

EMBARGO 10 P.M.



CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

## PRIME MINISTER

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. BOB HAWKE  
THAILAND: STATE DINNER  
21 NOVEMBER 1983

MR PRIME MINISTER, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

AUSTRALIA AND THAILAND ARE CLOSE FRIENDS.

MY GOVERNMENT IS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO STRENGTHENING THIS FRIENDSHIP.

THERE HAS BEEN REMARKABLE GROWTH IN AUSTRALIA-THAI RELATIONS SINCE THE MODEST BEGINNINGS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

OVER THIS TIME STRONG GOODWILL AND MUTUAL RESPECT HAVE DEVELOPED.

WE, FOR EXAMPLE, WERE PLEASED AS I MENTIONED IN MY AUDIENCE WITH HIS MAJESTY THE KING TODAY, TO HAVE THE CROWN PRINCE SPEND A NUMBER OF YEARS TRAINING IN AUSTRALIA.

WHILE AUSTRALIANS AND THAIS HAVE DIFFERENT HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS, WE HAVE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES IN COMMON.

WE BOTH HAVE A STRONG SENSE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND PRIDE AND CONFIDENCE IN OURSELVES, AND IN WHAT WE HAVE DONE AND ARE DOING TO BUILD OUR OWN COUNTRIES.

## 2.

CO-OPERATIVE DEALINGS BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND THAILAND  
EXTEND INTO MANY AREAS OF IMPORTANCE TO EACH OF OUR  
COUNTRIES.

THERE HAS BEEN A STEADY INCREASE IN TRADE BETWEEN AUSTRALIA  
AND THAILAND.

OUR COMMON INTERESTS AS COMMODITY PRODUCERS HAVE SEEN US  
WORKING CLOSELY TOGETHER - FOR EXAMPLE, IN TRYING TO  
ESTABLISH AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL SUGAR AGREEMENT.

AUSTRALIAN AID AND INVESTMENT IS CONTRIBUTING POSITIVELY  
TO THAILAND'S AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE EFFORTS BOTH AUSTRALIA AND THAILAND ARE MAKING TOGETHER  
TO POLICE AND, IN THE LONG-TERM, TO ERADICATE THE DRUG  
TRADE ARE OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO BOTH OUR SOCIETIES.

AUSTRALIA'S REFUGEE ASSISTANCE AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM  
IS DIRECTED AT ASSISTING THAILAND AS WELL AS SOME OTHER  
ASEAN COUNTRIES WITH A PROBLEM THE COSTS OF WHICH, IN  
BOTH HUMAN AND MATERIAL TERMS, ARE CONSIDERABLE.

AUSTRALIA AND THAILAND ALSO HAVE IMPORTANT INTERESTS IN  
COMMON.

AND THE INTERESTS WE SHARE ARE IMPORTANT TO THE REGION AS A WHOLE.

AUSTRALIA SEES ITS OWN FUTURE AS BEING INDISSOLUBLY LINKED WITH THE FUTURE OF THE REGION.

STRONG AND CLOSE ASSOCIATIONS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND COUNTRIES OF THE REGION IN SUCH WIDE-RANGING AREAS AS TRADE AND TWO-WAY INVESTMENT, REFUGEE ASSISTANCE AND RESETTLEMENT, DEFENCE CO-OPERATION, OVERSEAS STUDENTS PROGRAMS, DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, BUSINESS, PROFESSIONAL AND TOURISM LINKS.

THE SCALE OF THIS AUSTRALIAN INVOLVEMENT WITH THE REGION SHOULD BE APPRECIATED.

TOTAL AUSTRALIA/ASEAN TWO-WAY TRADE IN 1982/83 WAS VALUED AT \$US 3.2 BILLION. TWO-WAY INVESTMENT WAS WORTH \$US 2.04 BILLION IN THE FIVE YEARS TO 1982. 81,500 INDOCHINESE REFUGEES HAVE BEEN RESETTLED IN AUSTRALIA - 24,000 OF THESE RESETTLED FROM THAILAND. THERE ARE SOME 12,000 SOUTH EAST ASIAN STUDENTS STUDYING IN AUSTRALIA. AUSTRALIAN AID TO THE ASEAN COUNTRIES IN 1983/84 WILL BE WORTH IN EXCESS OF \$US 100 MILLION. THE AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE CO-OPERATION PROGRAM IN THE SAME YEAR WILL CONTRIBUTE MORE THAN \$US 20 MILLION TO THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, NOT INCLUDING THE COST OF MAINTAINING AN RAAF SQUADRON AT BUTTERWORTH. SOME 235,000 AUSTRALIAN TOURISTS VISITED THE REGION IN 1982 - A MAJOR BOOST TO THE ECONOMIES OF POPULAR DESTINATIONS SUCH AS THAILAND.

