

PLEASE NOTE THAT THE SECGEN AND MRS. PÉREZ DE CUÉLLAR SHOULD BE ACCOMMODATED IN AN AMPLE SUITE, WITH THE ROOMS OF MESSRS. DE OLIVARES, HRUSOVSKY AND LEVTCHENKO LOCATED NEARBY. PLEASE ALSO ENSURE THAT A SPARE ROOM ADJACENT TO THAT OF Ms. ST.VICTOR IS RESERVED, FOR USE AS AN OFFICE. KINDLY ALSO ARRANGE TO HAVE AN IBM SELECTRIC II OR SELECTRIC III CORRECTING ELECTRIC TYPEWRITER, INTERNATIONAL KEYBOARD, AVAILABLE FOR USE BY Ms. ST.VICTOR.

4. FOLLOWING HIS OFFICIAL VISIT TO NEW ZEALAND THE SECGEN WILL RETURN TO SYDNEY TO COMMENCE HIS OFFICIAL VISIT TO AUSTRALIA. *ON 12 FEB,* PROBABLY ON FLIGHT QF 48, ORIGINATING IN WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND, ARRIVING AT 17.05 HOURS. SHALL ADVISE YOU ASAP OF SECGEN'S OFFICIAL PROGRAMME IN AUSTRALIA, IN THE LIGHT OF PROPOSALS WHICH WE EXPECT TO RECEIVE FROM AUSTRALIAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE HERE IN DUE COURSE. GRATEFUL YOU LIAISE CLOSELY WITH AUSTRALIAN AUTHORITIES IN THIS REGARD. IN MEANTIME WE ANTICIPATE SECGEN WILL STAY OVERNIGHT 12/13, 13/14 AND 14/15 FEBRUARY IN CANBERRA, TRANSFERRING TO SYDNEY ON FRIDAY 15 IN TIME FOR FLIGHT PA 816 TO LOS ANGELES, DEPARTING AT 15.00 HOURS. REGARDS

J. PAUL KAVANAGH

J.P.Kavanagh,
Second Officer/EOSG

Karavagh

ZCZC DAL4560 CCY3197

SS SYD NYK

.NEWYORK (UNNY) 282127Z

CCY3197-12 IGNATIEFF

1. I SHOULD LIKE TO INFORM YOU THAT THE SEC GEN WILL PAY AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO AUSTRALIA FROM 12-15 FEBRUARY 1985.
2. AS CURRENTLY ENVISAGED, HIS ITINERARY WILL BRING HIM TO SYDNEY, FIRST OF ALL. ON FRIDAY 8 FEBRUARY, ARRIVING PROBABLY AT 0740 HOURS ON FLIGHT QF2 ORIGINATING IN SINGAPORE. HE WILL STAY IN SYDNEY OVERNIGHT AND DEPART ON SATURDAY, 9 FEBRUARY AT 1000 HOURS ON FLIGHT QF43 BOUND FOR AUCKLAND, NEWZEALAND, WHERE HE WILL COMMENCE AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO THAT COUNTRY.
3. GRATEFUL YOU LIAISE WITH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO ACCOMMODATION ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SEC GEN AND PARTY FOR THE NIGHT OF 8/9 FEBRUARY IN SYDNEY AS WELL AS FOR DURATION OF OFFICIAL VISIT. THE SEC GEN AND MRS. PEREZ DE CUELLAR WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE FOLLOWING OFFICIALS:

MR. RAFEEUDDIN AHMED, UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL AND SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

MR. S.A.M. KIBRIA, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ESCAP

MR. EMILIO DE OLIVARES, EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

MR. FRANCOIS GIULIANI, SPOKESMAN FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

MR. J. PAUL KAVANAGH, SECOND OFFICER, EOSG

MS. YANICK SAINT VICTOR, SECRETARY TO THE SECRETARY-GDNERAL

MR. JOHN HRUSOVSKY, CHIEF OPERATIONS OFFICER

MR. GERARD LEVTCHENKO, OPERATIONS OFFICER

PLEASE NOTE THAT THE SEC GEN AND MRS. PEREZ DE CUELLAR SHOULD BE ACCOMMODATED IN AN AMPLE SUITE. WITH THE ROOMS OF MESSRS. DE OLIVARES, HRUSOVSKY AND LEVTCHENKO LOCATED NEARBY. PLEASE ALSO ENSURE THAT A SPARE ROOM ADJACENT TO THAT OF MS. ST. VICTOR IS RESERVED, FOR USE AS AN OFFICE. KINDLY ALSO ARANGE TO HAVE AN IIBBMM SELECTRIC, II OR SELECTRIC III CORRECTING ELECTRIC TYPEWRITER, INTERNATIONAL KEYBOARD, AVAILALE FOR USE OF MS. ST. VICTOR.

4. FOLLOWING HIS OFFICIAL VISIT TO NEWZEALAND THE SEC GEN WILL RETURN TO SYDNEY TO COMMENCE HIS OFFICIAL VISIT TO AUSTRALIA ON 12 FEB, PROBABLY ON FLIGHT QF48, ORIGINATING IN WELLINGTON, NEWZEALAND, ARIRVING AT 1705 HOURS. SHALL ADVISE YOU ASAP OF SEC GEN'S OFFICIAL PROGRAMME IN AUSTRALIA, IN THE LIGHT OF PROPOSALS WHICH WE EXPECT TO RECEIVE FROM AUSTRALIAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE HERE IN DUE COURSE. GRATEFUL YOU LIAISE CLOSELY WITH AUSTRALIAN AUTHORITIES IN THIS REGARD. IN MEANTIME WE ANTICIPATE SEC GEN WILL STAY OVERNIGHT 12/13, 13/14 AND 14/15 FEBRUARY IN CANBERRA, TRANSFERRING TO SYDNEY ON FRIDAY 15 IN TIME FOR FLIGHT PA816 TO LOSANGELES, DEPARTING AT 1500 HOURS. REGARDS (J PAUL KAVANAGH)

JPK 3802

=12290138

NNNN

RECEIVED

DEC 20 1984



*PK - call you
please brief Mr. Kline
for developments, when he
returns today. Jhp
egm*

THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF AUSTRALIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

20 December 1984

*dépassé
par les événements*

Dear Virendra,

I have been informed that the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Robert Hawke, will unfortunately, not be in Australia during the time of the Secretary-General's planned visit. This is regrettably due to other long standing commitments overseas and Mr Hawke will not be in Australia between 2 and 13 February.

The Secretary General will, however, be made most welcome in Australia if he continues with his plan to visit Australia between 6 - 9 February as we hope he will. The Acting Prime Minister, Mr Lionel Bowen, will be very pleased to receive the Secretary General and both the Foreign Minister, Mr Bill Hayden, and the Minister Assisting the Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, will also be very happy to receive the Secretary General.

I would be grateful if you could let me know as soon as possible whether the visit is confirmed and the number and names of the members of the Secretary General's party so that we can put in train the best possible arrangements for the visit.

With personal regards and best wishes.

*Yours sincerely,
Dick Woolcott*

(Richard Woolcott)

Mr V. Dayal,
Chef de Cabinet,
Room S-3800E,
United Nations,
NEW YORK. N.Y. 10017.

885 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

Trip Australia
UNAs in the World

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1984

ZCZC DAL2168 MIR3333

SS NYK

.NEWYORK INTCT (UNNY)

STR4969

RPHYS AAG2613

INCOMING
ACTION

TO Mr. Dwyer AS
FILE NO. 47
☐ ACTION COMPLETED
INITIALS JD

DR. PEREZ DE CUELLAR

SECRETARY GENERAL

UNITED NATIONS

NEW YORK

USA

OUR REF: 019784 DATE: 12. NOV. 84

REGARDING 1985 VISIT TO AUSTRALIA - UN ASSOCIATION IN CANBERRA

INVITES YOU TO ADDRESS A PUBLIC MEETING.

CAN YOU ADVISE IF THIS IS POSSIBLE.

ALSO PLEASE ADVISE DATES OF VISIT AND ITINERARY.

RETURN ADDRESS:

PETER MAHER

PRES. UNA (A.O.T.)

P.O. BOX 458

MELCONNEN, A.C.T.

AUSTRALIA 2616

AUST NAT UNIV

AUSTRALIA

11122230

Aug
1.

Mushaha
Fuker Trip

COPY TAKEN
BY SG'S OFF

cc Mr Zallo



THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF AUSTRALIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Personal.

16 October 1984

Dear Secretary General,

You mentioned to me on the occasion of the reception hosted by the Head of State of Burkina Faso that you were planning a visit in early 1985 to ten countries in Indo-China and South East Asia, including Australia and New Zealand.

I am writing to confirm that you have a standing invitation issued by the Australian Foreign Minister and endorsed by the Australian Prime Minister, to visit Australia as a guest of the Australian Government when it is convenient for you. I am confident that some time in late January or early February would be suitable to my Government. (I might mention that Saturday 26 January is Australia Day and the days 26 - 28 January inclusive will be public holidays in Australia).

Perhaps you might let me know when your plans become more firm so that I can advise my Government of them.

With personal regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely
Richard Woolcott

(Richard Woolcott)

H.E. Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar,
Secretary General,
United Nations,
NEW YORK. N.Y. 10017.

885 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017



AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS RECORD



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 10, October 1984

AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS RECORD

ISSN 0311-7995 • VOLUME 55 • NUMBER 10 • OCTOBER 1984



Cover:

Top left, the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar; centre, the UN emblem; and bottom right, the President of the 39th Session of the General Assembly, Mr Paul F. Lusaka, Zambia's Permanent Representative to the UN. (UN photos).

CONTENTS

Articles

Australia and the United Nations Security Council	1037	Australia's relationships with Western Pacific countries in the 1980s	1058
UN General Assembly: Australian statement	1041	Australia and Asia: options and opportunities	1065
United Nations: disarmament and nuclear weapons	1046	Use of nuclear weapons: U.S. and NATO policy	1073
Intended U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO: Australian views	1051	China-UK agreement on the future of Hong Kong	1075
Media Peace Prize	1053	USSR: image and reality	1077
Cambodia: Australian statement to the UN General Assembly	1056		

Parliament

2.10.84 South East Asia: nuclear free zone	1085	4.10.84 Central America: Contadora Revised Treaty	1090
2.10.84 Changes to Australian diplomatic representation	1085	8.10.84 UNESCO: Australian views	1091
2.10.84 New Caledonia: support for independence	1086	8.10.84 British atomic tests in Australia	1091
3.10.84 ANZUS	1086	8.10.84 Australia-U.S. joint defence facilities	1092
3.10.84 Premises protected by the Department of Foreign Affairs in the ACT	1088	9.10.84 Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence: report on Australia and ASEAN	1093
3.10.84 B52 bombers: use of Australian airspace and bases	1088	10.10.84 Human rights in USSR: Latvian dissidents	1095
3.10.84 Alleged use of opium by Vietnam to cover foreign debts	1089	10.10.84 Uranium, the Joint Facilities, Disarmament and Peace booklet	1096
3.10.84 Defence Force: overseas service	1090	10.10.84 Provisions of the United Nations Charter	1096

11.10.84	Australian Defence Force	1097	18.10.84	Australia-U.S. joint defence facilities: alleged CIA involvement	1113
11.10.84	Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence: report on the Australian Defence Force	1102	19.10.84	Security and intelligence: CIA activities	1113
11.10.84	Review of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs	1105	19.10.84	Uranium exports	1114
11.10.84	Proposed construction of nuclear power plant in the Philippines: possible uranium sales	1108	22.10.84	Reports of Soviet build-up in the Pacific	1114
11.10.84	Australia-U.S. joint defence facilities	1109	23.10.84	Nuclear weapons: deployment of Soviet cruise missiles	1115
11.10.84	Changes to the cover of Australian passports	1109	23.10.84	Overseas aid program	1116
16.10.84	Overseas aid program	1110	23.10.84	Southern Bluefin tuna management program: exclusion of Japanese fishing vessels	1116
17.10.84	Australian contribution to the anti-piracy program in the Gulf of Thailand	1110	24.10.84	Black marlin industry: activities of Japanese vessels in the AFZ	1117
17.10.84	Elections in Nicaragua and El Salvador	1111	24.10.84	Australian defence aid to the Philippines: human rights issues	1118
17.10.84	Security and intelligence: CIA activities	1112			

Statements

2.10.84	Antarctica: Project Blizzard	1119	11.10.84	Australia-Italy: reciprocal health care agreement planned	1130
3.10.84	National Film and Sound Archive	1120	12.10.84	Australia-Italy: reciprocal social security agreement planned	1131
4.10.84	Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to Asia	1122	12.10.84	Southern Bluefin tuna management program: exclusion of Japanese fishing vessels	1132
5.10.84	World Tourism Organisation meeting in Canberra	1123	12.10.84	Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to China	1133
7.10.84	French nuclear tests on Moruroa Atoll to continue	1123	14.10.84	No uranium shipments to France	1134
8.10.84	Australia-United States defence co-operation	1124	14.10.84	Ambassador to Portugal	1134
8.10.84	Report on Australia's invisibles trade	1124	15.10.84	Visit by HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn of Thailand	1135
9.10.84	Federal Sea Safety and Surveillance Centre	1126	16.10.84	Great Barrier Reef Marine Park	1135
10.10.84	Air freight charters between Perth and Brunei	1127	16.10.84	Visit by the NZ Governor-General	1136
11.10.84	Amendments to Australian citizenship legislation	1128	16.10.84	Brighton bombing by IRA	1136
11.10.84	Australian Public Service: new provisions for appointment	1128	16.10.84	High technology: Australian company awarded overseas contract	1136
11.10.84	ARIANESPACE to launch third AUSSAT satellite	1129			

17.10.84	Koalas for Japanese zoos	1137	26.10.84	Report of the iron and steel industry technical assessment mission to China	1149
17.10.84	Nobel Peace Prize	1138	26.10.84	Australia-China co-operation in coal technology	1150
18.10.84	Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to Thailand	1138	26.10.84	Appointment of Senior Trade Commissioner to Beijing	1151
18.10.84	Ambassador to Poland	1140	26.10.84	Beef exports to Japan: new agreement	1151
22.10.84	Detention in Vietnam of Australian yachtsman	1140	26.10.84	EC agricultural export subsidies: butter sales	1152
22.10.84	Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to Malaysia	1141	26.10.84	High Commissioner to Jamaica	1153
23.10.84	Australia elected to UN Security Council	1141	30.10.84	Death of Sir John Crawford	1154
24.10.84	United Nations Day	1142	30.10.84	Contribution of the UN fund for the victims of torture	1155
24.10.84	Visit by the President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches	1142	30.10.84	Emergency aid to Ethiopia	1155
24.10.84	Philippines: report on the Aquino assassination	1142	30.10.84	Radio Australia transmitter in Darwin re-opened	1156
24.10.84	UN International Conference on Population	1143	31.10.84	Assassination attempt on the Prime Minister of India	1157
24.10.84	Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to Brunei	1147	31.10.84	Death of the Prime Minister of India	1157
25.10.84	Aid to Ethiopia	1148	31.10.84	OTC office opened in New York	1158
25.10.84	World Disarmament Campaign	1148	31.10.84	French nuclear test at Moruroa Atoll	1158
26.10.84	Aid to Ethiopia	1148	31.10.84	Foreign investment policy: establishment of new merchant banks approved	1159
26.10.84	Appointment of Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office in New York	1149	31.10.84	Extension of visas and other concessions for Lebanese	1159

Representation

1160 |

All money values are expressed in Australian dollars, \$, unless otherwise stated.

*Published for the Department of Foreign Affairs by the Australian Government Publishing Service.
Printed by Canberra Publishing and Printing Co. Fyshwick, ACT, Australia.*



The future of the world is the children of today. (UN photo).

Australia and the United Nations Security Council*

The Security Council is the principal organ of the United Nations charged with the maintenance of international peace and security. The other main organs of the United Nations are the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat.

Australia was elected to membership of the Security Council for the years 1985 and 1986. This article examines the Council's role and points to issues which are likely to arise during Australia's period of membership.

Australia was elected on 22 October to the United Nations Security Council. What does this mean for Australia? How will it affect our involvement in the United Nations?

In his address to the UNGA on 2 October, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, stated:

We see membership of the Security Council as an opportunity for Australia to pursue our obligations under the United Nations Charter. Australia will approach its duties with a sense of responsibility and self-confidence. We shall also strive to uphold the Charter and to make the Council a more effective instrument for the containment of existing conflicts and for the prevention of new conflicts.

A measure of the importance attached to the Council by the authors of the Charter is that, in accepting membership of the United Nations, States agree to accept and carry out the Council's decisions. The resolutions of the General Assembly are only recommendations, but those of the Security Council are mandatory, that is they are binding on all United Nations members, whether they are members of the Security Council or not.

The Charter gives to the Council a number of functions and powers in regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes, threats to peace, breaches of peace and acts of aggression. These include such measures as calling upon parties to settle their dispute by peaceful means; investigating disputes and recommending appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment; and, in respect of acts of aggression, calling upon parties to comply with measures deemed necessary by the Council.

The Council is also given powers to take

decisions relating to economic sanctions and other preventive or enforcement measures, including military action.

This, at least, was the system envisaged when the Charter was drawn up. The experience of the Council's operations since 1945 has shown that forces not fully envisaged at that time have, in practice, affected the Council's operations very significantly. In particular, the fluctuating state of relations between the superpowers has been reflected in an increasing use of the veto on Council decisions.

This power is available to the Five Permanent Members of the Council (the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China — the five major victors from World War II). This has, on occasions, paralysed the Council when there has been a widely shared perception that it has a duty to act. Increasingly, too, some states have not honoured their obligation to implement Council resolutions.

The Charter might declare that the Council's resolutions are mandatory but, in practice, it has not given the Council the means to enforce its decisions.

The fact remains, however, that on many issues the Council has been able to play an effective role and is still regarded as the international community's single most important organ. The indications are that this will continue to be the case, although the international realities will dictate that the Council's operations and effectiveness will be different in some respects from that envisaged when the Charter was drawn up.

In what ways has the Council operated in practice since World War II?

Although the effects of its action have been varied, there is no doubt that the Council has been involved at the centre of action in a

* This article has been prepared by the Australian Mission to the UN, New York.

number of disputes over the years. It has been instrumental in getting parties to disputes to settle their differences by negotiations or reference to conciliation or judicial settlement (for example, disputes in the immediate post-war years between Iran and the Soviet Union, Britain and Albania).

The Council has also, through some of its milestone resolutions, provided widely recognised bases for settlement of seemingly intractable international disputes. The outstanding example of the Council's work in this area has been in the Middle East, where the Council's resolutions 242(1967) and 338(1973) provide the framework for a settlement and are still regarded as indispensable elements to a solution of the problem. Yet they remain unimplemented.

In a number of cases the Council has asked the United Nations Secretary-General to use his Good Offices to facilitate negotiations. These have included the situation in Cyprus, the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the situation of the United States hostages in Iran and the dispute between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands.

The Council has also authorised the Secretary-General to name special representatives to promote resolution of conflicts in the Middle East, India-Pakistan, Namibia and elsewhere. In other disputes, the Council has employed fact-finding missions or established missions of enquiry, generally involving visits by Council members to areas of conflict.

The Council's activities have not been limited to fact-finding and the issuing of resolutions. The Council has, in its time, imposed economic sanctions against the former regime in Rhodesia. It has placed an arms embargo against South Africa, which remains in force.

The Council has devised, in response to a number of crises, the instrument of peacekeeping forces and observer forces designed to ascertain that a cease-fire is being maintained and that the parties to a dispute are not about to resume fighting. The two main observer forces have been the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation in Palestine (UNTSO), both of which have functioned from 1948 until the present.

The United Nations peacekeeping forces have included the first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I) set up by the

General Assembly in 1956 following the outbreak of hostilities in the Suez Canal area; the United Nations Operation in Congo (UNOC), which stayed in the Congo from 1960 to 1964; the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), which has operated since 1964; UNEF II, set up between Israel and Egypt in 1973; the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), set up in 1974 to supervise the ceasefire between Israel and Syria; and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), set up in 1978 to monitor the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. The United Nations also maintained a Unified Command in Korea in 1950-53.

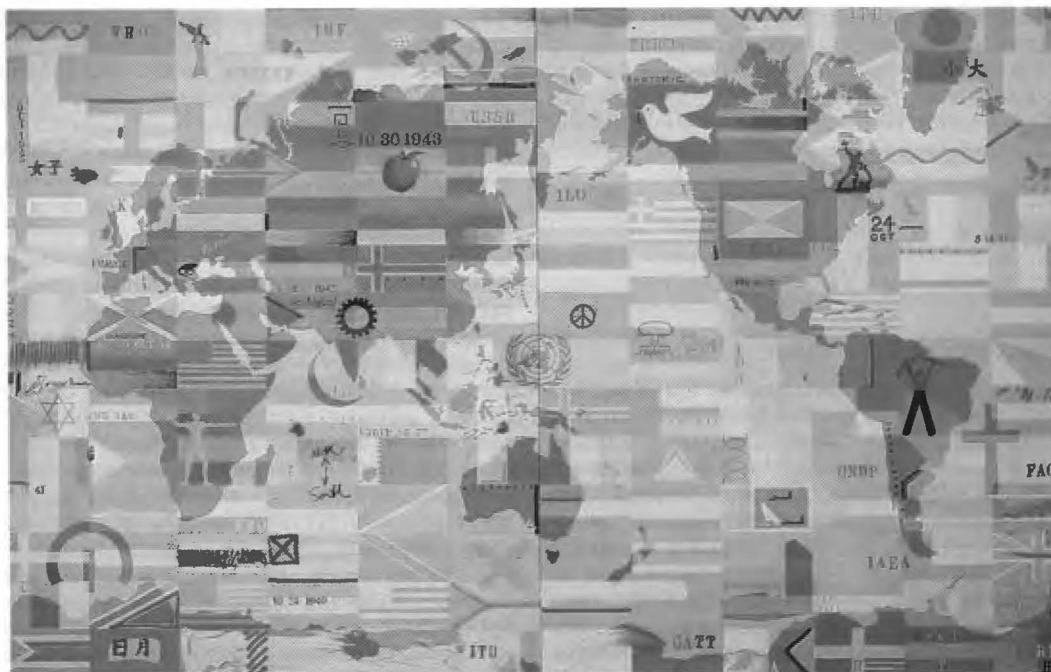
Australia has contributed armed service personnel or civilian police officers to a number of the United Nations peacekeeping or observer missions and is currently contributing to UNFICYP, UNMOGIP and UNTSO.

Against this background, it could be said that the Security Council has had mixed success over the years. It has succeeded in defusing a number of crises, in establishing peacekeeping forces to keep belligerents apart and in reaching agreement on the elements of solutions to highly charged and difficult problems. At the same time, as pointed out above, the early post-war belief in the capacity of the United Nations has been tempered by developing global realities. Tempered, but not abandoned.

There have, in recent years, been moves to examine the role of the United Nations, including particularly that of the Security Council, in an endeavour to find ways of enhancing its effectiveness as an instrument for controlling conflict and settling disputes.

The Annual Report of the United Nations Secretary-General for 1982 focussed on the central problem of the Organisation's capacity to keep the peace and to serve as a forum for negotiations. The Secretary-General noted that the harsh realities of international life, including deteriorating relations between the superpowers and increasing resort to force by many countries, meant that often the Security Council was unable to involve itself usefully in disputes. Often, too, it was defied or ignored by countries who felt strong enough to do so.

In his 1982, 1983 and 1984 reports, the Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, made a number of suggestions for reinforcing the Charter concept of collective action for peace and security so as to render



The 'One World' painting, displayed in the conference room of the Australian Mission to the United Nations in New York, was produced in 1983 by members of the Mission, including the Ambassador, Mr Richard Woolcott. The painting (one of two) was produced during the officers' spare time, under the supervision of a visiting Australian artist, Mr Peter Day — see also AFAR, Volume 55, No. 4, April 1984, page 304. (Photo by Victor Ang).

the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary function.

He suggested that governments could help by making more systematic, less last-minute use of the Security Council; that the Council might keep an active watch on dangerous situations so as to be able to defuse them at an early stage; that the Council should streamline its practices and procedures to enable it to act swiftly and decisively in crises; that the Permanent Members of the Council should not allow their bilateral difficulties to affect their obligations under the Charter; and that a more systematic approach be taken to fact-finding and using the Secretary-General in potentially dangerous situations.

Australia regards these suggestions as worthy of serious consideration.

The Secretary-General also suggested that the Council should study ways of increasing the effectiveness of United Nations

peacekeeping operations. The Security Council could, he suggested, be used more in difficult circumstances, in which regard he noted that the Council could possibly become a negotiating forum for what he termed the most formidable international problem, the Middle East. On this issue, the Council was 'the only place in the world where all the parties concerned can sit at the same table'.

The Secretary-General's Reports since 1982 have aroused a great deal of interest among member states, principally because of their vision of a re-invigorated multilateralism. The suggestions for reform and strengthening of the Organisation have been put to study in the Security Council over the last two years and a number of ideas for giving practical effect to the Secretary-General's suggestions have been advanced and discussed.

There are, of course, many different interests represented on the Council and some countries feel more strongly than others the

need for a 'more effective' United Nations. There is, however, an expectation that discussion of reform of the United Nations has not yet run its course. One of the problems in this regard is that some of the major players seem reluctant to support changes to the status quo.

Australia and the Security Council

It is against this background that Australia will take its seat on the Security Council in 1985 and 1986. This will be Australia's fourth term on the Council. In previous terms (1946-47, 1956-57 and 1973-74), Australia was involved in very difficult international situations, including the 1956 Suez crisis and the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. There is reason to expect that, during its forthcoming membership of the Council, Australia will once again be called upon to participate in deliberations on pressing international crises.

The Council is, of course, available to consider any crisis which might arise unexpectedly, as well as those which have formed the basis of continuing consideration.

Among the former group of issues have been, in recent years, the downing of a Korean Airlines aircraft and the United States intervention in Grenada in 1983. On-going problems which the Council will certainly face will include questions relating to Namibia and southern Africa; the Middle East and, in particular, the future of Israeli forces in southern Lebanon; Central America; Cyprus; the Iran-Iraq war; and the future of United Nations peacekeeping operations in Cyprus, Lebanon and elsewhere.

Australia will also be involved in the Council's continuing discussions on reform of the United Nations Organisation. This is an important question to which Australia intends to give very serious consideration.

It might be asked why Australia has sought membership of the Security Council, given that it could well be involved in difficult discussions, and difficult decisions, on a range of issues, some of which will be of immediate concern to Australia, others of lesser concern.

The answer to this question is that Australia has a long-standing and bipartisan commitment to the United Nations, at both the

government and community levels. This commitment and active involvement date back to the discussions which led to the founding of the Organisation. They have continued largely unabated ever since.

Membership of the Security Council, which is the main organ within the Charter system for maintaining international peace and security, is a measure of a country's international standing, a vote of confidence in its capacity to undertake the often onerous responsibilities of membership of the Council.

Australia also has its own independent views on international issues: a seat on the Council will give Australia an opportunity to promote its independent national perceptions in an arena where greatly increased international attention will be given to our point of view. We will be very much more visible on the international stage.

In approaching its membership of the Council, Australia does not entertain exaggerated expectations of what the Council or the wider United Nations system can achieve. There are obvious and unfortunate constraints on the capacity of the Council to make a positive impact in many situations. Equally realistically, there is also scope for positive action by the Council. Australia has been a firm supporter of ideas for making the United Nations more effective and it would be in line with this tradition to work during our term on the Council to further this aim.

Australia accepts the challenge of Council membership, and the wider exposure this brings with it, often in situations of delicacy or difficulty, because of its belief that membership of the United Nations carries with it such responsibilities. Its desire to serve on the Council reflects its commitment to the United Nations', its willingness to undertake the obligations of membership of the Council and a belief that Australia has something to contribute to and gain from its membership.

Membership might not be easy. Hard decisions will face our Mission in New York. Our activities as a Member of the Council might gain Australia friends but it might also irritate some others. It will give the international community a chance to observe a responsible, considered and independent Australian foreign policy. It will also illustrate to the Australian public limits on our ability to change the course of events. In all, it should be a worthwhile, interesting and demanding challenge to Australia.

UN General Assembly: Australian statement

Speech by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, to the United Nations General Assembly, in New York, on 2 October:

Mr President,

May I congratulate you warmly and sincerely on behalf of the Australian Government on your election as President of this General Assembly. Although at opposite ends of the alphabet, Australia and Zambia enjoy closer relations than many would expect, both through the Commonwealth and bilaterally.

I know too that Australia can regard you, personally, as a friend. As a member of the Council for Namibia, my Government is well aware of your valuable contribution as President of that body.

I would also like to extend a warm and neighbourly welcome to Brunei Darussalam as the newest member of this world body. The admission of our 159th member brings us closer to the goal of universality in membership of the United Nations.

Fellow delegates, as you will already know, Australia is one of the two agreed candidates of its regional group standing for election to the Security Council for 1985 and 1986. We see membership of the Council as an opportunity for Australia to pursue our obligations under the United Nations Charter. I would like to take this opportunity of assuring other delegations that Australia, if elected, will approach its duties with a sense of responsibility and self-confidence. We shall also strive to uphold the Charter and to make the Council a more effective instrument for the containment of existing conflicts and for the prevention of new conflicts.

Mr President, it has to be said that — in the last 12 months — the long march to world harmony and the achievement of universal basic human freedom has been painfully slow. Australia agrees with the observation in this year's report by the Secretary-General that a major reason for this is the regrettable tendency to retreat from internationalism and multilateralism. I propose to explain Australia's position on those issues in which — for strong historical and geographical reasons — we have a special interest.

Southern Africa

This organisation continues to spend much energy on the state of affairs in southern Africa and particularly the poisonous effects there of the apartheid policies of the South African Government. The facade there of

constitutional reform has in fact made matters worse. Indeed, the non-white citizens have demonstrated this in the most dramatic way possible.

Black South Africans — 70 per cent of the population — have been allowed no part in this alleged reform. Only one Coloured or Indian person in five was persuaded to vote for the new constitution. The voting itself took place in an atmosphere of violence and repression. The constitution that emerged in this so-called reform depends totally on the system and the laws of apartheid. And apartheid is designed (as we know) to entrench the domination in South Africa of a racial minority. This evil doctrine depends on injustice and fosters violence. The world community has condemned it and Australia is unequivocally opposed to it. So long as it continues and so long as the South African Government pursues it, South Africa cannot expect to be welcomed back into the international community.

In Namibia, we are still waiting for the promised outcome of the latest round of negotiations which started early this year. All principal parties have professed to agree to the terms of Security Council Resolution 435. Australia, therefore, regrets that the principle of linkage between independence negotiations and the presence of Cuban personnel in Angola has been raised as a barrier to progress. Moreover, there is no guarantee that more issues outside the scope of Resolution 435 will not be raised in the future to impede solution of an issue which could and should have been solved by now. Australia shares the impatience of African and other nations over the delay of Namibia's independence and we question the professed

good intentions of the South African Government in this regard.

South East Asia

In the South East Asian area, stability is subjected to undesirable strain by Vietnam's continued occupation of Cambodia. Australia condemned the invasion of Cambodia when it happened and we continue to condemn it. Nobody can tolerate armed incursion by one country into another, wherever it occurs. Accordingly, Australia considers that Vietnam should withdraw from Cambodia. The reasonable way for this to take place would be in the context of a settlement acceptable to all parties. This is why the need continues for negotiations towards a settlement, for which Australia has been working in the past 18 months. Australia remains ready to provide the site and any facilities necessary so that the parties involved or any combination of them can discuss ways in which settlement can be reached in Cambodia.

Afghanistan

The Soviet Union continues its occupation of Afghanistan and, through recent offensives, including high-level bombing of the Panjshir Valley, has added immeasurably to the suffering of the Afghan people. The recent widening of the conflict, through the bombing of civilian targets in Pakistan by Afghan aircraft, has served to heighten the degree of risk associated with the continued Soviet occupation. The needless loss of civilian and military life in the region will only come to an end when the Soviet Union withdraws from Afghanistan in accordance with successive United Nations resolutions.

New Caledonia

In the South Pacific region, Australia remains alert to the fact that a colonial situation remains in New Caledonia. We continue to support peaceful evolution to independence in New Caledonia, determined in accordance with the wishes of the people there and free from outside influence. We welcome the recognition by the French Government of the legitimate claim of the Kanak people to an inherent and active right to self-determination in which independence is an option. We note that an act of self-determination is scheduled to be held by 1989.

Australia calls on France to ensure that the transition to an independent multi-racial New Caledonia is achieved speedily and peacefully in a shorter time-scale than previously envisaged.

Middle East

A just and lasting peace in the Middle East remains a necessary (and elusive) goal. It can be achieved only if it is accepted that Israel must be allowed to exist within secure and recognised boundaries and that the Palestinian issue is centrally important for any settlement. Acceptance of these principles does not mean that Israel can feel free to continue its settlement program on the West Bank, since these settlements are contrary to international law and an obstacle to peace.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation, which represents a significant proportion of the Palestinian people, should be included in the search for peace. Australia acknowledges also that the Palestinian people have a right to self-determination, including a right to choose independence and the possibility of their own independent state. However, there is limited (perhaps non-existent) opportunity for the PLO to engage productively in the search for peace so long as it persists in denying Israel's right to exist. The Australian Government will maintain its refusal to recognise the PLO while it persists in that denial.

Superpower rivalry and arms control

A major cause of fear around the world community, of course, lies in the unsteady state of relations between the superpowers and the obstruction this is creating to effective arms control leading to disarmament. This year has seen more growth in nuclear arsenals and deployment of new missiles in both East and West. The prospect for talks between the superpowers in September on arms control for outer space was withdrawn, for what to the rest of the world must seem specious reasons. Their negotiations on intermediate range nuclear forces and on strategic nuclear weapons have been suspended. At the negotiations in Stockholm and Vienna about European issues, there has been no progress despite the new proposals. In the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, a shameful procedural deadlock is holding up the agenda of negotiations.

Australia has a special right to express its concern about this, as the site of the joint facilities with the United States and as a major supplier of uranium. The Australian Government believes that the joint facilities are an essential part of the monitoring system in effective arms control. It believes that holding on to our uranium would be an obstacle to disarmament because it would mean abandoning the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Government has gone to great lengths to convince Australians to accept the paradox that the existence of the facilities and supply of uranium make nuclear war less — not more — likely. We believe that our role in these matters gives us the right to be heard on the need for genuine progress towards nuclear disarmament. This crucial issue is the very highest priority among our policies.

Conference on Disarmament

We have fully supported moves to draw up a draft convention on chemical weapons. We believe there is a general will within the Geneva Conference to establish a convention that prohibits chemical weapons and their means of production. The Australian Government welcomed the United States' tabling a draft which contains what we consider to be elements of an effective system. This draft has been criticised in some quarters. Let us not leave it there; let the critics come forward with constructive alternatives.

We have put to the Conference on Disarmament that — in its exploration of the issue of arms control in outer space — it consider measures to protect from attack all satellites which help preserve the strategic balance and which can contribute to monitoring disarmament agreements. We have proposed also that the same protection be given to the ground stations which are essential to the operation of these satellites.

Comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty

The Australian Government has given an extraordinary amount of attention to the issue of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty — an issue which is central to effective arms control and disarmament. Our objective is to get meaningful negotiations on the way to establishing such a treaty. We have been trying to help overcome the procedural obstacles which have been put in the way of the treaty. We have been trying to get a

subsidiary body of the Geneva Conference set up to do the urgently needed practical work with a view to negotiating such a treaty. Naturally, we would prefer a so-called full negotiating mandate.

We would prefer agreement in clear terms that parties will start negotiating with a view towards drafting a truly comprehensive test ban treaty. But the consensus for such a mandate apparently is not there. The mandate that we have proposed instead is the best possible in present circumstances. It proposes that the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference on Disarmament should work on scope, verification and compliance with a view to the negotiation of a treaty. I tabled a working paper at Geneva in August as a guide for negotiations on these points.

The Australian Government will give all possible support to work on the treaty. But I will repeat now what I said in August at Geneva: we cannot accept a state of affairs in which an already limited mandate is used to justify delay in progress towards a treaty which has been in the gestation phase for far too long as it is. It would be wrong for anybody to presume that Australians in general have an inexhaustible well of patience with the slow pace of the work being done in the cause of solving a problem which could destroy us all.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks

It is essential that the United States and the Soviet Union agree as to the limitations on their strategic armaments and the related arrangements between them to be observed after 31 December 1985. This is the expiry date specified by the SALT II accord. Naturally, we hope that, before this date, the two major powers will have agreed on more drastic reductions in their nuclear weaponry than those envisaged in SALT II. Such agreement would greatly improve prospects for the Third Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which will take place in September 1985.

Mr President, nuclear weapons may be the monopoly of five powers. But the fear of the consequences of nuclear exchange is felt by people all over the world. The nuclear arms carried by only one submarine can unleash the firepower of three World War IIs. At the same time, conventional weapons have become more sophisticated and more widespread. The irony is that, while we are

concentrating on setting up effective controls on nuclear weapons, the extent and potential of conventional weapons are causing instability on a larger scale than we appear to appreciate. The potential for both global and regional calamity, therefore, is enormous. In such circumstances, the obligation on us to establish and maintain a system of peace is grave and urgent for all members of this Organisation — nuclear and non-nuclear members alike.

In his 1984 Report, the Secretary-General urges that the multilateral forums be used to deal with this compelling issue. All member states should use these forums to let the nuclear weapons states know that real progress is needed towards limiting those weapons that cause such fear around the world. Let us smaller states remember the opportunity that this organisation provides: in this Assembly, in the various disarmament forums, in the International Atomic Energy Agency. In common we have an influence on even the most powerful of our colleagues that we lack when we act alone.

Disarmament and nuclear free zones

In the context of disarmament, I refer briefly to two important developments: first, the increased international interest in Antarctica promoted by our good friend Malaysia. The Antarctic Treaty has provided an effective basis for peaceful co-operation, for scientific co-operation and environmental conservation for a quarter of a century. The disarmament provisions of the Treaty have established the only denuclearised and demilitarised zone in the world today. While we believe the Treaty system is flexible and that the operation of the Treaty can be improved, Australia will oppose any proposals in this body which we consider would lead to the Treaty being undermined.

The best course on Antarctica is to await the expected report of the Secretary-General. Only when we have examined it will we be in a position to consider that (if any) further steps involving the UN might be considered. The second development of importance was the recent decision by the countries of the South Pacific to begin work on a treaty to create a nuclear free zone in the South Pacific region. The proposal, brought by Australia to the countries of the South Pacific Forum, has significance not only for the region but also for the whole of the international community

which wishes to make the world a nuclear-safe place. This time next year, I feel sure, the countries of the region will be able to report that a significant step in reaching this objective has been taken.

Aid to developing nations

Another great issue whose resolution demands our combined will concerns the instability caused by the indebtedness of developing nations. This issue is pressing not only because of its impact on the world financial system but also because of the hardship involved for developing countries undertaking adjustment programs. The Australian Government firmly supports the international consensus for the central role of the International Monetary Fund in this issue and the case-by-case approach it has adopted to deal with current problems. This approach has its critics. But there is no effective short-term alternative. It is important that the IMF continue to insist on a disciplined attack on a most complex problem and that it be given consistent support while it is so doing. But we must be careful to keep our eyes on the political dangers ahead as we deal with the debt problem.

One of these dangers concerns the burden of interest rates — a matter that the leading economies represented at the London Summit early this year failed to address adequately. It would be unfortunate if rescheduling schemes now being arranged were to be over-run by any sudden climb in interest rates. I say this although there appears to be a fairly solid level of confidence that these arrangements have been crafted together in a secure way.

A note of caution also needs to be sounded about the possible political effects of some of the conditions imposed by IMF debt rearrangements. There are states going through the adjustment process (with all that this implies about strict economic management) which are also undergoing complex and sensitive political change. Some are emerging into democracy from long periods of authoritarian rule. We must be careful that policies for economic recovery and stability do not undermine their fledgling social and political reforms.

Another danger lies in the tendency to oversimplify the debt problem. The debts that command our attention are those of the relatively well-off countries which tapped the

commercial markets in the 1970s to help achieve their considerable growth potential.

There is a real danger that the problems of other debtor countries, less significant in terms of their implications for their creditors but no less serious in relation to their own domestic impact, will be crowded out of our attention. Such countries, generally poorer and with less ability to attract the new opportunities of commercial borrowing in the 1970s, are linked more to traditional sources such as ODA and development institution loans. The solutions may be different, but the task is no less urgent.

When coupled, as in Africa, with additional problems such as drought and rapidly spreading desertification, the need for attention is all the more compelling. This issue was recently reported on by a Commonwealth Group of Experts on the Debt Crisis. This Group, established by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their 1983 summit, included among its proposed measures to help low-income debtor countries a call for additional resources for IDA. Australia has decided to respond by making a voluntary and unilateral special contribution to IDA, in addition to our pledged contribution of \$200 million. I have said that this complex problem demands our combined will for its resolution.

Effectiveness of the UN

It is this organisation which has striven for 40 years to serve the interests of *all* members of the world community — where this combined will can best be utilised.

Australia emphasises the point because we disagree with the disposition in some quarters to accept that this organisation is afflicted by a kind of premature senility. Part of the blame for this feeling must be attributed to the organisation itself. From earliest days, Secretaries-General have complained of lack of co-ordination and inefficiency. Many people inside and outside the UN have become disenchanted with its reputation as a talking shop. But we should be careful not to encourage too extreme a reaction to this. The complaints made about this organisation may to some extent be true. But they are far from the whole truth.

For all its imperfections, the UN has developed a range of policies and activities that have brought comfort and even life to

people all over the world. As the Secretary-General says, it has played a decisive role in the process of decolonisation. I should like to mention in this context that Australia has conducted an act of self-determination in Cocos which was observed by a UN visiting mission. We expect that this development will lead at this session to the delisting of Cocos as a non-self-governing territory, thereby ending Australia's role as an administering power.

In the field of human rights, the UN has facilitated the development of a framework of international standards and obligations which translates into practical terms the humanitarian ideals of the Charter. This is a continuing process. Australia very much hopes to see this Assembly take the necessary steps to adopt an effective Convention against the abhorrent practice of torture.

UN agencies have helped eradicate disease, care for refugees, control drug abuse, and expand food production. I specify UNESCO's literacy and education programs, since this agency has been subject to intensive examination recently. I am not convinced either that all the 4000 or so resolutions passed by this Assembly are entirely the 'hollow voting victories' that Dag Hammarskjöld suggested they were. The whole ritual of conference and dialogue has played an underestimated role in dampening down tension and satisfying passions.

Another source of criticism of the UN is the natural disappointment that has followed the enthusiastic but unreal expectations of early days. People expected the UN to create a Utopia, but with powers no nation was prepared to cede to it.

Yet another part of the UN's problem is that it is no longer the tight little community of World War II victors that was set up nearly 40 years ago. The balance of representation in the UN is now starting to reflect the balance between the main regions of the world in terms of population. If the UN were today what it was 40 years ago, then it would truly be irrelevant. Instead, it represents the real world, not the world some would like it to be.

I am saying this because this organisation, which has brought untold benefit to so many people, should be defended against attack.

I am saying it because Australia feels that it has a special obligation to take part in this defence. Australia was not only a founding member of the UN but also an active supporter of the view in its early days that the

UN should not be the preserve of great powers. We foresaw the opportunities for members of a truly representative UN to advance interests in common that we could not promote individually. We wanted the newest and humblest of nations to be able to mix with the oldest and mightiest in conference and dialogue. We believed that smaller states like ourselves would be swamped if great powers in a nuclear age were free to arrange matters between themselves in private as they did at Potsdam and Yalta.

We are all affected by the arrangements between great powers. We have the right to be able to express views about them, there-

fore, and to be involved in the formation of these views.

Conclusion

I have said that disarmament and international economic stability are the major pressing issues of our time. The Australian Government urges that more energetic ways to settle these issues — particularly disarmament — should be pursued within the multilateral framework. Not only is the search for answers urgent, it is also of paramount importance that the answers be fully representative of us all, large and small nations alike.

United Nations: disarmament and nuclear weapons

Speech by the Ambassador for Disarmament, Mr Richard Butler, to the First Committee, United Nations General Assembly, New York, on 17 October:

All States represented in this Committee share a great responsibility. The Charter of the United Nations commits us, above all else, to preserving the peace and to fostering true social and economic justice.

We have all promised to resolve political disputes peacefully. We have all promised never to use or threaten to use force, except in self defence. We have all promised to respect the independence and territorial integrity of all states.

This Organisation provides the only framework within which we can keep those promises and pursue those vital goals collectively. This First Committee of the General Assembly is the work-force. It is here in this Committee that the work of the United Nations directed towards the disarmament dimension of the maintenance of the peace and the fostering of social and economic justice is carried out. In this Committee we must lay the foundation of international co-operation on removing the threat that arms pose to peace and to full human social and economic development.

Mr Chairman, the present scale of the global allocation of resources to arms, both nuclear and conventional, casts the longest shadow over humanity that has ever been witnessed. The foundation stones we lay in this Committee will determine whether or not we will be able to move out from under that

shadow into the light of real human progress. This is our shared responsibility.

We will only succeed in this work if we acknowledge the gravity of this responsibility, if we dedicate ourselves to sharing it, and if we recommit ourselves to the principles to which we have all given our solemn promise.

We must refuse the judgment of history that could already now be laid upon us — that in this, the last quarter of the 20th century, we lost our senses, that we became so mesmerised by arms and their alleged power, that we gave every appearance of having gone mad. We must also cut drastically the terrible cost in economic, financial and human terms which the arms race represents. That cost is staggering and its effects are being felt throughout the whole spectrum of the world economy.

