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PREM 19/4440

PART 2

MT

CONFIDENTIAL YOUNG

Visits by the Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

UK / Singapore Relations

SINGAPORE.

PT1: May 1979

PT2: April 1988

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
4.4.88		24.5.93					
6.7.88		28.5.93					
1.8.88		14/93					
2.9.88		2.12.95.					
5.7.88		7.3.94					
19.1.89.							
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15.11.90							
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12.12.90							
12.12.90							
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24.93							
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CLOSED.
PREM 19/4440

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 December 1993

File Et

cc REG
SP
Press
SG

VISIT BY PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

Thank you for your letter of 29 November.

Sandra Phillips tells me that it should be possible to change the date for the lunch for Mr Goh to Monday 18 April.

Could I ask you not to commit us at this stage to the length of the pre-lunch talks. We should consider the format nearer the time. It would be helpful to have a recommendation from you, in early March, on whether we should aim for a working or a social lunch. If the former, talks beforehand should not be necessary.

RODERIC LYNE

J S Smith Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CH

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET

Roderic
I had been holding
25 April for
HIS, but, by
swapping a
Colbagnon lunch
(from 18 to 25 April),
we can offer the
Singaporean talks
+ lunch on
Monday 18 April.
S 30/11

✓: Lorne
Sub (G)
Graham (B)

Roderic Lyne Esq CMG
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

max.

Rev.

24

Minister of Singapore

April, you recorded the Prime
we should invite Goh Chok Tong to

es for this visit, 18 and 19 April
om Germany on the evening of
of Saturday 16 April, and will
to the Lake District over the
al programme begins on
to leave the UK on either the
ng of 20 April.

you with recommendations on the
e Minister might offer: the
ur's talks followed by lunch.
u note the dates in the Prime

your ever,

Signature

(J S Smith)
Private Secretary

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 November 1993

Der Rohrie,

Visit by Prime Minister of Singapore

In your letter of 30 April, you recorded the Prime Minister's agreement that we should invite Goh Chok Tong to visit the UK next year.

We now have firm dates for this visit, 18 and 19 April 1994. Goh will arrive from Germany on the evening of Friday 15 or the morning of Saturday 16 April, and will undertake a private visit to the Lake District over the weekend, before his official programme begins on Monday 18 April. He plans to leave the UK on either the evening of 19 or the morning of 20 April.

We shall come back to you with recommendations on the hospitality which the Prime Minister might offer: the normal form would be an hour's talks followed by lunch. Meanwhile, please would you note the dates in the Prime Minister's diary.

Yours ever,

Stephen

(J S Smith)
Private Secretary

Roderic Lyne Esq CMG
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

11 August 1993

*Now fixed
(1 hour) for 18 April
p.a. S & I.*

SL dr

VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

Your letter of 10 August to Alex Allan asked whether the Prime Minister would be available on 11/12 or 18/19 April 1994 to receive Goh Chok Tong.

Both these dates are in theory possible, subject of course to the normal diary pressures. I am therefore content for you to offer both sets of dates as a holding measure to the Singaporeans, while the timing of the State Visit is resolved.

MARK ADAMS

C.R.V. Stagg, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

DMA
2 SP 012

RESTRICTED



CCSP
RB

Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 August 1993

Dear Alex,

VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

As agreed in Roderic Lyne's letter of 30 April, the Foreign Secretary has invited Goh Chok Tong to visit Britain next spring. Goh Chok Tong has suggested combining his visit to Britain with a planned visit to Germany in April 1994.

The Singaporeans would now like to agree dates for the visit. They have told us that the Germans have already invited Goh Chok Tong to visit Germany on 13 to 15 April and have asked if it would be possible for Goh Chok Tong to visit London immediately before or after that visit (11/12 or 18/19 April).

We have told the Singaporeans that we cannot go firm on dates until we have fixed the dates for the spring 1994 State Visit (on which we are in contact with the Palace). They understand the problems and should be prepared to block off both sets of dates until we can go firm on one of them.

The Prime Minister's involvement in the visit is likely to be limited to a lunch or dinner and talks immediately after a Guard of Honour. I should be grateful for confirmation that the Prime Minister's diary commitments would allow us to offer the Singaporeans both sets of dates, as a holding measure, while we sort out the timing of the State Visit.

Yours ever,

Jimie

(C R V Stagg)
Private Secretary

Alex Allan Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED



HOME / SINGAPORE. DCA

cc SP
RB

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

11 August 1993

VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

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Both these dates are in theory possible, subject of course to the normal diary pressures. I am therefore content for you to offer both sets of dates as a holding measure to the Singaporeans, while the timing of the State Visit is resolved.

MARK ADAMS

C.R.V. Stagg, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

da

RESTRICTED



CCSP
RB

Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 August 1993

Dictate - fine

Dear Alex,
Mark
Please deal: matter
look impossible
Me

VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

at trap
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The Singaporeans would now like to agree dates for the visit. They have told us that the Germans have already invited Goh Chok Tong to visit Germany on 13 to 15 April and have asked if it would be possible for Goh Chok Tong to visit London immediately before or after that visit (11/12 or 18/19 April).

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Yours ever,

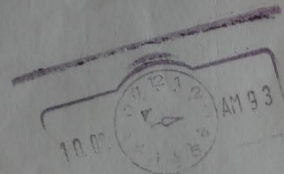
Stagg

(C R V Stagg)
Private Secretary

Alex Allan Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

Singapore: Re: P 2



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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

28 July 1993

SINGAPORE DEATH SENTENCE ON TWO HONG KONG CITIZENS

Thank you for your letter of 28 July, which I have discussed today with the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister notes that the Government has already submitted pleas for clemency on behalf of the two convicted Hong Kong citizens through our High Commission at Singapore. He also notes that the Governor of Hong Kong has declined to make a further, personal plea, and considers that the Prime Minister should not make a personal intervention. The Prime Minister has decided not to send a message to the Prime Minister of Singapore.

You will no doubt be arming News Department with a defensive line, should there be press enquiries. This might draw on the above points as necessary.

RODERIC LYNE

J.S. Smith, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RESTRICTED

File f/Death as
cc JHoulam
RB

R

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Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

28 July 1993

Dev Robin

Singapore Death Sentence on two Hong Kong Citizens

The High Commission in Singapore have reported that Raymond Ko Mun Cheung and Chiu Sum Hing, two Hong Kong citizens convicted of drug smuggling, are to be executed in Singapore on Friday 30 July. They were arrested in Singapore in December 1986 and charged with trafficking and possession of heroin. They were sentenced to death on 14 March 1990. Their appeals have been rejected and no further legal avenues for appeal are open to them. The High Commission submitted pleas for clemency on their behalf on 18 September 1992. There has been no response.

Our practice on appeals for clemency is that we should make pleas for clemency on humanitarian grounds against death sentences passed on British nationals overseas, when all legal avenues open to the defendants to appeal have been exhausted.

When the last Hong Kong resident was hanged in Singapore on 5 April 1991 neither the Prime Minister nor the Foreign Secretary intervened on the grounds that their appeal would have had no effect. The Foreign Secretary has asked the Governor if he would consider making an appeal in this case. The Governor has declined saying it would not be appropriate. The Governor also thought it would not be right to involve the Prime Minister. But he acknowledged the difficulty of this course given the Prime Minister's intervention over Smith and Cahill in Thailand. There may be criticism in Hong Kong that he is discriminating against Hong Kong residents if he does not intervene.

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In addition to the self evident humanitarian considerations, there are strong presentational reasons for making a Prime Ministerial appeal: we cannot do less for two men facing the death penalty than we did for two British girls in Thailand, even though there are no grounds for supposing that an approach by the Prime Minister will lead to a reversal of the Singapore decision. The foreign press are in Singapore in large numbers for the ASEAN/Post Ministerial Conference and may well focus on any difference in treatment. An approach by the Prime Minister would hinge on our opposition to the death penalty, and would not reflect a softening of our position on drug trafficking. The Foreign Secretary therefore thinks that the Prime Minister should write.

/ I accordingly enclose a draft message from the Prime Minister to the Prime Minister of Singapore.

Yours ever,

J S Smith

(J S Smith)
Private Secretary

Roderic Lyne Esq CMG
10 Downing Street

28 July 1993

Draft from the Prime Minister to the Prime
Minister of Singapore - Mr Goh Chok Tong

I have learned that Raymond Ko Mun Cheung and
Chi Sum Hing, both British Dependent Territories Citizens
of Hong Kong, are due to be executed on Friday 30 July for
drug trafficking.

I welcome the successful prosecution of these two
men: drug trafficking must be combatted effectively and
Singapore has taken a lead on this issue. However, I must
urge you to consider whether, even at this late stage, the
possibility of commuting their sentences to a long term of
imprisonment is feasible. I hope that you will feel able
to intercede with His Excellency the President of the
Republic of Singapore Mr Wee Kim Wee to persuade His
Excellency to exercise the prerogative of mercy for
humanitarian reasons. Mr Chi and Mr Ko have been facing
the death penalty for seven years. My appeal is made
notwithstanding the fact, as I understand it, that Mr Ko
has declined to submit a personal appeal for clemency.



**SUBJECT
MASTER**
Filed on:

Copy to Fco
1 file
Rm 1/11

Senior Minister
Singapore

28 May 1993

Dear Prime Minister

Thank you for your friendly letter of welcome that awaited my arrival in London.

I had thanked Alastair Goodlad for his lunch invitation but I had already made arrangements to meet old friends.

I did not want to trouble Government Ministers because my few days in London coincided with the Whitsun weekend.

With best wishes to you and your government.

Yours Sincerely
John Major

The Right Honourable John Major
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

SUBJECT
MASTER

Filed on:



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 May 1993

Dear Mr. Lee,

I am writing to welcome you to Britain. I am sorry that neither I nor Douglas Hurd will be in London during your visit. It would have been good to see you. Alastair Goodlad had hoped to give you lunch and to discuss with you recent developments over Hong Kong, but I understand that has not proved possible this time around.

I do hope you have a pleasant stay and have the chance to meet some of your many friends here. I look forward to an opportunity to meet you again soon.

Yours sincerely,
John Major

Mr Lee Kuan Yew CH GCMG



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

20 May 1993

To me

Rm

29

Dear Roderic,

Visit to Britain by Lee Kuan Yew

In your letter of 10 May, you said that the Prime Minister would not be able to meet Lee Kuan Yew during his visit to London at Whitsun, and asked for a draft letter from the Prime Minister.

There will be no Ministerial contact during the visit. Mr Goodlad offered to give Lee lunch on 28 May, but Lee has declined, as he has a prior engagement with Lord Wilson. A short message from the Prime Minister will help avoid any misunderstandings, but it does not need to go beyond pleasantries. I enclose a draft.

We propose that the letter be sent via the Singapore High Commissioner for delivery when he meets Lee on arrival.

Yours ever,

(R J Sawers)
Private Secretary

Roderic Lyne Esq CMG
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO LEE KUAN YEW

I am writing personally to welcome you to Britain. I am sorry that neither I nor Douglas Hurd will be in London during your visit. It would have been good to see you. Alastair Goodlad had hoped to give you lunch and to discuss with you recent developments over Hong Kong, but I understand that has not proved possible this time around.

I do hope you have a pleasant stay and have the chance to meet some of your many friends here. I look forward to an opportunity to meet you again soon.

ROBERT LIND

H. J. Smith, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

RESTRICTED

Singapore: Rel
A2



RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

10 May 1993

Dear John,

PRIVATE VISIT BY LEE KUAN YEW

Thank you for your letter of 10 May. As luck would have it, the Prime Minister is genuinely unavailable during Lee Kuan Yew's private visit to London. He will be in Paris on 28 May, and official and private commitments will keep him away from London until after Lee Kuan Yew's departure. I am sure that he would be content to sign a letter of the kind you mention, and I look forward to receiving a draft.

Yours etc,

Roderic

RODERIC LYNE

R.J. Sawers, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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Cite MM
ulB

M

RESTRICTED



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 May 1993

Dear Roderic,

PRIVATE VISIT BY LEE KUAN YEW

Lee Kuan Yew, the Senior Minister of Singapore, is visiting London privately from 28 May to 31 May, as part of a trip to Europe which takes in Paris, Budapest and possibly Amsterdam. It will be his first visit to the UK since stepping down as Prime Minister in 1990.

We understand that Mr Lee intends to meet friends here, with a particular emphasis on Hong Kong, including Sir Percy Cradock, Professor John Jolowicz of Trinity College Cambridge, and Lord Wilson.

In view of the strongly critical line which Lee Kuan Yew has taken in public about the Governor of Hong Kong's proposals, we have consulted the Governor about the level at which he should be received in London. He does not believe that the Prime Minister need see Lee Kuan Yew, unless he particularly wishes to do so, as long as we have an opportunity to set out our policy on Hong Kong at Ministerial level. Mr Goodlad will do this and has offered to give Mr Lee lunch.

Lee Kuan Yew has not specifically asked for calls and neither the Foreign Secretary nor the Prime Minister plan to be in London during his visit. We understand that the French will offer him high level attention, including possibly a call and a meal at the Elysee while he is in

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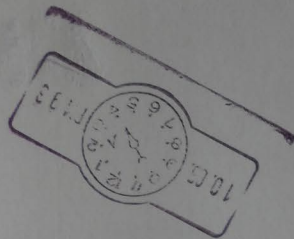
Paris for a meeting of the J P Morgan International Council. We think it would be worthwhile if the Prime Minister could write to Lee welcoming him to Britain and regretting he will not be free to see him over the holiday weekend. The letter could be handed over by Mr Goodlad. That should help reduce any sense on Lee's part that he is being less well treated in Britain. If you agree, I shall send you a draft nearer the time.

Yours ever,

(R J Sawers)
Private Secretary

Roderic Lyne Esq CMG
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

30 April 1993

Dear Stephen

**POSSIBLE VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF
SINGAPORE**

Thank you for your letter of 26 April.

The Prime Minister has agreed that we should extend an invitation in principle to Dr. Goh to visit the UK next year. Other than the obvious - State Visit, Easter, etc. - there is no particular timing yet which you should avoid in Spring 1994.

Yours ever,

RODERIC LYNE

Stephen Smith Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

F/Goh.MFJ

bcc 26

re



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister ④

Visit by Prime Minister
of Singapore

Good news that Goh is
not now trying to come in
the autumn.

Content to issue an
invitation in principle to
him to come next year?

Roderic.

to Peter Smith (Department of
Trade and Industry), John Pitt-Brooke (Ministry of Defence)
and Melanie Leech (Cabinet Office).

Roderic Lyne Esq CMG
10 Downing Street



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister of Singapore

to Christopher Prentice, you
sion in Singapore take
er Goh Chok Tong might be able
ter CHOGM in October.

ans came up during Mr Goodlad's
e Easter. Goh said that he had
pe after CHOGM, since it would
om Singapore.

istry have told us that Goh is
on from Chancellor Kohl, who
to visit Germany in Spring 1994.
in to his itinerary. Our High
also to issue an invitation.

my letter of 22 March and with
ercial position against our main
dvantage in inviting Goh to
should be grateful to know if
o an invitation in principle
timing to be established later.
there any dates which we should

Yours ever,

Stratton

(J S Smith)
Private Secretary

cc PRESS

CLM

Roderic
setting firm.
had as possible
? Opening of
yes - Channel
Tunnel
was ? State visit

(Easter is
1-4 April,
with return in
either week before
or after). S 27/4

cc PRESS

Samira
Roderic
Noting firm.
Noted as possible.
We should say yes - ^{opening of} Channel Tunnel
Any dates so soon? ^{State visit}


Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office
London SW1A 2AH

26 April 1993

Roderic (Easter is 1-4 April, with leave in either week before or after). S 27/4

Dear Roderic,

Possible Visit by the Prime Minister of Singapore

In your letter of 2 April to Christopher Prentice, you suggested that our High Commission in Singapore take informal soundings about whether Goh Chok Tong might be able to visit the UK a few weeks after CHOGM in October.

Goh's overseas travel plans came up during Mr Goodlad's visit to Singapore just before Easter. Goh said that he had decided against visiting Europe after CHOGM, since it would entail too long an absence from Singapore.

The Singapore Foreign Ministry have told us that Goh is hoping to take up an invitation from Chancellor Kohl, who visited Singapore last month, to visit Germany in Spring 1994. He is considering adding Britain to his itinerary. Our High Commission expect the French also to issue an invitation.

For the reasons set out in my letter of 22 March and with an eye to maintaining our commercial position against our main European competitors, we see advantage in inviting Goh to visit Britain next spring. I should be grateful to know if the Prime Minister can agree to an invitation in principle being extended soon, with the timing to be established later. Even at this early stage, are there any dates which we should avoid?

I am copying this letter to Peter Smith (Department of Trade and Industry), John Pitt-Brooke (Ministry of Defence) and Melanie Leech (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,
J S Smith
(J S Smith)
Private Secretary

Roderic Lyne Esq CMG
10 Downing Street

Singapore Rel's PR2



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 April 1993

Dear Christopher,

POSSIBLE VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

Stephen Smith wrote on 22 March about the plans of Prime Minister Goh to visit Europe after CHOGM. As I explained to Stephen on the telephone, we unfortunately cannot make a firm commitment yet, in a way which would allow Mr. Goodlad to extend a formal invitation during his forthcoming visit to Singapore.

It would not be easy, and possibly not desirable, for the Prime Minister to see Goh immediately after CHOGM. On his return, the Prime Minister may need to make a statement in the Commons (if the House is sitting), and will have to deal with business which has backed up during his absence. He will doubtless have seen a fair amount of Goh during the five days of the Commonwealth Conference. It would be more enticing if we could leave an interval between the two events. This must in part depend on the rest of Goh's itinerary.

Would it be possible for the High Commissioner at Singapore to conduct a little discreet reconnaissance, without commitment? You might, as a result, be able to offer us a spread of possible dates in early November (though 9-12 November will presumably be afflicted by the late autumn State visit). We could then take a further look at the options for the Prime Minister.

I am copying this letter to Peter Smith (Department of Trade and Industry), John Pitt-Brooke (Ministry of Defence) and Melanie Leech (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,
Roderic

RODERIC LYNE

Christopher Prentice, Esq.,

FLO

cc PRESS

AG

cc LB

SA

Radnic

Sandra: a) comments?

b) for next day

msg?

R.



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 March 1993

Chogm is due to finish
on 25/10. If the intention is
for PM return to UK that
day, he would probably be faced
with questions on Tues 26 (Union House is
in Prorogation). However, he could offer
a dinner + talk that evening, or dinner
on Mon 1 Nov. Put on diary meeting
also meaning what? S26/3

Der Radnic,

POSSIBLE VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

Our relations with Singapore have traditionally been excellent. It is our largest export market in SE Asia; exports grew by over 12% last year to top £1.1 billion. But we tend to take the relationship for granted. To help build on success, the Foreign Secretary thinks we should invite the Singapore Prime Minister, Goh Chok Tong, to visit Britain immediately after the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Cyprus in late October. He plans to visit other European countries when he is in the area.

Since Lee Kuan Yew stood down as Prime Minister in 1990, Goh Chok Tong has successfully strengthened his position as his successor, despite Lee's continuing presence in the background as "Senior Minister". An invitation to Goh would be a clear signal that we take him seriously in his own right. He is likely to remain Prime Minister for most of the decade. Although visits to Singapore by British Ministers are beginning to pick up this year following a lull last year, visits to the UK by senior Singaporean Ministers have been few and far between since Lee Kuan Yew came here in mid-1990. Goh's attendance at CHOGM in Cyprus in October provides a good opportunity to attract him here. The Foreign Secretary would recommend that the Prime Minister receive Goh for talks at No.10 followed by a lunch.

Singapore's economic success since Independence is the stuff of text books. Predictions are for 6-7% growth in 1993. A recent visit by the Chairman of the British Overseas Trade Board and accompanying businessmen reported good prospects in the Singapore market, which acts as an entrepot for the region as a whole. British industry stands to benefit from the healthy economic climate, and a continuing stream of government-funded infrastructure projects. The 450 British firms established on the ground are particularly well-placed.

27 OCT 1993



Singaporeans at all levels remain well disposed to us: some 3000 Singaporeans attend tertiary education courses here. But there is strong competition, not only from Japan and America, but also from our European partners, as shown most recently by Chancellor Kohl's visit to Singapore last month.

I should be grateful to know whether the Prime Minister agrees to Goh being invited to Britain and if so, which of the days immediately after CHOGM (ie from 26 October onwards) would be convenient. If agreed in principle, Mr Goodlad could extend the invitation when he visits Singapore during the Easter Recess.

I am copying this letter to Peter Smith (DTI) and John Pitt-Brooke (MOD).

Yours ever,

Stephen

(J S Smith)
Private Secretary

Roderic Lyne Esq CMG
10 Downing Street



SUBJECT
MASTER
OPS
FILED ON:

cc PRESS
u/s
Prime Minister
Singapore

9 September 1991

The Rt Hon John Major MP
Prime Minister
United Kingdom

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T232/91

Dear

Prime Minister,

11/9

Thank you for your warm message of congratulations on my election victory.

I am looking forward to the opportunity of seeing you at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Harare next month. I am confident that we can work closely together to strengthen the existing close and warm relations between Singapore and the United Kingdom.

With best wishes,

Yours

sincerely,

GOH CHOK TONG

Cable Address: SINGAWAKIL LONDON

Telephone: 071- 235 8315

Fax: 071-245 6583

Telex: 52 564

Our Ref:

Your Ref:



SINGAPORE HIGH COMMISSION

9 Wilton Crescent

London SW1X 8SA

13 December 1990

Principal Private Secretary
to the Prime Minister
Prime Minister's Office
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

Dear Sir

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE

I should appreciate it if the enclosed cover from
Mr Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore could be
handed to the Rt Hon Mr John Major, Prime Minister of the
United Kingdom.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully

R. Nithianandam
R NITHIANANDUM
for HIGH COMMISSIONER

Enc

cc PRESS

FCO to
dhr rfm
out
Q



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 December 1990

Dear Charles,

CSM 12/ki

Thank you for your letter of 5 December enclosing a congratulatory message to the Prime Minister from Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore. You will recall that Mr Major sent a similar message to Goh Chok Tong on 30 November.

Both Prime Ministers took office on the same day and their messages must have crossed. We do not therefore think that Goh's message calls for a reply.

S L Gass

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

*Prime Minister
Singapore*

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. I7D/90

subject cc Master
cc OPS

10 December 1990

The Rt Hon Mr John Major
Prime Minister
United Kingdom

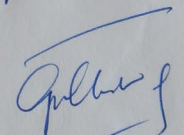
Dear Prime Minister

Thank you for your warm message of congratulations on my appointment as Prime Minister which crossed with the one I sent you because of the happy coincidence that we assumed office on the same day.

I do look forward to an early meeting with you to exchange views on international developments and bilateral relations. Reading you in the press, I believe, we have many things in common.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,



GOH CHOK TONG



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

Not Aced
5 December 1990

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has received from Mr Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore.

I should be grateful if you would let me have a draft reply for the Prime Minister's signature, to reach this office by Wednesday, 19 December.

CHARLES POWELL

S L Gass Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

SL

File
cc PRESS
Cable Address: SINGAWAKIL LONDON

Telephone: 071- 235 8315
Fax: 071-245 6583
Telex: 51-262 564



SINGAPORE HIGH COMMISSION

9 Wilton Crescent
London SW1X 8SA

Our Ref:

Your Ref:

5 December 1990

Principal Private Secretary to
the Prime Minister
Prime Minister's Office
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

Dear Sir

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE

Please refer to my letter to you dated 1 December 1990 enclosing a faxed message of congratulations from Mr Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore to Mr John Major, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

I enclose herewith the original signed letter from Mr Goh to Mr Major.

Yours faithfully

R. Nithianandam
R NITHIANANDUM
for HIGH COMMISSIONER

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. 124/90

*Prime Minister
Singapore*

1 December 1990

SUBJECT: MASTER
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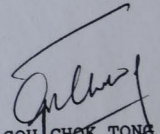
Dear Prime Minister,

It was a happy coincidence that we should both assume our respective office on the same day, though the circumstances which thrust us there differed.

In Singapore, the leadership change was carefully planned over many years whereas you assumed office in a more dramatic manner. The overwhelming endorsement you received both from your colleagues and competitors is a tribute to the confidence you enjoy. I have no doubt that you will meet your new challenges with the same flair and distinction that you displayed as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

I hope to be in London in January for the Commonwealth High Level Appraisal Group Meeting. I look forward to meeting you then and to working closely with you to strengthen the existing close cooperation and warm friendship between Singapore and the United Kingdom.

Please accept my congratulations and best wishes on your appointment.


GOH CHOK TONG

The Rt Hon Mr John Major
Prime Minister
United Kingdom

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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T10190

PLEASE CONVEY FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER TO MR GOH
CHOK TONG.

BEGINS
HAVING SHARED THE SAME DAY AS INCOMING HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, I
SEND YOU MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR APPOINTMENT AS PRIME
MINISTER.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH YOU TO MAINTAIN THE
EXCELLENT BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

ENDS.

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MR BURNS

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

29 November 1990

SINGAPORE

Thank you for your letter of 29 November
enclosing a draft message from the Prime
Minister for the new Singapore Prime
Minister. I am sure it would be all right
for this to issue.

(CHARLES POWELL)

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

VLB



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 November 1990

Dear Charles,

Singapore

Goh Chok Tong replaced Lee Kuan Yew as Prime Minister of Singapore on 28 November.

We endorse our High Commissioner's recommendation that the Prime Minister send a message and enclose a possible draft.

Jawson,
S L Gass

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Draft Message from Prime Minister

To: His Excellency
The Honourable Goh Chok Tong

Having shared the same day as incoming Heads of Government, I send you my warmest congratulations on your appointment as Prime Minister.

I look forward to working closely with you to maintain the excellent bilateral relations between our two countries.



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

Since Mr Lee Kuan Yew's youth as an outstanding student at Cambridge and then at the Law Courts, he has been a frequent and welcome visitor to Britain. I have always valued his advice, experience and friendship and greatly appreciated the perceptive analysis which he has brought to our discussions at Commonwealth and other international conferences.

It is a tribute to Mr Lee's extraordinary leadership and vision that a small island state has been transformed into one of the world's most dynamic trading and financial centres.

