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MR WHITLAM'S KEY NOTE ADDRESS TO THE SECOND
AUSTRALIA-JAPAN MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE MEETING,
TOKYO, 29 OCTOBER, 1973

Below is the text of the key note address given in Tokyo by the Australian Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr E.G. Whitlam, at the Second Australia-Japan Ministerial Committee Meeting on 29 October 1973.

"At this, the second meeting of the Ministerial Committee, I have the honour to lead the largest and most senior delegation of Australian Ministers ever to leave Australian shores to represent our country in another country.

There could be no clearer proof of the importance which the Australian Government attaches to our relations with Japan. There could be no clearer proof of the breadth, the many-sidedness of those relations. There could be no clearer proof of the significance we attach to this Committee and the seriousness with which we approach our work upon it.

This Committee first met last year when a different Government was responsible for Australian affairs. Our support for the establishment of this

Committee was as wholehearted in the days when we formed the opposition as is our support for its continuation now that we form the Government of Australia.

The changed roles of the Australian political parties change nothing in the Australian desire for the closest, most cordial, most co-operative relations with Japan. In this matter there is unanimity in our national Parliament and continuity in our national policy. And in this there can be no doubt that our Parliament and our political parties faithfully reflect the wishes of the Australian people.

Necessarily, naturally, a new Government in Australia has brought new policies, not least in great matters concerning our foreign policies, trade and investment, the use of our resources, the control and ownership of those resources, all matters, in which Japan has a very deep and proper interest.

Such is the nature of the relations between our two countries, that Japan is perfectly entitled to have a full, frank explanation of those policies, and of those changes.

We are here to give it.

But on this the essential matter of the Australian desire for the warmest possible relations between our two countries, there is no change whatsoever. Indeed, I am confident that before this meeting and our visit concludes, these relations will be put on an even firmer footing.

The change of Government in Australia is only one part of the very considerable change occurring in our region. The process had started well before last year's meeting of the Ministerial Committee. At the centre of the process is the improved relations between

the United States and The People's Republic of China. This change has had important consequences for Japan and Australia. *China*

Just before last year's meeting, Japan normalised her relations with the People's Republic. I was in Tokyo at the time President Nixon announced in July 1971 his intention of visiting Peking. I acknowledged at that time that Japan faced special difficulties not faced by Australia. I said at that time, here and in Canberra, that the task presented a high challenge to Japan's statesmanship. It is a tribute to the quality of that statesmanship that the task was achieved in little more than a year.

Since China's entry into the United Nations, since President Nixon's visit to Peking, since the detente between the United States and the Soviet Union, since the end of foreign intervention in Indo-China, I have tried to emphasise the new opportunities which these great developments offer to our region. I have also tried to emphasise how easy it would be for nations like Japan and Australia to let those opportunities slip and how tragic for our region such a loss would be if we allowed it to occur.

Both Japan and Australia have taken advantage of the greater freedom of movement, the greater flexibility of policy that detente permits.

It is gratifying for me to observe the great similarity in approach and directions between our two Governments and our two countries. Australia recognised China in December last, immediately after my Government came into power and we, like Japan are making good progress in developing a sound, broadly-based relationship. Both our countries have recognised the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Both of us acknowledge the need for new political arrangements in our region, though both of us recognise that whatever form such

arrangements may take, they must necessarily be gradual and of slow growth requiring deep thought and close consultation with all our neighbours.

Nothing is more absurd than the suggestion that either of our two countries or our two Governments has plunged recklessly or thoughtlessly into new courses in making the changes of policies we have in the past year. Both Japan and Australia, both the Tanaka Government and the Whitlam Government, have based their policies on the realities of our time and on the realities of our region. Far from being reckless or unpredictable in what we have done, we should have been reckless and irresponsible had we not so acted. We had to adjust to a situation brought about largely by the initiative of the United States. None of us were consulted about those initiatives though they were none the less welcome for all that. But we would have been remiss indeed in our responsibilities to our own people and to our region had we failed to make the response we did.

*US
influence
on
Japan
Australia*

There are few nations in the world whose fundamental interests coincide so closely as those of Japan and Australia. We have a common interest in each other's prosperity. As great trading partners, we have a very high degree of interdependence. To remain prosperous, Australia requires that Japan should remain prosperous. We have a common interest in a sound and stable international currency. As great exporters, the lifelines of both our countries lie upon the seas and we have a common interest in the security and freedom of the oceans. As the two most developed industrial nations of the West Pacific, we share a common interest in the well-being of our region, so populous and so poor. We have a common interest in seeing that our region does not become an area for competition or confrontation between the great powers. We have, above all, a deep and enduring interest in the preservation of

peace - the peace of the region, the peace of the world. The relations between our two countries are based upon the recognition of this great and abiding community of interests.

The continuing task for both our Governments is to relate our specific national interest to these broader, common interests: and to promote our respective national interests while at the same time promoting these common interests.

The Australian policies of most immediate concern to Japan relate to investment from overseas and to the use and development of our resources particularly our great mineral resources. On these matters you are entitled to reassurance and we are here to give it.

I emphasise that our policies are not aimed against any other nation, but for Australia.

We will not ignore the interests of our major partners and we understand and appreciate Japanese interest in the future availability of our resources in various forms.