It is not Australia's purpose to point the finger of accusation at any particular member

state, nor do we claim any special ability to see or analyse this situation. But we believe it is important to speak out about these realities as we see them. We believe that none of us will fulfil our responsibility if we do not first acknowledge rationally and fairly amongst ourselves precisely the shape and consequences of the problems posed by arms.

One of the central issues which must be addressed urgently is the gap that has emerged between the reality of competition in nuclear arms — and the associated nuclear strategies — and public perceptions — the ideas held about these things in the minds of ordinary citizens around the world.

One reflection of that gap was documented only a few weeks ago in a publication issued by the Public Agenda Foundation, here in New York City.

That Foundation had conducted an extensive and objective national survey within the United States on attitudes towards nuclear weapons and nuclear strategies. The findings of that survey are detailed and it would be in some respects unsatisfactory to seek to summarise them. Nevertheless, the survey did demonstrate, unequivocally, a widespread belief amongst ordinary people in the United States that 'nuclear war is unwinnable, horrible, unsurvivable'.

The same view is held on an equally widespread basis in Australia and, as we all know, in many other parts of the world, including I presume within the Soviet Union and the countries allied with it.

The Public Agenda Foundation survey also showed widespread and deep confusion about the ways in which nuclear weapons might be used and about the nuclear strategy and doctrines which exist now. On the other hand the survey revealed a deeply held conviction that the issue of nuclear war is too important to leave only to politicians and so-called experts. On the contrary, it is believed that ordinary citizens must have a say in any decisions that are made.

A further, and I suggest deeply disturbing fact revealed in this survey, is that the so-called experts in the field of nuclear weapons and strategy are themselves in thorough dispute and disagreement about the nature, purposes, utility and effects of nuclear weapons. This is so clear that it suggests a situation of the blind purporting to lead the not so blind.

Mr Chairman I suggest that this situation has four key implications for all of us. First,

we must dismiss any suggestion that nuclear war can be lived with. It cannot be contained. No-one would win and its effects would be total devastation. The position of the Australian Government is that it rejects the notion of a limited or winnable nuclear war. The only logical outcome in this situation, in terms of our own behaviour, is an urgent maximum effort to reduce the number of nuclear weapons held in this world and to do this down to the point where, ultimately, they are eliminated.

Second, we must clarify the so-called expert guidance that is proffered with respect to nuclear weapons and nuclear strategy. Much of that guidance purports to be mainly technical in character when in fact it rests far more fundamentally on key political assumptions. That so-called guidance also often seeks to be reassuring by asserting that everything is under control, that everything will somehow work out in the future. But there is no such comfort. This, the nuclear reality we face today, is the play, not the dress rehearsal.

There is also the argumentation that says that somehow all these things are relative and that certain essential balances or perspectives are involved.

Our answer to that confusion of relativism with true relativity is an absolute one. The argument that we should be content with the present because one could conceive of something worse is relativism out of all perspective. The correct perspective is that 50 000 nuclear weapons is vastly too many. Their number must be reduced. The two superpowers must bring about those reductions.

Third, we must accept the responsibility of closing the gap which exists between public perceptions of aspects of nuclear weapons and the harsh and threatening reality of those weapons and nuclear doctrines. Politicians, officials and experts share this responsibility in the sharpest possible way.

It is clear that the people can understand the truth and want to. It is clear too that responsible government rests, essentially, on an informed understanding by ordinary people of the choices that they and their governments face. The vitality of that relationship between the people and their governments and between reality and the necessity of choice is at its highest in democratically organised societies.

The Australian Government has sought

earnestly, and responsibly, to accept the challenge of dealing openly and truthfully with the people who elected it, on these issues.

Fourth, what is at stake in many respects is not just removing the shadow of the arms race but the fundamental question of dealing with the potential conflict between technology and individual liberty. Nuclear weapons have come to be the most visible and dramatic symbol of the threat to that liberty which many people believe is posed by modern technology. Simply, freedom of choice and above all the choice to continue to live, is seen as being eaten away, if not swallowed, by ever growing technology.

Anyone who rejects this proposition does so at the cost of ignoring the repeated findings of attitudinal surveys conducted amongst young people, our children. Whether those surveys are done in Australia, Western Europe or the United States, a common finding is revealed. Far too many of our young people are coming to believe that their own education or the pursuit of job training is pointless because they fear that at some time in the near future they will be blown away in a nuclear war.

I am sure that the same would be true if similar surveys were taken and the results published, in the Soviet Union and in the countries allied to it. Certainly there has been some indication of this in materials that have been published, for example, from sources in the German Democratic Republic.

The issues we deal with in this Committee have come to form the heartland of current human concerns and, as we all know, they are also the heartland of present international relations. They are the heartland because of the unprecedented scale of the arms race and the impact this has had upon overall international relations and upon the global economy containing, as it does, urgent priorities in the developing world.

Our responsibility is to work in this heartland with all possible energy. Mr Chairman, our agenda is long but it includes, in the Australian view, four items of great priority.

Comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty

It is essential that this world community produce a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty.

Beginning in 1963, a step was taken towards this goal through the negotiation of

the Partial Test Ban Treaty. That was then followed by the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, the Treaty on Peaceful Nuclear Explosions and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Those agreements are immensely significant pieces of international law and they contain within them the commitment to negotiate a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. That commitment must be honoured.

Multilateral work towards such a treaty is amongst the highest priorities of the Australian Government.

At the last session of the General Assembly Australia sponsored a resolution, resolution 38/63, which provided a foundation stone for the development of a comprehensive test ban treaty. We subsequently sought to transfer that resolution into a mandate for a working group of the Conference on Disarmament on a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Those who chose to withhold consensus from the Western mandate did so on the stated ground that it did not go far enough because it did not provide for immediate negotiations.

Mr Chairman, we deeply regret that decision and frankly fail to understand the logic which allegedly supported it, that is, 'if I cannot get everything I want now, then I prefer to have nothing'.

This did not square with the stated goal of all concerned to bring a CTB into being. It undervalued the work that could have been done under this mandate and turned away from the obligations that have been accepted in international law.

At this present assembly Australia proposes again to co-sponsor a relevant resolution on the urgent need for a comprehensive test ban treaty. We are hopeful that it will again attract the very great support the Australian-New Zealand resolution was given last year. We will raise the matter again in the Conference on Disarmament in 1985.

We have complete conviction that what we are seeking here is right, reflects widespread international concern, and is supported by existing provisions of international law.

We appeal to those who have resisted the development to reconsider, to think again. There should be no further delay in working out what would be involved in a treaty which would end all nuclear testing, not just nuclear weapons tests, but all nuclear tests, by all states in all environments for all time.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

Within the year ahead of us the operation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will be reviewed for the third time. That Treaty has made and continues to make an extraordinary contribution to the maintenance of peace and security in this world.

There have recently been some statements, mainly by states which have remained outside the Treaty, statements designed to criticise if not attack this unique nuclear arms control Treaty. I want to record that we regret and, in fact, reject such attacks.

I ask this question. What would today's world look like if we had not had the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in force for the last 15 years? What state can demonstrate that it would be safer, feel more secure, if that Treaty had not been in force.

The world would look very different and it would be a far more dangerous place. Nobody would be more secure than they are today. Finely tuned and over-intellectualised criticisms of this Treaty, I suggest respectfully, completely miss the fundamental point.

Of course the Treaty is not a perfect instrument and there are many of us who have worked hard to strengthen it. We will continue to do so especially at the third review conference next year. But the benefits it has brought us all, including to those who have stayed outside the Treaty, are unassailable.

Australia possesses over 30 per cent of known deposits of uranium in the Western world. Many Australians have expressed concern about the possibility that the use of uranium for the generation of electricity could contribute ultimately to the spread of nuclear weapons.

As a consequence we have passed through a period in Australia of deep and sometimes passionate debate about the non-proliferation objective and the role of Australian uranium.

Many Australians have argued that we should leave our uranium in the ground and that this would be our best contribution to nuclear non-proliferation. But the majority have agreed, and this is the policy of the Australian Government, that the export of some Australian uranium under the Non-Proliferation Treaty and our own national safeguards system, which is amongst the most stringent in the world, is the surest way for Australia to support the non-proliferation

objective. All of this has been done under the vital shield of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

We appeal to those who have not yet joined the Non-Proliferation Treaty to come and join. Universal adherence to the Treaty would strengthen it further and thus strengthen further the general peace and security.

We look forward too, to a positive review of the Treaty in 1985, a review which will reaffirm that the Treaty is working and will consider ways in which we can add to its present very great effectiveness.

Chemical weapons

In the field of chemical weapons important progress has been made in the negotiations in the CD in Geneva. The Australian objective, shared with many, is a comprehensive treaty which would outlaw forever the development, production, stockpiling, storage and use of those terrible weapons and provide for the destruction of existing stocks.

Such a treaty would remove from our life horrible and indiscriminating weapons. It would benefit us all. Australia is actively engaged in this work and believes that every effort must be made to bring it to conclusion as soon as possible.

Outer space

Looking further into the future there is the awful prospect that the arms race may extend into outer space. It was a matter of deep concern to us that work on a treaty or treaties to prevent an arms race in outer space was not able to be advanced this year in Geneva.

Let no-one be in any doubt about the disastrous and destabilising situation we would face if we fail in this objective. In many respects the outer space issue may be the point on which our whole history turns. We must not fail in this task.

Mr Chairman, in the year since we last met in this Committee there have been many heated exchanges between a number of states including the two states possessing the largest number of nuclear weapons. I want to question the value of such exchanges.

Surely what is at issue here is the known fact that some of us, including the two major powers, have very different views about a range of subjects not least how to solve the problems of arms control and disarmament. But surely the single most important imperative emerging from those differences is the

determination to live together and to do so in peace. It has been encouraging to see recently some significant attempts to put the brake on exchanges which emphasised differences.

Australia is a distinctive country and the Australian people, for all our varied origins, are a distinctive people. We have some differences with others but we believe that the only way to bridge those differences is to take seriously and at face value the statements and concerns of others — not to dismiss them.

Equally a search for the obliteration of differences would obviously be futile and would raise the important question of whether any of us want to live in a thoroughly homogeneous world. In some respects — in the whole range of human activities whether in the political field, the field of culture and art and research — what is most interesting is the differences rather than the similarities. This is certainly true of nature itself.

In taking at face value the statements and concerns of others and then attempting to produce a true and peaceful *modus vivendi* it seems vitally important to us that logic and empiricism be allowed a full role.

Mr Chairman, I want to refer briefly to the two main institutions in which members of the United Nations work multilaterally on disarmament.

The first of them is this Committee. I have already expressed the Australian view of the importance of this Committee but I want to add this word. Simply, there are too many competing resolutions on the same subject. The addition of any new agenda item seems inevitably to lead to further competing resolutions. There is also the related problem of the difficulty of getting items off our agenda even when that would obviously be the best course of action.

In making these remarks I am very conscious of how much criticism the United Nations has faced in recent times, most of which was on the basis that it has become a mere 'talking shop'.

It is vitally necessary for us to defend our organisation in terms of public esteem and public opinion. We also clearly need to work more efficiently.

We hope, Mr Chairman, that it might be possible at some time during this session to explore ways in which serious consideration can be given to some measures of reform in the working methods of the First Committee.

With regard to the other body, the Conference on Disarmament, we believe the issue of mandates has to be addressed anew. The Conference itself has a negotiating mandate under Paragraph 120 of the Final Document. It is highly questionable, therefore, whether arguments about mandates for individual committees of the Conference are either necessary or valid. A substitution of form for substance has started to take place in the Conference. In our view this must stop and we would be happy to join with others in trying to solve this problem.

Mr Chairman, I want to conclude by returning to the issue of the reality gap. In some respects we official representatives of governments participate in the maintenance of that gap, whether willingly or unwillingly. Certainly we are all potential victims of it.

History should serve as a teacher. I think many of us have searched for an analogy in history for the situation we face today where the experts in nuclear science, technology and strategy have under their control materials and policies which have the potential to kill us all. It is more than interesting that those experts are miniscule in number in comparison with the number of people who could be terminally affected by their actions and decisions.

If history can provide an analogy for this situation it may be that of a similar group of 'experts' — and they too were experts on matters of life and death — that is, the clergy of the Christian Church in Europe prior to the advent of printing. Their literacy in Latin was in many respects an achievement. It brought great cultural benefits. But they were, too, very small in number in comparison with the population as a whole. They had the expert knowledge that was then expressed in the Latin language and they too, according to the then popular belief, presided over matters of life and death, indeed over matters of eternity.

Then a German craftsman, Johannes Gutenberg, invented printing. The first book he printed was not in Latin but in the language of the ordinary people of his country. From that point onwards certain key aspects of the reality gap between the experts and the people started to disappear. The age of printing was followed by the enlightenment and now, today, by the nuclear age.

There has clearly been progress. Our

understanding of the natural world was completely reshaped by the Theory of Relativity. This has brought great material benefits. But will it have been unambiguous progress if it proves to have led to the reinstitution of a miniscule group of experts presiding over life and death on the basis of their exclusive knowledge, not on this occasion of Latin, but of atomic science? I doubt it.

What we must all do is close the present reality gap. We must speak the truth to

people about what is at stake in the nuclear age knowing that they will understand because in fact one does not have to be an 'expert' to understand.

We must demonstrate to the people we represent that we acknowledge the reality of a single central point — the urgent need to bring about an end to the current madness of the arms race and to commit all of our resources and human ingenuity to peace and social and economic justice.

Intended U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO: Australian views

The Executive Board of UNESCO, which met in Paris from 26 September to 19 October, considered (among other things) detailed proposals for reform of the organisation.

The U.S. Government has been strongly critical of the performance of UNESCO in recent years and has given notice of its intention to withdraw from the organisation.

Australia is committed to remaining in UNESCO and to working actively for solutions to its problems. This reflects the importance that the Government attaches to UNESCO's activities, particularly those which assist developing countries in our region, as well as our belief that the organisation's difficulties, while substantial, are not insurmountable.

Australia is concerned at the prospect of the United States withdrawing from UNESCO, particularly the loss of that country's intellectual and financial contribution (the United States provides one-quarter of the organisation's budget). That prospect is still real, although on 13 September 1984, the Assistant Secretary in charge of international organisations in the U.S. State Department told a sub-committee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Congress that if significant and constructive reforms were undertaken by the end of 1984, the United States would reconsider its withdrawal decision.

However, he added that whether this could be done was largely the responsibility of UNESCO itself. The Americans have participated in the negotiations for reform in UNESCO in recent months. They have drawn some encouragement from recent progress, but they are yet to be convinced that far-reaching recommendations will be

approved and implemented. However, a clearer indication will depend on the outcome of the UNESCO Executive Board meeting on 26 September-19 October which will consider detailed proposals for reform.

Australia shares to some extent the general criticism about UNESCO's priorities and performance. The depth of Western concern, as well as the critical situation facing the organisation, have been underlined by the action of the United Kingdom in effectively serving notice on UNESCO if such reforms are not carried through, and similar action more recently by Denmark and the Netherlands by writing letters to the Director-General of UNESCO urging widespread urgent reforms.

The U.S. withdrawal notice prompted several wide-ranging reviews of UNESCO's problems. Australia has welcomed developments in Paris in recent months.

After a hesitant start, member countries have analysed UNESCO's problems and made progress in suggesting practical improvements. Among the first significant steps have been agreement with the UNESCO Secretariat on a base figure for the budget, against which future expenditure growth can be readily calculated, as well as on a means for dealing with exchange rate fluctuations between the United States dollar and the French Franc. This will improve UNESCO



The Australian Ambassador to UNESCO, the Hon. E.G. Whitlam, AC, QC, (left) and the Director-General of UNESCO, Mr M'Bow, (second from right) exchanging documents formalising the deposit of Australia's Instrument of Ratification of The Hague Convention, in Paris, on 19 September 1984. Others pictured are, (standing), the Chief of Protocol at UNESCO, Mr J. De Aristegui; and the Director of the Director-General's Executive Office, Mr C. Bekri. (UNESCO photo).

budget clarity and will remove two of the principal points of dispute which have bedevilled past debates on the budget.

There are also indications that there will be changes in personnel and management procedures which will lead to greater efficiency and cost effectiveness.

At the May 1984 meeting of the Executive Board, there was frank discussion of UNESCO's problems. The Executive Board agreed to the establishment of a temporary committee made up of a representative grouping of Board members to consider proposals for improvements. The Director-General initiated a parallel exercise by creating five working groups to study program implementation, budgeting techniques, personnel policy, evaluation systems, and UNESCO's public information program.

The temporary committee and the working groups have produced several papers on program evaluation, personnel, budget and financial matters, and UNESCO's public information activities. While some of these papers have been of a general and preliminary nature, they identify a number of practical

improvements that would increase UNESCO's efficiency and provide a useful basis on which broader reform proposals can be formulated.

The most important message that Australia and other Western countries have stressed is the urgent need for rationalisation and concentration of UNESCO program resources into the areas of its core responsibilities which enjoy the broad support of its membership. The dissipation of the organisation's resources in fragmented programs in areas of marginal relevance to UNESCO has been a recurrent criticism.

A major U.S. criticism, shared by some Western countries, is that UNESCO has become too 'politicised' by discussing matters outside its original terms of reference in education, science, culture and communications. Ideological differences between UNESCO country groupings are at the heart of several of these contentious issues. It may be unrealistic to seek to confine UNESCO's activities rigidly to its core responsibilities given its traditional role as an intellectual clearing house and pathfinder.

UNESCO does have a contribution to make in such areas as human rights, peace and disarmament, but Australia believes that it should advance its objectives in these areas principally through its educational and cultural programs. Australia's concern is to avoid UNESCO trespassing upon the policy roles of the relevant UN specialist bodies and to keep discussion on political issues within acceptable bounds to avoid undue politicisation.

Australia recognises that much work remains to be done. Many reform proposals need to be developed and agreed to by UNESCO members. The temporary committee decided early in its deliberations to focus first on areas that were amenable to early progress, and that consideration of the more contentious issues including politicisation and program concentration should be tackled later. While it is expected that general support will be forthcoming for proposed improvements in UNESCO's management and administration, it remains to be seen whether this will be the case in these more difficult areas.

Australia hopes that the major reform effort

now underway will not be disrupted by side issues. One of these, which has recently had some publicity, concerns the refund to member states of approximately U.S.\$80 million held in a currency fluctuation reserve for the 1981-83 budget period. Suggestions have been made in some quarters that the Director-General might seek to retain these funds to offset the effects of American withdrawal.

However, the Director-General has recently confirmed that — in accordance with UNESCO's financial regulations — he will return the funds to member states. This is likely to occur at the end of 1984, although some of the larger contributors (including the U.S., UK, FRG — but not Australia) are seeking an earlier refund.

Australia will continue to take part in the reform discussions in Paris. While an American withdrawal must still be considered likely, we would hope that sufficient improvements can be achieved, to enable UNESCO to function efficiently and become a more useful tool of international co-operation.

Media Peace Prize

Speech by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, at the Media Peace Prize award ceremony, Macquarie University, Sydney, on 23 October:

I am honoured to be able to take part once more in this ceremony. This is the second time I have been able to join in the presentation of the Media Peace Prize.

I am here today to emphasise my personal recognition of the vital role of the media in achieving one of mankind's fundamental wants: to live in peace.

In this connection, I want to put before you in summary form some of the results of a major survey in the United States a few weeks ago which dealt with this fundamental need. The survey is entitled *Voter Options on Nuclear Arms Policy*. It was published by the Public Agenda Foundation in collaboration with the Centre for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University.

The Foundation has a large and distinguished membership. Its Chairman is the former Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, and its President is Daniel Yankelovitch, a pioneer in the science of conducting public surveys in the United States.

Over a number of years, the Foundation has sought to produce objective studies on topics of current and vital concern, as a

means of putting these issues as clearly as possible before voters in the United States. It is a non-partisan organisation and its work rests on the belief that it is vital to a democracy that those who must choose between the issues — the voters — must have the fullest possible knowledge of what is involved.

What does this publication tell us? First, it tells us that a very substantial majority of ordinary American citizens believe unequivocally that 'nuclear war is unwinnable, horrible, unsurvivable'. Related to this, 96 per cent of Americans as against three per cent believe that 'picking a fight with the Soviet Union is too dangerous in a nuclear world'. 89 per cent as against nine per cent agree that 'there can be no winner in an all-out nuclear

war; both the United States and the Soviet Union would be completely destroyed'. Finally, in this context, 83 per cent to 13 per cent conclude that 'in a limited nuclear war, if either superpower were to use nuclear weapons, it would turn into an all-out war'.

So far so good, one could say in some respects. The results of the survey seem rational enough. Certainly — as you probably all know — it is the policy of the present Australian Government to reject the notion of a limited, winnable nuclear war. It is our policy because we know the facts and because we know that, in the same way as is indicated in the American survey, a very substantial number of Australians hold the same view of nuclear war.

But the situation, regrettably, is not as simple as it may appear on the face of things. The survey provides other material which shows two other results of great importance. One is that many ordinary Americans are not as aware as they might or should be of the realities of current strategic doctrines. For example, 81 per cent of those surveyed believed that it was Western policy to use nuclear weapons 'if, and only if, the Soviets attack the United States first with nuclear weapons'. This is not a correct description of NATO defence policy, of course, because NATO has had to cope with a Soviet preponderance of conventional forces in Europe.

The other important result is that the survey showed an extraordinary degree of dispute among experts on nuclear weapons and strategy and the nature and utility of nuclear weapons. In this sense, at the very least, a question is raised about the extent to which we can rely solely on expert advice.

This brings me back to my central point — a point which has significant implications in a democracy like ours and for the role of the media in such a democracy. In our society, the people must decide. To do that, they require the necessary information. Some of that information can and must be provided by experts but — as 68 per cent of the American sample pointed out — 'the issue of nuclear war is too important to leave only to the President and the experts. Citizens must have a say in any decisions that are made'.

The need for information and participation is expressed — in another way, much closer to home — in the results of a survey earlier this year among Australians aged between 15

and 24. The survey was conducted throughout the country by the Federal Government to help make government in general more aware of and sensitive to the needs of young people. Fully 73 per cent of the people surveyed were concerned about nuclear war and 50 per cent of them were very much concerned. Just a little under two-thirds believed that nuclear war was either very likely or fairly likely in their lifetime.

In group discussions carried out among young people to explore their concerns to the fullest degree possible, this defeatist trend was amplified. As one participant in these discussions remarked: 'it's almost not a problem because I know it's going to happen and there's not much I can do about it'.

I want to make an important point about this. This Government has given the highest possible priority in its foreign policies to arms control and disarmament. Nothing is more urgent than the issue of peace. The first task it faces in achieving this objective is to overcome this inertia, this negativism. On an issue so complex and so crucial, success certainly will not be immediate and it certainly will not be easy. But nothing at all will be achieved if we decided to give the job up and walk away.

We are in an election at the moment in which — to be totally down to earth about it — only either of two political groupings has the chance of winning office and making the decisions on this and all the other serious questions. One group is out of government and — on peace and disarmament issues — has the vaguest and least thoughtful policies.

The other group — which forms the Government of which I am a member — has put urgency and commitment and performance into disarmament because it considers that no issue rivals it in importance.

Since the Government was elected a little over 18 months ago, we have worked with very great energy to transform Australian foreign policy. This policy rests on certain key foundation stones. Australia is a democracy. It lives by the values that are inherent in such a society. It has a relationship of unqualified importance with the United States. Our relationship with neighbouring countries, both to the north and in the Pacific, have been put back on to their former basis of mutual respect and co-operation.

One of the questions that is often asked is: what impact can Australia have on that big picture? The question is implicit in the results

of the Australian survey I mentioned earlier. What effect can we have on the big issues involving relations between the superpowers and the massive and awesome weapons systems that are bound up in these relations?

These questions often contain the implication that we are in some way kidding ourselves that we can have any effect on a global scale. The same point is often put in a much more appealing way — and I know it is a way which is very familiar to us all here today who are active on the peace issue. It is put repeatedly by individual members of peace and disarmament groups in Australia who inevitably feel doubt and frustration about the hugeness of the issue and their effectiveness on it. Does what we are doing really matter? How can our voice and our actions make any difference? Can we have any impact on the nuclear arms juggernaut?

It would be foolish of me to promise that Australia alone will or can change the world. But it would be just as foolish to say that the actions of our people — the actions of individuals who are deeply concerned about the arms race — do not count.

In the first place, these actions are of great significance because they constitute the voice of the people. That is the voice that counts in a democracy. This Government has striven for 18 months to give expression and body to that voice. It has worked to amplify it in the capitals of other governments, right up to the size and significance of Washington and Moscow. It has put it high on the agenda in those world councils where the issues of peace and disarmament are discussed and considered as part of the day's work.

The key example of this is the action we have taken on nuclear testing. I could speak at great length on this detailed subject, though I will spare you that. I shall just give you the simple facts. A treaty to bring about an end to all nuclear testing by all countries in all environments and for all time is one of the highest priorities of this Government.

We have embarked on a series of activities designed to bring that treaty into life — at the United Nations, in Geneva, and in major capitals such as Washington and Moscow. These actions are having their impact. Nobody doubts in any of these places the unswerving commitment of Australia to this goal. Nobody can fail to witness the determination with which we are pursuing it.

We are taking this action because we know that an end to nuclear testing is already

promised in international law and we intend to see that promise kept. We know that an end to nuclear testing would make a major contribution to stopping the vertical and horizontal growth of nuclear weapons.

In this sense, an end to nuclear testing is *the* key. Australia is determined to see this key forged and then applied to lock out the race in nuclear arms.

We have also given support to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to a degree that no other country can better. This treaty is *the* major nuclear arms control treaty in existence. It has provided enormous security to the world in the 15 years in which it has been in force. The world would be a very much more dangerous place today if the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty were not in place or if, in the future, it were to fall into disrepute.

There has been a vigorous debate here about the role of Australian uranium. Our decision to continue to export some Australian uranium under the Treaty (and under our own national safeguards system) has been made because it is one of the key ways that Australia can support and strengthen the Treaty. And, let me re-emphasise, this is a treaty which is providing for our security and which continues to serve the cause of maintaining peace.

Peace, of course, is the reason we are here today. Those who will receive the Media Peace Prize have served the cause of peace in ways that I hope one day will be fully appreciated. Their service has been in the field of public communication. The fact is undeniable that what people think about issues, how they form their opinions, is greatly shaped by the way in which facts and reports are put before them. So the writer, the editorialist, the publisher and the broadcaster have greater power in their hands.

They also have a great responsibility. Those who receive the Media Peace Prizes have exercised that power and shown that responsibility in the cause of peace. For this they are to be congratulated and thanked.

There is also scope for governments to try to encourage community awareness of the need to work for peace. I am glad that finance has been found via the CEP program to get the Peace Bus on the road and working to explain to the community what is involved in the great peace issue.

We have committed considerable resources also to Australia's program for the UN's International Year of Peace in 1986. I

was pleased to be able to persuade Stella Cornelius to act as Director of the Australian IYP program. I do not really have to explain Stella to a gathering like this. She is a shining example around Australia of an individual committed and dedicated to peace. She has given many years to the cause and is splendidly suited to her IYP role. We are very lucky to have Stella running a program to which the Government gives great importance.

As Foreign Minister of Australia, I too am conscious of my responsibility in the cause. The complex and often competing issues I have to deal with and decide upon constitute a great challenge and a great obligation. But any effort involved is thoroughly worthwhile: it affords me the opportunity of helping

shape Australia's contribution to the maintenance of peace and the creation of a world freed from the menacing shadow of the nuclear arms race.

If I can embarrass my good friend Stella Cornelius once again, I would like to quote from a letter she wrote only a few days ago about the IYP program: 'neither war nor peace is inevitable. Both are the results of human decision. The task is urgent but there is still time to choose.' In these few words, Stella conveys the awesomeness of the issue and the truth that, despite all the complexities, ordinary concerned citizens — like us and so many of our fellow Australians — in so many countries on this globe *do* have the capacity to resolve it.

Cambodia: Australian statement to the UN General Assembly

Speech by the Australian Ambassador, Mr Richard Woolcott, to the United Nations General Assembly, New York, on 29 October:

The tragic situation facing the people of Cambodia continues unfortunately without real change. Australia has supported the series of resolutions adopted by UN General Assemblies on this situation since 1979.

Mr President, we shall again this year vote in favour of the resolution circulated in Document A/39/L3.

Australia's commitment to the pursuit of a Cambodian settlement is well known. It is a commitment which reflects our place and our role in the Asia-Pacific region. We cannot ignore the implications of our geographical position, nor the desire of the Australian people to live in a region of harmony and rewarding international relationships.

We are directly affected if the rivalry of the great powers threatens peace in our region. We are directly concerned if our friends and neighbours are destabilised because of continuing tensions. We also bear many of the direct consequences of tensions and losses of human rights. For these reasons, Australia's search for peace is not merely a theoretical exercise. It is a practical necessity.

The Australian Government has never claimed more than a modest role in the search for peace in Cambodia. We shall continue to warn of the dangers of the cycle

of violence in the border warfare. There are no grounds for thinking that the pursuit of a solution by military means can be effective.

In pursuing a Cambodian settlement, we should not lose sight of the basic right of the people of Cambodia to self determination. We would not wish to see a formula imposed on them, however satisfactory it might appear to the interests of outside powers, which would not give them a government genuinely representative of their wishes. Not only would this run counter to basic rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter, but it could also ultimately lead to renewed instability in Cambodia and in the region.

Australia has continued to call upon the parties principal to the Cambodian problem to engage in dialogue and we have supported the ASEAN countries in their efforts to establish a dialogue with Vietnam. Whatever format is used, no solution can occur without

negotiation. We congratulate Indonesia on its role as ASEAN's particular point of contact with Vietnam.

We have been pleased to see that there have been recent contacts between Vietnam's leaders and governments in the Asian region. All of these contacts can help to break down the division between the Indo-Chinese countries and the other countries of East and South East Asia.

During the past year, we in Australia have continued our close consultations with the ASEAN states, with Vietnam, and with other interested parties on the matter of Cambodia. The Australian Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, have travelled widely overseas, and Cambodia has been one of the main topics of discussion with the leaders of concerned countries. During the same period, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr Mahathir, and the Foreign Ministers of Thailand, Malaysia and Vietnam have visited Australia. These visits saw the process of consultation continue.

Australia, Mr President, is committed to an active role in the humanitarian efforts of the international community aimed at resolving the problems arising from the Cambodian situation. As a major resettlement country for displaced Cambodians and other Indo-Chinese people, we shall continue to participate in resettlement efforts while cautioning against proposals not helpful to permanent solutions. We consider that other efforts should include genuine repatriation inside Cambodia.

We shall not hesitate to condemn any attempts to exploit the plight of displaced Cambodians for political or military ends. We shall continue the balance between the aid we give in the Thai-Cambodian border area in response to demonstrated humanitarian needs, and the aid we give inside Cambodia through bodies such as UNICEF, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and non-government organisations. The aims of aid given inside Cambodia are to alleviate suffering and to create conditions which will encourage Cambodians to remain in their country and displaced Cambodians to consider returning.

We have noted the current expressions of interest from a number of countries in an international effort to restore the Angkor temple complex in Cambodia. We are currently investigating ways in which this can be carried forward without accentuating existing

political differences. It is our hope, Mr President, that the international community will be able to assist in the preservation of the Cambodian people's ancient cultural heritage and national identity.

Australia sees dangers in the continued isolation of Vietnam from the economic and political life of our region. This does not mean that we condone the behaviour of Vietnam's part which has led to its isolation. We condemned Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia when it occurred and we continue to condemn it. There must be a negotiated settlement acceptable to all parties in dispute, and Vietnam should withdraw.

We shall, however, continue to develop our bilateral relationship with Vietnam. A more productive relationship with Vietnam enables us to pursue some important Australian objectives. These include the effective operation of our bilateral Orderly Departure Program, efforts to reduce illegal departures from Vietnam, and representations on human rights matters which are of deep concern to many people in Australia.

It has also made it possible for us to have contact with Vietnam on the Cambodian problem, just as we have with the ASEAN countries and interested outside parties, including China and the United States. We do not claim to have seen Vietnam's position on the Cambodian issue change appreciably, but substantive compromises from any party can only be expected as the outcome of negotiations. We do believe that all sides, Vietnam included, share a desire to resolve the problems of Cambodia, and that this should be built upon in the quest for dialogue. It would be a tragedy for our region, for the international community, and above all for the Cambodian people if any opportunity to reach a just settlement were lost.

Let us not forget, Mr President, that it is the Cambodian people who daily suffer the consequences of a conflict which the international community remains so far unable to resolve.

The resolution* before us is a result of the continuing efforts of the Association of South East Asian Nations to achieve a peaceful solution in Cambodia, and Australia warmly commends these efforts and this resolution before the Assembly.

* The resolution was adopted on 30 October with 110 countries (including Australia) voting for, 22 against with 18 abstaining (Ed.).

Australia's relationships with Western Pacific countries in the 1980s

Speech by the Acting Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Geoff Miller, at the annual dinner of the Australian Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, in Sydney, on 5 October:

Mr Chairman; thank you very much for inviting me to address this annual dinner of the Australian Council of the International Chamber of Commerce on the very important subject of *Australia's relationships with Western Pacific countries in the 1980s*.

I am happy to do this in a number of capacities: as Acting Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs; as a government official; as someone who has served in Australian Embassies or High Commissions in a number of the countries in question; and as an ordinary Australian concerned about our country's and our children's future — for the countries of the Western Pacific will certainly be of increasing significance for Australia.

I am particularly happy to speak to an audience such as this since I know that both our Minister, Mr Hayden, and our Secretary-Designate, Dr Harris, attach the highest importance to both a sound integration of the political and economic aspects of our foreign policies, and to our international relationships with the Asia-Pacific area.

In accepting the invitation, however, I was also very conscious that many people much more eminent and well-informed than I have spoken about this subject with great authority and expertise: in what I say this evening, believing firmly that plagiarism is the sincerest form of flattery, I plan to draw on their wisdom.

I should note that I am also conscious that in the space of thirty minutes it is simply not possible to address a subject like this, which could be approached from so many angles, in a comprehensive way. Accepting that, I will try to say something about our political and economic relations, acknowledging that I will in fact do no more than touch on parts of those, and will leave whole subjects like immigration, students, aid and investment untouched.

There is of course no doubt about the economic dynamism and success of the countries of the Western Pacific, a group

which I suppose consists more importantly in economic terms of Japan, China, the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the countries of ASEAN.

It is hard to know which statistics to quote to illustrate this most dramatically. Let me try some. In 1983 Japan had the second largest GNP in the Western world, representing about 14.8 per cent of the total output of all OECD countries, and some 9.5 per cent of global GNP. Its share of global trade was 8.1 per cent. Its direct overseas investments amounted to \$7.7 billion. The prediction for average annual real economic growth in Japan over the next 10 years is 4 per cent, leading the Nomura Research Institute to predict per capita national income of \$14 500 in 1993 — almost equal to that of the United States.

As everyone knows, Japan led the way on a road along which first the 'Asian NICs'* — Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong — and later the countries of ASEAN have followed.

The growth rates of real GNP during the two decades 1960-1980 were Korea 8.5 per cent, Taiwan 9.6 per cent, Thailand 7.4 per cent, Philippines 5.8 per cent, Indonesia 5.8 per cent, Malaysia 8.2 per cent and Singapore 9.2 per cent. The share of manufactured goods in total exports at the beginning of the 1960s was only about 15 per cent for Korea and Taiwan, and between 0 and 5 per cent in the cases of Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand. By 1980 manufactured goods accounted for more than 90 per cent in the cases of Korea and Taiwan, and 28 per cent, 24 per cent and 35 per cent in the cases of Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand respectively. In the period 1970-81 rice production rose by more

* Newly Industrialised Countries (Ed.).

than 60 per cent in both Indonesia and Philippines, from 13 to 22 million tons in one case and from 3 to 5 million tons in the other. A recent Japanese prediction is for an overall growth rate of between 6.5 and 8 per cent for the market economies of the region for the rest of the decade. By the end of the 1990s, the ASEAN GDP may well be more than 40 per cent larger than Australia's GDP.

What should Australia make of this formidable economic development of the Asian region since World War II, recently described by Sir Russel Madigan of CRA and now President of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, as 'an event in world history comparable to the Industrial Revolution'?

The first thing we should do is welcome this peaceful economic progress. Starting with World War II and going on until the end of the Vietnam War Australia was repeatedly involved in wars and fighting in Asia — the Pacific War itself, in Korea, Malaysia, Borneo and finally in Vietnam. We feared Japanese imperialism, Chinese, Vietnamese and Malaysian communism, and Indonesian expansionism, and our soldiers fought many times, from the freezing mountains of Korea to the jungles of South East Asia, to defend us from these perceived threats. They were not always successful, and our perceptions of those past days have in some cases considerably changed. But the important fact is that we now face, in a way which was not the case in the past, an Asia which is not at war, whose component countries are devoting themselves to peaceful pursuits and the prosperity of their people, and thus provide an environment in which we, as an integral part of the Western Pacific region can ourselves prosper in peace.

As Mr Hayden said in Bangkok in August, 'we are involved from the ground up in the drive towards greater development and dynamic growth in the Asian area ... because this is our home too ... the policy of the Government of Australia is that *what* energy and talents and sense of co-operativeness we have should be harnessed and continue to be a factor in the prosperity and stability of all our region'.

A former Australian Foreign Minister defined the goal of foreign policy as 'the long-term security and prosperity of the country'; it is I think a good definition, and one which it is much preferable to further through the pursuit of trade and other economic interchange than through military

involvements of the kind that have, as I have said, been such a recurrent theme in Australia's involvement with the countries of the Western Pacific in the last 45 years. Compare, for example, our present relationship with the People's Republic of China, shown most strikingly in the visits of Australian Prime Ministers to China and of China's Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang to Australia last year, with the fear of China which for so many years animated Australia's foreign and defence policies.

That is not to say, of course, that the strategic picture is either simple or entirely serene. There are a number of real or potential conflicts in the region. A list would include continuing Sino-Soviet border tensions; China and Taiwan; Soviet-Japanese territorial disputes; tensions between North and South Korea; the disruptive focus of Indo-China, with its results of Sino-Vietnamese hostilities; Vietnam-Thailand difficulties; tension between Vietnam and the countries of ASEAN, and the insertion of a Soviet military presence into South East Asia, notably at Cam Ranh Bay. The list would also include competition over maritime resources among so many countries of the region, and, for the future, the possibility that intense trading rivalries may arise between the rapidly growing economies of the region.

We also need to note that the modernisation process itself can be destabilising. Questions of equity as well as growth are relevant in this context, as are adjustments to old political structures in the face of accelerating socio-economic change.

Yet, the conclusion from this catalogue of conflicts and tensions, potential or real, in the Western Pacific region is not pessimistic, or not so pessimistic as to negate the attraction of the remarkable economic growth that is taking place there. Indeed, one comment about the increasing Soviet military presence in the Pacific region which has the ring of plausibility is that, confronted with the economic and technological dynamism of the region — which it cannot match in civilian terms — the Soviet Union can only play the essentially sterile card of its acknowledged military strength in seeking to 'deal itself in' to the affairs of this increasingly important part of the world.

I should like to make a few remarks about some security aspects of Australia's Asian diplomacy. The traditional basis for security planning in Australia during the post-war

period has been the ANZUS alliance. Throughout the Cold War years Australia clung dearly to the ANZUS agreement as it looked north toward Asia with trepidation. Australia's outlook in the 1980s is more balanced. As I have said, we view the many nations of Asia in an increasingly constructive and realistic light. Despite these evolutionary developments Australia has maintained the ANZUS relationship, the Government has unequivocally reaffirmed its commitment to the alliance in recent months, and our relations with the United States are of course close, multi-faceted and warm. The commitments and obligations accepted under the ANZUS Treaty some thirty years ago remain valid and appropriate in today's very different circumstances.

Plainly, however, Australian defence planning cannot become crudely dependent on the alliance. Australia is both an independent and an aligned nation, and it must be able to pull its weight in its own protection. Our Government has argued that the future peace and security of Australia is dependent much more on the achievement of a stable, harmonious and economically viable environment in the region surrounding us than it is on the existence of any treaty. In other words, the Government is seeking to complement ANZUS by the development of sound relationships with regional countries.

Australia's regional security interests will, therefore, be best served by diplomatic endeavours which encourage a high level of commercial activity, providing the sort of economic substance to allow countries in the region to operate with confidence, without worry that economic deprivation could become a mounting problem which undermines the social and political cohesion of their societies.

Asia in fact offers many opportunities for Australia to work to improve the security climate in ways which work to our benefit as well: for example, by promoting economic development; encouraging an appropriate Japanese role in the region; promoting our nuclear non-proliferation objectives; and, where appropriate, facilitating dialogue on regional problems.

The most conspicuous example of the latter at present is the continuing stalemated conflict in Indo-China. This is a matter which I would like to treat at some length, not only because it constitutes the focus of one major thrust of the Government's foreign policy, but

more importantly because the conflict in Cambodia seems to present the primary source of potential instability in the region surrounding us. The conflict has many disturbing elements and is something which has been closely followed by the ASEAN states. A primary aspect of concern in the Cambodian conflict is the potential it has to introduce serious great power conflict and rivalry to the South East Asian region.

The Government has consistently acknowledged the intractable nature of the Cambodian problem and the limited prospect of diplomatic successes. The problem is extraordinarily complex in view of the range of nations which are involved in the dispute and the varying interests they have. There are the immediate countries involved, the three Indo-China countries and the six ASEAN countries; there is also a great power like China very directly involved; and the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which have very large interests in what takes place. The consequence is that if there is to be any resolution there must be adjustments by a range of countries, all of which are focussing on the issue but many of which focus on different facets of it.

In addressing this important regional issue we have sought to encourage the countries most directly involved to work on the striking similarities which are apparent in the principles they have been expressing about an eventual settlement. We do not believe that Vietnam is going to withdraw speedily and unilaterally from Cambodia any more than we believe that it is in anyone's best interests for Vietnam to remain there.

Australia condemned the invasion of Cambodia when it happened and we continue to condemn it. Nobody can tolerate armed incursion by one country into another, wherever it occurs. Accordingly, Australia considers that Vietnam should withdraw from Cambodia. We believe this not only for reasons of international law, but also for reasons related to the interests of the Cambodian people themselves, which are of the highest importance; the security of Thailand; the potential for superpower involvement which I referred to a few moments ago; and because we would prefer to see the countries of Indo-China participating in the economic development of the rest of the Western Pacific, rather than living in poverty and isolation behind some kind of South East Asian *iron curtain*.

Through the efforts of the Prime Minister

and the Foreign Minister the Australian Government is, therefore, continuing in its attempt to make some progress towards a settlement of this issue. The Government is seeking to encourage and support the substantial work of the ASEAN states and to facilitate talks between them and the Vietnamese. In this respect Mr Hayden's proposal of a conference in Canberra remains on the table for ASEAN to take up if and when it is judged appropriate to do so.

In dwelling on the Kampuchea issue I do not wish to give the impression that it is the sole security focus of our Asian diplomacy. We remain concerned with and supportive of the security and stability of all our Asian friends, and there are other particular issues of concern to us as well. A major concern of the Government is to avoid the proliferation of nuclear weapons in Asia. While our participation in the ANZUS alliance involves a significant Australian contribution to the cause of global nuclear deterrence as well as strategic arms verification, we have a general concern to see that nuclear weaponry does not spread further, and particularly not in this region.

Over and above — and indeed separate from — any particular security issue, however, there is one overwhelming fact about our relations with countries of the Asia-Pacific region that I want to stress. That is, that in a way that is unique for any country of predominantly European population, we are living among non-European countries which are steadily becoming stronger, more populous, prosperous and capable, as the figures I quoted at the beginning of this address show, and in particular more prosperous and capable as compared to ourselves. This may not be reflected in military strength — Indonesia's military forces, for example, are very small compared to the size and population of the country — but will be reflected in a confidence in their own views and values, a determination not to be talked down to or ignored, which at times may need some adjusting to on our side.

I often think that the heat, turmoil and anguished clashes of values which have characterised our relations with Indonesia over many years, most recently over Timor, are the probably inevitable manifestation of the process of 'working through' such a clash of values, a process from which hopefully both parties will emerge with a better understanding of and tolerance for the other

— though that is not, I fear, an assured result.

Looking more simply at our relationships with Western Pacific countries in the 1980s, however, we have many grounds for satisfaction; relationships with Japan, China, the Republic of Korea and ASEAN countries are good, as exemplified in recent visits to all those countries by Mr Hawke, Mr Hayden, and other Federal and State Ministers, and return visits paid to Australia — for example, the recent very successful and warm visit of Prime Minister Mahathir of Malaysia; our trade was successfully re-directed to the Pacific after the establishment of the EEC had virtually excluded us from Europe; tourism and investment are increasing in both directions; students from Asia study in Australia in large numbers; the number of our own students proficient in Asian languages continues to increase; and the community of Australians of Asian origin continues to grow — I note slowly, and from very low levels.

So all these things are good, and are being actively promoted by government policies of various kinds. The question is, are we doing enough, and doing well enough in developing our relationships?

That question can be answered in different ways. Our standard of living is still high, with per capita GDP ninth among OECD countries in 1982, so perhaps whatever we are doing economically is enough. On the other hand, our ranking has deteriorated in the past couple of decades. As well, our share of world trade slipped from 1.5 per cent in 1973 to 1.2 per cent a decade later, at the same time that a number of ASEAN countries, in particular, are complaining that we do not take more of their exports.

