

**TRANSCRIPT OF A JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE HELD**  
**BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MR LEE KUAN YEW, AND**  
**PRESIDENT FERDINAND MARCOS OF THE PHILIPPINES**  
**AT BAGUIO CITY, ON 19<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY, 1977**

PRESIDENT MARCOS:                      My friends, this press conference, jointly held by our distinguished visitor, the Prime Minister from Singapore and the Head of State of the Philippines, has been called primarily to emphasise the formal initialling of the joint press statement on the occasion of the unofficial visit of the Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew. The copies of this joint statement have been distributed to you. It refers primarily to the procedural efficiencies we have instituted in ASEAN to overcome some of the obstacles that have delayed implementation of the cooperative industrialisation programme as well as other projects of ASEAN. Thus, you will note that it now authorises the economic ministers to make economic decisions, although the arrangements and agreements of the different ASEAN members states will be promulgated by the Foreign Ministers.

There are some projects that pertain to economic cooperation which have been agreed upon between Singapore and the Philippines. The most important would probably be the 10% across-the-board tariff cut. The next would probably be the private sector industrial complementation agreement. Then, of course, with respect to relations with countries outside ASEAN, we have this matter of now working out more clearly the joint approaches of the Asean member states – us, ASEAN – to the United States as well as the joint position of the two countries – Singapore and the Philippines – to maintain or preserve the present system of tax deferral for American investments in ASEAN. The other matter, of course, would be to now open economic dialogue with such areas and regions like the United States. We are presently engaged in economic dialogue with the EEC and it is proposed we expand the economic dialogue between ASEAN and Japan. We are, of course, gratified that the new Prime Minister of Japan has indicated that one of his first overseas visits will be to the ASEAN nations. We welcome such initiative on the part of the Prime Minister, Mr Fukuda. We, of course, reiterate our position with respect to the great powers which is that we share the view: the constructive balance of power amongst them. Those powers who have legitimate interest in the region would contribute to the stability of Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole. And the peaceful and constructive competition among the great powers in the region would be beneficial to all concerned.

I will now request Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, to open the Press Conference with a statement.

PRIME MINISTER: Mr President, ladies and gentlemen of press, I am not good as an opener. I usually find it easier to round off a press conference, particularly, if the pressmen are friendly. So, all I want to say is, that these various pages of the document have been the result of considerable, leisurely effort in the salubrious atmosphere of Baguio. The air in Baguio, as it was in Bali, where the former Thai Prime Minister made a memorable remark: All things are possible in heaven. We have tried in Baguio to do all things which are possible in the immediate future.

V. TANEDO

(TIMES JOURNAL): In the bilateral initiatives that you have taken in your talks with President Marcos, you seem to have indicated a confidence in the ability of the Philippines Government to partake in the economic development of ASEAN.

Now, my first question, Mr Prime Minister, what is your frank assessment of the economic development and capabilities of the Philippines?

My second question is: What is your assessment of the capabilities of the other ASEAN countries, namely Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand?

PRIME MINISTER: First, may I say that it is not the Philippines that is having to match the confidence of achieving these targets. It is Singapore trying to rise up to the high targets which the Philippines, the President and his government feel are achievable. Therefore, may I first, with all humility, say that we will do our best to meet your expectations. I hope we will not disappoint you whether it is across-the-board 10 per cent tariff reduction, the special preferential trading arrangements or special joint venture projects using locally manufactured components in both the Philippines and Singapore.

As to my frank assessment of the other members of ASEAN rising up to the projected achievements of what the President of the Philippines believe should be in the immediate future, I suggest that you put these questions or similar questions to the people in the three respective governments who are far more competent than I am to give you their frank assessment.

But speaking as a loyal member of ASEAN, I have no doubt that they not only have the capabilities, they probably – given a little time in sorting out between the bureaucracy and the political leadership – also have the will. But, as I have said, this is a third-party point of view, although a very close third party.

MR GENOVEA: Mr Prime Minister, recently, it seems it has developed in this region a kind of sentiment against the reporting of the Western press. And we noted that you are one of the articulators of this sentiment. What changes, if any, do you perceive this happening in the region?

PRIME MINISTER: According to the Western press or according to me?

GENOVEA:

According to you, Sir.

PRIME MINISTER:

I was asked this question recently by the serious German television correspondent, immediately after my elections in Singapore. He asked me why the Western press took a very critical view of what Singaporeans were being made to do. My answer to him was: If the Singaporean believed they ought to be doing what the Western press were telling them to do, then I would have lost the elections. Since I didn't lose the elections, the conclusion I came to was that I had not cause for concern and really very little cause for even interest in the gratuitous advice that the press lords or TV anchormen proffer from time to time as to how I should suck the Singapore banana.

They will, after a while, discover that their magical influence which has been so tremendous in America with Watergate and indeed in other parts of Western Europe, does not work in Asia – different cultures, different values, different standards of economic development demanding different priorities. It didn't work even in Japan. If the Western press carried the Japanese electorate, the LDP, with Mr Fukuda as Prime Minister, would not be in office. So it really doesn't matter. At the end of the day, it's what we do for our people that counts. And the more they exaggerate

our warts and moles and other deficiencies, of which I admit I have many, and I don't try cosmetic techniques to make myself look more presentable than I am, I think the less credible will they become. This is because in a world of very rapid mass communications and mass travel, people are beginning to rely not just on what they read in the newspapers and on what they see on television screen, but what they actually see for themselves; what their friends whom they trust tell them. As far as investors concerned – they are more important to me than the Western press and pressmen – it is what the banker and the Ambassador who lives in the country say that makes him decide whether he is going to screw down machinery worth hundreds of millions, sometimes a few billion dollars, to the ground.

