



**DEPARTMENT OF  
FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS**

**NO**  
M/42

**DATE**  
22 February 1973

PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSES INDONESIAN PARLIAMENT

Following is the text of an address by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Whitlam, to the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (Indonesian Parliament) in Jakarta today. The speech was delivered at about 1600 hours Canberra time.

I am profoundly moved by the honour you have done me, and through me, my Government and nation in inviting me to address you.

When a little over two months ago I became Prime Minister, as leader of the majority party in the Australian Parliament, I placed a visit to Indonesia at the very head of my priorities. I was highly gratified by the warmth of President Soeharto's invitation. I and those travelling with me - members of my family, my staff, and my officials - have been deeply touched by the hospitality and generosity with which we have all been treated.

This visit comes at a time of great change - of great change in my own nation and of great change in our region. I want to emphasise, however, at the outset, that my visit symbolises continuity as well as change.

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In June last year my predecessor as Prime Minister of Australia, the Rt. Hon. William McMahon, visited Jakarta and addressed this assembly. On his return to Australia he told the people of Australia, as I shall tell them, of the friendship which the people and Government of Indonesia had extended to him and through him, to Australia. Mr McMahon was able to report that at the official level, his discussions had further advanced co-operation between our two countries.

There was and is no partisan dispute in my country on this matter. The change of Government has made no change in Australia's desire for the closest co-operation with the Government and people of Indonesia.

I know that that wish is shared by the Indonesian Government and people. Australian-Indonesian friendship is a constant factor in a changing region and a changing world.

The new Australian Government has made many significant changes in Australia's international relations. It would have been strange indeed had it not been so, for my Government was elected by the people of Australia with a mandate for change - for changes at home and abroad. You will recall that my party - the Australian Labor Party - had been out of office for 23 years, having lost power before Indonesia finally won her great struggle for independence.

As an example of the changes that have taken place, I cite the record of Australia's voting in the United Nations General Assembly. In the 1971 General Assembly, Australia voted against three resolutions on Southern Africa and three others concerning the Indian Ocean, apartheid and self-determination all of which Indonesia supported. But in the 1972 General Assembly, immediately after my Government took office, Australia voted affirmatively with Indonesia on each of these resolutions. On all important issues of race, decolonisation and self-determination, our voting now accords with Indonesia's.

On the day that I was sworn in as Prime Minister of Australia I made this statement to our people, which sums up the general approach of my Government. I said that I wanted

"An Australia which will enjoy a growing standing as a distinctive, tolerant, co-operative and well regarded nation not only in the Asian and Pacific region, but in the world at large."

I will return later to the role of middle powers in the world at large. Let me say something first about our relations with our neighbours and our region. In the distant past Australia tended to ignore South-East Asia. Generations ago, we were still largely a European outpost, a part of the old British Empire, with our loyalties and preoccupations in Europe alone. In the past 20 years we moved to an opposite extreme.

Influenced by such events as the Chinese revolution and the war in Indo-China, we became preoccupied, even obsessed, with South-East Asia as a new Australian frontier, even a front-line for our security. This led us into military involvements and military pacts that are no longer relevant to the contemporary needs of Australia or the region in which we live.

In the wake of a Viet-Nam settlement, it is my hope that we will see South-East Asia in a calmer, more constructive perspective. We want our attitude to be based less on irrational fears for our security, and directed more to peaceful political initiatives for the welfare and progress of our neighbours.

My Government believes that it has a responsibility to take a generous part in any international effort for the social and economic rehabilitation of Indo-China. There are several reasons why such responsibility devolves on us.

Australia was one of the belligerents, although my Government has withdrawn all its forces from Viet-Nam and ended its military involvement. Over and above that, we are the richest member of the community of nations in the South-East Asian region, with a strong interest in the welfare of our neighbours.

We believe that the problems that you and other nations of the region face now are human and social problems, problems that are common to all mankind. How best to raise your standards of living: how to bring literacy, cultural and

educational opportunities to your people: how to control the growth of population and the environmental problems it will bring in its wake as your cities become more industrialised: how best to make use of the foreign aid resources at your disposal to overcome poverty and disease. It is in these areas that my country is most anxious to help. We note the measures you are now taking to achieve population control. We would welcome, if your Government desires it, a long-term study of the whole concept of foreign aid to determine how best to apply it to urgent human and social needs.

*Regional  
Co-operation*

Last month I visited New Zealand where a new Labor Government has also been elected. The New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Kirk, and I expressed our intention of working with our Asian and Pacific neighbours in making adjustments to existing arrangements and seeking new forms of co-operation. We see great merit in an organisation genuinely representative of the region, without ideological overtones, conceived as an initiative to help free the region of the great power rivalries which have bedevilled its progress for so long, and which would be designed to insulate the region against ideological interference from the great powers. I must emphasise that such an objective is one which would take time and careful consultation with all of our neighbours.

