TRANSCRIPT OF A SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE, MR. LEE KUAN YEW, AT A DINNER AT SRI TEMASEK ON FRIDAY, 8TH OCTOBER 1965, IN HONOUR OF SHRI DINESH SINGH, DEPUTY MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen,

It is not often that I talk after dinner, for I usually avoid making the effort after having gone through a ten-course Chinese meal. But, tonight is more than an ordinary occasion and I hope that you will bear with me when I say that very few people know how much Singapore owes to India -- and will, I think, continue to owe to India -- for India's friendship and help.

And, it didn't start yesterday. It started many years ago when the Indian Congress Movement knocked the bottom out of the British Empire and set the world free. And then, the Age of Empire finished. The British decided that they could not hold British India. And so it went on, and our former Chief Ministers used to go Delhi for solace and comfort whenever they failed in diplomatic and constitutional discussions in London.

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But, I don't think either London or Delhi envisaged our emergence as an independent, separate, sovereign State in the way we have. I met Mr. Dinesh Singh in mid-May -- barely five months ago. And in this five months, so many things have happened-- not just to us, but to those around us. Then it was the Rann of Kutch, and it became nearly all-out war over Kashmir. Since then, the Indonesians have gone through two coups; and nobody yet knows how many more will take place. Everybody knows how many generals and air marshals have become presidents and then become roving ambassadors in South Vietnam in the few months that we last met. And, this is the pace in which South-East Asia is moving.

We are, not by any wish of our own, the arena of conflict; a conflict of big powers, of ideologies, which willy-nilly drag us into their whirlpool.

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Before I ask you to join me in wishing our guest, and join me in wishing better and closer relations between India and Singapore, between Indians and Singaporeans -- I would like to tell you this, Your Excellency: I read today what you said. It was something which I nearly said to you in Delhi in May: that I thought, whether we liked it or not we had so many things, so many problems in common -- multi-racialism, multi-lingualism, multi-religion. Furthermore, we are trying to solve these problems on the basis of a secular, scientific, modern State.

We do not believe in obscurantism. We are not a theocratic State, nor is India. So, willy-nilly, we share so many attitudes in common. I personally am indebted to your Government for the many occasions on which it has given me not just hospitality but support. But what is more important than just human sympathy is the will to support one's friends. And, I say quite frankly to friends and foes alike that he who is my friend I stand by; and he who befriends me, I stand by.

And I take pride in the fact that here, in this corner of South-East Asia, and in some neighbouring territories which are no longer part of us, four great civilizations met in confluence: the Malay, the Indian, the Chinese and the European -- and did not just meet yesterday. It met over centuries. The Portuguese came, the Dutch came, the British came and stayed for 140 years and we took over from them.

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We inherited this. But, we inherited more than this. Like you, we inherited a set of values right and wrong, good and bad, friend and foe. And, our tragedy is that we know that if our foe wins we will die, and die painfully, but that when we win our foes live comfortably even in prison with butter and eggs

and meat according to special rations which the rules of the game lay down upon us.

So, this is in part an unequal conflict because, on the one side is terror which is absolute, on the other side is terror which is not really terror. It is just a deterrent, and often no more than as soporific. You put a man in, you feed him, he studies, he writes memoirs, he comes out, he fights. The other side, he pulls your finger nails out and you are dead -- and that is real terror.

But, alas, we have not found a solution that will resolve this imbalance of deterrents without ourselves losing what we believe we are fighting for: a just, equal, and a humane society. And, we hope that over the years, slowly around South-East Asia as we get closer to one another -- because we must if we are to survive support one another's independence and integrity -- we will find some means of preventing this seepage of terror. And eventually, I hope, as I am sure you would wish to see too, the Indian, the Chinese, the Malay, and what was given to us of the European in South-East Asia fused and integrated into one tolerant, peaceful, peace-loving nation.

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India has only that path to travel if she is to survive. And so also with Singapore. We have some neighbours who believe that they've got other options.

We think that they have not, but they are determined to try. We do not think that the theocratic State can solve these problems of multi-racialism, multi-religion, and multi-lingualism, multi-cultures. And we can only cross our fingers and hope that in the process of trying they would not destroy whatever chance there is left of redeeming what was good in our past.

We are really ancient peoples stranded in the part of the world which the ancient Hindus used to pass by. You know, the climate was so inhospitable, the soil was so infertile, they passed us by and they went on to Java and they built Borobudur. And, there are no ruins here because it wasn't worth building anything on it until they discovered rubber and tin. And, that's where my great-grandfather came in. And that's where I am now.

But, having built this, believe you me, we are determined to keep it. This is mine. This is every Singaporean's, regardless of race, religion, culture, language. We built this together, and I say we will live here together peacefully if we may.

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And I would ask you now, not a traditional toast to the President of India alone, but one less formal, to the friendship and the growing bonds between Singapore for which I am entitled to speak -- and I hope for other parts of South-

East Asia for which I am no longer entitled to speak -- and India; bonds which go back for hundreds of years. And it is in that hope that I have always visited Delhi in my journeys to Eurpoe. And it is with very great pleasure indeed that I have this occasion in a small way to express my appreciation for the support which I have received on many an occasion from your Government and your people.

To India, her President; to your links with us!

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