Yet again, while we may be uniquely well-placed as a food and minerals supplier in relation to the other countries of the Western Pacific, technological advances in world-wide communications have diluted at least some of the advantages of geographical propinquity. An article in the summer issue of *Foreign Affairs* noted that 'the economics of communications satellites are not distance-sensitive. They destroy geography'. And indeed technological developments, plus the fact that Western Pacific consumer countries, sensitised by the two oil shocks, want security of energy supply through diversification even at the expense of some extra cost, plus pressures to reduce bilateral trade imbalances — I refer for example to United States coal and beef to Japan — plus the fact

that the Western Pacific has become the focus of world economic attention, mean that we have to run very hard just to maintain our share of the Western Pacific market.

And, while we may emphasise the *Western Pacific*, as I do in this address, the United States, with its enormous dynamic economy, makes no bones about it being a full participant in everything that happens within the Pacific rim, and indeed the more dynamic of the Western European industrial democracies have stated their strong claims as well.

How have we been getting on? In a recent address to the Australian Institute of International Affairs, Sir Russel Madigan concluded that part of the growth of Australian exports to Asia had been purely fortuitous, and that in relative terms we are declining as a supplier to Asia.

Although the north-east Asian countries have taken an increasing share of our total exports during the past decade, we have only just managed to maintain our penetration of their markets at around three per cent of total imports. And that performance was only because we did well in South Korea, increasing our share of Korea's market from 1.1 per cent in 1970 to 3.4 per cent in 1980. In the other three countries, China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, we lost market share badly. In the case of the ASEAN group, our penetration of their markets also fell, from supplying 4.3 per cent of their imports in 1970 to only 3.0 per cent in 1980. In Japan, our major market, we slumped badly from supplying 8.4 per cent of total imports in 1970 to 7.3 per cent in 1975, down to 5.3 per cent in 1980. In fact, we lost market share in every country except South Korea where, as I said, we gained in importance from a low base and Indonesia where we just held our position. A further sobering realisation is that our performance as an exporter of manufactured products has been relatively much worse than indicated by the overall figures.

Examination of the situation in more detail reveals what can be regarded as a significant weakness in our trade relationship with Asia. It also partly explains the slippage in Australia's market share in these countries. Broadly speaking, Australia's exports to Asia are concentrated in relatively few categories, and often in commodities where growth of import demand in Asia was low relative to growth of total imports.

Australia's most important exports to Japan have traditionally been food products

and raw materials. Together they accounted for 75 per cent of our exports in 1970, and by 1980, still accounted for 58 per cent of our total exports. But Japan is importing fewer food products than it was a decade ago. More dramatically, Japan's imports of raw materials halved as a percentage of total imports over the decade. The problem was the lack of diversity of Australia's exports to Japan, and the fact that they were concentrated in low growth import demand areas which have been significantly affected by the changing structure of the Japanese economy.

Much the same can be said of our exports to the other countries of north-east Asia and ASEAN.

Food has been and remains Australia's most important export category, yet food imports are rapidly declining in importance in all of these countries except China. Raw material imports are also declining in relative importance in north-east Asia and were never important in ASEAN.

Australian exports of basic manufactures are our second most important category of exports to ASEAN, but ASEAN's total imports of basic manufactures are tailing off rapidly as ASEAN countries are now able to undertake the manufacture and indeed the export of many items previously imported, as the figures of export make-up quoted earlier show.

Overall, while we are living close to an area where trade is growing with extraordinary rapidity, we are not achieving the exports to that area that we should. We are not keeping pace with the growth of the region's total imports, and our exports are narrowly focused on two or three traditional areas which are becoming of less importance in the region's trade.

This is clearly not a happy situation. We have had some other disappointments in the past. At a time when some people's expectations were high, we failed to become the financial centre for the Western Pacific, being surpassed by Singapore and Hong Kong. Will the same thing happen in regard to trade? Clearly we cannot instantly restructure our economy to enable us to become a manufacturing exporter selling competitively to Western Pacific markets. Nor would we unreservedly want to, given the complementarity that still exists between major sectors of our economy and the 'value-adding' economies of our Asian neighbours. But certainly, our goal should be policies in both the import and



A new agreement with the Republic of Korea, providing for continued access by Korean squid-jigging vessels to the Australian Fishing Zone, was signed on 16 October. The agreement was signed by the Minister for Primary Industry, Mr John Kerin, MP (right); and the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea, Mr Woo Sang Kim. (AIS photo).

export areas which both provide jobs for ourselves and our children and enable us to live as good neighbours with the Western Pacific countries which are so important to us, both strategically and economically.

It would be in nobody's interest for us to provide short-term employment by sitting behind high tariff walls, refusing to trade with our neighbours, and becoming both increasingly irrelevant to them and increasingly unable to reverse our policy direction in the future. I think we need to be more active, too, in our efforts to expand the export of Australian services and expertise in certain fields.

In the end, of course, our ability to compete in Western Pacific markets, as in any other, will depend on the initiative and competitiveness of our business sector, and its readiness to think in terms of export expansion rather than import substitution.

The Government can, however, through its policies, assist this process, and it is actively seeking to do this both externally and internally. One multilateral example is the initiative announced by the Prime Minister in Bangkok last year for a regional approach to any new round of global trade negotiations. The initiative was aimed at ensuring that issues of significance to regional states (especially such matters as non-tariff barriers, safeguards and agriculture) are addressed in a new round, and at enhancing the region's chances of influencing such negotiations. It also had as a major goal the establishment of a durable consultative process with countries of the region on multilateral trade issues.

Indeed the idea of Pacific countries implementing enhanced economic co-operation is an exciting though elusive one, in which the reality of the growth of intra-Pacific trade, tourism and investment and information

flows both leads to, and denies answers to, questions about how those good things can be better promoted by governments in particular; but the process in itself I am sure has value.

Turning to a more national focus, I can confidently say that the Government is actively seeking to take actions which will help in making Australia more effective as a competitor overseas. These include a number of initiatives being undertaken by the Department of Trade, specifically a 'global marketing plan' to identify products and focus which are competitive by world standards; country by country 'action plans', which in regard to China and Japan respectively include importantly the China iron and steel initiative, which has already produced useful agreements and contracts, and the recent high-level trade mission to Japan; and, next week in Singapore, a joint meeting of our Ambassadors and Senior Trade Commissioners in ASEAN countries to consider how we can better pursue our commercial relationships with that very important group of countries.

There have been recent successes to point to. These include the success of BHP Engineering and Export Development Australia in getting the contract for the construction of the Shun Chang cement plant in Fujian Province in China; the recent acceptance by the Malaysian Government of Leighton's bid for the Telok Intan Hospital project, which was a major breakthrough for the Australian construction industry; and the successful negotiation, also by Leighton's, of a joint venture arrangement with the Promet Corporation of Malaysia. The Prime Minister has stated that credit lines provided by the Export Finance and Insurance Corporation and the support available through the Development Import Finance Facility will continue to be extended to well considered Australian project proposals, as they were in BHP's bid for Shun Chang and in Leighton's success with the Telok Intan Hospital project.

At the same time Mr Hawke noted, in his speech to the New South Wales Chamber of Manufacturers on 25 September, that there can be no room for complacency in our approach — 'Australia will not be an automatic beneficiary of the dynamism of the Western Pacific simply by virtue of the good fortune of being located there'.

In the end, our future economic relationships with the countries of the Western

Pacific will not be determined by the Government's external economic policies, or by the efforts of Ministers or officials like me and my colleagues from the Department of Trade.

They will be determined by what we are, what our attitudes, interests and capacities are, how prepared we are to involve ourselves thoroughly and persistently in the tasks of knowing about and operating in the countries concerned. In the commercial field they will be determined by how competitive we are ourselves, how keen and imaginative in developing export opportunities overseas, and how prepared we are to take our neighbours' products in return.

In this regard the Government has already taken important steps to deregulate our financial system, and to tackle the problem of restructuring, especially through the encouragement of structural adjustment in a number of key industries. The seven year Textile, Clothing and Footwear (TCF) program, the steel industry plan announced in 1983, the post-1984 motor vehicle policy announced earlier this year, are very important in this regard. The Minister for Industry and Commerce, in an address to the Australian Institute of Political Science conference in May,* said that we face a crucial turning point in industry policy. He made clear that he will be implementing further measures favouring efficiency over protection.

Speaking to the New South Wales Chamber of Manufacturers on 25 September the Prime Minister said:-

Sterile old arguments, within which the respective merits of free trade and protection were seen as the only issues in industry policy, are buried — hopefully forever . . .

In the final analysis, the Australian manufacturing industry's best prospects lie in improving its competitiveness and in seeking out new markets, especially internationally . . .

The opportunities presented by international economic recovery . . . should dispel any pessimism.

This optimism seems particularly well-based when directed to the Western Pacific region, with its record of proven economic achievement. And this applies not only to prospects for increased exports of Australian

* See AFAR, Volume 55, No. 6, June 1984, page 602.

products, but also for the development of economic links in their entirety including as well as trade, the areas of services, investment, communications, transport and tourism which are also enormously important but which I simply do not have time to discuss this evening.

Australians will hope that, through the 1980s, our relations with our dynamic Asian

neighbours remains on the peaceful and constructive courses on which they are now set, and that government policies and private enterprise together will enable us to play our due part in the economic and technological advances which are making the Western Pacific, the present wonder — and hope — of the Western world.

Australia and Asia: options and opportunities

Speech by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, at the 1984 Sir Herman Black Contemporary Asian Affairs Forum, University of Sydney, on 16 October:

Thank you first of all for giving me the opportunity to pay my respects to a person who has influenced public affairs in this country more than most other individual citizens.

He has been an advocate on foreign affairs. He has been an adviser on economic matters to governments. He has been a renowned educationalist for a very long time. He has been Chancellor of this university for 14 of its most significant — and probably its most turbulent — years.

We have heard his commentaries on ABC radio for many years because his influence and status continued undiminished for many years.

Like all economists, Professor Black and I do not always see eye to eye on economic issues. But this does not detract from my pleasure at being asked to be part of an occasion that I trust will continue to give him honour for many years to come.

Thank you also for the invitation to address this forum on a matter which the Government and I, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, consider crucial. It concerns the relationship — or a fundamental aspect of the relationship — with our neighbours in Asia. And it concerns the future as well as the present condition of the relationship. The subject is important because we do not consider that Australia is an alien appendage to the region. To believe this, in my view, would be badly mistaken.

For various reasons, I have spoken a great deal about our relations with our South East Asian neighbours. The electorate willing, I intend to make a major statement on this matter in the new year. Today, I would like to put forward some views on the three nations which form the basis of what we call North

Asia: Japan, China and Korea. I want to talk about these three nations because they are cardinal partners of ours and because they will have a critical impact on our future.

The differences between their political systems and levels of economic development are wide. So our relations with them are bilateral rather than part of a pattern. North Asia has a history that has fascinated and frightened us. It can be argued that Japan has worked as strong an effect on us as Mother England: World War II and the fall of Singapore in particular; our role as the source of raw materials for Japan's heavy manufacturing phase; Japan's extraordinary advance as a centre of high technology.

China has a special place in our history and our perceptions. In the 1960s, it was made a demon figure that paralysed our progress to a mature foreign policy. And Korea was a battlefield in the so-called Cold War between East and West, in which many young Australians were involved. So it can be said that these three countries have left marks on our perceptions and our lives. But now a new and more benevolent interest connects us. North Asia is now — along with the ASEAN region — part of a most dynamic and significant area

of economic growth. It is an enormous market of more than 1 billion people.

Between them, they are responsible for about 15 per cent of world GNP and 10.9 per cent of world trade. In the 10 years to 1982-83, they accounted for 38.4 per cent of our export growth. So they have become partners and a significant influence on the direction of our economic development, if we care to take note of it. North Asia is also a crucial area if for no other reason than that it is where the interests of four major powers are engaged and where tensions can and do run high.

I turn first to Japan because our relationship is both fundamentally important and yet contains the most complex problems for the Australian psyche. The Canberra-Tokyo connection is one of our most significant. Japan is our largest trading partner. It has the greatest possible significance for us as the major Asian economic power and ally of the United States.

Australia and Japan share basic commitments: continuation of a strong Western alliance and support for policies which ensure security and economic progress in the region. Japan has been an influential supporter of Australia's ambitions for arms control and disarmament. The Japanese Government gave considerable support to our Ambassador for Disarmament during his recent visit. For obvious reasons, Japan more than any other nation wants to keep the nuclear genie locked up.

So there are potent reasons why we try to maintain the closest possible contacts with Japanese policy makers. As I have said, the connection poses complex problems for us. World War II was 40 years ago but there are many Australians who have reason to remember it. This is why — during a long arid period of conservative government — the policies which led to the Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation with Japan in 1976 stands out as a brave and far-sighted initiative.

That move — taken in the face of much prejudice and apprehension — was a giant step in our progress as a rational nation. The prejudice and apprehension survive to some extent, as shown by the reaction to Japan's self-defence policies — a matter that has been raised to issue status by the USSR.

The Prime Minister and I have stated publicly Australia's appreciation of Japan's right to determine its own defence policies in the light of its domestic and regional sensi-

ties. Australia recognises that Japan makes an effective contribution to Western strategic interests through its Self-Defence Forces and the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty. We welcome the increasing role Japan is playing diplomatically and economically in the region and we are confident that the general direction of Japan's defence policies is essentially for self-defence.

We would be concerned if there was a shift in Japan's basic self-defence posture or a dramatic acceleration of defence spending. Japan's defence expenditure in 1983 amounted to about 0.98 per cent of its GNP. This places Japan at only 8th in terms of absolute defence expenditure in the world. In terms of expenditure as a proportion of GNP, Japan would rank even lower.

In our view, however, present Japanese policies are for an essential re-equipment program and not an expansionary one. We regret Soviet claims that Japan has embarked on the path of re-militarisation and have sympathy for the Japanese position in the face of Soviet provocation, including the continued occupation of and a military build-up on the Northern Territories Islands and its deployment of large numbers of SS20 intermediate range missiles in the Soviet Far East.

The Japanese have expressed a wish to see a global approach in Intermediate-range Nuclear Force (INF) negotiations. They have a concern that missiles taken out of Europe should not be redeployed in the Far East. I have expressed my support of a global approach on disarmament.

An area where we can disagree without being destructive about it is on the question of trade. It is possible to be complacent about our trade with Japan. It is substantial in absolute terms, of course: about \$11 billion in 1983, which is equal to the trade of our next five trading partners combined. This trade is still growing, though the rate of growth is slowing down.

The fact is that structural change in Japan's economy has changed its requirements for the raw materials that we supply. So we have become relatively less important to Japan in overall terms, supplying five per cent of its imports in 1983 compared to eight per cent in 1970. We will continue to ensure that we maintain our basic position as the reliable and competitive supplier without peer of the raw materials that Japan needs.



Japan's Minister for International Trade and Industry, Mr H. Okonogi, recently toured Australia's brown coal area in the Latrobe Valley near Melbourne, Victoria, and the joint Australian-Japanese research and development scheme being built there to test Japanese technology designed for converting brown coal to oil. A \$200 million plant being built at Morwell is wholly funded by the Japanese Government through its New Energy Development Organisation. It is the first of its type in Australia and the only one to be built outside Japan by Japanese interests. Mr Okonogi (left) is pictured during a tour of the brown coal liquefaction pilot plant project site at Morwell with the plant manager, Dr K. Kunii (right). (AIS photo).

But we also have to learn to adjust to the changed circumstances of Japanese economy, tailoring our exports for arguably the most sophisticated market in the world. I shall return to this point later. I only want to add at this point that Australia has a right to expect Japan to respond also. As a trading nation, we understand full well that the international market place is a tough and unsentimental place. Twenty years of close friendship does not give us the right to insist on what we imagine is our rightful share of the Japanese market.

But we do have the right to argue that Japan should not try to solve the economic problems of a third country at our expense, as has happened with Japan's policy on beef quotas. Our exports could be placed on an even more stable basis if Japan were not

pressured into making commercial decisions on non-commercial grounds.

Korea is a nation with which Australia has had consistent contact over a long period. The connection goes back at least to the early days of this century, when Australian missionaries went to work there. About 18 000 Australian servicemen were attached to the UN Command during the war in the 1950s and more than 250 Australians lost their lives there. At the end of the war, the connection changed as Korea itself changed.

When we talk of Korea nowadays, we talk of two nations. Reunification is the stated objective of both Koreas. Certainly, there have been recent signs — which we are following with close interest — which could foreshadow more substantial direct contacts between them.

In September, Kim Il-Sung told the visiting Chairman of the Japanese Socialist Party that the North would welcome improved relations with Japan and the United States, would not launch an attack across the border 'even if something unusual were to happen', and would like exchanges between the two Koreas 'in various fields'. The DPRK has proposed tripartite talks with Seoul and the United States on the future of the peninsula. Two weeks ago the DPRK, following agreement with the ROK, supplied relief aid to flood victims in the South.

Proposals have been made for talks to resume on sport and cultural exchanges and for discussions to be renewed between the two Red Cross organisations on the tortured question of reunion of families separated since the division of Korea.

So there has been a reduction in the level of hostile rhetoric between the two Koreas and it is a fact that suggestions for exchanges have been couched in unusually conciliatory terms. But suspicion and hostility between North and South are still intense and profound. When two quite different political systems develop over almost 40 years, two quite different societies evolve with quite different attitudes and aspirations.

In the DPRK, almost all normal external influences are prohibited. In their place has been put an all-embracing political religion that we can call Kim Il-Sungism. The ROK is open to a broad range of external influences: social, cultural and — in particular — economic. The economy of the South is outward looking with the emphasis on trade, foreign investment and the provision of construction and other services to other countries.

Our relations with the ROK have grown quite quickly over recent years — in trade as well as social, political and cultural exchanges. Our exports have increased more than 32 per cent a year in the period 1971-72 to 1981-82, for example. Two-way trade at present stands at more than \$1.1 billion a year. With the DPRK, on the other hand, relations have languished. Diplomatic relations, established in 1974, were interrupted by the DPRK in 1975.

In 1983 DPRK agents made their outrageous terrorist attack on President Chun in Rangoon, killing 21 people including four ROK Cabinet Ministers.

It is the Australian Government's view that, in the long-term, the DPRK must be brought into a more co-operative relationship with the

region. But DPRK co-operation can only mean something if it starts with the ROK. In the meantime, Australia is not prepared to examine the question of restoring diplomatic relations with Pyongyang until it renounces hostile action against Seoul and abides by internationally accepted norms of behaviour.

We consider that dialogue between the two Koreas should be encouraged as a means of reducing the problems of a very tense peninsula. We have supported Seoul's proposals for direct contacts with the DPRK and would like to see the implementation of confidence-building measures which have been proposed within the framework of the Military Armistice Commission and elsewhere.

Pyongyang's proposal for tripartite talks contains defects that prevent its implementation in its present form. But we hope that the DPRK will come to accept that it must deal equally with the ROK and modify its position accordingly.

The fact is that the unresolved problems of the Korean peninsula pose dangers to us all. The interests of four major powers intersect there: China, the United States, the USSR and Japan. Pyongyang's remoteness and such actions as the Rangoon bombing raise fears that it may be prepared to risk all kinds of adventurist policies to promote its interests.

This gives added point to the need for active engagement and co-operation between the DPRK and the ROK.

Australia's important ties with China have been consolidated under Labor and non-Labor Governments since diplomatic relations were established in 1972.

The exchange of visits between the Prime Minister and Premier Zhao were important and productive. My own visit to China early in the life of this Government was designed to underline the importance the Government — and I personally — attach to the relationship. The wide ranging discussions revealed a good deal of common ground. Where differences emerged, such as over Indo-China, it was still possible to discuss the issues involved. Each side knows that its basic principles need not be compromised in efforts to seek common ground.

We now have a number of agreements and institutional arrangements with China: in technical co-operation, cultural exchange, science and technology, education, agriculture, civil aviation, the activities of the

Australia-China Council and the twinning of Australian States with Chinese provinces.

Bilateral trade has expanded as the relationship has grown: \$772.1 million last year compared to only \$158 million in 1973. It is true that trade with China has lapsed somewhat in recent years. The Government's China Action Plan has been the key instrument in reversing this situation. Australian exports to China in the first eight months of 1984 are 48 per cent higher than in the same period last year.

This bilateral activity comes at a time when China, having re-assessed its domestic and global strategies, is pursuing the path of modernisation which it judges to be essential to its long-term security. In this regard, China is actively seeking to co-operate with a number of countries in pursuit of its concern for a peaceful and stable environment at home and abroad.

Thus we see efforts to normalise areas of Sino-Soviet relations, considerable and positive progress in Sino-U.S. relations, the rich and important relationship between China and Japan, the welcome conclusions of negotiations between China and Britain over Hong Kong and our own rapidly developing and important relationship with China.

We welcome China's new policy directions. We see them as contributing to the peace, stability and security of a region which has considerable strategic and economic importance to us. They hold out the prospect for longer-term confidence in China's relations with our important regional neighbours in South East Asia. They offer special opportunities for us to respond to China's encouragement for us to contribute to China's modernisation.

Our efforts can assist to consolidate China's pragmatic reformist programs. Central to this new pragmatism is the 'open door' policy, involving closer economic co-operation with Western interests. There are powerful obstacles to modernisation: problems of population, for instance, individual poverty; vast distances; and limited arable land. It must be said also that the success of reforms within the bureaucracies and the Chinese Communist Party will be important to the ability of the modernisers to establish their policies at basic and middle levels where some pockets of resistance remain.

Another risk to the modernisation program is in the Chinese Government's population control program. The ramifications arising

from success or failure are intriguing, to say the least. The Chinese Government's objective is to stabilise the population at 1.2 billion by the year 2000. If this objective is not reached, vast amounts of capital and other resources will have to be diverted from modernisation to subsistence programs. Investment will need to be directed away from achieving improvements in Chinese living standards, to which the leadership is committed.

It is not exaggerating to speculate on the impact this would have on the argument in China between the market advocates and the central planners — and even on the leadership itself. Certainly the effects are likely to be weighty at home and abroad, among nations which are still nervous neighbours of China.

There are strong reasons, however, for being confident that modernisation is unlikely to be reversed for the foreseeable future. The door will remain open. Since Deng Xiaoping and his group established pre-eminence in the Chinese leadership, modernisation and bureaucratic reform have been increasingly institutionalised. The economic improvements and somewhat greater social freedom are so popular as to be practically irreversible. Power is being transferred to the second and third generation of leaders.

Having discussed the condition of the bilateral relations between Australia and these three dynamic economies to our north leads me to point to a few of the implications. China is a helpful point from which to lead off the process because it offers us a lesson in what is really meant by 'long-term' when our neighbours talk about planning.

The Chinese leadership, for instance, do not mean 25 years when they talk of planning; they are planning for the millennium. Of all the differences between the Chinese and us, this is probably the greatest: the distance between their horizons and ours. Let me quote Huan Xiang, the leading Chinese economist, speaking at a recent seminar in China on the New International Economic Order:

The success or failure of the struggle to establish a New International Economic Order is decided by the total power of the Third World. To increase the capacity for self-reliance and collective self-reliance will not only facilitate the economic development of the developing countries but will also strengthen the negotiating position of the

developing countries ... On the basis of strengthening our unity, the Third World should strive to win over as many developed countries as possible.

This is the second point: not only planning for the millenium, but planning for collective self-reliance involving developing and developed countries. We can opt in or opt out. If we decide to opt out, we will be left behind. If we decide to opt in, we have a fundamental gear shift ahead. We will have to involve ourselves in really long-range planning on how and where economic integration should occur.

Even Gough*, when he went to China in 1971, could not have envisioned the way the contact would force us to bite the bullet on the issues of our identity and our relationships in the Asian context.

The Treaty with Japan has also put pressure on us in this context. Our major trading partner will continue to rely on the materials that we supply for most of its manufacturing and construction until the end of this century. But the new technology is encroaching at the margins, leading to combination with traditional materials at best and even outright replacement. I mean carbon fibres, fine ceramics and amorphous materials used in aerospace, automotive engineering, power generation and electronics.

Some people see this as the end of civilisation as we know it. But it also offers us exciting new possibilities in our own technological development if we are bold and rational enough.

South Korean demand for our traditional materials has expanded as Japan's has slackened. But this is another dynamic economy which is being moved in the direction of the new technology. The challenge in this for us, moreover, is given tension by the prospect of what could result if the two Koreas got closer together. Reunification may not yet be a practical possibility but Seoul has offered to talk to Pyongyang about trade and other matters.

It would be wrong to bank on the planners in both Koreas ignoring the possibilities arising from the granary and industrial powerhouse of the South being integrated with the heavy raw materials of the North. The result could be greater independence from other great powers, greater economic

muscle for the peninsula — and considerable loss of traditional business by Australia.

These are a couple of examples of the kind of implications that are being dealt with by my colleagues Lionel Bowen, John Button, Barry Jones* and other members of the Government. I will not go into the details here of such initiatives as our country-by-country Action Plans and Global Marketing Plan systems, the industry plans for steel, automotive, textile, clothing and footwear sectors.

In the first place they are not my direct responsibility. Secondly, I would like to take time explaining what I see are the global political and diplomatic implications of our relationships. Australian foreign policy has been dominated in the postwar period by questions of insecurity and instability in the Asian region.

On the surface at least, there is more stability in the region now than at any time in the last 30 years. But there are still manifold and manifest ways in which this happy situation could deteriorate. This is not so surprising.

North Asia in particular is where the interests of great powers intersect directly. There are formal alliances in the region, unwritten alliances and sub-alliances. For two of our regional partners, Japan and China — as with the two superpowers — vital national interests are involved. These interests often conflict. The USSR clearly sees itself as being subject to the eastern arm of a containment policy in the region. The Sino-Soviet dispute is a reality which is a daily preoccupation of Soviet leaders.

China rejects any suggestion of an alliance with the U.S. and is firm about its right to an independent world view. But it has clearly tilted towards the West, both because of its strategic outlook and because its modernisation program needs Western technology, capital and trade.

The USSR insists on objecting to what it claims as the re-armament of Japan — which has a close alliance with the U.S. — and with which it has its territorial dispute.

Official U.S. figures suggest that the USSR has increased its defence spending by only about two per cent a year in real terms since 1976. But much of this expenditure has gone

* Former Australian Prime Minister, the Hon. E.G. Whitlam, AC, QC (Ed.).

* The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade; the Minister for Industry and Commerce; and the Minister for Science and Technology, respectively (Ed.).

on consolidating and modernising all branches of its armed forces on its eastern perimeter.

The Soviet Pacific fleet is now the largest in its navy. The USSR has improved the quality and quantity of its land forces in the area. It has also upgraded its air capability, which now includes the Blackjack bomber as well as modern fighters. It has not neglected its nuclear forces either.

Its introduction into the area of SS20 medium range nuclear missiles has deeply concerned Japan and China, as I have already said. The U.S. is still capable of dealing with Soviet naval capability in the region but the overwhelming American supremacy of the postwar years no longer exists.

China has virtually a mirror image of the situation. Its preoccupation is with what it sees as Soviet hegemonistic attitudes towards China — attitudes with China takes as implying direct military threat. It has major territorial disputes with the USSR. It maintains that, until there is movement towards genuine settlement of the problems of Cambodia and Afghanistan and the military threat from the USSR, substantial improvement in relations between Beijing and Moscow is unlikely.

Many of these problems come together on the Korean peninsula. The ROK is allied to the U.S. and it has an extensive economic relationship with Japan. The DPRK plays out its elaborate balancing act between its Soviet and Chinese friends.

Any conflict in Korea would inevitably draw in the interests of all powers in the region. Despite signs of recent attempts by North and South to reduce some of the hostility between them, their differences — as I have said — are profound. The KAL007 affair and the Rangoon bombing illustrate the fact that the region can be threatened by sudden crises which arise from the presence of so many conflicting interests and forces.

Naturally, these considerations impinge greatly on events in our more immediate neighbourhood of South East Asia. China, in particular, is of great political and security moment in the region because of its size and political weight.

The hostility between China and the Indo-China countries is well known. For the time being, the ASEAN countries have a common cause with China against Vietnam — though some of them still have concerns about China's longer-term policies and intentions.

China's involvement in the Cambodian problem is an important factor in the stability of the region. China has a firm policy of military and economic support for the CGDK forces in Cambodia and firm political and diplomatic support for the Cambodian policies of the ASEAN countries, especially Thailand.

China has already fought one war with Vietnam over Cambodia — the famous 'first lesson' — and it maintains the right to take firm military action again if it considers it necessary. China and Vietnam have built up their forces on the Chinese-Vietnamese border over the past several months, though not to the pre-'first lesson' levels. Substantial border skirmishing has been taking place.

The Cambodian dispute has had the extremely disturbing effect of bringing a super-power into direct military lodgement in Indo-China again: this time the USSR. Vietnam is isolated economically, politically and militarily from all but the USSR and its bloc. This will not change until it withdraws its forces from Cambodia. This withdrawal will only occur as part of a wider settlement of the problems of the immediate area.

Meanwhile, Vietnam has increasingly accommodated a military presence by the USSR on its territory. The Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang facilities do not yet pose a major military threat to the region. Their importance so far is that they have increased Soviet surveillance and intelligence-gathering capacity and provided the USSR with a transit point for its Indian Ocean activities. But there has been an increase in the number of planes and ships using these facilities, in the quality of the planes in particular and the improvement of the vital military infrastructure of the two facilities.

There is a simple but hard fact about the Cambodian problem. The longer it continues, the more likely there will be what we fear most: the intrusion of great power tensions into our immediate region through increasing Soviet military presence in Vietnam. This having been said, we should also be aware of our opportunities in the region.

Australia is unique here. We are friends with almost all the countries there. We are closely allied with the U.S. and we are determined to maintain that. We threaten no nation's vital national interests. And this allows us to play the role which we happily take up: an active diplomacy — much of it, indeed, most of it, in private. In the political



The China Market Publishing Corporation in Beijing and the Australian publishing company, David Syme and Company Ltd, have jointly produced a new directory entitled 'Collection of Laws and Regulations of the People's Republic of China concerning Foreign Economic Affairs and Trade Relations.' The directory, printed in Standard Chinese, accompanied by an English translation, has 400 pages and covers subjects such as the Constitution of China, foreign investment, foreign trade administration, special economic zones, taxation, customs, quarantine and trademarks. The Administrative Services Manager of David Syme, Mr Jack Beverley, (centre), is pictured showing a copy of the directory to two senior journalists from the staff of the Beijing daily, 'Guangming Ribao', who visited 'The Age' newspaper in Melbourne with three other 'Guangming Ribao' staff during the course of their recent visit to Australia as guests of the Australia-China Council. The journalists pictured are the Deputy Chief Editor, Mr Wang Changhua, (left), and the head of the newspaper's literature and arts bureau, Mr Zhang Changhai. (AIS photo).

and security area, our major activity has concerned Cambodia.

We share with ASEAN and China similar principles on Cambodia. That is, we emphasise the need for withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, for a form of self-determination, for recognition of the legitimate rights of all nations in the region and for a non-aligned Cambodia. We have explained to China our view that it is in the interests of our region that major efforts be made to institute a dialogue which will lead to settlement. We have differences of assessment about the method and the pace by which this can be achieved. We remain firmly committed to pursuing our efforts to bring about this

dialogue. But we recognise that vital Chinese interests are involved, which means that China needs to be closely consulted on our efforts.

I believe that China shares our view that any differences of approach that we might have on this issue are differences between friends, not on principle but on approach and procedure. They do not and should not affect the overall strength of the relationship between us — a relationship which is so beneficial to both countries. Our attitude to the North Asia region, our policies towards the region and our assessments fit into a patterned approach to foreign policy in general.

Our alliance with the U.S. does not prevent us from pursuing a policy which is independent and self-reliant. In fact, that alliance is all the better for policies which are distinctively Australian; which focus on and are active in a region which is so immediately important to us.

This independent policy and outlook are the inescapable conclusions to facts which have finally become accepted wisdom. They are that the good old days are gone when

events out of our control brought us nothing but good news and good luck. The days ahead, by contrast, will have much that is novel to us and much that will be exciting.

This is the challenge to us which is posed by the ways in which events to our north are evolving. We can be nervous of them. We can learn to use them to our advantage. Either way, we have to face them, in the interests of ourselves and the generations of Australians to follow us.

Use of nuclear weapons: U.S. and NATO policy

Recently an American journal article focussed attention on the powers residing with the U.S. President for approving first use of nuclear weapons.

In the Fall 1984 (No. 56) edition of *Foreign Policy*, Jeremy Stone's article 'Presidential First Use is Unlawful' argued that the American Constitution should be construed as requiring (in the absence of a declaration of war containing no limitation of first use) formal and specific authorisation by the Congress before the President could order 'first use' of nuclear weapons.

The General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Defense, Mr Chapman Cox, responded to the Stone article by letter, disagreeing with Mr Stone's contention and pointing out, inter alia, that formally imposing a Congressional veto over the President's authority to employ nuclear weapons would diminish the credibility of NATO's determination to use any of its weapons, including nuclear weapons, in response to attacks; which could in turn undermine the credibility of NATO's deterrence policy.

Mr Cox's letter attracted considerable media and parliamentary interest in Australia. Because much of that interest indicated misunderstanding and confusion over the terms 'first use' and 'first strike', we set out below an explanation of the very important difference between these two terms as understood by Western military strategists.

The term *first strike* is a reference to a massive pre-emptive attack against the enemy's nuclear forces and their command structure with the intent to destroy or minimise his ability to retaliate. Neither superpower has the capacity to mount such a disarming first strike, either currently or prospectively: and it is inconceivable that either superpower would allow the other to

gain such a massive preponderance of forces as to allow it to contemplate such action confidently.

A first strike is not part of U.S. or NATO policy. *First use*, by contrast, is widely understood to refer to the first use of nuclear weapons, regardless of yield or place, in an on-going conventional conflict but not the intent or expectation of depriving the opponent of his ability to retaliate; thus even demolishing a bridge in one's own territory with a nuclear weapon would constitute first use.

NATO's policy of leaving open the option of resorting to nuclear weapons, should its non-nuclear conventional forces be faced with defeat by a Warsaw Pact conventional attack, dates from the early 1950s. At that time NATO elected to counter a perceived Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional forces by supplementing its smaller conventional forces with tactical and theatre nuclear weapons.

The alternative of building NATO's conventional forces to a comparable level by conscripting large numbers into armed service posed political, economic and social problems for Western Europe: manpower was needed for postwar reconstruction; there

was a natural aversion to any suggestion of 'militarisation' of Western European societies, which was seen as one of the root causes of World War II; and conscription, after six years of war, would have posed considerable political problems for post-war Western European Governments.

Faced with this choice, NATO had few qualms in opting for reliance on nuclear weapons to deter a Warsaw Pact attack while the U.S. held a significant lead in this area over the USSR.

This policy was formally enshrined in NATO's doctrine of flexible response, adopted in 1967, which leaves the possibility of resort to use of nuclear weapons in response to an overwhelming conventional attack by Warsaw Pact forces so as to deter such an attack. The doctrine of flexible response has thus been the cornerstone of NATO's deterrence policy for about two decades and has been endorsed not only by successive U.S. administrations but also by all sixteen Western governments which constitute the NATO alliance.

The passing of the era of U.S. nuclear superiority and events such as the controversial 1979 NATO 'dual-track' decision on INF (ie. to attempt to reach agreement with the Soviet Union to limit INF missiles on both sides; or, if the Soviet SS20 missile could not be negotiated away, to deploy 572 U.S. INF missiles as a counter to it) have stimulated a debate within NATO of the appropriateness of its *first use* policy. Much of this debate has resulted in calls for NATO to bolster its conventional forces, thereby raising the nuclear threshold.

In response to Soviet undertakings of 'no first use' (ie. not to be the first to use nuclear weapons) made at the UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1982, NATO spokesman have emphasised that NATO is a defensive alliance and that it would not be the first to use any weapons, nuclear or conventional, except in response to attack.

In responding to Australian Parliamentary interest in Mr Cox's letter on 10 and 11 September, the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Senate, Attorney-General Senator Gareth Evans, told the Senate¹ that the Government saw Mr Cox's letter as a restatement of NATO's doctrine of flexible response and as such it

did not constitute a new development. For this reason the Government did not, as had been suggested, intend to take the matter up with the U.S. Government.

As for the view that the United States President could only lawfully use nuclear weapons after consulting Congress, Senator Evans indicated that this was a matter for determination by the various branches of the U.S. Government and not one on which it would be appropriate for any representative of the Australian Government to comment.

In response to questions, Senator Evans indicated that the situation in relation to ANZUS was different: he said there is no equivalent provision in the ANZUS Treaty of the long-held NATO doctrine of flexible response which was clearly based on circumstances quite different from those of the ANZUS context.

Finally, Senator Evans made clear that the Government did not accept that U.S. policy envisaged a first strike. In this context he drew attention to several relevant statements by U.S. Administration officials, for example:

President Reagan:

A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.

Defense Secretary Weinberger:

It is definitely not in the intentions, in the plans, in the strategy or the design of the American Government that any nuclear war be fought anywhere. We do not believe that nuclear war can be won, no matter where it is fought.

Senator Evans indicated that this was of course also the Australian Government's view. In doing so, he drew attention to the Prime Minister's speech on disarmament in the House of Representatives on 6 June of this year in which the Prime Minister made a statement on the functions of the Australia-U.S. joint defence facilities.² Mr Hawke made clear on that occasion that the highest levels of the U.S. Administration had been consulted and had acceded in the issuance of the statement, which contains the following extract:

We do not believe there can be a winning side in a nuclear war. The notion of a nuclear first strike designed to disarm an adversary would be destabilising if it were to gain credence.

¹ See *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 9, September 1984, pages 983 and 984.

² See *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 6, June 1984, page 614.

China-UK agreement on the future of Hong Kong

Britain and China have initialled a Joint Declaration embodying the basis for Hong Kong to retain a high degree of autonomy when the Territory reverts to Chinese sovereignty in 1997.

Regional governments, including Australia's, have reacted positively as have Hong Kong's citizens. Local business representatives have spoken confidently about the implications of the agreement for Hong Kong's economy.

The agreement

On 26 September, after two years of sometimes difficult negotiations, China and Britain initialled a Joint Declaration on the future of Hong Kong. Their agreement comprises a joint declaration by the two Governments, and three annexes, which are to be equally binding on the parties. The Joint Declaration is subject to ratification which has to take place before 30 June 1985.

The main points in the Joint Declaration are:

- agreement to restore sovereignty of Hong Kong to China on 1 July 1997;
- China's intention to establish a Special Administrative Region (SAR) with a high degree of autonomy, except in foreign affairs and defence which will be the responsibilities of the central government;
- the SAR will be vested with executive, legislative and independent judicial power, including that of final adjudication;
- the government of the SAR will be composed of local inhabitants, with only the chief executive being appointed from Beijing, on the basis of elections or consultations to be held locally;
- Hong Kong's present system of common law basically will remain unchanged;
- the current social and economic systems in Hong Kong will remain unchanged, and so will the lifestyle; rights and freedoms will be ensured by law;
- the SAR will retain the status of a free port and its separate customs functions, and its role as an international financial centre.

China's basic policies are further elaborated in Annex I, and will be stipulated in a 'basic law' of Hong Kong (SAR) to be formulated by the Chinese National People's Congress, and will remain unchanged for 50 years.

During the transitional period to 30 June 1997 the British Government will be responsible for the administration of Hong Kong with the aim of maintaining and preserving its economic prosperity and social stability. A Sino-British Joint Liaison Group (JLG) will be established, the functions of which (detailed

in Annex II) include consultation on the implementation of the Joint Declaration; exchange of information; and matters affecting the smooth transfer of power.

It will be a liaison body, not an organ of power and will play no part in the administration of Hong Kong or the Hong Kong SAR, nor shall it have any supervisory role over administration. Action to enable Hong Kong's continued participation in the GATT and Multi-Fibre Agreement will be matters for its early consideration.

The JLG will begin to operate upon the entry into force of the agreement and continue its work until 1 January 2000.

Annex III deals with land leases which will enable the granting of new leases and renewal of existing leases which expire before 1997, running up to 2047 on specified conditions.

The status of persons who are now British Dependent Territories (BDT) citizens are covered in two memoranda to be formally exchanged on the same day as signature of the Joint Declaration. Holders of BDT citizenship on 30 July 1997 will have the continued right to use British passports for travel, although not for permanent residence in Britain.

Reactions

China and Britain, not unnaturally, have reacted very positively to what both sides regard as a successful conclusion to their negotiations. For China, the agreement has historical significance, terminating what they have always considered to be an inequitable and colonial situation. In public comment, Chinese leaders have drawn attention to China's 'one country — two systems' solution for Hong Kong's future as a model to be emulated elsewhere, not least in the long-hoped for reunification of Taiwan.

British leaders have commended the Joint Declaration to the British Parliament and to Hong Kong. Sir Geoffrey Howe, Britain's



A night view of Hong Kong's Victoria Harbour, looking from the 'Peak', across the harbour, towards Kowloon. (Photo courtesy R.S. Baczynski).

Foreign Secretary, described the draft as a 'tremendous and revolutionary agreement', and said it was 'astonishing that the world's largest communist country is setting out to maintain probably the most lively, most dynamic, most successful capitalist economy.'

A number of countries, including Australia, the United States, Japan, New Zealand and Malaysia, welcomed the initialling of the Joint Declaration as laying a basis for confidence in Hong Kong's future after 1997. The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, noted Australia's important interests in Hong Kong and in Hong Kong's continuing to play a positive role in the region, and said the agreement which has been reached has the 'declared object of maintaining confidence in Hong Kong and ensuring its continued stability and prosperity' and that it will make 'an important contribution to the political stability of the Western Pacific region as a whole.'*

Although the negotiations on Hong Kong's

future are a matter between Britain and China, the Australian Government has expressed to both sides its hope that the agreement reached would be acceptable to the people of Hong Kong. A 'test of public acceptability' is being conducted in the Territory through a special assessment office set up for the purpose.

Early reactions from Hong Kong's citizens suggest that, overall, they view the principles in the agreement positively, although for them its implementation will be the most crucial test.

Business representatives in Hong Kong, including the Chamber of Commerce, have spoken confidently about the implications of the agreement for the local economy. Hong Kong's airline, Cathay Pacific, welcomed the agreement and said it 'gives every cause for confidence among the employees . . . and will as far as possible maintain the rights previously enjoyed' by the Territory.

Following the test of acceptability, the agreement will be debated in the British Parliament and referred to the Chinese National People's Congress (Parliament) before ratification is completed.

* See also *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 9, September 1984, page 1029.

USSR: image and reality

Speech by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, to the Australian Institute of International Affairs, in Sydney, on 25 October:

When I first considered making this address two months ago, a great sense of gloom prevailed about East-West relations.

Relations between the superpowers, each possessing the means of total destruction, had sunk to a low point.

Though working-level contacts were maintained on a range of issues, harsh rhetoric and recrimination and an atmosphere of distrust had created a rigidity which held out little prospect of movement by either side. The breakdown of major arms control negotiations aggravated fears of another escalation of the arms race. In this atmosphere of tension, there were heightened fears of the superpowers being drawn into direct confrontation. I had intended to speak about the need for realism and clear perception, about the need to break the deadlock and to begin discussions.

Since then, the meeting between President Reagan and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in Washington and Mr Gromyko's discussions with Secretary of State Schultz were heartening steps. We should not exaggerate — nothing dramatic resulted from the meetings. The two sides agreed to future discussions, though no time was specified. The same cautious relief should be felt about the conciliatory tone of the interview given by President Chernenko to the Washington Post last week. Given the existing tension and distrust in United States-Soviet relations, it would have been unrealistic to expect a breakthrough on major issues.

But, in re-establishing high-level contacts between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the talks laid a useful basis on which both sides, with the appropriate will, can build. But, if these contacts are to lead to substantial progress, it is absolutely essential the Soviet Union, its allies and our relations with them are viewed clearly and realistically. On both sides — East and West — there has been a tendency to see the other in black and white terms, as crude stereotypes. But stereotypes do not provide an adequate basis for relations.

In the West, of course, there is considerable diversity of views. In some versions, the Soviet Union is presented inherently expansionist, bent on world domination through its greatly increased military power. The Soviet

Union is alleged to have deceived the West through the policy of detente, used to achieve military superiority and to embark on a grand strategy to subvert and engulf the Third World. It is said to maintain control at home and in its Eastern European empire through ruthless totalitarian oppression.

The Soviet stereotype of the U.S. as an aggressive, conspiratorial power bent on destroying the gains of the revolution is often even more crudely drawn. President Reagan has been compared to Hitler preparing for war in the 1930s: a powerful image in Russian minds. I would hope that the Soviet leadership is not a prisoner of its own crude propaganda. But I wish today to put the stereotype of the Soviet Union drawn in the West into perspective.

I want also to suggest how this perspective might contribute to the Western approach to the Soviet Union and its place in East-West relations. It is important that nobody underestimate the huge progress that the Soviet Union has made since its Revolution: in social terms, from an underdeveloped country to a great power. It has achieved this in the face of the concentrated hostility of the West against it in its early days. It has survived a degree of human and material devastation virtually unmatched in modern times. Even before the Revolution, despite its backwardness Russia was an intellectual and cultural power house. There is no question that, through its massive military build-up over the last two decades, the Soviet Union has achieved the status of a global military superpower. By the 1970s, it had acquired a rough nuclear parity with the U.S.

According to some indices of the strategic balance, it leads the United States, notably an advantage in ICBM capability. It has superiority in conventional arms in central Europe. It has developed a strong blue water navy and an air-lift capability. It has acquired a new capability to project military power at some distance from the Soviet Union. Its invasion

of Afghanistan has demonstrated its willingness to use force when it considers it necessary to foster or defend its interests.