Nayana Datta

November 1990

SS



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 November 1990

Dear Charles

Singapore : The Political Succession

The Editor of The Straits Times plans to publish a special feature on Lee Kuan Yew on or about 28 November. He has asked our High Commisison in Singapore to seek answers from the Prime Minister to the following questions:

- (i) How long have you known Mr Lee Kuan Yew?
- (ii) What are your views on him as an international statesman?
- (iii) What are your views on his contributions to Singapore?
- (iv) Would you like to share any personal anecdotes regarding Mr Lee or your thoughts on his stepping aside as Prime Minister?

We recommend that the Prime Minister agrees to reply. We do not think that she need be bound by the precise format suggested by the Editor. Indeed, we suggest that a message would be more suitable and enclose a draft.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

Since Mr Lee Kuan Yew's youth as an outstanding student at Cambridge and then at the Law Courts, he has been a frequent and welcome visitor to Britain. I have always valued his advice, experience and friendship and greatly appreciated the perceptive analysis which he has brought to our discussions at Commonwealth and other international conferences.

It is a tribute to Mr Lee's extraordinary leadership and vision that a small island state has been transformed into one of the world's most dynamic trading and financial centres.

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10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

15 November 1990

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T253/90

Dear Prime Minister,

I send you warmest congratulations on your appointment as Prime Minister and look forward to working with you to maintain the excellent bilateral relations between our two countries, and to address the many important international issues in which both the United Kingdom and Singapore share common interests.

Yours sincerely

Nayana Shetty

His Excellency The Honourable Goh Chok Tong

U



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

15 November 1990

Dear Harry

It is sad to think that you will be stepping down after such a long and distinguished time at the helm. Singapore has been fortunate to have your strong leadership and its success and prosperity is the greatest tribute which can be paid to your period of office. I and many other colleagues have been privileged to enjoy your unrivalled wisdom and insight at many Commonwealth Heads of Government meetings and we shall greatly miss that in future.

I have always benefitted enormously from your advice and friendship, and hope that we shall still have opportunities to meet and talk. We have the happiest memories of the visit which you and your wife paid us at Chequers earlier this year.

With warmest regards to you both, from Jim and me

Lawrence
Payant

His Excellency The Honourable Lee Kuan Yew, G.C.M.G., C.H.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

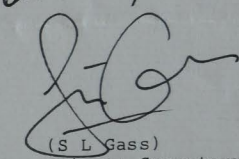
13 November 1990

Dear Charles,

Retirement of Prime Minister of Singapore

Mr Lee Kuan Yew will step down as Prime Minister on 28 November. His Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Goh Chok Tong, will assume the office of Prime Minister the same day.

Our High Commissioner in Singapore, has proposed that messages be sent to Lee and Goh. We agree and I enclose drafts. The message to Lee has been drafted to take account of the fact that he will remain a senior Cabinet member without portfolio.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

11/12/72 (10/12/72)

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO: His Excellency The Honourable Lee Kuan Yew
Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore
SINGAPORE

and its success
a prospect is the
greater faith can
be paid to
your kind of
you.

been fortunate to
have your wisdom &
wisdom in my leadership
at all of us

It is

I am sad to think that you will be stepping down
after such a long and distinguished time at the helm.
Singapore has prospered under your leadership and become
a dynamic trading and financial centre.

hope
that
we
shall
continue
to
strengthen
our
relations
with
you.

I have always welcomed your advice and friendship,
and wish you well in what I am sure will be a new and
fulfilling role.

It is a pleasure to have you
in Singapore and we wish you
all the best in your new
venture. With warmest
regards to you
all.

Our meeting will
be less likely
to be a success in
the future

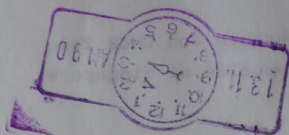
and I and many
other colleagues have
been privileged
to enjoy your
unrivalled wisdom &
insight on many
Commonwealth fields of
former meetings. I
hope to be able to
meet you again in the
future.

greatly miss

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO: His Excellency The Honourable Goh Chok Tong
Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore
SINGAPORE

I send you warmest congratulations on your appointment as Prime Minister and look forward to working with you to maintain the excellent bilateral relations between our two countries, and to address the many important international issues in which both the United Kingdom and Singapore share common interests.



PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T190/90

SUBJECT CC MASTER
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10 DOWNING STREET - -

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

9 August 1990

KK
cut to
This was faxed
on 9/8

Dear Prime Minister

I send you my warmest congratulations on the occasion of the National Day and 25th Anniversary of Independence of the Republic of Singapore. Singapore has grown and prospered during the past twenty five years and has rightfully earned for itself a key role in the region and at the wider international level. This is an enormous tribute to your leadership and to the industry of the people of Singapore. The United Kingdom and Singapore have enjoyed excellent relations during the past quarter century. We very much enjoyed your official visit earlier this year and look forward to continuing and deepening our friendship. I extend to you and to the people of Singapore our best wishes for continued success and prosperity during the next twenty five years.

Yours sincerely

Nargaur Dattar

With warm personal regards from Denise and me.

The Honourable Lee Kuan Yew, G.C.M.G., C.H.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

8 August 1990

Aca Charles

8/8

Singapore: 25th Anniversary of Independence:
9 August 1990

Our High Commissioner in Singapore has recommended a message from the Prime Minister to the Prime Minister of Singapore on the 25th anniversary of Singapore's independence. A message has gone from The Queen. I enclose a draft.

In view of the special relationship between the Prime Minister and Mr Lee Kuan Yew, who will be stepping down as Prime Minister for a less prominent role in Singapore politics later this year, we believe a message would be both appropriate and well received.

As the 25th anniversary falls on 9 August and Singapore is 7 hours ahead of GMT, you may wish to fax the message directly to the Prime Minister of Singapore on Fax No 7345244 to ensure that it is received on the day.

J. S. Wall
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

TO: HE The Prime Minister of Singapore,
The Honourable Lee Kuan Yew
The Istana
Singapore

GM
To type -
NB will need
to be paid
directly on

I send you my warmest congratulations on the occasion of the National Day and 25th Anniversary of Independence of the Republic of Singapore. Singapore has grown and prospered during the past twenty five years and has rightfully earned for itself a key role in the region and at the wider international level. This is an enormous tribute to your leadership and to the industry of the people of Singapore. The United Kingdom and Singapore have enjoyed excellent relations during the past quarter century. We look forward to continuing and deepening our friendship, and extend to you and to the people of Singapore our best wishes for continued success and prosperity during the next twenty five years.

or

My much enjoyed
your official visit
earlier this year and

CHIANM

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BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION

TANGLIN ROAD

SINGAPORE 1024

18 June 1990

R J T McLaren Esq CMG
FCO

1 cc (with
enclosure)

PS

PS/Lord Babington

Mr Burns

Mr P. Chacko } No 10 Downing St.

2. Mr C. W. (S. 64)
for due ack. pl.

Dear Robin,

LEE KUAN YEW'S VISIT TO BRITAIN

1. Lee Kuan Yew visited Britain as the guest of Her Majesty's Government between 24 and 30 May. He was accompanied by his wife, the Singapore Foreign Minister, Wong Kan Seng (and his) and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Finance, Brigadier General (Rtd) George Yeo. They had also been with him during earlier visits to Turkey and France and went on with him to Germany. (I enclose a copy of the summary programme together with a set of cuttings from the Singapore press.)

BACKGROUND

2. Apart from one or two overnight transit stops to and from the United States, Lee had not visited Britain since receiving the Freedom of the City of London in July 1982. His view of us has largely, therefore, been based on his experiences in the 1960s and 1970s when he was a relatively frequent visitor. Despite the fact that he keeps in touch with events through regular reading of the "Economist" and assiduous attention to the BBC World Service, he is still influenced to a surprising degree by the contacts he made, and the things he saw, before 1979. He remains fond, for example, of publicly comparing his visit to the IHI shipyards in Japan in the late 1960s with one immediately afterwards to Swan Hunters in Tyneside, to the detriment of the latter ("... don't follow the British. Follow the Japanese."). He also likes to relate his encounters as an undergraduate with the outposts of the welfare state in order to illustrate his strong conviction that the British have for too long succumbed to a "culture of dependence".

3. Given his position in Singapore and his reputation as a world figure, his judgements on Britain assumed, and assume, great importance. They were - and are - accepted by many in Asia and beyond as definitive. A sycophantic Singaporean press and television system

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has always been ready to relay adverse, and frequently anachronistic, comment more widely. This has frequently been coupled with praise for Japan's recent economic achievements. As Lee sees it, such progress as has been made in Britain since 1979 is entirely due to the Prime Minister's almost single-handed efforts. He has been intensely sceptical about our prospects if she were to be defeated in the next General Election or even replaced as leader of the Conservative Party before then.

OUR OBJECTIVES

4. Against this unpromising background, we had two main objectives for Lee's visit, to
- (a) persuade him that his previous impressions were incomplete and inaccurate; and that the changes which have taken place in Britain over the last ten years are both deep-rooted and the prelude to further advance; and
 - (b) remind him of our continued importance as a friend and ally, the more so since the revival of our economy means that we will remain a major economic and political player (in that order) in south-east Asia and along the western Pacific Rim generally.

HOW SUCCESSFUL WERE WE ?

5. The programme was calculated with these objectives in mind. It also met Lee's wish that he should be able to renew acquaintance with old friends such as Lord Moore and Sir Percy Cradock. Lee is still digesting the lessons of his visit. But his preliminary views are already available. As he put it to Singaporean journalists shortly before leaving London, he would once have emigrated if he had been British because he would not have been "able to take this kind of society which does not reward the enterprising and the hard-working . . . over the past 45 years, [it has] made it rewarding to be easy-going, relaxed and to share benefits to which others contribute". But thanks to Mrs Thatcher Britain had changed direction. Whereas we had previously been content to "go along at a very leisurely pace, saddled with state-run and state-subsidised industries . . . that has been transformed". The change was not yet complete but large sectors "have shown the way towards the new, competitive, Britain that must be if she is to remain in the top league".

6. Lee spoke similarly at Mrs Thatcher's dinner for him at No 10. As someone who had admired Britain's greatness, he had, he said, been saddened by the "slow,

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graceful and painful" slide towards mediocrity before 1979. But there had since been a sea change under Mrs Thatcher's leadership and he concluded his (extempore and clearly heart-felt) speech with a toast to a Prime Minister who had "dared to make Britain great again". (Earlier, in reply to Mrs Thatcher's praise for Singapore's achievements since independence, he had reminded us of the fact that he had sung the National Anthem for the first 40 years of his life, a memory which would always stay with him.)

7. These sentiments are, I feel, likely to deepen as Lee reflects further on his visit. He was undoubtedly impressed by the briefing he was given by the Scottish Development Agency in Glasgow on progress since the Agency's creation and on plans for Scotland's future. His day at Docklands was also an eye-opener: Lee was clearly surprised, and impressed, by what had been achieved since the establishment of the London Docklands Development Corporation. Only the hurried visit to the British Council on the last morning of his stay proved a disappointment, his briefing on higher education in Britain being, with one exception, overly defensive in tone and less useful than the comprehensive look at the future of British education which I had originally sought when planning the programme.

8. On a personal note, Lee was, obviously, gratified by the warmth of his reception at all levels (including a standing ovation after his speech at the Lord Mayor of Lond's dinner on 24 May); delighted to relax with the Prime Minister at Chequers and to visit Hampton Court and Cambridge over the shining Whitsun weekend; stimulated by his brief encounter with Mr Rifkind; and relieved that Bernard Levin failed to take up his challenge to debate on the BBC the issues raised by Levin's extremely critical (and to my mind inaccurate and distorted) article in The Times of 12 April. There is little doubt that much of the beneficial impact of his visit would have been diluted, even lost, if Levin had decided to take up the challenge. (Aziz Mahmood told me that Lee had, typically, been on the telephone from Paris at length every night immediately before his arrival in Britain, giving detailed instructions on the handling of the Levin issue.)

CONCLUSION

9. To sum up, this was a very worthwhile visit which largely met our objectives. Quite apart from Lee's more favourable assessment of what is or is not happening in Britain, it is evident that he continues to value

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the bilateral relationship although conscious that the younger Singaporean generation's relations with us will be of a different, fully post-imperial nature ("the umbilical cord has been cut and we are on our own"). He also still sees us as his best ally in Europe, vide the concern which he expressed to the Prime Minister at Chequers that if Britain were not within Europe's "inner sanctum", Singapore would have one less friend there. If we let the French and the Germans dominate, others would be worried about the Community's future direction. It was, therefore, vital that Britain should be at the heart of the Community.

10. Finally, the visit will, I hope, have reassured Lee that we will not allow our current concentration on events in Europe to divert us from pursuing our long-term, primarily economic, interests in south-east Asia. As you will see from the enclosed copy of his speech at the Mansion House dinner, this remains his abiding preoccupation. He fears that, in a Western Europe whose centre of gravity is increasingly shifting eastwards, "Eurocentrism" may become so intense as to leave the field in south-east Asia even more open to the Japanese in the future than in the past. Since Japan continues to worry him deeply, and since he fears that the creation of a new Pax Japonica in Asia may either result from, or assist in, the creation of a world of competing trading blocs, his concluding plea that Britain should seize her chances in Asia, as a partner in success with the NIEs and ASEAN (implicitly working together against Japanese domination) must obviously be taken very seriously.

Yours sincerely,

Michael

M E PIKE

cc: N P Bayne Esq CMG
DUS FCO
David Dell Esq CB
Deputy Secretary, DTI
HM Representatives:-
Kuala Lumpur
Jakarta
Bangkok
Bandar Seri Begawan
Canberra
Washington
Tokyo
Bonn
Paris
Governor Hong Kong

(Enclosures 3:-
Press cuttings to Mr McLaren only
Speech & programme to all)

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bc/c

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 June 1990

THE SINGAPORE LECTURE

Thank you for your letter of 12 June.
The Prime Minister cannot undertake this, and
I should be grateful if you would reply in
the terms which you propose.

Charles Powell

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

DSG



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

12 June 1990

Dear Charles,

The Singapore Lecture

The Singapore High Commissioner has asked whether the Prime Minister would be prepared to give the 1990 Singapore Lecture later this year. Previous speakers have included Dr Kissinger, Giscard d'Estaing, Helmut Schmidt, Mr Hawke and Mr Mulroney among others (see enclosure).

We assume that the Prime Minister will not wish to accept this invitation. If you agree, we will tell the Singapore High Commissioner that the Prime Minister has no plans to visit Singapore in the near future and will not, therefore, be able to deliver the lecture.

Yours ever,
S L Gass

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES
HENG MUI KENG TERRACE, PASIR PANJANG TEL: 7780955 TELEX: RS 37068 ISEAS
SINGAPORE 0511. REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE FACSIMILE: 7781735 CABLE: ISEAS

Your ref:

Our ref:

THE SINGAPORE LECTURE

The Singapore Lecture Series was inaugurated by the Institute in 1980 with a founding endowment from the Monetary Authority of Singapore (MAS), which has since been augmented by a generous donation from Mobil Oil Singapore.

The Singapore Lecture is designed to provide the opportunity for distinguished statesmen, scholars, writers, and other similarly highly qualified individuals specializing in banking, commerce, international economics and finance, and philosophical, literary, and world and strategic affairs to visit Singapore. The presence of such eminent personalities, it is hoped, will allow Singaporeans, especially the younger executives and decision-makers in both the private and public sectors, to have the benefit of firsthand contact with and exposure to - through the Lecture, televised discussions, and private consultations - leaders of thought and knowledge in various fields, thereby enabling them to widen their own experience and perspectives.

Professor Milton Friedman delivered the inaugural Singapore Lecture under the chairmanship of the then First Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the Monetary Authority of Singapore, Dr Goh Keng Swee, on 14 October 1980 in the auditorium of the Singapore Conference Hall.

The 1981 Lecture was delivered on 30 October by Dr Henry A. Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State, and the 1982 Lecture on 2 December by H.E. Mr Giscard d'Estaing, former President of the Republic of France, both under the chairmanship of the the Second Deputy Prime Minister (Foreign Affairs), Mr S. Rajaratnam. The 1983 Lecture was delivered by H.E. Mr Helmut Schmidt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, under the chairmanship of Mr S. Dhanabalan, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Culture. Dr Joseph M.A.H. Luns, former Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Mr Peter G. Peterson, Chairman of the Blackstone Group and former U.S. Secretary of Commerce, and H.E. Dr Raymond Barre, former Prime Minister of France, the Hon. Mr Robert James Lee Hawke, Prime Minister of Australia, and the Hon. Dato Sri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia, gave the 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, and 1988 Lectures on 8 November 1984, 5 December 1985, 25 November 1986, 27 November 1987, and 14 December 1988, respectively, under the chairmanship of Mr S. Rajaratnam.

- 2 -

The tenth Singapore Lecture was delivered by the Rt.Hon. Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada on 15 October 1989.

The Lecture is held at the Singapore National Conference Hall, and attended by about 800 - 1,000 persons, including Members of the Cabinet and Parliament, senior civil servants and private sector professionals and executives, representatives of the financial community and the mass media, scholars, and others with relevant interests.

Though each lecturer is free to structure the presentation to suit his convenience, including speaking from notes or a prepared text, it is usually the practice for the lecturer to make his presentation over some 35-45 minutes, and this to be followed by 40-50 minutes or so of questions and answers, with the questions being put from the floor by members of the audience.

It is the practice too to publish the text of the Singapore Lecture after it has been delivered (as a self-contained, distinct paper or 'booklet' in its own right) for wider local and international distribution in more or less the same format as the samples enclosed herewith.

The Institute also offers speakers a token honorarium of US\$5,000. This is not much and is intended more as a gesture of appreciation for the time and trouble taken by the speaker.

The Lecture is usually held during October-December of each year.

MEETING REVIEW
cc MASTER

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

26 May 1990

Dear Stephen,

THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE
PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

The Prime Minister had a talk at Chequers yesterday evening with the Singapore Prime Minister. Lee Kuan Yew was accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Wong Kan Seng. The conversation was general and reflective, starting from Lee Kuan Yew's assertion that all the fixed reference points in the world he had known were shifting: the stars were no longer in their firmament.

China

The Prime Minister asked whether Lee Kuan Yew thought that China would handle change more successfully than the Soviet Union. Lee Kuan Yew speculated that China would get to a free market economy more easily than had the Soviet Union, but doubted whether they would have pluralist democracy. He could envisage a political system which was loser in terms of central control than now, but not full democracy. He based his relatively optimistic assessment about a free market economy on China's ancient tradition of commercialism. Central planning had never succeeded in China in the same way as in the Soviet Union. The Chinese had only been able to set targets, not full scale plans. On the other hand, they were able to feed themselves, which the Soviets had never been able to do. Lee Kuan Yew continued that the fatal flaw in China's recent experiment in liberalising the economy had been failure to control the money supply, leading to runaway inflation. They had simply funked the problem. It was made worse by the fact that the Bank of China could not exert any control over its provincial branches.

Lee Kuan Yew continued that he thought China would make the transition to a more reasonable society. The more enlightened Chinese leaders knew that next time they must make the change in one step, not attempt to do it gradually. There would be a couple of years of disorder, and then things would be sorted out. The Chinese did not believe a word of socialism: they wanted to be like Taiwan. The Prime Minister asked when Lee Kuan Yew believed that the change would come. It was obviously a crucial consideration for Hong Kong. Lee Kuan Yew thought it would be within five years. The Chinese were behaving

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PC

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- 2 -

uncharacteristically towards Hong Kong, for instance over the issue of passports. It was the first time that he had seen them publicly angry. Previously they had displayed deep, cold anger, but never open rage. His advice was to let them cool off and recover their balance. The Prime Minister said that we were starting to restore high level contacts and would probably be sending a Minister to visit Peking soon. Lee Kuan Yew recommended a fatalistic approach. There was nothing anyone could do to protect Hong Kong from sudden changes in Peking, and there was bound to be sudden change sometime before 1997. Whenever Deng Xiaoping went, there would be a big shake up. The Prime Minister asked who would succeed Deng Xiaoping. Lee Kuan Yew said that the next generation of potential leaders were all busy keeping their heads down and displaying bland uniformity. But there were certainly machinations going on behind the scenes.

The Prime Minister asked about Taiwan. Lee Kuan Yew said that Taiwan was an impressive society and might be the one to save China from misery by helping modernisation. The Taiwanese were taking a robust even audacious line with China, with their proposal for one country, two governments. Actually, this was reassuring to the Chinese, because it showed that the Taiwanese leaders were not looking for independence.

The Prime Minister asked about North Korea. Would there be changes there? Lee Kuan Yew said everyone was waiting for Kim Il Sung to die. He was a pathological case. He doubted whether Kim's son would be able to take over. The world had moved on.

Japan

Lee Kuan Yew ruminated about Japan which continued to worry him deeply. The Japanese had never expiated their guilt for the Second World War. Nobody knew how many people they had killed, since there were no Jews in Asia to document all the atrocities. But the figure was probably 30-40 million. Rather than accepting their guilt, they had managed to keep Hiroshima in the forefront of everyone's mind, as a monument to man's injustice to Japan. It would be very dangerous if Japan broke its security links with the United States and rearmed. He hoped the Prime Minister would do all she could to convince the Americans that they should not encourage the Japanese to build up their defences. Unlike the Germans, the Japanese had failed to win the trust of their neighbours after the War. At least the Germans had faced up to the fact that they had inflicted inhuman acts on people.

Lee Kuan Yew continued that this reinforced, in his mind, the importance of preventing the world from forming itself into blocs. He saw a real danger that this would happen, with the European Community forming one bloc, and the US/Canada/Mexico another. That would lead Japan to try to recreate an Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, which would take in small countries like Singapore.

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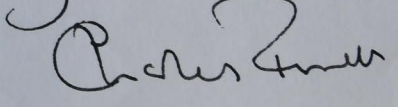
Europe

Lee Kuan Yew said that Singapore and Britain's other friends in Asia worried that the United Kingdom would not be in Europe's inner sanctum, in which case they would have one less friend in Europe. If we let the French and Germans dominate, others would be very worried about the future direction of the Community. It was vital for Britain to be at the heart of the Community. He had found in Paris that the French Government shared many of the Prime Minister's reservations about political union. The Prime Minister gave Lee Kuan Yew an account of recent developments in the Community. Britain had more influence than might appear. Although everyone criticised us for being isolated on this or that, the Community usually ended by doing pretty much what we wanted. She agreed that we should stand together with others to prevent German or Franco-German hegemony, but not as a lot of little lap dogs. She would like to see a few more bulldogs around. Lee Kuan Yew suggested that, if the others were able to stick together, they would be a collective bulldog.

East-West

The Prime Minister gave her assessment of developments in East-West relations. She was less certain than before that Mr. Gorbachev would get through, but believed we were right to continue to support him. She was concerned that Secretary Baker might have given away rather too much over arms control during his recent visit to Moscow. She had for some time taken the view that the Russians had more or less reached their limit on arms reductions for the time being, and would not be prepared to go down any further. Lee Kuan Yew said he was generally pessimistic about the prospects for the Soviet Union. He wondered whether the Americans had been eager to get something agreed and signed while Mr. Gorbachev was still there to sign it.

I am copying this letter to John Gieve (H M Treasury), Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence) and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,


C. D. POWELL

J. S. Wall, Esq., L.V.O.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH LEE KUAN YEW

You are to see Lee Kuan Yew at Chequers tomorrow. He and his wife, together with the Singapore High Commissioner and his wife will arrive by helicopter at 1730. I will be with them. The idea is that you would give them tea on arrival and there would be a photograph. Then you would have talks with Mr Lee and his High Commissioner while the two ladies see round the house. Other guests are invited for supper at 1915. Mr Lee and his party will drive back to London after dinner.

Lee Kuan Yew and his wife have sent you some orchids, for which you will wish to thank him.

Mr Lee is very much in the news at the moment because of a public dispute with Bernard Levin. Bernard wrote an offensively critical article about Mr Lee in The Times in April. Mr Lee has offered to debate Levin's allegations with him on television, but Bernard Levin has refused. The Singapore High Commission has put paid advertisements in the main serious newspapers today, printing the correspondence about this, designed to show Bernard Levin as backing away from a confrontation. I doubt Mr Lee will raise the subject with you, and there is nothing to be said for your mentioning it, but you ought to be aware of it.

I am sure you will want to talk generally about global issues, in particular China, and will need no briefing on those. You will remember that Mr Lee is stepping down as Prime Minister in the autumn and becoming a Minister without Portfolio. You saw his designated successor, Mr Goh, last month.

More detailed issues which may come up are:

- Appeals to the Privy Council
Singapore is unilaterally curbing the right of appeal from Singapore courts to the Privy Council after some severe criticism in a particular human rights case.

The best course is probably now to abolish the right altogether by mutual consent. We have no wish for this to be an issue between us.

- Confiscation of Drugs' Assets

You raised this with Mr Goh, who indicated that legislation will be tabled before the end of the year.

- Vietnamese Boat People

The Singaporeans have been helpful and have agreed to a joint démanche of the United States and Vietnam on mandatory repatriation.

- Cambodia

Discussions are in course among the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council under our chairmanship about a comprehensive political settlement, including a ceasefire (which will need to be monitored), verification of Vietnamese withdrawal, and an impartial UN administration leading up to free and fair elections. Singapore is generally content with the way things are going, although is the most anti-Hun Sen and anti-Vietnam of the ASEAN's governments.

- Hong Kong

You will want to thank Mr Lee for the Singapore Government's measures to allow 25,000 Hong Kong people the right to residence in Singapore without them having to leave Hong Kong now.

You will find a fuller note by the FCO in the folder together with a copy of the Bernard Levin article and some telegrams from our High Commissioner.

CDP.

Charles Powell

24 May 1990

c: Lee (MJ)



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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24 May 1990

Dear Charles,

Visit of Singapore Prime Minister, 24-30 May

The Prime Minister will see Lee Kuan Yew on 25 May at Chequers for talks followed by supper. He and Mrs Lee, accompanied by his Foreign Minister and Mrs Wong Kan Seng, arrive at Chequers by helicopter at 1730. The Prime Minister will also give a dinner for Lee Kuan Yew at No.10 on 29 May. I enclose personality notes for Mr Lee and Mr Wong, two scene setting telegrams and a programme for the visit. Notes for the Prime Minister's speech after dinner on 29 May will follow later today.

Singapore/UK Relations

Bilateral relations are good, although Lee's tough attitude to dissent has caused public criticism. I enclose a copy of Bernard Levin's Times article of 12 April as an example. You will have seen that the Singapore High Commission have today taken out space in the major newspapers to publicise correspondence which Lee Kuan Yew has had with the Editor of the Times, the Chairman of the BBC, and Mr Levin.