So perhaps I would like to believe that the Western press would continue to do me the service of using me as a whipping boy. These pressmen have very large expense accounts. They drop in for a week, sometimes, a weekend and have a marvellous time chatting up with knowledgeable people. They want a good story which they know the editor likes, presented in a certain way. And as for the moment, the fashion is whip and lash the governments of those who do not accept their standards. Of course, they are very discriminating. The editors and the TV anchormen have a very keen sense of where they can be heard. They have a job to do as I have, but the

sycophancy, the supine paean of praise for the oil sheikdoms and kingdoms makes me wish that I were a sheik or a king of large tracts of deserts with oil underneath. But, of course, if you are a king or a sheik, like the one in South Yemen, without oil underneath, then you get it very hard. So, you see, after a while, it becomes rather obvious. But we mustn't be too harsh on them.

The Western correspondents who travel out to this part of the world sometimes do understand. They do even try to present a fair picture. However, the man in his head office, whether it be New York, London, Paris, Bonn or even Rome, wants to present to his readers the Third World which he has decided is what it should be. I don't think we should grudge them the privilege of consoling themselves with the fact that by comparison with what they present us to be, they are doing marvellously. Look at Italy, sixteen to seventeen inflation rate is considered a great improvement from the 20-plus per cent they had 1½ years ago. They were able to hold 3 elections that has led to a minority government of the Christian Democrats, with the Italians dependent completely on the goodwill, and good behavior of the Italian Communist Party.

The pound has gone up from \$3.97 a few weeks ago, to \$4.20 as a result of a loan of some \$3.9 billion or technically

called “standby credit”. But there is a social contract between unions and the British Government due for renewal in June. I am not a speculator. But I am going to sell pounds forward, round about May. I think it’s going to be a realisation that the unions, particularly those key ones, can terrorise the economy.

I have no less an authority than the last British Prime Minister, Sir Harold Wilson, that they are very powerful men in the Labour Party who do not subscribe to the democratic principle of British socialism. They are Marxists. They have become asset strippers. They have moved into his Party which has got assets because they can’t build up a Communist Party by themselves. And they are literally stripping off all the good men from the Labour Party and putting in the Trotskyists, Marxists and Maoists.

We mustn’t be too harsh on the Western press and their TV commentators. They have their problems. If they can say: look at President Idi Amin. They have even compared with what has been going on in Uganda, with what’s going on in other parts of Asia. It gives them what the Germans called “schadenfroh” – somebody doing worse than you, you feel happier. I expect them to say: “Well, so many more millions of Indians are born every year only to be starved to death.” And there they were Englishmen borrowing £ 12,000 million a year to balance their budget. They live very

comfortably and happily. I say good luck to them. Since they got North Sea oil, they don't need my good wishes. I haven't got North Sea oil and I am not going to follow any of their policies.

HANN BROWNE

(FAR EAST BROADCASTING

COMPANY):

The morning newspapers quoted a story from Singapore by REUTERS that Hanoi had unleashed a very bitter attack against Thailand and Malaysia for their joint military operations on the border. They included in their radio broadcast a reference to ASEAN. I would like to quote this: Hanoi said that the combined Thai-Malaysia operations were part of a scheme for coordinated actions against the communist by the member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian nations (ASEAN). In the light of the stand of the ASEAN nations on neutrality, would you remark on this

statement by Hanoi?

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PRIME MINISTER:

I am afraid I woke up rather late this morning. I haven't had the opportunity to read the newspapers.

Assuming what Hanoi said is true, then I fear they have a grave misunderstanding. And, indeed, it's a very serious

contradiction between what they profess their intentions to be and what they are now saying, because as I understood the Vietnamese position, it was that we should live together in peace. There were four principles they enunciated. I can't quite remember. I am not very good at memorizing these very carefully worded phrases. It comes to non-interference, mutual respect, mutual benefit, goodwill to all men. Now, this is something that is going on between Thailand and Malaysia – trying to put right what may otherwise go wrong and go very wrong as time goes on. Is it a salvo from Hanoi Press or Hanoi Radio?

BROWNE: Hanoi Radio.

PRIME MINISTER: A salvo from Hanoi Radio. I would have thought that would qualify under a violation of one of their four principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. But, of course, Hanoi Radio may not have read the four principles carefully. Therefore, I would rather you ask your counterpart in charge of Hanoi Radio. I am quite sure that if I were to meet the Vietnamese Prime Minister, who sent me felicitations from time to time, including New Year messages in wishing me well for 1977, and I reciprocated, he would be astounded to know that his Chief Editor did not read what his Foreign Ministry took the trouble to go round each of the ASEAN member countries and with painstaking care spelt out their desire for friendship, goodwill,

trade, cooperation, peace and prosperity for the region. So I find it most difficult to believe that this would represent the thinking of the Politburo in Hanoi.