But, while the Soviet Union has great strengths, it also suffers from a range of weaknesses. It spends between 12-15 per cent of its GNP for military purposes — a proportion of its GNP 2-4 times as much as most NATO countries. But it must be kept in mind that the total Soviet GNP is about half that of the United States. Thus, the Soviet Union puts a far larger share of its national income into the military sector than the U.S. for roughly the same result. Soviet leaders suffer from an exaggerated sense of being encircled, and their greatest fear is of being forced to fight simultaneously on several fronts. Soviet military resources are thus deployed for the maintenance of Soviet supremacy in Eastern Europe; against China; and in defence of what are seen as vulnerable flanks to the east and the south.

Nobody denies that there has been a strong Soviet military build up, both qualitatively and quantitatively. But it has not managed to achieve a decisive shift in the balance between West and East. On the strategic level, a fundamental deadlock remains.

I should point out also that the Soviet Union today qualifies as a superpower only in the military dimension. As Paul Dibb describes it in the title of his forthcoming book, it is an 'incomplete superpower', for if we look not merely at military strength but at power in a wider sense, it cannot be regarded as a state capable of dominating the world.

The Soviet Union has failed to fulfil Khrushchev's dream of a dynamic state which would surpass the United States and become a model for the world. Indeed, Khrushchev's overconfidence has been an embarrassment to subsequent leaders. The Soviet Union is beset by serious domestic problems. Fundamental are the weakness of its huge but vastly inefficient and unbalanced economy, its lagging technology, its stagnating standard of living and its social and cultural malaise.

By its own admission, it has proved unable to exploit to the full its vast agricultural resources and to arrange their more effective distribution to the consumer. By its own admission also, the Soviet Union suffers from endemic corruption. It has failed to create the incentives necessary to make up for a decreasing labour force and low levels of

productivity. We should be wary of exaggerating the significance of these problems. Despite its manifest difficulties the Soviet economy still continues to grow. The consumer sector has registered impressive advances and the leadership is concerned to make further improvements. The current economic growth rate is assessed to be approximately 2 per cent. The system seems to be capable of maintaining a growth in defence spending of about the same order.

Moreover, the highly centralised Soviet system has the advantage that resources can be allocated to areas of highest priority. There are deep reserves of endurance and patriotism that can be appealed to, as well as a pervasive apparatus of coercion. Speculation that a worsening economic situation may force the Soviet Union to cut back investment in the defence sector thus appear unrealistic. It has always regarded the security of the state as paramount and is committed at the very least to maintaining strategic parity with the U.S. at all costs. Military power is the showcase of Soviet success and will continue to be given the highest priority.

In this context, a perennial problem for the Soviet Union — a cross for which it has only itself to blame — is Eastern Europe. Contrary to Soviet insistence on the fundamental monolithic unity of the Communist bloc, the Eastern European states have clear cultural and, to varying extents, economic and political identities of their own. Imposing the Soviet pattern uniformly on them to create a series of satellite states may have seemed the best course of action for the Soviet Union after World War II.

Over the long haul, however, it carried great risks and penalties. It grated against deep-seated national traditions, it ignored cultural differences and roused psychological aversion. Reaction was inevitable. Indeed, uprisings against the system have become a regular feature in Eastern Europe: East Germany in 1953, Poland and Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968, Poland in 1970, 1976, 1980-81, not to mention the breakaway of Yugoslavia in 1949 and Albania in 1961.

In the post-Stalin decades, the Soviet Union has had to relax its controls on Eastern Europe, particularly in regard to economic organisation and reform. It has had to tolerate lifting restraints on private if not political freedoms. And the degree of political flexibility is not yet fully tested. Romania has achieved a measure of leeway in foreign



The General-Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Mr Konstantin Chernenko, pictured addressing one of its regular sessions. (Photo courtesy of the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Canberra).

policy. Hungary has introduced new approaches to economic management of a centrally-planned economy. Poland has demonstrated its capacity for cultural and religious freedom — as well as some remarkable political flexibility during the Solidarity

period. The GDR has recently shown independence of spirit in East-West relations, especially with West Germany. In the GDR and Czechoslovakia, there have been murmurs of popular discontent against Soviet INF counter-deployments. Even the most

orthodox members of the bloc, like Bulgaria, have shown allegiance to their national traditions and national sovereignty.

Soviet difficulties in Eastern Europe are likely to increase in the coming years, as economic problems will have a sharper effect there. Because the main basis of legitimacy of Eastern European regimes rests with economic performance, economic discontent tends to translate into social instability and political unrest. The Soviet Union, however, is firmly committed to preserving its control of its Eastern European empire. It has been prepared to bear with some flexibility in these countries. But, as the events in Czechoslovakia illustrated in 1968, it will do so only as long as there is no defection from the Warsaw Pact or a threat to the leading role of the Communist Party.

The Soviet Union can and does exert overt political pressure, as happened recently with the cancellation of Honecker's visit to the FRG.* But it will have to decide what is more important for it in Eastern Europe: cohesion on the basis of an imposed Soviet model or viability on the basis of more diversity. The choice is not an easy one.

Imposed cohesion carries the risk of being punctuated ever more frequently by explosions of discontent; diversity might ultimately break the mould not only of communist uniformity, but also further erode the facade of communist unity. The fact remains that security concerns will ultimately determine the extent to which it will be prepared to allow its Eastern European allies to pursue political and economic diversity.

In the Third World, the Soviet Union has pursued a long-standing policy of exploiting targets of opportunity, and devotes considerable effort to extending its influence there at the expense of the West. But we should question the assumption that all instability in the Third World is evidence of a relentless Soviet strategy of subversion. Soviet interventions are just as likely to have resulted from a combination of suddenly emerging local opportunities and Western miscalculation or weakness.

Its 1975 intervention in Angola, for example, was exploitation of the collapse of the Portuguese position in Africa. In Ethiopia, it was Mengistu's alienation from the U.S. and

his turning to Moscow for support. In contrast, the invasion of Afghanistan involved a country on the Soviet border which was already effectively in the Soviet sphere of influence. The invasion was a gross political miscalculation, reflecting Soviet anxiety about the security of its border region, and the Australian Government condemns it in the strongest possible terms.

Though it is reasonable to assume that the Soviet Union will not forego any future opportunities opening up in the Third World, recent experience is bound to make it more circumspect. The political costs of Soviet adventures in the Third World have been high, particularly in Afghanistan. In other places — such as Cuba and Vietnam — the financial costs of its involvement have placed a heavy burden on it, a burden bound to increase as its economic problems multiply.

In addition to the lack of appeal of the Soviet political and economic model for emerging countries, its failure to provide development assistance comparable to that available from the West — including large scale food aid and technology transfer — has severely handicapped its ability to improve its position in the Third World. Its efforts to translate arms supply into durable political influence have frequently been unsuccessful. Despite major military investment, it has been expelled from such countries as Egypt and Somalia. Seen in perspective, therefore, there are decisive constraints on the Soviet Union as a power capable of world domination.

Even as a military power, the Soviet Union suffers from the fact that the nuclear strategic dimension of military power is something it cannot ultimately use, except in the cause of its own destruction as well as ours. This paradox has led some to the conclusion that the real danger to the West is not that the Soviet Union will succeed in world domination, but rather that — because of its weakness, overextension and unbalanced dependence on military power — it will contribute to greater global anarchy and the possibility of a serious confrontation. If confrontation between the superpowers is to be avoided, East and West must learn to live together — an arrangement based on a realistic appraisal of what is possible.

Let me rule out here any notion that the West can, by exploiting Soviet weaknesses, bring the Soviet Union to its knees. Suggestions that, by accelerating the arms race and

* See *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 9, September 1984, page 929.

an economic blockade, the West can bring about the demise of the Soviet Union or a fundamental change in its system are far fetched and unrealistic. The Western world, with its predilection to believe that all problems have solutions, must come to terms with the fact that the Soviet Union will not be eliminated nor easily changed by outside influence. We must learn to live with it as we find it. Equally, the Soviet Union must accept the same principle. In the past, states could go to war to resolve an issue. Inevitably, somebody won and somebody lost. In the nuclear age, this is no longer possible, for the side closest to losing retains the power to drag its rival down with it, with disastrous consequences for the rest of the world. Each side must, therefore, accept the inescapable reality of the superpower relationship.

The U.S. and the Soviet Union are the only two nations whose divergent global foreign policies and interests bring them into competition in virtually every corner of the world. This competition is sharpened by the incompatibility of each side's fundamental values. These factors ensure that, for the foreseeable future, the U.S. and Soviet Union will remain adversaries whose competition must be managed peacefully if mutual annihilation is to be avoided.

Although detente has been somewhat discredited as a result of our experience in the 1970s, it is worth realistic reappraisal. Detente was never intended to end the arms race, eliminate competition in the Third World or serve as an instrument of reform within the Soviet Union, although official hyperbole at times gave that impression. Rather, it sought to provide a mechanism for managing competition between adversaries, thereby lowering the dangers of escalation and overcommitment without at the same time compromising vital interests.

We should get the relative strengths of the superpowers into perspective. We should accept that there is a rough balance of military power between East and West which is likely to persist for several years ahead. Neither is likely to achieve a position of superiority, even if the other were prepared to concede it — which it patently would not. At any rate, superiority could be achieved only at enormous cost.

At the same time, efforts should be made to conclude equitable and verifiable agreements on arms control which contribute significantly to international security. Both superpowers

have continued broadly to observe the provisions of the unratified SALT II treaty. But it is essential that they agree as to the limitations on their strategic armaments to be observed after 31 December 1985, the expiry date of SALT II. I hope it might prove possible for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to build on progress in earlier bilateral nuclear arms negotiations and to agree on substantial reductions in this area.

It might also prove possible for them to agree on limitations to space weaponry and to conclude treaties for bans on nuclear tests and chemical weapons. A successful outcome of the long-standing negotiations in Vienna on conventional forces in central Europe — the Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) negotiations — would both reflect and contribute to an improvement in East-West relations.

United States strategy in countering Soviet foreign policy has, since the early 1970s, displayed a tendency towards sharp changes in direction and has not always been clearly articulated or understood. This tendency towards extremes has confused allies and encouraged the Soviet Union vigorously to pursue targets of opportunity. This has partly been a product of the democratic political process, reflecting the polarisation and lack of bipartisan consensus on foreign policy.

But clarity about fundamental Western interests, commitments and determination is as crucial for a stable superpower relationship as maintaining the military balance. The West should leave no doubt in Soviet minds where high risks are involved. Unity of approach to the Soviet challenge, and to the conduct of East-West relations, is self-evidently in the West's interests.

In any alliance of states with a variety of national priorities, it is inevitable that there will be differences of policy and outlook on a range of major issues. Consultation within the alliance is crucial in resolving specific issues co-operatively, in preventing the atmosphere being soured and in avoiding giving the Soviet Union the indication of a split in the alliance. It helps to avoid the sort of strains on the alliance caused by the 1982 imbroglio between the U.S. and the Europeans over the transfer of pipeline technology to the Soviet Union. Ultimately, however, there must be room in the alliance for different views on specific issues and different policies without the fundamental unity of purpose of the alliance being undermined.

The West should derive strength from its own diversity.

With regard to the Third World, there has been too great a tendency in the West to blame all regional disputes and local turmoil on Soviet intrigue, instead of acknowledging that many of them have indigenous causes. It lies within our power to reduce opportunities for Soviet exploitation by our understanding better what local factors generate upheavals and conflicts and responding to them appropriately. We will at times also have to consider whether or not the Soviet Union's role should be acknowledged in order to resolve regional problems.

In its relations with Eastern Europe, the West should not delude itself that it can destroy the Iron Curtain but should recognise that it is increasingly permeable. We cannot create situations from outside nor initiate processes of emancipation or liberalisation: we should note that none of the past upheavals in Eastern Europe was engendered by Western policy makers but came principally from within. Some setbacks aside, Eastern European governments are generally exercising greater autonomy in their relations with the outside world than previously. The West needs to encourage this trend in a realistic and constructive manner.

To return to where I started, I cannot stress the need strongly enough to develop contact on major issues between the superpowers. Given that we start from a low point in relations, this should be approached cautiously and without exaggerated expectations. There is a need to cool the invective that has characterised relations between Moscow and Washington in recent times. Management of the competition between them requires, on both sides, a minimum of civility and trust. Though the ultimate in regularised U.S.-Soviet contacts would be — of course — an agreement for regular summit meetings, these should not be rushed. They require a good deal of preparation because without a proper atmosphere, they resolve nothing. They have the disadvantage, moreover, of heightening expectations which can lead to disenchantment and reaction. Every possible effort must be made to avoid ambiguous, excessively ambitious and non-binding declarations of intent that are bound to be interpreted differently and lead to misunderstandings and recrimination.

In his talks with Foreign Minister Gromyko

last month, President Reagan made a beginning. According to reports, he again explicitly recognised the Soviet Union's status as a superpower and disavowed any American desire to change its system. He said that the United States does not seek military superiority over the Soviet Union but wants to deal with the Soviet Union as an equal. In his speech to the United Nations General Assembly, President Reagan put forward a series of concrete proposals to improve Soviet-America relations. He expressed a readiness for constructive negotiations and said that he recognised 'that there is no sane alternative to negotiations on arms control and other issues between our two nations which have the capacity to destroy civilisation as we know it.'

As I said, this signifies a good beginning. We hope that the Soviet Union will respond positively. There is a long road ahead and we must not have illusions that it will be easy. But, with will on both sides, I believe that progress towards better East-West relations and a safer world can be made.

Let me sum up by drawing some tentative conclusions from what I have already said and relating these conclusions to our own policy. I have spoken of the Soviet Union's strengths and its weaknesses. I have alluded to the fact that its drive to export revolution to all parts of the globe — and the appeal of the Soviet system that might help it to achieve this aim — have declined. I have argued that the Soviet Union's economic failures preclude it from playing a significant role in the world economic system.

The upshot of this is that what we should fear is not so much an inflated image of the Soviet Union in its entirety, but rather the discrepancy between Soviet military might and its inability to assume a befitting role on the world stage. It is of course entirely justified for the West to seek to contain and counteract the expansion of Soviet military strength. But just because the Soviet Union is a one-dimensional superpower, our policy towards it should not be one-dimensional. The West also needs to make active efforts to encourage it to overcome the dangerous effects of its own, often self-imposed, isolation. The danger exists that, if we automatically assume the worst of Soviet motives and behaviour, we have made a self-fulfilling prophecy.

I know from recent personal experience that it is a hard task to convince Soviet



One of the reindeer shepherds in the Nenets Autonomous Area of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, pictured communicating by radio with a collective farm settlement. (Photo courtesy of the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Canberra).

leaders of our sincerity when we argue that the West does not set out to destroy the Soviet system, and that we genuinely desire to re-establish the spirit — if not the letter — of detente. There is much mutual suspicion and it will be a slow process to overcome it. If we have a tendency always to believe the worst of the Soviet Union, then it unfortunately has the same tendency. This can easily lead to frustration and discouragement. But there is no substitute for patient effort in fostering contacts.

As I have said, we should be cautiously optimistic that after too many years of lack of high-level dialogue, the first steps have now been taken. The Australian Government's policy towards the Soviet Union is based on a pragmatic and realistic assessment of what we can and should achieve. We do not delude ourselves that we can have a disproportionate influence.

The Soviet Union still sees Australia as a distant country, closely allied to the United States, and dominated by unfriendly attitudes

towards it. I have a modest hope that my visit to Moscow earlier this year, the first by an Australian Foreign Minister in very nearly 20 years, helped to show Soviet leaders that Australia has evolved away from some of the cruder stereotypes that have beset relations between our two countries. We do not expect that the Soviet Union can overlook the obvious differences of attitude and perception between us.

In a speech I gave at a luncheon hosted by Mr Gromyko in Moscow, I stated unequivocally that Australia was a committed member of the Western alliance. During my discussions with Mr Gromyko, I also raised some sensitive and difficult issues, including the treatment of Dr Sakharov and Mrs Bonner, and restrictions on emigration from the Soviet Union. This latter question is of particular concern to a group of Australians, whose right to be reunited with family members is being denied because the Soviet authorities have refused to grant their relatives permission to leave for Australia. We

tried during my visit to achieve progress on this issue, and we will continue to try. *

The response I received from Mr Gromyko on those points was not encouraging. The Soviet side argues, and may well have convinced itself, that Western interest in human rights questions is politically motivated interference in its internal affairs. I know from my own experience how difficult it is to convince them otherwise; but I also observe that the Soviet Union is not the only difficult customer on human rights. Not all of these difficult customers are in the Eastern bloc, by any means.

Despite these fundamental differences of view, however, I believe that the Government has laid a basis for more constructive contacts between Australia and the Soviet Union, and that these are beginning to bear fruit. Trade can be and often is isolated from political trends, but we are still very satisfied with figures showing that there was a 15 per cent increase in Australia's exports to the USSR in 1983-84. We are also registering progress in human exchanges as well as material ones, for example under the auspices of the two agreements which the Whitlam Government concluded in 1975 on culture and science and technology. We are also moving towards negotiating a consular agreement, which we hope will help to resolve some of the human problems that can cloud the relationship. On the political level, we want to follow up the initial contact which was established during my visit. Unfortunately it was not possible for a meeting to be arranged with Mr Gromyko when we were both in New York for the General Assembly.

Australia is now, however, a member of the Security Council for 1985-86, and we have already told the Soviet Government that we look forward to regular consultation with its representatives, not only on regional issues which come before the Council but also on ways to improve the effectiveness of the Council itself.

Australia also has long-standing relations with other countries in Eastern Europe, of course. I should not like it thought that the Government has concentrated its efforts on the Soviet Union at the expense of these other relationships. Australia and Yugoslavia approach the world scene from different perspectives but share many concerns about international developments, and I have had several valuable exchanges of views with my

Yugoslav counterpart. The relationship is underpinned by the presence here of several hundred thousand people of Yugoslav origin. The activities of a very small minority of these people do sometimes create strains in the relationship, but we are confident that this problem can be kept within manageable proportions.

Relations with Poland, a country which has also contributed a significant migrant input into our population, have been overshadowed by the declaration of martial law almost three years ago. I welcomed the recent amnesty for political prisoners and said that the Government would continue to keep a close watch on developments in Poland.

Our relations with other Eastern European countries may be based on less substantial ties, but they are developing. The GDR is the third country in Eastern Europe where we have established a diplomatic mission. I am pleased to note that the last year has seen an increase in exports to East Germany of almost 100 per cent.

I visited Hungary in May, for example — and I believe some members of today's audience were also visiting there at that time. We are now in fact in the process of establishing an Embassy in Budapest. We have even extended our interest as far as Albania, through an agreement to establish diplomatic relations. The picture is not entirely positive, though. As with the Soviet Union, there are problems of family reunion and human rights which the Government makes persistent efforts to resolve. Insofar as the Soviet Union and the superpower relationship are concerned, we are under no illusions about what we can achieve. The superpowers are by definition in a class of their own. The management of their mutual relations is the highest priority for each of them. We are not in a position to lay down the law to them about how they should go about this.

But we can and should offer constructive comment which, precisely because it comes from the outside, may sometimes provide a perspective that tends to be overshadowed in the massive confrontation between the two opposing sides.

We certainly assert our right to offer this comment, for a very simple but serious reason. If the superpower confrontation gets out of hand, everybody loses — from the smallest nation to the largest.

Parliament

South East Asia: nuclear free zone

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 2 October:

Senator McIntosh — I direct my question to the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Is he aware of consideration being given by the Association of South East Asian Nations to an eventual ban on the transit of United States, Soviet and other nuclear armed ships, submarines and aircraft through the region as a step towards declaring South East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality? If so, will the Government lend its support to this proposal, in accord with its endorsement of a nuclear free zone in the South Pacific.

Senator Gareth Evans — I am not sure whether the material I have before me fully addresses the particular matters that the honourable senator refers to and which I believe he raised in a question at the end of the last sitting period. However, I am able to tell him this, subject to supplementation: in a speech on 10 September to the recent meeting of the ASEAN Standing Committee, the Malaysian Foreign Minister, Tengku Rithauddeen, indicated that the ASEAN Foreign Ministers meeting in Jakarta had agreed to initiate measures for the implementation of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality concept for South East Asia, beginning with the declaration of a nuclear weapons-free zone in that area. The Minister said that concept of a nuclear weapons-free zone was inherent in the ZOPFAN concept and would constitute one of the prerequisites for it. The sentiments expressed in the statement by the Minister are in accord with Australia's policy of advancing the concept of a nuclear-free zone for the South Pacific region. They also reflect the Australian Labor Party platform, which is to promote the development of zones of peace and nuclear-free zones in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The Australian Science and Technology Council inquiry into Australia's role in the nuclear fuel cycle also recommended that Australia support the

establishment of nuclear weapons-free zones in the Asian region.

Australia believes that appropriately constituted nuclear-free zones can contribute significantly to regional peace and security and through this to global security. It is, of course, essential to the success of any such arrangement that it have the full support of the states in the region concerned and that it take account of the situation in the region. The ultimate form to be taken by the ASEAN proposal will of course depend on the countries of the region. The Malaysian Foreign Minister has made clear that preparations for the establishment of the zone are expected to take some time. As indicated above, Australia certainly hopes the ASEAN countries will succeed in this endeavour.

Changes to Australian diplomatic representation

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 2 October:

Senator Archer asked the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 6 September, 1984:

(1) What changes have been made in Australia's overseas representation for the financial year 1983-84.

(2) What posts have, in the financial year 1983-84 been: (a) closed; (b) downgraded; (c) upgraded; (d) opened.

Senator Gareth Evans — The acting Minister for Foreign Affairs has provided the following answer to the honourable senator's question.

(1) The following changes have been made in Australia's overseas representations for the financial year 1983-84:

Bolivia — diplomatic relations were established with the Republic of Bolivia. The Australian Ambassador in Chile is accredited on a non-resident basis to the Republic of Bolivia.

Brunei — upgraded representation from a Commission to High Commission in Bandar Seri Begawan following Brunei's Independence.

El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua — diplomatic relations were established with El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua. The Australian Ambassador in Mexico is accredited on a non-resident basis to the three countries.

Iceland — diplomatic relations were established with Iceland. The Australian Ambassador to Denmark is accredited on a non-resident basis to Iceland.

Lebanon — the operations of the Australian Embassy in Beirut were temporarily suspended. The Australian Ambassador in Syria is accredited on a non-resident basis to the Lebanon.

Mauritius — a High Commission was established in Port Louis. Responsibility for conducting Australia's diplomatic relations with Mauritius was transferred from the Australian High Commission in Tanzania.

Nepal — an Embassy was established in Kathmandu. The Australian High Commissioner in New Delhi remains accredited as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Nepal.

South Africa (Cape Town) — the Consulate was closed but a Visa Office remains.

United Arab Emirates — upgraded representation from a Consulate-General to an Embassy in Abu Dhabi.

Yemen — diplomatic relations were established with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The Australian Ambassador in Saudi Arabia is accredited on a non-resident basis to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

(2) — (a) closed — Cape Town but see (1) above; (b) downgraded — Beirut; (c) upgraded — Abu Dhabi; (d) opened — Port Louis (Mauritius); — Kathmandu (Nepal).

where the Australian delegation was led by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister reported to Parliament on the Forum meeting in his statement on 5 September in which he indicated that Australia, along with all other members of the Forum, was anxious to see New Caledonia join the community of independent countries in the South Pacific as soon as is realistically possible.

The communique reference agreed by the members reaffirmed their support for the transition of New Caledonia to independence in accordance with the wishes of its people and in a manner which guaranteed the innate and active rights of the Kanak people and the rights, interests and aspirations of all its inhabitants.

The Forum noted progress made in the process of decolonisation of New Caledonia and called on France to both state publicly that independence was the desirable outcome of the act of self-determination and to bring forward the date of that referendum, currently planned for 1989. The Forum believed France should transfer additional administrative and political powers to the territory to ensure it is adequately prepared for independence and to take the practical steps necessary to guarantee the full and active participation of the Melanesian community in the territory's educational, vocational and administrative institutions.

Australia urges all the involved parties to continue to work towards the peaceful political evolution of New Caledonia.

New Caledonia: support for independence

The following question and answer appeared in Hansard on 2 October:

Senator Watson asked the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 6 September 1984:

Does the Australian Government support, as does the neighbouring country Vanuatu, the early granting of self-determination in New Caledonia as outlined by the Independence Movement of New Caledonia.

Senator Gareth Evans — The Minister for Foreign Affairs has provided the following answer to the honourable senator's question:

New Caledonia was one of the principal issues discussed at the South Pacific Forum held in Funafuti, Tuvalu, on 27-28 August

ANZUS

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 3 October:

Mr MacKellar — Has the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs noted the systematic attack on Australia and ANZUS being mounted by the Pacific Trade Union Forum under the inspiration of the President of the New Zealand Labour Federation? Will the Government remind the Forum that the ANZUS Treaty contributes to a security arrangement in the Pacific which is the very foundation of the economic future of the region? What action will the Government take to dissociate Australia from moves within the trade union movement to destroy ANZUS? Additionally, what action is the Government taking to persuade New Zealand of the essentiality of



The Vice-President of the Council of Government in New Caledonia, Mr Jean-Marie Tjibaou, visited Australia as a guest of the Department of Foreign Affairs from 29 September to 13 October. He had talks with political, business and trade union leaders and looked at Australian developments in tropical agriculture, tourism, mining and energy, and on training overseas students. His program began in Brisbane, where he met State political leaders and saw research work on tropical crops and horticulture; Rockhampton for cattle breeding and tropical animal research; and Townsville to see tropical crops and pasture research, marine science developments, and the James Cook University's School of Tropical Veterinary Medicine. His program in Melbourne included talks with trade union leaders and visits to Radio Australia and the Australian Tourist Commission. In Canberra, he met the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, and the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Mr Clyde Holding, MP, and visited the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research. He also met the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Andrew Peacock, MP, before leaving for Sydney where he had talks with the South Pacific Trade Commissioner, visited the multicultural television network 0-28, the International Training Institute and the University of Sydney research farm where commercial deer farming research is being undertaken. Mr Tjibaou (right) is pictured in Canberra with Mr Hawke. (AIS photo).

ANZUS rather than expecting that process to be the responsibility of the United States alone?

Mr Lionel Bowen — I know of no action by the Australian trade union movement to destroy ANZUS. That is the first thing that ought to be refuted. There certainly is a conference of trade union officials in the Pacific. I noticed the statement made by the President of the New Zealand trade unions which indicated their objections to certain provisions of ANZUS. I think what the honourable gentleman is about is suggesting that the Australian Government thinks there is something wrong with ANZUS. He knows

that that is not our position. However, from New Zealand's point of view, I admit that Mr Lange has a view on that portion of the ANZUS Treaty which he feels can be interpreted as prohibiting the visit of nuclear warships. It relates solely to that. One will notice that Mr Lange says that he supports ANZUS in all other aspects. I note the Opposition's objections to what Mr Lange says. We in the Australian Government do not take the same approach to ANZUS as that taken by the present New Zealand Government. However, the issues are very clear. Both countries strongly support ANZUS. The terms of ANZUS require consultation in times of conflict or disturbance in the Pacific. But

the refinement of that policy by the New Zealand Government is, I think, to do justice to Mr Lange, in accordance with public opinion in New Zealand. The New Zealand public feel that they do not want nuclear warships to visit New Zealand.

I think the matter runs across party lines in New Zealand. Honourable members opposite shake their heads but those of us who have been to New Zealand recently and who have discussed the matter with people who oppose Mr Lange agree that there is a very substantial peace movement in New Zealand which objects to the visits of nuclear ships. In Australia we do not do so; nor is public opinion in Australia of the same feeling. The honourable gentleman should note the distinction. At the same time, we recognise the value of ANZUS. In fact, as we have said in the past, it was a Labor government which first encouraged ANZUS on the basis that there would be peace and stability in the Pacific.

ANZUS makes a very substantial contribution to peace and stability in the Pacific. We welcome ANZUS. We think it is an intelligent co-operative arrangement which is enhanced by the ability of the leaders of the three nations concerned to be able to discuss matters from time to time. In regard to the interpretation of what one could call the nuclear aspect of warships, there is at this stage a distinction between ourselves and New Zealand, but in no way does that weaken ANZUS. Let me make it very clear that the New Zealand trade union movement is entitled to express a point of view. The point I emphasise to the honourable gentleman, and it must be the cause of some interest to him, is that the view expressed by the leader of the New Zealand trade union movement is also, I think a view expressed on behalf of the majority of New Zealanders.

Premises protected by the Department of Foreign Affairs in the ACT

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 3 October:

Mr Ruddock asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 21 August 1984:

(1) How many houses held for any purpose by the Minister's Department or any agency

or statutory authority responsible to the Minister in the Australian Capital Territory were vacant on 18 June 1984.

(2) Does the Minister's Department control any other premises in the Australian Capital Territory which are presently unused which could be occupied for residential purposes; if so, (a) where are these premises, (b) what were their previous uses and (c) are there any plans for their future use.

Mr Hayden — The answer to the honourable member's question is as follows:

(1) No houses are held by my Department in the Australian Capital Territory.

(2) The Department of Foreign Affairs has assumed responsibility under Article 22(2) and Article 45 of the Vienna Convention for protection of two properties belonging to the former Government of Cambodia (now Kampuchea). The properties are located at 4 Melbourne Avenue, Deakin and 5 Canterbury Crescent, Deakin. The building at 4 Melbourne Avenue was formerly used as the Ambassador's residence and the building at 5 Canterbury Crescent, was used as the chancery.

The Australian Government's view is that ownership of the properties vests in the State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. However, Australia does not recognise that Government, nor any other Cambodian Government, and until the present political situation in Kampuchea is clarified no plans can be made for the two residences.

B52 bombers: use of Australian airspace and bases

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 3 October:

Mr Scott asked the Minister for Defence, upon notice, on 21 August 1984:

What was (a) the frequency of American B52 flights and/or exercises over Australian territory and (b) the number of landings of American B52s at Darwin in (i) 1982, (ii) 1983 and (iii) 1984 as at the date of the answer to this question.

Mr Scholes — The answer to the honourable member's question is as follows:

(a) and (b) (i) In 1982, 40 B52 aircraft undertook low level navigation training over Australian territory. Sixteen of these aircraft staged through Darwin, either during their low-level navigation activities or before

undertaking sea surveillance in the Indian Ocean.

(a) and (b) (ii) In 1983, 63 B52 aircraft undertook low-level navigation training over Australian territory. Of this number, three participated in Exercise Pitch Black 83 in the vicinity of Darwin and two in Exercise Kangaroo 83 in north-west Australia. There were 28 landings at Darwin.

(a) and (b) (iii) Up to 10 September 1984, 94 B52 aircraft undertook low-level navigation training over Australian territory. Of this number, three participated in Exercise Pitch Black 84 in the vicinity of Darwin. There were 23 landings at Darwin.

Alleged use of opium by Vietnam to cover foreign debts

The following (edited) questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 3 October:

Mr MacKellar asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 28 May 1984:

Further to his answer to question on 10 May*, (a) which parts of the article are authentic; and (b) which aspects are not.

Mr Hayden — The answer to the honourable member's question is as follows:

I explained in parts (b), (c) and (d) of my answer that the following parts of the Asian Wall Street Journal articles of 12 March 1984 on Vietnam's opium production were consistent with evidence available to us at that time:

The northern Vietnamese provinces at Ha Tuyen, Lai Chau, Hoang Lien Son, Cao Bang and Lang Son are included in an official opium-growing program.

A contract system under which opium growers (like other agricultural producers) provide a quota of their crops, set by the Government, to the authorities and keep the rest for themselves or to sell, has been assumed to have been in existence for several years.

Therefore, there was no reason to doubt that a document such as the one mentioned in the article setting out quotas for opium, may exist.

I said in my answer that opium marketing in Vietnam was on the basis of a contract system under which farmers provided a quota of their crops, set by the Government,

to the authorities and keep any surplus. However, since providing my answer, I have been advised by our Embassy in Hanoi that opium production in Vietnam is apparently carried out under far more restrictive conditions than at first thought. I understand that opium does not come within the agricultural contract system. Discussions between our Embassy and the Vietnamese Ministers of Health and Agriculture show rather that the Ministry of Health is the sole authorised producer and grows opium in several controlled stations and co-operatives. The opium so produced is used for the production of pharmaceutical goods in Vietnam and for export to Council for Mutual Economic Assistance countries. The Vietnamese Government severely discourages the production of opium outside this arrangement and there is no right of private disposal after meeting quotas by the producers. This new evidence would thus throw serious doubt on the authenticity of the agricultural policy document allegedly smuggled out of Vietnam by a former Politburo member, Hoang Van Hoan.

I should add that the Australian Government has a good and proven record in the active steps which it has taken to combat the illicit narcotics trade. During my recent visit to Thailand, for example, I opened an Office of the Narcotics Control Board (ONCB) computer facility established with Australian financial support. We would be most concerned by any reports drawn to our attention of involvement in the illicit narcotics trade by the Government of Vietnam, or, for that matter, of any other country. If the honourable member has any specific information on this matter, which he would be willing to provide, we would examine it closely with a view to drawing it to the attention of the relevant international drug control bodies, and would consider making appropriate representations to the government concerned. But no useful purpose is served for Australia nor for the international community by the circulation of unfounded or distorted allegations about Vietnam or any other country.

It might be worth recalling that before the People's Republic of China gained recognition from the United States and Australia and was still considered an international outlaw, persistent accounts used to appear in the Western press about the illegal production of drugs in China and their illicit transfer, with PRC encouragement, on to international markets. Such stories are rare today.

* See also AFAR, Volume 55, No. 5, May 1984, page 501.

Defence Force: overseas service

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 3 October:

Senator Bolkus asked the Minister representing the Minister for Defence, upon notice, on 6 September 1984:

(1) In what countries are Australian troops currently providing training or assistance.

(2) Under what Federal Government authority are those troops serving.

(3) What international agreements or understandings provide for the presence and conditions of Australian troops serving overseas.

(4) Are the terms of such arrangements publicly accessible.

(5) Does the Minister for Defence agree that such information should be available on the public record.

Senator Gareth Evans — The Minister for Defence has provided the following answer to the honourable senator's question:

(1) Australian Service personnel are providing training or assistance under the Defence Co-operation Program (DCP) in Malaysia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Thailand, Singapore, Philippines, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Tonga and Kiribati.

Australia also maintains a Royal Australian Air Force-Army presence at Butterworth in Malaysia, with periodic RAAF Mirage deployments to Singapore. These units provide training and assistance in the development of the Armed Forces of those countries.

(2) With regard to the DCP, Australian Service personnel are posted to provide training or advisory assistance under the authority of the Minister for Defence.

In Papua New Guinea, Australian Service personnel are serving in accordance with an undertaking made by the then Prime Minister in January 1977 and which I reaffirmed on behalf of the present Government during my visit to Papua New Guinea in June 1983.

The RAAF-Army presence at Butterworth and deployments to Singapore continue under the authority of the Government and the Minister for Defence of the day.

(3) In Papua New Guinea, Australian Service personnel serve under conditions laid down in:

- the agreement between Australia and Papua New Guinea regarding the Status of

Forces of Each State in the Territory of the Other State; and, where appropriate,

- the arrangement between Australia and Papua New Guinea on Consultations Regarding the Use of Australian Loan Personnel in Politically Sensitive Situations.

The RAAF-Army presence in Malaysia and Singapore is governed by the exchange of notes between Australia and Malaysia and Australia and Singapore of 1 December 1971, under the Five Power Defence Arrangements. These arrangements also cover Australian Service personnel providing training and advisory assistance under the DCP in those countries.

In the other countries listed in (1) above, the status of Australian Service personnel providing training and advisory assistance under the DCP is defined in memoranda of understanding between Australia and the country concerned.

(4) Where the arrangements have the legal status of international treaties they have been made public.

(5) I agree that arrangements having the status of international treaties should be made public.

Note: In answering this question, Australian Service personnel serving in peacekeeping forces have not been included as they do not provide training, or assistance in the sense in which the term 'assistance' is generally understood.

Central America: Contadora Revised Treaty

The following (edited) question and answer appeared in Hansard on 4 October:

Senator McIntosh — I direct my question to the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs. In light of proposals to revise the Contadora group's draft peace plan for Central America, will the Government lend its support to the original peace treaty which has been endorsed by Nicaragua?

Senator Gareth Evans — Nicaragua has stated its intention in a formal communication to the United Nations to sign a revised Contadora Act without reservation. Support for the Contadora process has been an important element of Australian policy towards Central America. Mr Hayden's recent visit to the region confirmed the need for a

Queensland press. I do not seem to have the report with me but I think it is to the effect that a Lincoln aircraft had been buried at Amberley. Some time prior to that, I think on 26 September, Mr Garran, from my Department wrote to the Secretary to the Department of Defence inquiring about a memo received from the Department of the Defence on 12 December 1980 which provided comment on a letter which had previously been written to Senator Sir John Carrick — I am not sure whether the writer of that letter wants his name mentioned so I will not mention it, but apparently it was a substantial letter. Mr Garran from my Department sought advice as to whether the Department of Defence had any other information on the burial of contaminated items at Amberley. On 4 October the Department issued a press statement saying:

The most heavily contaminated RAAF Lincoln bomber used in the 1953 British atomic tests at Maralinga is buried in a tip at Amberley air base, the Defence Department confirmed yesterday.

There is absolutely no question, in my view, that that is in quite severe conflict with the advice from the Department of Defence in December 1980. I might add that Senator Sir John Carrick was told that this question was going to come up, and I want to make it quite clear that I am not reflecting in any way on the manner in which he handled the matter. The blame, if any, clearly rests with the Department of Defence. Providing information which at best was inadequate and at worst misleading and which was provided to Senator Sir John Carrick is, in my view, clearly the responsibility of the Department of Defence and is no reflection on Senator Sir John Carrick.

To get back to the Department of Defence Press statement of 4 October this year, there is another error in the first paragraph. It refers to the 1953 British atomic tests at Maralinga. There were in fact no tests conducted at Maralinga in 1953. The tests were conducted at Emu. I expect that this information will be sought by the McClelland Royal Commission and possibly followed up further. I would table all the letters and memos except that I am not sure whether the writer of the original letter to Senator Sir John Carrick dated 9 July 1980 would like his name to be published at this stage. Otherwise, I would be quite happy to table all the documents to which I have referred.

Australia-U.S. joint defence facilities

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 8 October:

Senator Bolkus asked the Minister representing the Minister for Defence, upon notice, on 4 September 1984:

(1) I refer the Minister to my question on 21 August 1984 and his answer thereto and I ask the Minister:

- (a) will he specifically answer the two questions therein, and
- (b) what are the answers to those questions.

(2) Will the Minister for Defence now provide specific answers to the two questions raised on 21 August 1984.*

Senator Gareth Evans — The Minister for Defence has provided the following answer to the honourable senator's question:

As the Prime Minister said in his statement of 6 June 1984, all functions and activities of the joint defence facilities require, and have, the full knowledge and concurrence of the Australian Government. Since the Barnard-Schlesinger discussions of 1974, arrangements have existed for consultations with the Australian Government on developments related to the joint defence facilities in Australia. These arrangements were further developed in 1978 and again in 1983, following discussions between the Minister for Defence and the United States Secretary of Defense, Mr Weinberger. Details of these arrangements are confidential to the two Governments, and much of the information provided to Australia under these arrangements is provided on a confidential basis. The Australian Government does not intend to breach that confidentiality, and will neither confirm nor deny claims about the operations of the facilities going beyond the Prime Minister's statement.

Many claims have been made in some media reporting about the joint defence facilities. In addition to speculation about the operations of the facilities some claims have been made to the effect that there has been a lack of consultation by the United States with the Australian Government over the operations of the joint defence facilities, and that information has been made available to the

* See also AFAR, Volume 55, No. 8, August 1984, page 836.

U.S. Congress and not to the Australian Government. No information is available to either the U.S. or Australian Government that substantiates any claim that information concerning the functions of joint defence facilities in Australia, not available to the Australian Government, has been made available to the United States Congress.

On this basis the answer to the honourable senator's specific questions are:

- (1) (a) Yes.
(b) the answers are:
 - (1) No.
 - (2) Not applicable.
- (2) See my answer to (1)(b) above.

Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence: report on Australia and ASEAN

Statement to Parliament by the Chairman of the Committee, Mr Bill Morrison, MP, on 9 October:

On behalf of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, I present the Committee's report entitled *Australia and ASEAN: Challenges and Opportunities*, together with extracts from the minutes of proceedings and the transcript of evidence. This report flows from the recognition by the Committee that no other part of the world promises to be of more consistent importance to Australia than the region of South and South East Asia. The member countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations form a significant part of this most economically dynamic region. The average economic growth rate of ASEAN countries more than doubled the average for the industrialised countries, including Australia, between 1970 and 1981. It is instructive for members of this House to recognise that, assuming such trends continue, Singapore's per capita national income will exceed Australia's by the year 2000. The challenge to Australia is to plan an appropriate role for itself in the ASEAN region in the light of the many changes that are taking place.

The Committee set out to resolve what I suppose can be best described as an identity crisis. How do Australians regard themselves? Do we regard ourselves as Europeans, or is Australia a part of Asia? Also, what perception do the countries of ASEAN

have of Australia? In response to those considerations, the Committee observed that the pursuit of closer Australia-ASEAN relations need not involve an attempt by Australia to become 'part of Asia'. Indeed, the very notion of being 'Asian' is in itself unclear. There is no uniform concept of 'Asian identity' with which Australia could properly identify. The pursuit of a generalised sense of Asian identity would be likely to satisfy neither Australia, nor Australia's Asian neighbours and partners.

In particular, the Committee noted that co-operation with ASEAN should be based on the recognition that Australia's political culture and processes are substantially different from those of the ASEAN states and that these differences are unlikely to diminish. Even with a concerted effort to promote mutual understanding, differences of perspective on some socio-political issues — for example, human rights and the role of the media — are likely to persist. The quality of the Australia-ASEAN relationship should not be indicated by the attainment of a complete identity of outlook and viewpoints, but by the achievement of a pattern of growing political, economic, educational and social interactions.

Nevertheless, the Committee points out that Australia is in fact located in contiguity to Asia, especially the countries of ASEAN, and shares important common interests with its Asian neighbours. While Australia's ethnic and cultural identity is likely to remain distinctly different from that of its ASEAN neighbours, increased co-operation between Australia and ASEAN can bring Australia a greater understanding and appreciation of the ASEAN states and substantial mutual benefits. Australia will be affected by, and will continue to be involved in, regional developments. What Australia can most usefully pursue in the context of relations with ASEAN is an improved level of mutual awareness and understanding, and increased economic interactions and co-operation on political and security issues to enhance regional security and minimise the destabilising potential of major power interference.

In its analysis, the Committee distinguishes, as appropriate, between individual ASEAN members and their ASEAN grouping. Australia's interests are affected, but in different ways, by developments in each. The emphasis in the report, at least in its political and strategic aspects, is towards ASEAN as a

grouping. ASEAN as a regional grouping has contributed substantially to the security and stability of the South East Asian region; it has effectively reduced the likelihood of interstate discord or conflict amongst its members by establishing a framework for the peaceful resolution of disputes. When one thinks back just a few years to when there was confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia, when there were disputes between Malaysia and Singapore and between Malaysia and the Philippines over Sabah, one can really see the developments that ASEAN has brought about in this concept of conflict resolution. It has built trust and confidence among the leaderships and governments of its members and has produced a climate of stability which has itself enhanced prospects for economic growth. The continuation and further development of these achievements are in Australia's interests.

I think we should also note that ASEAN has not yet been successful in the secondary designated role of promoting intra-regional trade and investment, although the region's international trade and investment has benefited from the political stability promoted by ASEAN co-operation. While ASEAN members have preferred a group approach to major political and security issues of common concern, they transact most of their foreign trade and investment bilaterally. Australia's relations with ASEAN countries are conducted primarily on a bilateral basis; nevertheless, Australia needs to be mindful of the sensitivities and issues shared by the ASEAN group. In particular, the quality of Australia's multilateral or group relations may be affected by the health of bilateral ties, increasingly so if ASEAN solidarity on political issues is maintained at its present high level.

In view of this Australia must be perceptive in identifying and distinguishing policies which appear to be shared by ASEAN as a group and those in which there is a divergence in opinion among ASEAN members. Some issues, for example, ASEAN opposition to Australia's international civil aviation policy in the late 1970s and its approach to the problems of Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, are presented in terms of ASEAN solidarity. This solidarity, or what we have described as 'ASEAN spirit', is regarded as important by all ASEAN countries and has been central to improving the region's cohesion. Australian failures to appreciate ASEAN

sensitivities, and sometimes ASEAN misunderstanding of Australia's policies and contributions to the region, have aggravated a number of bilateral and multilateral disputes.

The evidence taken by the Committee suggests that mutual understandings of political and cultural values, or at least stereotyped images of the other's values, are common in both Australia and the region.

The Committee deals extensively with the situation in Cambodia (or Kampuchea) where the policy of successive Australian governments to the Khmer Rouge group has differed in emphasis from that of ASEAN. The decision of the Fraser Government to de-recognise the Democratic Kampuchean regime and the Hawke Government's initiatives in relation to Indo-China have given rise to critical responses from some ASEAN governments. ASEAN expects support from Australia on this issue. Close co-operation and consultation on such matters is clearly desirable to avoid detrimentally affecting Australia's long-term relations with ASEAN.

In Chapter 4, Part 7 the Committee dealt with Australia's assistance to ASEAN education, especially ASEAN students in Australia, in the course of which the conflicting proposals from the Goldring Committee of Review of Private Overseas Student Policy and the Jackson Committee to Review the Australian Overseas Aid Program were examined.