The only recent squall in our relations was Singapore's decision last year unilaterally to curb the right of appeal for Singapore courts to the Privy Council, as a result of a contentious human rights case. This is covered below.

Trade

Singapore is our main trading partner in SE Asia. UK exports last year were a record £774 million, 3.2% of the market, and growth continues this year. But Singapore's exports to the UK are also rising fast (£876 million in 1989). The UK is the third largest investor in Singapore after Japan and the US. Singapore's rate of GDP growth in 1989 was 9.2%, with inflation at 3.6% and virtually no unemployment. Indeed Singapore has an apparently insatiable demand for skilled workers; 10% of the workforce is foreign.

/Appeals

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Appeals to the Privy Council

In 1989, as a result of severe criticism by the Judicial Committee in a human rights case involving a lawyer, Singapore unilaterally curbed the right of appeal from Singapore courts to the Privy Council. Right of Appeal is now limited in civil cases to those where both parties agree and in criminal cases to those carrying the death penalty or life imprisonment. The Law Lords strongly objected to Singapore retaining the Privy Council link where it was helpful (ie in the commercial field) but terminating jurisdiction where the executive found it inconvenient.

Since there is no prospect of Singapore restoring Privy Council appeals in full, the best outcome would probably be complete abolition, by mutual consent, as occurred in the case of Malaysia in 1985. If Lee raises the subject, the Prime Minister could say that we have no wish to see this become an issue between us; we hope it can be handled in a way which is satisfactory to both Singapore and the UK.

Confiscation of Drug Assets

Singapore is one of the few major financial centres without confiscation or money laundering legislation. We have lobbied hard to persuade them to introduce legislation to trace, freeze and confiscate the proceeds of drug trafficking and to conclude a bilateral agreement. We have supplied evidence of money laundering within their banking system. The Prime Minister raised this with Lee in the margins of last year's CHOGM and with Goh Chok Tong, the Deputy Prime Minister and Lee's designated successor, in April. The Singaporeans announced in March that they had decided to introduce legislation. Goh indicated that this legislation might be tabled before the end of the year. The Prime Minister might:

- Emphasise the importance of Singapore introducing comprehensive legislation as quickly as possible.
- Stress our interest in a bilateral agreement to trace, freeze and confiscate drug trafficking proceeds once legislation is in place.

Defence Relations

The main element remains our involvement in the Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA). The Prime Minister might stress that we will continue to play our part in the FPDA. We will host the 1990 exercise in Malaysia (Mr Hamilton will attend). The Prime Minister might also solicit Lee's assessment of regional security in the light of the changing super-power relationship, events in China and the likely outcome of the US/Philippines bases negotiations.

/Vietnamese

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Vietnamese Boat People

Singapore does not offer first asylum to Vietnamese Boat People, who have generally been refused permission to land and redirected to Malaysia and Indonesia. About 150 Vietnamese boat people are at present accommodated in a camp under UNHCR auspices awaiting transfer to a refugee processing centre in the Philippines.

The Prime Minister might express satisfaction that Singapore has joined the other first asylum countries at the regional meeting in Manila on 17/18 May (which otherwise made little progress) in agreeing to a joint demarche to the United States and Vietnamese Governments pressing them to agree to the mandatory repatriations of the screened out to Vietnam soon.

She could express the wish that we can go on working together to make the CPA a success.

Cambodia

The Five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council are meeting in New York on 25/26 May under British chairmanship. They will build on progress already made at previous meetings towards a comprehensive political settlement including a monitored ceasefire, verification of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and an impartial UN administration leading to a free and fair election. Previous meetings have carefully avoided or glossed over the more sensitive issues, which divide the USSR and China, but this meeting will focus on the military and peacekeeping aspects of a settlement and questions relating to existing administrative structures (that is, the two rival Cambodia governments). Depending on progress in New York, a meeting between the Five and the four Cambodian factions may take place in June or July.

There are one or two hopeful signs: the Khmer Rouge supports the principles agreed by the Five in January, including no solution by force of arms, and China and Vietnam are talking again. The Russians seem to want a solution.

Singapore has welcomed consultation between the Permanent Five. Among ASEAN, they are perhaps the staunchest supporters of the resistance coalition, and hostile to any settlement which appears to favour the Hun Sen regime and Vietnam. But recently they have adopted a lower profile on this subject. They did, however, lobby us heavily to support the ASEAN-sponsored resolution on Cambodia at the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) on 22 May. With our EC partners (except Greece), we abstained because the resolution did not contain strong language on the Khmer Rouge and took insufficient account of changes in the Cambodian situation.

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The Prime Minister might draw on the following:

- Grateful for Singapore's support for work of Permanent Five.
- Important to maintain momentum of diplomatic consultations and keep USSR and China in play. Hope for further progress at latest Five meeting.
- Lee's assessment of readiness of the Cambodian factions to accept a peaceful settlement? And of rapprochement between China and Vietnam?
- (If raised) Regret we were unable to support ECOSOC Resolution on Cambodia.

ASEAN

At the EC/ASEAN Foreign Ministers meeting in Kuching in February, ASEAN countries, including Singapore, voiced concern about slow progress in the Uruguay Round and the implications of 1992 and developments in Eastern Europe for EC/ASEAN relations. The Prime Minister could reassure Lee of our continued interest in ASEAN. We intend to trade and invest in the region as before, and we are committed to an open single market after 1992.

Hong Kong - International Support

The Prime Minister might express appreciation for the Singapore Government's measures last year to allow resident permit status for up to 25,000 Hong Kong people but without requiring them to leave Hong Kong in the near future. (This was not wholly altruistic. Lee is worried about emigration from Singapore on account of the somewhat stifling atmosphere. The reversal of the birth control policy is another symptom of his concern.) We have asked other countries to take similar measures and we have had some success.

China/Hong Kong

Lee has consistently taken a helpful attitude to Hong Kong, reacting favourably to our lobbying on confidence-building measures and being prepared to talk plainly to the Chinese about confidence problems. He is well aware of the difficulties we have been going through with China.

Negotiations in the Joint Liaison Group are now making solid progress. Despite further difficulties ahead with the Nationality package and international support, the Chinese seem to be moderating their confrontational public approach to differences over Hong Kong.

/China

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China

Lee has described the events of last summer in China as a tragedy - the team which Deng Xiaoping built up over 10 years had been swept aside and the old guard had got back into power. Although Singapore does not have diplomatic relations with either the PRC or Taiwan, it has flourishing trade links with both. Before the June events Singapore was considering diplomatic relations with China.

The Chinese leadership is still heavily dependent on the veteran Party leaders. The lack of an obvious successor to Deng Xiaoping provides potential for instability within the leadership. The uneasy leadership consensus conceals marked divisions on the direction of Chinese policy. There have been signs of more reform-minded elements in the leadership re-asserting themselves. But internal repression and the emphasis on political orthodoxy continues. The Prime Minister may wish to make the following points:

- Chinese political prospects uncertain: still heavily dependent on Deng Xiaoping. No obvious successor with the necessary authority/prestige.
- Some more reformist-minded elements still in leadership but current hardline emphasis on ideological orthodoxy discouraging.
- Recognise importance of maintaining contacts with China. Recent modification of Western policy, eg resumption of limited World Bank lending, appropriate. We have maintained our senior level of contacts over Hong Kong.
- Further steps towards normalisation likely once June anniversaries have passed. But lack of significant positive Chinese response make wholesale relaxation difficult.

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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OUR TELNO 210: SINGAPORE SITREP

SUMMARY

1. AN UPDATE ON SINGAPORE PRIOR TO LEE KUAN YEW'S VISIT TO BRITAIN FROM 25-30 MAY. ECONOMIC BOOM CONTINUES. PARLIAMENT PROROGUED TO TAKE STOCK OF PROGRESS AND MAP OUT NEW PRIORITIES. POSSIBLE NEW CONTROLS ON THE FOREIGN PRESS. BRITISH EXPORTS UP BY 43% IN THE FIRST QUARTER.

DETAIL

2. TUR CONTAINED A SNAPSHOT OF THE SINGAPORE SCENE BEFORE GOH CHOK TONG'S VISIT TO BRITAIN FROM 19-23 APRIL. LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE HAS HAPPENED SINCE THEN. THE FOLLOWING POINTS MAY, HOWEVER, BE OF INTEREST:

(I) THE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO EXPAND AT A FASTER RATE THAN PREDICTED, LED BY THE FINANCIAL AND BUSINESS SERVICES SECTOR. FIRST QUARTER GROWTH WAS 10%.

(II) PARLIAMENT WAS UNEXPECTEDLY PROROGUED ON 20 APRIL, OSTENSIBLY IN ORDER TO ALLOW THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE STOCK OF PROGRESS SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SESSION (JANUARY 1989) AND TO MAP OUT THEIR PRIORITIES FOR THE FUTURE. PARLIAMENT WILL RECONVENE FOR A BRIEF QUOTE MOPPING UP UNQUOTE SESSION IN JUNE, WHEN THE MAIN PRIORITIES ARE EXPECTED TO BE THE FORMULATION OF A NATIONAL IDEOLOGY ('SHARED VALUES') TO HELP SINGAPOREANS RETAIN THEIR ASIAN IDENTITY IN THE FACE OF EROSION BY WESTERN INFLUENCES, THE PASSAGE OF (AMENDED?) LEGISLATION TO PROMOTE RELIGIOUS HARMONY (PARA 5A OF TUR - THE PREVIOUS BILL HAVING BEEN LOST WHEN PARLIAMENT WAS PROROGUED) AND LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE FOR AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENCY. THE PROROGATION IS BEING PRESENTED AS PART OF GOH CHOK TONG'S POLICY OF IMPROVING CONSULTATION BY GIVING PARLIAMENT MORE FREQUENT

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OPPORTUNITIES TO DEBATE THE GENERAL THrust OF THE GOVERNMENT POLICIES.

(III) THERE ARE, HOWEVER, RUMOURS THAT THE NEW SESSION BEGINNING IN JUNE MAY BE MORE THAN JUST A MOPPING UP SESSION AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT INTEND TO INTRODUCE A MAJOR NEW BILL WHICH WAS NOT PROVIDED FOR IN THE PREVIOUS PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS. ONE POSSIBILITY IS LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR TIGHTER CONTROLS ON THE FOREIGN PRESS. GOH CHOK TONG ANNOUNCED AFTER HIS VISIT TO LONDON THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS CONSIDERING REQUIRING REGIONAL PUBLICATIONS TO SUBMIT TO SINGAPORE JURISDICTION BEFORE BEING ALLOWED TO CIRCULATE HERE.

(IV) THE NAMES OF THE FIRST THREE NOMINATED MP'S (PARA 5B OF TUR) ARE DUE TO BE ANNOUNCED IN JUNE.

(V) THE FOCUS OF THE EMIGRATION DEBATE HAS SHIFTED TO THE INDIAN COMMUNITY (WHO REPRESENT 6.5% OF THE POPULATION), WITH THE REVELATION THAT OVER 15% OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS IN 1989 WERE ETHNIC INDIANS. IN KEEPING WITH THEIR POLICY OF MAINTAINING SINGAPORE'S RACIAL BALANCE, THE GOVERNMENT HAVE SAID THAT THEY WILL TRY TO ATTRACT TALENTED INDIANS FROM ABROAD TO FILL THE GAP.

(VI) LEE KUAN YEW PAID A ONE DAY VISIT TO KUALA LUMPUR ON 30 APRIL FOR TALKS WITH MAHATHIR (KUALA LUMPUR TELNO 222). THE VISIT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN PRIMARILY INTENDED TO REBUILD CONFIDENCE AFTER THE RECENT SNIPING AND WAS WELL RECEIVED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE CAUSEWAY.

(VII) THE SPEAKER, TAN SOO KHOON, VISITED BRITAIN WITH A PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION FROM 16-18 MAY AS PART OF A EUROPEAN TOUR TO LOOK AT PARLIAMENTARY FACILITIES. LORD TREFGARNE IS DUE TO VISIT SINGAPORE FROM 4-6 JULY.

(VIII) BRITISH EXPORTS TO SINGAPORE ROSE BY 43% IN THE FIRST QUARTER (TO JUST SHORT OF #250 M). SINGAPORE EXPORTS TO BRITAIN ROSE BY 23% DURING THE SAME PERIOD (TO #216 M).

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SINGAPOREE ROUNDUP

SUMMARY.

1. SINGAPORE'S FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR DEFENCE, GOH CHOK TONG, WILL BE VISITING BRITAIN BETWEEN 19 AND 23 APRIL. TO SET THE SINGAPORE SCENE:
THE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO PROSPER. PLANS FOR AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENCY ARE GOING FORWARD. SINGAPORE/MALAYSIAN RELATIONS BETTER AFTER A BAD PATCH. OUR OWN RELATIONS WITH SINGAPORE REMAIN CLOSE WITH EXPORTS GROWING FAST. BUT HUMAN RIGHTS STILL A SOURCE OF CONCERN.

DETAIL

2. 1990 IS SINGAPORE'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR AND SINGAPOREANS ARE IMMERSING THEMSELVES IN A RANGE OF GOVERNMENT-SPONSERED ACTIVITIES INTENDED TO CELEBRATE THEIR SUCCESS SINCE 1965 AND TO PROMOTE THE IDEA OF ONE NATION GROUNDED IN THREE CULTURES: CHINESE, MALAY AND INDIAN.

THE ECONOMY

3. THE ECONOMIC PROGNOSIS IS GOOD. THE RATE OF GROTH OF GDP IN 1990 IS LIKELY TO BE SLIGHTLY BELOW THAT FOR 1989(9.4 PER CENT). THE ELECTRONICS SECTOR CONTINUES TO DOMINATE. BUT FINANCIAL SERVICES, COMMUNICATIONS AND TOURISIM ARE ALSO DOING WELL. DEMAND FOR SINGAPORE'S MANUFACTURED GOODS REMAINS HIGH:
FOREIGN INVESTMENT- PARTICULARLY BY THE JAPANESE AND AMERICANS- IS STILL FLOWING IN: REGIONAL TRADE IS EXPANDING: SINGAPORE'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES ARE RISING FAST. THE MAIN CONSTRAINT REMAINS AN ENDEMIC LABOUR SHORTAGE. INFLATION (3.6 PER CENT) AND INTEREST RATES (NOW 6.5 PER CENT) ARE ALSO CREEPING UP. BUT NONE OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD SERIOUSLY DAMAGE SINGAPORE'S EXCELLENT PROSPECTS.

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INTERNAL POLITICS

4. IT REMAINS THE GENERAL ASSUMPTION THAT GOH CHOK TONG WILL TAKE OVER FORMALLY AS PRIME MINISTER BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR (MY TELNO 206 NOT TO ALL). PARLIAMENT IS LIKELY TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION DURING THE NEXT FEW MONTHS IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE PRESENT, LARGELY HONORIFIC, PRESIDENT TO BE REPLACED BY AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT, RESPONSIBLE INTER ALIA FOR SAFEGUARDING THE NATIONAL FINANCIAL RESERVES AND MONITORING SENIOR PUBLIC SECTOR APPOINTMENTS. IT IS JUST POSSIBLE THAT LEE KUAN YEW WILL ASSUME THIS OFFICE AFTER A TERM-UNTIL 1992/3?- AS 'SENIOR MINISTER IN THE CABINET' WHEN GOH REPLACES HIM AS PRIME MINISTER.

5. MEANWHILE, THE CURRENT POLITICAL SCENE HAS BEEN DOMINATED BY TWO BILLS, BOTH NOW ENACTED:

(A) THE RELIGIOUS HARMONY BILL, WHICH PROVIDES FOR CONTROLS ON THOSE DENMED TO BY THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS TO HAVE BEEN GUILTY OF EXCESSIVE ZEAL IN ATTRACTING CONVERTS TO THEIR FAITH, OR TO HAVE USED THEIR RELIGIOUS OFFICE AS A PLATFORM FOR PROPOUNDING POLITICAL VIEWS. ALTHOUGH MOST SINGAPOREAN'S APPEAR TO SUPPORT THE BILL IN PRINCIPLE, THERE HAVE BEEN MANY EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN FROM THE CRISTIAN AND MUSLIM COMMUNITIES HERE, WHO FEAR THAT THE BORDER LINE BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS IS, IN PRACTICE, IMPOSSIBLE TO DEFINE AND THAT THE LEGISLATION GIVES TOO MUCH POWER TO THE MINISTER. GIVEN THESE WORRIES, THE NEW LEGISLATION WILL NEED TO BE IMPLEMENTED WITH GREAT SENSITIVITY IF THE KIND OF RELIGIOUS UNREST, WHICH IT IS OSTENSIBLY DESIGNED TO PREVENT, IS NOT IN THE EVENT STIMULATED.

(B) THE NOMINATED M.P.'S BILL, PROVIDING FOR THE ENTRY INTO PARLIAMENT OF UP TO SIX 'DISTINGUISHED' INDIVIDUALS. THE AIM IS TO BROADEN THE RANGE OF EXPERIENCE AND EXPERTISE AVAILABLE TO PARLIAMENT BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER SINGAPOREANS WITH THE NECESSARY BACKGROUND AND WILLINGNESS TO PUT THEIR POINT OF VIEW HONESTLY, WILL IN PRACTICE BE FORTHCOMING.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

6. AS I HAVE REPORTED PREVIOUSLY, RELATIONS WITH MALAYSIA HAVE BEEN GOING THROUGH A BAD PATCH. BUT THE ATMOSPHERE HAS IMPROVED SINCE GOH TOK TONG'S VISIT TO KUALA LUMPUR LAST MONTH. MEANWHILE, SINGAPORE CONTINUES TO BUILD UP ITS LINKS WITH INDONESIA WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RIAU ARCHIPELAGO.

7. AFTER SEVERAL YEARS OF MAKING THE RUNNING WITHIN ASEAN ON CAMBODIA, THE SINGAPOREANS HAVE BEEN UNCHARACTERISTICALLY QUIET RECENTLY. THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THE CAMBODIAN FACTIONS ARE YET READY FOR A POLITICAL AGREEMENT AND HAVE RESIGNED THEMSELVES TO THE

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PROBABILITY THAT AN AGREEMENT IS UNLIKELY UNTIL THE BALANCE OF ADVANTAGE ON THE BATTLE FIELD BECOMES CLEARER. THEY ARE ALSO PERHAPS MORE CONCERNED THAN PREVIOUSLY NOT TO DAMAGE THEIR FUTURE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM BY INDULGING IN PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT AND THE HUN SEN REGIME.

BILATERAL RELATIONS

8. ANGLO/SINGAPOREAN RELATIONS REMAIN CLOSE. LAST OCTOBER'S HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL STATE VISIT ADDED A NEW DIMENSION AND LEE KUAN YEW'S VISIT TO BRITAIN NEXT MONTH WILL MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM. SO WILL FURTHER POSSIBLE VISITS THIS YEAR BY THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WONG KAN SENG, AND THE MINISTER FOR TRADE AND INDUSTRY, BG LEE HSIEN LOONG. IN THE REVERSE DIRECTION, LORD TREFGARNE, WILL PROBABLY VISIT IN JULY, FOLLOWED BY POSSIBLE VISITS BY MR. PORTILLO, MR. CLARKE AND MR. HAMILTON LATER IN THE YEAR.

9. BRITISH EXPORTS TO SINGAPORE IN 1989 WERE AT THEIR HIGHEST LEVEL EVER (POUNDS 774 MILLION) AND THE FIRST TWO MONTHS OF 1990 HAVE SEEN A 49 PER CENT INCREASE IN EXPORTS BY VALUE. IF THIS PACE CAN BE SUSTAINED FOR THE REST OF THE YEAR, WE MAY BE CLOSE TO REACHING POUNDS 1 BILLION IN EXPORTS. SINGAPOREAN EXPORTS TO BRITAIN ARE ALSO RISING FAST (POUNDS 876 MILLION IN 1989).

10. LAST MONTHS ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT THAT LEGISLATION WOULD BE INTRODUCED TO PROVIDE FOR THE TRACING, FREEZING AND SEIZURE OF DRUG TRAFFIKERS' ASSETS PAVES THE WAY FOR THE BILATERAL ASSET SEIZURE AGREEMENT FOR WHICH WE HAVE BEEN WORKING HARD FOR SOME TIME. ONLY SINGAPORE'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD CONTINUE TO BE A SOURCE OF CONCERN BENEATH THE SURFACE. (BERNARD LEVIN'S SAVAGE ARTICLE IN THE TIMES OF 12 APRIL WILL OBVIOUSLY NOT HAVE IMPROVED TEMPERERS HERE.) BUT THERE IS NO SIGN AT PRESENT THAT THE TWO ALLEGED MARXIST CONSPIRITORS (TEO SOH LUNG AND VINCENT CHENG), DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL UNDER THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, ARE LIKELY TO BE RELEASED IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

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New martyrs to Lee's tyranny

After the crushing of political opposition and establishment of a puppet press and judiciary in Singapore, Bernard Levin finds churchmen are now hounded too

Who said these noble words: "We either believe in democracy or we do not. If we do, then we must say categorically, without qualification, that no restraint from any democratic process, other than by ordinary law of the land, should be allowed. If you believe in democracy, you must believe in it unconditionally. If you believe that men should be free, then they should have the right of free association, of free speech, of free publication."

The answer is Lee Kuan Yew, the tyrant of Singapore; his excuse is that he said it a long time ago. Today, his rule is based on a frenzied determination to allow no one in his realm to defy him, from which it follows that those who dare to do so, even in the smallest particular, must be crushed, and having been crushed must be indefinitely pursued with an implacable and crazed vindictiveness.

Before I turn to the latest instance of his misrule, I think it worth recording its chronology. I shall start from the time when Singapore left the Federation of Malaysia (1965) and became an independent self-governing state; from that day to this, Lee has been in power.

1966: University entrance barred to those refused "suitability certificates" by security authorities. Demonstration against Vietnam war and restrictions on trade unions suppressed; MPs, students and journalists arrested. Some detained without trial or deprived of Singaporean citizenship.

1967: Opponents of government, earlier arrested and detained without trial, win habeas corpus appeal, released, immediately re-arrested. Some imprisoned without trial for 10 or even 20 years.

1969: Juries abolished in capital-charges trials (already abolished for non-capital offences).

1970: Several trade unionists detained without trial.

1971: Lawyer representing detainees charged with contempt. Two newspapers shut.

1973: Managing editor of one of the remaining independent newspapers imprisoned without trial.

1974: Imprisonment without trial for lawyer who had tried to represent detainees, release conditional on making no further attempt to defend them.

1976: Lawyers, journalists and others rounded up and imprisoned without trial; editor who had earlier been imprisoned re-arrested. Offence: standing for Parliament against Lee's party. Imprisoned. Lee sues J.B. Jeyaretnam, solicitor, for libel. (First act of Lee's persecution of this upright man; persecution still continues.)

1977: Further arrests, including another lawyer representing detainees, plus local correspondents of *Financial Times*, *Far Eastern Economic Review* and *Economist*; fake confessions.

1979: More arrests; now an offence for any non-political organization to take part in any political activity.

1981: Jeyaretnam wins by-election; only MP not of Lee's party.

1982: Jeyaretnam charged and "convicted" of unparliamentary behaviour.

1984: Jeyaretnam falsely charged, before district judge, with five criminal offences; acquitted on four. Fined on fifth, but fine not high enough to disqualify him from Parliament. Judge removed from bench.

1986: Chief Justice conveniently increases fine. Jeyaretnam expelled from Parliament. More reliable judges overturn Jeyaretnam's acquittals. Imprisoned. At

instigation of Attorney-General, also struck off solicitors' roll.

1987: Legislation against foreign newspapers and magazines publishing criticism of Lee, by "gagging" device, such papers prohibited from sending into Singapore more than token number of copies. Legislation prohibiting Law Society from commenting on government legislation. President of Law Society removed from post. Jeyaretnam appeals to Privy Council (Britain) on convictions and striking-off. Privy Council condemns entire proceedings, convictions as well as striking-off, in unprecedentedly savage terms, not least for Lee's Chief Justice, whose refusal to disqualify himself, and insistence on presiding, is plainly considered scandalous and indefensible. Lee abolishes right to appeal to Privy Council for lawyers struck off.

1988: Jeyaretnam fined for "providing public entertainment without a licence". Charge refers to speech at opening of his new party headquarters.

Now we take up the story of Lee's most recent series of offences against freedom. The key can be heard turning in the lock with a measure called The Maintenance of Religious Harmony Bill. Lee has smashed all effective political resistance to him; his judges are bent or cowed; the Singapore Bar has fallen silent (a shameful abdication, particularly when compared to the heroic defiance of Mahathir's sleazy and oppressive regime by the Malaysian lawyers); the universities dare not speak; the *Straits Times* is ever ready to applaud its master and blackguard his few and helpless opponents; every publicly printed word needs a licence; what remains?

What remains is the only source of potential opposition with the strength to practise it; a source which over the centuries and in many lands has often faced tyranny unflinching in the name of a higher power: religion.

In 1982, Lee introduced compulsory religious education in Singapore's secondary schools. Not long ago he abruptly changed his mind, and announced that even voluntary religious instruction would be banned; he must have realized that he could not control the churches if the very schools were teaching religion.

Among the Roman Catholic communion in Singapore, a number of priests and social workers were concerned at the ever-shrinking nature of Singaporean freedom, and raised their voices in protest. Most prominent and effective of these was a man called Vincent Cheng, executive secretary of the Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Justice and Peace Commission for Singapore; such a man, living under the rule of Lee, will sooner or later be marked for vengeance, and Mr Cheng could have been under no illusion that he would long remain untouched.

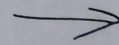
Nor was he, Lee's Tontons Macoutes, the Internal Security Department, came for him and 15 others; many of these were young, and most were active Catholics. They were all held under the Internal Security Act; it was stated that they had been arrested "in connection with investigations into a clandestine communist network". (The

Straits Times played this up, while refusing to print a most restrained and dignified statement by the families of the detained people, which neither demanded anything nor accused anyone.)

A few days later, Lee presented his "case": there was a communist conspiracy to overthrow the government, and the Roman Catholic Church had been used by the conspirators for their nefarious activities.

The truth is that there has been no communist threat to Singapore for nearly 20 years; the entire action was a device intended to stifle any potential dissent in the Roman Catholic Church by bullying and frightening its leaders. To bring this about, it was essential that the Catholic hierarchy should denounce Lee's latest victims.

