

DOCUMENTATION

Address by Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita

Japan and ASEAN: Thinking Together and Advancing Together

Jakarta, 5 May 1989

1. (Introduction)

His Excellency Mr. Sudomo, Minister Coordinator for Political Security Affairs,
His Excellency Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

I am now nearing the end of a journey that started in Thailand and has taken me throughout most of the ASEAN region. While I still have yet to visit the Philippines, I have been able to see friends old and new in Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, and Singapore. I have seen for myself the vigorous development that these countries are achieving, and I have been impressed anew with their dynamism.

This is, as you know, my first visit to Jakarta, and I find the progress that Indonesia is making under President Soeharto most inspiring.

Earlier today I had the opportunity for a very cordial and friendly discussion with President Soeharto, and now I am deeply honoured to be accorded this opportunity to address this prestigious Foreign Policy Forum on my trip to the ASEAN region and to do so in the presence of Minister Coordinator Sudomo, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and numerous other dignitaries.

2. (ASEAN Development)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are now approaching the end of the 20th century, and there are signs of a new era aborning in the world. The dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union is firmly on track, and solid efforts are being made to resolve the regional conflicts in such areas as Cambodia, Afghanistan, and southern Africa, and between Iran and Iraq. At the same time, momentum has been building since last year for a normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, as shown in the recent exchange of Foreign Ministers' visits, and we are looking ahead to a historic summit meeting between those two nations later this month in Beijing—the first such Sino-Soviet summit meeting in three decades. In this trend of global situation we now see signs that the dynamics of international relations are moving from confrontation to dialogue and that the instrument in resolving differences is shifting from military means to political negotiations. It is a development that bodes well for world peace and prosperity.

Yet it must also be recognized that there are still many problems in the world yet to be solved, and it would not do to be overly optimistic. All countries and all peoples need to join together in more concerted efforts if we are to build upon these welcome signs that are now emerging and translate them into firm reality. Fine words spoken about peace need to be verified by sincere deeds for peace.

The remarkable progress made by the ASEAN countries is a beacon of hope for the future. In little more than two decades, you have forged strong bonds of cooperation and solidarity in the spirit of "unity in diversity", have brought peace and stability to the region, have created a unique and balanced regional community of nations, and have proved an excellent example of what good neighbors can accomplish together. At the same time, you have achieved striking economic growth by exercising your entrepreneurial spirit and willingness to work hard in market-oriented economies, showing clearly that this is doable and inspiring many other developing countries in their quest for prosperity. The wisdom of this ASEAN path over the last twenty some years is demonstrated by the fact that certain countries in the world, having learned lesson from the rigidities of centrally planned economies, are moving to adopt freer and more open economic policies.

Furthermore, realizing the importance of peace and stability throughout Southeast Asia, the ASEAN countries have also taken determined initiatives for a political solution to the problems in Cambodia. I would like in this regard to pay my respects especially to the unwavering efforts for peace being made by Indonesia, including your twice hosting the Jakarta Informal Meeting and arranging the recent Sihanouk-Hun Sen talks.

I am well aware that President Soeharto has also been very interested in improving relations with China that had long been suspended. Thus I was pleased that he was able to meet with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and to discuss some of the specific modalities for achieving such a normalization when the two men were in Tokyo late this February for the Emperor Showa's funeral. Normalization between Indonesia and China would be a welcome move in further consolidating Asian stability.

I have been very impressed on this ASEAN trip with the strength of Indonesia and the other ASEAN countries' desire for peace in the Asia-Pacific region, and I have renewed my determination to work together with the ASEAN countries to build a better future for all humankind.

3. (Japan's International Cooperation Initiative and Southeast Asia)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Soon after becoming Prime Minister of Japan, I went on record as making "Japan contributing to the world" a primary goal of my country. Recognizing that Japan is now an important member of the international community, I believe it is only right that we should undertake the responsibility of contributing to world peace and prosperity commensurate with our enhanced capabilities and status.

In line with this belief, I have set forth an International Cooperation Initiative premised on the following three pillars.

The first pillar of the International Cooperation Initiative is the strengthening of cooperation to achieve peace. In keeping with Japan's peace Constitution, we are firmly resolved not to become a military power such as might threaten our neighbors and are determined to do everything possible to use our abilities in cooperating for peace. From this perspective, Japan will undertake positive diplomatic initiatives aimed at conflict resolution. Specifically, this means enhancing the level of our cooperation for achieving and maintaining world peace, including dispatching experts and other personnel to trouble spots and providing financial assistance for peace-keeping efforts.