The Committee noted that the present overseas students system, with its combination of quotas and subsidies, is not satisfactory to either Australia or those foreign countries whose students demand exceeds the supply of Australian places. In principle, the Committee recommends to the Australian Government that it give careful consideration to a new overseas student policy to include the following features: first, gradual and predictable increases in overseas student charges to reach a level of operating costs as determined by the Government. It is important that such fees be retained by the enrolling institutions to assist their funding of the additional places, to avoid any displacement of qualified Australian students and as an incentive to attract higher overseas enrolments with improved courses. The second feature recommended is the parallel development of a comprehensive system of scholarships, to be funded out of the aid budget. The characteristics of that scheme would

include first, an Australian government-to-government scheme similar to that presently operating, and, secondly, a scheme of 'free places' based on merit — not means-tested — but excluding living allowances. Such a scheme would be administered by institutions from Commonwealth aid funds. The Committee envisages that this category would comprise most of the scholarships. The scholarship scheme, thirdly, would offer a supplementary system of free places, including living allowances, for financially disadvantaged categories of students, to be administered by the Government's aid authorities and intended to promote general development objectives in the student's countries. Such developmental scholarships would not be means tested; indeed, developmental criteria would be employed and would need to take account of specially disadvantaged or under represented categories such as Pacific Islanders and women from certain countries.

It is important that the planning, implementation, and review of such a policy be undertaken in the closest possible consultation with all source countries, especially the ASEAN countries, so that their concerns will be taken into account fully.

Readers of the report will notice that it is critical of Australia's export performance and prospects in the ASEAN region. Despite steady increases in the value, and often volume, of Australian exports to the ASEAN region, Australia's shares of that market for most export types have steadily declined. Australia's export performance in the ASEAN region needs improvement. First, Australia's export pattern has not been well matched to the changing sectors of greatest ASEAN demand. Second, Australian exports have experienced increasing price competition from foreign exporters. A third reason is a lack of export orientation within Australian industry, particularly secondary industry. Fourth, insufficient attention has been given to the promotion of Australia in ASEAN. The report contains recommendations on measures to develop Australia's trade with ASEAN.

Honourable members will note that a wide range of issues are canvassed in the report, issues such as defence co-operation, migration, human rights and the role of Radio Australia, about which the Committee expresses some reservations. In commending the report, which I am glad to say is

unanimous, to honourable members, I wish to place on record the Committee's appreciation of Senator Sibraa, who guided the Sub-Committee through its public and private hearings. He was ably assisted by the Deputy Chairman, Senator Hill. I also want to express my appreciation of the ready co-operation of the honourable member for Warringah (Mr MacKellar). The Committee is particularly indebted to the Sub-Committee secretary, Mr Ian Booth, and to Dr Frank Frost, who was seconded to the Sub-Committee from the Parliamentary Library. I express our appreciation to the Parliamentary Librarian for that courtesy and thank Mr Booth and Dr Frost for their professional dedication to the work of the Committee.

Human rights in USSR: Latvian dissidents

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 10 October:

Mr Jacobi asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 21 August 1984:

Is he able to provide information relating to the trial of, or impending legal proceedings in the USSR against Latvian dissidents Gunars Freimanis, Lidiya Lasmane-Doronina, Gederts Meingailis, Ints Calitis, Janis Rozkalns and Janis Veveris; if so, (a) where were the trials held, (b) on which dates were the trials held, (c) what charges were laid, (d) what sentences were handed down, (e) did Australian Embassy officials attend, or attempt to attend, (f) what reasons were given for denial of access to Australian officials where applicable, and (g) what representatives from other countries attended, or attempted to attend the trials.

Mr Hayden — the answer to honourable member's question is as follows:

(a) All the trials referred to took place in the Latvian SSR.

Gunars Freimanis:

(b) The trial opened on 1 December 1983 and sentence was passed on 19 December.

(c) Not known.

(d) Four years strict regime camp, two years internal exile.

Lidiya Lasmane-Doronina:

(b) 2-11 August 1984.

(c) 'Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'

(article 65, criminal code of the Latvian SSR).

(d) Five years labour camp, three years internal exile.

Gederts Melngailis:

(b) Trial opened 10 August 1983. Sentence was passed shortly thereafter; the exact date is not known.

(c) 'Dissemination of knowingly false fabrications discrediting the Soviet political and social system' (article 183, Latvian SSR criminal code).

(d) three years imprisonment following compulsory psychiatric treatment of unspecified duration.

Ints Calitis:

(b) 15-23 September 1983.

(c) 'Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' (Article 65, Latvian SSR criminal code.)

(d) Two years prison, four years strict regime camp.

Janis Rozkalns:

(b) 21 November — 7 December 1983.

(c) 'Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' (Article 65, Latvian SSR criminal code).

(d) Five years strict regime camp, three years internal exile.

Janis Veveris:

(b) 21 November — 7 December 1983.

(c) 'Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' (Article 65, Latvian SSR criminal code).

(d) Three years strict regime camp.

(e), (f) and (g): Australian Embassy officers did not attempt to attend any of the above trials. Nor, as far as we are aware, did representatives of other countries. Embassy officers regularly attempt to attend trials of dissidents when they learn that such trials are about to take place. Permission to travel outside Moscow for this purpose is usually refused and in any case, access to court proceedings is always barred by the authorities. Our staff have however, persisted in their attempts to attend trials of dissidents. Australia, of course, does not recognise *de jure* the incorporation of the Baltic republics into the USSR, and in line with this policy, Australian officials do not usually travel to them.

Uranium, the Joint Facilities, Disarmament and Peace booklet

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 10 October:

Mr Ruddock asked the Minister for Foreign

Affairs, upon notice, on 6 September 1984:

(1) Did he, on 4 July 1984, authorise the preparation and production of a paper entitled 'Uranium, the Joint Facilities, Disarmament and Peace'.

(2) If so, was the document published by the Australian Government Publishing Service.

(3) What was the cost of the document.

(4) What is its sale price, if sold through the Australian Government Publishing Service.

(5) How many copies of the document (a) were produced and (b) have been sold up to the date of preparation of the answer to this question.

(6) Has distribution of the document been made to (a) members of Parliament and (b) organisations outside of the Parliament; if so, to whom has it been distributed.

Mr Hayden — The answer to the honourable member's question is as follows:

(1) Yes.

(2) Yes.

(3) First printing, 500 copies — \$2800. Run on for AGPS for sale, 150 copies. Second printing, 20 000 copies — \$16 200. Third printing, 7500 copies — \$6500.

(4) \$6.00 per copy.

(5) (a) See answer to (3); (b) Approximately 130.

(6) (a) Yes, (b) Yes. In accordance with the usual practice for Departmental publications of general public interest, the booklet has been widely distributed, including to Federal and State Government departments and agencies, educational institutions and business and community organisations, as well as to Australian overseas posts and selected overseas recipients, and foreign missions accredited to Australia.

Provisions of the United Nations Charter

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 10 October:

Dr Everingham asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 6 September 1984:

(1) Does Article 22 of the United Nations Charter allow the General Assembly to set up a second assembly representing peoples and humanity, rather than national interests.

(2) Will he support such a proposal, as

suggested by the Second Conference of Professions for World Disarmament and Development on 13 November 1983 in London, and reported by the Medical Association for Prevention of War.

(3) Will he (a) take steps to arrange for the election of a people's representative from Australia to the United Nations at each federal general election, to have observer status with the Australian UN delegation for the period of the subsequent Parliament and (b) encourage other countries to do likewise to provide an informal second assembly.

Mr Hayden — The answer to the honourable member's question is as follows:

(1) Article 22 of the United Nations Charter states:

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Since its inception, the General Assembly has established over 200 committees, commissions, panels, special representatives, boards and agencies, exercising a wide variety of functions and responsible to the Assembly as a principal organ of the United Nations.

Subsidiary organs are usually composed of member states of the United Nations or their representatives. Some such organs have been composed of experts serving in their individual capacities where the matter under consideration is of a technical or specialised nature.

The purpose of Article 22, as noted, is to allow the General Assembly to set up subsidiary bodies to assist the Assembly to carry out its (that is, the Assembly's) functions. A second assembly of the sort envisaged in the question would be a body of a different character, and presumably of comparable status to the General Assembly — that is, it would be equivalent to a principal organ of the United Nations. The principal organs of the United Nations, however, are identified in Article 7 (1) of the Charter, so that at the least the establishment of a further principal organ would seem to require an amendment of the Charter.

Articles 2, 3 and 4 of the Charter are specific in providing that the United Nations Organisation is composed of and responsible to member states. There is no suggestion that the General Assembly, or other organ of the United Nations, has the authority to set up a further principal organ of the sort suggested. Such an action would also have significant

financial implications. It would seem that, however worthy the idea, there is no basis in the Charter for action by the General Assembly to establish such a body.

(2) See answer to (1).

(3) See answer to (1).

Australian Defence Force

Edited statement to Parliament by the Minister for Defence, Mr Gordon Scholes, MP, on 11 October:

The Government's ongoing commitment to defence is, I think, a matter of record. We are clearly on record in our commitment to ANZUS, a commitment which has been reiterated on a number of occasions. We have, since coming into office, taken a number of initiatives in order to increase and improve the efficiency within the defence areas and to ensure that the funds which are available for defence are spent in the most appropriate and efficient way. For instance, since coming to office — this has already been the subject of earlier announcements — we have established a procurement organisation to overcome problems which have been highlighted over recent times and established a housing branch within the Department of Defence to administer the very wide range of housing problems which exist in the defence area.

The Hawke Government is committed to Australia's security. Since setting down the 1983-84 Budget, the first since Labor came into office, the Government has reviewed the strategic outlook for Australia. It has accepted an assessment that the favourable circumstances that have characterised Australia's security for more than a decade remain. The Government believes that no nation in our region has the capability to threaten Australia with any substantial military power and that none has any cause, nor any intent to develop such capabilities. Nevertheless, the Government accepts that a nation's rights and interests can come under challenge in many ways — the more readily if it is thought to be unable or unwilling to defend them.

Australia is a vast continent, and there are so many ways that our security interests can be threatened — ways far short of direct military assault. We need a defence force able to deal with those threats should they emerge at some time in the future. Our approach to

defence is consistent with Australia's strategic circumstances. We need to ensure that we have a defence force which is right for our needs. Modern military capabilities and skills are complex. They cannot be summoned up only when they are needed for operations.

Australia's Defence Force will have the right kinds of military skills and equipment and the military organisation best suited for dealing with Australia's special circumstances only if the Government plans well ahead, gives its defence organisation clear guidance on its needs and priorities and sustains a steady commitment to implementing those plans. The Government is shaping the five-year defence program, and planning beyond that, to meet those circumstances.

This year's Budget provision marks the commencement of the 1984-1989 five-year defence program. The Budget provides \$5.82 billion for outlays on defence in 1984-85. That represents an underlying increase of 3.3 per cent in real terms or 7.5 per cent across the Hawke Government's first two Budgets. It is a higher rate of real increase than the Fraser Government provided for in its seven Budgets and about double that of the last two Fraser years. The Hawke Government makes no apology for the priority it attaches to defence. In the defence program, each year builds on its predecessor and is the foundation for those which follow. Projects have to be funded over five years or more and continuity is all important. Consequently the Government and its advisers have considered the balance of the defence budget as between long-term capital investment and readiness for operations.

The Government agrees that the weight of resources should continue to be applied to strengthening our long-term position. Our priorities also make provision for small but steady increases in the resources devoted to the training of the Defence Force and maintaining its stocks of weapons, ammunition, and other materiel. The Government has been able to do this and yet still continue the steady growth in the share of the defence outlay being directed to capital investment because it has sustained this year the steady real growth we provided for defence in the first Budget. This is in contrast to the 1982 directive of the Fraser Government to reduce Defence Force activities and to curtail exercises and training, a directive which was still

in force when we came to office. Despite competing demands on the Commonwealth's funds this year, it gives me considerable satisfaction to be able to point to a second year of real growth. Growth last year of about 4.1 per cent means that the average for the two years of Labor Government is about 3.7 per cent real growth. Over the seven Budgets brought down by the previous Government, the average real growth in defence outlays was barely 2.5 per cent.

Our commitment to Australia's security has been made in two difficult years. In 1984-85 the Budget needed to maintain the progress made in the Hawke Government's first year. Real tax cuts were essential and central to the maintenance of stable wages and prices achieved by the accord. The deficit had to be reduced to encourage private sector investment and to support the economic recovery now well under way.

The Government has accepted a commitment to strengthen the nation's defence. I cannot emphasise too strongly that it is sustained growth that will make it possible to maintain and re-equip the Defence Force. The good old conservative rhetoric may temporarily uplift the spirits but in defence, as in economic management, stop-go policies have not valid place. The fact is that the decisions being made in the present program will largely determine the shape and content of the Force structure of the 1990s and into the next century. The cost of succeeding generations of advanced military equipment continues to increase much more quickly than the rate of inflation. This means that continued real growth is needed in defence expenditure to update or to replace defence capabilities we already have.

The measure of a Government's commitment to defence is not its rhetoric. It is not programs announced and never funded and the 1976 White Paper is a testament to that approach. Real commitment means following through a policy, not for one Budget, but for Budgets running many years into the future. The Government has committed \$1 billion in future Budgets to meet obligations entered into in 1984-85. This relates to both existing projects and new projects that I will mention shortly.

Not only is there a larger defence vote overall, but the proportion devoted to capital equipment has almost doubled since 1981-82, from 12.5 per cent to 23.5 per cent. Overall

capital investment, which includes supporting facilities as well as equipment, is this year almost \$1 billion more than was spent in 1981-82. Even when discounted for three years inflation, this is still an immense increase.

Yet our strategy of directing more of the defence budget to capital investment has to be managed carefully. There is no point in having state of the art equipment and facilities without sufficient personnel trained in their operation and tactical deployment. There is not merely a question of readiness, important though that is for those selected units, such as the Operational Deployment Force, which are earmarked for rapid initial response to defence contingencies. It is also for the whole of the Defence Force, from the newest apprentice to the Chief of Defence Force, a matter of professional pride and sense of public worth. On such things is the morale of a Defence Force built. Without them we can have a Defence Force, but we cannot have an effective Defence Force.

Recognising the importance of this, but mindful of demands being made by the long-term re-equipment program, the Government has provided for a modest increase of about 2 per cent in real terms in the operating costs — those expenditures which enable the Defence Force to train and exercise. We will spend \$1539m here; almost \$100m more than last year. There will be more steaming time for the Royal Australian Navy, track running for the Army and flying hours for the Royal Australian Air Force. There will be more ammunition and other consumable items for training.

The Government is very conscious of the effect on morale of the availability of good quality accommodation. I have spent considerable time inspecting Service housing facilities including those in the Northern Territory and New South Wales. We have provided modern single accommodation for 500 soldiers at Holsworthy. I have re-affirmed the Government's commitment to improving the overall situation.

A task force, to report before the next Budget, has been established to examine options for improving the way in which housing is provided for persons in Commonwealth employment including, of course, Service personnel. In the meantime the Government in this Budget is continuing with its program to construct or acquire further Service housing and \$48m has been allocated

— an increase of 30 per cent over last year. Three hundred and fifty new houses are provided for in 1984-85.

By far the greater part of the \$1700m of capital expenditure this year will be devoted to continuing payment for projects approved in previous years. We are now reaching the high point in payments for the F/A-18 aircraft which will re-equip our tactical fighter force. There has been ill-informed speculation recently about the cost of this project. Apart from the effects of inflation and adverse movement in the exchange rate since it was first approved, and even these have to some extent been offset by savings in elements of the project, there have been no substantive changes to the cost of the project in real terms.

Let me point out that the aircraft themselves are only one element in the upgrading of our air defence. This year sees the start of work on the construction of a fighter base at Tindal, near Katherine in the Northern Territory, the first major defence capability to be placed in that area since the Second World War. There will also be extensive work this year to prepare the RAAF Base at Williamstown, New South Wales, for the introduction of the F/A-18 aircraft.

Large demands on outlay will continue for many years to come for the guided missile frigates program. Four of the vessels being built in the United States of America are nearing completion. This Government has demonstrated its confidence in our local industry by deciding to build two more frigates in Australia at the Williamstown Naval Dockyard at a cost of more than \$800m. We took this decision on the condition that satisfactory industrial arrangements could be made. I am pleased to say that my colleague the Minister for Defence Support (Mr Howe) and the unions have reached agreement, and the work is going well. Modernisation of the other elements of the destroyer force will continue. It gives me particular pleasure to announce that when HMAS *Swan* completes its modernisation next year, it will become the second destroyer escort to be homeported at HMAS *Stirling* in Western Australia. It will join its sister ship HMAS *Stuart*, which arrived on station in January this year.

On 9 October 1984 I announced the Government's in-principle decision to buy eight Sikorsky Seahawk helicopters which will provide the frigates with enhanced anti-submarine capability and over-the-horizon



After being assembled at the Government Aircraft Factories in Avalon, Victoria, Australia's new tactical fighter aircraft, the F/A-18 commences engine trials. (AIS photo).

surveillance to extend their already potent anti-shipping capability. Helicopters have always been regarded as an integral part of the weapons system of the FFG class of ships. The estimated cost of the project to acquire the aircraft, their sensor weapon systems, and associated equipment is about \$317m at April 1984 prices. Initial funding to cover this acquisition is included in this year's appropriations. The contract will provide substantial opportunities for Australian electronics and aerospace industries to participate in the Seahawk project.

Resolution of the total industry program will be a key factor in the forthcoming contract negotiations, and is expected to attract another \$80m worth of local work spread primarily between Victoria and New South Wales. The package will contribute to sustaining job opportunities and introduce important new technology.

The Government has also approved modifications to the Navy's existing FFGs, at a cost of about \$51m, to enable them to operate the Seahawk helicopters. Most of this expenditure will be committed to Australian

dockyards. The first of the new helicopters should be delivered to Australia in late 1987 and begin operational flights in later 1988. The fleet will also benefit from the increment in long-range maritime surveillance capability created by the arrival in Australia of the first of 10 new P3C Orion aircraft.

The Army will receive 259 four-tonne and 209 eight-tonne medium trucks as part of a program to replace the medium truck fleet. It will also take delivery of 34 new 155 millimetre howitzers. Payments will be made this year for seven mortar locating radar equipments for the army, with delivery expected in 1986.

The big expenditures are on projects already well advanced. But I am pleased to be able to announce a number of other new capital equipment projects which the Government has approved and for which it has made initial financial provisions in 1984-85, recognising that as they mature the demands they make on the public purse will grow.

This year will see the manufacture of 59, 105 millimetre field guns commence at the

Bendigo and Maribyrnong ordnance factories. The new guns — the British L118/119 light gun — will enter service in 1987. The project will re-equip three regular artillery regiments and provide for training and repair support. Practice missile spares will be acquired to improve support for existing standard missile stocks. This is part of a multi-phased proposal in support of the Standard surface-to-air missile system fitted in Navy's guided missile destroyers and frigates.

We will acquire a shore based combat system trainer van to assist in the training of guided missile destroyer and frigate personnel. The trainer is scheduled to enter service in 1988 and will allow the training of personnel through simulation when ships are alongside. This will permit more effective use of available sea time.

Harpoon telemetry missiles will be purchased to maintain a practice firing and proving program for the guided missile frigates and P3C aircraft. The project makes provision for spares and for research and development of a simulator which could be fitted to P3C aircraft to facilitate training. It is a part of a wider program for the acquisition and support of the harpoon anti-ship missile, which can be launched from Orion aircraft, guided missile frigates, F111s, Oberon class submarines and F/A-18 fighters. This will provide Australia with a considerable maritime defence capability.

The initial phases of a proposal to upgrade the management of stores inventories and supply functions have been approved. These phases provide for the purchase of hardware with long lead times and refurbishment of sites necessary for the development and proving of systems concepts. Provision is also made for limited enhancement of present systems until the new systems are in place.

The Government has approved further expenditure on Project Kariwarra, a research program directed towards developing a towed sonar array for both submarine and surface ship anti-submarine surveillance. The present phase, to be undertaken by the Defence Science and Technology Organisation, with assistance from Australian industry, is to identify the technology needed for prototype development.

We will spend \$19m this year on the first phase of DISCON, the Defence Integrated Secure Communications Network. An Australian company, Plessey Pacific Defence Sys-

tems has been selected as the contractor. The Government has also approved a number of other significant new projects which will involve expenditure in later years but not in 1984-85.

More than 2000 high frequency tactical radios will be produced in Australia for the Services. These radios will begin entering service in the later half of the 1980s. This proposal forms part of a wider program to replace current tactical high frequency and very high frequency radios. Electronic warfare systems will be acquired for the 10 new P3C Orion long-range maritime patrol aircraft. They will be fitted to the aircraft by 1987.

As part of the wider proposal to develop Tindal as a home base for a squadron of F/A-18 tactical fighter aircraft, an air surveillance radar system will be installed. The radar will assist in the air traffic control of both civil and military aircraft and provide a limited air defence training capability. It is scheduled to enter service in 1988 in time for the initial stationing of the F/A-18 at Tindal. A number of other equipment and facilities-related projects approved by the Government are listed in an annex to this statement.

As I have said, manpower costs have been held about steady in real terms — in the interest of capital investment. Overall, the Service numbers aimed at for 30 June 1985 are slightly lower than those planned for the financial year just ended. The approved strength for Navy will be reduced during 1984-85 by 450 to 16 246. This reduction is the direct result of the decisions not to purchase an aircraft carrier and to cease Naval fixed wing operations.

Because of the repeated misrepresentation of the decision, I want to set out quite clearly that it was the Fraser Government that decided to disband the fixed wing component of the Fleet Air Arm. This Government does not resile from that decision. On 8 April 1982, Mr Killen, the then Minister for Defence, announced in his news release No. 44/82 that:

The Government had decided that the Tracker and Skyhawk aircraft should be paid off as soon as practicable. As a result of this move, there would be a reduction in the requirement for Fleet Air Arm personnel in the short to medium term.

On 29 April 1982, Mr Killen repeated in the Parliament:

as a consequence of a Government decision

— these aircraft are to be paid off as soon as practicable to provide early savings in expenditure. It is expected that there will also be consequent manpower savings.

The Skyhawk and Tracker front-line squadrons were disbanded on 2 July 1982. This Government did not disagree with that decision. We confirmed it soon after taking office. I hope — without much confidence — that the Opposition will now have the honesty to acknowledge its own decisions.

The approved strength for Army remains at 32 677. The Air Force's strength is to increase by 120 to 22 797. This increase is to provide for the transfer of functions following the cessation of fixed wing flying activities by Navy. The Army Reserve remains at an approved strength of 30 000 for 30 June 1985. An increase in the Navy Reserve and a reduction in the Air Force Reserve from last year's planned figures have the net effect of a slight reduction in total Reserves from 34 952 to 34 900.

The 1984-85 year sees the introduction across the Australian Public Service of the new human resource budgeting process. This replaces the former system of control, based on an end of the year staff ceiling, with an across the year average expressed in staff years. For Defence the average civilian staffing level for 1984-85 will be 24 931 staff years. This figure includes part time and casual staff as well as full time, and represents a reduction in locally engaged staff in Butterworth, Malaysia; a slight decrease in staff numbers in the Defence Science and Technology Organisation; and transfers in functions between departments.

Australian defence policy recognises the value of co-operation with those countries in South East Asia and the South Pacific with which we share important security interests. In 1984-85 we plan to spend \$48.2m on the defence co-operation programs with the regional countries — an increase of \$2.6m over expenditure in 1983-84. Of that amount, approximately \$23.3m will be devoted to activities and projects with the Association of South East Asian Nations countries and over \$24m to the South Pacific, including almost \$18m for Papua New Guinea. The program will provide for projects, training and combined exercising with a number of regional countries.

Major projects in train this financial year include assistance with a study of the manpower requirements and organisation of

the Papua New Guinea Defence Force; Nomad aircraft projects in Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines and provision of an Army advisory team to Malaysia. This year there will also be initial expenditure on the South Pacific patrol boat project. The intention is to provide our South Pacific neighbours with easily maintained, Australian-built vessels suitable for patrol and surveillance work in their waters. We will provide training in Australia for almost 1250 personnel from South East Asian and Pacific countries — an increase of about 10 per cent on 1983-84 levels.

To conclude then, the defence budget this year is the clearest possible evidence of the Government's continuing commitment to defence. The real growth that has been allowed for meets the expenditure requirements arising from previous decisions on equipment purchases and construction projects and for a modest real increase in operating expenditures. It also provides for the commencement in 1984-85 of a number of substantial new projects. Taken as a whole, the budget for defence emphasises the Government's priorities and its determination to sustain and upgrade our present defence capabilities, infrastructure and support. The path we have mapped out is a long one, not to be tackled by fits and starts. Our path is not based on talk and meaningless promises, it is based on real needs and real commitments. That we have again budgeted for a substantial real increase in defence spending is a measure of our commitment to providing for the nation's security.

Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence: report on the Australian Defence Force

Statement to Parliament by the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Defence Matters, Mr Manfred Cross, MP, on 11 October:

On behalf of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, I present the Committee's report entitled, 'The Australian Defence Force: Its Structure and Capabilities', incorporating a dissenting report, together with the minutes of proceedings and the transcript of evidence. The report follows a

reference by the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence to the Sub-Committee on Defence Matters on 1 December 1983 to inquire and report upon:

The capability of the Australian Defence Force to fulfil its role, with particular reference to force structure and command and control arrangements.

This is a particularly important report with significant conclusions bearing on the defence of Australia. It covers a broad range of issues relevant to a detailed consideration of the Australian Defence Force structure, and the command and control arrangements necessary for that Force adequately to fulfil its role. Ideally, the Defence Force structure should reflect, and be logically derived from, considerations of our national interests and our projected strategic and geopolitical circumstances. Such a process would incorporate a wide spectrum of views and interests and would typically involve the following steps: First, determination of Australia's national interests and objectives; secondly, delineation of a strategic or national defence concept describing how the national interests and objectives are most effectively and efficiently promoted and defended in the light of the strategic assessment; thirdly, delineation of an appropriate military strategy and concept of operations, describing how the strategic concept is to be achieved; fourthly, development of an appropriate force structure — encompassing organisation, capabilities and doctrine — with which to carry out the military strategy; and finally, the procurement and maintenance of the forces and supporting infrastructure and their deployment in peace.

In practice, the development of the Defence Force structure is more complex. Not all elements of the ideal planning process are present and others are poorly defined. Decisions are often constrained by external factors or by past choices. Moreover, the process itself is inhibited by strong interest groups which have a particular concern with advancing favoured roles and functions. In Australia's case, the planning and development of our Force structure is complicated further by the absence of any clearly defined present threat to national security. The Defence Force must be structured, therefore, to meet a wide range of potential threats without knowing what form these threats will take or when they might occur.

While these factors constrain the operation

of the rational model of Force structure development, they do not detract from its importance. Unless each of these steps is present and structured together in a clear and coherent manner, the structure of the Defence Force is likely to evolve more by accident than by design and the probability of achieving an optimum force posture will be reduced. In order to provide a systematic and comprehensive review of Australia's Defence Force structure, this report follows the broad format of the rational model just described, moving from a discussion of Australia's national interest and objectives, through an examination of our overall military strategy to a detailed consideration of the functional capabilities required for the defence of Australia and how these should be grouped together. At each level in this process, the considerations were both analytical — highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of our present position — and prescriptive, examining alternative approaches and options.

The report begins with a brief survey of the various factors that influence the development and maintenance of Defence Force structure. A complete understanding of our present position and where and how we should move in the future is not possible without being aware of past and projected developments in our strategic environment. Any future changes to our Force structure will also be subject to a range of basic constraints arising from such factors as Australia's alliance relationships, the nature of our physical environment, the resources that are available for national security purposes and the nature of the defence decision-making process. A discussion of the external and internal factors influencing Australia's Defence Force structure is followed by a brief description of the current functions, roles and capabilities of the Australian Defence Force.

The findings of the Committee's detailed examination of the Australian Defence Force structure and capabilities are then outlined with a definition of Australia's national interests and objectives. From a consideration of our military role in global and regional affairs, the Committee developed a national defence concept for Australia and its offshore Territories. A key element in this consideration is the definition of an area of principal defence interest on which our military strategy should be focused and within which Australia's military forces would be required to operate.



Members of Australia's Special Air Service Regiment (SAS) in training. (Department of Defence photo).

The Committee examined Australia's overall military strategy for achieving our national defence concept. It concluded that our current approach is inadequate in a number of important respects and recommends that we should change the present emphasis of our military strategy from one of reacting to threats as they emerge to controlling our threat environment. This would be achieved by giving priority in peacetime to deterring threats to our national security and by providing a rapid response to those low-level threats that may not be deterred. The report examines the capabilities required for this revised strategy under the broad functional categories of intelligence, surveillance and early warning, strategic strike and interdiction, maritime defence, land warfare and air defence. A number of important functional deficiencies in our present inventory are identified and an order of priority for the acquisition and development of new capabilities is suggested.

One important limitation of our existing Defence Force structure is its system of command and control. The Committee, after detailed consideration, has concluded that

we should move away from the current single Service command structure towards a structure emphasising joint Service roles and tasks, with a direct line of operational command from the Chief of the Defence Force.

A principal finding of the report, and one that is generally recognised, is that Australia's military capabilities will increasingly depend on a range of non-military factors and capabilities such as our industrial capacity and our ability to mobilise civilian resources and services. The integration of our military and non-military capabilities into an effective whole is examined in the latter stages of the report which deal with national security policy-making and the development of Defence Force structure. The Committee is particularly concerned at the lack of clear policy guidance at all levels within the Force development process which has led it to conclude that our Force structure is not being developed in a clear and logically coherent manner.

The Committee appreciates the ready assistance given to the Sub-Committee throughout the inquiry by the Minister for

Defence (Mr Scholes) and his Department. The co-operation and assistance given by members of the Australian Defence Force with whom the Sub-Committee dealt in the course of the inquiry was particularly noteworthy. It has not been an easy task to analyse the range of issues relevant to a detailed consideration of the terms of reference, and the Committee is particularly grateful to those who have assisted, by making submissions and by giving evidence. The nation's defence is of fundamental importance, and the Committee trusts that this report will contribute to public awareness and discussion of the issues involved.

All members of the Sub-Committee have been impressed with the dedication and professional competence of members of the Defence Force and, in particular, its senior officers. We have acknowledged the ready co-operation of the Minister for Defence, the Secretary to the Department of Defence and the Department. It remains to acknowledge the contribution of all members of the Sub-Committee, the main Committee and our staff. All members of the Sub-Committee have contributed to this report. The honourable member for St George (Mr Morrison) not only has given leadership to all sub-committees, but has made a major input to the work of the Defence Sub-Committee. It is perhaps unwise to mention individuals but I place on record the contribution made by Senator David MacGibbon. Responsibility for servicing the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and defence was transferred early in the 33rd Parliament from the Senate to the House of Representatives. Our staff has served all sub-committees well. I place on record in particular the work of the Secretary to the Sub-Committee, Peter Gibson, and the Defence Advisor to the Committee, Dr Graham Cheeseman.

Review of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs

Statement to Parliament by the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr Stewart West, MP, on 11 October:

The Government has decided to retain the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs as a statutory body active in multicultural affairs. However, in some areas the Institute will be reoriented to give it a more effective

role in implementing Government policy — a role which recognises the multicultural nature of Australian society and the need to encourage improved community relations. The review of AIMA was pre-election policy commitment. It reflected the Government's desire to ensure that administrative arrangements used to implement our multicultural and community relations policies were effective in meeting the needs of both migrant groups and the community generally.

The Government has received two reports as a part of its review. The first was from the Committee of Review of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, under the chairmanship of Dr Moss Cass. I tabled the Committee's report in this House on 8 December 1983. The Committee's report recommended the AIMA should be replaced by a new independent statutory commission which should act with due regard to the interests and concerns of the States and Territories; that it should involve them actively in its work; and should act as a national co-ordinating body in the field of multicultural affairs.

I advised honourable members in my statement of 8 December 1983 that the Government has accepted the recommendation of the Committee of Review that the Council of AIMA conduct extensive consultations in the community with interested ethnic and other groups and individuals on the report, and that the Council be asked to report on the outcome of these consultations before the Government determined its response to the report of the Committee of Review. The Committee of Review itself had undertaken a major program of community consultations in all States, the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory. The further opportunity for public consultations on the recommendations made by the Review Committee has given the Government a valuable perspective on community views.

The report by the Council of AIMA, under the title 'Looking Forward', was tabled in this House on 6 June 1984. The AIMA Council has reported widespread support for the general ideas of a multicultural society, and that the overwhelming consensus of opinion expressed in the consultations was that an authority with distinct multicultural responsibilities within such a society was essential.

The Government has considered fully the recommendation of both the Review Committee and the AIMA Council that AIMA

should be replaced by a commission. The Government does not accept this recommendation. The Government does not see that replacement of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs with a Commission is absolutely necessary to give effect to the Government's policies, and the retention of AIMA allows an earlier and more efficient response to the major findings of the review. However, the Government believes that what is needed to respond effectively to contemporary community interest about migrants and community relations, is to expand its objectives and functions, re-order work priorities, and achieve greater public visibility of, and openness in, AIMA's operations. I refer first to the objectives of AIMA. The present objects can be summarised as:

- development of community awareness and appreciation of migrant cultures;
- promotion of tolerance, understanding, harmonious relations, and mutual esteem between people in Australia;
- promoting a cohesive society through sharing of cultures; and
- promoting an environment allowing full participation in Australian society.

The Government accepts the review finding that the promotion of justice and equity for ethnic communities and cultural groups should be an essential element in the task of the Institute. It therefore proposes to amend the objects specified in the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs Act to include a positive affirmation that AIMA should promote a just and equitable society which, firstly, accepts people irrespective of their particular ethnic background or immigrant origin; and secondly, affords the members of the different cultural groups and ethnic communities in Australia an effective opportunity to participate in Australian society and achieve their own potential.

This would give effect to the Government's recognition and support for the rights of migrants within our multicultural society to remain free to retain and express their ethnic identity without sacrificing their right of equal access to all community resources and Government programs.

It is proposed also to remove the current restriction of the Institute's activities on cultural matters to those relating only to migrants. The AIMA Council has pointed out in its report that the existing wording of the AIMA Act could be interpreted as indicating

that Aboriginal affairs fall outside the province of the Institute. I believe this was not the intention of the previous Government when establishing the Institute. Nor should such a restriction apply now, because the Aboriginal people are an essential part of our society, and the implementation of multicultural policies should properly take full account of their participation in Australian society. There is obviously a need for close co-ordination with other bodies specifically established for the Aboriginal community, and the Government will ensure that this occurs.

I refer now to the functions of AIMA. The Institute's current major statutory functions are provision of advice, research, reports to the Minister on matters relating to the objects of the Institute, and community education. The Government has accepted the need, identified by the Review, for a more specific statement of the functions of the Institute. The review also pointed to the need for the Institute to address current policy objectives.

It is proposed that the functions of AIMA be expanded to include, firstly, specific statutory functions of co-operation and promoting co-ordination. The Government has accepted the findings of the review on the need for AIMA to liaise, consult, co-operate and promote co-ordination of activities and services with departments, authorities and agencies at the three levels of government and with community groups, voluntary agencies, the media and employer, employee and other organisations. This acknowledges the vital interests and responsibilities of the wide span of organisations which have a valued and effective role on migrant, multicultural and community relations issues. AIMA's role in co-operation and co-ordination will ensure that the complementary activities of these various bodies are integrated and co-ordinated and not duplicated.

Secondly, it is proposed that AIMA have a new statutory function in relation to community representations. The review has shown that there are significant barriers to ethnic communities being able to express effectively their concerns on matters affecting them. The smaller, less well established communities are particularly disadvantaged in this respect. The Government, therefore, accepts the need for ethnic communities to be able to obtain guidance in the exercise of their legitimate rights to make representations. It is proposed that the Institute have

specific responsibility for this important task.

It is proposed, thirdly, to give AIMA responsibility for encouraging other bodies to conserve materials relating to migrant communities as part of the larger collection of the nation. This will replace the existing AIMA function of establishing a repository of literature and other materials on cultures. The Government has accepted the finding of the review report that it is undesirable and impracticable for the Institute to have such a national repository function.

The Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs Act at present give AIMA responsibility for conducting promotional and community educational activities to promote the objects of AIMA. Hitherto this has not been a priority area in the work program for AIMA. The AIMA Council has reported that the public consultations showed almost unanimous support for the Institute to have an active role in community education. The report of the Committee of Review identifies a close relationship between community education and community relations. The major areas of need for community education are on the ways migrants are integrated into Australia while maintaining their cultural heritages; awareness and knowledge of the diverse cultures in the community; and the promotion of good relations between groups in the Australian community. The Government endorses these needs, and proposes to give AIMA a stronger charter to address them. The Government sees the community education function as having a vital role in promoting a social environment accepting of racial and cultural diversity and free of discrimination. Because of this important role, the Government also believes that membership of the governing Council of AIMA should be strengthened, so it has been decided also that the membership of the governing Council of AIMA should be increased from a maximum of nine to 12 persons.

The public consultations showed substantial support for a community input into the determination of the composition of the membership of the council. It is proposed this be achieved by public participation in the nomination of names and expressions of interests in appointments to the council. The Government has extended, as an interim measure, the terms of appointment of the present Chairman and Council members of AIMA to 30 June 1985. This is to ensure

continuity of AIMA's operations while the present legislation is amended and until the process of selecting the enlarged Council can be completed. A Bill to amend the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs Act will be introduced during the autumn sittings. The five-year term of appointment of the present Director of AIMA expires on 31 January 1985. The position will shortly be publicly advertised.

The reports by the Committee of Review of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs Council include various other recommendations which are not covered in the Government's decisions I have announced in this statement. Many of those recommendations relate to matters on which the Council of the Institute should itself make decisions or provide me with advice. They include the establishment of State or Territorial committees and the role of members of the Institute. I will refer these matters to the Council. The Council will have a major task of defining strategies, activities and initiatives and redirecting resources in ways which will most effectively contribute to the Institute achieving a major breakthrough in attaining its objectives, in co-operation with the various other government and non-government bodies concerned with multicultural and community relations issues.

The Government has not accepted the recommendation of the AIMA Council that a change of portfolio arrangements for AIMA is desirable. There is a close interrelationship between the work of AIMA and the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. The working relationship between the two bodies will be enhanced in future, particularly having regard to contemporary community focus on migration and race issues. One of the objectives of AIMA's work will be the maintenance of a social environment accepting racial and cultural diversity, and the contribution of the migration program to Australia's national development.

The Government has also not accepted the recommendation that AIMA should combat prejudice and discrimination against members of cultural and ethnic minority groups; nor will the Institute have complaint handling powers on discrimination matters. These functions and powers are solely the statutory responsibility of the Human Rights Commission, which it is proposed will become the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, with a Commissioner for Racial

Discrimination. It is expected, however, that the work of AIMA will contribute to reducing prejudice and discrimination. The Institute will work closely with the Human Rights Commission and the proposed successor body to ensure there is close co-ordination of activities.

Australia has been immeasurably enriched by the contribution of migrants to our national life. One of our nation's greatest achievements has been its acceptance of people from a wide and diverse range of backgrounds, regardless of race, religion or ethnic background. Honourable members might recall that the communique of the National Economic Summit Conference in April 1983 stated:

There is acceptance that the future well-being of this country depends upon the acceptance of the cultural, social and economic implications of a multicultural Australia.

Through its proposed new role, AIMA will be developed as an authority with a positive role in giving effect to this declaration.

Senator Walsh — I have not read the article in question but I am aware of its existence and that it is of the type outlined by Senator Crowley. The fact is that in August 1978 an agreement was drawn up between Australia and the Philippines regarding co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the transfer of nuclear material. That agreement came into force on 11 May 1982. I stress that that agreement was not an agreement to supply Australian uranium. Therefore, no Australian company has negotiated a contract to supply uranium to the Philippines, which is believed to have purchased its requirements to date on the international spot market. No government approval for a contract has been sought.

Australian uranium cannot be transferred to the Philippines until an administrative arrangement is established pursuant to article IX(3) of the agreement. In March last year the Philippines advised of its willingness to sign a text. The signature, however, has been postponed because of nuclear safeguards policy reviews which this Government has undertaken and which involve issues that the Government currently has under consideration. There is no immediate requirements for such a signature.

Proposed construction of nuclear power plant in the Philippines: possible uranium sales*

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 11 October:

Senator Crowley — My question is to the Minister for Resources and Energy, possibly in his capacity as Minister representing the Minister for Trade. Has the Minister seen the report in today's *Age* headed 'Australia delays N-fuel for *unsafe* Philippines reactor'? The article states that the *Age* believes the Australian Government is withholding approval of administrative arrangements that would clear the way for the sale of Australian uranium to fuel the Bataan nuclear plant because of doubts about its safety. Can the Minister indicate whether there is any substance to the claims of the Australian delay and/or of the unsafeness of the plant in the Philippines?

The following question and answer appeared in Hansard on 11 October:

Senator Walsh — Early today Senator Crowley asked me a question about a reactor under construction in the Philippines. My attention has been drawn to a minute from the Minister for Foreign Affairs which adds to the information I gave. The minute states:

The Government is aware of criticism of the Bataan reactor because of escalating costs and alleged deficiencies in structure and design, particularly in a region of potential geological instability. The Government is also aware that, following an IAEA review and U.S. National Regulatory Council recommendations after the Three Mile Island accident, design features were implemented especially in relation to the plant's ability to withstand earth tremors. While it is for the Philippines authorities to ensure that these matters are properly addressed, the Australian Government will continue to monitor developments.

* See also *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 8, August 1984, page 859.

Australia-U.S. joint defence facilities

The following (edited) questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 11 October:

Senator Macklin — My question is to the Minister representing the Minister for Defence. Is it a fact that the United States base at Watsonia outside Melbourne is the single link between three transmission intercept stations in Western Australia, the Northern Territory and Queensland and the United States Pacific Fleet Ocean Surveillance Centre in Hawaii? Is it true that information from these bases passing through Watsonia can be used for targeting of nuclear weapons? Does not this targeting information contribute to the technical capacity of the United States to launch a counter force nuclear first strike against the enemy, thereby increasing the risk of nuclear war? Does Australia have any knowledge or control over the information passing through the Watsonia base? Given the crucial information passing through Watsonia and given that the base is the link between intercept stations and Hawaii, is it not reasonable to assume that Watsonia is a nuclear target?

Senator Gareth Evans — In reference to parts 1, 2 and 4 of the question, which sought detailed information as to the function of that base, I have to say that this Government, as have previous governments, will neither confirm nor deny details relating to intelligence matters. The problem in dealing with claims is that, if they are accurate and the Government confirms their accuracy, potential enemies will be provided with valuable military information. Conversely, if they are inaccurate in part or in whole, denial of such claims will over time allow potentially unfriendly governments to build up a picture of which intelligence capabilities are or are not possessed. I am sure that Senator Macklin will appreciate the good sense of that proposition, even if he will not concede it publicly in this chamber.

As to the third part of the question, I refer Senator Macklin to the 1984 fiscal year United States defence report, which states quite unequivocally that United States strategic policy is defensive and excludes the possibility that the United States would initiate a war or launch a pre-emptive first strike against the forces or territories of other nations. As to the remaining part of his question, part 5, which

relates to nuclear targeting, if global nuclear war were to occur we cannot exclude the possibility that Australia would come under nuclear attack since we cannot know the strategic targets of Soviet planners. However, there would clearly be many targets of higher military priority. It is the Government's view that there would be no reason for Watsonia to be selected as a nuclear target.

Changes to the cover of Australian passports

The following (edited) question and answer appeared in Hansard on 11 October:

Senator Gareth Evans — Yesterday Senator Martin asked me a question as to why the depiction of the crown had been removed from the front of Australian passports.* I now assure Senator Martin that, far from being a demonstration of creeping republicanism, the decision to do so represents a deference to the traditions of the monarchy and heraldry that would make an editor of *Debrett's Peerage* blush. The situation is as follows: on the recommendation of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Drug Trafficking conducted by Mr Justice Stewart a passports committee was formed in 1983 to supervise matters relating to the security of Australian passports and visas. As part of its initial examination of the then current passport the Committee noted a number of deficiencies in respect of non-observance of the usages and requirements of protocol and the rules of heraldry. One of the deficiencies was the superimposition of the Royal Crown of St. Edward above the coat of arms of Australia on the cover of the passport. This was an incorrect depiction of these two heraldic symbols. In addition, there was no record that royal approval had ever been obtained for the use of the Royal Crown of St Edward on

* The question was as follows: My question is directed to the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Is it a fact that until recently the front cover of Australian passports carried the Australian crest, the words 'Australia' and 'Passport' and the image of a crown? Is it a fact that Australian passports currently being issued no longer have an image of the crown? Why did the Government decide to change the passport cover format?

Australian passports. The Crown was excluded from the new series passports introduced in March 1984 to correct this deficiency, in recognition of the principles involved in the depiction of the coat of arms of Australia.

Overseas aid program

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 16 October:

Senator Gareth Evans — On 22 August 1984 Senator Jones asked me, as the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, the following question:

(1) Is the primary aim of Australia's overseas aid program to bolster Australia's self-interests in areas of strategic, commercial and foreign policy or is it to alleviate poverty in recipient countries.

(2) Does the Government consider that the alleviation of poverty should take precedence over all other objectives in circumstances where two or more of the objectives come into conflict.

(3) Would Australia's overseas aid program be more effective and valuable if it were channelled solely into specific anti-poverty programs in the neediest countries to minimise wastage of this money.

(4) Does the Minister for Foreign Affairs acknowledge that some governments in our region are unsuitable as channels of aid intended for the poor, having already awarded a low priority for basic anti-poverty and welfare programs for their own people and who manage to divert aid funding to other purposes.

(5) Will the Government consider transferring the Mixed Credit Scheme out of the overseas aid budget and into the more appropriate area of Industry and Commerce, as this is basically a subsidy to Australian businesses tendering internationally.

