

SPEECH BY THE HON. R.J. HAWKE
AT THE EAST-WEST CENTER - HONOLULU
SUNDAY, 19 JUNE 1983

IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU IN HAWAII AND IN PARTICULAR TO BE ABLE TO ATTEND THIS DINNER OF THE INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF GOVERNORS. I AM MOST GRATEFUL TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS, MR. CHAR, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE CENTER, DR. LI, FOR THEIR THOUGHTFULNESS IN HAVING ORGANISED THIS MOST USEFUL OCCASION TO LET ME MEET AND TALK WITH YOU.

I SHOULD ALSO LIKE TO SAY HOW VERY PLEASED I AM THAT RATU SIR KAMISESE MARA, THE PRIME MINISTER OF FIJI AND A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS, IS ABLE TO BE HERE AS ONE OF THE HOSTS THIS EVENING.

AUSTRALIA AND FIJI SHARE A CLOSE PARTNERSHIP IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGION AND IT IS OPPORTUNE THAT WE SHOULD SEE EACH OTHER TONIGHT SINCE I SHALL BE PRIVILEGED TO HOST THE SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM LATER THIS YEAR IN CANBERRA.

I SHOULD FIRST LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THE NEW AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S UNCHANGED AND FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE EAST-WEST CENTER. WE SUPPORT WHOLEHEARTEDLY THE PRINCIPLE ON WHICH THE EAST-WEST CENTER WAS FOUNDED. THAT IS, TO PROMOTE BETTER RELATIONS AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF ASIA, THE PACIFIC AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE CENTER HAS BEEN IN THE VANGUARD OF OPINION-FORMING IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT THE ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION. WE IN AUSTRALIA EQUALLY BELIEVE IN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FUTURE OF THE PACIFIC BASIN AS ONE OF THE MOST DYNAMIC REGIONS OF THE GLOBE, AND THE IMPORTANCE TO AUSTRALIA OF HER PLACE IN THAT REGION. THE PARTNERSHIP AND CO-OPERATION OF THE COUNTRIES OF THIS REGION WILL BE A VITAL FORCE DETERMINING THE FUTURE OF WORLD AFFAIRS.

THE EAST-WEST CENTER HAS A REAL ROLE TO PLAY IN THIS UNFOLDING STORY, AND WE IN AUSTRALIA LOOK TO THE CENTER TO CONTINUE TO FOCUS THE ATTENTION OF DECISION MAKERS IN AMERICA ON OUR PART OF THE WORLD.

ONE SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF THE EAST-WEST CENTER'S WORK TO WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW ATTENTION IS ITS CO-OPERATIVE NATURE. THE EAST-WEST CENTER'S PROGRAMS ARE NOT A ONE-WAY FLOW OF IDEAS, EXPERTISE OR FINANCE FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER. RATHER, THE CENTER PURSUES A CO-OPERATIVE APPROACH, THROUGH THE TECHNIQUE OF JOINT PARTICIPATION IN ITS RESEARCH TEAMS BY EXPERTS FROM BOTH THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE ASIAN/PACIFIC REGION. SPECIALISTS FROM ALL COUNTRIES ARE THUS ABLE TO WORK TOGETHER AS PARTNERS.

AUSTRALIA HAS BEEN PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO HELP THIS ASPECT OF THE CENTER'S WORK BY FUNDING THIRD-COUNTRY SCHOLARSHIPS UNDER WHICH STUDENTS FROM COUNTRIES IN THE REGION OTHER THAN AUSTRALIA ITSELF ARE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN EAST-WEST CENTER PROGRAMS.

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE A FEW MOMENTS TO SINGLE OUT THE EXCELLENT WORK BEING DONE UNDER THE PACIFIC ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, A RECENT INNOVATION IN THE EAST-WEST CENTER'S SCHEDULE OF OPERATIONS. IT WAS DUE IN GOOD MEASURE TO A PERSONAL INITIATIVE BY RATU SIR KAMISESE MARA THAT THIS PROGRAM WAS COMMENCED THREE YEARS AGO.