RODNEY TASKER

(REVIEW, FEER): As an Englishman, working for the regional press, may I ask Mr Prime Minister, particularly on the across-the-board 10 per cent tariff reduction. Is this seen as an initiative which may, perhaps, be followed by other ASEAN countries or throughout ASEAN region on a similar basis, and perhaps with a view to some sort of a common market of ASEAN countries in the same way as the EEC has formed their own common market?

PRIME MINISTER:

This was a proposal made by the President of the Philippines and we found the proposal realistic. It's a very small step forward but it's a genuine step forward. It's a 10 per cent across-the-board between the two of us. But it means we have expressed in actual revenue terms or excise duty terms, our intentions that trade between us should be promoted and increased. It comes to very little. Let us assume there is a tax on Singapore-made or foreign-made cameras and there is a tax of 50 per cent. All it means is that the Singapore cameras can get into the Philippines at 50 per cent minus 10 per cent of 50 per cent which is minus 5 per cent. So it's really competing against the Japanese with an advantage of 5 per cent less than the Japanese,

which is pretty tough going. But the intention is there. I would believe that by the results of this first step forward, as the Chinese proverb says, “The longest journey begins with the first step”, it will be proven successful enough to persuade some others to join us in this.

TASKER: You mentioned, Mr Prime Minister, you profess to believe or you hope that there will be constructive peaceful competition between the big powers in the region. Isn't this being rather naive given the present realities of the situation?

PRIME MINISTER: Would you mind reading the paragraph out.

TASKER: It says: “They share the view that a constructive balance of power among the great powers with legitimate interests in the region would contribute to the stability of Southeast Asia and of Asia as a whole. They also expressed the belief that peaceful and constructive competition among the great powers in the region would benefit both Southeast Asia and the great power.”

PRIME MINISTER: Well, Sir, I am accustomed to long years of habit whenever I meet an Englishman, particularly one who interrogates me in such a gentle and subtle manner, to treat him with respect and deference. How would you have phrased it, knowing the realities of the region?

TASKER: Perhaps, I wouldn't have phrased it at all.

PRIME MINISTER: You wouldn't have phrased it all? That would have been a negative approach to life. We are expressing a pious hope. If you take us seriously, then it's an urgent request that there should be a constructive balance of power, not a destructive one. We hope there should be peace, as a result of the presence of the great powers with a benign intention – none of whom we have the capacity to exclude.

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If I were an Englishman, at the turn of the century, with the world's largest fleet, and one of the world's greatest industrial capacity, perhaps I would have worded it differently. I would have said, "If you trespass into this region, you do so at your peril." But, as you know, even when the Englishman goes fishing off Iceland and the Icelandic gunboats go for his fishing trawlers, the Royal Navy is a little bit cautious about knocking out the gunboats, not because the Royal Navy can't do so, because there may be

repercussions, not from the Icelandic Navy, but from others who might find it worthy of championing the Icelandic cause. You are lucky to be in Hong Kong, or better still, you are in the Philippines because you eat magnificent and fresh fish of all varieties, but think of your poor compatriots at home. Less cod at higher prices, leading to inflation. Why? It's because you can no longer talk in those terms. So, we never talk in those terms at all. I hope we never will. We speak in moderate, we hope, nevertheless, convincing terms. And being an Englishman, you would have got the nuances.

TASKER:

I think so, Sir. Thank you very much.

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MARGAWANG

(BULLETIN TODAY):                      Mr Prime Minister, the Philippines Government has issued some rather pointed statements with regards to the existence of American bases in the country. I understand there is the possibility that the military agreements with the United States may even be scrapped. Now, in your speech, as reported in the Philippines Academy yesterday, you said the balance of power amongst the great nations in the region could ensure peace and security in the area. Could we have your thinking, Sir, on whether the reduction of the American presence in the region would impair the existing balance of forces?

PRIME MINISTER:                      First, at the Academy yesterday, I stated a general principle which has been enunciated by my government, and in particular, my colleagues, the Foreign Minister, Mr Rajaratnam, who is a great “words man”. I think he chisels and shapes it in such a way that everybody finds it attractive and not hurtful to either their pride or their prejudice. I am no military expert and I am told that with greater sophistication and greater technology, one could bring about a presence in an area from the rear. From time to time, the Americans mount exercises, carry whole divisions of troops from America across the Atlantic to the borders of the Alps which divide Eastern and Western Europe. It could be that with more sophisticated weaponry, missiles,

radar systems, satellites, they would require less men on the ground. If men on the ground became necessary, there would be advance warning. That's what the British used to tell me when they were withdrawing. They said, "Don't worry, we will come either west-about or east-about. We got so many aircraft. There is always a lead time for about anywhere between six weeks to six months, before a crisis erupts. We could get going, and get our troops and their armaments out in a matter of days either flying east-about through Cyprus, Guam to Singapore or west-about to Ottawa, British Columbia, Vancouver, maybe, some islands in mid-Pacific, Hong Kong and Singapore." And they did mount some exercises. Unfortunately, the economy didn't hold up. So, now it will never be tested in a real crisis. But they demonstrated I think, in 1968, as they were withdrawing, that they could bring men out quickly, acclimatise them to different temperatures, humidities, terrain within a matter of days. Whether the Americans can do better than that and put them in spacecraft and be out in the Phillipines, I wouldn't know. But I would like to see a balance which would not give any major power or any super power a dominance which leaves me with less leeway. At the moment, I have considerable leeway in choosing my partners in progress. That's a phrase I borrowed from Lester Pearson in his book – he wrote a report with a team of experts on how to develop countries, and it was called: "Partners in Progress."