(6) Will the Government also consider transferring responsibility for funding of the bulk of overseas students in Australia out of the overseas aid budget as this is clearly a questionable form of aid to the poor and concentrate instead on a small program of sponsored students more closely related to the development needs of the developing country.

(7) Will the Minister for Foreign Affairs provide a clear definition of the ultimate goal

of our overseas aid program and the strategies for achieving that goal.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has provided the following answer to the honourable senator's question:

(1) to (7) The issues raised in the question were all addressed by the Committee to Review the Australian Overseas Aid Program, which was chaired by Sir Gordon Jackson. The Committee's report* is a thorough and comprehensive examination of the whole aid program. I tabled the Jackson committee report in Parliament on 7 June 1984 as a discussion paper. I indicated then that I hoped the following 12 months would be a period for extensive community and parliamentary discussion of the major issues raised by the report.

Since major decisions on the report will affect the direction of our aid program for years to come, I consider it very important for there to be ample opportunity for wide ranging debate on the report which I hope will encourage, to the maximum extent possible, a bipartisan approach to Australia's aid program.

I hope to make a major statement on the aid program next session.

* See also *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 6, June 1984, page 563.

Australian contribution to the anti-piracy program in the Gulf of Thailand*

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 17 October:

Senator Mason asked the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 31 May 1984:

(1) Did twelve nations, including Australia, in June 1983 provide U.S.\$3.6m to the Thai Government to counter the problem of armed pirates in the Gulf of Thailand, and was a further U.S.\$2.7m provided one year later for the same purpose.

(2) Were these funds expended to provide patrol boats, spotter planes, communications and computer equipment, together with funds to operate all these things.

* See also *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 8, August 1984, page 869.

(3) Has there been some reduction in the rate of pirate attacks on refugee boats from Vietnam, over the last year, but more than half of these boats have been attacked in circumstances involving murder, rape and kidnapping.

(4) Have pirate attacks on Vietnamese boats been prevented or observed, and have any of these attackers been imprisoned.

(5) Is the Australian Government satisfied with the progress of the program, to which more than half a million dollars has been provided by Australia.

Senator Gareth Evans — The Minister for Foreign Affairs has provided the following answer to the honourable senator's question:

(1) Yes. On 16 July the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees began an anti-piracy program with the sponsorship of twelve countries (Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States of America) with a budget of U.S.\$3.6m under the auspices of the Royal Thai Navy.

The program was continued in the 1983-84 financial year with a budget of U.S.\$2.7m.

(2) Yes, among other things.

(3) According to the UNHCR, in 1981, of 455 refugee boats arriving in Thailand, 352 or 77 per cent had been attacked. In 1982, of 216 refugee boats, 140 or 65 per cent were attacked, and in 1983, of 152 refugee boats, 80 or 52 per cent were attacked. Although there has been an obvious reduction in the rate of pirate attacks, it is still more than 50 per cent and most of these attacks involve murder, rape, or kidnapping, and often all three.

(4) It is difficult for a third party (for example, the Royal Thai Navy) to observe or prevent an actual attack on a refugee boat, given the large area of the Gulf of Thailand, limited resources and the large number of boats in the region.

The extent to which attacks have been prevented is a matter of conjecture, but the decline in the attack rate seems to indicate that the UNHCR's program and the Royal Thai Navy are having a useful impact in this direction.

In March 1984, four Thai fishermen were charged with rape, abduction and robbery following an attack on a Vietnamese refugee boat in the Gulf of Thailand between 27 June and 3 July 1983. They were convicted and

sentenced to eighteen years jail each, commuted to nine years after they pleaded guilty on each count.

(5) The Government is satisfied that all parties involved in the program to suppress piracy in the Gulf of Thailand are making efforts under sometimes difficult circumstances, and looks forward to further progress.

Elections in Nicaragua and El Salvador

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 17 October:

Senator Gareth Evans — On 24 August 1984, Senator Crichton-Browne asked me, as Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the following questions without notice:

I refer the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs to a question asked, I suspect two days ago, on 22 August* by Senator Maguire in respect of whether or not the Australian Government had been invited to visit Nicaragua to observe the elections that are to take place there in November of this year, a question which is all the more relevant since in the last 24 hours all the Opposition coalition parties have been outlawed which of course means that they are denied access to the media. Inasmuch as those democratically elected Opposition parties have now been outlawed, their materials have been censored and they are no longer allowed to have political meetings or rallies, I ask: Was the Federal Australian Government invited to visit El Salvador to observe the elections there when President Duarte was elected? Did it accept that invitation? In the event that it did not accept that invitation, will it use the same guidelines and yardstick in making the determination and judgment as to whether it will participate in an observer capacity in the elections in Nicaragua?

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has provided the following answer to the honourable senator's question:

The Australian Government was invited by the Government of El Salvador to send observers to the first round of Presidential elections on 25 March. Australia declined the invitation. The Government supports free elections and the development of democratic

* See *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 8, August 1984, page 855.

institutions in El Salvador on the basis of national reconciliation and reform. However, the process of national reconciliation and reform had not, in the Government's view, reached a point where the elections could be fully representative.

The Government welcomed the decision by the Nicaraguan Government to hold elections on 4 November for a President, a Vice-President and a constituent National Assembly. During the Foreign Minister's recent visit to Nicaragua he emphasised in all his discussions with the Sandinista Government that the provision of pluralism in the elections was a matter of central importance. He said that the Co-ordinadora Democratica, which includes the major opposition parties should be permitted to participate in the elections in order to provide for meaningful opposition.

As to the electoral process itself, the Foreign Minister said he believed that if all the arrangements were implemented as the Supreme Electoral Council outlined them to him, then the process would be as fair as could be expected.

There has been no approach to the Government by Nicaragua inviting Australia to send observers or to provide assistance for the elections.

Security and intelligence: CIA activities

The following question and answer appeared in Hansard on 17 October:

Senator Gareth Evans — I had a question yesterday from Senator Mason relating to an alleged Central Intelligence Agency publication and CIA activities in Australia. I undertook to get a response from the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has provided the following information in reply to the honourable senator's question:

The Government has no information at its disposal regarding the authenticity of the claims made in *The Age* report to which the Honourable Senator referred, which is based on a similar report in the *New York Times* of 15 October. I can confirm that, as is usual in such cases, a spokesman for the CIA refused to comment on the report, and there has been

no other United States Government response to it.

The position of this Government is that Nicaragua and other countries in Central America should be allowed to determine their own affairs as sovereign, independent nations free from outside interference. This position has been stated on a number of occasions and has been made known to the United States Government.

The Honourable Senator also referred to the joint defence facility at Pine Gap. In his Parliamentary statement of 6 June* the Prime Minister described the general purpose and functions of the joint Australian-United States defence facilities at Pine Gap and Nurrungar.

In that statement he also explained that the Government would not be commenting further upon speculation or assertions about the facilities at Pine Gap and Nurrungar. Obviously, therefore, it would be inappropriate for me to confirm or deny the honourable senator's assertions about Pine Gap or to seek to enlarge upon the information which the Prime Minister has provided.

I stress, though, the point that these facilities are jointly managed and operated by Australian and American Governments and I repeat the Prime Minister's assurance that the Government is satisfied that all functions and activities at the joint facilities require, and have, its full knowledge and concurrence and that the operations of the facilities in no way derogate from Australian sovereignty.

As to the honourable senator's final question about CIA activity in Australia, it has been the consistent policy of successive Australian Governments not to comment upon speculation or allegations about intelligence and security matters. I note, however, that Australian and United States Government agencies, including those in the intelligence and security fields, maintain extensive and valuable arrangements for exchanging information and views of mutual interest. In addition, I would note that Australian Governments have had assurances at the highest level over a number of years denying that the United States Government or its representatives had been involved in improper or inappropriate activities in Australia.

Allegations of CIA activity in Australia were raised in discussions the PM had in Washington in June last year with Senator Moynihan,

* See *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 6, June 1984, page 614.

Vice Chairman of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Senator Moynihan offered to assist the Hope Royal Commission on Australia's Security and Intelligence Agencies in any enquiry it wished to undertake in this matter. The offer was conveyed to the Hope Royal Commission which is expected to refer to the question in its final report.

Australia-U.S. joint defence facilities: alleged CIA involvement

The following (edited) questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 18 October:

Senator Mason — I ask a question of the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs. It concerns the United States bases in Australia and the United States Central Intelligence Agency involvement in them. Is the Minister aware of comments made yesterday by Dr Desmond Ball of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University that 'Pine Gap is a CIA base, there is no doubt about that'? Can the Minister confirm that the Government is aware of that fact or has the Government not bothered to find out? Is the Minister aware that Dr Ball described the period since the Labor Government took office in March 1983 as one in which a significant expansion of activity occurred at the United States bases in Australia? Can the Minister confirm that new antennae have been erected at North West Cape and that major extensions to the computer rooms at Nurrungar and Pine Gap are under way? If so, when did these major changes begin? What is their purpose and has the Australian Government been fully informed of these changes?

Senator Gareth Evans — The Government is certainly aware of Dr Ball's remarks as they have been reported in the media. In my answer yesterday, given on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the honourable senator's question about the CIA and Pine Gap, I referred to the Prime Minister's parliamentary statement of 6 June describing the general purpose and functions of the joint Australian-United States defence facilities at Pine Gap and Nurrungar. I reminded the honourable senator of the Prime Minister's

explanation that the Government would not be commenting further upon speculation or assertions about these facilities. Obviously it remains inappropriate for me, on behalf of the Minister, to confirm or deny such assertions. However, I am able to reiterate the point that these facilities are jointly managed and operated by the Australian and American Governments. I also restate the Prime Minister's assurance that the Government is satisfied that all functions and activities at the joint facilities require and have its full knowledge and concurrence and that the operations of the facilities in no way derogate from Australian sovereignty.

In respect of Senator Mason's question about changes at the facilities, I can confirm that a replacement satellite terminal was installed at North West Cape in January 1984. This proposed installation has been public knowledge since 1978 when, as some honourable senators may recall, it was the subject of some controversy in this chamber. In respect of changes at Pine Gap and Nurrungar facilities it is, as I have indicated, the Government's policy neither to confirm nor deny claims about the operation of those facilities. I would, however, draw the honourable senator's attention to the fact that the former Minister for Defence announced on 5 July 1982 the installation of new computers and research equipment at Pine Gap and on 8 July last year Mr Scholes announced the construction of a new antenna at Pine Gap. I also inform Senator Mason that replacement computer equipment was installed at the Nurrungar station during 1983. Finally, I can assure him that the Government continues to be kept informed and properly consulted about United States plans for the joint facilities. We are satisfied that the operations of the facilities are in accord with agreed arrangements between Australia and the United States and that these operations support our mutual security interest.

Security and intelligence: CIA activities

The following question and answer appeared in Hansard on 19 October:

Senator Gareth Evans — Further to my response to Senator Mason on 17 October about a Central Intelligence Agency manual

relating to Nicaragua, I am advised that there have now been reports which indicate that such a document was produced by the CIA. According to these reports the Chairman of the United States House of Representatives Intelligence Committee, Congressman Edward Boland, has released a letter he wrote to a fellow Democratic congressman in which he confirmed that the manual in question was prepared by the CIA in 1983 and that his committee is currently investigating the reasons for the document's production and distribution. A White House spokesman has issued a statement that the Administration has not advocated or condoned political assassination or any other attacks on civilians, nor will it. Reportedly, this statement divulges that President Reagan has ordered an investigation.

The Australian Government's position remains as I stated it two days ago, namely, that Nicaragua and other countries in Central America should be allowed to determine their own affairs as sovereign, independent nations free from outside interference. This position has been stated on a number of occasions and has been made known to the United States Government. We would consider the advocacy of political violence from any quarter as totally unacceptable and in this regard welcome the reported statement from the White House spokesman.

Uranium exports

The following question and answer appeared in Hansard on 19 October:

Senator Walsh — On 9 October 1984 Senator Chaney asked me as Minister representing the Minister for Trade, the following question, without notice:

What has the Government done to guard against retaliatory actions that might be taken by the European Economic Community over the decision to suspend uranium supplies to France while that country continues testing nuclear weapons in the South Pacific region.

The Minister for Trade has provided the following answer to the honourable senator's question:

The action taken in regard to the supply of Australian uranium to France is of a special nature and serves to protest against the continued testing of nuclear weapons in our

area. The Government has made its position known to France.

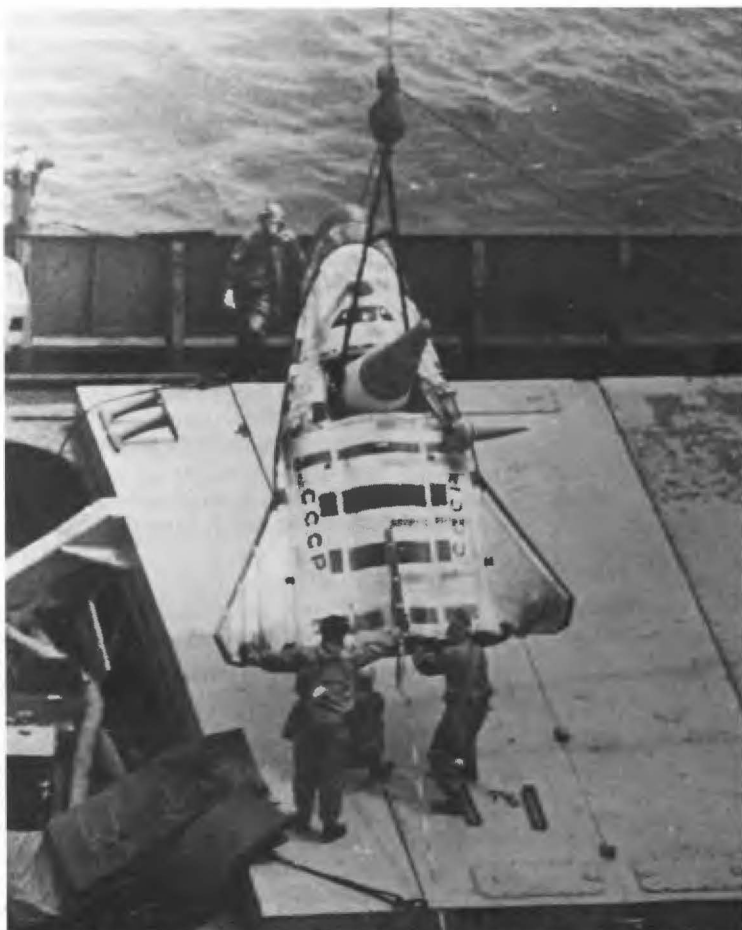
Retaliatory action, whether by France and/or the European Community, is unlikely. Accordingly, there are no 'contingency plans' for such an eventuality. Nevertheless, were there to be any trade reprisals the Government would view such action with concern and deal with the matter as appropriate at that time.

Reports of Soviet build-up in the Pacific

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 22 October:

Senator McIntosh — I direct my question to the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs. What is the Government's reaction to the report on *AM* this morning concerning documents released by the New Zealand Government dealing with the Soviet build-up in the Pacific? Is not the release of documents being made by the New Zealand defence establishment an attempt to undermine the Lange Government's anti-nuclear position? Do not such statements serve only to heighten tension in this area of the world and further isolate Vietnam from the Association of South East Asian Nations and Australasia as well as give an overstated view of the extent of the Soviet built-up in the Pacific?

Senator Gareth Evans — The Government is aware of the *AM* report today concerning documents released by the New Zealand Government dealing with the Soviet build-up in the Pacific. We have not yet seen the documents and, therefore, cannot comment on their substance at this stage. Nor is the Government in a position to comment, even if it wanted to, on either the original source of the documents or the motivation for their release. I can say on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Government remains concerned at the Soviet build-up in the Pacific and its implications for stability in the Asia-Pacific region. Access to Vietnamese military facilities in Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang has helped the Soviet Union to deploy and maintain military forces in the South East Asian, East Asian and Indian Ocean areas. It is the case that unless Vietnam can be brought into a normal relationship with the Asia-Pacific region and the rest of the world



Recovery by a Soviet ship of a Soviet space vehicle in international waters 300 nautical miles south of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, in March 1983. (Department of Defence photo).

community, Vietnam's reliance on the Soviet Union may well continue to grow and provide the Soviet Union with further opportunities to expand its influence. Of course that consideration gives added weight and force to the Government's initiatives in this respect.

Nuclear weapons: deployment of Soviet cruise missiles

The following question and answer appeared in Hansard on 23 October:

Senator Gareth Evans — On 19 October Senator Childs asked me a question concern-

ing Soviet deployment of cruise missiles and remarks made by the Australian Ambassador for Disarmament on a recent interview by President Chernenko. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has provided me with the following answer.

The Government agrees that recent announcements by the Soviet Union that it is about to commence deployment of a new model of cruise missile designated by Western military analysts as the SS25 represents further escalation in the arms race and as such is to be deplored. The Government believes that these reports only underline the urgent need for the superpowers to resume their bilateral negotiations on reductions to their nuclear arsenals. It is essential that the U.S. and the Soviet Union agree as to

limitations on their strategic armaments and the related arrangements between them to be observed after 31 December 1985, the expiry date specified by the SALT II accord. In his recent address to the UN General Assembly on 2 October Mr Hayden emphasised that nuclear disarmament is the very highest priority amongst the Government's policies and Australia's wish to see an end to the nuclear arms race has been conveyed on several occasions to both the U.S. and the Soviet.

Finally, reports to which Senator Childs refers that the Australian Ambassador for Disarmament had supported President Chernenko's latest restatement of Soviet arms control proposals are incorrect. As the Ambassador said in reply to questions from a journalist, Australia is in favour of agreements to ban nuclear testing and an arms race in space. The Australian Government hopes that it will be possible for the superpowers to resume their negotiations on arms control and thereby bring about an improvement in East-West relations.

Overseas aid program

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 23 October:

Senator Chipp asked the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 4 October 1984:

(1) Was Broken Hill Proprietary Co. Ltd (BHP) allocated \$11m out of the Australian Government's overseas aid program; if so, how was this possible and what has this allocation to do with helping the poor and giving aid to underdeveloped countries.

(2) Why does Egypt get a disproportionate amount of our overseas food aid, (some \$7.5m per annum).

(3) Is this disproportionate sum to ensure the sale of more Australian wheat to that country, given the fact that some needy African countries are having Australian Government aid withheld or cut back.

Senator Evans — The Minister for Foreign Affairs has provided the following answers to the honourable senator's questions:

(1) No. Aid funds under the Development Import Finance Facility are being provided to the Government of the People's Republic of China to assist it in the purchase of Australian

sourced goods and services for the construction of a cement plant. BHP is a member of the Australian consortium which is undertaking the project. The cement plant will make a valuable contribution to infrastructure development in Fujian Province.*

(2) Egypt this financial year has been allocated 40 000 tonnes of Australian wheat as food aid out of the 450 000 tonnes to be provided to meet our international food aid commitments. This is the same amount and proportion as provided in the last two financial years.

(3) Egypt has established food aid needs which Australia, along with other donors, is attempting to meet. Egypt also happens to be a regular and major purchaser of Australian wheat.

* See *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 8, August 1984, page 897.

Southern Bluefin tuna management program: exclusion of Japanese fishing vessels*

The following question and answer appeared in Hansard on 23 October:

Senator Grimes — On 16 October 1984 Senator Harradine asked me a question, without notice, in my capacity as Minister representing the Minister for Primary Industry in the Senate concerning the issue of Japanese fishing for Southern Bluefin tuna (SBT) in the Australian Fishing Zone (AFZ).

The Minister for Primary Industry has supplied me with the following additional information:

The question of excluding Japanese longliners from those parts of the AFZ where they take SBT has only come to a head in recent weeks following the introduction of a comprehensive and very restrictive program for our own fishermen and the continued reluctance of Japan to take complementary action. Until the second round of access negotiations commenced late in September we were hopeful that Japan would adopt a more co-operative attitude and that it would be possible to retain the existing arrangements with little real modification.

The Japanese reaction was unexpected

* See also news release appearing on page 1132 of this issue of *AFAR*.

given their earlier positive attitude to the development of a co-ordinated international approach to the SBT problem and the fact that we were not asking them to cut back their catch. Instead Australia was merely seeking a firm assurance that the Japanese catch would not increase over the next season. Given the fact that we had already taken strong action to substantially cut back our SBT catch, their reaction was extremely disappointing.

At this stage it is by no means certain what impact exclusion of Japanese vessels from waters adjacent to Tasmania will have on the frequency of port calls or on local businesses. While the Japanese tuna industry is predicting that the impact will be severe, the fact remains that access to Hobart is, and is likely to remain, an important part of Japanese operations throughout the southern oceans. For this reason it is expected that port calls will continue.

It is however noteworthy that Japanese port calls at Hobart have already halved since 1980 as a consequence of adverse economic conditions and the poor state of SBT stocks. Without effective and responsible management this trend will continue and probably accelerate to a stage where there are few, if any, calls.

It is correct that there are currently no major Australian fishing vessels operating south of 40°S in the SBT fishery. The issue however is not one of direct competition between Australian and Japanese fishermen. The key element is instead the aggregate impact of fishing on a high migratory resource and for this reason the question of where the tuna is caught is largely incidental to the main concern about the quantity of SBT taken. This is the reason why we are so concerned about Japan's reluctance to impose an overall quota on its SBT fishermen.

There are already extensive consultative mechanisms established to consider and develop fisheries management programs. In the case of the SBT fishery these include the Tuna Task Force, Standing Committee on Fisheries and the Australian Fisheries Council. The Tasmanian Government is represented on each of these bodies and I trust that their representatives will continue to both advise those bodies of the implications of any changes to Tasmanian industry and advise their Tasmanian colleagues of any proposed changes which may have wider economic implications.

Black marlin industry: activities of Japanese vessels in the AFZ

The following questions and answers appeared in Hansard on 24 October:

Senator Macklin asked the Minister representing the Minister for Primary Industry, upon notice, on 3 October 1984:

(1) What agreement currently exists between Australia and Japan regarding Japanese fishing within the Australian Fishing Zone (AFZ) off the east coast.

(2) Does information contained in the AFZ information bulletin showing that large number of black marlin are being taken by Japanese fishing in the east coast area of the AFZ have disastrous ramifications for our local marlin industry.

(3) Will the Government, in future agreements with Japan, place a total ban on marlin fishing in the east coast region of the AFZ.

Senator Grimes — The Minister for Primary Industry has provided the following answer to the honourable senator's question:

(1) Japanese fishing within the AFZ off the east coast of Australia is covered by the current subsidiary agreement between the Government of Australia and the Government of Japan concerning Japanese tuna longline fishing. This agreement expires on 31 October 1984.

(2) The AFZ information bulletin contains information relative to the activity of foreign fishing vessels in the AFZ. It provides an up to date assessment of catch rates as well as a very general indication of the areas in which the catch was taken. This information is largely based on regular radio reports provided by the foreign vessels concerned.

Over the period 1980 to 1983 this information indicates that their total catch of black marlin off the east coast averaged 260 tonnes. This represent five per cent of the total catch in these waters. The present state of our knowledge suggests that the stocks of billfish (including black marlin) are not currently endangered in these areas. I am also not aware of any scientific publication which suggests that longline fishing is having a deleterious effect on billfish stocks.

In response to earlier concerns by game fishing interests, Japanese longliners have already been excluded from extensive areas off the east coast of Australia where direct competition with Australian fishermen was evident.

(3) Because of the largely non-selective nature of the fishing method concerned, the institution of a total ban on the take of marlin would involve a virtual prohibition on longlining by Japanese longliners off our eastern coast. Having regard to these circumstances and in the absence of clear evidence that our marlin industry or resource is being significantly affected, the imposition of a total ban on taking of marlin would be an extreme reaction. It would undoubtedly bring a strong reaction from Japan especially in view of our international obligation to permit foreign vessels access to those resources of our Zone which are excess to our harvesting capacity.

The matter was discussed during the recently concluded negotiations on the terms and conditions to apply to Japanese access to the AFZ during 1984-85. The Japanese Government and tuna industry organisations present at the negotiations were advised of the concerns of the Australian game fishing industry and of the need to ensure their operations were not jeopardised by Japanese fishing activity. As a consequence Japanese longliners operating off the east coast will be instructed by their Association to release all marlin which is alive at the time their fishing gear is recovered. They have also agreed to modified reporting procedures designed to improve their catch-position reporting off Cairns.

The situation with respect to Japanese participation in the marlin fishery off the east coast will be kept under review during the course of the 1984-85 agreement.

Australian defence aid to the Philippines: human rights issues

The following question and answer appeared in Hansard on 24 October:

Senator McIntosh asked the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 10 September 1984:

Will the Government give an assurance that Australian military and bilateral infrastructure aid is not being used by the Marcos regime to suppress human rights in the Philippines, as has been alluded to by several aid authorities and Father Brian Gore.

Senator Gareth Evans — The Minister for Foreign Affairs has provided the following

answer to the honourable senator's question:

Australia has a small Defence Co-operation Program (DCP) with the Philippines which has increased from \$0.804m in 1979-80 to \$1.66m in 1984. DCP expenditure since 1979-80 has remained about the same both in real terms and as a proportion of the overall Defence Co-operation Program — 3.4 per cent.

No weapons or armaments are provided to the Philippines under the DCP, which, with the Singapore DCP, is the smallest in South East Asia.

The Government is aware of criticisms that the DCP with the Philippines contributes to, or exacerbates, human rights problems in that country. The program comprises mostly training and technical advisory assistance related to Australian equipment previously supplied under the program. This includes maintenance assistance for 12 Nomad aircraft; technical assistance for Australian-made small-arms target equipment (DART); medical kits; and the provision of training in Australia. We would hope that exposure of overseas trainees to the Australian military institutions and traditions and to the attitudes of the broader Australian community during training courses in Australia will in the longer term help to increase awareness of human rights issues and thus reduce abuses.

There have been criticisms that the road building associated with the projects benefits the army by providing access to the hinterland areas. The Government believes, however, that the benefits to the people of the region outweigh concerns about military use of the roads. The roads are intended to facilitate farm to market access.

Although there have been suggestions that Australian aid to certain countries should be discontinued, the Government is of the view that the purpose of Australian aid is to develop infrastructure and alleviate some of the social and economic problems of developing countries. The discontinuation of such aid could punish the most needy people in a developing country without influencing those who direct affairs.

The Government recognises, moreover, that Australia's commercial, aid and diplomatic relations with other states enable us to maintain a dialogue with them on human rights matters. The Government pursues such a dialogue with a view to promoting genuine, lasting improvements in human rights.

Statements

Antarctica: Project Blizzard

News release issued by the Minister for Science and Technology, Mr Barry Jones, MP, on 2 October:

The Minister for Science and Technology, Mr Barry Jones, today approved in principle the first stage of Project Blizzard — a private expedition to conserve Sir Douglas Mawson's historic hut in Antarctica.

Mr Jones said that Mawson's hut, located in the uninhabited eastern sector of Australia's Antarctic Territory and site of the explorer's 1911-14 Antarctic Expedition, was part of the national estate and it was the Commonwealth's responsibility to ensure that the expedition did the conservation job the right way.

'A study of Project Blizzard's proposals by the Antarctic Division of my Department has satisfied me that the expedition would fulfil safety requirements, and that its members have the necessary expertise to ensure the project's success,' he said.

The first stage of Project Blizzard involves an assessment of the condition of the hut, its associated buildings and artefacts.

The expedition will leave Sydney in November 1984 and return in March 1985. It is expected that the conservation work will take place during a second expedition in the summer of 1985-86.

Mr Jones said the twelve members of the expedition had agreed to sign a deed which imposed conditions to protect the national interests in the historic site.

The deed requires that expedition members possess the skills required for survival in Antarctica and the expertise to carry out assessment of the condition of the buildings and artefacts.



Mr Jonathan Chester, photographer, writer and co-ordinator for the expedition, pictured with a model of Mawson's hut (with the roof raised). The original hut was finished and erected in Australia before packaging for transport to Antarctica. It consists of two rooms, the living quarters and workshop, surrounded on three sides by a low covered verandah used as a storage area and shelter for dogs. (AIS photo).

Before any conservation work is undertaken, permission must be obtained from the Government and advice sought from the Heritage Commission.

Mr Jones said the expedition represented a fine example of the adventurous spirit of the Australian character.

He added that he believed the members of Project Blizzard had shown a great deal of national pride and responsibility in committing themselves to the restoration of Mawson's hut.

The Antarctic Division had carried out a brief assessment of the hut during a visit to Commonwealth Bay in 1978. It had discovered the hut was in need of repair, but a shortage of staff and lack of shipping time had meant that the Division had been unable to mount its own restoration program.

Over two thousand metres of Baltic pine boards to match the hut's timber were acquired by the Division after the hut was first inspected.

The boards will be taken to the site by the Project Blizzard expedition to allow them to age for use the following summer.

The Department of Science and Technology has also assisted Project Blizzard members with advice, training and the loan of meteorological instruments and other necessary items.

National Film and Sound Archive

Speech by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, at the opening of the National Film and Sound Archive building, in Canberra, on 3 October:

Max Gillies has just brought George Wallace back to us all. There's something about our mate George Wallace that's not only entertaining — and he was one of our greatest comedians — but also very endearing. He was the little Aussie battler: independent, never over-awed by authority or pretension. And he always won in the end, as his films and radio shows — preserved in the National Film and Sound Archive — demonstrate.

George is the sort of bloke who'd enjoy a good party like this. The opening of national buildings and national institutions are often solemn occasions. But not tonight: that wouldn't suit George and it doesn't suit us.

This splendid evening has been put together to mark the permanent housing of a new kind of national institution, an institution devoted to the popular cultural expression of our age, and dedicated to the preservation of some of the best manifestations of Australian character and imagination.

This is appropriately a night for light-hearted celebration, because we are dealing with media which are synonymous with entertainment, immediacy, and the stuff of our life and times — and dreams. But our purpose is serious.

The most popular and pervasive cultural phenomena of our time — moving images and sound recordings — are threatened.

Not only do the laws of physics and chemistry limit their life span — but there is also a widespread inclination to regard such material as expendable or of secondary value.

To succumb to such thinking is to make a big mistake. Anyone with an historical sense would appreciate that a great deal is bound up with the survival and accessibility of this major form of record and art characteristic of our century.

Too much of this great national heritage has already been irretrievably lost.

Ninety-five per cent of the silent films made in Australia before 1930 no longer survive.

To put a stop to such losses — the loss of these vital expressions of Australia's national creativity — the Government has established the National Film and Sound Archive.

The Archive will ensure the development of the necessary skills, facilities, ethos and methods, needed for Australia to preserve our heritage. Its work will ensure the acquisition, preservation and continuing accessibility of films, radio and television programs, sound recordings and associated items that are in their own right of lasting cultural value — whether as historical record, art, entertainment, or otherwise.

More than that: the Archive will represent and promote this heritage nationally and internationally. Through it Australians may take due pride in their past, present and future achievements in these media.

The film and sound media have an impressive and distinctively Australian tradition. Their birth is coincident with the emergence of Australian nationalism nearly 100 years ago. This makes them, by definition, of particular cultural importance to us.

Indeed, Australia has one of the oldest film



The Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, pictured at the opening of the Archive building, with Mr Mike Carlton, compere at 2GB Macquarie network (left) and Ms Kate Fitzpatrick, an Australian actress. (AIS photo).

industries in the world — our first film (significantly of a horse race — the Melbourne Cup) was made in 1896, years before many European countries began making films. In that same year Henry Lawson wrote a story called *The Australian Cinematograph*, and in doing so presaged the concept — then unknown — of the story film.

In 1906, with *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, Australia invented the concept of the modern feature film — subsequently the economic foundation of film industries the world over.

With sound recordings we have almost from the beginning of the medium, produced world-renowned recording artists and film and radio stars. That grand tradition continues and is well represented tonight.

Here we also pay our respect equally to those greats behind the scene, the directors, producers, writers, technicians: the people on the other side of the camera or the microphone.

We all recognise that the travelling picture

show man and a spreading network of radio stations kept Australia's sparse and scattered population in touch with the outside world from the 1920s onward. It shaped our perception of it, it broadened our horizons in those days 'when the world beyond was wide'. Indeed, when Australia first introduced the basic wage it was the only country to take the cost of a weekly family visit to the pictures into its calculation.

Australians have expressed their national identity most directly and most potently through the screen and sound media. That is what has so often made Australian films and sound recordings interesting and attractive to people overseas, as much as to Australians. The establishment of the National Film and Sound Archive is the expression in institutional terms of a need, long felt by both participants and observers, to guarantee the preservation and availability of this fragile but vital heritage.

Its establishment is a cultural landmark for

Australia. It also has made clear the Government's intention to see this work given the status and resources it deserves, as well as to see long-standing problems properly addressed and solutions found.

This is the culmination of much hard work and effort by many people. I should particularly like to mention with appreciation the energetic and effective role played by my own Senior Adviser, Bob Hogg in helping achieve this result. The decision, once announced, was implemented without delay.

This building, which formerly housed the Australian Institute of Anatomy, has been initially refurbished by the National Capital Development Commission in order to allow prompt occupation by the Archive. The National Capital Development Commission, in conjunction with the Archive, is currently preparing plans for the earliest possible complete refurbishment and extension of the building in order to provide the necessary specialist facilities for storage, access, preservation, and for the general public. The 1984 Budget provided for the approximate doubling of funds and included provision for additional staff and equipment.

I expect the Archive to be very busy in the months ahead. The Bicentennial National Travelling Film retrospective has already been announced as part of the official celebrations in 1988. The Archive, in conjunction with the Australian Bicentennial Authority, will shortly commence initial planning for this year-long event.

In April 1986, the Archive will host the Congress of the International Federation of Film Archives, the first time such a gathering has been held in the southern hemisphere.

In conjunction with this, the Archive will organise a training school for film archive administrators from developing countries, especially those in the Asia-Pacific region.

On that unprecedented occasion, Australia's stature in film archiving, as well as its special regional role, will be on show to the world and Australia will properly take its place as a responsible and significant contributor to international affairs in this field.

Similar opportunities will be sought in the field of international sound archiving.

Part of the Government's vision for the Archive is that it should be accessible in the fullest sense to all Australians. While that vision has many facets, and cannot be realised overnight, some important steps in

that direction will be taken during the coming months.

As from tomorrow, this building, and this Exhibition Hall, will be open to the public. A simple beginning perhaps, but, I am sure, the start of what will be many exhibitions and activities in the months and years ahead. As well, access restrictions to the collections, which were introduced over two years ago, are to be progressively lifted as staff numbers are built up. A copying service will also be provided to radio broadcasters to allow the Australian community to enjoy historic recordings in the collection. In due course the Archive will release selected material for public sale on videocassette and LP recordings. The Archive's interstate offices will also provide access services. We are obviously at the beginning of an exciting venture.

I personally have much pleasure in declaring open this building as the permanent headquarters of the National Film and Sound Archive.

Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to Asia

News release issued by the Minister for Housing and Construction, Mr Chris Hurford, MP, on 4 October:

The Minister for Housing and Construction, Mr Chris Hurford, left Australia today for China leading a high-level construction and consultancy industry mission to Asia.

Between 4 to 13 October Mr Hurford and a group of senior business representatives will discuss opportunities for increasing the involvement of the industry sector in China, with senior Chinese officials in Beijing, Liaoning Province and Shanghai.

Mr Hurford will then fly with some of the group to Bangkok to lead a larger construction and consultancy trade mission to Thailand, Malaysia and East Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore and Indonesia, the balance of the party joining him on 14 October with the mission terminating on 1 November.

'We will be holding discussions with senior government and industry representatives in the countries we visit. The mission will be seeking to gain a greater understanding of the development strategies of China and the

ASEAN countries, and identify ways in which the construction and consultancy industry can participate in the strong economic growth occurring in this region.'

'Through these contacts we will be looking to develop a greater understanding amongst potential clients of what Australia has to offer in the construction and consultancy field.'

The visit to China is to follow up the earlier visits this year by the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister. The aim will be to identify specific project opportunities for Australian industry.

The ASEAN trade mission will be the first ministerial mission to the region solely aimed at promoting the Australian construction and consultancy sectors of industry.

Mr Hurford said that Australian industry will not automatically benefit because of its close proximity to the rapidly expanding South East Asian region and China.

'Australian industry must be more active and adventurous in seeking out new markets and that is exactly the purpose of this trade mission.'

The trade mission was inspired by the 1982 National Construction Industry Conference which recommended a campaign to promote the expertise within the industry overseas. Mr Hurford was requested by the Construction Industry Council to lead the mission.

Members of the trade mission will include representatives of the private sector, the Snowy Mountains Corporation and the Export Finance and Insurance Corporation and a representative from the trade union movement as well as officials from the Federal Government.

World Tourism Organisation meeting in Canberra

News release issued by the Minister for Sport, Recreation and Tourism, Mr John Brown, MP, on 5 October:

Australia will host a workshop and meeting of the World Tourism Organisation Regional Commission for East Asia and the Pacific (WTO-CAP) in Canberra next week from 8 to 12 October.

It will be the first time Australia has hosted an international inter-governmental tourism meeting.

The workshop, to be opened by the

Minister for Sport, Recreation and Tourism, Mr John Brown, will deal with the need for efficient training in the tourism industry.

Delegates will be attending from China, Cook Islands, Fiji, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Macau, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and Thailand, as well as from Federal, State and Territory governments in Australia and representatives of the tourism industry and training bodies. 'This will be a most important five days for tourism in Australia,' Mr Brown said.

'Tourism is a major industry not only for Australia but for all of the countries taking part in these meetings. The discussions and decisions taken at the workshop and the CAP meeting will have long-lasting implications for the future of tourism in Asia and the Pacific.'

Mr Brown said that Australia had recently taken on the chairmanship of CAP in line with the Government's policy of establishing closer links with our Asian and Pacific neighbours.

'The workshop and meeting will give the Canberra tourism industry a wonderful opportunity to demonstrate its product to officials from 11 countries as well as representatives from all States, the Northern Territory and the tourism industry in general,' Mr Brown said.

French nuclear tests on Moruroa Atoll to continue

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 7 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, said today that he was greatly concerned at press reports that the Deputy Director of the French Nuclear Testing Centre at Moruroa Atoll had said that French nuclear tests in the South Pacific would continue for at least 15 years.

Such a forecast by a nuclear weapons' state would be inimical to the cause of global arms control and disarmament and entirely contrary to the strong wishes of all peoples of the region in which France was conducting its test.

Mr Hayden said that the Australian Government and all the countries of the South Pacific wanted an immediate and complete end to

the French nuclear testing program. South Pacific Forum countries, including Australia, had reiterated their strong opposition to French nuclear testing at their recent meeting in Tuvalu.

Mr Hayden said that the Government was committed to the early conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty which would ban all nuclear tests by all states in all environments. Progress towards a comprehensive test ban treaty was a major objective of the Australian delegation to the current session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr Hayden called on the French Government to respond positively to both regional and world-wide opinion by playing its part in bringing all nuclear testing to an end.

Australia-United States defence co-operation

News release issued by the Minister for Defence Support, Mr Brian Howe, MP, on 8 October:

Australian industry would have a unique opportunity to assess defence contract opportunities with U.S. defence procurement representatives at a series of defence contractors' fairs to be held in Australia in November.

Announcing this today the Minister for Defence Support, Mr Brian Howe, said the fairs, to be held in five mainland capitals in November, underlined the Government's resolve to strengthen the involvement of Australian industry in the defence procurement and civil offsets program.

The Department of Defence Support is combining with the U.S. Defense Department to stage contracting fairs in the major capitals to enable local industry to examine U.S. defense bid packages and to receive first hand advice from U.S. procurement experts on how best to respond.

Mr Howe said that, with assistance from Defence Support, U.S. Department of Defense would tailor bid packages to suit the capabilities of Australia's defence industries.

'In addition, U.S. procurement agencies represented at the fairs will get a first hand exposure to the wide range of expertise our industries have to offer,' Mr Howe said.

'The fairs will provide a real opportunity for

Australian industry to assess market potential in this area,' the Minister added.

Participating at the fairs will be representatives of the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. armed services and defense logistic agencies along with a number of U.S. prime contractors to the U.S. Defense Department.

The one-day fairs will include seminars on the U.S. procurement system with special emphasis on the preparation and submission of bid packages.

Australian companies will have the opportunity of inviting the U.S. representatives to visit their factories on the day following each fair.

The fair dates are: Brisbane — 5 November; Perth — 8 November; Adelaide — 12 November; Melbourne — 15 November; and Sydney — 19 November.

Report on Australia's invisibles trade

News release issued by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade, Mr Lionel Bowen, on 8 October:

A comprehensive report on Australia's invisibles trade has been prepared by a panel of the Trade Development Council.

The TDC panel has explored in considerable detail the pattern of Australia's invisibles trade, and developments and prospects for the various leading industry sectors. It has brought down thoroughly researched and argued recommendations on a range of matters affecting overseas trade in insurance, banking, travel and transportation services, technology, administration of the aid program, and receipts and payments of property or investment income.

In the financial year just completed Australia's deficit in overseas trade was over \$6.9 billion. There is a need for Australia to participate more effectively in the rapidly growing world trade in services, which increased at an average compound growth rate of nearly 19 per cent from 1970 to 1980. To this end, as part of the recent reorganisation of the Department of Trade, a Services Trade and Export Facilitation Division has been created specifically charged with development and promotion of the export capabilities of Australia's services sector.

In order to increase awareness of the importance of the invisibles trade, I have decided to make the report public and have tabled it in Parliament, together with the attached statement.

Invisibles trade

For the information of honourable members I present the report of Trade Development Council Panel 75 on invisibles trade.

While service industries are becoming increasingly important in modern economies, there has been relatively little analysis of their significance in economic development, their linkages with other sectors of the economy or their role in world trade. Indeed, this important sector of world trade is aptly named invisibles trade as to a large degree it has been ignored, with by far the main focus having been on the trade in goods and commodities.

The TDC panel has thrown some welcome light on this important subject. It has explored in considerable detail the pattern of Australia's invisibles trade, and developments and prospects for the various leading industry sectors and activities that are reflected in the invisibles account of the balance of payments. It has brought down thoroughly researched and argued recommendations on a range of matters affecting trade in insurance, banking, travel and transportation services, technology, administration of the aid program and receipts and payments of property or investment income. I do not intend going over these recommendations in any detail here. They are presented in a most readable fashion in the Executive Summary of the report.

The report also includes some interesting observations on the broader economic significance of the net invisibles deficit and the sustainability of Australia's traditional balance of payments structure involving as it does a capital account surplus offset by a current account deficit.

In the financial year just completed Australia's deficit in invisibles trade was over \$6.9 billion. The major components of Australia's invisibles credits are transportation, of which more than half is expense of non-resident operators, travel, property income and transfers. Invisibles debits account for about one-third of current account payments. The major components are transportation, of

which roughly half is freight on imports, property income and travel.

The major source of Australia's net invisibles deficit is the OECD group dominated by the U.S., UK and Japan. After the OECD group the TDC report shows that our major net invisibles deficit is with the ASEAN group, with Singapore and Indonesia dominant. For example, our net invisibles deficit with the ASEAN countries grew from \$153 million in 1973-74 to \$545 million in 1981-82. This fact needs to be taken into account in any discussion on the bilateral balance of trade between Australia and ASEAN.

There are, of course, structural reasons underlying Australia's large invisibles deficit, however, there is no doubt that this could in part be offset by a more aggressive approach to exports by Australian producers of services. This is an area of world trade where Australia is falling well behind its competitors.

It has been estimated that service industries account for some 60 per cent of GDP of industrialised countries. Trade in invisibles, which may be defined as directly traded services, form one-quarter of world trade. In 1981, world trade in services amounted to U.S.\$800 billion.

World services exports increased at an average compound growth rate of nearly 19 per cent from 1970 to 1980. These service exports include activities as diverse as shipping, travel and tourism, banking, insurance, construction, engineering, consultancy and data processing.

It is obvious that economic activity is becoming more dependent on the international exchange of information and services. As services grow in importance, communications are becoming more significant to the world economy. Indeed it has been said that communications serve the same function for trade in services as the transportation system does for trade in goods. The growth of trade in services is becoming a highly significant factor in producing growth and jobs. Over the past two decades, some 86 per cent of job growth in the U.S. economy has occurred in the services producing sector. In Australia, over a similar period, employment in the services sector rose by over 1.7 million persons and, in fact, accounted for more than the total growth in employment in the economy during this period.

Honourable members will recognise that there is a range of possible approaches to

achieving an improvement in our status in invisibles trade. At one end of the spectrum there is the matter of getting the fundamentals right involving attention to issues such as the future course of fiscal policy and our national savings effort. The panel has recommended an EPAC study on these topics. At the other end of the spectrum there resides the matter of providing the necessary assistance and encouragement to our services sector to boost its performance in international trade in line with its potential to contribute to growth in the Australian economy.

It was with these latter considerations in mind that, as part of the recent reorganisation of the Department of Trade, a Services Trade and Export Facilitation Division has been created specifically charged with development and promotion of the export capabilities of Australia's services sector. The new Division will provide a focus in the Department for our objective of developing our export of services in the transport, insurance, financial services fields and to increase our foreign exchange earnings from the overseas marketing of professional, technical and scientific knowhow.

My Department, in co-operation with the Australian computer software industry, organised survey missions to North America and Japan, commissioned very professional and practical market surveys of these markets, has held marketing seminars only a few weeks ago in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide and, after further consultation with the industry, will develop a practical promotion-marketing plan which I am confident will produce maximum export returns for this valuable sector of Australia's knowledge industry.

