generations of Chinese leaders from Mao Zedong to Mr Xi.

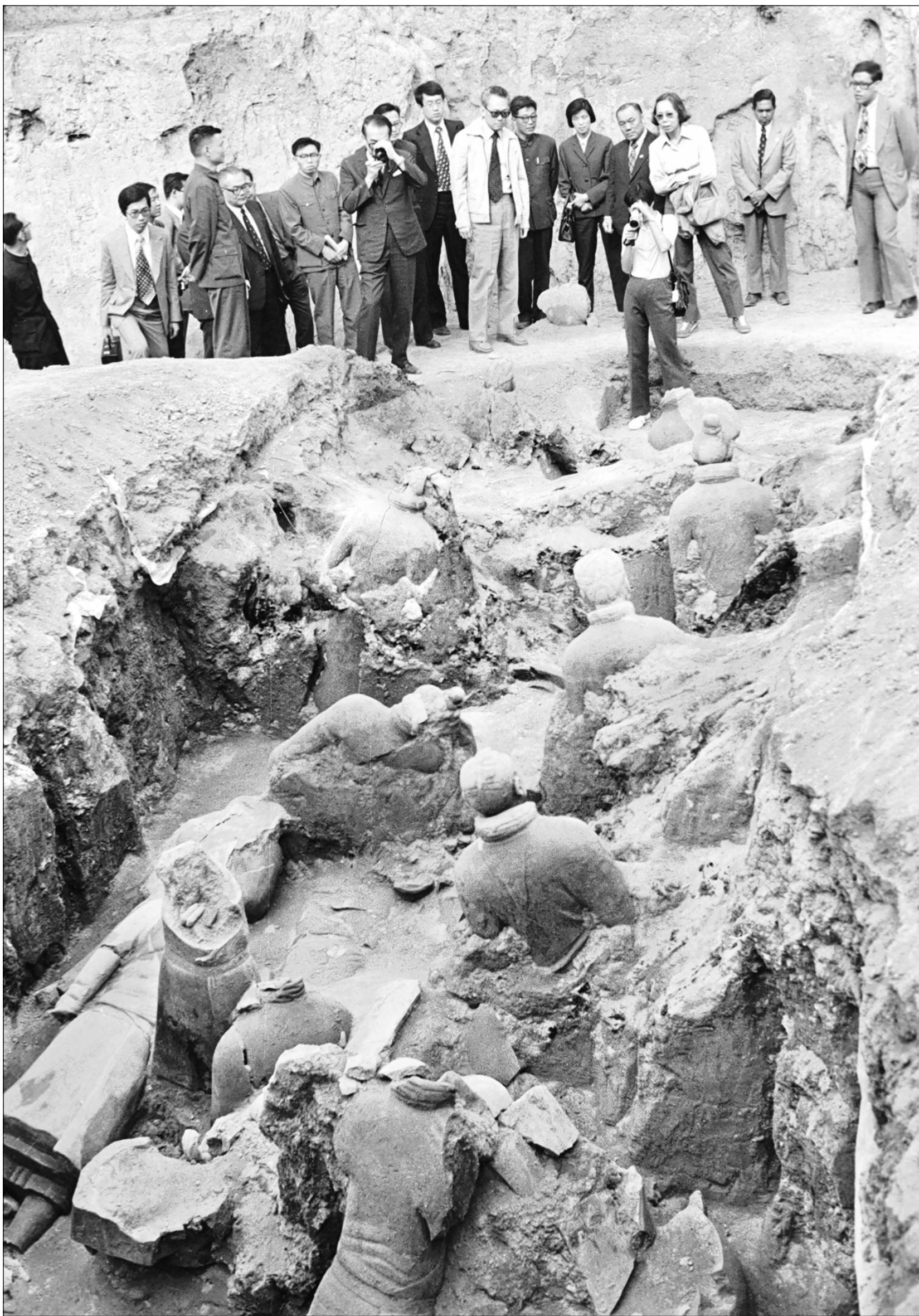
But there are also detractors here against Mr Lee, as seen in some commentaries and editorials this week, particularly over his often-repeated stand that the United States should maintain or increase its influence in the region as a balance against a rising China.

"I believe most respect Mr Lee for being open and consistent with his views, and that whatever he did, he did for Singapore's interests," Sino-Singapore expert Lyu Yuanli of Shenzhen University said.