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS PROGRAM RESPONDED TO A FEELING BY LEADERS OF PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES THAT THEY WISHED TO SET THEIR OWN PRIORITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AND TRAINING. THE PACIFIC ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IS UNIQUE IN THAT ITS STANDING COMMITTEE, COMPOSED OF THE CHIEF EXECUTIVES OF GOVERNMENTS OF A NUMBER OF PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES, MEETS TWICE YEARLY TO OFFER POLICY GUIDANCE ON THE RUNNING OF THE PROGRAM.

THIS TYPE OF INTIMATE INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROGRAM ON THE PART OF THE MOST SENIOR POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE REGION IS IN ITSELF AN EXTREMELY VALUABLE RESOURCE AND ONE WHICH I AM SURE THE EAST-WEST CENTRE FULLY APPRECIATES. IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE TO STATE THAT THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS THE PACIFIC ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, BOTH IN SPIRIT AND BY PROVIDING FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

I AM NOW OF COURSE NEARING THE END OF MY FIRST OFFICIAL OVERSEAS MISSION AS PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA - A JOURNEY WHICH HAS TAKEN US TO PORT MORESBY, JAKARTA, LONDON, PARIS, GENEVA, WASHINGTON, NEW YORK AND TORONTO.

YOU WILL, I TRUST, NOT FIND IT INAPPROPRIATE THAT I SHOULD REFER BRIEFLY TO THE GENERAL PURPOSES OF MY MISSION AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THOSE PURPOSES HAVE BEEN FULFILLED FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF AUSTRALIA'S NATIONAL INTERESTS. IT IS THE MORE APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO DO THAT HERE, IN AS MUCH AS, EVEN IN PLACES AS DISTANT AS PARIS AND GENEVA, I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO PLACE IN THE FOREFRONT OF MY PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS, CONCERNS AND INTERESTS - POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC - OF PROFOUND IMPORTANCE TO OUR REGION AND OUR PEOPLES.

AT ALL TIMES, BUT ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES, I SOUGHT TO EMPHASISE AUSTRALIA'S PLACE AS A PARTNER AND NEIGHBOUR IN THE FUTURE AND DESTINY OF THIS GREAT PACIFIC REGION.

ALL SUCH MISSIONS BY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DO, OF COURSE, HAVE AS A PRIMARY OBJECTIVE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PERSONAL CONTACT, AND HOPEFULLY, RAPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING WITH OTHER LEADERS.

OBVIOUSLY, THIS HAS PARTICULAR RELEVANCE FOR THE HEAD OF A NEW ADMINISTRATION SUCH AS MINE. BUT AUSTRALIA'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES I VISITED, BUT ESPECIALLY WITH PAPUA NEW GUINEA, INDONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES, ARE FAR DEEPER AND ENDURING THAN GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS, OR AS BETWEEN ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATION.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA, FORMALISED BY THE ANZUS TREATY, WHICH INCLUDES NEW ZEALAND, TRANSCENDS THE LIFE OR DURATION OF ANY AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT OR ANY AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION.

ITS FUNDAMENTAL MEANING, PURPOSE AND PURPORT IS NOT SUBJECT TO PASSING CHANGES IN PARTISAN FORTUNES, BECAUSE IT HAS NEVER BEEN BASED ON SUCH CONSIDERATIONS IN AUSTRALIA OR AMERICA.

NEVERTHELESS, PERSONAL CONTACT IS ALWAYS MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL AND SO MUCH THE BETTER, IF THAT CONTACT RESULTS IN A CLEARER APPRECIATION ON BOTH SIDES OF THE POINTS OF VIEW, POINTS OF DIFFERENCE, AND THE LARGER AREAS OF COMMON PURPOSE.