The Archbishop of the Singapore diocese (Archbishop Yong) was called several times to the Ministry of Home Affairs to be browbeaten, but he resisted the browbeating, and Lee decided to



pressure himself. A meeting arranged between Lee and a group of priests and lay people, headed by the Archbishop, in case some members of the delegation should stiffen the Archbishop's resolve, Lee had most of the Archbishop's group excluded from it; these included some of the priests who had been in the forefront of church resistance to Lee's tyranny.

In the course of the meeting, Lee's henchmen took substantial minutes; which however later proved an embarrassment, because in Lee's subsequent libel action against the Hong Kong-based *Far Eastern Economic Review* the defence managed through legal means to get the transcripts. These revealed that Lee's public claim that Vincent Ch. ag was the Singapore leader of the conspiracy was false; he told Yong that he "was not interested in Vincent Cheng and his group"; his fire was directed at the unsubservient priests. The Archbishop was given an ultimatum: get rid of them or there

will be arrests. To prevent more harm to the Church, they resigned their positions, and they were subsequently barred from preaching. But that was still not enough for Lee.

Without telling Yong, he called in the Vatican's envoy to Thailand, Father D'Aniello, who, under pressure, accepted the detainees' guilt. This, Lee obviously felt, would powerfully reinforce his hand in the browbeating. So it did; still the Archbishop held out, pleading to make his own statement in his own way. But Lee was implacable, and the Archbishop finally gave in.

All that remained was the propaganda. Again behind Yong's back, Lee had fixed a press conference, to which he led his captive. But this astonishing Archbishop still would not give in completely; in response to a press question, he said of Vincent Cheng, "After going through the depositions [that is, the false confession] made by the person concerned himself, I have no way of disproving his statement. I have no way. That's why I have to take things at their face value for the time being." That last sentence, designed to indicate the truth of what had happened, was edited out of the *Straits Times* and the state-controlled broadcasting services.

Shortly afterwards, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* published an article about the business which enraged Lee. Despite two replies from Lee, of enormous length, published in full, the paper was "gazetted" - that is, restricted in circulation to a token number. The *Review* properly decided to suspend all circulation in Singapore, and Lee thereupon passed a law allowing Singapore papers to steal and print anything they wished from it, naturally excluding matter that might displease Lee. (A Lee-controlled faked version of the whole magazine is now regularly published in Singapore.) But even this did not satisfy his raving hatred of defiance; he launched a libel action against the *Review*.

No one, of course, has won a libel action (or any other kind of action) against Lee in the Singapore courts for many years, but he was taking no chances. His men bugged the telephones of the defence, and probably even the barristers' robing room; they also took in a Singapore lawyer who was helping the *Review*, and tortured him, thus gaining valuable knowledge of defence strategy and potential witnesses. A barrister on the defence side was involved in a divorce case; Lee's thugs arrived at the court on the morning of the first day to circulate prurient information.

Lee, giving evidence in the libel action, spent much of his time not answering defence cross-examination but turning to the judge and making speeches. (Perhaps he felt that this would impress the judge more deeply; perhaps it did.)

After the judgment, Dow Jones (which owns both the *Review* and the *Asian Wall Street Journal*) put out a dignified, reasonable and in no way offensive statement of regret at the outcome. (This included no reference, though it could have

filled many pages of even the largest newspaper, to the years of increasing suppression of every kind of independent press voice in Singapore.) Lee at once had the Hong Kong publisher and editor charged with contempt for their *lese-lee*; his Attorney-General put out a statement which included these almost magnificently impudent words:

[The Dow Jones comment] would inevitably lead citizens and others who have recourse to our courts to question the integrity and impartiality of the judiciary in Singapore. These imputations... could excite in the minds of the people a general disaffection with all judicial decisions.

This is Singapore now: increasing repression of dissent, increasing destruction of the organs of free speech, increasing mania in Lee's behaviour. So to the full, final assault - with the Archbishop undermined, the Pope deceived, the resisting priests suspended - on the independence of the churches. (Lee's Bill is not directed wholly at Catholics; the position of the Muslims is in its way as fraught, but I shall discuss it separately in a future article.)

When The Maintenance of Religious Harmony Bill is passed, Singapore citizens will still be allowed to go into their places of worship and take part in their various rites. What they, and most decidedly their pastors, will not be permitted to do, is to say or write anything, in the course of their devotions or elsewhere, which the government in its absolute discretion claims might damage religious harmony - defined, of course, by the government. A sermon that touches upon social policy; a pastoral letter chiding, however gently, a minister's attitude; a scriptural exegesis which challenges the secular state; an appeal for justice, or even clemency, for one of Lee's innocent

victims; those responsible for any such matter may be fined the equivalent of £3,500 or be imprisoned for two years for a first offence; for a second transgression, the victim faces double that fine or three years in jail, or both. Lee must make sure that no challenge to his rule, no criticism of himself, can appear from any quarter, and since he has closed every other avenue by which defiance might have approached, this last measure will make the magic, impenetrable circle complete.

Even Lee is conscious that such legislation needs its face saved. His chosen method for saving it is an absurd "Council for Religious Harmony", which will notionally have the right to comment on any prohibition order made by the government, but has no power to overrule Lee's decision.

This has been a long and melancholy tale; but not so long or melancholy as the life in prison that is led by Lee's victims, who will soon be joined by increasing numbers of those who have offended him by the practice of their faith. I hope and believe that they will take comfort, behind the bars, from their heroic denial of Lee's demand that they should render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to Caesar also the things that are God's.

22/4/90

23 May 1990



The Guardian

TV bout denied to Singapore PM

Joanna Coles

SINGAPORE Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew arrives in Britain tomorrow on a five-day official visit, anxious to counter recent criticism here of his style of government, which includes imposing £50 fines for not flushing a public lavatory and £166 fines for smoking in a public lift.

In particular, Mr Lee is determined to defend himself against an article in the Times last month in which Bernard Levin claims that he is a tyrant and torturer whose rule is based on a "frenzied determination to allow no one in his realm to defy him".

Despite enjoying the full confidence of 10 Downing Street, Mr Lee is worried about the article's impact here. He persuaded BBC2 to set aside half an hour for him to slog it out with Mr Levin on television.

The BBC chairman, Marmaduke Hussey, agreed with enthusiasm. But Mr Levin has declined, insisting that the appropriate place for Mr Lee's reply is in the newspaper.

"The BBC said it would give 30 minutes with a chairman, well, he'll have to spend the first 20 minutes explaining what it's all about, which gives us no time at all," Mr Levin said yesterday.

But John Moulding, a BBC spokesman, said: "Half an hour is quite a long time. It could have made good viewing."

Since circulation of virtually any newspaper except the Straits Times — which appears to applaud Mr Lee's every move — is restricted in Singapore, few of its people are likely to have read the article.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "People say he's a bit of a dictator... but he gets into power because they vote for him."

PTO

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CONFIDENTIAL

LEE KUAN YEW, MP

Prime Minister.

Chinese (Hakka).

Born in Singapore, 16 September 1923.

Barrister-at-Law.

Educated at Anglo/Chinese School, Singapore and afterwards awarded a Government scholarship to Raffles College. Remained in Singapore and Malaya during the Japanese occupation. In October 1946 he went to England, spending a year at London University, then proceeding to Cambridge (Fitzwilliam House) to study Law. He took a double first in Law, was placed first in the Honours List and starred for special distinction.

He was called to the English Bar (Middle Temple) in 1951 and admitted to the Singapore Bar in August 1951. A Socialist from student days he worked closely with the Trade Union movement from 1952, and was Honorary Adviser to a number of unions.

He was one of the founder members of the People's Action Party (PAP), formed in 1954 and was its Secretary General from the beginning.

Elected as PAP Member of Parliament for Tanjong Pagar in April 1955. Member of All-Party Delegations to the 1956, 1957 and 1958 Constitutional Conferences in London. In answer to a challenge by David Marshall he resigned his seat in August 1957 in order to seek mandate from his supporters for his stand on the Report of the 1957 Constitutional Conference and was re-elected. He was appointed Prime Minister in June 1959.

In 1963 he led the PAP to a fairly narrow electoral victory over a newly-formed left wing splinter group from the PAP, the Barisan Sosialis. Singapore joined the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, and, during the Federation period, he was a member of the Federal Parliament in Kuala Lumpur. Following Singapore's separation from Malaysia in August 1965 he continued as Prime Minister of the now independent Republic and led the PAP to victory in general elections in 1968, when it won all the seats - a feat repeated in 1972, 1976 and 1980. He is gradually allowing his Deputy Prime Ministers and younger Cabinet Ministers to take greater responsibility for policy-making decisions but finds it hard to play a less-prominent role. Made himself unpopular in 1986 by the way in which he hounded J B Jeyaretnam (qv) and the (former) President of the Law Society, Francis Seow. Shortly after the September 1988 elections, Goh Chok Tong (qv) announced that he had asked Lee to stay on as Prime Minister for up to two years and thereafter remain in the government, perhaps as Senior Minister.

He was made a Companion of Honour in 1970 and received an honorary GCMG in 1972. He visited London in July 1982 to receive the Freedom of the City. Mr Lee's personal qualities of intellect and character, and his long period of political office, have given him a status as an international statesman out of proportion to Singapore's rôle in the world. He has come to be widely respected and admired, particularly for the success so far of his policies aimed at turning Singapore into a city state of model efficiency and an industrial, commercial and financial centre for the region. Having in the past acquired in some quarters a reputation for a certain arrogance he has in recent years gone to considerable lengths to cultivate relations with other Asian leaders,

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particularly those of the ASEAN countries, and he has worked hard to encourage ASEAN solidarity.

Lee is married with three children – two boys and a girl. Mrs Lee whom he married in 1952, also took a First in Law at Cambridge, was called to the Bar in 1950 and until her retirement ran the family law firm of Lee and Lee. Both sons obtained double Firsts at Cambridge and the daughter qualified first in her year as a doctor from the University of Singapore. One son, Lee Hsien Loong (qv) is Minister for Trade and Industry and Second Minister for Defence and the second, Hsien Yang, is a Colonel in the Singapore Armed Forces, who completed, in November 1984, a year long course at Camberley Staff College at which his performance was outstanding.

Lee speaks Mandarin, Hokkien and Malay. His first language is English. He does not smoke and dislikes other people smoking in his presence. Mr Lee has a number of brothers and sisters who lead successful non-political lives. His father was the manager of a leading jewellers but is no longer active; his mother died in 1980. He has three grandchildren.

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WONG KAN SENG, MP

Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Community Development.

Chinese.

Born in 1946.

Partly Chinese-educated (the first five years of primary school), he trained as a teacher for a while after finishing his secondary education. Thereafter, he went to the University of Singapore and obtained an honours degree.

He then became a civil servant, first in the Labour Ministry and later in the Ministry of Defence where he remained for ten years, his last appointment there being that of a Deputy Secretary.

While in the Government Service, he was awarded a postgraduate scholarship to study at the London Business School (University of London) where he graduated with a MSc (Business Studies).

Elected to Parliament in December 1984 in the constituency of Kuo Chuan. Became Minister of State for Communications and Information and Community Development in January 1985. Promoted to Acting Minister for Community Development in February 1986 and to Full Minister and Second Minister for Foreign Affairs in December 1986. He was appointed Leader of the House in February 1986 and Minister for Foreign Affairs in September 1988. These promotions confirmed the widely held confidence in his potential amongst the younger generation of leaders.

His is also currently a personnel manager in Hewlett Packard Ltd.

Married to a teacher. They have two boys.

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ACT 2000

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enc Cass/Powen 24/5/90

MISS ROBILLIARD

VISIT OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

We now have an agreed text for the inscription on the 10" Armada dish which W. Bryer & Sons have in stock.

"Presented to Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew by The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP on the occasion of his visit to the United Kingdom 24-30 May 1990".

Our deadline can extend to lunchtime on Tuesday next, 29 May.

JANICE RICHARDS
24 May 1990

Agreed with
col
JP

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ACT 2000

enc Cass/Powen 24/5/90

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JANICE RICHARDS
24 May 1990

Agreed with
col
JP



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 May 1990

Dear Charles,

Visit of Lee Kuan Yew

Thank you for your letter of 18 May about a gift for Lee. We cannot improve on your suggestion of an engraved silver Armada dish.

The dinner at No.10 seems the most suitable occasion to present it. We have so far been able to come up with nothing better than the following prosaic text:

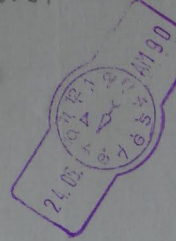
"To Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, an old and staunch friend of Britain, on the occasion of his visit to the United Kingdom, 24-30 May 1990."

*Yours ever,
S. L. Gass*

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Singapore: Relations
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PRIME MINISTER

File ^{as}

DINNER FOR LEE KUAN YEW

You have invited Lord Tonypandy to attend the dinner for Lee Kuan Yew on Tuesday 29 May.

He telephoned today to say that a very close friend - I believe his local vicar - had died and that he had agreed to speak at his funeral on Tuesday. Indeed he gave such a promise to the vicar only a few days ago, just before he died.

In the circumstances he feels that he must decline the invitation to dinner. He has asked me to mention that he will be seeing Lee Kuan Yew both at a public dinner and on a second occasion for a private dinner while he is in the UK. He also asked me to stress how very pleased he had been to receive the invitation and how very much he regretted that he would now be unable to attend.

I undertook to let you know this evening and said that I was sure in the circumstances you would fully understand why he had to withdraw from the dinner. I attach a draft letter which you might like to send to Lord Tonypandy.

Barry H Potter

23 May 1990

c: Lee (MJ)

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <u>PREM 19</u>	Date and sign
PIECE/ITEM <u>4440</u> (one piece/item number)	
Extract details: <u>Letter to Powell dated 22 May 1990</u>	
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	<u>20/6/18</u> <u>M.M.</u>
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
NUMBER NOT USED	
MISSING (TNA USE ONLY)	
DOCUMENT PUT IN PLACE (TNA USE ONLY)	

Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references,
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.
This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying
to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the
public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of
the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer
or Number not used.



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

18 May 1990

See steps.

VISIT OF LEE KUAN YEW

The Prime Minister would like to give a gift to Lee Kuan Yew to mark his official visit. The obvious solution would be an engraved silver Armada dish. But if the Department have any more imaginative suggestions, linked to Lee's special interests, it would be very helpful to have them early next week. Please can you also advise on the text of an inscription which might be put on an Armada dish.

Yours sincerely
Charles Powell

CHARLES POWELL

Stephen Wall, Esq., L.V.O.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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DA
PC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

18 May 1990

Dear Sir,

SINGAPORE 25TH ANNIVERSARY
COMMEMORATIVE BOOK

Thank you for your letter of 17 May asking whether the Prime Minister would be prepared to sign a copy of the commemorative volume on the 25th Anniversary of Singapore's independence, in order to auction it for charity. I am confident the Prime Minister would be happy to do this.

CHARLES POWELL

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

dg



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 May 1990

Dear Charles,

Singapore 25th Anniversary Commemorative Book

In your letter of 25 October 1989²⁹ you enclosed the text of an introduction, signed by the Prime Minister, to the volume commemorating the 25th Anniversary of Singapore's Independence.

The publishers have now told our High Commission that Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew has agreed to sign a copy of the book for sale by auction, and asking whether in principle the Prime Minister would be willing to do the same. The proceeds of the auction on 28 May will be donated to Singapore's 25th Anniversary Charity Fund. This fund was set up by the Government earlier this year to remind Singaporeans that while they celebrate the Anniversary they should not forget the less fortunate members of Singapore society. It has been widely publicised in the local press and contributions, both small and large, have been flowing in. The Government has undertaken to match donations by the public dollar for dollar.

No decisions have yet been taken on the eventual beneficiaries of the fund. Our High Commission advise that some of the funds raised will undoubtedly be passed on to the community chest of Singapore which finances a wide range of local charities. The rest will be given to specific charitable organisations and projects.

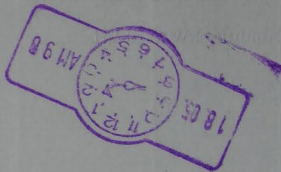
The book is at the printers but a copy should be available on or about 25 May. As Lee Kuan Yew's official visit to Britain will take place from 24 - 30 May there may be an opportunity for the Prime Minister to hand a signed copy to Lee Kuan Yew in person, either on 25 May at Chequers, or on 29 May at No 10.

Would the Prime Minister be willing to do this?

S L Gass
(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

SINGAPORE: visit 3 PM P42



R16/5
④^{D2}
FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND
MINISTER FOR DEFENCE
SINGAPORE
K. Lim
16/5
mt

4 May 90

The Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister
United Kingdom

Dear Prime Minister

Thank you for so graciously taking time off from your busy schedule to meet with me during my recent visit to London. I enjoyed very much our fruitful exchange. My wife and I also appreciate the warm hospitality extended and the excellent arrangements by your government for our visit.

With my warm regards and respect.

Yours sincerely

GOH CHOK TONG



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 May 1990

Dear Charles,

Visit of the Prime Minister of Singapore
and Mrs Lee Kuan Yew

Your letter of 11 March recorded the Prime Minister's invitation to Mr and Mrs Lee for talks and supper at Chequers on 25 May and included the offer of an overnight stay.

Our High Commissioner has been told that Lee Kuan Yew would prefer to return to London that night. He is, it seems, content to return by car and understands that regulations prevent a return by helicopter at a late hour.

Yours ever,
S L Gass

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

cc: [unclear] ②

*This is actually
more convenient for
you.
C D
3/5
mt*

Singapore: Relations

CONFIDENTIAL



Al

MEETING
REWORD
CC MASTER

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

20 April 1990

Dear Sir,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

The Prime Minister had a talk this morning with the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Goh Chok Tong. Mr. Goh was accompanied by Brigadier General George Yeo, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Finance, and by the Singaporean High Commissioner.

The Prime Minister began with some complimentary remarks about Singapore, which bore witness to the fact that you should not judge the wealth of a country by its natural assets, but by the enterprise of its people.

The Prime Minister continued that we were much looking forward to the visit of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew next month. When was he intending to step down as Prime Minister? Mr. Goh thought it would probably be in late November or early December. In response to a further question from the Prime Minister, Mr. Goh said that he did not expect Mr. Lee Kuan Yew to become the first elected President of Singapore: he had always made clear that he did not wish it to appear that his proposal for an elected President was prompted by personal considerations. It was more likely that he would become a Senior Minister in the Prime Minister's Office, and act as a sort of consultant to the rest of the Government.

The Prime Minister recalled her conversation with Mr. Lee in Kuala Lumpur about drug trafficking. We hoped very much that Singapore would soon introduce legislation to confiscate the assets of drug traffickers, so that we could sign a bilateral agreement. Mr. Goh said that Singapore had decided in principle to legislate, and there would be a draft bill by the end of the year.

The Prime Minister said we were very grateful for the scheme which Singapore had introduced to extend permanent resident status to 25,000 heads of family in Hong Kong. Our own legislation on citizenship was likewise intended to strengthen confidence in Hong Kong. Mr. Goh said there was no doubt that confidence was at present badly shaken. Everything depended on the Chinese Government's behaviour. The Prime Minister said there seemed little prospect of improvement in that quarter. Mr. Goh commented that he did not find this surprising. The old

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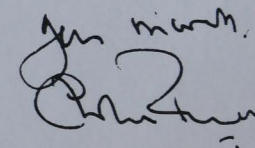
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- 2 -

men who had gone through so much to seize and keep power in China were never going to let a group of students overthrow them, and would do whatever was necessary to keep themselves in power. We were in for a difficult period over the next few years. But once they had died off, a younger group would come to the top, and they would demand changes. He did not think that Li Peng would last. But economic reform was irreversible. The Prime Minister said that we had heard that the former Mayor of Tientsin, Yang Rui Huan, was a coming man. Perhaps we ought to invite him to the UK. Mr. Goh said that it was indeed very important to re-establish high level contact with the Chinese Government, and persuade their leaders to travel and expose them to outside influences.

The Prime Minister said that Hong Kong faced continuing problems over the Vietnamese boat people, and would hope for support from Singapore for whatever action we felt it necessary to take. Mr. Goh said that what Britain was doing on compulsory repatriation was absolutely right. We should not allow the Vietnamese Government to blackmail us into making any concessions.

I am sending copies of this letter to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence) and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).



C.D. POWELL

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

Si/2
ls

MRS. GOODCHILD

DINNER FOR PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE:
TUESDAY, 29 MAY

I have spoken to the Foreign Office who tell me that Lee Kuan Yew is visiting Scotland on this visit. He should be returning to London by c.1800 hours, but would probably prefer a slightly later dinner, i.e., 1945 for 2015. I suggest therefore we go for these timings.

ls

pp AP

23 April 1990

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

You are to see Mr. Goh tomorrow. He takes over from Harry Lee as Prime Minister in September. You have met him several times before: he is tall, bespectacled and silent. Mr. Lee is himself coming on an official visit in late May.

You will want to ask about developments in Singapore since your last visit (en route to Australia in 1988). The economy is in fine fettle and our exports are doing well.

Other points on which you could touch are:

- confiscation of drug assets. The Singapore Government have said that they will introduce legislation (after you raised this with Mr. Lee at CHOGM) but nothing has materialised since. We would like to conclude a bilateral agreement as soon as possible;
- Vietnamese Boat People. We may have to introduce drastic measures if the situation deteriorates (although at present arrivals are down 63 per cent on last year) and would look to Singapore for support;
- Hong Kong. We are very grateful to Singapore for offering the right of permanent residence to 25,000 blue collar workers (and their dependants) without their having to leave Hong Kong;
- ASEAN. The Singaporeans think that the EC are downgrading their relations with ASEAN. That is not our wish;
- Uruguay Round. Like Singapore, we want to see real progress particularly on agriculture. Any complaints should be sent to other addresses in the EC, not to ours;
- China. You could ask for his assessment of recent developments and the prospects.

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- 2 -

There is one final point. Opinion in Singapore tends to be quick to spot evidence of economic 'decline' in Britain, and is beginning once again to write us off. It would be useful if you could give Mr. Goh a true picture.

C.D.P.

(C. D. POWELL)

19 April 1990

a:\foreign\Goh (srw)

CONFIDENTIAL



cc: PE
cc: B-up

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

CONFIDENTIAL

19 April 1990

San Charles

Visit of the Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore

The Prime Minister will see Mr Goh Chok Tong, first Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister of Singapore, at 1130, Friday 20 April 1990. Goh will be accompanied by Brigadier General George Yeo, a Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Finance, and Mr Abdul Aziz Mahmood, the Singaporean High Commissioner.

Mr Goh will also see the Foreign Secretary, Mr Hamilton, Minister of State for the Armed Forces and Mr Baker. The Lord President is giving a dinner for Goh on 19 April, and Lord Brabazon a lunch on 21 April.

Singapore/UK Relations

Mr Goh will succeed Lee Kuan Yew as Prime Minister in September. The Prime Minister might express satisfaction at the excellence of our bilateral relations over many years. The Prime Minister may wish to mention her two visits to Singapore in April 1985 and July 1988 and the Queen's State Visit last October before CHOGM. Lee Kuan Yew will visit the United Kingdom from 24-29 May.

Trade Relations

Bilateral trade relations are good. Singapore is a priority market. Regional trade is expanding and Singapore's foreign exchange reserves are rising fast. The main constraint remains endemic labour shortage. Inflation at 3.6% and interest rates at 6.5% are creeping up but should not damage Singapore's excellent prospects. UK exports in 1989 totalled £770 million and represented a 3.2% UK market share. The UK is the third largest investor in Singapore after the Japanese and the US.

There is to be a fundamental review of the EC Generalised System of Preferences (GSP). Some member states have suggested that certain of the more competitive newly industrialised economies be removed from the scheme and Singapore may have heard of this. If Mr Goh complains, the Prime Minister might say that the GSP is a Community Scheme and that representations should also be made to the Commission.

/Defence

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Defence Relations

It is unlikely that defence matters will be raised with the Prime Minister as Mr Goh has a meeting scheduled with Mr Hamilton. However, if the opportunity arises the Prime Minister may wish to mention that we continue to play our part in the Five Power Defence Agreement in the region as instanced by the fact that we will be hosting the 1990 exercise in Malaysia which Mr Hamilton will be attending.

Confiscation of Drug Assets

Singapore is one of the few major financial centres without confiscation or money laundering legislation. We have been lobbying the Singaporeans hard to persuade them to introduce legislation to trace, freeze and confiscate the proceeds of drug trafficking and to agree to a bilateral agreement with the UK. The Prime Minister raised this issue in the margins of last year's CHOGM when she met Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. The Singapore government announced in March that they had decided to introduce legislation but said that the content of the legislation needed further thought.

The Prime Minister might emphasise to Mr Goh the importance of Singapore introducing comprehensive legislation as quickly as possible, and our wish to conclude a bilateral agreement to trace, freeze and confiscate the proceeds of drug trafficking once legislation is in place.

Human Rights in Singapore

Church worker Vincent Cheng and lawyer Teo Soh Lung have been detained without trial under Singapore's Internal Security Act (1962) since June 1987, accused of belonging to a clandestine communist network aimed at overthrowing the government. We have expressed our concern, most recently in late 1989 as part of a joint EC demarche. We do not recommend that the Prime Minister should raise this with Mr Goh.

Vietnamese Boat People (VBP)

The Prime Minister might tell Mr Goh that the situation in Hong Kong remains difficult but under control. However, this could become unmanageable if there is a large new influx which would require difficult decisions and drastic measures. We would hope for Singapore's support. We commend the initiative launched

/by

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to tackle the causes of the outflow from Vietnam and to improve/update the voluntary programme. But the UNHCR is desperately short of funds. We hope Singapore will be able to make further contributions. The Prime Minister will wish to welcome the agreement between Singapore and the UNHCR to introduce new Rescue at Sea arrangements and express the hope that these will be effective.

Hong Kong

On Hong Kong, the Prime Minister may wish to thank Mr Goh for the permanent residence scheme which Singapore announced last July as a helpful contribution to maintaining confidence in the territory. Last year Singapore announced a relaxation of its immigration rules to allow permanent residence status to be extended to up to 25,000 blue collar workers (plus their dependants) without their having to leave Hong Kong. We understand that the Singaporean Government may be planning to extend this scheme.

Cambodia

The Prime Minister may wish to express appreciation of Singapore's support for current diplomatic activity and for the principle of UN involvement in a Cambodia settlement.

ASEAN

The EC/ASEAN Foreign Ministers met in Kuching in February. Mr Maude led the UK Delegation. ASEAN countries, including Singapore, used the opportunity to voice concern about slow progress in the Uruguay Round, implications for 1992, preferences, and tariffs in areas such as timber. Singapore criticised strongly the campaign of NGOs against rainforest depletion. Singapore also feels that the EC considers ministerial meetings with ASEAN less important than hitherto.