Singapore Business Federation president Teo Sing Seng said most of his Chinese associates appreciated Mr Lee's frankness, knowing that he had also spoken up for them when needed.

"They knew that he would speak for China at the crucial time but also speak up when it was not doing things right. They regarded him as a 'true friend'."

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Additional reporting by Esther Teo



Mr Lee viewing terracotta warriors in Xi'an, Shaanxi province, during his first visit to China in 1976. With him were (from right) Dr Ahmad Mattar, Mr S R Nathan, Mrs Lee, daughter Lee Wei Ling (holding camera) and Mr Lee Khoo Choy. Former Chinese journalists who reported on his Xi'an visit described the Singapore leader as an affable person who did not mind trodding on the muddy paths at the discovery site, which was not open to the public then. ST FILE PHOTO

MR LEE AND INDIA

A forceful role model, even for dissenters

By NIRMALA GANAPATHY
INDIA BUREAU CHIEF
IN NEW DELHI

AT A South Asian diaspora convention in Singapore in 2011, when Mr Lee Kuan Yew was asked if he could replicate Singapore's success in India, he laughed out loud, but his answer was clear: No.

"No single person can change India," he responded. "If you compare with China, 90 per cent speak one language. It is a much easier country to lead than India. India consists of many different nation groups and dialects."

He had many observations about India, some flattering and several not so flattering. He called India a "nation of unfulfilled greatness" with its potential "lain fallow, under-used".

India's complex caste system was an "enemy of meritocracy", he said. The potential of the country was bogged down by a bureaucracy "wrapped in a colonial mindset".

In an interview, he said India was "not a real country" but "32 separate nations".

Yet, even for Indians who did not agree with many of his

views on India, he represented how a strong leader could make a difference to a nation.

Said Dr Sanjaya Baru, who served as media adviser to former Indian premier Manmohan Singh and later taught at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy: "I think most middle-class Indians who visited Singapore would envy Singapore's success and would wish India had a leader like him."

"The fact is that, in the past, Lee Kuan Yew did have a high regard for India and did reach out to India. I think, towards the end, he had become quite critical."

"I think all of us admired the kind of energy that he sustained in leadership and created something unique. But you can't

do it anywhere else except Singapore. In that sense, it is unique."

Strategic affairs analyst C. Uday Bhaskar, who as a young naval officer visited Singapore often in the 1970s, said he was struck by the transformation he saw in the nation under Mr Lee.

"He will be remembered as the great architect of Singapore. It is very impressive what he has done, though he has been accused of ruling with an iron fist. But he was able to infuse an identity of Singapore in spite of a very complex ethnic diversity," said Mr Bhaskar.

He feels that the way Mr Lee navigated through complex relationships with neighbours such as Malaysia and other countries in Asean also holds a

lesson for India.

India operates in a difficult neighbourhood, and it has gone to war thrice with Pakistan and once with China.

"There is a certain amount of pragmatism and how to maximise fairly difficult geopolitical and geostrategic circumstances," said Mr Bhaskar.

Mr Lee knew India quite well. He first visited the country in 1959 for a conference of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ). As Prime Minister of independent Singapore, he visited six times. He returned in 2005 to deliver the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Lecture in New Delhi and for later visits.

As early as in 1966, he suggested during a visit that India should take a leadership role in South-east Asia. He even proposed that India and Japan should start a regional economic cooperation accord. He knew many Indian leaders personally and most of its prime ministers, from India's first Premier Jawaharlal Nehru to Dr Manmohan Singh.

In later years, Mr Lee also became somewhat of a mentor to various Indian leaders.

Congress vice-president Rahul Gandhi, Nehru's

“

HE WANTED INDIA TO REACH ITS FULL POTENTIAL

Lee Kuan Yew was candid about India in his own characteristic way, and hoped we would rise to our real potential. Some of his views regarding our nationhood might be disagreed with but, overall, his heart was in India, and he genuinely wanted us to achieve our real potential.

— Mr Tarun Vijay, an MP of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party

”

WHILE many political leaders and commentators around the world have lavished praise on Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his record, there have also been voices of criticism and some have raised questions whether the island he built up has outgrown its founder's methods of running the country.

There are also questions on how Singapore's politics will play out in the years ahead, and how orderly its political succession will be.