My partners in progress are primarily the industrial countries of the Western world – the Americans, because they have the largest industrial capacity; the Japanese, because they are nearby, and they have reached the limits of what their people will tolerate (more factories despite the highest anti-pollution measures) and the West Europeans, who have, up till recently, lost the impetus to go overseas and return to their former fields of activity.

At the moment, they have something like five to six million unemployed in Western Europe – over a million in Britain; over a million in Italy; about that in France and not far from a million in Western Germany, although a lot of them are guest workers.

So I can choose my partners in progress.

Let us assume that a great power that does not believe in the free enterprise system became the dominant power and influence in the region, that could become very difficult. It is part of the ritual to say: “All countries, big or small, are equal, and we want friendship, peace, cooperation.” When they say that to me – and they have said that to me often at varying levels of authority – I try and look behind their eyes. I have no doubts whatsoever that all countries – the greater they are, the softer they can afford to speak because there is a man

walking behind them with a very big stick. I like to have another soft-speaking gentleman with a man walking behind him with an equally big stick. That will cancel them out and we could live peacefully, at least for the immediate and intermediate future.

TONY LOZANO

(CHANNEL 7, TV): My question is addressed to both the President and the Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew.

There has been a great deal in the Western press and even in the United States Congress over human rights in the Asian countries. May we have your comments?

PRIME MINISTER: You were referring to President-elect

Carter's concern for human rights and civil liberties?

LOZANO: It's about the report in the American press about human rights in the Asian countries.

PRIME MINISTER: The American press? Not President-elect Carter? As I have earlier, when somebody asked me about this rather adversary

position taken by Western correspondents, I find that they somehow feel - I don't include all of them - that we are the people who have come down from the trees just day before yesterday. Some may believe that given a little bit of time and a great deal of effort, we may begin to think and act and behave as they do. I am not sure that I really want to behave and act like they do because a great deal of the behavior is really hypocritical. If you try and catch a bus or a place in the Metro, you find unless you push yourself forward, you get nudged in the ribs and he steps you on your toes. He would say, "Oh, I beg your pardon." But he gets on the bus and you've missed it. I would rather be an Asian and be quiet frank about the fact that I want to get on the bus first. If you are in the way, and since I am a weaker person, I would appeal to your sense of honour and decency to let me go forward. I think it is utter and complete hypocrisy to talk about these things. When they made their various stages of economic growth from the feudal agricultural economy to the modern industrial stage onto the post-industrial era, they extracted every ounce of energy from their workers (women and children) in order that they can build the world today. In Northern Ireland, I think the British Government are greatly hampered by the fact that the IRA shoot, bomb, kill indiscriminately anybody who they believe would cause maximum outrage and a desire to get the troops out of Northern Ireland so that they could settle their differences amongst themselves. Perhaps, one Christian sect takes over completely from another Christian sect. So they are detained without trial

because nobody would give evidence against them. What I find hypocritical is that there is not a single word about this. I know the American press are champions of Irish rights, like Senator Edward Kennedy, who solicited and advocated a great inflow of funds to buy more arms to kill more Englishmen. In fact, more and more of them have been killed.

In Singapore, I assume that whatever they tell us, they have the interest of the people of Singapore at heart. But I often tell them: Please credit me with at least as much concern for my people as they have for an alien colonial subject race they have abandoned. They could do me a second favour if they credit me with nearly as much intelligence as they undoubtedly have, and perhaps believe that what I am trying to do is the most humane way possible to maintain orderly conditions, in which the courts can operate. If you ask the court to mete out justice in accordance with the rules of evidence, which we have inherited from the British – an accomplice's evidence cannot on its own lead to a conviction and must be corroborated by an independent witness who is not an accomplice – how do you get one communist, first to go into the witness box to be identified and recognized for almost certain elimination and then get the civic-minded, responsible citizen who gave us the evidence to corroborate the circumstantial evidence we have that so and so is a communist who is out to destroy the system?

I think it is a phase they are going through, probably a sense of guilt of what had happened and what they did in Vietnam. They have nothing to say about what is happening now in Vietnam. There are no Buddhist monks – all those protesters and dissenters like the one who used to sit down and threatened to pour petrol or gas over himself and light a match. That stirred up the whole of the Western world. Again, I say this, more in sorrow, than in anger. Every day, there are boats, overloaded with Vietnamese refugees, traversing the South China Sea. Of course, being the most convenient port of call where they can get the mass media to focus on their plight, we bear the brunt of attack as hard heartedness.

Last December, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said his money was running out. He said we will have to feed them. How can you expect me, having to answer to my people in a secret vote once within every five-year period, to feed them and feed our own citizens less because you can't take food and give it to refugees without taking food away from somebody else. So we suggested, for instance, that great wealthy nations with vast open spaces to develop, should sign an undertaking with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and with us that if we accept the refugees, within six to nine months, they will take over because they

have got the resources. They have not been forthcoming. So the pressmen can write up all these significant stories. They make good stories of people who risk life and limb – whose boats sink because they are unseaworthy and are picked up by freighters or tankers and brought to Singapore. They say we demand a bond before they are allowed to land. We demand no more than just a sum of money be there in order that they could be fed for at least six months, if not for a year, and then a passage to a wealthy country in need of labour for development. We are a small, weak and overpopulated country not in need of labour of the kind that comes in these perilous journeys in unseaworthy boats. Instead of sympathy for me, what I get are darts often tipped with a little bit of arsenic. But one develops a certain degree of tolerance even to arsenic. And from time to time, of course, one learns how to catch the dart and throw it back. I hope they will develop the same tolerance as I have learned to.