THE DEPTH AND EXTENT OF AUSTRALIA'S PARTNERSHIP WITH THE ASEAN COUNTRIES IS THEREFORE CONSIDERABLE, AND FOR OUR PART WE ARE COMMITTED TO BUILDING ON AND EXTENDING IT.

IT IS A PARTNERSHIP WHICH HAS BEEN ASSIDUOUSLY DEVELOPED OVER MANY YEARS AND HAS NOW REACHED THE POINT WHERE SUBSTANTIAL AUSTRALIAN AND REGIONAL INTERESTS ARE INTIMATELY BOUND UP WITH ITS CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT.

SOUTH EAST ASIA IS STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT TO AUSTRALIA.

AUSTRALIA SHARES WITH THE ASEAN COUNTRIES A STRONG SENSE OF THE NEED TO MAINTAIN REGIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY.

AUSTRALIA IS DEEPLY CONCERNED BY ANY DEVELOPMENTS THAT MIGHT EITHER THREATEN REGIONAL SECURITY OR PUT AT RISK THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND STABILITY OF REGIONAL COUNTRIES.

IN THIS REGARD THE POSITION OF THAILAND IS ONE OF PARTICULAR SENSITIVITY.

AUSTRALIA RECOGNISES THIS AND QUITE DELIBERATELY AS A CONSEQUENCE HAS BEEN BUILDING UP ITS DEFENCE CO-OPERATION PROGRAM WITH THAILAND - FROM ALMOST NOTHING FOUR YEARS AGO TO APPROXIMATELY \$US 4 MILLION THIS YEAR.

WE INTEND TO MAINTAIN THIS COMMITMENT.

AUSTRALIA SEES IT AS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT GREAT POWER RIVALRY NOT DICTATE THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN THE REGION.

THE PROJECTION OF SOVIET INFLUENCE INTO THE INDOCHINA SITUATION HAS RENDERED THE TASK OF ACHIEVING A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THAT AREA IMMEASURABLY MORE DIFFICULT.

IT CAN ONLY BE TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THIS REGION THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOW ESTABLISHING A Foothold FOR ITS OWN POLITICAL AND MILITARY PURPOSES IN INDOCHINA.

THE RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS CONSOLIDATION OF SOVIET INTERESTS IN THE REGION ARE CONSIDERABLE.

AUSTRALIA, STRONGLY MINDFUL OF THESE RISKS, IS CONCERNED THAT CONTINUED ISOLATION OF VIETNAM WILL ONLY SERVE TO EXACERBATE OR HEIGHTEN THOSE RISKS.

IT IS IN NONE OF OUR INTERESTS THAT VIETNAM CONTINUES TO BE IN A SITUATION OF VIRTUAL ISOLATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY RESTING ALMOST SOLELY ON A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

IT HAS A LEGITIMATE ROLE IN THE REGION IN PEACEFUL  
CO-OPERATION WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS, AS ASEAN ITSELF PERCEIVES.

WHAT AUSTRALIA WANTS TO SEE IS THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF  
CO-OPERATIVE WORKING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF  
INDOCHINA AND OTHER REGIONAL COUNTRIES WITH AN ATTENDANT  
DIMINUTION OF GREAT POWER INVOLVEMENT.

AUSTRALIA'S INTEREST IN DEVELOPING A RELEVANT RELATIONSHIP  
WITH VIETNAM IS DIRECTED TOWARDS ACHIEVING THIS.

THE CAMBODIAN SITUATION IS OBVIOUSLY THE GREATEST UNRESOLVED  
SOURCE OF TENSION WITHIN THE REGION.

IT IS ALSO THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO THE NORMALISATION OF  
RELATIONS BETWEEN VIETNAM AND ITS NEIGHBOURS.

AUSTRALIA SHARES ASEAN'S VIEW THAT "THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN THE  
KAMPUCHEAN PROBLEM IS THE SURVIVAL OF THE KAMPUCHEAN NATION  
AND THE RESTORATION OF ITS INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY".

WITH ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS WE AGREE THAT "THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL  
OF FOREIGN FORCES, THE EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION, AND  
NATIONAL RECONCILIATION ARE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS FOR THE  
SURVIVAL OF AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN KAMPUCHEA".

7.

THIS IDENTITY OF VIEW BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND ASEAN STEMS DIRECTLY FROM COMMON STRATEGIC PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE REQUIREMENTS OF REGIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

ON THE FUNDAMENTALS WE ARE AT ONE.

