



# PRIME MINISTER

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**SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA  
HON. R.J.L. HAWKE A.C. M.P.  
DIETMEMBERS ASSOCIATION BREAKFAST  
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Mr Mutoh, Chairman of the Japan-Australia Dietmembers Friendship League, distinguished members and other guests.

Too often visits such as this are occasions, at least in public speeches, for fairly pious platitudes, for proffering the acceptable cliches and avoiding, at all costs, the delicate or the controversial.

The times we live in and the relationship between our two nations are too important for this.

And so, without presumption, I wish to speak, as a friend, directly on issues fundamental to these times and that relationship. And there is one message - I believe a very important message - which I want to put to this influential group at the beginning of my official visit to Japan.

It is a message of the firmest confidence for the future of relations between Australia and Japan, as we enter a new phase of our friendship within a new world order.

Nine decades ago, at the dawn of the twentieth century, the six Australian colonies forged a Federal union and created a single independent nation on our vast continent.

The observer of the Australia-Japan relationship today cannot fail to be struck by the precise division of those nine decades into two equal halves. In the first 45 years, Australians normally regarded Japan as a threat to be feared; in the second 45 years, Australia and Japan have put the past behind them and built a stable, business-like, increasingly prosperous and increasingly friendly relationship.

That relationship has relied on three strong pillars: our deeply shared commitment to democracy and the rule of law; our alliance relationships with the United States that provide the northern and southern anchors of strategic security in our region; and the complementarity of our economic strengths that has created a vast and productive commercial exchange of, principally, our raw materials for your manufactured goods.

Today each of these pillars remains intact, important and vital to our relationship.

Yet as we observe the rapid changes taking place in the world around us -

the more constructive superpower relationships, the astonishing overthrow of the old undemocratic regimes of Eastern Europe, the unanimity with which the world community is managing the first post-Cold War crisis in the Persian Gulf, the seemingly unstoppable dynamism of our own region -

and as our own two societies continue to change -

I believe we should ask whether we should be creating a new phase in our relationship.

For Japan's part, you are no longer merely an emerging economic power, you are truly a global giant. You lead the world in crucial industries and your main economic dilemma -- a rare and happy one - is how to allocate the massive savings surpluses you have accumulated.

This economic strength is calling forth a louder and more authoritative influence for Japan in global and regional affairs - and I mean political and strategic affairs, not just economic. That trend, apparent before, has been reinforced by the way in which Cold War tensions have been replaced by the new and complex problems of multipolar diplomacy and strategy.

For Australia's part, we too are engaging the world on new terms. We have accepted the need for economic flexibility; we have steadily internationalised our economy and we are becoming steadily more capable of sophisticated economic linkages. And we have proven our commitment to multilateral diplomacy that is diligent, credible and increasingly respected.

With all this, I believe we are entitled to conclude that Australia and Japan should indeed be on the threshold of a new, and even closer, and certainly more diverse and sophisticated relationship - a third phase in the history of our relationship that will take us into the next century not only as people who do a lot of business together but as colleagues, constructive partners and friends.

Increasingly, we will see each other as more than complementary and valuable markets.

Australia will look to Japan as a source of the most modern technologies; a source of diverse investment funds; a magnet for Australian exports and investment; a regional friend exercising international political influence.

And I believe Japan will look to Australia as a creative, vigorous, increasingly diversified partner in an economically dynamic region; a self-reliant and self-confident nation constructively involved in the great issues of our region and our world; a decent, tolerant, vibrant society enriched by migrants from around the globe - not to forget, of course, an exciting land offering a warm welcome to your tourists.

These are the kinds of issues that I look forward to discussing with Prime Minister Kaifu, with you, Mr Mutoh, and with other political and business leaders on this visit.

Australia and Japan need to broaden our relations to ensure that they reflect the changing realities and needs of the 1990s.

This morning I want to address in more detail one aspect, and a critically important one, of that multifaceted task: the international context in which our bilateral relations will be operating.

The magnitude of the global changes of recent years leaves me in no doubt that we have witnessed a permanent and fundamental shift in international relationships.

But what comes next is not yet clear. The very phrase "post-Cold War period" sums up much of the uncertainty of this time. It suggests, correctly, that the only thing we are sure of is what has gone before us. We do not know what is yet to come.

We do know that the ending of the Cold War has not led to the un-invention of weapons of mass destruction - nuclear, chemical or biological. And it has not led to the disappearance of big armies, national rivalries or reckless leaders.

And we know too, that different regions of the globe still have their distinct security problems - something, I know, which is very evident here in Japan as you look at the complicated security equation in Northeast Asia.

In particular, to those who might have forgotten it in the euphoria of crumbling walls in Europe, of emerging superpower cooperation, of real progress towards strategic nuclear disarmament, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait brought home forcefully that the new world order does not necessarily mean a peaceful and safe world order.

In addressing my own parliamentary colleagues on developments in the Gulf recently, I said that Iraq's action challenged us to define the way in which the world community will cooperate in the years ahead. We needed to work out how to manage such dangers - which are by no means unique to the Middle East - before they arise.