AND JUST AS, IN THE APPROACH MY GOVERNMENT IS ATTEMPTING TO BRING TO THE PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT, THE PROCESS OF KNOWLEDGE-ACQUIRING AND KNOWLEDGE-SHARING PLAYS A KEY PART, SO, ON THE WIDER STAGE, THE FIRST-HAND EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND INFORMATION BETWEEN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, AND A WIDE RANGE OF MINISTERS AND SENIOR OFFICIALS, IS CLEARLY VALUABLE.

SECOND, MY PURPOSE WAS TO ESTABLISH THE UNDERLYING CONTINUITY IN THE MAJOR DIRECTIONS OF AUSTRALIA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS UNDER AUSTRALIA'S NEW GOVERNMENT. AND, WHEN I SAY "CONTINUITY", I DO NOT MEAN ONLY - OR EVEN MAINLY - THAT BETWEEN MY GOVERNMENT AND ITS IMMEDIATE PREDECESSOR.

IN A NUMBER OF QUITE FUNDAMENTAL AREAS, THIS ESSENTIAL CONTINUITY, WHATEVER DIFFERENCES MAY HAVE ARISEN OVER THE YEARS, ON SPECIFIC ISSUES - SOME OF THEM OF GREAT MOMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD - THIS ESSENTIAL CONTINUITY, I SAY, REACHES BACK YEARS AND DECADES.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE BI-PARTISANSHIP WHICH EXISTS ON AUSTRALIA'S EXCEPTIONAL OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS AN INDEPENDENT PAPUA NEW GUINEA, EXTENDS BACK MORE THAN A DECADE TO THE FOUNDATIONAL WORK OF THE WHITLAM LABOR GOVERNMENT. THE RECOGNITION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL AND OVER-RIDING IMPORTANCE OF CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE NEIGHBOURING GIANT INDONESIA GOES BACK TO THE DAYS WHEN, IN THE LATE FORTIES, THE CHIFLEY LABOR GOVERNMENT WAS INDONESIA'S FIRST SIGNIFICANT SUPPORTER OF HER INDEPENDENCE.

AND, OF COURSE, THE AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN PARTNERSHIP ITSELF WAS FORGED FORTY YEARS AGO BY THE CURTIN LABOR GOVERNMENT, AND SUCCESSIVE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENTS, LABOR AND LIBERAL ALIKE, HAVE RE-AFFIRMED ITS PRIMACY WITH EQUAL FIRMNESS.

THIS IS A RECORD OF CONTINUITY, CONSISTENCY AND NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON FUNDAMENTALS WHICH FEW NATIONS CAN EXCEL. AND, THROUGHOUT THIS MISSION, I HAVE TRIED TO GIVE EXPRESSION TO THE CLEAR AND OVERWHELMING WISH OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE ON THIS BROAD PATH.

THIRD, I HAVE TAKEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO PUT AUSTRALIA'S VIEW ON A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC MATTERS OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE, BOTH PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY. THESE INCLUDE NOT ONLY ISSUES SUCH AS EAST TIMOR, CAMBODIA, AID TO INDO-CHINA, FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING IN THE PACIFIC, THE ANZUS RELATIONSHIP AND THE JOINT AUSTRALIAN U.S. INSTALLATIONS, BUT MORE GENERAL MATTERS SUCH AS DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR REGION, ARMS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES.

EQUALLY, I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO HEAR THE VIEWS OF OTHER COUNTRIES ON THESE ISSUES AND THOSE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO THEM.

I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO LISTEN TO WHAT SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS IN THE UNITED STATES AND LEADING FIGURES IN THE BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL COMMUNITY IN NEW YORK HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THE RECOVERY OF THE US ECONOMY AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT CAN BE SUSTAINED, AND THE BROADER VIEWS ON THE OUTLOOK FOR THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS FOR THE AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY, INCLUDING THE FRAMING OF THE 1983-84 BUDGET.