I REITERATE UNEQUIVOCALLY THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S CONDEMNATION, MADE REPEATEDLY BY BOTH ME AND THE AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, OF VIETNAM'S INVASION AND CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF CAMBODIA.

WITH ASEAN WE WANT TO SEE AN INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED AND NEUTRAL CAMBODIA, FREE OF FOREIGN FORCES AND WITH A GOVERNMENT OF ITS OWN CHOICE.

IN LINE WITH THIS, AUSTRALIA HAS BEEN SEEKING TO PROMOTE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PARTIES, A DIALOGUE DIRECTED TOWARDS ACHIEVING VIETNAMESE WITHDRAWAL.

WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS EITHER ABOUT OUR OWN INFLUENCE OR THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED.

THERE IS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CONCERN THAT MANY WOULD SHARE, INCLUDING THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, THAT ANY WITHDRAWAL OF VIETNAMESE FORCES WOULD PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE FORCES OF POL POT ONCE AGAIN TO ESTABLISH THE SORT OF REGIME WHICH TERRORISED AND TYRANNISED CAMBODIA TRAGICALLY FOR SO LONG.

SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE ABHORRENT TO OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA.

HEREIN LIES AUSTRALIA'S PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY WITH THE CAMBODIAN RESISTANCE COALITION.

KHMER ROUGE INVOLVEMENT WITH THE COALITION RENDERS RECOGNITION BY AUSTRALIA IMPOSSIBLE. IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE APPARENT PREDOMINANCE OF THE KHMER ROUGE WITHIN IT - NOTWITHSTANDING THE COMMENDABLE EFFORTS AND INTEGRITY OF BOTH PRICE SIHANOUK AND SON SANN - CARRIES WITH IT THE UNACCEPTABLE POSSIBILITY OF THE IMPOSITION OF THE KHMER ROUGE IN CAMBODIA.

THAT PROSPECT DOES NOTHING TO JUSTIFY CONTINUED VIETNAMESE OCCUPATION OF CAMBODIA.

RATHER WHAT IT DOES IS TO POINT UP THE NEED FOR STEPPED UP EFFORTS THAT WOULD AT ONCE SECURE VIETNAMESE WITHDRAWAL FROM CAMBODIA AND ENSURE THAT THE KHMER ROUGE COULD NEVER AGAIN REIMPOSE THEMSELVES AS THE GOVERNMENT OF THAT COUNTRY.

A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CAMBODIAN PROBLEM IS THE ONLY WAY SUCH A RESULT CAN BE SECURED.

ULTIMATELY SOME BASIS FOR DIALOGUE MAY EXIST WITHIN THE VARIOUS PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY BOTH SIDES.



FOR EXAMPLE, VIETNAM'S RECENT REFERENCES IN CONVERSATION WITH AUSTRALIA'S FOREIGN MINISTER TO A POSSIBLE CONFERENCE ON CAMBODIA AS A FUTURE DEVELOPMENT IN ITS CURRENT APPROACH AND THE APPEAL ISSUED BY ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS IN SEPTEMBER, INCLUDING A CALL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE (NOT NECESSARILY UNDER UN AUSPICES) ON THE RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION OF CAMBODIA TO FOLLOW PHASED TERRITORIAL VIETNAMESE MILITARY WITHDRAWAL, ARE SUGGESTIVE OF NEW AND POSSIBLY PRODUCTIVE LINES OF APPROACH.

THESE DEVELOPMENTS, COMING AS THEY DO AT THE SAME TIME AS ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS HAVE FORMED A WORKING GROUP OF OFFICIALS TO STUDY HOW BEST TO DEVELOP THE PROPOSALS IN THEIR 20 SEPTEMBER APPEAL, HOLD SOME HOPE OF MOVEMENT, IF NOT IMMEDIATELY, CERTAINLY WITHIN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

I SHOULD LIKE TO THINK AUSTRALIA'S INITIATIVE HAS CONTRIBUTED IN PART TO THESE TENTATIVE MOVES.

AUSTRALIA WILL CONTINUE TO DO WHAT IT CAN, AS A COUNTRY WITH CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE ASEAN NATIONS, WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WITH CHINA AND ENJOYING USEFUL LINKS WITH VIETNAM, TO PROVIDE WHATEVER ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE TO THE PROCESS OF FINDING WAYS OF ACHIEVING A DURABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE CAMBODIAN SITUATION.

AS IN THE PAST WE SHALL MAINTAIN THE CLOSEST CONSULTATION WITH, AND SEEK THE UNDERSTANDING OF, ASEAN IN ANY STEPS WE MAY CONSIDER IT APPROPRIATE TO TAKE.