We recognise that economic disruptions in Japan could affect Australia as well as Japan and we have no intention of causing this to happen. We have no wish to interrupt the supplies of minerals from Australia to Japan.

Equally, we trust that Japan will not wish to interrupt our ability to supply by arbitrary import restraints.

We recognise the remarkable interdependence of the two economies and will continue to make reasonable quantities of materials available at prices which reflect the value of the materials to both countries.

In the long term we see our policies being of great benefit to Japan as well as to Australia. By getting our house in order we ensure that Japan will be able to deal with an Australia which has clear and long-term policies designed to maximise benefits for both the supplier and the purchaser.

Our new policies in respect of investment from

Minerals

overseas will be outlined during the meeting, but I might say here that our intention is not to prevent investment from overseas. We welcome it, we want it based on terms which mean that the control of our industries and our resources rests in Australian hands.

Japan as much as any country in the world appreciates the need for control over its own industries.

This is all we are seeking, no more, no less. Again, our policies are not anti-anyone: they are for Australia: let me say emphatically that Australia will not discriminate against Japan.

Australia shares with Japan a very deep interest in ensuring that the great industrialised nations of the world have secure and steady access to the resources their economies need. We also believe that the resource-producing and exporting nations like Australia are entitled to have secure and steady markets for their exports at fair and reasonable prices. There is an urgent need for rational international policies on the production and marketing of the world's resources. As far as Australia is concerned, there is no question of the resource producers exploiting the resource users. As far as Australia is concerned there is no question of our wishing to sit selfishly on our resources at the expense of other countries.

It happens that at the very time when Australians are demanding a greater share in the control and use of their own resources, they are also becoming aware of the international implications of their possession of such great resources.

We believe we must have appropriate national policies about the development and exploitation of our resources: we believe that internal and international questions related to our resources are inextricably linked.

At the very time that we are discovering the extent of our resources, the western industrialised

world is becoming increasingly concerned about its access to mineral and energy resources.

We rank amongst the world's five main producers of bauxite, iron ore, tin, nickel, silver, lead, zinc, manganese and we have major deposits of uranium. In many cases our importance in the world as a producer is increasing.

Eventually, therefore, Australia will become a significant element in the resource strategies of importing countries, particularly Japan.

We would be foolish indeed - and other countries would regard us as foolish - if we did not take full account of these facts.

We are going to develop, therefore, a resources policy. That does not mean that we are going to play off one buyer against another or one seller against another. That is not the Australian way. We do intend, however, to base our resources policy on five considerations:

- 1) We must ensure that Australia's own future energy needs and industrial requirements are met;
- 2) we shall take full account of the effect of mining on the rights of our Aboriginal people in whose traditional lands, or what is left of them, so much of the newly discovered wealth lies;
- 3) we want to enlarge opportunities for Australians to share in the ownership and development of Australian mineral resources;
- 4) we shall encourage more processing of minerals in Australia; and finally,
- 5) we shall try to ensure that our resources command a fair price in the world markets.

Within the framework of those five principles, Japan can rely upon it, that Australia will remain a steady supplier of resources and a stable place for investment.

I may say that there is a broader reason over and above our own national concerns which makes me extremely conscious of Japan's need for reassurance on these matters. There is nobody more conscious than I, more appreciative than I, of what a former Prime Minister of Japan told me was Japan's "New Course". I have emphasised by belief in the sincerity of Japan's new course on appropriate occasions, in Canberra, in Tokyo, in Washington, in Peking.

I believe that Japan is determined - the Japanese Government and the Japanese people - are determined to be the first great industrial power to break the nexus between economic strength and military strength and that she pursues this course in the belief that she can obtain fair and adequate access to the raw materials and overseas markets her industries require without military threats or forces.

This is a great thing for Japan and a great thing for the world. It is up to the nations of the world as well as Japan herself to see that this course succeeds.

As far as Australia is concerned, I am determined to do all in my power to assist and encourage Japan in that course and to make whatever contribution Australia can to its success. So I believe it is in Australia's interests, in every sense, to reassure Japan about the continuity and certainty of the resources she needs from us. It is in this spirit that my colleagues and I entered wholeheartedly and sincerely into these talks.

I have said much about the characteristics of the relationship between Japan and Australia. For many years it has been the wish of the Japanese Government that this relationship should be symbolised and

formalised by a broad treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation between our countries. For a variety of reasons, previous Australian Governments have deferred consideration of this matter.

My Government has decided that it is now fitting and timely that our two countries should enter into some appropriate broad arrangement. We envisage that such a treaty - a treaty of economic co-operation and friendship - should set out the broad framework of relations between our two countries, not to regulate those relations but rather to define and symbolise the increasing co-operative spirit in which I believe these relations will be conducted.

Obviously we do not propose that such a treaty should be concluded during our present visit to Japan. We would hope however, that there will be an agreement in principle to proceed along these lines, and that before many months have passed, Japan and Australia will have entered into such a treaty.

I believe that a treaty which established a broad framework for economic co-operation will express in a more formal way, a symbolic way, the real friendship, the real community of interests, the real interdependence which exists between our two nations and our two peoples - a friendship, an interdependence, an identity of interests which I am very sure will be advanced by the deliberations of this historic meeting.