AND I HAVE PUT OUR VIEWS ON THE AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY, INCLUDING POLICY ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT, TO KEY FIGURES IN THE BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL COMMUNITIES IN NEW YORK AND PARIS, SO AS TO ENSURE ON THEIR PART THE MAINTENANCE OF CONFIDENCE IN OUR ECONOMY WHEN THEY COME TO CONSIDER INVESTMENT DECISIONS.

WITHIN THIS BROAD FRAMEWORK I MIGHT MENTION SOME DETAILS OF THE WORK OF THE PAST FORTNIGHT.

WE REACHED AN AGREEMENT WITH PRIME MINISTER SOMARE REGARDING FUTURE AID TO PAPUA NEW GUINEA - AN IMPORTANT AGREEMENT FOR THAT COUNTRY'S ECONOMY AND SOCIAL STABILITY.

IN JAKARTA I CONVEYED TO THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OUR CONCERN THAT AN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE IN EAST TIMOR; THE IMPORTANCE THAT WE ATTACHED TO PROGRESS ON FAMILY REUNIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS OFFICE; THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VISIT TO EAST TIMOR NEXT MONTH OF AN AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO OUR DECISION ON A VOTE IN THE UNITED NATIONS ON THE INCORPORATION OF EAST TIMOR.

SINCE I LEFT JAKARTA I HAVE RECEIVED FROM OUR EMBASSY THERE SOME POSITIVE INDICATIONS OF PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS ON THE PART OF THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES. AT THE SAME TIME I STRESSED TO THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO HAVING CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA, BOTH BECAUSE OF ITS GEOGRAPHICAL PROXIMITY AND ITS ROLE IN THE REGION.

IN LONDON, I HAD USEFUL TALKS WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT, MR RAMPHAL, ABOUT THE FUTURE OF CHOGRM.

THEN IN PARIS I CONVEYED TO THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OUR TOTAL OPPOSITION TO FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC, AND REACHED AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE WOULD NOT BE FURTHER SHIPMENTS OF URANIUM FROM AUSTRALIA UNTIL AT LEAST OCTOBER 1984 SO AS TO PROVIDE A "WINDOW" FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE.

I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY DURING THIS JOURNEY TO EXPRESS AUSTRALIA'S SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSAL FOR A SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE, AND I BELIEVE THAT THE RAISING OF THIS MATTER WILL ASSIST THE DISCUSSION ON THE PROPOSAL WHICH I ANTICIPATE WILL TAKE PLACE AT THE SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM IN AUGUST.

IN BOTH INDONESIA AND FRANCE, AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES, I WAS ENCOURAGED BY THE INTEREST SHOWN AND SUPPORT EXPRESSED FOR WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO IN REGARD TO CAMBODIA.

IN THE UNITED STATES I HAD PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OFFICIALS ON A NUMBER OF DEFENCE-RELATED ISSUES, INCLUDING THE ANZUS REVIEW AND GREATER INVOLVEMENT IN DECISIONS RELATING TO JOINT INSTALLATIONS, AS WELL AS SCOPE FOR IMPROVED AUSTRALIAN ACCESS TO OFFSET AND TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY.

I FOUND MUCH INTEREST AND SUPPORT FOR THE APPROACH THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS TAKING IN OUR EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY.

IN TURN, I BELIEVE THAT THE PROJECTIONS AND INSIGHTS I HAVE RECEIVED ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WORLD AND AMERICAN ECONOMIES, WILL ENABLE US TO IMPROVE OUR APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

AS I SAID EARLIER, I TOOK EVERY APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY ON MATTERS OF INTEREST AND CONCERN TO AUSTRALIA AS PART OF THE PACIFIC REGION, AND THEREFORE OF INTEREST AND CONCERN TO ALL OTHER NATION-MEMBERS OF THIS REGION.

ESPECIALLY IN WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK,

I STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE TO THE ECONOMIES OF THE NATIONS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC OF A LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND PAYMENTS REGIME AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING REALISTIC LEVELS OF CONCESSIONAL AID TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AND THE WORLD.