A PARTICULARLY DISTRESSING FEATURE IN INDOCHINA HAS BEEN THE HUMAN SUFFERING ASSOCIATED WITH THE REFUGEE MOVEMENTS CAUSED BY CONTINUING CONFLICT WITHIN THE AREA.

AUSTRALIA HAS RECEIVED MANY OF THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE NOT ONLY BECAUSE WE FELT IT RIGHT AND HUMANE TO DO SO, BUT ALSO BECAUSE WE HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES AS A MEMBER OF THE REGION TO CONTRIBUTE TO A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM WHICH HAS HAD ITS MAIN IMPACT IN THAILAND.

OUR CO-OPERATION IN THE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE MADE NECESSARY BY THE REFUGEE SITUATION REFLECTS SOME OF THE MOST DEEPLY-HELD VALUES OF OUR TWO SOCIETIES.

IN THIS WE HAVE BEEN MOTIVATED BY COMPASSION AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERN. AUSTRALIA HAS CONTRIBUTED OVER \$A 50 MILLION FOR ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF CASH, FOOD AID, AND PERSONNEL TO INDOCHINESE REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS SINCE 1978, MORE ON A PER CAPITA BASIS THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

MUCH OF THIS ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE DIRECTED TO DISPLACED CAMBODIANS IN THE THAI/CAMBODIAN BORDER AREA, WHILE SOME HAS BEEN DIRECTED TO MEETING THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF RETURNEES AND OTHERS INSIDE CAMBODIA.

THE PROVISION OF SOME HUMANITARIAN AID INSIDE CAMBODIA HAS THE EFFECT OF AMELIORATING THE CONDITION OF THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE. IT ALSO CREATES CONDITIONS WHICH REDUCE THE ECONOMIC INCENTIVE TO LEAVE AND TO ENCOURAGE A MOVEMENT BY THE REFUGEES IN THE BORDER AREA TO RETURN HOME.

IT WILL BE EVIDENT THAT AUSTRALIA BRINGS AN INDEPENDENT CAREFULLY CONSIDERED VIEWPOINT TO BEAR ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE REGION. THE ASEAN COUNTRIES WOULD NOT RESPECT US IF WE DID NOT APPROACH THE CONDUCT OF OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN SUCH A WAY, NOR WOULD WE BE ENTITLED TO SUCH RESPECT.

BUT, ON THE MAIN ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE, THERE IS FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT. IN TERMS OF GIVING EFFECT TO THESE PRINCIPLES THERE HAVE BEEN SOME DIFFERENCES OF EMPHASIS. BUT SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE HAS TENDED TO BE OVERSTATED.

LET ME THEREFORE BE CLEAR AND QUITE UNEQUIVOCAL.

AUSTRALIA IS NOT MAKING SOME KIND OF CHOICE BETWEEN OUR TRADITIONAL AND CLOSEST FRIENDS SUCH AS THAILAND AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF ASEAN ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM ON THE OTHER.

RATHER, INSPIRED BY THE SAME HOPES AND CONCERNS AS OUR FRIENDS, WE WANT TO SEE PEACE IN A REGION WHICH HAS TOO LONG BEEN CHARACTERISED BY WARFARE, MISUNDERSTANDING AND OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

THE DEEP, WIDE-RANGING RELATIONSHIP WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND ASEAN SHOULD PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH WE CAN ADDRESS SUCH INTERESTS AND CARRY FORWARD OUR SHARED REGIONAL CONCERNS AND PREOCCUPATIONS.

DESPITE THE PROMINANCE THAT HAS BEEN GIVEN IN SOME QUARTERS TO PERCEIVED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, I HAVE FELT CONFIDENT AT ALL TIMES ABOUT THE ABILITY OF THE LEADERS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO CLARIFY THESE ISSUES SO THAT THE FUNDAMENTALLY STRONG AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR NATIONS IS NOT ONLY NOT IN QUESTION, BUT CONTINUES TO BE FUNDAMENTALLY STRENGTHENED.

THE TALKS BILL HAYDEN AND I HAVE HAD WITH YOU MR PRIME MINISTER AND WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SIDDHI HAVE CONFIRMED THIS EXPECTATION.

BOTH BILL HAYDEN AND I LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHERING THIS PROCESS WITH OTHER ASEAN LEADERS.

13.

THE FRANKNESS AND UNDERSTANDING ACHIEVED BETWEEN US ARE, I BELIEVE, INDICATIVE OF THE STRENGTH AND QUALITY OF THE AUSTRALIAN/THAI RELATIONSHIP.

YOU MAY BE ASSURED AUSTRALIA WILL CONTINUE TO STAND AMONG THAILAND'S STAUCHEST FRIENDS.