The Prime Minister might therefore reassure Mr Goh of our continued interest in ASEAN, our wish to trade and invest in the region, and the clear commitment of EC states to an open single market after 1992. She might also suggest that the Uruguay Round requires the active participation by more advanced countries like Singapore.

/Eastern

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Eastern Europe

On Eastern Europe the Prime Minister might tell Mr Goh that our assistance programme will not be at the expense of our aid programme to other parts of the world. She might ask whether Eastern European countries are seeking closer ties with Singapore. Mr Goh might be interested in the Prime Minister's views on reform in the Soviet Union, and Lithuania.

Yours ever

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'R N Peirce'.

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street



Cile M

PRIME MINISTER

LEE KUAN YEW

Lee Kuan Yew and his wife are here in May on an official visit. His daughter will also come along. You are giving a supper for him at Chequers on Friday 25 May, after which he stays the night. You are also giving a more formal dinner for him on the following Tuesday at No. 10.

You may want to make the dinner at Chequers very small and private. But if you are thinking of including others, particularly people who are friends of Harry Lee's, you might consider some of the following. If you do not want them at Chequers, we can transfer them to the list for the Tuesday dinner (which is also attached).

Would you please tick those whom you would like to invite to Chequers:

Mr. and Mrs. Lee Kuan Yew
Dr. Lee Wei Lung - daughter
Mr. Moses Lee - PPS
Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Hurd
Sir Percy and Lady Cradock
Lord and Lady Moore (Philip Moore) - friend
Lord and Lady Carver - friend
Lord and Lady Selkirk - last British Commissioner General in SE Asia and a friend
Mr. and Mrs. John Previte QC - defended Mr. Lee in the Far East Economic Review case, and a legal friend
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Powell

Reserves

Air Chief Marshal Sir John and Lady Grandy - former C-in-C
Lord and Lady Chalfont

Would you also please indicate whether you can approve the list
for the Tuesday dinner?

CHARLES POWELL

18 April 1990

c:\wpdocs\foreign\lee
(slh)



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 April 1990

San Chrus

CSG
CSG 18/4

Supper for the Prime Minister of Singapore:
Friday 25 May

/ Sue Goodchild wrote to Jane Pearey on 26 March. I enclose a guest list, together with reserves for the supper, the Prime Minister will hold for Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, on 25 May at Chequers and also for the formal dinner on 29 May at No 10.

Yours are

R N Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street



PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AT

20/3

20 March 1990

Dear Bob,

day

Thank you for copying to me your letter of 15 March to Charles Powell about the proposed visit of Goh Chok Tong between 19 and 22 April. I can confirm that the Lord President is content to host the dinner on 19 April.

I am copying this letter to Charles Powell, Tancred Tarkowski (Treasury) and John Colston (MOD).

T J SUTTON
Principal Private Secretary

Bob Peirce Esq
PS / Foreign and Commonwealth Office



PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AT

CA 2/13

20 March 1990

Dear Bob,

day.

Thank you for copying to me your letter of 15 March to Charles Powell about the proposed visit of Goh Chok Tong between 19 and 22 April. I can confirm that the Lord President is content to host the dinner on 19 April.

I am copying this letter to Charles Powell, Tancred Tarkowski (Treasury) and John Colston (MOD).

T J SUTTON
Principal Private Secretary

Bob Peirce Esq
PS / Foreign and Commonwealth Office



SINGAPORE:
Relations PEZ

I am copying this letter to Charles Powell.
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I am copying this letter to Charles Powell.

Private Secretary
R. N. Peirce, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

16 March 1990

SINGAPORE

Thank you for your letter of 15 March about the visit of Goh Chok Tong. The Prime Minister would like to see him and could do so for half an hour at 1130 hours on 20 April.

C. D. POWELL

R. N. Peirce, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

2



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

①

15 March 1990

Den Charles

Yes not

ccpc
R. N. Peirce
Agree to see him?

CAF.

Singapore

Goh Chok Tong, First Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore and Lee Kuan Yew's designated successor, plans to visit London between 19 and 22 April on his way back from a visit to Washington. Goh has asked for meetings with the Prime Minister, Lord President, Foreign Secretary, Defence Secretary, Chancellor, and Chairman of the Conservative Party. He has said he would be glad if as many as possible of these calls could take place on 20 April, but could stay if necessary until 23 April to see those unable to see him earlier.

The list is a tall order. However, Goh is due to succeed Lee Kuan Yew as Prime Minister of Singapore in the autumn, and we should take this early opportunity to build up our relationship with him. The Foreign Secretary plans to see Goh on 19 April and hopes that the Prime Minister could find time for a short call on 20 April.

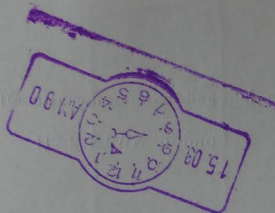
We understand that the Lord President is available only on the evening of 19 April and the morning of 23 April. The Foreign Secretary wonders if the Lord President might be prepared to host a dinner on 19 April, to which others on Goh's list might be invited.

Goh is also Minister of Defence. In the Defence Secretary's absence, the Foreign Secretary would be grateful if Mr Hamilton could call on him, on 20 April if at all possible. Mr Baker's office have been consulted separately and a meeting on the morning of 23 April has been pencilled in.

I am copying this letter to Tim Sutton (Lord President's Office), Tancred Tarkowski (Treasury), and John Colston (MOD).

Yours
Bob Peirce
(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street



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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 March 1990

Dear Stephen,

VISIT OF MR. LEE KUAN YEW

I have now been able to consult the Prime Minister about the arrangements for the visit of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

BF 11 The Prime Minister would like to invite Mr. Lee to talks at Chequers in the early evening of Friday 25 May, followed by a small supper party. She would also like Mr. and Mrs. Lee to stay overnight at Chequers. The Prime Minister would then give a formal dinner for them at No.10 on the evening of Tuesday 29 May. She would not, however, be able to attend any function given by Lord Tonypany on Saturday 26 May.

Given the likely Bank Holiday traffic on the afternoon of Friday 25 May, it would be prudent to plan for Mr. Lee and his immediate party to transfer to Chequers by helicopter.

Yours sincerely,

(C. D. POWELL)

J.S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

E. R.

①

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT OF MR. LEE KUAN YEW

Mr. Lee has now let us know the dates when he will be here for his official visit in May. He intends to be in the United Kingdom from Thursday 24 May to Wednesday 30 May. Unfortunately this covers the Whitsun weekend.

There are three particular issues to be resolved:

- you said that you would like to have him down at Chequers at least for part of the time and suggested Friday 25 May. This would be an opportunity for talks and a lunch or dinner. It is possible that you might want him to stay overnight. Since there are so few full working days in his programme, the Foreign Office are quite keen for him to do something in the morning or early afternoon and then come down to Chequers for talks at about tea time. This could be followed by a small informal dinner and you might want him to stay overnight as well. Since the Friday is the eve of a Bank Holiday we would probably have to helicopter him down to Chequers to avoid the traffic;

- then there is the question of whether you would wish to give a formal dinner for him as well at No.10. The available date is Tuesday 29 May. It may be difficult to get many senior Ministerial or Parliamentary guests, given that it is the Recess. But I expect that nonetheless you will want to do something; 7/5

- Lord Tonypandy is apparently intending to give a private lunch or dinner for Mr. Lee on Saturday 26 May (it is not clear where this would be) and intends to invite you and Mr. Thatcher. I wonder whether you would really want to sacrifice so much of your Whitsun weekend, especially if you have had Mr. Lee to stay overnight before.

So in summary the questions are:

E. R.

- 2 -

- agree to talks at Chequers in the early evening of Friday 25 May followed by a small supper? *Yes*
- agree to invite Mr. and Mrs. Lee to stay overnight at Chequers? *Yes*
- agree to give a formal dinner for him at No.10 on Tuesday 29 May? *Yes*
- agree not to attend Lord Tonypandy's function on Saturday 26 May?

C.D.P.

Yes

mb

(C. D. POWELL)

8 March 1990

a:\foreign\Lee (srw)

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9

NOT TO BE COPIED

COPY NO: 13

Wednesday 16 May

1130 MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR LORD McALPINE OF MOFFAT +
DT
1730 Foreign Secretary + CDP
1830 AUDIENCE, BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Thursday 17 May

1830 LOOK IN AT FRES RECEPTION + MLB

Friday 18 May

0930 Sir Robin Butler + AT
? DEPART NO.10
FINCHLEY
TO CHEQUERS

Saturday 19 May

Talks and lunch with President de Klerk

Sunday 20 May

Monday 21 May

0800 Hair
1220 DEPART NO.10
1230 ARRIVE CHELSEA FLOWER SHOW + CS + MLB?
LUNCH
FOLLOWED BY TOUR OF THE SHOW
DEPART
1515 Foreign Secretary + CDP
1700 GUY FAWKES DINING GROUP + MLB, H/C
2000

Tuesday 22 May

1830 AUDIENCE, BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Wednesday 23 May

REGIONAL TOUR

Thursday 24 May

1000 Sir Robin Butler + AT
1030 Cabinet
1900 LOOK IN AT ARTHUR WELLER'S RECEPTION ?, + MLB

Friday 25 May

TALKS WITH LEE KUAN YEW AT CHEQUERS
LUNCH

Saturday 26 May

Keep free

Sunday 27 May

Keep free

Monday 28 May

Bank Holiday

Tuesday 29 May - Friday 1 June

Keep free

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

RESTRICTED London SW1A 2AH

8 March 1990

Amends
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at asp

As you know, Lee Kuan Yew accepted the Prime Minister's invitation to pay a Guest of Government Visit in May, to be built around talks with her at Chequers (your letter to Richard Gozney of 28 September 1989). Of the two dates offered for the talks, Mr Lee chose 25 May.

We have now learnt from the Singaporeans that Mr Lee plans to visit the UK from 24 May to 30 May as part of a wider tour taking in Turkey and France. We would have preferred him to visit in the week leading up to 25 May, thus avoiding the long Whitsun weekend, but this proved impossible for him.

For programming purposes it would be helpful to know as soon as possible how much time on 25 May the Prime Minister would like with Mr Lee, and whether she would prefer talks in the morning or afternoon. Since this is one of the few normal working days in this programme, we should make full use of it, with further Ministerial calls or perhaps a visit, say, to Docklands.

The Foreign Secretary would welcome an opportunity to talk to Mr Lee and could attend Chequers on 25 May. The Foreign Secretary's opposite number, Wong Kan Seng, is not expected to accompany Mr Lee.

I should be grateful to know if the Prime Minister will offer dinner at No 10, in addition to the working lunch at Chequers. If so, the eve of Mr Lee's departure, 29 May, would be a suitable time if the diary permits.

The Foreign Secretary would welcome the Prime Minister's views on the arrangements for Mr Lee's arrival and departure. Unless the Prime Minister wishes to greet Mr Lee in person (an exceptional gesture for a small country, but one that would show recognition of Lee's international standing and seniority) the Foreign Secretary would plan to meet Mr Lee at Heathrow at 1530 on 24 May. He wonders if the Lord President, who knows Lee well, might be able to see him off at 1430 on 30 May.

/Lastly,

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wo

Lastly, the Prime Minister may like to note that Viscount Tonypandy has been in correspondence with Mr Lee and hopes to offer him a private lunch or dinner during the visit to which he intends to invite the Prime Minister and Mr Thatcher. This engagement could be accommodated in the draft programme as it stands at lunchtime on 26 May or on the evening of that day. If the Prime Minister wishes to attend it would be helpful to know whether the proposed timing is convenient or whether she wishes us to suggest an alternative day.

I am copying this letter to Tim Sutton (Lord President's office) and to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

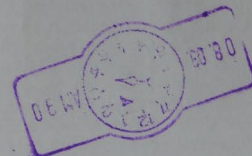
Yours ever

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

SINGAPORE: Rel



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

16 November 1989

②
R. A. Smith

CD
17/11

Dear Charles

leaf

Lau Chi Sing: Pleas for Commutation of Death Sentence

You wrote to me on 30 August authorising the British High Commission in Singapore to pass to the Prime Minister of Singapore the Prime Minister's personal plea for the commutation of the death sentence on Lau Chi Sing. Mr Lau, a British Dependent Territories Citizen from Hong Kong, was found guilty of smuggling drugs into Singapore in 1984.

The Prime Minister's message was delivered on 2 November, following the rejection by the President of Singapore of Lau Chi Sing's own appeal. Mr Lee Kuan Yew has replied as follows:

"I refer to your message on Lau Chi Sing conveyed through your High Commissioner in Singapore.

"The lack of firm action against the international drug trade has led to the breakdown of law and order in many countries. Colombia is a dramatic example.

"In Singapore the death sentence is mandatory for drug trafficking. The President has dismissed Lau Chi Sing's petition for clemency. The deterrent effect of the law would be undermined if exceptions were made. I therefore regret to inform you that the sentence will have to be carried out.

Yours sincerely, Lee Kuan Yew"

We have been informed by the Superintendent of the gaol where Lau Chi Sing is held that the execution is to be carried out on 17 November. We see no scope for further appeals on Lau's behalf.

/There



There has been little press interest in Lau's case so far but there may now be enquiries, in which case we shall make it clear that the Prime Minister appealed for clemency on humanitarian grounds (just as she has done for "UK British" citizens on death row in Malaysia).

Yours are

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to be 'R N Peirce', followed by a horizontal line.

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

SINGAPORE: Relation PT2



me pm

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

29 October 1989

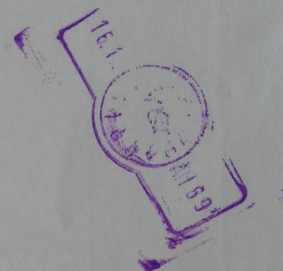
SINGAPORE: 25th ANNIVERSARY BOOK

Thank you for your letter of 27 October about the request from Mr. Nathan for an introduction to a volume commemorating the 25th Anniversary of Singapore's independence. I enclose an introduction which the Prime Minister has signed. Provided the Department is content, I should be grateful if it could be sent to Kuala Lumpur for delivery to Mr. Nathan.

C. D. POWELL

R.N. Peirce, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

R





10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

A visitor to Singapore arriving at Changi International Airport (as I did in 1986 and again in 1988) and travelling down the East Coast Parkway to the heart of the city, cannot fail to be impressed by the visible evidence of Singapore's success over the last twenty-five years. The superb transport system, the high quality of housing, the streets free of litter, the well-tended greenery, the gleaming concrete and glass towers of Shenton Way, and the bustling shopping centres around Orchard Road, represent a quality of life which is the envy of many other cities.

These achievements rest on a firm base: years of continuing high growth since full independence in 1965, minimal inflation, one of the highest rates of home ownership in the world, and employment for all.

None of this happened by accident. It is the Singapore Government which has made things happen, led by a man of enormous vision and determination, supported by a highly motivated and disciplined people. Your Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, saw from independence that a country of Singapore's size, with limited natural resources, could only succeed by taking up the challenge of the free market, by creating the conditions in which individual talent could flourish, by developing its people's skills, and by providing them with incentives to excel. He gave a lead which many other governments in your part of the world subsequently followed, and the burgeoning prosperity of South East Asia and the Far East are an indication of the success of his example.

me JD
cfo

hm

We in Britain share the same belief in enterprise and liberty. I am proud that we had a hand in Singapore's success. Sir Stamford Raffles laid the foundations of Singapore's legal and educational system. Many other Britons have worked alongside Singaporeans to establish Singapore as the trading heart of South East Asia.

Today, Britain and Singapore are close friends and we enormously admire what you have achieved in your island state. Singapore enjoys a world-wide reputation which would be the envy of any other country. I have no doubt that Singapore will continue to astonish the world with its achievements in the years to come.

Margaret Thatcher

October 1989



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 October 1989

Dear Charles

slap
Singapore: 25th Anniversary Book

You wrote to me on 26 September to say that you thought the Prime Minister would be willing to meet a request from S R Nathan, Singapore High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur, for an introduction to a volume commemorating the 25th anniversary of Singapore's independence.

As you know, Nathan contacted Mike Bates in Kuala Lumpur the other day, and we were asked to send you a draft today. I enclose one.

Yours are

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

*Pl. type in
M's notes*

DRAFT OF PRIME MINISTER'S INTRODUCTION TO A VOLUME
COMMEMORATING THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF SINGAPORE'S INDEPENDENCE

Any visitor to Singapore arriving at Changi International Airport (as I did in 1986 and again in 1988) and travelling down the East Coast Parkway to the heart of the city, cannot fail to be impressed by the visible evidence of Singapore's success over the last 25 years. The superb transport system, the high quality of housing, the streets free of litter, the well-tended greenery, the gleaming concrete and glass towers of Shenton Way, and the bustling shopping centres around Orchard Road, represent a quality of life which is the envy of many other cities.

These achievements rest on a firm base: years of continuing high growth since full independence in 1965, minimal inflation, one of the highest rates of home ownership in the world, and employment for all. Singapore has become the first modern developed city on the equator.

Very fine thing, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, he gave a lot of what many other people in your part of the world have achieved, e.g. the

None of this happened by accident. It is the Singapore Government which has made things happen, led by a man of *enormous* vision and determination, supported by a dedicated and highly motivated and disciplined workforce. *For the post-independence leaders of Singapore were quick to appreciate that a country hardly larger than the Isle of Wight, with limited natural resources, could only succeed by accepting the challenges of the free market, by creating the conditions in which individual talent could flourish, by developing its people's skills, and by providing them with incentives to excel.*

the same thing is achieved e.g. by the

We in Britain share many of these basic values. I *am* also like to think that we have had some hand in Singapore's success. *It was an Englishman, Sir Stamford Raffles, who, with his successors, laid the foundations of Singapore's legal and educational system. Many other Britons have worked alongside Singaporeans from the three major communities to establish Singapore as the trading heart of South East Asia.*

the same thing is achieved e.g. by the

Today, Britain and Singapore ^{are close friends and} remain the best of partners. ^{be extremely close} Our relationship has never been closer, symbolised most ^{that you have} recently by Her Majesty The Queen's second State Visit to ^{giving in your kind state} independent Singapore. We are also glad that Singapore has ^{been a strong partner in the Asian} taken such an active and responsible role in the ^{superior in the world with reputation} Commonwealth of which Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew must be counted the respected Elder Statesman. Looking ahead, I know that he and Singapore's younger generation of leaders are far from complacent. They continue to see the future as a challenge and new technology not as a threat but an opportunity.

As Singapore enters her Silver Jubilee, I congratulate all Singaporeans on what they have achieved over the past 25 years. I am confident that Singapore will continue to astonish the world by its achievement in the years to come.

and
*
I would be the envy
of our country. I have
no doubt that Singapore will
continue to astonish the world
by its achievements in the
years to come.

Singapore
Religion of 2.



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Original on:
COMMONWEALTH
CHOGM Pt. 16



file

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

20 October 1989

Dear Stephen.

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH
THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

The Prime Minister had a talk this afternoon with Mr. Lee Kwan Yew, shortly before both departed for the CHOGM retreat at Langkawi.

Lee Kwan Yew began by congratulating the Prime Minister on her spirited and tenacious defence of her position on South Africa at the previous day's CHOGM. The debates on South Africa had become something of a ritual. The Africans longed to be able to budge the Prime Minister because they would win enormous political kudos from doing so. The Prime Minister said they ought to understand human nature better. Lee Kwan Yew said they understood human nature all right: what they did not understand was the Prime Minister's nature.

Turning to wider issues, Lee Kwan Yew said that the world was entering an interesting but potentially dangerous period, in which all the hitherto fixed reference points might shift. He fully agreed with the Prime Minister's strategy of supporting Mr. Gorbachev: if only he could last another three years, the machinery of tyranny in the Soviet Union might be dismantled and become impossible to replace. He also agreed with the Prime Minister about the scale of the problems facing Mr. Gorbachev. Socialism had taken away from the individual responsibility for looking after himself and his family. The Russians were now used to depend on others for everything and did not want to assume personal responsibility. The Prime Minister commented that, for them, freedom seemed to be freedom to turn up late and leave early. Lee Kwan Yew continued that most Commonwealth countries had still failed to understand that Socialism did not work. He thought it would be another five years or so before the penny finally dropped that it had no future. They simply had to learn that no one owed them a living.

Lee Kwan Yew described the events of last summer in China as a tragedy. What had happened had been unplanned and would have been avoided if Deng had been more alert and in day to day charge, or if Zhao Ziyang had not been such a bad fighter. The result was that the team which Deng had taken ten years

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2

build up had been swept aside and the old guard had got back into the act. This was disastrous for China, a real tragedy.

Lee Kwan Yew continued that there would be another grave shock for Hong Kong when Deng died. He felt very sorry for Hong Kong: none of this was their fault. They had to come to terms with the fact that, after 1997, there would be nothing to stop Beijing doing what it wanted. When China was involved in a power struggle it could not care less about its international reputation. He had met the OMELCO delegation from Hong Kong in Kuala Lumpur. Contrary to press reports, he had not said that he would urge Britain to open its doors to people from Hong Kong. Rather, he had said he would not dream of offering gratuitous advice. His actual advice to the Hong Kong delegation was that they should not fight China: sovereignty was absolute in international law. They should plead or bargain with China, and organise themselves so that they could do potential damage to China's interests. There were about 200,000 people in Hong Kong who really mattered. They should band together and threaten to leave Hong Kong, bringing down its administration and economic life, if the Chinese interfered. To make this sanction effective, other governments would need to be ready to grant the 200,000 citizenship without a qualifying residential period. This would allow them to stay in Hong Kong while all was going smoothly, but give them the right to leave if necessary. This was the way to deal with China, using a non-confrontational approach, and the Chinese would have to listen. It would be a great mistake to challenge China over the pace of introduction of democracy: if there were fully democratic elections, China would simply send in the cadres, there would be clashes and confidence would decline. He recalled Deng's statement that whoever governs China must love China and love Hong Kong. The only way to win democratic elections in Hong Kong would be to love Hong Kong and hate China. It had been equally unwise to challenge the right of the PLA to be based in Hong Kong. It would be much more sensible to move all army barracks and airports out of the centre of Hong Kong and to the border before 1997, so that there were no facilities into which the PLA could move. All in all, it was a nasty problem which Britain had, but the Joint Declaration was the best agreement which could be contrived.

The Prime Minister referred to the Australian proposal to hold a meeting of Asian/Pacific regional governments from which Hong Kong had been excluded. This was a pity. Lee Kwan Yew said that he thought this was only for the first meeting: subsequently China might be invited as well as Hong Kong, using the ADB formula.

The Prime Minister said that we very much hoped Lee Kwan Yew would visit the United Kingdom next year. We would let him have some suggested dates in May (this will need to be followed up by our High Commission). Lee Kwan Yew said that he would be delighted to come, but hoped the Prime Minister would realise he was not a good investment for the future. He was intending to withdraw steadily from active involvement in government, and hand over to Goh and a brand new team. There had been two choices open to him: either to go on until he was senile or pull out while he was still all there and in a position

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3

to help the new men. They were efficient administrators but lacked the skill in presentation which was essential to win votes.

The Prime Minister said we very much hoped Singapore would sign an agreement on Confiscation of drug Traffickers' Assets. Lee Kwan Yew said that his Finance Ministry had been nervous. They wanted to build Singapore up as a financial and banking centre and feared such an agreement might prove invasive. But he had decreed that any agreement the Swiss could sign ought to be all right for Singapore to sign too, with such minor technical adjustments as they might regard as necessary. Singapore was more anti-drug than any other country.

I am copying this letter to John Gieve (HM Treasury), Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence), Colin Walters (Home Office) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

your sincerely,
Philip Zim

(C. D. POWELL)

Stephen Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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CONFIDENTIAL

by the new man. They were efficient administrators but
lacked the skill in presentation which was essential to win
the trust of the new man.

The Prime Minister said we very much hoped Singapore would
sign an agreement on Confidence of Trade Relations, however.
The Prime Minister said that his Finance Ministry had been nervous.
They wanted to build Singapore up as a financial and banking
centre and feared such an agreement might prove decisive.
But he had decided that any agreement the Prime Minister could sign
ought to be all right for Singapore to sign too. With such
major technical adjustments as they might regard as necessary.
Singapore was more anti-trust than any other country.

I am copying this letter to John Hume (HM Treasury),
Brian Hawley (Ministry of Defence), Colin Walker (Home Office)
and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

John Hume
Colin Walker

(C. H. Hume)

Stephen Wall, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Singapore: R/S
R

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FM SINGAPORE
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 467
OF 030400Z OCTOBER 89
INFO IMMEDIATE BUCKINGHAM PALACE, MANILA, KUALA LUMPUR, JAKARTA
INFO IMMEDIATE BANGKOK, BANDAR SERI BAGAWAN, UKMIS NEW YORK

SINGAPORE: OCTOBER 1989

SUMMARY

1. SINGAPORE CONTINUES TO BUILD ON ECONOMIC SUCCESS. MEANWHILE,
"NATION-BUILDING", THE SUCCESSION, POPULATION PROBLEMS AND
RELIGION CONSTITUTE THE GOVERNMENT'S MAIN PREOCCUPATIONS.
EXTERNALLY, THE SINGAPOREANS REMAIN HARDLINERS ON CAMBODIA AND
AWAIT A US RESPONSE TO THEIR OFFER OF MILITARY FACILITIES HERE.
ANGLO/ SINGAPOREAN RELATIONS GOOD ALTHOUGH SINGAPORE'S HUMAN
RIGHTS RECORD STILL A CAUSE OF CONCERN.

DETAIL

2. THE QUEEN AND THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH MAY WELCOME A SNAPSHOT
OF THE SITUATION HERE IN ADVANCE OF THEIR STATE VISIT.

THE ECONOMY

3. SINGAPORE CONTINUES TO BUILD ON SUCCESS. LAST YEAR'S GROWTH
IN GNP TO 11 PER CENT IS LIKELY TO BE FOLLOWED BY A FURTHER
RISE OF BETWEEN 7 AND 10 PER CENT IN 1989. IN THE LONGER TERM,
GNP GROWTH OF 5/6 PER CENT ANNUALLY SHOULD BE SUSTAINABLE.