IN MAKING THESE POINTS, AND ON THE OTHER ISSUES I RAISED OF CONCERN TO OUR REGION, I MUST EMPHASISE THAT I DID NOT PRESUME TO ACT IN ANY WAY AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE REGION, OR ON BEHALF OF ANY NATION EXCEPT AUSTRALIA. THAT IS NOT MY ROLE AND IT IS NOT AUSTRALIA'S VISION OF ITS OWN ROLE.

WE ARE NOT IN THE BUSINESS OF ANY PRETENSIONS ABOUT LEADERSHIP IN THE REGION. WE ARE ABOUT GENUINE PARTNERSHIP ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY.

BUT, IF AS A GOOD NEIGHBOUR AND EQUAL PARTNER IN THE PACIFIC, MY WORK ON BEHALF OF AUSTRALIA SHOULD PROVE TO BE OF VALUE FOR OUR FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS AND PARTNERS, I SHOULD RETURN HOME WELL CONTENT.

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FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, I COULD NOT CONCLUDE WITHOUT EXPRESSING THE APPRECIATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WHICH IS, OF COURSE, THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF FUNDING FOR THE EAST-WEST CENTRE. IN THE PAST THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS PAID AROUND 80 PER CENT OF THE CENTRE'S EXPENDITURE AND I BELIEVE THIS IS AN INDICATION OF THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THIS AND PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS, AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, HAVE ATTACHED TO THE CENTRE AS A MOST USEFUL WINDOW FOR AMERICA ON THE ASIAN/PACIFIC WORLD.

MY OWN GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITIES LIE BOTH IN MAINTAINING AUSTRALIA'S FUNDAMENTAL LINK ACROSS THE PACIFIC OCEAN WITH THE UNITED STATES AND IN STRENGTHENING OUR ROLE AS A PARTNER AND PARTICIPANT IN THE ASIAN/PACIFIC REGION.

BUT, AS I HAVE SAID, THESE MAJOR OBJECTIVES REPRESENT THE CLEAR DESIRES AND DETERMINATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE - A COURSE NOW PURSUED CONTINUOUSLY AND CONSISTENTLY FOR FORTY YEARS.

AUSTRALIA'S FUTURE LIES WITH THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. IT IS A MATTER OF SATISFACTION TO US THAT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO MAINTAINING A HIGH LEVEL OF CONSTRUCTIVE INVOLVEMENT WITH THE ASIAN/PACIFIC REGION AND IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT WE BELIEVE THE EAST-WEST CENTRE HAS A SIGNIFICANT ROLE TO PLAY AS A FOCUS FOR CONTACT AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE PACIFIC BASIN.

THERE IS, OF COURSE, ONE SIMPLE WORD WHICH EXPRESSES OUR ULTIMATE GOAL FOR THE NATIONS AND PEOPLES OF THIS REGION - AND BEYOND. IT IS THE NAME OF THE OCEAN ITSELF - THE PACIFIC. WE WILL BE SERVING OUR PEOPLE WELL IF - THROUGH THE WORK OF THIS CENTRE, THROUGH THE BUILDING OF CO-OPERATION AMONG OUR GOVERNMENTS AND NATIONS, THROUGH LONG AND CLOSE ASSOCIATIONS LIKE ANZUS, THROUGH ORGANISATIONS LIKE THE SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM, AND EVEN PERHAPS, IN SOME SLIGHT MEASURE, THROUGH THE RESULTS OF MY OWN MISSION, AS THEY MAY EMERGE IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS TO COME - WE WILL BE SERVING OUR PEOPLE WELL INDEED, IF WE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO MAKING THAT NOBLE NAME OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST OCEAN A REALITY, SO THAT THIS PACIFIC OCEAN STANDS FOR A PACIFIC WORLD - A REGION AT PEACE, A WORLD AT PEACE.