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I am all for civil liberties and human rights. But the way they are going for Mrs Indira Gandhi and India is questionable. I know India has enormous problems. When she had full democratic freedom, it meant that at any one time, there were 12 to 15 Members of Parliament standing up and speaking in their Lower House. She has put a stop to that. She has brought – I don't know whether it is right or wrong – a whole group of newspapermen, whose great capacity is to learn how to be malicious

and to torment a government from their Western counterparts, to a more sane and sober and constructive way of thinking.

I find talking to India newspapermen outside India – particularly those who don't intend to return for a long while – that they have somehow developed the Western newspapermen's pattern of thinking. They believe whoever is in authority is fair target. They treat presidents, or even lowly prime ministers as clay pigeons – throw him up, shoot him down. Somebody will have to stick him back all over again or find a new clay pigeon, a new Prime Minister.

Well, maybe that is good democracy. It has led, I know, to near calamity in India.

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You know what happened to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He came in with all the goodwill in the world. He suffered in prison. He was nearly killed. When he was allowed by President Bhutto to go back to Bangladesh, he was given a warm heroic welcome on his return. The situation turned sour because you can't put an economy, wrecked by wars, right in three years despite aid. It became more and more riotous and it ended up with him, his wife, his daughters, his sons-in-law being shot dead by a commander of

a tank section. And even since then – that was 1973-74, they have the military in control. I like to believe that the Western press were right that there should have been all this freedom and Bangladesh would have got tremendous aid in arms, food, industrial equipment and would be turned into a thriving, prosperous industrial society before the year 2000!

I think they are not doing so very well.

But they are not starving under the present general, who being trained in military discipline, expects discipline from workers. I think this is the crux of the matter. If a developing country is to develop, there must be social cohesion, work discipline and an order of priorities.

I, from time to time, visit my counterpart in Kuala Lumpur. Whilst the Western press do not approve, I find the people reasonably clothed, definitely well fed and perhaps not as free to raise divisive issues of race, language, culture and religion. I am sure that the present Prime Minister of Malaysia intends eventually when the economy develops, and the social cohesion and ethnic differences are blurred as a result of mutual accommodation, to let his people talk about differences in race, culture, language and religion without taking up sticks and stones, and later on, pistols and automatics to destroy each other. Let us remember that it was race, language and

religion that led to the fragmentation of India and Pakistan. And with the same religion it led to the fragmentation between East and West Pakistan.

My hope is that this particular phase of particular fashion, fetish or fancy of the Western press would find a sufficient repose from their own libertarians. They will learn that there are limits to fundamental human rights and civil liberties. Otherwise, they themselves will be destroyed. That will sadden me because like them, I love all men all over the world, regardless of however developed or underdeveloped they may be.

PRESIDENT MARCOS:

First of all, I have a feeling that you already know what I feel about the Western press. The First Lady has not been too secretive about our mutual admiration for the Western press. But seriously speaking, may I say this. First of all, these manifestations of paranoia of the Western press is certainly not winning America and the other countries more friends. And if the world should ultimately degenerate into a second Dark Ages, the Western press will have contributed its share in bringing this about. I say this because the Western nations were built on the foundation of the tradition of fairness, justice, equality, the rights of the accused being enshrined in constitutions whether they are unwritten or written.

In the developing nations, say, in ASEAN, we have adopted these procedures that are supposed to guarantee the rights of individuals. You refer to them as civil rights and the rights of accused.

In the Philippines, for instance, there is no problem at issue or no question at issue except, perhaps, the question of torture. The Western press speaks of the Philippines in terms of a country that is supposed to have adopted a policy of torture for all or most political prisoners. And what is the true situation?

Of course, we have denied the existence of such a policy and the supposed pervasive practice of these alleged mistreatment of prisoners. All those who have in any way mistreated any prisoners as far as we know have been apprehended, arrested and put through the judicial process and punished. Some of them, if in uniform have been severely punished. And so the terrorists, those who have wrecked our villages, raped the women and killed the innocent civilians, are given the right to presumption of innocence before trial, the right to be confronted by the witnesses against them, the right to cross-examine all the witnesses, the right to counsel, the right to remain silent etc, etc, and the right to trial. Even before conviction, they are

treated like human beings. The judges have exercised extreme patience and wise forbearance.

And now come the Western press and picking on the men in authority in ASEAN or in Asia without granting the same enshrined rights of presumption of innocence as well as the right to confront witnesses, the right to cross-examine those witnesses, or merely to a fair rebuttal or re-counter statements. For we have never been able to print or to have our clarifications printed by the same Western press. They condemned the leaders of ASEAN, condemned the leaders of Africa, South America as well as Asia.

You refer, of course, to ASEAN. But I would like to point out that this paranoia, this inclination towards a patronising attitude by the Western press is true, as has been explained by the Prime

Minister. It is true everywhere else wherever you find developing countries.