4. SINGAPORE'S RISING PROSPERITY WILL CONTINUE TO BE BASED ON THE
EXPLOITATION OF THE MOST ADVANCED INFRASTRUCTURE, COMMUNICATIONS,
AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, IN SOUTH EAST ASIA. WHILE THE MANUFACTURING
SECTOR WILL GO ON MOVING UPMARKET - WITH THE EMPHASIS ON INFORMATION
TECHNOLOGY - LABOUR SHORTAGES AND INTENSIFYING REGIONAL COMPETITION
WILL ALSO MEAN MORE RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARDS SERVICES. SINGAPORE
WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO ATTRACT THE FOREIGN (NOTABLY AMERICAN AND
JAPANESE) INVESTMENT IT NEEDS TO FINANCE ITS INCREASINGLY
SOPHISTICATED ECONOMY.

DOMESTIC SCENE

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(A) 'NATION-BUILDING' / THE SUCCESSION

5. THERE ARE TWO MAJOR PREOCCUPATIONS ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE: 'NATION-BUILDING' AND THE SUCCESSION TO LEE KUAN YEW. ON THE FORMER, MUCH EFFORT HAS BEEN DEVOTED DURING 1989 TO THE FORMULATION OF A NATIONAL IDEOLOGY BASED ON FOUR 'CORE VALUES' - RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS HARMONY, SOCIETY BEFORE SELF, THE RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS BY CONSENSUS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FAMILY. BUT THE WAY AHEAD SEEMS UNCERTAIN GIVEN, THE FACT THAT SUCH AN IDEOLOGY IS LIKELY, IN PRACTICE, TO AMOUNT TO LITTLE MORE THAN A SERIES OF PLATITUDES IF IT IS TO AVOID TRESPASSING INTO SENSITIVE RACIAL AREAS.

MEANWHILE, MEASURES TO PREVENT THE FORMATION OF COMMUNAL ENCLAVES IN GOVERNMENT HOUSING ESTATES ARE BEING FORMALLY IMPLEMENTED: SUPPORT FOR THE MALAY COMMUNITY IMPROVED: AND CONTINUAL EMPHASIS PLACED ON THE NEED FOR A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE SINGAPORE, WITH LIMITED MANPOWER AND NATURAL RESOURCES, TO EXCEL IN EVERYTHING IT DOES IF IT IS NOT TO BE OVERWHELMED. THE PRESSURE FOR 'EXCELLENCE' REMAINS INTENSE.

6. ON THE SUCCESSION QUESTION, LEE KUAN YEW HAS CONFIRMED THAT HE INTENDS TO STEP DOWN AS PRIME MINISTER IN SEPTEMBER 1990 BUT WILL CONTINUE TO SERVE AS 'SENIOR MINISTER' IN THE CABINET. THE PRESENT FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, GOH CHOK TONG, SEEMS SET TO SUCCEED HIM AS PRIME MINISTER. BUT WHATEVER THE FORMAL POSITION, LEE WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE ALL IMPORTANT DECISIONS, CURIOUSLY, NOTHING MORE HAS BEEN HEARD RECENTLY OF LAST YEARS PROPOSALS TO CONVERT THE LARGELY HONORIFIC PRESIDENCY INTO AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENCY WITH ENHANCED POWERS, A PROPOSAL WHICH HAD ALMOST CERTAINLY BEEN ORIGINALLY CONCEIVED OF AS A WAY OF ENSURING LEE'S TRANSITION FROM THE HARD GRIND OF THE PREMIERSHIP TO A MORE RELAXED, BUT EQUALLY INFLUENTIAL, ROLE.

(B) POPULATION PROBLEMS

7. CONTINUING LABOUR SHORTAGES AND SINGAPORE'S AGING POPULATION REMAIN A MAJOR SOURCE OF WORRY FOR THE GOVERNMENT. THE FORMER PROBLEM IS EXACERBATED BY THE IMMIGRATION, MAINLY TO THE US, CANADA AND AUSTRALIA, OF GROWING NUMBERS OF YOUNG PROFESSIONALS. THEIR REASONS FOR LEAVING RANGE FROM THE DESIRE FOR CHEAPER HOUSING AND CARS TO THE SEARCH FOR A LESS COMPETITIVE EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

8. THE GOVERNMENT HAS RESPONDED BY APPEALING TO THE SENSE OF

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PATRIOTISM OF POTENTIAL EMIGRANTS WHILE TRYING TO COMPENSATE FOR THIS BRAIN DRAIN BY ATTRACTING NEW (CHINESE) TALENT FROM HONG KONG. BUT NEITHER TACTIC SEEMS LIKELY TO BE VERY SUCCESSFUL, AT LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM.

9. TO REMEDY THE PROBLEM OF THE AGING POPULATION, SINGAPORE HAS REVERSED ITS EARLIER DRACONIAN BIRTH CONTROL POLICIES, PARENTS NOW BEING ENCOURAGED TO HAVE THREE OR MORE CHILDREN RATHER THAN THE EARLIER TWO. THE AUTHORITIES EFFORTS TO PERSUADE ARE DIRECTED PARTICULARLY AT GRADUATES SINCE LEE KUAN YEW A KEEN AMATEUR GENETICIST STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT THEIR INTER-MARRIAGE WILL, OVER TIME, RAISE THE INTELLECTUAL LEVEL OF SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.

(C) RELIGION

10. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALSO VERY CONCERNED ABOUT RECENT REVELATIONS THAT EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY IS MAKING PROGRESS AT THE EXPENSE OF BUDDHISM AND TRADITIONAL CHINESE ANCESTOR WORSHIP. (PERHAPS 20 PER CENT OF SINGAPORE'S POPULATION IS NOW CHRISTIAN.) ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE TO CURB EVANGELISM AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS ARE BEING WARNED NOT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN POLITICS. THE FUTURE OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE TEACHING IN SCHOOLS IS NOW UNDER REVIEW AND A DECISION ON THIS WILL BE ANNOUNCED BY THE MINISTER FOR EDUCATION IN PARLIAMENT ON 6 OCTOBER.

11. CHURCH/STATE RELATIONS ARE ALSO AT THE CORE OF LEE KUAN YEW'S CURRENT LIBEL SUIT AGAINST THE HONG KONG-BASED FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW. THE CASE IS NOW BEING HEARD IN THE HIGH COURT AND IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE THROUGHOUT THE STATE VISIT. THE PRIME MINISTER- WHO HAS SPENT FIVE DAYS IN THE WITNESS BOX- ALLEGES THAT THE REVIEW MALIGNED HIM IN AN ARTICLE UAST DECEMBER BY SUGGESTING THAT HIS CRITICISM OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF A NUMBER OF RADICAL CATHOLIC PRIESTS FOLLOWING THE DETENTION OF ALLEGED MARXIST CONSPIRATORS IN 1987, WAS IN FACT MOTIVATED BY DISLIKE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AS A WHOLE. LEE ALSO CLAIMS THAT THE OFFENDING ARTICLE SUGGESTS THAT HE TRICKED THE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF SINGAPORE INTO PUBLICLY ENDORSING THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION AND THAT HE APPLIED PRESSURE ON THE LOCAL MEDIA NOT TO PUBLISH STATEMENTS WHICH MIGHT SUGGEST OTHERWISE. THE CASE IS RECEIVING, AND WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE, BLANKET COVERAGE LOCALLY.

(D) THE OPPOSITION

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12. COURT CASES ARE ALSO PENDING INVOLVING SEVERAL OPPOSITION POLITICIANS, INCLUDING THE LEADER OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHIAM SEE TIONG (THE ONLY OPPOSITION POLITICIAN TO HAVE WON A SEAT IN THE SEPTEMBER 1988 GENERAL ELECTION) WHO FACES CHARGES OF ILLEGALLY PUBLISHING TWO POLITICAL PAMPHLETS. THE CASE HAS BEEN HEARD AND JUDGEMENT IS DUE ON 8 OCTOBER. MEANWHILE, THE LEADER OF THE WORKERS PARTY, J B JEYARETNAM, WHOSE CAUSE HAS BEEN CHAMPIONED BY BERNARD LEVIN IN THE "TIMES", AND WHO HAS (UNSUCCESSFULLY) PETITIONED THE QUEEN NOT TO COME TO SINGAPORE, WILL CONTINUE HIS FIGHT TO REGAIN HIS PARLIAMENTARY SEAT IN THE COURTS ON 5 OCTOBER.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

13. THE GOVERNMENT'S MAIN EXTERNAL PREOCCUPATION REMAINS CAMBODIA WHERE SINGAPORE, WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, WONG KAN SENG, CASTS AS A LATTER-DAY SAVANAROLA, LEADS THE HARDLINERS IN ASEAN. THEY PLACE THE BLAME FOR THE FAILURE OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE FIRMLY ON THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA (PRK) AND THE VIETNAMESE : ARGUE THAT THE ANNOUNCED VIETNAMESE WITHDRAWAL IS INCOMPLETE AND UNVERIFIED: AND ASSERT THAT UNTIL A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IS REACHED, ANY MOVE BY THE WEST TO RECOGNISE THE "PUPPET REGIME" IN PHNOM-PENH, OR TO RESUME AID TO VIETNAM, WOULD UNDERMINE THE EFFORTS OF ASEAN AND THE WEST TO BRING HOME TO THE VIETNAMESE THAT AGGRESSION DOES NOT PAY. SINGAPORE IS PLAYING A PROMINENT ROLE IN PROMOTING AN ASEAN RESOLUTION CRITICAL OF THE PRK AND THE VIETNAMESE AT THE CURRENT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

US FACILITIES

14. THE GOVERNMENTS ANNOUNCEMENT ON 4 AUGUST THAT THEY HAD OFFERED TO ALLOW THE UNITED STATES TO ESTABLISH MILITARY FACILITIES IN SINGAPORE HAS CREATED A MINOR STORM IN THE REGION. MALAYSIA HAS REACTED MOST STRONGLY ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE INVITATION IS CONTRARY TO ASEAN'S OBJECTIVE OF CREATING A ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND NEUTRALITY (ZOPFAN) IN SOUTH EAST ASIA. THE SINGAPOREANS ARE STANDING FIRM AND AWAIT A CLEAR RESPONSE FROM WASHINGTON. BUT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT ANYTHING MUCH MORE THAN THE PROVISION OF FACILITIES FOR US NAVAL VESSELS WITH, PERHAPS ALSO, "VISITING RIGHTS" FOR US COMBAT AIRCRAFT, WILL BE CREATED HERE. THIS ISSUE ASIDE, SINGAPORE'S RELATIONS WITH HER NEIGHBOURS, INCLUDING MALAYSIA, ARE PROBABLY BETTER THAN THEY HAVE EVER BEEN. (LEE KUAN YEW IS DUE TO VISIT JAKARTA FOR TALKS WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO

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OF 6/7 OCTOBER.)

ANGLO/SINGAPOREAN RELATIONS

15. ANGLO/SINGAPOREAN RELATIONS REMAIN GOOD. NO MAJOR ISSUE OF PRINCIPLE DIVIDES THE TWO COUNTRIES. BUT SINGAPORE'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD CONTINUES TO CAUSE CONCERN IN BRITAIN AND ELSEWHERE. ATTENTION HAS FOCUSED, IN PARTICULAR, ON THE CASES OF TEO SOH LUNG AND VINCENT CHENG, WHO ARE ALLEGED TO HAVE TAKEN PART IN A MARXIST CONSPIRACY TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT BY FORCE, AND HAVE BEEN IN DETENTION - APART FROM TEO'S BRIEF RELEASE LAST YEAR SINCE MAY 1987. JUDGEMENT IS PENDING ON AN APPLICATION FOR HABEUS CORPUS BY CHENG, TEO'S APPLICATION HAVING BEEN TURNED DOWN A FEW WEEKS AGO.

16. SINGAPORE REMAINS BRITAIN'S LARGEST MARKET IN SOUTH EAST ASIA. BUT WHILE THE VALUE OF OUR EXPORTS IS INCREASING BY 15 PER CENT ANNUALLY (POUNDS 630 MILLION IN 1988) OUR MARKET SHARE IS SLOWLY DECLINING AND NOW REPRESENTS ONLY 2.7 PER CENT OF SINGAPORE'S IMPORTS. WHEREAS BRITAIN HAS ENJOYED A SURPLUS IN BILATERAL TRADE UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, BUOYANT SALES OF ELECTRONIC PRODUCTS TO BRITAIN IN 1988 AND 1989, HAVE NOW REVERSED THE POSITION. BRITAIN, HOWEVER, REMAINS SINGAPORE'S THIRD LARGEST INVESTOR AFTER THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, ALTHOUGH THE LEVEL OF NEW BRITISH INVESTMENT HAS BEEN LOW IN RECENT YEARS DESPITE CONTINUING OFFICIAL EFFORTS TO REVERSE THE TREND.

PIKE

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ADDITIONAL 1

MR R FELLOWS
(BUCKINGHAM PALACE)

NNNN

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

28 September 1989

See Richard

VISIT OF THE SINGAPORE PRIME MINISTER

Thank you for your letter about the invitation to Lee Kuan Yew to pay an official visit next year. The Prime Minister would like her talks with Lee Kuan Yew and any lunch or dinner to take place at Chequers which points to a Friday. The best dates look likely to be Friday 4 May or Friday 25 May (though since the latter is immediately before the Whitsun weekend, 4 May would be the better).

Your mummy
C. D. Powell
(C. D. POWELL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

SINGAPORE:

Relis
PR1

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 1AA

25 September 1989

VISIT OF THE SINGAPORE PRIME MINISTER

Thank you for your letter about the
invitation to Lee Kuan Yew to pay an official
visit next year. The Prime Minister would
like to talk with Lee Kuan Yew and any
further on dinner or other plans at Chequers
which relates to a Friday. The visit dates
look likely to be Friday 4 May or Friday
25 May (although since the latter is
immediately before the Whitsun weekend, a day
would be lost).

(C. D. POWELL)

Foreign Office, 101,
London and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT OF SINGAPORE PRIME MINISTER

You agreed to invite Lee Kuan to pay an official visit next year.
He has asked whether we could find dates in May. We could
probably do so, but before making a formal proposal it would be
helpful to know whether you might like to have him down at
Chequers for at least part of the time (I am not sure whether he
has ever been). In that case, we would look for a Friday:
Friday 4 May and Friday 25 May are both possibilities (although
the latter is immediately before the Whitsun weekend).

Would you like to have Lee Kuan at Chequers? Or prefer to have
the whole visit in London?

C. D. P.

C. D. POWELL

27 September 1989

↓
much better
not



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

26 September 1989

Bob Peirce wrote to me on 21 September about the request for the Prime Minister to write an introduction to a book marking the 25th anniversary of Singapore's Independence. I think the Prime Minister would be willing to do this provided someone has the time to produce a really good draft. The Department or the High Commission may like to try their hand at this, before committing the Prime Minister to produce one.

C.D. POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AH

26 September 1989

The Prime Minister wrote to Mr Lee Kuan Yew on 11 May inviting him to visit the United Kingdom as a guest of Government in the first half of 1990, dates to be discussed at CHOGM. Mr Lee replied on 3 June agreeing.

C. D. Powell

Richard Gozney, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 September 1989

Friday
4th May?
Friday
25th May (but
it's Whitmon Bank
Holiday week)

Amend
What do you
think?

Dear Charles,

Visit of Singapore Prime Minister

The Prime Minister wrote to Mr Lee Kuan Yew on 11 May inviting him to visit the United Kingdom as a guest of Government in the first half of 1990, dates to be discussed at CHOGM. Mr Lee replied on 3 June agreeing.

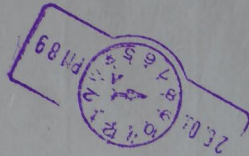
The Singapore High Commissioner has asked whether a date in May 1990 would suit the Prime Minister. The Singapore side would like to agree dates in outline so that the principals can settle the matter at the forthcoming CHOGM. I would be grateful if you would ascertain the Prime Minister's wishes on the matter.

Yours ever,
R. H. T. Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Singapore - Relations Pte 2.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 September 1989

Dear Charles

I enclose a copy of a self-explanatory letter to our High Commissioner in Singapore, Michael Pike, from S R Nathan, Singapore's High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur. This requests that the Prime Minister agree to write an introduction to a new book, marking the 25th Anniversary of Singapore's Independence. Nathan, a former Permanent Secretary in the Singapore MFA and described by Mr Pike as an "intelligent, helpful and devoted Anglophile", is Chairman of the Editorial Advisory Board for this project.

The "Times Holdings" referred to is the parent of the Singapore Straits Times (the main English language newspaper), as well as the Malay paper Berita Harian and two Chinese language newspapers there. It also has extensive publishing interests in other parts of South East Asia and Australia. The minimum print order for the commemorative volume will, we understand, be 20,000, though this could rise to 30,000 if there is a good response from local sponsors. Copies will be distributed by mail order and through major bookshops in Singapore. A limited number will also be sold in bookshops throughout South East Asia and in Hong Kong. Publication is expected to take place in April 1990.

We recommend that the Prime Minister should agree to this request. It would provide an opportunity, following the state visit, to underline the continuing strength of the Anglo/Singaporean relationship and the degree to which modern Singapore sees itself as the heir to the British colony. In public relations terms it would be something of a coup. Conversely, a refusal might have a negative impact not only on Times Holdings but also on the Singapore Government, to which the company and its papers have very close links.

If the Prime Minister is prepared to sign a suitable message we would be happy to provide a draft.

Yours ever

R N Peirce

(R N Peirce)

Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street



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22 AUG 1989	
DESK OFFICER	REGISTRY
PA	PA

BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION

TANGLIN ROAD

SINGAPORE 1024

19 July 1989

Andrew Sparkes Esq
SEAD
PCO

Dear Andrew,

25TH ANNIVERSARY OF SINGAPORE'S INDEPENDENCE

1. I enclose a copy of a self-explanatory letter to me from S R Nathan, Singapore's High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur. Nathan is a former Permanent Secretary of the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of Times Holdings, publishers of the Straits Times. He is intelligent, helpful and a devoted Anglophile.

2. As you will see, Nathan is Chairman of the Editorial Advisory Board which has been charged by Times Editions (also part of Times Holdings) to produce a volume marking the 25th Anniversary of Singapore's Independence. As Nathan explains, this will include up to six essays of 3,500 words each on Singapore-related themes. I think we can rely on Times Editions to produce something pretty impressive. (I am sending you a copy, under separate cover, of "Salute to Singapore", the book published to mark the 25th Anniversary of Singapore's accession to Malaysia in 1963. This will give you an idea of what is proposed.)

3. I very much hope that it will prove possible to meet Nathan's request that the Prime Minister should write an introduction to the new book which will appear next year. It seems to me very appropriate that she should do so: a suitable message from her would emphasise the continuing strength of the Anglo/Singaporean relationship and the degree to which modern Singapore sees itself as the heir of the British colony. (In public relations terms this would also, obviously, be a major coup.) If you agree, I wonder if you could enquire informally of No 10 Downing Street whether Mrs Thatcher would be prepared to write such a message which would, no doubt, be drafted in the Office.

Yours ever,
M. E. Pike
M E PIKE

cc: R J S Muir Information Dept

HCLAAO



HIGH COMMISSIONER
OF THE
REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE
KUALA LUMPUR

6 July 1989

His Excellency Mr Michael E Pike, CMG
High Commissioner
British High Commission
Tanglin Road
Singapore 1024

Dear Michael,

As I mentioned to you to-day over the telephone, I seek your assistance in connection with the publication of a prestigious book to mark the 25th Anniversary of Singapore's independence and statehood. 1990 marks an important turning point in Singapore's history, following the separation from Malaysia, when Singapore took its place among the nations of the world. The book, we hope, will befit the occasion.

2 It will be made up of 6 substantial essays of 3,500 words each and written by prominent Singapore writers. It will cover themes, stemming from the images of Singapore as an island, city and state. The essays will also seek to record some of the developments that have taken place. The editorial approach, quality of design, writing, photography, colour separation and printing will, we hope, be appropriate for the occasion and also reflect the values of excellence that has continued in Singapore and the growing sense of the Singapore Identity that one finds to-day.

3 The opening text will concern itself more closely with the transformation Singapore has made for itself over the past 25 years. We have Louis Kraar, a writer with Fortune Magazine, to relate from the outsider's point of view the story of Singapore's economic transformation.

4 The publishers and the Editorial Advisory Board, of which I am Chairman, would like an introductory piece included in the book, written by someone eminent who has had association with Singapore. I have been given the task of enquiring, if Your Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher, will be agreeable to write an introductory piece for the book. The piece should give her thoughts about Singapore to-day and perhaps the values

which she thinks has made for the kind of transformation that Singapore has gone through. We sincerely hope that Mrs Thatcher will consent to doing this for the publication. The Anniversary commemorates not only a very important landmark in Singapore's history, but also the legacy we inherited, among which we consider the experiences of British administration and the close and warm ties with Britain that has continued over these years as invaluable.

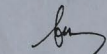
5 As I mentioned to you, I would deeply appreciate it, if you could kindly sound the British Foreign Office and possibly, No. 10 Downing Street, and ascertain whether the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister will be inclined to oblige us with such an introductory message of say up to 1,000 words for the publication. If there is an indication that I can expect an affirmative response, I shall be delighted, on behalf of the publishers, to address the Rt. Hon. The Prime Minister and request formally for the message. In this I shall need your advice on how the request is best addressed and routed.

6 I am sending separately to you a publication entitled "Salute to Singapore" that was produced to mark 25 years since internal self-government. In that book, the Introductory remarks were by James Michener. The initial print order also carried, in loose leave, messages from the Rt. Hon. Ratu Sir Kamisese K.T. Mara, Dr Helmut Schmidt and Ambassador David Marshall. The kind of book we seek to produce will be somewhat similar.

7 I would deeply appreciate it, if you would kindly assist in ascertaining whether the Rt. Hon. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, will be inclined to honour us with a message for publication in the proposed commemorative book. I attach a brief outline of the book for reference.

Many thanks and best wishes.

Yours Sincerely,



S R NATHAN

Enc



Singapore

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Heritage: the Port: Temasek, Dragon's Teeth Straits. A look at the great trading city-state in the region's history: the trading empires of Srivijaya and Malacca. How Singapore's future goals fit into a long tradition.

Location: on the Pacific Rim in the heart of Southeast Asia. Changi Airport, Telecoms. The shape of the island itself, the changing landscape. How Singapore is a source of cultural innovation and cross-fertilization. How the advantages of Singapore's location can be put to work in the future. The attractions of Singapore as a regional base, for travel and business.

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The Good Life: Economic success, infrastructure, housing, leisure. All the things that give Singapore its particular city rhythm. Infrastructure for the citizens, housing, offices, architecture. Shopping, hotels, retail. The arts and cultural life, sports, recreation.

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TIMES EDITIONS

LES EDITIONS DU PACIFIQUE

1 New Industrial Road, Singapore 1953 Tel: 284 8844 Telex: RS 37905 EDTIME Fax: 285 4871



Singapore

ISLAND • CITY • STATE

The editorial approach:

Photos and text will balance at about 70/30. Visual information is both concise and open-ended, and so should be used to full advantage, but visuals must also serve as guides, enticing the reader into the text, and into wanting to know more about Singapore. The book will be very colourful, the selection of images according to technical excellence and theme relevance.

Six leading Asian photographers have been invited to participate in this project, along with six prominent Singapore photographers. "Shooting" will take place during a 7-day work period in early July 1989. Raghu Rai of India, Dominic Sansoni of Sri Lanka, Rio Helmi of Indonesia, Pisit Jiropas of Thailand, Gerald Gay of Australia and Leong Ka Tai of Hong Kong have confirmed their participation on the project. The Singapore photographers include Chua Soo Bin, K F Seetoh, Peter Chen, Lawrence Lim, Munshi Ahmed and Russel Wong. Together with their work, there will be some use of historical material. But we want to avoid the stereotypically sepia: graphic material (documents, packaging, maps) may be more effective than old photos in communicating relevant elements of Singapore's past.

A prestigious panel of eminent Singaporeans will provide overall guidance for the text. Rather than commission a single author, the publisher will present a diversity of voices: authors with special knowledge and interest in the main theme areas have been commissioned. The list of authors includes Kwa Chong Guan, Patrick Daniel, Pang Cheng Lian, Michael Chiang and Irene Hoe, under the co-ordination of General Editor Gretchen Liu.

TIMES EDITIONS

LES EDITIONS DU PACIFIQUE

1 New Industrial Road, Singapore 1953 Tel: 284 8844 Telex: RS 37905 EDTIME Fax: 285 4871



be: PC

DBG

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

30 August 1989

LAU CHI SING: POSSIBLE COMMUTATION PLEA

Thank you for your letter of 29 August seeking the Prime Minister's contingency authority for a final plea for commutation of the death sentence on Lau Chi Sing. The Prime Minister agrees to this and is content with the text of the appeal.

Charles Powell

R. N. Peirce, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

off



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 August 1989

Agree to make this plea. It would be consistent with our past practice.

COP 29/8

1 cefk

Yes

Lau Chi Sing: Possible Commutation Plea by Prime Minister

Lau Chi Sing, a British Dependent Territories Citizen (BTDC) from Hong Kong, was sentenced to death in Singapore on 27 November 1987 for drug trafficking. On 27 July leave was refused to appeal to the Privy Council. This completed the judicial procedures. His lawyer will be submitting a petition for commutation of the sentence to the President. The High Commission in Singapore will be sending to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a petition for clemency in support of this petition. Such pleas by Her Majesty's Government are standard practice.

In 1986 the Prime Minister made a personal "last ditch" (but unsuccessful) plea to the Malaysian Prime Minister on behalf of Kevin Barlow, a dual UK/Australian national travelling on an Australian. A similar plea was made in July this year on behalf of Mr Derrick Gregory. Contingency authority is held by the High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur to deliver a similar plea from the Prime Minister on behalf of 8 Hong Kong citizens sentenced to death for drug smuggling in Malaysia. It would be difficult to justify doing less in Singapore on behalf of a BTDC from Hong Kong. Any such perceived discrimination would go down extremely badly in Hong Kong and would be criticised here too.

Our High Commission in Singapore tell us that a petition to the President usually takes about 2 months to process. If dismissed, execution could be carried out within 3 days. It would therefore be helpful to have the Prime Minister's contingency authority now to make a final plea. Should the President dismiss the petition, this would enable the High Commissioner to deliver the plea without further urgent consultations, and in good time before the date of the execution. I enclose a draft text.

Yours ever

RB

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret
Secret
Confidential
Restricted
Unclassified

PRIVACY MARKING

.....
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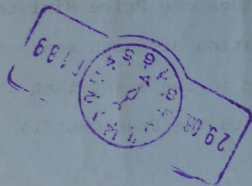
Text of plea to the Singapore Prime Minister requesting the commutation of death sentence passed on Lau Chi Sing in the event that the petition for clemency to the President is dismissed.