There is one very great change about to occur in our region of very special importance and interest to Indonesia and Australia equally. Indonesia and Australia at present share

a common border - the border between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. Before long that will no longer be true. Indonesia will share that border with an independent nation, the nation of Papua New Guinea.

I have just visited Papua New Guinea to explain my Government's plans to the people there. What I have tried to put to them is that a decision about independence is not just a decision on behalf of Papua New Guinea. It is also a decision on behalf of Australia. It involves - in a very real sense - Australia's vision of herself in the world. To put it plainly, Australia is not willing any longer to rule a colony.

We regard it as unacceptable that Australia, of all countries, should be one of the world's last colonial powers. It would be incredible if the Australian Labor Party, which, in its last Government, wholeheartedly supported the cause of Indonesian independence, were to accept willingly a colonial role for herself in the 1970s.

It is not only a question of our responsibilities to the people of Papua New Guinea, it is not only a question of our clear responsibilities under the United Nations Charter, it is a question of our responsibilities to ourselves.

We are determined that we shall be true to ourselves and divest Australia of the colonial taint. This in no way means that we are going to wash our hands of our responsibilities towards the people of Papua New Guinea. We freely and gladly

←8" accept that for many, many years to come, Papua New Guinea will need continuing and substantial assistance from Australia. She shall have it - and this again is a policy which would not be changed even if there were a change in the Government of Australia. But our true role is as a friend and neighbour, not as a ruler.

I believe that Indonesia can also play a valuable part as Papua New Guinea's friend and nearest neighbour. I hope the people of Papua New Guinea will look to Indonesia as an example of how peoples of different cultures and customs, of different languages, of different religions, at widely different stages of development spread over a vast, divided and difficult terrain, can come together, live together and grow together as one great nation.

If I might sum up the general lines that my Government will follow, I should like to quote a brief passage, I wrote 18 months ago when in Opposition, for a book outlining for the people of Australia, the lines a Labor Government, if they elected one, would pursue. I wrote then:

Goals

"Essentially, a nation's foreign policy depends upon a balance between commitment and power. Australia's first and 1 fundamental commitment is to our own national security. This is a commitment quite commensurate with our power and our resources. Our second commitment is to a secure, united and friendly 2 Papua New Guinea. This too is well within our power. Our lack of wisdom and foresight, rather than any lack of power and influence, is our real danger in this case.

Our third commitment is to achieving friendly relations with our nearest and largest neighbour, Indonesia. 3

Our fourth commitment is more general, because in this context our power becomes more generalised - it is our commitment to the peace and prosperity of the immediate region. Clearly our ambitions and aspirations on this level run beyond our actual power. Even so, we are far more influential than mere numbers would suggest .... 4

Our fifth commitment is to our own reputation: our power in this case lies in our will, not our resources. This taint of racism must be removed if we are to be a good neighbour in our region." 5

These are the five great pillars on which my Government proposes to establish its international relations. But it is not merely to ourselves, or even simply to our own region, that our ultimate commitment lies. Our ultimate interests lie in helping to preserve stable and peaceful relations between the great powers. In military and industrial terms, Australia and Indonesia can both perhaps be described as middle powers. We have a common interest in seeing that stable balance is maintained between the great powers - China, the Soviet Union, Japan, the United States - on whose decisions the peace of the world will principally depend. As middle powers, we can both be active in working for peace and understanding in the world at large. It is in this broader context that I see the need for a fresh and independent policy for Australia in international relations.

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It is in this context that I see great new opportunities for co-operation with Indonesia.

Once more let me express my deep gratitude for the manner in which you and the Government and people of Indonesia have received me. I am glad to have the opportunity so early in the life of my Government to reaffirm the existing links between our two countries and to forge new and stronger ones.

Living as we both do in a region which is in many ways the world's most turbulent and economically deprived, we cannot ignore the very great difficulties and complexities which lie ahead, for us and for our neighbours. Yet, even so, it is impossible not to hold real hope for the future, even while acknowledging the dangers.

There is a very real prospect that there will be no major international conflict in our neighbourhood in the foreseeable future. The region has seen 30 very dark and troubled years. It would be naive to believe that we are now entering a period of profound peace. But at least we may look forward to a period of comparative peace - uneasy, fragile, imperfect perhaps, but if we have the will and determination, it will be enough to allow us to create the conditions in our region by which we can reduce the scourges of poverty, starvation and suffering. In that war - a war that is really worth waging - I profoundly believe our two great countries will cement a deep and enduring, an unbreakable partnership.