Isn't it paradox therefore that America, for instance, should pride itself in its institutions of fairness and justice?

Well, as far as I can see, America is fast losing its right to claim it is a just and fair society. And the Western press is helping very much in such an erosion. America is fast losing friends.

Again, I would like to take this occasion to say that the ASEAN governments probably can refer back to the old Roman law of codifiers. One of the leaders said that the foundation, the two pillars of public order are first, law; second, authority. Law determines the rights of individuals, but authority enforces those rights.

Unfortunately, the Western nations started out with equality of economic situation among their citizenry, equality in almost everything, so there was no need for the law to be enforced too much by a central authority. That is why the Western press cannot understand the need for authority in the central government. In some instances, in the early stages of the history, however, of the Western nations, they have helped to exercise the same kind of authority that the Asian nations are now exercising in the early stage of their development. But the American press has forgotten this. This is true of America, this is true of Europe, this is true of England. We can only say that perhaps the developing nations should continue this tolerance for the Western press for there really is nothing that either can do to influence the other. We cannot influence the Western press. The Western press is insensitive, brutally so, to the feeling of the Asian governments, or the governments of the developing nations, for that matter. And I presume we should adopt the same thick-hided



last year when he addressed a seminar here, perhaps it would be an eye-opener if you could add a few remarks.

PRESIDENT MARCOS:                      The question apparently is aimed at clarifying at the position of developing nations as against the developed countries. I didn't get the question too well. Can you repeat that question, please?

SATO:    The first question is that in a statement it has mentioned that the further expansion of economic relations between Japan and ASEAN countries, and will this lead possibly to an expansion of ASEAN organisation?

PRESIDENT MARCOS:                      May I limit my statement first to the question of the relationship between ASEAN and Japan, it started out with that. Let me say this.

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The relationship between Japan and the member states of ASEAN could be probably outlined as follows: Presently, ASEAN is a source of raw material for the industry of Japan. These raw materials that are exported to Japan are principally unworked or raw and the Japanese market is the dominant market for the ASEAN countries, except perhaps with respect to the exports between Malaysia and Singapore. In all the countries, Japan is the number one trading partner – all the countries in ASEAN. Accordingly, therefore, the matter of trade between Japan and the ASEAN countries is of primary importance to the ASEAN countries. At the same time, Japan dominates the imports of ASEAN countries, again with the exception of Singapore and Malaysia, because of their unusual relationships. But in short, most of the products imported by ASEAN countries come from Japan. It becomes necessary, therefore, to avoid any irritations in the future that now we anticipate the rules that will govern such a relationship. We have had some very embarrassing experiences on this – trade in the Philippines. When the prices of copper went down, the Japanese companies trading with our private corporations violated existing contracts claiming certain exemptions under the contracts, but from our point of view, still violated. The principal effect of these disagreements between the private concerns that handled the trade between our two countries was that we suffered economic reverses, the Philippines did. I understand that the same thing is true in Laos. Sometime back, ASEAN insisted on a policy by

Japan on the matter of artificial rubber. Accordingly, Japan came to an agreement with ASEAN to limit its production of artificial rubber and to allow the natural rubber produced in ASEAN to find a ready market in Japan. Since Japan will continue to be the leading industrial nation in Asia, since it will continue to be a source of most of our ASEAN countries imports and will continue to be the market for our exports, then it is proper, so as to avoid any irritations, which in the past, often resulted in violence that we now work out the relationship between the ASEAN member states and Japan. This actually is the proposal that I made in the September 30<sup>th</sup> speech before the Conference under the auspices of the Financial Times of London.

Now, may I request the Prime Minister to say a few words.

PRIME MINISTER: I may just add a few footnotes to that. Of the three major industrial blocs of the Western world – America, Japan, Western Europe – Japan is the one closest to us. So transportation costs makes it an advantage that trade between us should improve and increase as against Japan and Brazil or Japan and other parts of Latin America or Africa. We however, find that it is almost impossible to get into the Japanese market for even relatively low priced intermediate stage manufactured products. The West Europeans are

complaining that you sell on cost in such great abundance. But they can't get through your remarkable set of customs, excise and anti-pollution rules. They have threatened retaliation. We believe that trade is a two-way process. We accept the fact that the balance of payment has been, and has always been against us. But a little less patriotism on the part of the Japanese in buying only things Japanese would help to make the Japanese more accepted as fellow Asians, with some, if not sympathy, at least empathy and understanding of the desire of the people to try and achieve the Meiji transformation from a feudal agricultural society to a modern industrial nation.

But we can't do that if you won't buy our products. We can't get through because you have got such complicated rules. Even when we do get through, as you give some concessions under the General System of Preferences, we can't market them in Japan because the distributors are Japanese. I earnestly hope that there will be some soul searching.

I support the President when he says that Japan should not just take raw materials and put them in all Japanese bulk ore carriers. If some ASEAN shipping lines were used, that would teach us how to sail the rough seas to Japan. It could be of great educational value. But more important, instead of just talking of general principles of cooperation and

goodwill, which successive Japanese governments have been so eloquent in expounding, let's come down to these first five projects that the ASEAN countries have agreed. It is within the capacity of the Japanese government to give OECF (Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund) terms – lower rates of interest. That's a tangible demonstration of Japanese feelings. And having exported her more polluted industries or more polluting types of industries to other parts of the world, including Southeast Asia and the ASEAN countries, Japan may also undertake to buy back not just the semi-processed raw materials but the semi-processed products in order that they can fitted into the more sophisticated parts which unfortunately we are yet unable to make. In this way, there is a complementary phasing of our jointly expressed desire for closer economic cooperation which, I am sure, will lead to greater understanding, greater goodwill and real lasting association.