That is why Australia has supported the United Nations and the international rule of law against the clear challenge posed by Iraq. We believe all nations will suffer if aggression goes unchecked in the Gulf; and that all nations will benefit if the United Nations can succeed in giving practical and irresistible expression to the outrage we all feel at the invasion of Kuwait. This has been exemplified by the unparalleled and very welcome cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the light of those judgments, my Government has

- condemned Iraq's invasion absolutely;
- supported the Security Council's resolutions, calling for unconditional withdrawal;
- implemented the mandatory sanctions imposed by Security Council resolution 661 to compel that withdrawal;
- deployed three ships of the Royal Australian Navy to join the international effort to enforce those sanctions;
- and supported the deployment of Western and Arab forces to the Gulf, to defend Saudi Arabia and to deter further Iraqi aggression.

I should add that throughout the difficult weeks since 2 August, my Government has welcomed and admired the clarity of purpose, the decisive action and the sense of responsibility which the United States has displayed in leading the international response to Iraq's aggression.

We deplore the circumstances which might make it necessary to use military force in the Gulf. But we accept that peace is bought at too high a price if that price is the appeasement of aggression.

In this sense, the Gulf crisis has been the first important international test of the post-Cold War period.

And it is one reason why my visit to Tokyo at this time has an importance which extends beyond our bilateral relationship. More than on any other of my three visits to Japan as Prime Minister, I wish on this occasion to talk to leaders in Japan about our views of the world and the roles we perceive for each other in the world.

Because if indeed the new world order is to be peaceful and safe - if we are to create a new Concert of Nations, which, even more than the Concert of Europe after the Napoleonic wars, can provide a durable multipolar balance of power - then, make no mistake, Japan will have a critical contribution to make.

Indeed, it is true to say that today no framework for the conduct of international affairs could be regarded as adequate or complete if it lacked Japanese commitment and involvement. The days are gone when Japan's international political influence can or should lag far behind its economic strength and economic interests. The power of your economy, the strength of your democracy, the talents of your people, entitle you to a place of leadership as of right.

I want to make it very clear to you that Australia welcomes that. And we are confident that Japan has the commitment, courage and understanding necessary to exercise the responsibilities of leadership that go hand in hand with that right.

So we hope that Japan will be actively involved in the affairs of the Asia-Pacific region - and beyond. In particular, we welcome Japan's recognition that its strategic interests and international responsibilities are deeply engaged in the Persian Gulf, and we welcome your decision thus far to support the international response to Iraq's aggression, by financial and other measures.

In the region, for all its economic dynamism, an unswerving commitment to peace cannot yet be taken for granted. For our own sakes and for the sake of the region, Australia and Japan want to see peace, prosperity and democracy.

I sincerely welcomed Prime Minister Kaifu's work in ensuring that regional issues were given proper attention at the Houston summit meeting of the G7. We have appreciated Japan's active involvement in the new processes of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation and in the search for a comprehensive settlement in Cambodia. And we welcome the emerging Japanese involvement in regional environmental issues, such as your regional suspension of drift net fishing. Let me point out however that Australia's position is for a global ban on this barbaric practice.

We are fortunate in all this to have in the United Nations an organisation beginning to fulfil the aspirations of its founders - the aspirations that international cooperation can keep the world peaceful. But it is in line with everything that I have said today that the structure of the United Nations needs to be reviewed and reformed so as to reflect contemporary realities - including the reflection, much more adequately than under present arrangements, of Japan's own status, contribution and role.

Mr Minister

With Japan's important economic strengths come equally important economic responsibilities. You well understand the significance for global economic prosperity of the maintenance of the open multilateral trading system - the system which has done so much to guarantee the prosperity of our countries over nearly half a century. In this area, too, Japanese leadership will be necessary to ensure that the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations does not fail. For if it does, the consequences for the world will be disastrous.

In the collapse of the international trading system in the 1930s, we have a stark reminder of what might happen if narrow and short-term political self-interest is allowed to prevail over what we all know to be our long-term common interest.

We must avoid that outcome at all costs, and Japan's help in preventing it will be essential. It would be a tragic irony if, at a time when the military and ideological issues which have threatened peace for much of the past four decades are being resolved, the world descends into conflict over international trade questions.

So let me be quite clear: Japan's preparedness to achieve genuine reform of trade rules - including specifically your willingness to liberalise further your domestic agricultural protection - will be a true test, and an appropriate one, of your leadership in the 1990s.

Further liberalisation would directly benefit competitive agricultural producers, to be sure - and it would also apply very welcome pressure on the other protectionist economies, notably the European Community, to match your reforms with rational measures of their own.

Mr Mutoh, distinguished members,

Ultimately it will be up to Japan to determine how you will resolve these issues of leadership that I have raised today.

Let me close, however, on a very candid note.

We want Japan to be more forthcoming, more confident, more creative, more outspoken than it has been in the past. Do not hold back, for you have much to contribute. As we move into a new exciting era of international relations, this great country, with its remarkable capacity to adapt to change and its unparalleled economic and technological achievements, can and should be an increasingly important leader for the good of our region and for the good of the world.

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