Second is the expansion of Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA). ODA is one of the areas where the world expects Japan to contribute most, and Japan has responded to these expectations by formulating a series of four medium-term targets for ODA enhancement and stepped-up support for the developing countries. I am determined to continue this effort, providing more and better ODA in the service of world peace and prosperity.

And third is the strengthening of international cultural exchange. Cultural exchange in the broadest sense is the foundation enabling people to transcend the value and systemic differences separating them and to achieve true mutual respect and understanding as human beings. At the same time, the stimulation accompanying full-hearted exchanges among diverse cultures generates new vitality for the progress of the international community as a whole.

I believe that Southeast Asia is one of the most important areas for this International Cooperation Initiative, and I intend to promote actively the initiative in this region. In this respect the consistency and continuity of Japan's foreign policy including its policy toward the ASEAN countries will be upheld. I might remind you that Japan's budget bill reflecting the initiative for the fiscal year 1989 passed the House of Representatives on April 28.

4. (Japan's Basic Policy toward ASEAN)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Relations between Japan and the ASEAN countries have grown steadily stronger and broader year by year in the spirit of mutual heart-to-heart trust among true friends, not only in the political and economic fields but in the social, cultural, and other fields as well. Today, we are building a mature relationship of "thinking together and working together". Significantly, at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Japan and ASEAN in Manila in December 1987, I outlined the basic economic, political, and cultural policies that I felt Japan should adopt so as to build a new partnership between Japan and the ASEAN countries looking toward the 21st century. In effect, these policies meant applying the International Cooperation Initiative to the specific ASEAN context. Since much has happened in the intervening months, I would like to take this opportunity to state my views on how the International Cooperation Initiative relates to Japan-ASEAN relations as we move into the new era.

5. Let me first refer to the economic area.

Japan has recently been making a major effort to ensure that our economic structure is harmonious and compatible with the rest of the world economy. We have made it a major Japanese national policy goal to contribute to stable world economic development and have taken steps to achieve this goal. Among the specific manifestations of this policy orientation are the effort to achieve and consolidate the shift to domestic-demand-led growth, the effort to further improve market access and to promote imports, and the effort to recycle our surplus capital for the global benefit.

The combination of these Japanese efforts and your own efforts that have made it possible to achieve striking growth in the ASEAN countries has, happily, meant the forging of close and more mutually beneficial economic relations between us. There has been a sharp increase in Japanese imports from the ASEAN countries recently—an increase highlighted by the fact that 1988's imports of manufactured goods were approximately 49% more than in 1987 and are still growing. At the same time, Japanese investment in the ASEAN countries is also on the increase—the figure for 1987 being as much as 78% more than in 1986 and that for 1988 expected to be over 50% more than in 1987. The ongoing adjustment of the Japanese and ASEAN economic structures is today generating signs of horizontal division of labor between us. All of this bodes well for the future.

Determined to expand our ODA as one pillar of the International Cooperation Initiative, Japan has been making a special effort to support the developing countries. Consistent with this policy, the government formulated a new medium-term target for ODA last June calling for the total ODA in the five years 1988 through 1992 to be at least \$50 billion—more than double that for the previous half-decade.

Because we see the ASEAN countries as one of Japan's most important economic cooperation partners, we have allocated about 30% of our total ODA to the ASEAN countries. As a result, Japan is now the largest donor country for the ASEAN countries. In recent years, in fact, Japan has accounted for over half of the total bilateral ODA received by the ASEAN countries.

I assure you that Japanese policy will continue to emphasize relations with ASEAN in the years ahead. It is gratifying if Japanese ODA could have made some contribution to nation building and human resources development in the ASEAN countries and I expect that efforts will continue in your countries to use this assistance effectively.

At the December 1987 Meeting of Heads of Government of Japan and ASEAN, I announced plans to implement an ASEAN-Japan Development Fund. I am pleased to note that steady progress has been made for the implementation of the Fund, and I hope that it will prove useful in promoting private-sector development in the ASEAN countries and intra-regional cooperation.

The debt problem in the developing countries which not only cripples the developing countries' efforts for economic development but also poses a threat to the stable development of the entire world economy, is another area of serious concern. Japan has thus embarked upon a capital recycling program starting in 1987, and I am pleased to say that about 90% of this money has already been committed. This is just one of the many things that we have been doing, and Japan will continue to do more for the solution of the debt problem.