MICHIHIRO SHIRAIISHI

(YOMIURI SHIMBUN):

Your Excellency, Prime Minister, if there are various attitudes toward this proposal of necessity of dialogue between Japan and ASEAN amongst the member countries of ASEAN, what do you propose could be the best way of getting a majority consensus on this particular proposal because, the other day, President Marcos mentioned that we need the kind of consensus first among the ASEAN countries?

PRIME MINISTER: You are addressing the President?

SHIRAIISHI: Mr Prime Minister, please.

PRIME MINISTER: The dialogue has already begun between the ASEAN Secretary-General, Dharsono and your officers in charge of trade in the ASEAN region. It can be pursued further, both jointly with ASEAN and bilaterally with each individual ASEAN countries because each project is different from the other ASEAN country's project. But, of course, as times goes on, the five will act more and more in concert in order that the dialogue can be less unequal because the Japanese are so very good. They are so good at saying how weak, how unable to help, and how willing they are to help if only they can. I suggest that you can and that you are strong, vigorous and you have tremendous ingenuity to find ways and means through MITI, your Finance Ministry and the Keidanren to export not manufactured goods, but transfer the machinery that make manufactured goods. I have not the slightest doubts that you can do it with the same self-effacing modesty which the Americans and the Europeans can't. We will then feel so much better that we in fact are industrializing ourselves. In fact, we are borrowing and tapping your technology, your skills, your expertise and your marketing know-how. You say "consensus". Yes, "consensus" with

ASEAN as a whole, but the ASEAN heads of government, I think, have made it quite clear that this does not preclude bilateral agreements between ASEAN governments or between an ASEAN government and Japan. So you have no alibi. Either you do it or you give more nice and sweet words and we know that the Japanese has not really changed very much. This would be very sad because we like you and want to be able to like you. As it is, we like you and we find it very difficult to do so.

SHIRAIISHI: Thank you very much, Sir.

Mr Prime Minister, when are you planning to hold the second ASEAN Summit? Did you discuss this with President Marcos and may we know, Sir, when and where will be the second Summit to be held? Will it be in Manila?

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PRIME MINISTER: That is a very Japanese-y question. You are putting me in the dock for wanting to hold an ASEAN Summit. At the same time, you are putting the President in an uncomfortable position in suggesting that he wants to have it in Manila.

To tell you the truth, the matter has been under discussion for quite some while between the ASEAN governments. When I had the pleasure of discussing ASEAN problems with President Suharto at the end of November, last year, he suggested that it might be useful if we met informally sometime in the middle of this year to review the work that has been done since we met in Bali. This is to give our ministers a little bit of a push. Get them together instead of going in different directions and each wanting to hold his own special conference. Most important of all, it's to see how we formulate, in so far as it is possible, common responses to the momentous events which have taken place since we met in Bali, in February, last year. As to the venue, that is a fairly open question. But if you go in accordance with the alphabetical order, after I comes M for Malaysia and after M comes P for Philippines.

SHIRAIISHI: Japan's participating in the ASEAN Summit

discussions would have been premature last year, but this year, Your Excellencies, how could, for instance, Japan, or the other countries join the discussion table, perhaps, by the invitation from the ASEAN Heads of States, what of the New Zealand, Australia or Canada? Will they be invited, too?

PRIME MINISTER: You are asking the President?

SHIRAIISHI: Mr Prime Minister, please.

PRIME MINISTER: The ASEAN Heads of Government, like all human beings, like to be helpful, especially to the leaders of Japan. But in February, last year, we were meeting for the first time and were also conscious of the fact that general elections were to be held in Japan. We thought that it would be inappropriate for the ASEAN Heads of Government to invite the Japanese Prime Minister to Bali as it would look as if we were backing Mr Miki's faction. Had we done so, the other factions may have taken umbrage. I know that Mr Fukuda is a very forgiving man, but it would not have been a good idea. Let's not confuse the issue with Australia and New Zealand and Canada. Do you know that the three of them put together haven't got one-third the combined industrial capacity of Japan? Let's just talk of Japan and us and don't try and camouflage your enormous industrial capacity by bringing in these intermediate powers. I believe if the Japanese Government were to express a firm commitment not just as an intention to help, then we would find it extremely uncharitable on our part not to invite the Prime Minister to put his signature and his seal, his imprimatur as the prime minister of Japan, to help these five projects on OECF terms and new projects which are on the pipeline. One way in which you can be quite sure that your Prime Minister, Mr Fukuda, for whom I have great friendship and admiration for his knowledge and expertise in financial

matters, can help is to extend to us slightly more than what you have extended in your total aid commitment – the extra being for the five ASEAN countries. You were supposed to spend one per cent of your GDP. We start off with that. We aim for one per cent in four years by 1980. Japan will find that the Europeans and the Americans would be ashamed by their persimonious and pusillanimous attitude to the underdeveloped world and will likewise follow suit. The Japanese can be trail blazer in how a modern industrial state should behave towards poor, weak, incompetent, but willing-to-learn countries.