I am advised that the judicial process concerning Lau Chi Sing, a British Dependent Territories Citizen, has been completed, and I now understand that the President has dismissed a petition for clemency.

I do not question the decision of the Singaporean court which found Lau Chi Sing guilty. And I share and admire your determination to put an end to the evil traffic in drugs. I do, however, urge you to consider whether, for humanitarian reasons, it would be possible to commute the death sentence. I hope that it may still be possible to exercise some discretion on this decision.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher



CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

24 July 1989

See Paul

*CBP
27/7*

Singapore

see CBP letter at Rap

The Foreign Secretary spoke last month to the Lord Chancellor about Singapore and the problem of appeals to the Privy Council. The Lord Chancellor said that it would be helpful to have a letter setting out the Foreign Secretary's views.

You will recall that on 3 March Lord Bridge sent the Lord Chancellor a memorandum expressing the Law Lords' concern over the Singapore Government's intention to curtail the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee. They were particularly concerned about the removal of the right of appeal in disciplinary cases involving lawyers and in judicial review proceedings involving the Internal Security Act. The Law Lords' view was that the Singapore Government should be required to elect either to retain the appellate jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee intact or to abolish it altogether.

At the end of March, the Singapore Government introduced further restrictions effectively limiting appeals to the Privy Council to criminal cases where both parties agreed to Privy Council hearing. This had the effect of taking Singapore closer to outright abolition.

As the Lord Chancellor knows, the Foreign Secretary has been wary of political interference in this delicate constitutional area. He shares the Law Lords' view that it would be best if the Singaporeans concluded that they should discontinue Privy Council appeals altogether, rather than operate a mutilated system of appeal. The matter is now under debate in Singapore, and it is unclear what the outcome will be. But from the soundings that the Foreign Secretary has taken, he is reinforced in his impression that a direct approach by the British Government to provoke a change would be seen as improper interference in a constitutional matter.

The Foreign Secretary will, however, remain alert to opportunities that may arise to encourage the Singaporeans towards the conclusion that he thinks would be right. It is possible that such an opportunity might arise when he and the Prime Minister see Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October; and

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/Mr Lee



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Mr Lee may be visiting Britain next spring. The Foreign Secretary will wish to judge at the time whether it would be wise to raise this sensitive question on either occasion.

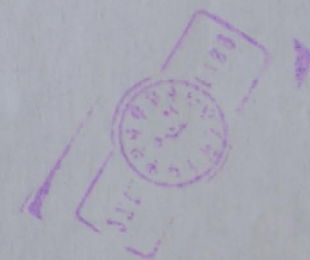
This letter is classified, for obvious reasons. The Foreign Secretary would, however, have no objection if the Lord Chancellor wished to show it to Lord Bridge; but it should not be handed over.

Yours ever

R N Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

Paul Stockton Esq
PS/Lord Chancellor



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071663
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FM SINGAPORE
TO ROUTINE FCO
TELNO 226
OF 150600Z MAY 89
INFO ROUTINE KUALA LUMPUR, JAKARTA MANILA BANGKOK,
INFO ROUTINE BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN, CANBERRA, ACTOR

SINGAPORE : ROUND UP

SUMMARY

1. SECOND GENERATION TEAM PREPARING TO TAKE OVER FROM LEE KUAN YEW IN SEPTEMBER 1990. THEY HAVE BROUGHT A NEW STYLE TO GOVERNMENT BUT THE GOVERNMENT'S INFLUENCE REMAINS ALL PERVASIVE. ALL BUT TWO OF THE 'MARXIST CONSPIRATORS' NOW RELEASED. THE RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH IS SLOWING AFTER THE RECENT SURGE BUT THE ECONOMY REMAINS STRONG AND GROWTH BROAD BASED. THE ANTHONY LESTER AFFAIR AND THE LIMITATION OF APPEALS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL BOTH POORLY HANDLED. RELATIONS WITH MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA GOOD, WITH THAILAND LESS SO.

DETAIL

2. FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER GOH CHOK TONG AND HIS 'SECOND GENERATION' TEAM HAVE EASED THEMSELVES INTO THE DRIVING SEAT AND ARE FAMILIARISING THEMSELVES WITH THE CONTROLS. LEE KUAN YEW HAS MOVED IN THE BACK SEAT BUT STILL HOLDS THE MAP AND IS DICTATING THE OVERALL DIRECTIONS. HE GIVES EVERY APPEARANCE OF ENJOYING HIS NEW ROLE, IN WHICH HE RETAINS MOST OF THE POWER AND PRESTIGE BUT AVOIDS THE DAY TO DAY DROSS. HE APPARENTLY CONFIRMED TO VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE ON THE LATTER'S RECENT VISIT THAT HE INTENDS TO RESIGN AS PRIME MINISTER IN SEPTEMBER 1990. QUITE WHAT HE WILL DO THEN REMAINS UNCLEAR. HE SEEMS TO HAVE GIVEN UP ANY THOUGHT HE MAY HAVE HAD OF ASSUMING THE ROLE OF EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST. MEANWHILE CURRENT PRESIDENT WEE KIM WEE, WHOSE TERM EXPIRES IN SEPTEMBER, REMAINS IN POOR HEALTH.

3. NO DOUBT IN RESPONSE TO A GROWING SENSE OF UNEASE AMONGST YOUNGER, BETTER EDUCATED SINGAPOREANS AT LEE KUAN YEW'S AUTHORITARIAN APPROACH, GOH CHOK TONG IS BRINGING A NEW STYLE TO THE SINGAPORE GOVERNMENT. THE EMPHASIS IS NOW ON TEAMWORK, CONSULTATION AND 'FEEDBACK' FROM THE GRASS ROOTS.

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THIS HAS RESULTED IN A (RELATIVELY) MORE OPEN STYLE OF DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT WITH A LIMITED DEGREE OF CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM FROM PAP BACKBENCHERS NOW PERMITTED. THE TWO OPPOSITION MEMBERS APPEAR TO BE PLAYING THE GAME AND HAVE BEEN PRAISED BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH. BUT THE PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION REMAINS AS WEAK AND INEFFECTIVE AS EVER.

4. ALTHOUGH GOH CHOK TONG IS, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, THE UNCHALLENGED CAPTAIN OF THE TEAM, BRIG GEN LEE HSIEN LOONG CONTINUES TO STRENGTHEN HIS OWN POSITION. HE ACTS AS THE GOVERNMENT'S SPOKESMAN ON A WIDE VARIETY OF ISSUES. HE HAS SURROUNDED HIMSELF WITH HIS OWN TEAM OF TRUSTED ADVISERS AND BROUGHT A NUMBER OF HIS FORMER ARMY COLLEAGUES INTO INFLUENTIAL POSITIONS. HIS DE FACTO POSITION AS NUMBER THREE IN THE HIERARCHY WAS CONFIRMED A FEW WEEKS AGO WHEN HE WAS APPOINTED SECOND ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PAP, A POST WHICH HAD LONG BEEN LEFT VACANT.

5. THE GOVERNMENT'S INFLUENCE EXTENDS TO ALL AREAS OF LIFE IN SINGAPORE. MEASURES HAVE RECENTLY BEEN INTRODUCED TO REGULATE RACIAL BALANCE IN GOVERNMENT HOUSING ESTATES AND THE GOVERNMENT IS NOW CONSIDERING TAKING STEPS TO CURB RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM AND PROMOTE RELIGIOUS HARMONY. PLANS TO DRAFT A NATIONAL IDEOLOGY HAVE BEEN PLACED ON THE BACK BURNER WHILST THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS HOW TO TACKLE CRITICISM THAT IT IS DESIGNED TO PERPETUATE PAP SUPREMACY AND/OR TO ENSURE THE DOMINANCE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY AND CONFUCIAN ETHICS. MINISTERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS ARE TO RECEIVE HEFTY PAY RISES TO ATTRACT AND RETAIN NEW TALENT.

6. THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO HOUND THE FORMER SOLICITOR GENERAL AND PRESIDENT OF THE LAW SOCIETY, FRANCIS SEOW, THROUGH THE COURTS. SEOW HAS FLED TO THE US, WHERE HE HAS RECENTLY TAKEN A SCHOLARSHIP AT YALE, AND IS UNLIKELY TO RETURN. ALL BUT TWO OF THE 'MARXIST CONSPIRATORS' ARRESTED IN 1987 HAVE NOW BEEN RELEASED, HAVING DROPPED THEIR HABEAS CORPUS APPLICATIONS. THE CASE OF ONE OF THE REMAINING TWO, TEO SOH LUNG, HAS ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN THE WEST. THIS, AND TEO'S OWN DEFIANT STANCE, MAKE IT UNLIKELY THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL RELEASE HER WHEN HER CURRENT DETENTION ORDER EXPIRES NEXT MONTH, DESPITE THE PROXIMITY OF CHOGM.

5. FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE THE ECONOMIC COURSE WILL REMAIN THAT CHARTERED IN 1986. AS EXPECTED, THE RATE OF EXPANSION IS SLOWING BUT THE UNDERLYING STRENGTHS REMAIN. THE WATERFALL EFFECT OF GROWTH DRIVEN BY MANUFACTURING HAS BROADENED THE BASE OF THE ECONOMY AND

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BENEFITTED OTHER SECTORS, NOTABLY COMMERCE AND SERVICES. EVEN THE LONG-DEPRESSED CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY SHOULD STAGE A MODEST RECOVERY THIS YEAR. MAJOR NEW MANUFACTURING INVESTMENT COMMITMENTS ARE ANNOUNCED ALMOST EVERY DAY AND THIS, TOGETHER WITH THE REALISATION OF EARLIER COMMITMENTS, WILL PROVIDE A CONTINUING STIMULUS FOR GROWTH. MINDFUL THAT INTERACTION BETWEEN THE MAJOR ASIA/PACIFIC RIM ECONOMIES SHOULD PROVIDE NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR SINGAPORE, THE GOVERNMENT REMAINS DETERMINED TO KEEP THE ECONOMY MOVING INTO HIGHER TECHNOLOGY AND THE PROVISION OF A WIDER RANGE OF SERVICES FOR ITS MORE POPULAR NEIGHBOURS. AUTOMATION OR EVEN RELOCATION OUTSIDE SINGAPORE IS THE GOVERNMENT'S PRESCRIPTION FOR LABOUR-DEPENDENT MANUFACTURERS WHO ARE FEELING THE SQUEEZE

8. ANGLO SINGAPOREAN RELATIONS WERE STRAINED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S REFUSAL TO ALLOW ANTHONY LESTER QC TO RETURN TO SINGAPORE TO DEFEND TEO SOH LUNG. THE AFFAIR WAS BADLY HANDLED BY THE SINGAPOREANS WHO BELIEVED (AS THEY STILL DO AND DESPITE ALL OUR PROTESTATIONS TO THE CONTRARY) THAT WE WERE INTERFERING IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IN THE ENSUING EXCHANGE OF PRESS STATEMENTS, FOREIGN MINISTER WONG KAN SENG ACCUSED THE FCO IN PARLIAMENT OF ATTEMPTING TO USE THE ISSUE TO CREATE ILL-WILL. THE SINGAPOREANS ALSO ACTED IN A CLUMSY AND INSENSITIVE WAY OVER THE LIMITATION OF APPEALS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL, INTRODUCING THREE SEPARATE BILLS IN THREE MONTHS WITHOUT ANY PRIOR CONSULTATION OR FOREWARNING.

9. AIDED BY AN INCREASINGLY FAVOURABLE EXCHANGE RATE, BRITISH EXPORTS TO SINGAPORE ROSE BY 14% IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1989. THE SLOW BUT STEADY GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF BUSINESS VISITORS SUGGESTS THAT THE OPPORTUNITIES OF THIS REGION ARE BEING RECOGNISED BY BRITISH EXPORTERS.

10. ON THE EXTERNAL FRONT, SINGAPORE'S RELATIONS WITH HERE NEIGHBOURS ARE GENERALLY IN GOOD SHAPE. A CONCERTED EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE BY GOH CHOK TONG AND HIS TEAM TO COURT BOTH MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA. LEE KUAN YEW WAS SUFFICIENTLY CONCERNED ABOUT MAHATHIR'S ILLNESS TO MAKE A TRIP TO KUALA LUMPUR TO SEE FOR HIMSELF. THIS HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY OTHER HIGH LEVEL VISITS IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. THE DETAILS OF AN AGREEMENT ON WATER SUPPLY FROM MALAYSIA TO SINGAPORE ARE STILL BEING HAMMERED OUT. MEANWHILE ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN SINGAPORE AND NEIGHBOURING JOHORE IS FLOURISHING AND THE SINGAPORE GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY INDICATED THAT THERE WILL BE TAX INCENTIVES FOR FIRMS RELOCATING PART OF THEIR MANUFACTURING OPERATIONS THERE. BOTH GOH CHOK TONG AND

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BG LEE HAVE VISITED INDONESIA AND SUDOMO HAS VISITED SINGAPORE.
A JOINTLY FINANCED AIR WEAPONS TRAINING RANGE IN INDONESIA
HAS BEEN OPENED AND A MILITARY AGREEMENT SIGNED.

11 RELATIONS WITH THAILAND, ON THE OTHER HAND, WERE STRAINED,
FIRST BY SINGAPORE'S CONCERN AT CHATICHAI'S OVERTURES TOWARDS
VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA AND SECONDLY BY THE REPATRIATION OF LARGE
NUMBERS OF ILLEGAL THAI WORKERS.

12. SINGAPORE HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN ASEAN IN ARGUING FOR A
COMPREHENSIVE AND DURABLE SETTLEMENT IN CAMBODIA AND CONTINUES ITS
BALANCING ACT WITH TAIWAN AND THE PRC.

13. THE GOVERNMENT HAVE REITERATED THEIR DESIRE TO RESUME DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS WITH CHINA SHORTLY AFTER INDONESIA DOES SO BUT, AT THE
SAME TIME, BOTH LEE KUAN YEW AND GOH CHOK TONG HAVE VISITED
TAIPEI AND PRESIDENT LEE HAS VISITED SINGAPORE SINCE THE BEGINNING
OF THE YEAR.

14. THE GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN HAWKE'S
INITIATIVE FOR A NEW ASIA PACIFIC INTER-GOVERNMENTAL FORUM,
BUT THEIR FINAL POSITION WILL BE DICTATED BY ASEAN SOLIDARITY
SHOULD ITS NEIGHBOURS ADOPT A MORE CAUTIOUS APPROACH.

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PRIME MINISTER

PERSONAL MESSAGE

REF ID: A1892



SUBJECT

CC MASTER

OPS FCO.

LOR

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

11 May 1989

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you very much for your most generous invitation
dated 21 April to Denis and myself to spend two days in
Singapore before or after CHOGM this year. I would very much
like to visit Singapore again, and I recall with pleasure my
visit in July last year. However, I have looked hard at my
diary and I greatly regret that the demands at that time are
such that I simply cannot do so. I am so sorry.

I should, however, like to take this opportunity to
suggest that you might pay us a visit as a guest of
Government. We would very much like to have you. You have
not paid an official visit to the United Kingdom since 1982
and it is high time we entertained you again here. I expect
it would be difficult for you during the remainder of this
year. But perhaps when we meet at the CHOGM we might discuss
dates for a visit in the first half of 1990.

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely

Rajiv Gandhi

The Honourable Lee Kuan Yew C.H., G.C.M.G.

ccu

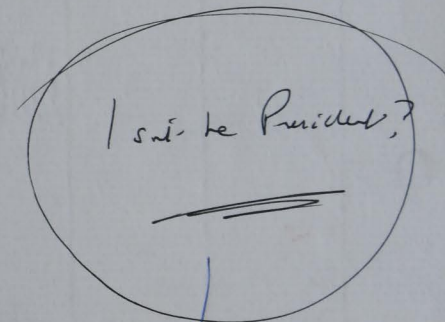
PRIME MINISTER

INVITATION FROM LEE KUAN YEW

Lee Kuan Yew appears to have invited Heads of Government attending CHOGM to stop off in Singapore either immediately before or after. I doubt you will be interested in such a "group" visit, especially since you were in Singapore less than a year ago. It is clear that several other major Commonwealth Prime Ministers will not be taking up the invitation. But to soften the blow, you may like to suggest that Lee Kuan Yew pay a visit to the United Kingdom as a guest of Government in the first half of 1990.

Agree to sign the attached letter?

C.D.T.



CHARLES POWELL

10 May 1989

No, he is still Prime Minister, but expected to become President.
Could you please complete the signature.
C.D.T.

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 May 1989

Dear Charles

Invitation to Prime Minister from Lee Kuan Yew

Our Acting High Commissioner was recently summoned to the Singapore MFA to receive an invitation (attached) from Lee Kuan Yew to the Prime Minister to visit Singapore after CHOGM, on 25/26 October or, if this is inconvenient, before CHOGM on 16/17 October. Lee is apparently inviting all Commonwealth Heads of Government to stop over in Singapore before or after CHOGM for two days.

The Foreign Secretary assumes that the Prime Minister will not be attracted to the idea of a visit alongside other heads of government, and that her other commitments rule it out. He doubts if any offence will be caused if she declines. Preliminary soundings suggest that the Canadian and New Zealand Prime Ministers are unlikely to take up the invitation, though Mr Hawke might.

If she decides to decline, the Prime Minister might wish, by way of sweetening the pill, to float the idea of Lee's visiting the UK. You will recall that I wrote to you on 19 January to suggest that Lee be invited to visit the UK in late April or May this year. You replied on 21 January that, while the Prime Minister would in principle be happy to invite Lee at some point, other commitments ruled out a visit in either month. The Foreign Secretary considers that the case for inviting Lee to this country remains strong and that a visit at a convenient time in the first half of 1990 would maintain the momentum created by the Prime Minister's meetings with him at CHOGM and by the State Visit to Singapore.

If the Prime Minister agrees, she might mention the possibility of such a visit in her reply to Lee's invitation, adding that the matter could be discussed further at CHOGM. I enclose a draft reply in this sense.

Yours are

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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MDADAN 6264

UNCLASSIFIED
FM SINGAPORE
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 190
OF 260825Z APRIL 89
INFO IMMEDIATE KUALA LUMPUR

FAB 027/1

M. Rajan
concl.
10.10.89
Letter to PM

Spoke Bob Pinner. The PM will not be able to make this but letter PS/PSN: 10

INVITATION TO PRIME MINISTER TO VISIT SINGAPORE

1. I WAS SUMMONED TO THE MFA TODAY TO RECEIVE AN INVITATION FROM LEE KUAN YEW TO THE PRIME MINISTER (FOLLOWS BY BAG TO SPARKES, SEAD) TO VISIT SINGAPORE AFTER CHOGM, ON 25/26 OCTOBER, OR, IF THIS IS INCONVENIENT, BEFORE CHOGM ON 16/17 OCTOBER.

2. HANDING OVER THE INVITATION, VK RAJAN (DIRECTOR OF PROTOCOL) EXPLAINED THAT LEE KUAN YEW WAS INVITING ALL THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT TO STOP OVER IN SINGAPORE EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER CHOGM FOR TWO DAYS. HE WAS DELIVERING THE INVITATIONS TO GOVERNMENTS WITH DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN SINGAPORE. THE SINGAPORE HIGH COMMISSION IN LONDON WOULD BE TAKING ACTION WITH OTHER COMMONWEALTH HIGH COMMISSIONS THERE.

3. RAJAN ALSO HANDED OVER A NOTE ON ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE VISITS (COPY ALSO BY BAG TO SPARKES). THIS EXPLAINS THAT, IN ADDITION TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, THE INVITATION INCLUDES THEIR SPOUSES, ONE ACCOMPANYING MINISTER (AND SPOUSE) (OR SENIOR OFFICIAL AND SPOUSE) AND ONE OTHER DELEGATION MEMBER.

4. THE MAIN "SOCIAL EVENTS" PLANNED FOR THE VISIT ARE :

- A DINNER HOSTED BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND MRS LEE,
- A LUNCH AND HARBOUR CRUISE HOSTED BY THE FIRST DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, GOH CHOK TONG, AND MRS GOH,
- AN AFTERNOON TEA PARTY HOSTED BY PRESIDENT WEE KIM WEE AND MRS WEE.

THERE WILL ALSO BE VARIOUS "GROUP VISITS" TO A PUBLIC HOUSING ESTATE AND OTHER PLACES OF INTEREST, AND A SEPARATE LADIES PROGRAMME.

5. RAJAN EMPHASISED THAT HE WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR AN EARLY

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INDICATION OF WHETHER THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ABLE TO ACCEPT
THE INVITATION, IN ORDER TO ALLOW DETAILED PLANNING TO PROCEED.

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DEP 11 (Revised Sept 85)

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1 +

FROM:
Prime Minister
DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

Reference

Your Reference

BUILDING:

ROOM NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret
Secret
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Restricted
Unclassified

TO:

His Excellency
Mr Lee Kuan Yew
Prime Minister
SINGAPORE

Copies to:

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CAVEAT

SUBJECT:

Thank you very much for your most generous invitation dated 21 April to Denis and myself to spend two days in Singapore before or after CHOGM this year.

I would very much like to visit Singapore again, and I recall with pleasure my visit in July last year. However, I have looked hard at my diary and I greatly regret that the demands at that time are such that I simply cannot do so. I am ~~truly~~ ^{so} sorry.

I should, however, like to take this opportunity to suggest that you might pay us a visit as a guest of government. ^{We would very much like to have you} ~~I note that you have not paid an~~ official visit to the UK since 1982, and it is high time we entertained you again here.)

^{I expect it ~~is~~ ^{would be} difficult for you during} My programme, as no doubt yours, is full now for ^{the remainder of this year} 1989. But perhaps when we meet at the CHOGM we ^{discuss} might talk about dates for a visit ^{in the near future} some time in 1990.

Enclosures flag(s)

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 May 1989

CDP 5/5

Dear Charles

Singapore

This is an interim reply to your letter of 23 March about Singapore's unilateral pruning of the right of appeal to the Privy Council. *at flat*

The Foreign Secretary has not lost sight of his undertaking to put some proposals to the Prime Minister. However, the question has become linked with other issues affecting our relations with Singapore, notably the case of the detained lawyer, Teo Soh Lung, and the ban on Anthony Lester QC (who was representing Miss Teo). The Foreign Secretary intends to raise the issue informally with Singapore's former Foreign Minister, Dhanabalan, whom he knows well, on 23 May. He then expects to be in a position to put his considered advice to the Prime Minister in about a month's time, when I will write to you again.

I am copying this letter to Paul Stockton in the Lord Chancellor's Department, with whom we are in touch on this matter.

Yours ever

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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SINGAPORE: Relations PT2

NOTED, 11/10/1989, 10/10/1989
10/10/1989



CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

23 March 1989

file GCL
CPC

Dear Sir,

SINGAPORE

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary had a brief discussion this morning on the subject of Lee Kuan Yew's steady erosion of the rights of accused persons in Singapore and practice of legislating to reverse verdicts which he did not like. This was much resented by our own judges because of the constraints put upon them when cases were appealed to the Privy Council.

The Foreign Secretary said he had spoken to the Lord Chancellor about this and they had agreed that it would not be right for the United Kingdom to take the initiative in breaking the link of appeals to the Privy Council. Nonetheless the judges were anxious to have their misgivings conveyed to Lee Kuan Yew. The Prime Minister said that she would be most reluctant to see this happen. The separation of powers must be preserved and it was not for judges to convey their views to a foreign Head of Government other than in their judgements. The Foreign Secretary said that he and the Lord Chancellor both felt that some action was necessary. He would put some proposals to the Prime Minister.

I am copying this letter to Paul Stockton (Lord Chancellor's Department).

Yours sincerely,
Charles Powell

(CHARLES POWELL)

J.S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

21 January 1989

SINGAPORE: INVITATION TO MR LEE KUAN YEW

Thank you for your letter of 19 January suggesting that the Prime Minister should invite Mr Lee Kuan Yew to pay an official Guest of Government visit to the United Kingdom in late April or May this year.

The Prime Minister would be very happy in principle to invite Mr Lee at some point. But we now have Mr Gorbachev in early April, Prince Sultan and M. Santer in May, the possibility of Mr Gandhi in late May or early June and Mr Hawke in June. You are proposing Mr Lubbers for an invitation in May. And we have to plan on the possibility of a NATO Summit and/or visit by President Bush. In the circumstances, the Prime Minister feels that she simply cannot take on any more and that we must put this invitation aside for the time being.

Charles Powell

Bob Peirce Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTERSINGAPORE: INVITATION TO MR LEE KUAN YEW

The attached letter conveys the Foreign Secretary's recommendation that you invite Mr Lee Kuan Yew to pay an official visit to Britain in April or May this year.

I am sure you will have no difficulty with the principle of inviting Mr Lee Kuan Yew. I am more worried about how many visitors you can fit into your programme. We now have Mr Gorbachev in early April. We know that Prince Sultan of Saudi Arabia wants to take up your longstanding invitation in May. We also know that Mr Gandhi wants to come on a visit, possibly in late May or early June. The Luxembourg Prime Minister, M. Santer, also wants to come in May. You are committed to a major visit from Bob Hawke and his Ministers in June. We must be ready for the possibility of a NATO Summit in London in May or a possible visit by President Bush. The Foreign Office are recommending separately that you should have Mr Lubbers over here in May. And those are just the ones I can think of sitting in the car on the way to the airport! There are probably others lurking in the diary or trying to get into it. I just wonder how wise it is to add another, even so good a friend as Lee Kuan Yew.

There is little point to inviting him in the Autumn, since you will meet him anyway at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October. The only remaining possibility would be the second half of July after the Economic Summit is out of the way. But that can be a very busy time, particularly in Parliament.

Prefer to put off an invitation for now?

OR

Invite him to come in the second half of July?

pp DScola
C. D. POWELL
19 January 1989
DS3AFJ

*I can't add
now to my
many other
commitments*



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

19 January 1989

Dear Andrew

Singapore: Invitation to Mr Lee Kuan Yew

I wrote to you on 29 December about our relations with Singapore and warned that there could be trouble ahead. I also said that we were considering a possible invitation to Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew.

I write to propose that the Prime Minister invite Lee to pay an official Guest-of-Government visit to this country in late April or May this year. Lee has not paid an official visit to this country since 1982. Nor, apart from a short stopover in April this year when a call on the Prime Minister was not possible, has he since paid a private visit. Yet cultivation of Lee remains central to our relationship with Singapore.