While hailing the economic transformation that Mr Lee and his team had wrought, several commentators also labelled Singapore an autocratic state, charging that the people's freedoms had had been curbed in the name of progress.

Human rights groups such as Amnesty International urged the next generation of leaders to ensure that their era is marked by what it called genuine respect for human rights and ask the same hard questions Mr Lee himself spoke of in 1964, a few months before Singapore's independence.

"Is this an open, or is this a closed, society? Is it a society where men can preach ideas –

Amid the tributes, some brickbats and questions

Critics hit out at how Mr Lee governed, tackled opponents, curbed freedoms

novel, unorthodox, heresies, to established churches and established governments – where there is a constant contest for men's hearts and minds on the basis of what is right, of what is just, of what is in the national interests, or is it a closed society where the mass media – the newspapers, the journals, publications, TV, radio... are fed with a constant drone of sycophantic support for a particular orthodox political philosophy...". Amnesty said, quoting from Mr Lee's speech of the time.

In the most trenchant criticism

of Mr Lee, Politico magazine ran a feature called The Curse of Lee Kuan Yew. The article, written by Mr Ben Judah, author of a book on Russian President Vladimir Putin, called Mr Lee "a myth, a global idea – an intellectual cult built around the idea that not all autocrats are bad".

Noting that Mr Putin and former Georgian president Mikheil Saakashvili are admirers of Mr Lee, it added that since the early 2000s, "the cult of Lee Kuan Yew has been an unmitigated disaster in Eastern Europe, where the example set by Singapore's un-

apologetic autocrat has helped to entrench and legitimise authoritarianism".

Thanks to the "myth of Singapore", Kremlin elites came to believe – for the first time since the 1990s – that there could be a third way between Western liberal democracy, especially following the path of the European Union, and despotic authoritarian rule, Mr Judah said.

The Guardian of London noted that the last parliamentary elections marked the People's Action Party's (PAP) worst performance, even as it got 60 per cent of the



Among the freedoms that Singaporeans have is the freedom to be out late at night unmolested, writes Mr Calvin Cheng. ST FILE PHOTO

In short, are you a civilised person who wants to live in a civilised society? Because the things you cannot do in Singapore are precisely the sort that civilised people should not do anyway. If you are, you have nothing to fear. Or maybe like the Western press has kept saying these few days in their commentaries on Mr Lee, you fear that you could be locked up because we do not have freedom of speech?

Do you want to come here and insult other people's race and religion? Maybe these are fundamental freedoms in your country, but in ours, because we have experienced deadly racial riots at the birth of our country, these are a no-no. But then again, why would you want to purposely offend others?

Or maybe you want to tell lies about our public figures, accuse them of corruption when you have no evidence to back them up, or accuse them of stealing, cheating, or all manner of untruths? If so, then be prepared to be sued for libel. Even if Western societies think that you can say these things about your political figures, we don't and we are better for it.

And those political opponents of Mr Lee who have been bankrupted, allegedly because they were such formidable foes? No such thing. Mr J.B. Jeyaratnam and Dr Chee Soon Juan may be the martyrs much adored by the Western press, but have you heard of Mr Chiam See Tong, the longest-serving opposition Mem-

ber of Parliament who won five consecutive elections against Mr Lee's People's Action Party? Or Mr Low Thia Khang, who not only won five consecutive general elections, but in the last one in 2011, also led a team that unseated the incumbent Minister for Foreign Affairs and our first female Cabinet minister?

Both these opposition MPs have never been sued, much less bankrupted. In fact, Mr Chiam won several libel lawsuits against Mr Lee's ministers. You would never have heard of them, or have chosen not to, because it doesn't fit the Western narrative that legitimate opposition was stifled by Mr Lee through lawsuits. It doesn't suit your narrative of trade-offs. The fact is that every single opposition politician successfully sued for libel engaged in the type of politics that we do not want, the kind founded on vicious lies being told in the name of political campaigning.

What about detention without

trial? Again and again ad nauseam, the Western press has used the example of Operation Cold Store to bolster its narrative of Mr Lee as an autocrat, where 111 left-wing politicians were arrested on suspicion of being communist in 1964.