We also wish to ensure that the products of our scientific research institutions are properly commercialised. Where practicable they should be translated into Australian high-tech manufactures. Sometimes this is not possible and we aim at marketing overseas such scientific knowledge on a systematic basis. It is my intention to appoint in the near future a specialist Trade Commissioner whose sole task will be to assist scientific organisations to derive direct commercial benefits from their work.

Professional consultancy services and construction contracting overseas is one field where the Department and industry have been working together successfully for a

number of years. Export income generated by consultants now exceeds \$100 million per annum. There is more work to be done especially in gaining more project contracts for Australia which are financed by the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank. It is also important to ensure that maximum possible flow-on benefits result from such service contracts to Australian equipment manufacturers. This will require active co-operation between the various consultants, contractors and equipment suppliers. Government involvement is assuming a higher profile in this area: my colleague Chris Hurford, the Minister for Housing and Construction, is leading an industry trade mission to Thailand, East and West Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia this month on which consultants, constructors and metal trade industries have representatives.

In closing I would like to offer the Government's thanks to Dr Susan Bambrick, who headed Panel 75, her fellow panel members, and the Trade Development Council in general for a job well done. They have tackled a complex assignment in a most thorough and imaginative fashion, producing a practicable blueprint for improvement in this most neglected area of export potential. The recommendations will be acted upon.

Federal Sea Safety and Surveillance Centre

Joint news release issued by the Minister for Transport, Mr Peter Morris, MP, and the Special Minister of State, Mr Mick Young, MP, on 9 October:

Mr Peter Morris, Minister for Transport, and Mr Mick Young, Special Minister of State, have announced that the Australian Coastal Surveillance Centre is now to be known as the Federal Sea Safety and Surveillance Centre.

The Ministers said that the change of name will allow a clearer distinction to be made between the sea safety responsibilities of the Department of Transport and the coastal surveillance responsibilities of the Special Minister of State.

Mr Morris said that with the separation of

the functions of the two units — code-named Sea Safety and Coastwatch — close co-operation between them would still be maintained.

'The resources available to the Federal Police are extensive and provide a first class information and communications network on which both operations can draw,' Mr Young said.

'Facilities include full radio communications facilities, including a direct link to the Department of Defence, a complete navigational data base for Australian and regional waters and other oceanographic and meteorological information vital to the operations of both Sea Safety and Coastwatch,' he said.

Mr Morris said that Australia, under its international obligations, is responsible for shipping within an area that covers almost one-ninth of the world's surface.

Shipping within that area contacts the Centre every 24 hours not only for their own safety but also so it is known at any one time where the closest seaborne assistance is in case of an emergency at sea.

Mr Morris pointed out that Sea Safety provides a highly sophisticated search and rescue system with a proven record.

'Small boat owners and operators, in particular those using pleasure craft, need to understand that the Centre only takes over the search when requested to by the State authorities.'

The emphasis on sea safety is in line with Australia's ratification of the IMO's International Convention on Maritime Search and Rescue.

But Mr Morris said the major responsibility for sea safety lies with the public.

'The key to better small boat safety is thorough preparation, providing details of proposed outings with relatives or friends, adhering to planned itineraries and, above all, being properly prepared with mechanically sound boats fully equipped with life jackets, flares, radios and, if possible Emergency Position Indicating Radio Beacons (EPIRB).

'The cost of these items is small in comparison with the boat but as experience often tragically shows, they could also mean the difference between life and death.'

Mr Morris said that no matter how good a rescue organisation might be, it is of no avail if these elementary precautions and rescue aids are not taken.



The Minister for Aviation, Mr Kim Beazley, MP. (AIS photo).

Air freight charters between Perth and Brunei

News release issued by the Minister for Aviation, Mr Kim Beazley, MP, on 10 October:

The Minister for Aviation, Mr Kim Beazley, today announced his approval of regular freight charters from Perth to Brunei, thus providing a boost for West Australian exporters.

Mr Beazley said the charters would be allowed for an interim period pending the expected introduction, in due course, of scheduled services between Perth and Brunei.

'This approval has been given to fill the immediate need for a direct air freight capability from Perth to Brunei to meet the requirements of primary produce exporters'.

'Representations I have received from the Western Australian Government and the primary produce industry emphasised the importance of a direct freight service from Perth to Brunei to the development of a potentially valuable export market,' Mr Beazley said.

'Until the cessation of Cathay Pacific's once weekly stop at Brunei on its Perth-Hong Kong service, Brunei was an important market for

Western Australian export produce. Commencement of the charter operations means that regular access to this market may be regained,' he said.

The flights would be organised by an Australia-based firm, Skytraders, using a Canadair CL 44-D freighter aircraft of Bayu Air, an Indonesian charter airline, with a capacity of 26 tonnes.

'Skytraders expect to be in a position to commence the program of charters at the beginning of November. The situation will be reviewed after a reasonable period to ensure that the charters are meeting their objectives successfully. Commencement of the charters will of course be dependent on Bayu Air meeting the necessary operational requirements', Mr Beazley said.

Amendments to Australian citizenship legislation

News release issued by the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr Stewart West, MP, on 11 October:

The Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Stewart West, MP, today welcomed passage of significant amendments to the citizenship laws through both Houses of Parliament.

Mr West said that the amendments are the most significant changes to the Australian Citizenship Act since it came into force in 1949.

'The Government has decided not to oppose an amendment by the Opposition which reintroduced reference to the Queen in the Oath and Affirmation of Allegiance, as we are not prepared to sacrifice major reforms for the sake of one issue,' Mr West said.

The significant amendments in the Bill include:

- the qualifying period for citizenship by grant is reduced from three to two years;
- relaxation of the continuous residence requirements from 12 months immediately preceding the application to 12 months residence in the previous two years;
- provision for an application for a grant of citizenship to be deferred for periods of up to 12 months, to enable the applicant to meet one or more requirements;
- amendment of the requirement that an applicant for citizenship demonstrate an adequate knowledge of the English language. The requirement will now be that

an applicant demonstrates a 'basic' knowledge of English, and applicants over 50 years of age will be exempted altogether;

- consistent with the Government's reform of the Migration Act, repeal of the definition of British subject status;
- right of determination appeal to the Administrative Appeals Tribunal on a number of grounds, for denial or deprivation of citizenship;
- the removal of discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status; for example, a mother will have equal rights with a father in determining their child's citizenship; and
- automatic acquisition of citizenship by adopted children.

'The amended Australian Citizenship Act will ensure equal treatment of all Australian citizens, regardless of ethnic origin,' Mr West said.

'The reforms contained in the Act are a demonstration of the Government's commitment to end all forms of discrimination in legislation, and provide equality of opportunity to all people living in Australia,' Mr West said.

Australian Public Service: new provisions for appointment

News release issued by the Minister for Finance and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Public Service Matters, Mr John Dawkins, MP, on 11 October:

Mr Dawkins, the Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Public Service Matters, today announced that as from 1 November 1984, people seeking appointment to the Australian Public Service will need to be Australian citizens. The requirement for Australian citizenship replaces the previous requirement for officers of the Australian Public Service to be British subjects. The new requirement will not apply to those persons who were appointed to the Public Service under the previous arrangements and there will continue to be no citizenship requirement for temporary employment with the Australian Public Service.

The Government first announced its intention of amending the Public Service Act to introduce the new nationality requirement in October 1983. The amendment to the Public Service Act was included in the Public Service Reform Act 1984.

The Government's decision to replace the British subject requirement with one of Australian citizenship reflects its view that migrants should be treated equally, irrespective of origin and that the adoption of Australian citizenship should be encouraged as a unifying factor in a multicultural society.

Mr Dawkins said that the Australian citizenship requirement for appointment to the Australian Public Service would not, however, mean that there would be no opportunities for people who are not Australian citizens to obtain employment in the Australian Public Service after 1 November 1984. The Government has been careful to ensure that permanent residents who intend to become Australian citizens but who have not yet met the residential requirement for citizenship, will not be unduly disadvantaged by introduction of the citizenship requirement. It has, therefore, decided that permanent residents who are not yet eligible for citizenships or who are able to indicate that an application for citizenship has been made would still be able to apply for entry to the Australian Public Service under the normal merit selection processes.

Permanent residents who were selected for positions in the Public Service under these arrangements would be offered fixed-term employment in those positions for a period up until their application for citizenship has been made and approved, when they would become eligible for appointment as officers of the Australian Public Service. Mr Dawkins said that there may of course be some positions in departments which Ministers may consider should not be occupied by people who are not Australian citizens, usually for security considerations, and such positions would be excluded from these arrangements.

Permanent residents who obtained employment in the Australian Public Service under this arrangement will, if they have met the other requirements for appointment during the period of fixed-term employment, be appointed to the Public Service on gaining citizenship, without further merit competition. They will of course be subject to all other normal requirements for appointment, such as health standards.

Mr Dawkins said that the Government had also approved arrangements to finalise before 1 November, the appointments of those persons who are not citizens but who were eligible under the earlier nationality provi-

sions and have already been selected for appointment to the Public Service. Mr Dawkins said that non-citizens who had sat for the various selection tests but had not been selected for appointment before 1 November would, however, not be covered under this arrangement and would need to take out Australian citizenship in order to be eligible for appointment to the Public Service after 1 November. The Public Service Board would advise people on the order of merit lists of these arrangements.

Mr Dawkins also said that he had approved the circumstances in which he would be prepared to consider waiving the Australian citizenship requirement for appointment. This would be in cases where there is a shortfall of skills in the public service, including employment categories where overseas recruitment campaigns are conducted. Mr Dawkins noted that there was also provision to consider waiving the citizenship requirement in cases where it gave rise to particular difficulties or was considered unduly restrictive and hampered the efficient operation of the Public Service. He added that he would periodically tender a statement in Parliament and notify in the (Australian Government) Gazette any circumstances where waiver extends beyond individual cases.

Mr Dawkins said that further advice on the arrangements outlined above could be obtained from regional offices of the Public Service Board throughout Australia.

ARIANESPACE to launch third AUSSAT satellite

Joint news release issued by the Minister for Communications, Mr Michael Duffy, MP, and the Minister for Defence Support, Mr Brian Howe, MP, on 11 October:

The Government's satellite-owning company, AUSSAT Pty Ltd, is formally to sign a \$24 million contract with the European company ARIANESPACE to launch AUSSAT's third domestic satellite.

This was announced today by the Minister for Communications, Mr Michael Duffy, and the Minister for Defence Support, Mr Brian Howe.

They said it was most rewarding that Australian industry and the Overseas Telecommunications Commission (Australia)

would receive orders for work and services valued at about \$18 million through offsets commitments agreed by the Federal Government and ARIANESPACE.

Offsets work would include the manufacture in Australia of aluminium and steel forgings and castings valued at between \$7.5 and \$9.0 million for the ARIANE family of space launch vehicles.

This will include, if required, the transfer of appropriate technology to Australian companies to enable forgings and castings manufactured in Australia for the ARIANE launch vehicles to meet the stringent quality control requirements for space vehicles.

ARIANESPACE had also agreed to transfer technology into a wide range of other space industry related activities to assist Australian companies in developing their expertise and capabilities in this area. The Ministers said ARIANESPACE would also arrange the placement of orders on OTC worth \$8.5 million for tracking and telemetry services at Carnarvon and Perth between 1985-96 with possible extensions.

These orders would also lead to indirect work for Australian industry. This work would allow OTC to continue to provide space vehicle tracking and control services and allow the Commission to retain and develop this expertise to enable future involvement in similar contracts.

'Advice from AUSSAT indicates that demand for services on the Australian National Satellite System, whose first two satellites will be launched in the second half of 1985, is such that the launch of the third satellite could be advanced to mid-1986,' the Ministers said. This satellite was originally planned as an on-ground spare for launch around mid-1988. The Ministers said the ARIANESPACE offer included launch options — from mid-1986 through to mid-1988 — which gave AUSSAT a substantial degree of flexibility in launching the third spacecraft to meet demand when needed. ARIANESPACE is a private European commercial consortium formed in 1980 and jointly owned by thirteen major European banks, thirty-six European aerospace and electronics manufacturers, and the French National Space Agency. The organisation would use the expendable ARIANE 111 three-stage rocket to launch the satellite. Total launch cost of \$24 million in 1984 dollars included launch support and auxilliary services, the Ministers added.

Australia-Italy: reciprocal health care agreement planned

Joint news release issued by the Australian Minister for Health, Dr Neal Blewett, MP, and the Italian Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Bruno Corti, on 11 October:

The Australian Minister for Health, Dr Neal Blewett, and the Italian Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Bruno Corti, announced today the official opening of negotiations for a reciprocal agreement on health care between Italy and Australia.

The proposed agreement would be an important additional link in the framework of the excellent relations between the two countries and also would be the first reciprocal health care agreement concluded by Australia. Dr Blewett and Signor Corti pointed out that the opening of negotiations on this matter is further proof of the interests that the two Governments have for the welfare of the Italian-Australian community, and a recognition of its significant contribution to the social, economic and cultural development of Australia.

Dr Blewett and Signor Corti said that through the proposed agreement, the two Governments aim to ensure that their citizens moving from one country to the other enjoy the similar benefits as far as emergency medical and hospital care is concerned. Such an agreement would facilitate the movement of persons between the two countries for work and study reasons and for visiting relatives and tourism.

The Ministers also said that the two health care systems already provide adequate mechanisms to cover workers and technicians of the two countries moving to one country as employees of firms of the other country and to pensioners moving their residence from one country to the other.

Dr Blewett and the Deputy Minister agreed that the future work of the Italian and Australian delegations, which met in Canberra over the past few days, should be concentrated on reaching mutual solutions concerning the health care of persons moving between the two countries for short-term visits.

Dr Blewett noted that reciprocal health care agreements with other countries were envisaged under Medicare. The purpose of the

proposed reciprocal agreements would be to provide for emergency health care for Australian visitors to Italy and Italian visitors to Australia.

Dr Blewett and Signor Corti said they were pleased with the progress which had been made and they considered that, while there were some complex issues which needed to be resolved, they were confident that a successful agreement could be negotiated between the two countries.

Dr Blewett and Signor Corti announced that, in view of the successful discussions so far, they had agreed that they would continue to work towards a draft agreement. Further discussions are planned to take place in Rome early in 1985. Dr Blewett and Signor Corti expressed the hope for an early conclusion of the health care agreement, and noted that the agreement is an important addition to the social security agreement being negotiated simultaneously. Dr Blewett and Signor Corti have agreed to meet again in the near future.

Australia-Italy: reciprocal social security agreement planned

Joint news release issued by the Australian Minister for Social Security, Senator Don Grimes, and the Italian Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Bruno Corti, on 12 October:

The Australian Minister for Social Security, Senator Don Grimes, and the Italian Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Bruno Corti, today reaffirmed the commitment of the Australian and Italian Governments to reach a reciprocal agreement on social security as soon as possible.

Senator Grimes and Signor Corti were speaking after what they described as a very cordial and fruitful meeting. They said it was now apparent that a successful agreement could be concluded between the two countries based on a memorandum of understanding which was presented to the Ministers at today's meeting by the Italian and Australian negotiating teams.



Signor Bruno Corti (left) and the Minister for Social Security, Senator Don Grimes, pictured after the presentation of a memorandum of understanding on providing more equitable and realistic social security coverage for people who have moved between the two countries. (AIS photo).

Senator Grimes and Signor Corti decided that as a result the negotiating teams will meet again in Rome next month to finalise as far as possible the text of a draft agreement to be put before the two Governments for approval. They said they were most happy with the way negotiations have proceeded so far, and stressed the spirit of constructive co-operation and friendship which has characterised the negotiations.

The Ministers said that the agreement, which would be the first of its kind to be reached in Australia, will represent a considerable achievement in providing more equitable and realistic social security coverage for people who have moved between the two countries.

Senator Grimes and Signor Corti noted that the agreement will strengthen the special links between the two countries which, thanks to the important role played by the Italo-Australian community in the development of a modern and progressive Australia, constitute a fundamental element of the excellent political, cultural and economic relations between Australia and Italy.

The Ministers said that an agreement would reflect the following fundamental principles:

- people who had lived or worked in both countries would be able to cumulate periods of contributions in Italy and residence in Australia in order to satisfy the minimum qualifications under the laws of either country;
- people who qualified under the agreement in this way would then become entitled to a pension proportional to their periods of contributions or residence in the relevant country;
- people who had lived or worked in both countries would thus generally receive some pension payment from each country so as to provide them with a package of social security rights reflecting their participation in the system of each country;
- there would be no discrimination between the nationals of either country who qualified for a payment under the agreement;
- no-one would receive a lesser social security right under the agreement than they would receive under the domestic legislation of either country;
- the agreement would apply retrospectively to enable cumulation of periods of residence and contributions completed prior to the conclusion of the agreement, and

would not be limited to periods completed only after the agreement came into force;

- the agreement should not be limited only to retirement pensions but should cover all pension and benefit types where both countries have broadly equivalent payments; and
- the agreement should establish adequate and effective administrative arrangements for the payment and review of pensions in either country, to ensure that people received their proper entitlement from either country promptly and efficiently.

Senator Grimes noted that the implementation of a final agreement would need to be supported by amendments to Australia's domestic law so that the portable pension available to people leaving Australia would be calculated on the basis of the period of their working life they had spent in Australia.

Southern Bluefin tuna management program: exclusion of Japanese fishing vessels*

News release issued by the Minister for Primary Industry, Mr John Kerin, MP, on 12 October:

Under a new access agreement concluded this week, Japanese tuna vessels will not be able to operate in areas of the Australian Fishing Zone where they could take Southern Bluefin tuna, the Minister for Primary Industry, Mr John Kerin, said today. The new agreement will only cover areas of the Zone north of 34°S.

Mr Kerin said that despite the clear scientific warnings about the reduction in Southern Bluefin stocks and very decisive action taken by Australia to restrain its domestic catch, Japan had not been prepared to limited the take of Southern Bluefin tuna by its fishermen.

For this reason it was not possible to reach agreement on continued access by Japanese longliners to Southern Bluefin tuna areas in the Zone, since they would not have been subject to the same overall level of control as Australian tuna fishermen.

* See also *AFAR*, Volume 54, No. 10, October 1983, pages 610 and 666, and Volume 55, No. 8, August 1984, page 887.

Mr Kerin said that he appreciated that this could involve some short-term disruption to the Australian companies which service Japanese fishermen. But he emphasised that conservation of the resource was the important priority and that if we failed in this aim, there could well be no fishery at all in future years and no visits by Japanese fishermen.

He also pointed out that licensed Japanese tuna vessels operating in the northern part of the Zone or outside the Zone in southern waters would still have access to those ports they had visited in the past.

Mr Kerin emphasised that the Japanese catch of Southern Bluefin tuna amounted to only about 1000 tonnes per annum in the Australian Fishing Zone. A large proportion of their activity occurs outside the Zone and this will not be affected. Therefore, whilst the Government decision will result in some level of reduction in visits to Australian ports it is likely a major proportion will continue.

Although Japanese vessels would not be targetting on Southern Bluefin in the Zone, Australia and Japan would continue to work together in conjunction with New Zealand to develop a co-ordinated international management program for the fishery.

'If we make substantial progress at an international level and if Japan is prepared to fully participate in global catch quota arrangements as recommended by the scientists, it may be possible in future to permit Japanese longliners to return to the southern part of our Zone', Mr Kerin said.

However, as things stand it would be extremely short-sighted and unfair to those Australian fishermen who have had to accept severe controls in order to conserve the resource to permit Japanese fishermen to continue to exploit Southern Bluefin in our waters.'

Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to China

News release issued by the Minister for Housing and Construction, Mr Chris Hurford, MP, in Beijing, on 12 October:

'I am very enthusiastic about the opportunities in China for the Australian building, construction and related industries', Mr Chris Hurford, the Minister for Housing and Construction, said in Beijing today.

He said that a mission which he is leading had identified with the Chinese many projects for detailed study between Chinese officials and Australian industry and government representatives.

Mr Hurford and a number of senior businessmen from the construction, building and heavy engineering sectors, and senior government officials, have so far visited the north-eastern cities of Qinhuangdao, Shenyang, Liaoyang and Dalian. Tonight they will travel to Shanghai.

'The challenge for Australian industry is to take advantage of the many opportunities, some of which we have identified and explored in our discussions with Chinese officials', he said.

'It is clear from our meetings that waste water treatment and the purification of domestic water supplies are problems common to most large Chinese cities. Australian consultants are already involved in a major study in Shanghai and similar opportunities exist in each of the cities I have visited.'

Mr Hurford said China was undertaking massive development and rehabilitation programs to modernise its industry. As part of the plan to achieve this, 14 ports had been designated as 'open' ports to make them more attractive to foreign investors.

'Qinhuangdao and Dalian are 'open' ports', he said, 'and it is clear from our visit that these cities are enthusiastically seeking foreign investment and technology'.

'The program is not limited to these ports: for example, Beijing and Shenyang, among other cities, have been given a special status to enable them to benefit from a flexible approach to foreign investment and assistance'.

'In addition, four special economic zones which have been created receive priority for raw materials, power and labour. They have a high degree of economic autonomy and enjoy special laws to encourage foreign investment.'

Mr Hurford said that specific projects had been identified in each city he had visited. They included fresh water reticulation, highway development and a coal gas plant in Qinhuangdao.

'In Dalian and Shenyang, we were advised that Australian technology and expertise are being sought', he said.

'Projects were identified in priority and have been incorporated into memoranda of understanding in each centre visited. These

projects could be the subject of detailed study between Australian and Chinese representatives.

'There is a great interest in external and internal finishing treatment for high-rise buildings and for construction equipment generally. The need for modern cement technology and for concrete pressure pipes was high on the priority list in Dalian', he said.

Other projects included a light rail transportation production system and production technology and equipment for aluminium and PVC door and window frames.

'Australia now enjoys a very special relationship with China following the successful visits of Premier Zhao Ziyang to Australia in April 1983 and Prime Minister Hawke to China in February this year', Mr Hurford said.

'Throughout my visit, I have been most impressed by the warmth and high regard the Chinese have for Australia and its people. The Hawke Government is determined to forge a strong relationship with our Asian neighbours and, in particular, with China. This is reflected in part by the recent expansion of the Trade Commissioner Service in China to assist businessmen in developing trade interests', Mr Hurford said.

No uranium shipments to France

News release issued by the Minister for Resources and Energy, Senator Peter Walsh, on 14 October:

In accordance with a previously announced Government decision, uranium shipments will not be made to France under present circumstances.

Agreement has been reached between Queensland Mines Ltd (QML) and Electricité de France (EdF) to defer the first eight shipments of uranium under the contract between QML and EdF.

In order to protect the profit and cash flow position of QML, the Government has agreed to purchase each of these shipments at the original delivery price.

If circumstances permit, QML is obliged to repurchase the uranium from the Commonwealth.

QML will continue to meet its royalty payment obligations.



Mr Bruce Woodberry. (AIS photo).

Ambassador to Portugal

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 14 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, today announced the appointment of Mr Bruce Woodberry as Australia's Ambassador to Portugal. He succeeds Mr Geoffrey Brady, who has been Ambassador since 1981.

Mr Hayden said that Australia and Portugal shared common views on many international issues, particularly on the maintenance of Western security. He noted that Portugal, as a member of NATO, was important to the Western alliance in Europe, and that negotiations for Portugal's entry to the EC were now underway.

Recalling that he had experienced at first hand the warm regard of the Portuguese people for Australia during his recent visit to Lisbon in September, Mr Hayden noted that the friendly relations existing between the two countries were reinforced by the presence in Australia of some 35 000 Portuguese migrants.

Mr Woodberry joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1948 and has served in Berlin, Paris, Tel Aviv, Kuala Lumpur, Saigon, London, Brussels, Hanoi and Algiers. He was Australia's Ambassador to Laos from 1979-81, and has been Ambassador to Brazil since 1981.

Visit by HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn of Thailand

News release issued by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, on 15 October:

Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn of Thailand is to visit Australia for the first time from October 17-29 as a guest of the Commonwealth Government.

This visit will strengthen the friendly and close relations already existing between Australia and Thailand.

Whilst in Australia the Princess will observe techniques for dry land farming, irrigation and crop production which could be particularly relevant to her country.

The Princess will visit CSIRO in Canberra and Perth, the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Authority, the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area and Gatton Agricultural College in Queensland.

She will also meet members of the Thai community in Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth and visit Alice Springs.

In Canberra Her Royal Highness will be the guest of the Governor-General and Lady Stephen.

Great Barrier Reef Marine Park

News release issued by the Minister for Home Affairs and Environment, Mr Barry Cohen, MP, on 16 October:

The Minister for Home Affairs and Environment, Mr Barry Cohen, announced that the Governor-General had today revoked certain proclamations made in 1983 in relation to the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park and declared two new sections of the Marine Park.

'The effect of this action is that four areas of the Marine Park declared by proclamation on 31 August and 30 October 1983 and known as the Southern, Inshore Southern, Central and Townsville sections have been consolidated into two sections,' Mr Cohen said. 'The two revised sections, named the Central section and the Capricornia section, cover the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park region from Dunk Island to the region's southern boundary below Gladstone.'

'The purpose of this consolidation is to improve the cost-effectiveness of zoning and management activities and to ensure that section boundaries conform with the regional management boundaries as administered by



HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, pictured with members of Sydney's Thai community. (AIS photo).

the Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service. The Service is responsible for the day-to-day management of the Marine Park.

'Considerable cost savings will result from this consolidation as only two, rather than four, zoning plans will be required. Consequent reduction in administrative activity will also lead to increased efficiency in the management of the Marine Park,' Mr Cohen said.

'This consolidation has no effect on existing zoning provisions as none of the four sections had been zoned and the zoning plan for the Capricornia section remains in effect. A public participation program in relation to the intent to prepare a zoning plan for the (newly constituted) Central section is due to commence on 1 November. Information materials and advice on making representations will be advertised and circulated through capital city and regional outlets for four months,' said Mr Cohen.

Visit by the NZ Governor-General

Edited news release issued by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, on 16 October:

Their Excellencies the Governor-General of New Zealand and Lady Beattie are to make a State Visit to Australia from 31 October to 7 November.

They will visit Canberra and Victoria.

It will be the first official visit to Australia by a Governor-General of New Zealand since the visit of Sir Arthur and Lady Porritt in 1971 and will be made at the invitation of Their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Stephen.

During their visit to Canberra Sir David and Lady Beattie will stay at Government House. Whilst in Melbourne they will stay at Government House as the guests of the Governor of Victoria and Lady Murray.

Brighton bombing by IRA

News release issued by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, on 16 October:

The Prime Minister has sent the following message to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher:

When I met your new High Commissioner, Sir John Leahy, in Canberra on Sunday I

expressed to him our shock at the outrage in Brighton last week and our sympathy for the victims.

On behalf of the Australian Government I also wish to extend deep sympathy to you personally, to those who are injured and to the relatives and friends of those murdered in that brutal blast.

I fully support your courageous response to this appalling act of terrorism.

High technology: Australian company awarded overseas contract

News release issued by the Minister for Science and Technology, Mr Barry Jones, MP, on 16 October:

An Australian company has bettered the industrial might of Japan and the United States to win probably the largest commercial order yet placed for the new super ceramic PSZ.

The Minister for Science and Technology, Mr Jones, announced the deal today in opening a new building of Nilcra Ceramics Pty Ltd in Northcote, (Melbourne).

Nilcra is developing with CSIRO a form of PSZ — Partially Stabilised Zirconia — invented by CSIRO in the early 1970s.

Mr Jones said the contract worth more than \$800 000, was to supply a United States Company with a PSZ component for the floppy discs used in computers.

'Nilcra won the order against competition from Japanese and American companies mainly because of the quality of their PSZ product. Nilcra believe it is the largest commercial order to be placed throughout the world for PSZ,' Mr Jones said.

'Although the sum involved may not seem large by some industry standards, we have to remember that this is still a very young industry,' he added.

'I believe the contract will stand as a milestone in the development of what could become a major industry in Australia. It is, incidentally, one of the Federal Government's sunrise industries,' he pointed out.

Mr Jones said that CSIRO was now also working with ICI Australia to develop the capability to manufacture zirconia and zircon beach sands. Nilcra, which presently imports its zirconia, could then become a major customer.

'Australia is the world's major supplier of zircon and we sell it for about \$110 per tonne. If we made zirconia, we could sell it for \$5000 to \$15 000 a tonne. By turning that zirconia into finished PSZ machine and equipment components, we could earn the equivalent of hundreds of thousands of dollars a tonne,' he said.

'This is what Australia must do if it is to stop losing ground to other nations in the world economy.'

Nilcra Ceramics is a joint venture between Nilsen Sintered Products and CRA. The new building houses increased laboratory and production facilities.

Koalas for Japanese zoos

News release issued by the Minister for Home Affairs and Environment, Mr Barry Cohen, MP, on 17 October:

Eleven Japanese Government and zoo officials from three cities will call on the Minister for Home Affairs and Environment, Mr Barry Cohen, at his Gosford electorate office on 19 October formally to accept a gift of six koalas from the Federal Government.

The officials are also making the journey personally to thank Mr Cohen who authorised

the export of the animals. The koalas will not be present but the Japanese visitors will join Mr Cohen in a visit to Eric Worrell's Animal Park nearby to make an early acquaintance with koalas.

The Japanese officials are the Director-General, Department of Construction, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Mr Ariyama; the Director, Tama Zoo, Mr Hisada; Senior Officer, Department of Construction, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Mr Ishii; Veterinarian, Tama Zoo, Dr Narushima; the Vice Mayor, Nagoya City Government, Mr Nishio; the Director, Higashiyama Zoo, Mr Asai; Senior Officer, Nagoya City Government, Mr Watanabe; the Vice Mayor, Kagoshima City Government, Mr Hidaka; the Director, Hirakawa Zoo, Mr Kawabata; the Private Secretary to the Vice Mayor, Kagoshima City Government, Mr Miyauchi; and Senior Officer, Kagoshima City Government, Mr Yoshino.

Mr Cohen will hold a short reception at his electoral office before the party proceeds to the animal park. The Director of the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, Professor Derek Ovington, will accompany the party. The six koalas for the Japanese zoos will actually leave Australia on 24 October.

Mr Cohen's decision to allow the koalas to go to Japan strengthens the development of



Pictured at the Taronga Park Zoo farewell to a koala are the Director General, Construction Bureau, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Mr Yujiro Ariyama (left) and the Director of Taronga Zoo, Mr Jack Throp. (AIS photo).

sister city and prefecture-state relationships which are themselves an important factor in Australia-Japan relationships.

Two koalas will go to Higashiyama Zoo, Nagoya, as a gift from its sister city, Sydney. Two which will go to Tama Zoological Park, Tokyo, are a gift from the State of New South Wales which has a sister state relationship with Tokyo Municipal Government. The other two will go to Hirakawa Zoological Park, Kagoshima, as a gift from the State of Queensland.

Mr Cohen said today that each zoo had spent large sums of money in constructing buildings to house the koalas and in establishing in Japan plantations of those species of eucalypts eaten by koalas.

Nobel Peace Prize

News release issued by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, on 17 October:

I have sent the following message to Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches:

'I extend my warmest congratulations and best wishes on behalf of the Government and the people of Australia on the occasion of your being awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize.

Your principled struggle against the iniquitous racist policies of the South African Government has now deservedly won international recognition. I take this opportunity to reaffirm the Government's total condemnation of all forms of racial discrimination. We will continue to pursue our policy of uncompromising opposition to apartheid.

It was a pleasure to have met you personally here in Australia and I hope we may renew our acquaintance at some future date.'

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 17 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, today welcomed the announcement that Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, had been awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize. Mr Hayden said he had sent a personal message of congratulations to Bishop Tutu.

Mr Hayden said that Bishop Tutu had visited Australia in May this year under a program established by the Government to bring to Australian prominent opponents of the apartheid system.

During his visit Bishop Tutu had met numerous public figures and community groups around Australia and had spoken out strongly against the injustices of the apartheid system.

Mr Hayden commented that the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu constituted worthy recognition of the fearless and untiring efforts of a man dedicated to peaceful change in the face of overwhelming pressures and hardships. The award also demonstrated yet again the strength of international condemnation of the apartheid system.

Mr Hayden noted that another prominent opponent of the apartheid system and colleague of Bishop Tutu in the South African Council of Churches, the Rev. Allan Boesak, who had played a leading role in opposition to the recent constitutional changes in South Africa would be visiting Australia, at the Government's invitation, later this month.

Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to Thailand

News release issued by the Minister for Housing and Construction, Mr Chris Hurford, MP, in Bangkok, on 18 October:

'We believe we have found opportunities for Australian industry to join with Thai industry for the mutual benefit of our respective economies', Mr Chris Hurford, the Minister for Housing and Construction, said today in Bangkok.

Mr Hurford, who is leading the first Australian ministerial trade mission in the construction and related industries to visit Thailand, was addressing the Australian-Thai Chamber of Commerce. He said that a co-ordinated and imaginative approach is needed if the Australian construction industry is to establish a long-term position in the Thai market.

'We must seek to be known as valued and responsible partners concerned with the development of the region. I believe that we should be targetting our efforts to those projects where we have some technology or management expertise to offer.'



Bishop Desmond Tutu.

'From our discussions with Thai Government and industry representatives we have identified a number of opportunities both for Australian consultants and contractors to assist in Thai development. These include activities in the fields of lignite extraction for use in power generation, the development of pollution controls, and sewerage and water treatment'.

'Thailand is fast developing its oil and natural gas fields. With our recent experiences we believe we are well placed to participate in this program. Thailand is also undertaking an ambitious program of upgrading and developing its transport infrastructure. Many of our civil contractors have

the "know-how" and the expertise to assist in this field too'.

'The Hawke Government is determined to improve significantly the level of trade in services as well as goods within this region.' We want to do this for our mutual benefit. Such trade will be both ways. We know Thailand has much to offer too,' Mr Hurford said.

'Business now has a Government in Australia which recognises that a partnership approach is essential if Australia is to effectively link its economy to Thailand's and with Thailand's becoming increasingly linked to Australia's.'

Mr Hurford added that he is confident more effort on both sides will result from the trade mission's visit.

'We have a highly capable construction and consultancy industry which can compete in almost all environments. The challenge before us is to marry these skills with Thailand's development aspirations. In this way economic activity in both our countries will be stimulated for the benefit of our people.'

Ambassador to Poland

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 18 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, today announced the appointment of Mr Max Hughes as Australia's Ambassador to Poland. He succeeds Mr John Burgess, who has been Ambassador since 1980. Mr Hughes, who will be resident in Warsaw, will also be accredited as Australia's Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Mr Hayden said Australia had enjoyed a long and productive relationship with Poland, marked by co-operation during the trials of

World War II and the establishment of resident Embassies in Warsaw and Canberra in 1973. He said that the two countries had built up useful exchanges in trade and culture and the Polish community in Australia had made a significant contribution to Australia's development.

Mr Hayden noted that recent events in Poland had severely limited the growth of bilateral exchanges but said he was encouraged by developments this year, principally the amnesty on political prisoners of 21 July. Mr Hayden said the Government would be looking forward to further developments toward national reconciliation in Poland.

Mr Hughes joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1965 and has served in Bonn, Washington, Kuala Lumpur and Port Moresby.

Detention in Vietnam of Australian yachtsman

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 22 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, today called in the Vietnamese Ambassador, Mr Hoang Bao Son, to express his concern about the continuing detention in Vietnam of Michael David Flecker.

Mr Flecker, from Perth, was a crew member of an American registered yacht, *So Fong*, which was detained by Vietnamese authorities off the coast of Hau Giang Province in the south of Vietnam on 22 July. The *So Fong* was sailing from Thailand to Hong Kong when it was apprehended by a Vietnamese patrol boat for allegedly intruding into Vietnamese territorial waters.

Mr Hayden pointed out that Mr Flecker had now been held for three months. The Australian Embassy in Hanoi had been pressing continually with the Vietnamese authorities for Mr Flecker's release and also for permission to have regular consular access to Mr Flecker. So far Australian consular officials had been allowed only one consular visit to Mr Flecker. The Australian Embassy was also seeking permission to have regular telephone contact with Mr Flecker.

The Ambassador undertook to convey Mr Hayden's concern to the Vietnamese Foreign Minister and would advise Mr Hayden of his response.



Mr Max Hughes. (AIS photo).

Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to Malaysia

News release issued by the Minister for Housing and Construction, Mr Chris Hurford, MP, on 22 October:

'There are great opportunities for co-operation between the Malaysian construction industry and the Australian industry to the economic and social advantage of both nations', Mr Chris Hurford, the Minister for Housing and Construction, said in Kuala Lumpur on 19 October after discussions with Malaysian Government ministers and officials and industry representatives. Mr Hurford is leading the first Australian ministerial trade mission in the construction and related industries to visit Malaysia and was speaking before leaving for East Malaysia and Brunei on the next stage of the mission's itinerary.

Mr Hurford said that the mission had been most impressed by what they had seen and heard in Kuala Lumpur and were concerned that a forward looking and co-ordinated approach was necessary if Australian industry was to increase its involvement in Malaysia.

'Australian firms have already demonstrated that they can work very effectively in partnership with Malaysian firms to their mutual benefit. We need to build on our long history of close and friendly relations as members of the Commonwealth and as neighbours in South East Asia', Mr Hurford said.

'We have gained a better understanding of Malaysia's development plans and we believe there are a number of areas in which Australia's experience and technology in the construction industry can assist in furthering those plans. Of particular interest were the development of transport infrastructure, pollution controls, including the management of liquid and solid wastes and landscape development. In the area of public housing Australian firms had developed cost effective systems and techniques which could help Malaysia achieve its very significant public housing program. We understand the philosophy of technology transfer and we believe it is in this area that we have most to offer in developing our common interests', Mr Hurford said.

'The Australian Government is determined to improve two-way trade, both in goods and services, within our region. Business now has

a government in Australia which recognises that a partnership approach is essential if Australia is to realise its full potential as a member of the fast-growing Asia-Pacific region. We have a highly capable, innovative and adaptable construction industry with a wide range of skills. The challenge for us is to further marry these skills with Malaysian talent and development aspirations so that both our nations can benefit' Mr Hurford said.

Australia elected to UN Security Council

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 23 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, announced today that Australia has been elected to a seat on the United Nations Security Council for a two-year term in 1985-86. Australia's term begins on 1 January 1985.

Australia was elected at the current session of the General Assembly in New York. Australia and Denmark were the two endorsed candidates of the West European and Others group and both were elected on the first ballot.

The Security Council is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations and is the most prestigious body in the United Nations system. Under the United Nations Charter, it has 'primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security'.

Mr Hayden said that support for the United Nations was a keystone of the Labor Party platform. The Labor Government would use Australia's term on the Security Council to pursue the search for international peace and security.

The Security Council has 15 members, of which five are permanent members (China, France, USSR, United Kingdom and the United States) and ten non-permanent. The latter are elected for two-year terms.

This will be Australia's fourth term on the Council. Australia served previously in 1946-47, 1956-57 and 1973-74. Mr Hayden noted that two of Australia's previous three terms were under Labor Governments.

United Nations Day

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 24 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, said that Australia had special cause to mark United Nations Day (24 October) this year. Australia had just been elected to a two-year term on the Security Council, having received a record number of votes. This demonstrated international confidence in Australia among members of the United Nations.

United Nations Day commemorates the entry into force, 39 years ago, of the Charter of the United Nations. The signing of the Charter in San Francisco in 1945 was a significant event in post-war history, signalling the establishment of international machinery designed to enable nations to unite and work together for global peace and progress.

Mr Hayden reaffirmed the Australian Government's commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter: peaceful settlement of disputes, promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the economic and social advancement of all people.

Mr Hayden said that Australia's readiness to serve on the Council reflected its commitment to the United Nations, its willingness to undertake the obligations of membership of the Council and a belief that Australia could make a worthwhile contribution to the important work of the Council.

Mr Hayden called for a recommitment by all member nations to the Charter of the United Nations and to its high ideals.

Visit by the President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 24 October:

Dr Allan Boesak, a prominent South African churchman, intellectual and critic of the apartheid system, will visit Australia at the invitation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, from 31 October to 11 November.

Dr Boesak will be in Sydney from 31 October to 1 November, Brisbane 2 November, Canberra 4-5 November, Melbourne 6 November, Adelaide 7 November and Perth 8 to 11 November.

Dr Boesak's visit is the second in a program of visits announced by Mr Hayden in October 1983. Under the program, people who have had direct experience of apartheid will be given the opportunity to convey their experiences to the Australian public. In May this year Bishop Desmond Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, was the first visitor to Australia under the program.

Dr Boesak is a patron of and major spokesman for the United Democratic Front (UDF), a non-racial political and social movement which led opposition to the South African Government's recently introduced constitutional changes. He is an Assessor in the 'sister' church — for so-called 'coloured' mixed race persons — of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, and in 1982 was elected to the Presidency of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC). He is also a member of the National Executive of the South African Council of Churches.

Dr Boesak is regarded as one of the most influential people in South Africa today. He has been a vigorous opponent of apartheid both within South Africa and abroad and is one of the most outspoken critics of the South African Government's racially discriminatory laws and practices.

Philippines: report on the Aquino assassination

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 24 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, commented today on the release of the findings of the Agrava Board of enquiry into the assassination in August 1983 of former Senator Benigno Aquino.

Mr Hayden said the Government regretted that the Board had been unable to release a unanimous report. The Government noted President Marcos' decision to initiate proceedings in an open civil court, and hoped that the Philippine authorities will continue their efforts to bring to justice all those responsible for Mr Aquino's assassination.

Mr Hayden recalled that at the time of the assassination the Australian Government deplored the killing of Mr Aquino and made known the Government's concern that no effort should be spared in bringing the perpetrators to justice.

Mr Hayden said that the Government of the Philippines must persist in the most determined action following up these reports and their findings in a convincing effort to have the murderer or murderers of Mr Aquino prosecuted before the proper processes of law.

Mr Hayden said the Australian Government recognised that since the assassination of Mr Aquino the Philippines has experienced a number of political and economic difficulties. The Government hopes that these problems can be resolved peacefully and constructively, and with respect for democratic processes and human rights.

UN International Conference on Population*

Speech by the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr Stewart West, MP, to the United Nations Association of Australia, in Canberra, on 24 October:

I should like to thank the Canberra Division of the United Nations Association of Australia for inviting me to address this meeting. I have been asked to speak on the recent United Nations International Conference on Population and I am pleased to take this public opportunity to report on the Conference.

On the letter of invitation I received from the Association there is a motto which reads 'Taking the United Nations to the people'. This motto is most appropriate. It is often difficult for the public to see the relevance of much of what goes on in the United Nations system to the everyday lives of ordinary people. Yet the Conference on Population in Mexico City for which I headed the Australian delegation, discussed issues which are very much about the lives of ordinary people world wide.

The Conference was about achieving balance between the world's population, its resources and the environment in which we all must live, and it was about individual freedom, equity and justice — certainly issues relevant to how people everywhere live and how they develop their full potential as human beings, as members of families and communities.

It is also most appropriate to talk on this topic on this United Nations Day marking the thirty-eighth anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter.

The primary purpose of the International Conference on Population was to review and up date the 1974 World Population Plan of Action by developing recommendations for the further implementation of the Plan. This Plan represents a guiding set of principles on population matters for governments to follow in accordance with a nation's objectives and needs.

The Conference provided a forum for discussion by the delegations of 160 countries, of policy response to population issues confronting developed and developing countries. In addition there were present nearly 200 UN organisations, specialised agencies, inter-governmental organisations and non-government organisations.

Both the 1974 Plan of Action and the 1984 review and update of the Plan of Action acclaimed in Mexico City, cover a very broad range of issues including:

- social and economic development and population;
- population goals and policies relating to mortality, fertility, population distribution, the status of women, international migration, refugees and health; and
- the role of international co-operation, particularly population aid matters.

Before I detail some of the outcomes of the Conference and its potential relevance to Australia I will set out some of the facts and figures on the world's population. Since the previous Conference in 1974 the annual rate of growth of the world's population has declined from 2.0 per cent per annum to about 1.7 per cent per annum today. However, the rate of decline in growth is not expected to be maintained and by 2000 the world growth rate could still be around 1.7 per cent per annum. Moreover, the annual increase in numbers remains today at about the same as it was in 1974 (around 79 million) but it expected to increase to about 90 million

* Copies of the plenary session address and national statement are available from the Population and Research Branch, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, PO Box 25, Belconnen ACT 2616, Australia. See also *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 8, August 1984, page 871, and No. 9, September 1984, page 981.

by 2000. Furthermore, since 1974 the world population has increased by 770 million with 90 per cent of that increase occurring in developing countries. The best guess population projection made by the United Nations has the world's population increasing by 1.3 billion from about 4.8 billion in 1984, to 6.1 billion in 2000. About 55 per cent of this growth will be in the Asia-Pacific region.

Following this track, population growth will continue until the end of the 21st century before stabilising at about 10.1 billion. However, many think it optimistic to expect this stability. Over the period 1980-85 developing countries population growth rates will average out at about 2 per cent per annum whilst those for developed countries will be 0.6 per cent per annum. Whilst world growth rates have declined over the past decade and a half, the global decline has been influenced substantially by the rapid decline in China's growth rates. Future gains in this regard in China can't be expected to continue at anything like the same pace.

On the other hand in countries of Africa, much of South East Asia and some Latin American countries there has been no or little decline in growth rates during the past 15 years. These facts and figures can be seen in a historical perspective. It took one million years to reach the first billion of population, 120 years to reach the second billion, 32 years to reach the third billion and only 15 years to reach the fourth billion.

The more pessimistic of the participants at the Conference saw the situation depicted by these gloomy pictures as leading to greater political instability and consequent refugee flows, of increasingly authoritarian governments, of slackened pace of economic development, of a perpetual gap between 'rich' and 'poor'. They went on to point to the large-scale growth of cities in the developing countries, to the pressure on water and food, and to the degradation of the environment.