Looking at the Uruguay Round, these multilateral trade negotiations are an indispensable part of the effort to achieve sustained world economic development through preserving and strengthening free and open world trade, and I am certain that success in the Uruguay Round is of vital importance for the ASEAN countries and Japan. It is imperative that we be unswerving in our dedication to free trade and that each of our countries contributes as best it can, commensurate with its stage of economic development, to making the Uruguay Round successful. Paying all due heed to ASEAN concerns and interests, Japan intends to cooperate closely with your countries in promoting the Uruguay Round. It was consistent with this position that Japan took the initiative and decided to implement, unilaterally and ahead of other countries, an offer this April on those tropical products that are important to the ASEAN countries. Also, in its efforts for economic restructuring and further improvement of market access, Japan has duly taken into account the cooperative relations with the ASEAN countries.

6. (Cambodian Problem)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Seeking to expand and enhance its cooperation for peace, Japan has endeavoured particularly to strengthen its dialogue and cooperation with the ASEAN countries on the international political issues that affect peace and stability in Asia. Thanks to the active dialogue among ASEAN and the other parties concerned, significant progress has been seen in the area of the Cambodian problem. I believe, indeed, that this year will be a crucial one where the solution of this problem is concerned. I very much hope that a just solution of the problem will soon enable the people of Cambodia and the rest of Indochina to focus their efforts on the task of nation-building and that, as a result, the day will soon come when dynamic development and prosperity for all of Southeast Asia will be attained through the cooperation between the Indochinese countries and the ASEAN countries. Japan, for its part, stands ready to assist this process in every way possible.

Within this conceptual framework, I would like to stress that the following are the four essential elements on which the international community must focus its efforts to find a just political solution bringing lasting peace and stability to the region.

First is the securing of the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, under international supervision, and the prevention of any return to the inhuman policies of the past associated with the Pol Pot regime.

Second is the holding of a free and fair elections enabling the Cambodian people to achieve self-determination which, we may expect, will lead to the establishment of a truly independent, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia.

Third is the establishment of an effective international control mechanism to facilitate the attainment of those goals.

Fourth is that any political settlement must both ensure Cambodia's internal stability and respect the security concerns of all neighbouring countries, which means that a comprehensive political settlement is indispensable.

Of crucial importance to all four will be the reconciling of the differences that still exist among the parties concerned, and that can be attained only through frank and realistic dialogue among them.

Japan will actively consider the extending of financial cooperation, the dispatch of personnel and the provision of non-military materials to assist the introduction and operation of an effective international control mechanism to facilitate this peace process. I wish to stress, too, that we will also be prepared to assist economic reconstruction and development in Indochina once a comprehensive political settlement has been attained. With regard to the reconstruction of Cambodia, in particular, Japan intends to consult with the other countries concerned on the framework of international cooperation for effective assistance to that country.

As part of its contribution to a political solution of the Cambodian problem, Japan intends also to cooperate in every way possible with the other countries and the international organizations concerned in enabling the many displaced persons from Cambodia in the Thai-Cambodian border area to return to their homes and participate in the rebuilding of their country there. We will also continue to strive to enhance our cooperation within an international framework for a comprehensive solution of the Indochinese refugee problem as a whole.

7. (Cultural and Personal Exchanges)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Cultural and personal exchanges are just as important as political and economic exchanges in deepening and broadening the relations between Japan and the ASEAN countries.

Realizing this, I took the opportunity of the December 1987 Meeting of Heads of Government of Japan and ASEAN to propose the adoption of a Japan-ASEAN Comprehensive Exchange Program that would promote exchanges in a broad range of fields based upon mutual respect for each other's wealth of traditions and rich cultural heritages. As I noted then, exchange cannot be a one-way street. All due attention has to be paid to ensuring that it is two-way exchange, as well as to deepening and broadening the range of activities and fields for exchange. I am pleased to note that this Program has made considerable progress over the last year and a half.

For example, I believe that the ASEAN Film Week held in Tokyo late last year marked a significant highlight in Japan-ASEAN cultural exchange, and I know that many people had opportunities to see these outstanding ASEAN films including *Kartini* from Indonesia and were deeply touched by them. This ASEAN Film Week marked a new page in promoting Japanese appreciation of ASEAN culture.

At the same time, I am most pleased that *Oshin* has been favorably received on Indonesian television. For what it is worth, this was one of my family's favorite programs too. Although *Oshin's* Japan is a somewhat older Japan, the drama still offers a worthwhile window on Japanese culture and the Japanese way of life.