But what about Operation Demetrius, where in 1971, 342 persons suspected of being involved with the IRA were detained without trial by the British Army? Or won several libel lawsuits against Mr Lee's ministers. You would never have heard of them, or have chosen not to, because it doesn't fit the Western narrative that legitimate opposition was stifled by Mr Lee through lawsuits. It doesn't suit your narrative of trade-offs. The fact is that every single opposition politician successfully sued for libel engaged in the type of politics that we do not want, the kind founded on vicious lies being told in the name of political campaigning.

Whether those people were indeed communists will be a question no doubt debated endlessly by historians, in the same way as whether the IRA was a terrorist organisation or whether the 342 in Northern Ireland were indeed IRA members, or the thousands in Guantanamo Bay were indeed terrorists.

So where is the trade-off? How are we unfree?

I tell you what freedom is. Freedom is being able to walk on the streets unmolested in the wee hours in the morning, to be able to leave one's door open and not fear that one would be burgled. Freedom is the woman who can ride buses and trains alone; freedom is not having to avoid certain subway stations after night falls. Freedom is knowing our children can go to school without fear of drugs, or being mowed down by some insane person with a gun. Freedom is knowing that we are not bound by our class, our race, our religion, and we can excel for the individuals that we are – the freedom to accomplish. Freedom is living in one of the least corrupt societies in the world, knowing that our ability to get things done is not going to be limited by our ability to pay someone. Freedom is fresh air and clean streets, because nothing is more inimical to our liberty of movement than being trapped at home because of suffocating smog.

These are the freedoms that Singaporeans have, freedoms that were built on the vision and hard work of Mr Lee, our first Prime Minister. And we have all of these, these liberties, while also being one of the richest countries in the world.

There was no trade-off. Not for us. The writer is a media entrepreneur and former Nominated MP

Mr Lee Kuan Yew
1923 - 2015



and political liberalisation, rather than cash and control, with freedom and equality celebrated alongside stability."

The New York Times echoed the theme in an article called Singapore, The Nation That Lee Kuan Yew Built, Questions Its Direction.

It said the country's increasingly assertive and demanding electorate are calling for a new social contract, a more consultative government and participatory rule-making.

The paper said issues that were unthinkable in Mr Lee's time now cannot be dismissed so easily, including the prospect that the PAP could split into factions, "a possibility that some believe is beginning to take shape".

Mr Bill Emmott, who as former editor of The Economist had several run-ins with the Singapore Government, also pondered how post-Lee politics would evolve, particularly when it came to leadership transition. "The issue is certainly solvable, especially with an excellent education system and high-quality institutions of all kinds. But Lee's own actions suggest that he harboured doubts."

Autocracy in S'pore? Hardly, says writer

By SAHANA SINGH

BETWEEN my early life in India and my current life in the United States, I spent 14 years in paradise: Singapore.

From clean water and crime-free streets to reliable public transportation and easy access to libraries, the Government anticipates all the basic needs to provide its residents a good quality of life and eliminate the stresses that can impede personal progress.

But in the coverage that followed the death of Singapore's founding Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew on Monday, Western media has painted a very different picture.

They describe a crushing autocrat who chained his people and stripped them of basic freedoms. My experience was quite the contrary. Outside of this tiny island utopia, I never felt more free.

When we first arrived and checked into a hotel, I called room

service and asked for a jug of filtered water – a standard health precaution. The hotel employee dismissed my concerns: "You can drink water from the tap in your bathroom."

At first, I was horrified by the suggestion. In India, water filters were as common as TV sets and refrigerators in middle- and upper-class homes. But here, I soon discovered, the state maintained a high-quality water treatment process that delivered purified water nationwide. Not only was Singapore's water drinkable straight from the tap, but it always gushed with good pressure, even on the top floors of the tallest buildings. It was my first introduction to a government that works.

In my first days in Singapore, I worried about safely getting around town, especially with a baby. I had never used local trains and feared ending up in a dangerous neighbourhood. But what would be reasonable fears for a newcomer in most of the world's cities? In Singapore, everywhere were street signs and directions in English, clearly marked and intelligently placed, as if invisible planners were anticipating your next question.

There was no litter in Singapore's streets. Every building looked clean and every walkway looked newly washed. The National Library had numerous bookshelves stocked with wonderful books. With my baby in a stroller, I could go practically anywhere. It was like an India I had always dreamed of: clean, green and hassle-free.