PRESIDENT MARCOS: Well, I don't think there is much to say in

the way of closing statement. I would like to thank the Prime Minister of

Singapore for acceding to the request to hold the press conference jointly with

the President of the Philippines, and I would like to thank the members of the

press for their very cooperative attitude today in the way of their questions. The

joint statement which is supposed to be initialled by us, incidentally, still has yet

to be initialled and we will proceed to do so as soon as we are through with the

interrogation period. All I can say is this: from the date of the Summit

Conference in Bali, February 1976 to January, we have devoted our ministerial

interest on the problems pertaining to organization, pertaining to the distribution

of authority within ASEAN and the Secretariat and Secretary-General. There

have been various initiatives on the communication, transportation, shipping,

other than more industrial complementation. Singapore and the Philippines will soon be connected by submarine cable. Some new subjects will be taken up. We have between us, in addition to what I've already referred to, agreed to accelerate the implementation of the five industries of the five member nations of ASEAN. We are also working on some specific bilateral cooperation between the Philippines and Singapore. And I refer more specifically to the exchange of intelligence and consultation on ways of combating subversion and infiltration.

You will note, however, that on the question of security, we have concentrated on economic development. We stand by and continue to reinstate the principles embodied in the Concord and the other agreements in Bali, to the effect that the ASEAN is not politically motivated or aimed at any group of nations or single nation.

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On the matter of the initiatives taken by Malaysia and Thailand, the position of the Philippines is that: this is a matter internal to Thailand and Malaysia about which the Philippines doesn't know anything. The joint operations are operations to combat subversions. And from our point of view, subversion is a matter internal to the political stability of any country. If it is true, any other country than Thailand and Malaysia seemed to be interested and wish to intervene in these operations, then we will contribute our voice to protesting against any intervention in the internal affairs of any country in ASEAN. But frankly, I feel that the ASEAN nations should be permitted to solve their infiltration, subversion questions their own way. Of course, we welcome support in these efforts from outside. But where such support could be interpreted to mean intervention in internal affairs, then there we draw the line. I am certain that the other countries of ASEAN, other than Thailand and Malaysia, are unaware or nor have they participated in the decision made by Malaysia and Thailand in these operations. We have border crossing agreements – meaning the Philippines with Indonesia. Certainly, in preventing such illegal activities like smuggling, gun-running and opium or heroin and other drug infiltration into our respective countries, I believe we have the right and the duty to protect our territories from such nefarious activities. We, therefore, feel that the agreements of the nature of the operations, be it on the borders of Thailand and Malaysia are legitimate activities internal to the governments of ASEAN.

Now, Singapore and the Philippines have also agreed that Singapore will refine some of the crude oil coming from the Philippines. The reason for this is, the Philippines now feels that perhaps it is about time we implemented this idea of complementation. If we now were to put up new refineries or expand existing facilities without taking into consideration the fact that there is a capacity in Singapore then we will be probably contributing to the slow erosion of the principles embodied in the Concord in Bali. The Philippines, modest in the trade and industrial developments, however, wishes now to see the actual implementation by each and every state. And we are ready to participate in the implementation. At the same time, we have an agreement that we will increase frequencies of the flights of both Singapore Airlines and the Philippine Airlines. The details will be worked out by the Civilian Aviation Boards of the two countries. I gathered from the Prime

Minister that they would not be adverse to the DC-10s of the past and we should not be adverse to the wide-bodied planes of Singapore coming into the

Philippines. Manila certainly needs the additional movement of tourists to fill up the hotels. I close with this statement that both the two leaders have a feeling of urgency about ASEAN and the implementation of the programmes and the projects of ASEAN. It is this feeling of urgency that has motivated the Prime Minister to visit with me and I feel that the other heads of State must be moved

by the same anxieties since we realize that the decisions that could have been immediately implemented some time back were somehow delayed in view of some of the institutional obstacles within ASEAN itself. We, after consultation with other Heads of State and Heads of Government, have agreed to the proposal that now the Economic Ministers make some or make the decisions on economic matters to be promulgated by the Foreign Ministers. With this, we hope that we shall then complete and accelerate the implementation of the programs and projects of ASEAN.

And I would like the Prime Minister to close this Press Conference.

PRIME MINISTER:

Mr President, it was with great trepidation that I accepted your invitation to this press conference to be held jointly with you. I have only two minor points to add, namely, that we had agreed that the Economic Ministers will make the decisions and the Foreign Ministers will promulgate them as it is only right and proper. We've also urged that all the other Ministers, be they in agriculture, mining or in any other field should, when they meet together, also meet under the aegis or the umbrella of the economic ministers because that would lead to the most expeditious implementation of ASEAN plans. The other point is that I have no doubts whatsoever that

bilaterally we have had a meeting of minds not just between ourselves but between our aides. This should see an acceleration of economic cooperation, joint ventures, mutual investments in each other's territory, greater flow and interchange of people, information, tourists – both indigenous and from other regions – coming to the Philippines on to Singapore, coming to Singapore on to Philippines. Perhaps this would bear the most immediate results because they are the easiest to achieve. I am happy to find such hard-headed, pragmatic, but very sound aides who helped worked out this document which we now enjoin them to implement.

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