Lee has trained up an able generation of younger leaders, notably his chosen successor Goh Chok Tong. But he is himself likely to remain the key player in Singapore politics for the foreseeable future. He recently announced that he will stay on as Prime Minister until 1990, and he is likely after that to become either "Senior Minister" in the Singapore Cabinet or, less probably, the country's first elected President. Moreover, Lee remains the source of misapprehension and doubt about Britain's social and economic recovery which complicate our attempts to present ourselves as a vigorous and technologically advanced partner. At his meeting with the Prime Minister in Singapore on 31 July (your letter of 1 August) Lee acknowledged that Britain was doing very well. But he is a natural sceptic. We should bring him to this country and show him at first hand what we have achieved.

Another reason for inviting Lee now is that it has not proved possible in recent years to arrange as high-level a programme of Ministerial visits from Singapore as we would have wished. Second Deputy Prime Minister Ong Teng Cheong was, for instance, forced by family illness to cancel a planned visit.

/Foreign



Foreign Minister Dhanabalan was replaced before he could take up a standing invitation from the Foreign Secretary. However, over the same period, significant numbers of British Ministers have visited Singapore. The Queen's proposed State Visit at the time of CHOGM will compound the imbalance. We are trying to correct this by a solid programme of inward visits.

It appears unlikely that Lee would be able to undertake any further overseas travel before April. If the Prime Minister agrees, we shall explore with the Singaporeans the possibility of a visit in late April or May.

Tours en

R N Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/No 10 Downing Street

SINGAPORE Relations Pt 2

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

29 December 1988

Dear Charles

Singapore

There are three aspects of our relations with Singapore of which you should be aware since they may affect developments over the coming months.

State Visit to Singapore

The Singapore Government have told us that they wish formally to invite The Queen to pay a State Visit either before or after the 1989 CHOGM in Kuala Lumpur. The Palace is keen to accept, and provisional dates for a 48-hour visit prior to CHOGM have been worked out. We cannot yet decide the timing of the announcement of this visit because of the need to synchronise it with the announcement of the Malaysia visit (which depends on the Sultan of Johore stepping down as Agong in March - Nigel Wicks' letter of 28 November). Moreover, the Sultan of Brunei has instructed his High Commissioner to ask The Queen whether she would accept a formal invitation to visit Brunei at the time of CHOGM. We shall need to decide on this before making any announcement of the Singapore and Malaysia visits.

Internal Security Act Detentions

While our bilateral relations are in good shape, there are certain disquieting developments of which the Prime Minister should be aware.

22 people were detained without trial in May and June 1987 under Singapore's Internal Security Act on the grounds of participation in a "Marxist conspiracy" to overthrow the government. Although all but one were subsequently released, eight (plus one new detainee) were re-detained in April this year after making allegations (subsequently retracted) of ill-treatment during their initial detention. Six of the nine are still locked up.

The Twelve expressed collective concern in the margins of the EC/ASEAN Ministerial meeting in Dusseldorf in May. We could come under pressure to do more. The continued detentions are arousing understandable concern here in British legal circles. One of the remaining detainees, Ms Teoh Soh Lung, was the subject of a recent (unsuccessful) action for habeas corpus and her case was highlighted by

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Prime Minister
You will wish to
be aware.

CB
30/mi

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Bernard Levin in the five-minute spot "Prisoner of Conscience" on BBC 2 on 5 December. The habeas corpus case came before the Singapore Court of Appeal on 8 December. The Court found for the plaintiffs and awarded legal costs against the government. The detainees were released but immediately re-arrested under fresh detention orders on the alleged grounds that the Court of Appeal's decision had been taken on "technical" grounds. This puts the detainees' position back to square one. Their lawyers will have to decide whether to lodge with the High Court another habeas corpus action. If this and further applications to the Appeal Court fail, their only recourse will be the Privy Council. If, in due course, the Privy Council ruled in favour of the plaintiffs, it is not impossible that the Singapore Government might decide to alter the existing position in which the Privy Council is the ultimate Court of Appeal.

We are some way from this point and the Singapore Government could still alter course to prevent it happening. With a majority of 78 out of 79 of the seats in the Singapore legislature on his side, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew does not need to take political alarm to the point of dealing roughly with the rule of law. We know from our contacts with the Singapore High Commissioner that he is aware of mounting concern in British legal circles and has reported them. The Foreign Secretary wanted the Prime Minister to be aware that there may be trouble ahead.

Possible Invitation to Mr Lee Kuan Yew

We are considering whether to recommend that an invitation be extended to Lee Kuan Yew to pay an official Guest of Government visit to the UK next year. Apart from a short private stopover in April this year, he has not been here since 1982 and his views on this country's development over the last ten years are out-of-date. The possibility of such a visit is being considered by officials against the background of other visit proposals for 1989, and we shall revert with a recommendation and full supporting arguments in due course.

Yours ever

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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OUT TELEGRAM

RESTRICTED

DESKBY

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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T135/88

FM FCO
TO DESKBY 050100Z SINGAPORE
TELNO
OF

SINGAPORE GENERAL ELECTION: MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

1. Please arrange for the following message from the Prime Minister to be delivered to Lee Kuan Yew as early as possible on 5 September.

BEGINS

I send you warmest congratulations on the success once again of the People's Action Party in the recent general election. It is clear recognition of all that you have done for Singapore and the tremendous advances which have been made under your leadership. It also reflects people's conviction that the policies which have brought such outstanding success should be continued. With warm regards and best wishes for the future.

ENDS.

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Telephone no
2438

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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL NO. 1234

OUT RECORD

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NEWS DEPT
INFORMATION DEPT
MR WILLMORE
MR MCLAREN
PS/LORD GLENARTHER
PS
PS/NO 10

NNNN

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary 2 September 1988

SINGAPORE GENERAL ELECTION

Thank you for your letter of 2 September enclosing a draft message of congratulations from the Prime Minister to Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, for issue following the declaration of the result of the Singapore General Election on 5 September. The Prime Minister agrees to send a message and I enclose a revised version which may be despatched at the appropriate moment.

(C. D. POWELL)

R. N. Peirce, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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TO DESKBY 050110Z SINGAPORE

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 September 1988

Dear Andrew

Singapore General Election

A general election is to be held in Singapore on 3 September. There is little doubt that the People's Action Party, under Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, will achieve a landslide victory.

In view of her good working relationship with Mr Lee, strengthened by her recent visit to Singapore, the Prime Minister may wish to consider a personal message of congratulations. I enclose a draft text. The election result is likely to be announced early on Sunday, 4 September. The message, for maximum effect, should reach Mr Lee early (local time) on 5 September. The text is therefore in the form of a telegram which could be sent by the FCO Resident Clerk over the weekend of 3/4 September.

There are indications that Mr Lee intends to resign as Prime Minister at some stage after the election in favour of First Deputy Prime Minister, Goh Chok Tong. It is possible that Mr Lee will be the principal candidate for the new post of elected President, under constitutional changes announced on 29 July. But Mr Lee has said publicly that his candidacy should not be taken for granted, and the message therefore makes no reference to this possibility.

Yours ever

R N Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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OUT TELEGRAM

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	10	SINGAPORE GENERAL ELECTION: MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER			
	11				
	12	1. Please arrange for the following message from the			
	13	Prime Minister to be delivered to Lee Kuan Yew as early as			
	14	possible on 5 September.			
	15	BEGINS <i>I did you want (once again)</i>			
	16	Many congratulations on the success of the People's Action			
	17	Party in the recent general elections which so clearly reflects			
	18	all that you have done for Singapore. <i>the result is clear recognition of the fact that the government has been made under your leadership</i>			
	19	not one to rest on your laurels and that Singapore will go			
	20	on to further achievements. With best wishes.			
	21	ENDS			
	22				
	23	HOWE			
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<i>Conviction that the government has been made under your leadership. It also reflects the people's confidence in the government which have brought and certainly makes should be continued. With warm regards</i>					
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5 MR MCLAREN
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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

Dear Bob,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE
PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE

The Prime Minister had a talk with the Prime Minister of Singapore at the Istana in Singapore on the evening of 31 July followed by dinner. Lee Kuan Yew was accompanied for the talk by Professor Jayakumar (Minister of Home Affairs). A number of other Ministers were present for the dinner. The conversation was very informal and Lee Kuan Yew was in his usual trenchant form.

Lee Kuan Yew opened up by saying that he would not dream of having the sort of programme the Prime Minister was undertaking, it was absolute madness. He did not know anyone else who would even contemplate it.

Lee Kuan Yew continued that the Prime Minister was clearly doing very well as was Britain. The Prime Minister said that our growth was perhaps a bit too fast. Lee Kuan Yew said that he was sure the Government had been right to bring down taxes. Singapore was bringing its top rate down to US levels. He was confident of steady growth averaging four to six per cent an annum over the next ten to twelve years. He was unimpressed with Germany: they were going through the same malaise of welfare-ism that Britain had previously suffered and Kohl was failing to tackle the problems. He was also worried about the United States. They were just postponing all the difficult decisions. The Prime Minister said that at least Greenspan had not let the money supply go. Lee Kuan Yew said that, of all the major economies, that of Japan was the best managed. He was impressed with Thailand's performance. It was clearly going to be the next NIC and a powerful machine for growth.

Malaysia

Lee Kuan Yew said that he was very worried about the situation in Malaysia. The economy was improving, which might help, but Mahathir's action in splitting UMNO had been ill-considered. He had some sympathy with Mahathir in his dispute with the judges: the Lord President had been wrong to try to intervene so directly in politics. The best course now would probably be to let the Lord President return, complete his outstanding cases and retire. There was no way he should be allowed to continue in office in the light of some of the things he had said. Some of the other judges might need to be disciplined too. He had spoken to Mahathir and tried to help him get back on course, but Mahathir had only been half-listening. All

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File
Sir PC.
For SINGAPORE relations
File: original on
1 August 1988 PM FOR POL.
Visit to Australia may 88

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- 2 -

in all, he was holding his breath and had no idea how the situation was going to end. It was rather frightening. How were Britain's relations with Malaysia?

The Prime Minister said that we had worked hard at our relations and they were now fairly good. She thought the political instability would be bad for investor confidence in Malaysia. She wondered whether she ought to try to raise these matters with Dr. Mahathir. He clearly needed friends in this difficult situation. Lee Kuan Yew thought it would be helpful if the Prime Minister could find a way to raise them, although she should not let on that she had discussed them with him otherwise Mahathir would suspect collusion. It was right to try to help him to retrieve the situation. Virtually all the people of any standing were now in the opposition and Mahathir was an isolated figure. He had noticed that at CHOGM in Vancouver Mahathir had never exchanged a word with his own Foreign Minister.

Cambodia

The Prime Minister said the situation in Cambodia was a terrible mess for which Vietnam was primarily responsible. She remembered that Lee Kuan Yew had said at the Melbourne CHOGM that just at the very moment when Vietnam could have dedicated itself to achieving higher living standards they had indeed turned on Cambodia. Was there any way the situation could be retrieved?

Lee Kuan Yew said that a way must be found to get Vietnam out of Cambodia so that the lesson was learnt that borders must not be violated. If they were allowed to continue their occupation while at the same time other countries developed economic and trade relations with them, it would be a victory for Vietnam. He thought on balance that the Vietnamese would pull out because they needed trade and investment so badly. The necessary steps were: Vietnam's withdrawal, establishment of an international peace keeping force, disarming of all the various groups and finally free elections. He thought that the Chinese now understood that the Khmer Rouge could not become the dominant force in Cambodia. It was helpful that Japan had offered to finance the peace keeping force.

The Prime Minister asked whether Lee Kuan Yew thought that Prince Sihanouk could really lead Cambodia again. Lee Kuan Yew said that he was convinced that in free elections the Khmer Rouge would lose and Sihanouk would win. Sihanouk was a great politician: he could sing, dance and give lovely speeches. The one thing he could not do was run a government. But his son was able and should be brought on. All in all, he thought the Vietnamese would withdraw by the end of 1990.

Soviet Union

The Prime Minister spoke about the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. Lee Kuan Yew commented that Gorbachev would take a long time to succeed. But provided he continued to move in the direction he was going, we would have a less tense world.

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- 3 -

China

The Prime Minister said her impression was that the Chinese Communist Party would never agree to give up its central control. Lee Kuan Yew agreed. Communism went against the grain of Chinese character and could not in the very long term succeed. Four thousand years of habit would return, but the habit in China was authoritarian with no tradition of democracy. The Chinese were very realistic about themselves and the difficulty of reconciling ideology with the needs of their economy. One of them had said to him that they were like crabs: to move forwards they had to move sideways. The truth was that to move forwards they had to break the mould of the present system, but that they could not do.

Iran

The Prime Minister said that Iran's decision to accept SCR 598 had been unexpectedly good news but the Iraqis were now being difficult. Lee Kuan Yew said that he could see what the Iraqis feared. In ten or fifteen or twenty years time some younger Ayatollah would emerge who would want to get revenge by beating the brains out of the Iraqis. The Iraqis needed a settlement which made Iran reluctant to try again. But they were not going about it very sensibly. They were creating a lot of bad blood.

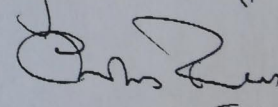
North Korea

The North Koreans were dismissed by Lee Kuan Yew as the Last of the Mohicans. They were in a world of their own and would simply have to change.

The Prime Minister summed up that there was encouraging progress in solving quite a number of the world's problems. We must make sure they were not just replaced by even worse new ones. Lee Kuan Yew said that the most positive fact was the reduced fear of a major conflagration involving the super powers. His personal fear was centred on a clash between new nuclear powers or the acquisition by some lunatic regime like Libya of nuclear weapons.

On this cheerful note, we adjourned to a poolside supper.

I am copying this letter to Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,


(CHARLES POWELL)

R.N. Peirce, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 July 1988

Dear Charles

000 07

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew

The Foreign Secretary thinks that the Prime Minister might be interested in the enclosed exchange of correspondence between the British High Commissioner in Singapore and Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew.

Yours

R N Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/No 10 Downing Street



BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION

TANGLIN ROAD

SINGAPORE 1024

3 June 1988

The Hon Mr Lee Kuan Yew CH GCMG
Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore
Istana Annexe
Istana
SINGAPORE 0923

Dear Prime Minister,

/ I enclose a copy of a speech in Singapore on 8 April
by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.
Sir Geoffrey was addressing members of the Foreign
Correspondents' Association and the British Business
Association.

/ His words speak for themselves but you may also find
it of interest to see the enclosed copy of a report
in Fortune International of 9 May, entitled "Britain
is Back". This report again speaks for itself and
needs no elaboration from me. I would only underline
one point: the "enterprise culture" which is now
increasingly in place in Britain will require nurturing
not only in 1988 but for many years to come. As
Fortune International says, the most urgent challenge
is reform of our educational system. The Government
well recognises this and reform is now in hand at
every level. The fruits of this campaign will, I am
confident, become increasingly visible as Britain
moves into the 1990s.

Yours sincerely,
Michael Pike

M E PIKE
High Commissioner

*Prime Minister
Singapore*

14 June 1988

Dear High Commissioner

Thank you for your letter 3 June 88.

I had already read the article in Fortune International of 9 May. Britain's problem is that the Opposition has not accepted that "enterprise culture" is the way forward. The Labour Party still believes in and espouses welfarism.

Mrs Thatcher won only 42.3% of the votes in the last elections. Before one can be confident that Britain is not turning back, she must have the Opposition, ie the alternative government, committed to "enterprise culture" as the way to growth and prosperity. There is no harm if the Opposition differs on what it believes is necessary welfarism to temper the harshness of free competition for those who cannot, under free competition, get enough for themselves and therefore need to have help to minimum health, education and other essential services. But the Labour Party's stand is not this. It is a total negation of the Thatcher revolution of "enterprise culture", and if and when voted back to office will reverse large segments of what has been accomplished.

Britain will be better off if the Democrats or Social & Liberal Democratic Party (SLDP) were the Opposition and the alternative government.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Lawson

HE Mr Michael E Pike, CMG
High Commissioner
British High Commission
Singapore

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SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH LEE KUAN YEW:
8 APRIL.

SUMMARY

1. LEE IN RELAXED FORM. CAUTIOUS BUT GENERALLY OPTIMISTIC ON REFORM PROGRESS IN CHINA, BUT MORE PESSIMISTIC ON PROSPECTS FOR GORBACHEV. GOOD MEDIUM TERM PROSPECTS FOR ENDING VIETNAMESE OCCUPATION OF CAMBODIA. WORRIED ABOUT SITUATION IN PHILIPPINES.

DETAIL

2. THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAD THREE-QUARTERS OF AN HOUR WITH LEE KUAN YEW THIS AFTERNOON.

3. LEE ASKED FOR HIS REGARDS TO BE CONVEYED TO THE PRIME MINISTER, AND HOPED SHE WOULD BE ABLE TO STOP IN SINGAPORE ON HER WAY TO OR FROM AUSTRALIA. THE SECRETARY OF STATE UNDERTOOK TO PASS THIS ON, BUT SAID THAT HER TRAVEL PLANS WERE NOT YET FIRM.

4. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT HE WAS CONCERNED THAT ALTHOUGH UK INVESTMENT OVERSEAS HAD BOOMED IN THE PAST 8 YEARS, NOT ENOUGH OF IT HAD COME TO SOUTH EAST ASIA. LEE SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE CITY WOULD COME TO REALISE IN THE NATURAL COURSE OF EVENTS THAT THIS WAS A MORE PROFITABLE AREA FOR INVESTMENT THAN OTHER PARTS OF THE THIRD WORLD. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT BRITAIN SHOULD RETAIN ITS INFLUENCE AND MARKETS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, TO WHICH OUR PRESENCE IN HONG KONG STILL GAVE US PRIVILEGED ACCESS.

5. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE CHINESE WERE SINCERELY SETTING OUT TO IMPLEMENT THE HONG KONG AGREEMENT. LEE AGREED. CHINA WOULD NEVER ALLOW HONG KONG TO ESTABLISH ITSELF AS A SEPARATE ENTITY, BUT THEY WANTED TO MAKE USE OF HONG KONG FOR THEIR OWN DEVELOPMENT, AND THEREFORE NEEDED TO PRESERVE IT PROSPERITY. THEIR MAIN PROBLEM WAS LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE SYSTEM. THE CHINESE LACKED MANY OF THE APPROPRIATE CONCEPTS, BUT THEY WERE LEARNING. LEE PAID A HANDSOME TRIBUTE TO DENG XIAOPING: IT HAD TAKEN IMMENSE COURAGE TO DECIDE THAT THE SYSTEM HE HAD SPENT HIS LIFE ESTABLISHING NEEDED TO BE REVERSED. NEVERTHELESS HE THOUGHT THERE WERE STILL SOME PROBLEMS: HE WAS UNHAPPY ABOUT LI PENG, WHO HE THOUGHT WAS A COMPROMISE CHOICE: HE WAS A CAUTIOUS CONSERVATIVE AND WOULD SLOW UP THE PROCESS OF REFORM. BUT ZHAO ZIYANG WAS THOROUGHLY IMPRESSIVE, ENERGETIC AND ENTHUSIASTIC.

6. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT IN SOME WAYS MR GORBACHEV SHARED THESE QUALITIES. LEE AGREED, BUT THOUGHT THAT HIS PROBLEMS WERE FAR GREATER THAN THOSE FACED BY CHINA. WHERE CHINA HAD HAD A NEW CANVASS BECAUSE THE OLD ONE HAD BEEN SHATTERED BY THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, GORBACHEV HAD TO CONTENT WITH DECADES OF ENTRENCHED BUREAUCRACY. HE WOULD NOT FIND IT EASY TO PROVE THAT HIS CHANGES WOULD BENEFIT THOSE WHO LIVED BY THE SYSTEM. THE

SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT NEVERTHELESS THERE WAS A CLEAR RECOGNITION THAT THE OLD SYSTEM HAD NOT WORKED, AND HE DOUBTED WHETHER A RETURN TO IT WAS NOW POSSIBLE. HE AGREED ON THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEMS TO BE FACED. LEE OBSERVED THAT IT WAS NOT IN WESTERN INTERESTS THAT HE SHOULD SUCCEED TOO WELL, BUT NEITHER WAS IT IN WESTERN INTERESTS THAT HE SHOULD FAIL TOO QUICKLY. A FEARFUL AND SULLEN RUSSIA WOULD BE A DANGEROUS RUSSIA.

7. LEE SAID THAT HE WAS SURPRISED THAT GORBACHEV HAD HAD THE STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE TO UNDERTAKE A COMMITMENT TO LEAVE AFGHANISTAN SO SOON. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT HE NOW BELIEVED THAT THE RUSSIANS GENUINELY INTENDED TO GO. LEE SAID THAT HE WAS PUZZLED BY REPORTED STATEMENTS BY ZIA THAT HE WOULD NO LONGER LET ARMS THROUGH TO THE MUHAJEDDIN. THE MUHAJEDDIN WERE RIDDLED WITH INTERNAL DIVISIONS, AND IT WAS DIFFICULTY TO SEE HOW THEY WOULD EVER COOPERATE TO FORM A GOVERNMENT. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT THE KEY WAS THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES FROM PAKISTAN. LEE RECALLED THAT, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT THERE HE HAD MET A REFUGEE WHO HAD SAID THAT HIS HOME HAD BEEN DESTROYED IN AFGHANISTAN AND THAT HE WAS MAKING A GOOD LIVING SELLING MELONS IN PESHAWAR. THERE MUST BE MANY LIKE HIM, AND MANY WOULD TRY TO FADE INTO PAKISTAN RATHER THAN GO HOME.

8. THE SECRETARY OF STATE WONDERED WHETHER THE RUSSIANS WOULD NOW DRAW SIMILAR CONCLUSIONS IN RELATION TO THE VIETNAMESE OCCUPATION OF CAMBODIA. LEE SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THEY WOULD IN THE END. THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH CHINA WOULD BE OVERRIDING, BUT THE RUSSIANS WOULD NOT MOVE TOO FAST FOR FEAR OF LOSING THEIR FACILITIES AT CAM RANH. THE VIETNAMESE NOW KNEW THAT THE WRITING WAS ON THE WALL, AND WOULD HAVE TO CALCULATE ON HOW FAR THEY COULD TAKE THE RUSSIANS. HOWEVER IT MUST BE CLEAR THAT NO-ONE WOULD ALLOW THE KHMER ROUGE BACK AGAIN. THE CHINESE HAD HAD A COMMITMENT TO THEM IN THE PAST, BUT THEY WERE NOT IMPRIVIOUS TO INTERNATIONAL FEELING ON THE SUBJECT. LEE SAID THAT THE VIETNAMESE COULD HAVE GAINED IMMENSE SYMPATHY IN THE WORLD IF THEY HAD HANDLED THE CAMBODIAN SITUATION MORE INTELLIGENTLY AT AN EARLIER STAGE: AS IT WAS THEY WERE NOW BANKRUPT AND THEIR COMMUNIST PARTY WAS ENTIRELY DEMORALISED AND CORRUPT. THEY HAD PAID A TERRIBLE PRICE.

9. THE SECRETARY OF STATE ASKED HOW LEE SAW THE POSITION IN THE PHILIPPINES. LEE SAID THAT HE WAS WORRIED. PRESIDENT AQUINO HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE MUCH IN THE 2 YEARS SINCE SHE CAME TO POWER: HE BELIEVED THAT SHE HAD ABOUT ANOTHER 2 YEARS TO PRODUCE RESULTS. BUT HE FEARED THAT MANY PEOPLE WERE LOSING CONFIDENCE IN HER, IN PARTICULAR SOME OF THE MERCHANT CLASSES WHO HAD BROUGHT HER TO POWER. BUT HE COULD SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO HER. HE BELIEVED THE AMERICANS NEEDED TO DO SOMETHING FAST TO ASSIST THE PHILIPPINE ECONOMY BY SOME SPECTACULAR PROJECT. SOLARZ'S 'MINI-MARSHAL PLAN' WOULD TAKE FAR TOO LONG TO ORGANISE AND WOULD COME TOO LATE. IF THE AMERICANS COULD FOR INSTANCE ADOPT A PROVINCE AND PUT IN SOME 300 MILLION DOLLARS, THE EFFECTS WOULD BE QUICKLY FELT: OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY WOULD FEEL THAT THEY COULD DO THE SAME. HE WOULD BE PUTTING THIS TO SHULTZ NEXT WEEK. BUT SHULTZ WOULD BE WORRIED THAT CONGRESS WOULD SIMPLY TAKE ANY MONEY AWARDED TO THE PHILIPPINES AWAY FROM SOME OTHER AID PACKAGE. DISLOCATION IN THE PHILIPPINE ECONOMY WAS APPALLING: CLARKE AIR BASE SUPPLIED ITSELF WITH FRUIT AND VEGETABLE FROM SINGAPORE, WHICH SINGAPORE HAD IMPORTED FROM THE PHILIPPINES. PRESIDENT AQUINO HAD SO FAR BEEN UNABLE TO RID HERSELF OF THE APPALLING BUREAUCRACY WHICH PRESIDENT MARCOS HAD INSTITUTED IN ORDER TO ENSURE ABSOLUTE CONTROL OVER DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES. IF THE US DID NOT PUT MONEY IN NOW, THEY WOULD HAVE TO PAY A GREAT DEAL MORE LATER. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID

THAT IS THINKING WOULD NO DOUBT BE CONDITIONED BY THE NEED TO REDUCE THEIR BUDGET DEFICIT, BUT HE AGREED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SUSTAINING PRESIDENT AQUINO.

10. LEE WAS CRITICAL OF AGRICULTURAL SUBSIDIES IN EUROPE. THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT HE STRONGLY BELIEVED THAT THEY SHOULD BE DISMANTLED: A GOOD START HAD BEEN MADE IN EUROPE. BUT SUBSIDIES IN THE US AND JAPAN WERE JUST AS BAD. LEE CONTENDED THAT THE US HAD DONE NO MORE THAN RESPOND TO SUBSIDIES ELSEWHERE. IT WAS AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND WHICH HAD SUFFERED MOST.

11. THE SECRETARY OF STATE ASKED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF ASEAN. LEE SAID THAT IT WAS MAKING PROGRESS SLOWLY, BUT IT WOULD BE 4 TO 5 YEARS BEFORE IT BEGAN TO DEVELOP SUBSTANTIALLY AS A UNIFIED MARKET.

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ADDITIONAL 1

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