How was this possible? Singapore gained its independence nearly 20 years after India and, yet, the island nation now boasts a remarkably diverse economy, the world's top airline, clean rivers

and a thriving trade port – all achieved in just a few decades. The engine behind that transformation was the governance of Lee Kuan Yew, the man whose vision took this little dot of a city-state "from Third World to First".

But not everyone shared my admiration. At the time, a friend of mine from the US told me nothing could make her move to Singapore: "I would hate to live in a country where my freedoms are curtailed," she declared loftily.

I could only laugh. There I was, freer than anytime I had been in my life. I had just found a job I loved. I could go see a movie with friends and return by myself late at night.

I could fall asleep in a taxi, after reeling off my address, and the driver would safely take me home and gently wake me up.

Singapore maintains an efficient – if strict – judicial system, fundamental to living in a low-crime society while practising individual freedom. I had tasted the real freedom that came with security.

Many point to the price Singapore's citizens and residents pay for achieving that security. The Government imposes strict laws with steep fines and punishments for even minor transgressions. Breaching the ban on selling gum can fetch a fine. Vandalism of public property can lead to caning. These kinds of sentences may be an affront to American ideals, but in Singapore, like many Asian countries, ensuring the greater good is paramount to self-determination. Americans, it should be noted, also pay a price for the premium they put on individual liberties.

Westerners ridicule Singapore for restrictions on personal expression and protest, but overlook how the nation provides more freedom than some of the most-lauded democracies. In Singapore, there was no gun culture like America's or neighbourhoods with street gangs to be avoided.

As my daughter grew older, I could easily let her move around the city with no worries about her safety. Around the country, there are plenty of mosques, churches and temples in close proximity, along with Christian, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist national holidays.

The national government is highly transparent and virtually incorruptible, functioning better than some chaotic, so-called democracies. And yet the world asked why the average Singaporean, who had good schooling, a job, affordable housing, healthcare, children and elders care don't protest from rooftops?

May Singapore never squander the legacy of Lee Kuan Yew. THE WASHINGTON POST

PICTURE SPREAD: HIS TRIPS ABROAD

Mr Lee Kuan Yew
1923 - 2015

ITALY: Mr and Mrs Lee taking a close look at the tombs of the Dukes of Medici, who once ruled Florence, during a visit to Italy in April 1988. ST FILE PHOTO

Lee Kuan Yew, world traveller

As Prime Minister, Senior Minister and Minister Mentor, Mr Lee travelled far, wide and frequently to increase Singapore's space, and to establish ties with the rest of the world. Between 1959 and 2012, he made at least 304 official trips to 83 countries. He visited Malaysia most frequently, followed by Japan, Britain, China and the United States.



CHINA: Mr Lee taking a camel ride at Dunhuang in north-western Gansu on Oct 21, 1990. PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE LEE FAMILY



MYANMAR: Mr Lee sounding a giant bell on a visit to the Shwedagon Pagoda in Yangon in January 1986. ST FILE PHOTO



TURKEY: Mr Lee trying out an ancient communal toilet at Kusadasi, near Ephesus, Turkey, in 1991. PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE LEE FAMILY



THE UNITED STATES: Mr Lee Kuan Yew had the rare honour of addressing a joint session of the United States Senate and House of Representatives on Oct 9, 1985. Then Vice-President George H. W. Bush, who

was president of the Senate, is seated behind him. Next to Mr Bush is Speaker of the House of Representatives Tip O'Neill. LIANHE ZAOBAO FILE PHOTO



MALAYSIA: Then Minister Mentor Lee meeting former Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi in Kuala Lumpur on June 8, 2009. Mr Lee visited Malaysia most frequently. ST FILE PHOTO



INDIA: Mr Lee donning traditional Indian headgear on a trip to Jaipur in November 1971 with Mrs Lee and daughter Wei Ling, who is in a sari. PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE LEE FAMILY



INDONESIA: Mr Lee at a golf course with President Suharto during a three-day official visit to Jakarta in May 1973. ST FILE PHOTO



KAZAKHSTAN: Mr Lee went fishing while on a visit in September 1991. PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE LEE FAMILY



JAPAN: Mr Lee trying his hand at spinning a top during a visit to Tokyo in 1993. PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE LEE FAMILY

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