I find it very gratifying that there has been a rapid increase in the number of people learning Japanese and studying about Japan in Southeast Asia, for I take this as a sign of heightened interest in things Japanese. We intend to support these efforts as best we can, and I am confident that the Japan Foundation Japanese Language Institute to be opened in the outskirts of Tokyo this July will contribute significantly through the training of teachers to the study of Japanese throughout Southeast Asia.

In this same vein, the ASEAN Culture Center of the Japan Foundation is slated to open later this year in Tokyo in line with the recommendations of the 1987 Mission on Cultural Exchange and Cooperation to ASEAN Countries. I am hopeful that the Center and other programs will succeed in introducing ASEAN culture to a wide spectrum of Japanese and that these efforts will contribute to enhanced cultural exchange between Japan and the ASEAN countries.

Along with cultural exchange, educational exchange is another important area in enabling today's young people to realize their full potential as tomorrow's leaders. Many of the ASEAN countries' future leaders have studied either in the ASEAN region or outside of the region, and have enhanced their capabilities since 1980 under the Japan Scholarship for ASEAN Youth. I find it most encouraging that over 5,000 young people have been able to pursue their studies and hone their talents under this scholarship program so far. Knowing how highly regarded this scholarship program is in the ASEAN countries, I intend to add new provisions and to start a new program with a total of \$10 million in new funding over the next five years starting next year.

More and more students are coming to study in Japan every year, and there are now over 25,000 foreign students studying with us. The government is making a systematic effort to expand the number of government scholarships, to provide more assistance for non-scholarship students, to improve accommodations and otherwise to make their stay as rewarding as possible. I assure you that we will continue trying to accept more students from the ASEAN countries and to make their stay in Japan even more productive.

Young people hold the key to the future. Their potential is infinite. I well remember the enthusiasm that I brought as a building politician to the formation nearly thirty years ago of the *Seinen Kaigai Kyooryokutai* Program (JOCV), a program sponsored by the Japanese Government to dispatch junior experts to developing countries for technical cooperation, and it warmed my heart that Indonesia invited some junior experts under this program last year. Another important program enabling over 3,000 young people from Japan and the ASEAN region alike to broaden their horizons of friendship and understanding has been the annual Ship for Southeast Asian Youth Program launched in 1974.

The Friendship Program for the 21st Century has been further fleshed out and extended for another five years starting this year, and it now provides for inviting a total of 4,000 ASEAN young people to Japan. As I explained when I announced this in December 1987, all of this is part of a greater effort to promote exchanges between Japanese and ASEAN young people.

8. (Furusato Renaissance)

I would like, in this regard, to touch briefly upon the furusato-renaissance program that my administration has been promoting in Japan. Friends tell me that the place where you were born—the place you call home—is referred to as *kampung halaman* in Indonesia. The Japanese term furusato (literally “old home town”) is very similar to this. Both convey a feeling of

identification with the soil and the place of one's birth. Thus it is that my furusato-renaissance program is intended to create vigorous communities and rewarding lives so that each and every person can have a furusato that he or she identifies with proudly. This does not mean only or even primarily material wealth. Rather, it means a spiritually rich and balanced community. At the same time, it goes without saying that this also includes ensuring that Japan is even more open to the rest of the world and working to be sure that we bequeath posterity a heritage of ecological diversity and respect for life befitting the blue planet earth—the only planet in this solar system where life exists and the shared furusato of all humankind.

9. (Environmental Issues)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Related to this theme of nature and the earth, I would like to say a few words about the profound concern for the environment that people all over the world are expressing.

During my tour of the ASEAN countries, I have gazed upon your deep blue oceans and your lushly verdant forests, and have been impressed anew with the blessings of nature. The global warming arising from industrialization and development, the depletion of the ozone layer, acid rain, the fouling of our air and water, the devastation of tropical forests, and all of the other environmental problems are the problems with global impacts. Humankind has a grave responsibility to solve these problems, to preserve the integrity of the natural environment, and to ensure that our children and grandchildren enjoy the same ecological riches that we have today. Japan intends to take positive steps for cooperative endeavour to solve the environmental problems; to build expertise on the global warming; to improve global monitoring and supervisory systems, etc. As one such step, I have proposed the Tokyo Conference on the Global Environment and Human Response toward Sustainable Development to be held this September with the cooperation of the United Nations and like-minded countries.

I believe that our efforts to solve the environmental issues must be premised upon a global approach, must be compatible with sustainable economic growth, and must fully heed the developing countries' position. In this regard, international cooperation is extremely important in assisting the developing countries' efforts to come to terms with environmental imperatives.

It is gratifying that the ASEAN countries have also seen a groundswell of interest in environmental issues, and I find your positive response most encouraging. Japan is engaged in a number of reforestation, forestry management, and other projects designed to support these ASEAN efforts, and we are cooperating in a wide range of environmental protection fields, including efforts to prevent air and water pollution. Given the continuing importance of the environment, Japan intends to further step up this cooperation.

Tropical forest research and conservation is one of the most pressing issues being emphasized by the ASEAN countries today. Realizing that this is also a global concern, Japan intends to further enhance its bilateral cooperation with all due respect for the host countries' policies and do even more in support of the International Tropical Timber Organization and other multilateral agencies.

10. (The Asia-Pacific Region in the 1990s)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

If we are to make the 21st century an era of peace and prosperity for all humankind, it is essential that we lay the foundations for a bright future in the 1990s, the last decade of the 20th century. The Asia-Pacific region, developing as the world's most vigorous and dynamic region is expected to play an important role as an engine of growth for the world at this critical period. As you know, there has been a spate of proposals for closer cooperation among the Asia-Pacific

countries and a number of studies and discussions are actively under way at this very moment. It should be noted that the development of the Asia-Pacific region has been propelled by wise government policies and vitality of private-sector in free-market economies, and this experience should be taken into due consideration for our future efforts as well.

I believe it is imperative that countries oriented for free and open economic interchange and have extensive economic activities in the Asia-Pacific region, start to think seriously how we can best promote cooperation among the countries in the region for the 21st century. I believe that three points are essential to ensure sound development of the Asia-Pacific region, and I would like to state my basic views.

First is that we should respect the views of ASEAN—the association that has achieved the most dynamic cooperation in this region.

Affirming the rich diversity of your member countries, ASEAN has worked to strengthen solidarity and cooperation and has, in the process, achieved remarkable success in its pursuit of development. I believe that ASEAN's example in achieving diversity-tolerant cooperation is a paragon of the sort of cooperation that we need in the Asia-Pacific region.

Second is the need to preserve and strengthen the free and open trading system.

The free-trade system has been a crucial cornerstone enabling the world to achieve remarkable growth after World War II. Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region must clearly be such as contributes to vigorous development for the entire world economy through the strengthening of free and multilateral trade.

And third is the need to promote multi-faceted and steady cooperation.

We need to identify the tasks to be jointly tackled by the countries of the Asia-Pacific region in such diverse areas as trade and industry, environment, transportation, communications, science and technology, and other fields. And we need to start promoting cooperation in priority areas where there is a high degree of shared interest.

It is in this era of growing importance of the Asia-Pacific cooperation that the true value of Japan-ASEAN cooperative relations built over the past twenty some years will be really tested. Together with the ASEAN countries, we wish to make a steady move forward in a constructive spirit of identifying our possibilities in the Asia-Pacific region to share with and to contribute to the world.

11. (Concluding Remarks)

As I recall, my journey of diplomacy began in Manila where I attended the Meeting of Heads of Government of Japan and ASEAN in December 1987, and the current tour of the ASEAN countries marks my eleventh overseas trip as Prime Minister. It is most gratifying that I have been able to further strengthen our relations with the countries in the Asia-Pacific region through a series of fruitful dialogues with their leaders. On returning home from this final overseas trip, I shall entrust the helm of my Government in the hands of the next cabinet which will take over after the Diet approval of the new budget. I am confident, however, that Japan will firmly maintain the consistency and continuity of its foreign policy, and will strive to further strengthen the bond between Japan and the ASEAN countries.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

What should our goals be as we look ahead to the 21st century? I believe there can be no answer but that of joining our strengths together to share in the joy of life and the joy of accomplishment and to build a world of peace and affluence for all humankind.

And before we can do that, we must be clearly cognizant of the new roles imposed by the new era. We must seriously ponder our responsibilities. And we must move forth with unshakable faith

in the future. No matter how arduous the road ahead, we must believe that hard work and determination can find a way.

Not only are Japan and the ASEAN natural allies geographically and historically fated to work together, we are today bound together in the pursuit of freedom and individual creativity. We are “eternal partners thinking together and advancing together”.

Thus I close on a note of hope that the many heart-to-heart exchanges that have brought the Japanese and ASEAN peoples together will provide the momentum needed to inaugurate a new era in the Asia-Pacific and a better future for all the world.

Thank you very much.

Terima kasih.

SOURCE: Embassy of Japan, Republic of Singapore.