On the other hand there were one or two proponents of an optimistic outlook based upon a view that economic development fuelled by free enterprise principles would provide all the answers. In a free enterprise environment people and population growth became an asset. Government intervention will only reduce economic performance and militate against social mechanisms which otherwise would operate to slow population growth.

Indeed, this latter view received much press coverage world-wide. Further, it caused consternation at the Conference, the implication being that there was now little need for population control policies. This view ran counter to the consensus of the 1974 Conference and the experience of the past decade and a half. Also this view ran counter to the opinion of the World Bank that high population growth is thwarting economic progress of the developing world.

However, by the end of the conference, overwhelmingly delegations agreed that more effort was needed to make family planning programs more effective. This would require action on many fronts in particular to lower infant and child mortality, to make family planning information available to all, to improve levels of education, and to raise the status of women. Raising the status of women, particularly in developing countries, was seen as the key to achieving future moderation in population growth rates.

The views expressed by the conference have been summarised in the Mexico City Declaration on Population and Development and in 88 recommendations for the further implementation of the World Population Plan of Action. I expect these documents will be available in a final form later this year or early in 1985. The consensus expressed in these documents was that the 1974 World Population Plan of Action has helped international co-operation and brought population issues to the forefront. The principles and objectives of the Plan remain valid and were reaffirmed.

Over the past decade however, the world has undergone many changes. The general feeling was that much had been achieved including:

- reductions in fertility;
- a diminishing of mortality;
- a decline in infant mortality;
- an increase in life expectancy;
- an increase in per capita calorie supply for developing countries as a whole;
- improvements for human welfare in social spheres with improving school enrolments and literacy rates along with access to health services;
- some improvements in the status of women; and
- improved access to and knowledge of family planning.

On the other hand, developing countries in particular emphasised that all is not rosy. The outlook is not one that will allow any relaxation of effort by any country. The outlook is for annual additions to the world's population increasing in size. The current situation indeed still looks dismal. Population growth rates in parts of Africa, Latin America and Asia have increased and in about one-quarter of the world's population no decline in fertility has been observed. Inequalities also persist between men and women in regard to human rights, wealth, employment and literacy.

Furthermore, international economic difficulties over the past decade have seriously hampered development. The gap in per capita incomes of many developed and most developing countries widened during the past decade. The number of people living in absolute poverty has increased. In addition urban populations in general continue to increase far more rapidly than total populations. Flows of refugees are increasing. Finally, environmental and natural resource problems in many regions of the world have been aggravated by population growth.

What then of the main outcome of the Conference, the 88 recommendations for the further implementation of the World Population Plan of Action?

The Conference highlighted issues representing challenges of major concern to the international community. These challenges are particularly relevant to the economic and social progress of developing countries. The issues that need to be faced cover a range of matters as imposing and challenging as the current situation outlined previously looks dismal. In the first place there is the overall task of reducing poverty, expanding employment and encouraging economic growth. At the same time the role and status of women has to be promoted, expanded and advanced. There are high levels of infant and maternal mortality to overcome along with persisting high fertility rates in some countries. There are the unmet needs for family planning in many countries.

Further, there are changes in population structures leading to new policy challenges in all countries. These challenges may be associated with the ageing process evident in developed countries, or the increase in working age populations and the high proportion of young in developing countries. The increasing concentration of populations in

large cities in developing countries is having negative consequences for development. At the same time the importance, diversity and consequences of international migration and the problems of refugees cannot be forgotten.

Moreover, the disequilibrium between rates of population change and changes in resources, environment and development has to be faced in many regions of the world.

Finally, there is the need to strengthen knowledge, analysis and trained personnel in the population area as well as to increase national and international support to implement the Plan of Action. Indeed population issues cover many interrelated policy areas which makes them all the harder rather than easier to address. The detail of the 88 recommendations made by the Conference reflects the emphasis of these issues. The recommendations are of primary concern to developing countries although some also apply equally to Australia. Before I turn to implications for Australia I will briefly talk of Australia's role and interests which its delegation pursued at the Conference.

Population issues are of concern to Australia. We are a traditional receiver of permanent migrants, we are a contributor to international aid for developing countries, we are a part of the Asia-Pacific region which includes countries facing rapid population growth and others with fertility levels below replacement, and we want to promote international, social and economic development.

In this context Australia pursued six broad areas of interest at the Conference. First is the recognition of the importance of the interrelationships between population and social and economic development referred to as the integrated approach to population policy. Finding solutions to population problems is not just a matter of considering demographic growth but of understanding that the determining factors of demographic change lie within economic and social development processes. What this means is that direct population control measures such as family planning programs should proceed concurrently with policies to promote economic development and environment protection.

Indeed, this belief is carried through to our overseas development assistance where population aid is considered most effective when delivered within objectives of raising standards of living, of improving nutrition, rural health and education, raising the status

of women and increasing employment opportunities. As you are aware the Jackson Committee has reported on such issues and the report of that Committee is being considered by the Government.*

Second is the recognition of the rights of the individual. These rights are paramount if quality of life is to be improved. Australia reaffirmed the right of people to decide in a free, responsible and informed way, the number and timing of their children. The need for respect of the freedom of movement of individuals and the right to reside where they choose within their country was also reaffirmed. It was unacceptable to us for example to support the concept of 'prevailing cultural values' at the expense of 'individual rights'.

We emphasised recognition of the rights of indigenous minorities when determining population and national migration policies. There are close links between human rights situations in countries and population movements. In my view there must be continuing effort devoted by the international community to identifying and finding solutions to human rights violations which result in mass flows of people within or between regions.

Third is the recognition of the importance of the status of women. The need to achieve full integration of women in society on an equal basis with men, and to abolish discrimination against women are important goals in their own right. Improving the status of women is also an essential component of integrated population policies, as is the right of women to have access to family planning information and services to allow informed decision making.

Fourth, Australia's interest and role in international migration including refugees was emphasised. Population growth supplemented by immigration has been one of the most important factors in our own economic and social development.

Fifth, adequate levels of health are one essential element of individual participation in development. Consequently, improving primary health care was emphasised.

Finally, effective population planning needs to be associated with sound environmental management. This can assist in achieving a balance, in all regions, between

population and sustainable development. High population growth is one of the important problems facing the world environment. In addition, Australia recognised the importance of multilateral organisations such as the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and non-government organisations in the population field.

In summary, at the Conference Australia saw the need for continuing concerted action by the international community. Population growth in many countries continues to inhibit social and economic development. Much needs to be achieved before all countries can approach a position of balance between population and the resources available. The Conference accepted these points and urged governments to take action in relation to the issues I outlined earlier.

As to the implications of the 88 recommendations for Australia it is too early to say in detail. As I said earlier however, much of the substance is primarily relevant to developing countries. As a first step I have referred the recommendations of the Conference to the National Population Council for their consideration. However, in relation to Australia, population growth is currently considered to be at a rate in keeping with the state of the economy and the need for balance between population, available resources and environment quality.

As to our current level of immigration it has been pitched at a level aimed at balancing many concerns. The Government has reconciled its compassionate and humanitarian responsibilities, the ability of the economy and resources to absorb increases in the work force and in population, shortages of special skills, the problems of settlement of migrants and the costs to the community in terms of both settlement and social welfare payments.

Demographic trends of the population of Australia are broadly satisfactory. Nevertheless, since the Government pursues policies for economic and social development which both have an impact on and are influenced by, population characteristics, the Government maintains a program of monitoring population trends, including research into their causes and effects.

The Government, also, adheres to the principle that people should be free to choose the number and spacing of their children and their place of living within their own country.

* See also *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 6, June 1984, page 563.

Each person should also have equal opportunity for social and economic well-being including equal access to education, health care, family planning and welfare of a high standard.

Finally, the Government recognises its responsibilities to the international community. It expresses this recognition in its aid and refugee programs. I would think that for Australia these are the two areas which are the key to our continued international involvement in the population issues addressed by the Mexico Conference.

After all is said and done, as the Conference recognised, it is the political commitment of heads of state and other leaders and the willingness of governments to take the lead in formulating population programs and allocating the necessary resources which is crucial to achieving the goals of the World Population Plan of Action.

Perhaps even more importantly, experience has shown, not only in the population field, that international co-operation is essential for the implementations of recommendations agreed upon by the international community. Without this and continued international support, progress, in an area in which it is in the best interests of every individual to make progress, would be far harder. The United Nations has a continuing vital responsibility to perform in population work in this regard.

Visit by the Minister for Housing and Construction to Brunei

News release issued by the Minister for Housing and Construction, Mr Chris Hurford, MP, in Brunei, on 24 October:

'Members of my delegation are most impressed at Brunei's achievements and we believe our trade mission will strengthen the ties between our two countries', the Minister for Housing and Construction, Mr Chris Hurford, said in Bandar Seri Begawan (Brunei) yesterday.

Mr Hurford is leading the first Australian ministerial trade mission to visit Brunei Darussalam since independence. The mission is also visiting a number of other ASEAN countries. The mission includes senior representatives of leading Australian companies in

the construction, consultancy and related industries and senior Australian Government officials.

'We have had most informative discussions with senior representatives of the Brunei Ministries of Finance and Economic Development. We will be carrying back to Australia a much better understanding of Brunei's development aspirations and its firm intention to diversify its economic base.'

'Of particular interest to the mission is the importance of those plans to the construction industry and, more generally, for housing and infrastructure development. We will be looking forward to learning of Brunei's intentions in its next five year plan due to be published shortly and in its proposed master plan. We learned that, while detailed development plans are awaiting the completion of the next five year plan, it is likely that development expenditure will at least be maintained at around current levels.'

'I shall be encouraging Australian firms to be more active in seeking ways in which they can work with their Bruneian counterparts in achieving Brunei's development objectives. Parts of northern Australia have a terrain and climate very similar to Brunei's. I believe that the skills and knowledge built up in the course of Australia's recent development, particularly in those areas, are very applicable in Brunei. This country welcomes involvement where it does not possess the skills.'

'A number of Australian concerns are presently shortlisted for future significant involvement with the Brunei Government and I am hopeful this will lead to increased co-operation between the two countries.'

'There is much goodwill and mutual understanding between Brunei and Australia. This will be strengthened by such links as Royal Brunei Airline's flights into Darwin, Brunei students attending Australian tertiary education institutions and Brunei investments in Australia. In addition, Brunei defence personnel will be undergoing training at our jungle training school at Canungra next month.'

'In short, just as Australia is looking to strengthen its links with Asia and in particular the ASEAN countries, so I believe Brunei will look more and more to Australia as a natural partner in its development to replace its traditional but diminishing link with the United Kingdom'.

Aid to Ethiopia

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 25 October:

Reports that the Government had rejected World Vision requests for more food aid for Ethiopia are wrong.

World Vision asked the Government on 2 October for additional food aid for Ethiopia. Subsequently World Vision's representative participated with other non-government organisations in discussions with ADAB on the needs of Ethiopia and possible Australian responses.

Action had been planned on the basis of the agreement reached in these discussions. The World Vision request of 2 October has not in any way been rejected.

I regret that the news organisations which used these reports did not first check their accuracy with either my Department or my office.

World Disarmament Campaign

News release issued by the Department of Foreign Affairs, on 25 October:

The Australian Ambassador for Disarmament, Mr Richard Butler, was elected President of the second pledging conference for the World Disarmament Campaign held in New York on 24 October 1984.

The World Disarmament Campaign was launched in June 1982 by a unanimous decision of the General Assembly. The first pledging conference was held in October 1983. In 1984 the program of activities under the campaign has been financed from both the regular budget of the United Nations and voluntary contributions by member states. As of August 1984 a total of 35 countries had made pledges to the conference totalling U.S.\$8.4 million.

The second pledging conference, over which Ambassador Butler presided, secured pledges totalling U.S.\$209 192 from some fourteen delegations.

Following his election to the Presidency, Ambassador Butler said that the World Disarmament Campaign had worked well in the first year of its operation and that it was vital that it continued to attract considerable support.

He pointed out that it was often said that information was power. The power that many people around the world are now most deeply concerned about is the power of modern weapons. Disarmament was thus an urgent priority and ordinary people around the world needed to be given the information required to assist them in supporting policies geared to disarmament. The United Nations had a definite role to play in this work and was doing so in a balanced and factual manner.

The Australian statement in which a new contribution of \$50 000 (\$20 000 of which will be allocated to the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research) was pledged, was given by the Australian representative at the pledging conference, Ms Susan Boyd.

Aid to Ethiopia

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 26 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, said today he would be convening next week a meeting of representatives of Australian voluntary aid organisations, community and food producer organisations, officers from the Australian Development Assistance Bureau and the Department of Foreign Affairs, and other government agencies, to assess the current situation in Ethiopia.

The meeting would look at Australia's responses so far, and would examine the best ways in which aid could be delivered most rapidly and effectively to those in need in Ethiopia. It would look at ways to co-ordinate the efforts of the Government and non-government aid organisations, and would also examine ways of co-ordinating Australian efforts with those of other countries and international organisations.

The meeting will take place on 30 October at the Commonwealth Government Offices in Brisbane.

The Government has already taken action to provide assistance to Ethiopia. It provided \$4.3 million worth of aid to Ethiopia in 1982-83 and \$5.7 million worth in 1983-84. Mr Hayden had approved \$6.5 million worth of aid for 1984-85. Most of these mounts are spent on food aid.

Mr Hayden said that the Australian Development Assistance Bureau had earlier this month held a meeting with non-government aid organisations in Australia at which it was decided to send a mission to Ethiopia to report on the situation there and advise on Australian responses. The team would be made up of a senior officer from ADAB, a representative of non-government aid organisations and the officer from the Australian High Commission in Nairobi who had been dealing with these matters.

Mr Hayden said that the Government stood ready to provide more aid. One of the greatest problems faced in providing aid to Ethiopia was the great difficulty in distributing aid once it arrived. The lack of transport facilities and a difficult security situation seriously hampered the aid effort.

Mr Hayden said that reports available to the Government indicated that drought, widespread civil disturbance and mass movements of people had led to a famine which was expected to be even worse than that which afflicted Ethiopia in 1974, when between 200 000 and 400 000 people had died from starvation. Up to one million people may die by the end of this year from malnutrition and related diseases.

Appointment of Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office in New York

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 26 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, today announced the appointment of Mr Cavan Hogue as Deputy Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations, New York. The appointment follows Australia's election to the Security Council.

Mr Hogue will have the personal rank of Ambassador. Mr Woolcott will continue as Australia's Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

Mr Hayden said that Mr Hogue's appointment reflected the Government's wish to strengthen Australia's representation at the United Nations following its election to the Security Council. During its two-year term,



Mr Cavan Hogue. (AIS photo).

Australia would be called on to consider important international issues in sometimes difficult circumstances.

Mr Hogue joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1958 and has served in Seoul, Rome, Mexico City, Santiago, Manila and Jakarta. He held senior positions in the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs between 1981 and 1983. He has been Australia's Ambassador to Mexico since May 1983.

Mr Hogue will take up his new appointment in January 1985, when Australia begins its term on the Security Council.

Report of the iron and steel industry technical assessment mission to China

News release issued by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade, Mr Lionel Bowen, MP, on 26 October:

The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade, Mr Bowen, announced today that he had received the report of the Australian Government iron and steel industry technical assessment mission to China.

The mission, during July-August this year, visited the majority of China's major iron and steel complexes. It was led by a senior officer

from the Department of Trade and included four senior experts from BHP, one each from CRA and CSR, a representative of the ACTU and two representatives from Australian research organisations. The proposal for the technical assessment mission was agreed between Mr Bowen and the Chinese State Councillor and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, Mme Chen Muhua, during Mr Bowen's visit in June.

The mission's report identifies a wide range of opportunities for co-operation, from commercial prospects to exchanges in technology and training assistance programs. Opportunities identified include prospects for further raw material supplies and for the provision of a wide range of goods and services to all sectors of Chinese industry, from mining through to finishing mills.

To complement and support the development of these opportunities a number of recommendations are made on the development of technical co-operation through the provision of training, technical exchanges and the development of research programs.

The mission's report examines medium term prospects for the development of trade between Australian and Chinese iron and steel industries. The mission concluded that Australia's industry is in a good position to meet China's expanding demand for imports of raw materials, pig iron and steel products.

The mission's examination of longer-term prospects for the development of the relationship between our industries led it to conclude that before the end of the 1990s significant opportunities will emerge for the development of major new facilities in China through joint ventures between Australia and China. The mission considered that there is significant potential for the integration of such ventures with the development of commercially viable, complementary facilities in Australia. Its report suggests that Australian investment and involvement in development in China be matched by related Chinese involvement in the development of new facilities in Australia.

Mr Bowen welcomed the mission's report and said that it should give further impetus to rapidly expanding trade in this area. He noted that shipments under contract for iron ore, manganese, steel products and coal to China for this calendar year are expected to have a total value of \$177m, an increase of 46 per cent over 1983. Contracts which have been negotiated include the first ever sales of

Australian steaming coal and manganese to China.

Mr Bowen said that the Government would be moving to give early consideration to the report and would be looking to the joint study group set up under the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation in the Iron and Steel Industry, which he recently signed, to co-ordinate and develop a program to maximise areas for the development and expansion of Australia's industry in this vital area.*

In pursuance of the report, the mission will return to Beijing on 28 October to present its findings to the Chinese Government.

* See *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 8, August 1984, page 877.

Australia-China co-operation in coal technology

News release issued by the Minister for Resources and Energy, Senator Peter Walsh, on 26 October:

A memorandum of understanding on co-operation in the coal industry was signed last week in Beijing by the Chinese Minister for Coal Industry, Mr Gao Yangwen, and myself. It represents a further strengthening of our developing relationship with China. I expect it to provide a solid base for the development of a broader economic, commercial and technical relationship on coal.

The understanding offers good prospects for Australian companies, consultants and institutions to participate in the growth of the Chinese coal industry. A joint working group on coal technology will be established to formulate plans for future co-operation and to oversee progress. The group will meet alternatively in China and Australia at least once a year.

Eight areas of co-operation have been agreed. They include:

- coal resources assessment;
- open cut and underground mine design, development (including extraction) and management;
- coal preparation, processing and utilisation;
- monitoring techniques for underground mines;
- computer applications in coal mines and coal preparation plants; and
- coal storage, handling and transportation.

The understanding provides for the training of technical and management personnel, exchanges of technical experts and delegations, exchanges of technical and economic information, collaboration on symposia, conferences and workshops.

I have indicated to the Chinese authorities that Australia has the expertise and capacity to assist China in these areas. Our industry has an excellent record in developing and operating efficient coal projects, both open cut and underground, which can compete with any in the world.

I expect Australia to send a mission to China in the near future to follow up the opportunities arising from the signing of the understanding.

Appointment of Senior Trade Commissioner to Beijing

News release issued by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade, Mr Lionel Bowen, MP, on 26 October:

The Governor-General has appointed Dr Jocelyn Chey as Senior Trade Commissioner, Beijing, People's Republic of China. Dr Chey is currently Executive Director of the Australia-China Council. She is a well known sinologist and Chinese linguist and served as



Dr Jocelyn Chey. (AIS photo).

Cultural Counsellor in the Australian Embassy, Beijing from 1975 to 1978.

Dr Chey will join the Australian Trade Commissioner Service in November this year and take up her Beijing posting in January 1985. Her knowledge and experience will add impetus to the Government's China Action plan which has been designed to develop trade between the two countries.

Beef exports to Japan: new agreement

Joint news release issued by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade, Mr Lionel Bowen, MP, and the Minister for Primary Industry, Mr John Kerin, MP, on 26 October:

Mr Bowen and Mr Kerin today announced new arrangements agreed with Japan which will provide a basis for growth in Australia's exports of beef to the Japanese market over the period to 31 March 1988. The Ministers added that the settlement with Japan had followed protracted and intensive negotiations and discussions over a period of almost two years.

'We have been working to secure the best deal possible for the Australian industry following the ill-considered actions of the previous Government which saw Australia increasingly disadvantaged in the Japanese market', the Ministers said.

The new arrangements provide for Japan's beef imports under quota to increase from 141 000 tonnes in Japanese Fiscal Year (JFY) 1983 to 177 000 tonnes in JFY 1987. After allowing for increases in imports of grain-fed beef negotiated by Japan with the United States, this means that Japan's quota imports of grass-fed beef will increase steadily to a level 8400 tonnes per annum higher by JFY 1987.

'The success of the Government's approach in difficult circumstances is demonstrated by the fact that for the first time, the Japanese Government has also given assurances to Australia in respect of our trade in chilled and aged beef.'

Japan has agreed to maintain its imports of chilled beef at not less than 24 000 tonnes a year and to increase annual imports of aged-frozen beef to 14 000 tonnes in JFY 1987. 'These assurances on chilled and aged beef are significant because Japan's imports

of chilled beef have declined in recent years,' the Ministers said.

'In addition Japan has agreed to co-operate with Australia in order to exploit the demand potential in the Japanese market for Australian high quality beef and to take measures to expand the range of high quality beef cuts imported into Japan.'

Japan has also undertaken to adjust its import arrangements to open up opportunities for more direct commercial contact between Australian suppliers and Japanese private buyers of beef, thereby enabling commercial market forces to have a direct impact on development of the trade in a small part of the total market. In future, at least 10 per cent of the Livestock Industry Promotion Corporation of Japan (LIPC) beef import allocations will be outside of the normal LIPC tender and auction system.

The Ministers stated that the arrangement was based on Japanese estimates of their future supply and demand requirements and that the Japanese Government had agreed to hold regular beef trade and marketing consultations with Australia. These would provide an opportunity for reviewing the implementation of the new arrangements and the development of the beef trade. Japan also agreed to negotiate on beef import arrangements to apply after JFY 1987.

The arrangement will be formalised by way of a formal exchange of letters between the two Governments.

The Ministers said that while there were very positive aspects to the new arrangement Australia was, nevertheless, most disappointed that despite our long-standing position as the major supplier of imports of beef to Japan, the Japanese Government had again chosen to provide preferential access for grain-fed beef over grass-fed beef in which Australia specialised. They expressed concern that Japan's arrangements, by providing growth in imports of grain-fed beef in excess of that for grass-fed beef, will preempt the evolution of the beef trade. They said that these arrangements may not accord with consumer preferences within the Japanese market and, therefore, have a long-term trade distorting influence.

They noted that a basic problem faced in the negotiations was the fact that an outcome which favoured U.S. suppliers had been accepted by the previous Government in 1979. Under the earlier arrangement Australia's exports of quota beef to Japan fell from

106 656 tonnes in 1979 to 90 238 tonnes in 1982.

The Ministers pointed out that under the new arrangement Australia had the opportunity to increase its export tonnage and Japan's new assurances on chilled and aged beef would be of benefit to the Australian industry by allowing growth in the trade on a more secure basis. The arrangement with Japan was, in this respect, encouraging since it came at a time when the industry was facing increased pressures in many of its other markets.

EC agricultural export subsidies: butter sales*

Joint news release issued by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade, Mr Lionel Bowen, MP, and the Minister for Primary Industry, Mr John Kerin, MP, on 26 October:

The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade, Mr Bowen, and the Minister for Primary Industry, Mr Kerin, expressed dismay and concern at the intention of the European Communities (EC) to export 200 000 tonnes of surplus butter from its Government-owned intervention stocks, at a price which breaches the minimum export price established by the GATT International Dairy Arrangement (IDA).

They said that this action had seriously undermined the international butter market, threatened the continued viability of the IDA and had profound adverse implications for international co-operation with the EC in attempts to resolve commodity trade problems.

The Ministers also expressed concern at the implications of the EC's actions for all sections of the Australian dairy industry, which is already facing depressed export prices and difficulties in making export sales.

The Ministers noted that the EC had, in a manner unprecedented in international commodity arrangements, deliberately chosen to flout its obligations under the IDA. They pointed out that it was the EC, as the governmental party to the IDA, which had

* See also *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 7, July 1984, page 757.

chosen to act in contravention of the Arrangement and it was this aspect which made the matter so serious. At special meetings under the IDA in Geneva this week, the EC openly admitted that its actions were contrary to its international obligations, but insisted that they had no intention of reversing or even modifying their new measures and virtually challenged other participants to do anything about the matter.

The EC action was incomprehensible and inexcusable and its implications must spread far wider than the dairy trade and be of concern to all governments which participate, in good faith, with the EC in international commodity arrangements and negotiations. The EC certainly faces a difficult situation with huge government stockpiles of butter. But these difficulties are of the EC's own making, stemming from continued overly generous and inappropriate support measures for their dairy industry.

The Australian Government had protested to the EC and its member States in the strongest terms and was now urgently examining all options open to it in the light of this serious new development in bilateral relations.

The industry will be given a detailed report next week on the outcome of the special meetings in Geneva. At that time, the opportunity will be taken to discuss with the industry approaches which might be adopted in consultations arranged in Brussels for the week commencing 5 November and in ensuing meetings in Geneva under the IDA.

The Ministers emphasised that the Government would be doing whatever it could to attempt to minimise the damage caused by the EC. However, the EC had not consulted other IDA members before deciding on the new measures, and had effectively presented them with a take it or leave it ultimatum. This provided yet another example of how a GATT arrangement dealing with agriculture was being frustrated.

High Commissioner to Jamaica

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 26 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, today announced the appointment of Mr Michael Landale as Australia's



Mr Michael Landale. (AIS photo).

High Commissioner to Jamaica. He succeeds Mr Reginald Little, who has been High Commissioner since 1982. The High Commissioner in Kingston also has reporting and consular responsibilities for a number of other countries in the wider Caribbean area.

Mr Hayden said that Australia enjoyed warm and friendly relations with Jamaica, stemming from the traditional ties of membership of the Commonwealth.

Mr Hayden said that in the commercial field, both Australia and Jamaica were major exporters of bauxite and members of the International Bauxite Association, the headquarters of which were in Kingston.

Mr Hayden noted that Australia also enjoyed good relations with eleven other Commonwealth countries, in or bordering the Caribbean, to which the High Commissioner in Kingston would be accredited. He added that the touring West Indies cricket team was drawn from a number of these countries (and Jamaica) and that the friendly rivalry between Australia and the West Indies in cricket was a constant and welcome reminder of our traditional links with the region.

Mr Landale joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1971 and has served in Singapore and Geneva. He has been Counsellor at the Australian High Commission in London since 1983.

Death of Sir John Crawford

News release issued by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, on 30 October:

Australia has lost a great citizen with the death of Sir John Crawford.

For half a century Sir John helped to shape Australians' perceptions of their place in the world. He played a major role in the formulation of Australian public policy for four decades, and in the implementation of policy for two decades.

Throughout his long, productive and meritorious service to Australia, Sir John dependably brought to his work unique qualities of high intellect, humanity, and sensitivity to the people and societies amongst whom he worked. He was held in high regard by people from all stations in life and in many countries.

It is now half a century since Sir John published articles drawing the attention of a Europe-centred Australia to the vast new economic horizons that would be created by economic growth in Japan, China and South East Asia. From the early 1950s Sir John contributed more than any other Australian to the realisation of this enormously important vision. His role as Secretary of the Department of Trade in negotiating the 1957 Trade Agreement between Australia and Japan, his foundation role as Professor of Economics and Director in the Research School of Pacific Studies and his chairmanship of Study Group on Structural Adjustment were all milestones on Australia's journey towards an appropriately productive relationship with Australia's Western Pacific environment.

Sir John was an outstanding public servant under governments of all persuasions, at first in the Department of Postwar Reconstruction, and then as Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Agriculture and the Department of Trade. As Vice-Chancellor and then Chancellor, he made an invaluable contribution to the building of the Australian National University as a national institution with high relevance to our national life. Sir John was a trusted and influential adviser to all governments after his retirement from the public service, making special contributions through his work as Deputy Chairman of the Vernon Committee and in the work which led to the establishment of the Industries Assistance Commission, the aid relationship with Papua

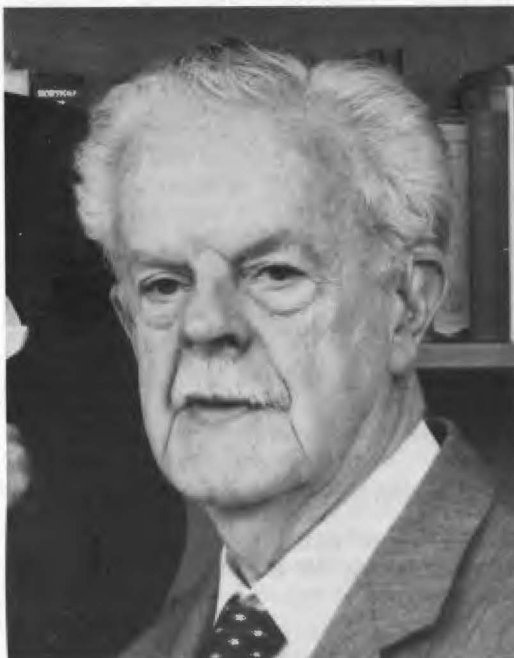
New Guinea, the restructuring of Australian shipping, the exploration of possible forms of co-operation amongst Pacific countries, and in many other spheres.

While always the most dedicated Australian, Sir John is remembered for wise advice to governments in many countries in our region. As an adviser with the World Bank he played a special role in the agricultural development of India, and later of Indonesia and Thailand. As an adviser to Australian and Papua New Guinea Governments, as Chancellor of the University of Papua New Guinea and as Chairman of the Papua New Guinea Development Bank, he played a formative role in the emergence of independent Papua New Guinea.

I was privileged to have worked with Sir John as a member of the Study Group on Structural Adjustment. As Prime Minister, I greatly valued his advice on Australia's foreign economic relations.

Without the contributions of this very great Australian, our nation would be much less prepared for its historic role as a dynamic, humane country, whose development is closely linked to a dynamic Asia-Pacific region.

On behalf of the Australian people, I have expressed our sympathy to Lady Crawford.



Sir John Crawford. (Photo by David Fetherston).

Contribution to the UN fund for the victims of torture

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 30 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, announced today that the Australian Government would contribute \$15 000 to a UN voluntary fund to aid the rehabilitation of victims of torture.

Mr Hayden said that the Australian Government saw the fund as a useful means for providing concrete assistance to those suffering the debilitating medical and psychological after-effects of torture.

Mr Hayden described the continuing practice of torture as an abomination and pledged that the Australian Government would continue to lend its full support to international efforts to bring an end to the abhorrent phenomenon. He added that Australia was actively involved in negotiations at the UN General Assembly to conclude an effective international convention against torture.

Emergency aid to Ethiopia

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 30 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, has announced a 65 per cent increase in Australia's aid to Ethiopia, lifting it by \$4 250 000 to \$10 750 000. Mr Hayden also said that Australia is taking diplomatic initiatives to speed up the co-ordinated relief effort by international organisations and other governments.

Additionally the Australian Government has already provided \$2 million for non-government aid agencies and the World Food Program in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Mr Hayden summarised the aid package as:

- the Government will add \$4 250 000 in aid to the \$6 500 000 announced on 26 October as aid in 1984-85;
- the main component in the total package of \$10 750 000 will be a pledge of 25 000 tonnes of wheat;
- the cost of the wheat, its freight and of internal distribution costs of non-governmental organisations which will

handle 5000 tonnes of it, is estimated to be \$6 475 000. The World Food Program will be asked to handle 20 000 tonnes;

- another food component consists of 120 tonnes of high protein biscuits, of which 100 tonnes have just arrived in Ethiopia and 20 tonnes will be airfreighted to UNICEF. The total value is \$390 000;
- the Government will give cash grants totalling \$1 225 000 to Australian appeals, non-government organisations and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for use in Ethiopia. The Government hopes that the public will follow its lead in contributing to the appeal of the International Disaster Emergencies Committee to which it will give \$500 000;
- the Government offers to pay for a medical team, possibly from Red Cross, to work in Ethiopia for six months at an estimated cost of \$200 000; and
- the Government also offers to pay for a Qantas Boeing 747 to fly in the high protein biscuits, the medical team, medical supplies and other emergency relief items to be consigned to UNICEF and to the ICRC. It will consider other flights or help with sea-freight costs if Australian companies and organisations wish to avail themselves of the offer. The cost of each flight is around \$300 000 and expenditure on the medicines and other emergency items would be around \$500 000.

Mr Hayden said he has sent a message to the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia expressing the Government's deep concern at the plight of Ethiopia's starving people, and pledging Australia's assistance.

Mr Hayden has also sent a message to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the heads of UN relief organisations, calling for a UN lead, for co-ordination of international relief. Australia's delegates to meetings of the World Food Program and UNICEF this week are being instructed also to press for international responses and co-ordination.

Australia has sent to Ethiopia an official from its High Commission in Nairobi to assist Australia's overall relief effort and to report developments. The Government had decided some months ago to open a permanent mission in Ethiopia early next year. It has now brought this forward to early December.

Mr Hayden said that the task force he had established in the Department of Foreign Affairs, including the Australian Development Assistance Bureau, would continue to discuss

with Australian companies and organisations plans for help with their assistance efforts.

Mr Hayden said that it had to be borne in mind that famine was devastating Mozambique, probably as badly as in Ethiopia and that there are twenty-four African countries listed by the World Food Program as countries with serious food shortage problems because of famine and other reasons.

There are also some serious famine problems in our own region to which we have to respond. Australia provided more than \$44 million of bilateral food aid in Africa last year. If food aid through international agencies provided for distribution in Africa by Australia is added, the total of food aid provided in Africa by this country is much larger.

The Government has provided \$112 million in food aid in this year's budget and the bulk of that is expected to go to Africa.

Text of letters from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, on 30 October:

My dear Secretary-General

The Australian Government and people have learned with grave concern about the suffering being experienced by the people of Ethiopia as a result of worsening drought and famine. I am conveying our sympathies to the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, Ato Goshu Wolde, together with an offer of urgent assistance in the form of food and other emergency relief supplies.

In attempting to formulate an appropriate Australian response to the Ethiopian food crisis, I have been conscious of the desirability that both bilateral donors and multilateral agencies co-ordinate their actions as far as possible. I feel strongly that the international community should be able to demonstrate its capacity for responding collectively and coherently to a humanitarian crisis of the magnitude of that currently affecting Ethiopia. We need both to maximise the international response to the emergency and to ensure that assistance provided is consistent with relief needs and the logistics and other resources necessary to deliver it to those most affected.

In this regard, we naturally look to you and the United Nations system to facilitate the

co-ordination of donors' responses to the Ethiopian emergency, and to guide us in identifying the institution within the United Nations system which should best become the focus for such co-ordination. Our own preference at this stage would be to see the World Food Program play this role given its proven expertise and performance in this field.

I wish to assure you of Australia's full support in this matter.

Yours sincerely
Bill Hayden, MP

Your Excellency

May I say, on behalf of the Government and people of Australia, how deeply concerned we are about the loss of life and personal hardship caused by the drought in your country. News of the suffering being experienced by the Ethiopian people has shocked and distressed all Australians.

I am aware of the magnitude of the problem being faced by the Ethiopian Government in attempting to bring relief to the affecting people. The Australian Government and people are anxious to assist. I am looking at what might be done. The Government is able to increase the volume of food grain supplied to your country this financial year to 25 000 tonnes of grain, to be shipped as soon as possible.

I am also looking at additional forms of assistance such as medicines, special foods, medical personnel and other items and equipment which might be needed by you in responding to immediate needs. I would welcome your advice as to whether such items, in limited quantities, would be of assistance to you.

Yours sincerely
Bill Hayden, MP

Radio Australia transmitter in Darwin re-opened

News release issued by the Minister for Communications, Mr Michael Duffy, MP, on 30 October:

Radio Australia has resumed transmitting programs to Asia from its refurbished facilities at Cox Peninsula on the western side of Darwin Harbour in the Northern Territory.

The Minister for Communications, Mr Michael Duffy, said today at the opening of the station that broadcasts had been on a 'shakedown' basis for several weeks as new equipment underwent operational testing and fine tuning.

He said the Government had spent more than \$10 million over the past three years replacing and upgrading the equipment which was destroyed during Cyclone Tracy on Christmas Eve 1974.

New or repaired facilities include a jetty, submarine power cables across Darwin Harbour, seven antennas and a computerised control system, all of which have significantly improved Radio Australia's capacity to broadcast deep into Asia. The three original 250 kW transmitters have been adapted to the new equipment.

The station presently operates for sixteen hours daily to China, Philippines, Indonesia, South East Asia, and India. Present program languages are English, Indonesian, standard Chinese, Cantonese, Thai and French.

The Cox Peninsula facility has combined with Radio Australia's other north-western broadcast centre at Carnarvon in Western Australia to provide programs to the Asian region, with the Shepparton centre in Victoria available as a backup for some services. Shepparton is the prime transmitting site for programs into the Papua New Guinea and Pacific regions.

Programs for all Radio Australia broadcasts originate in Victoria at the ABC's East Burwood complex, and are relayed by landline direct to the Cox Peninsula.

'One program of particular significance will be the English-language lessons which Radio Australia will be broadcasting to the People's Republic of China,' Mr Duffy said.

'Documentation associated with the lessons will be published concurrently by a major Chinese newspaper for the better understanding of those Chinese citizens who take advantage of them, and will serve as a significant cultural and educational link between our two countries.'

The former Controller of Radio Australia, Mr Peter Barnett was appointed its Director in October 1984. Mr Barnett has served 23 years with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and for most of that time reported for the ABC from Asia and North America. He became the ABC's longest serving foreign correspondent and one of the first Australian journalists to cover the Vietnam war. (Ed.).

Assassination attempt on the Prime Minister of India

News release issued by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, on 31 October:

I am deeply shocked at the news of the assassination attempt on the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi.

It is particularly distressing in that it demonstrates that democracies are not immune from terrorist violence. India is the world's largest democracy and has earned great respect around the world for its international role.

Australia enjoys friendly and constructive relations with India and I had the opportunity to work with Mrs Gandhi during the Commonwealth meeting in New Delhi last November. All Australians will join with me in expressing the hope that she will survive the terrorist attack.

I have sent a message to the Indian President, His Excellency Mr Zail Singh, expressing my condemnation of this assassination attempt and my hope for her complete recovery.

Death of the Prime Minister of India

News release issued by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, MP, on 31 October:

I have sent the following message to His Excellency Mr Zail Singh, the President of India:

'I was shocked and deeply saddened to learn that Prime Minister Gandhi has died as a result of the shameful act of violence perpetrated earlier today.

The Australian Government deplores this wanton act of terrorism.

Mrs Gandhi was an outstanding leader whose courage, strength and guidance will be greatly missed, not only by the people of India, but throughout the world. In Australia, she worked with and was greatly respected by Mr Whitlam, Mr Fraser and myself.

On behalf of the Government and people of Australia I offer through you to the Government and people of India our sincere sympathy at your nation's loss.

I would ask that you also convey my personal sympathies to Mrs Gandhi's family.'

OTC office opened in New York

News release issued by the Minister for Communications, Mr Michael Duffy, MP, on 31 October:

Australia's international telecommunications carrier Overseas Telecommunications Commission (OTC) today opened an office in New York to attract more attention to Australia as a provider of telecommunications services in the Asia-Pacific region. The office is located on Fifth Avenue in the heart of Manhattan's central business district.

The Minister for Communications, Mr Michael Duffy, who announced the opening today, said the OTC already did about 25 per cent of its business communications in the U.S. and was seeking to build on this figure.

'OTC is developing a new concept that will make Australia the hub of the Asia-Pacific telecommunications region with privately leased circuits radiating off like spokes to other countries and a high capacity dedicated link between Australia and the U.S.,' Mr Duffy said.

According to OTC's recently released annual report, leased circuits represent 5 per cent of the Commission's business and are growing at more than 20 per cent a year. About half this market is in the U.S. where head offices are mainly in New York, as are most of the U.S. telecommunications carriers, hence the decision by OTC to set itself up there instead of on the closer west coast.

From December, OTC charges for some leased circuits will fall by about 25 per cent making Australia an even more attractive proposition to U.S. business.

Mr Duffy said that with one of the most stable governments in the Asian-Pacific region and a highly developed telecommunications network, Australia was a very attractive partner for American carriers and an alternative, secure communications hub to some of the more traditional South East Asian cities.

Mr Duffy said New York was OTC's first overseas office, adding that OTC had been involved in the U.S. telecommunications scene since 1946 and was now a regular exhibitor at the country's leading telecommunications and information technology trade expos.

While these previous experiences were invaluable to OTC, the new liaison office was needed to cope with the increasing number of U.S. business enquiries resulting from

OTC's stepped up presence there over the last few years.

'OTC says it now derives nearly 50 per cent of its corporate telephone traffic, 50 per cent of its private leased line network and 20 per cent of its telex traffic from telecommunications between the U.S. and Australia and this is growing at about 20 per cent annually,' the Minister said.

Australia, through OTC, was also the sixth largest shareholder in the INTELSAT global satellite system, headquartered in Washington. INTELSAT's future had recently been the focus of some speculation with moves by several American-based companies to locate private satellites above the Atlantic Ocean, to provide business communications between Europe and North America in direct competition with INTELSAT.

The OTC New York office would closely monitor this situation as two-thirds of Australia's international telecommunications, including television, come and go via the 15-satellite network.

Other activities for OTC's two New York staffers would include reporting back to Sydney head office with information on what was happening in the U.S. telecommunications industry — a vast brief given the recent deregulation there — and as a consequence of this developing new relations with emerging carriers.

French nuclear test at Moruroa Atoll

News release issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, on 31 October:

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, MP, today reiterated the Government's very considerable concern after receiving reports that France had detonated another nuclear device at Moruroa Atoll. He added that a nuclear explosion of about six kiloton magnitude was detected by the seismological station at Rarotonga in the Cook Islands on 27 October.

This was the fifth test this year, the last being on 16 June. Mr Hayden said that this particular test, coming soon after press reports earlier in October to the effect that French nuclear tests in the South Pacific would continue for at least 15 years, clearly

showed that the French Government continued to disdain the unanimous opposition of the countries of the South Pacific region to the continuation of nuclear testing at Moruroa Atoll. This concern had been expressed on a number of occasions, most recently at the South Pacific Forum meeting in Tuvalu.

Mr Hayden called on the French Government to act in recognition of the fact that opposition to nuclear testing, the demand for nuclear disarmament, and the determination to create for themselves a nuclear free zone were nowhere stronger than amongst the peoples of the South Pacific.

Mr Hayden emphasised that Australia was opposed to all nuclear tests and the Government accorded a high priority to the early conclusion of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTB). Australia and New Zealand would be co-sponsoring a resolution on CTB at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. Australia would continue to press for an end to testing not least in its own region.

Foreign investment policy: establishment of new merchant banks approved

News release issued by the Treasurer, Mr Paul Keating, MP, on 31 October:

The Government has approved under its foreign investment policy proposals for the establishment of five new merchant banks:

- Equiticorp Australia Limited, to be wholly-owned by Equiticorp Holdings Limited of New Zealand;
- Bruxelles Lambert Australia Limited, which will be owned as to 50 per cent by Banque Bruxelles Lambert of Belgium, and 50 per cent by the Australian-owned Yuills Australia Limited;
- Security Pacific Australia Limited, wholly owned by the Security Pacific National Bank of the U.S. Security Pacific Australia previously conducted restricted operations as a general financier;
- Midland International Australia Limited, wholly owned by Midland Bank plc of the UK; and
- PNC International Finance Ltd, to be owned as to 50 per cent by PNC International Bank of the U.S. and 40 per cent by CIC Holdings Limited and 10 per cent by Pamsel Investments Pty Ltd, both Australian interests.

These proposals have been approved under the Government's foreign investment policy for the rationalisation of the merchant bank sector announced on 10 September*, which waived for a period of 12 months the existing foreign investment policy requirements in respect of merchant banking. The Government announced that proposals to establish new merchant banks will generally be freed from policy requirements (i.e. the necessity for foreign interests to establish an effective partnership with Australian interests) during this period.

However, as the Government's emphasis during the next 12 months will be on achieving desirable restructuring, in considering new merchant bank proposals the Government will retain the discretion to decline particular new merchant bank proposals.

The Government has also decided to waive the requirements for Wardley Australia Limited, Boston Financial Limited and Citicorp Capital Markets Australia Limited to introduce Australian equity into their merchant banking operations. This decision is in accordance with the Government's foreign investment policy statement of 10 September in which it was announced that all existing conditions requiring the introduction of Australian equity into existing merchant banks will be waived.

* See also *AFAR*, Volume 55, No. 9, September 1984, page 1000.

Extension of visas and other concessions for Lebanese

News release issued by the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr Stewart West, MP, on 31 October:

The Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr Stewart West, said today that concessions extended to Lebanese who were affected, or who had relatives in Lebanon who were affected by the uncertain condition in their homeland would be further extended.

'These concessions are basically twofold', Mr West said.

'The first concessions, announced in September 1983, and extended on three subsequent occasions, relate to Lebanese visitors on temporary entry permits who are genuinely fearful of returning to their homeland. Although conditions in Lebanon have

improved, I believe the situation is still serious enough to warrant a further extension to 31 January 1985.'

'If the situation continues to improve, those Lebanese in Australia under our special temporary arrangements will be able to return home soon.'

Mr West said that further concessions, introduced in February 1984, facilitated the entry of close relatives of Australian residents seriously affected by conflict in Lebanon.

'These entry arrangements operate within the framework of special humanitarian entry provisions, and are more generous than current family migration requirements', Mr West said.

'The Government remains concerned at the situation in Lebanon, and at the effects of the unrest on Lebanese visitors to Australia and the families in that country of Australian residents. My Department is presently undertaking a detailed assessment of the situation, which will give me a clearer indication of the need to continue special entry arrangements. It will also allow me to assess when Lebanese visitors can safely return home. I am pleased to be able to further extend these generous concessions which will, of course, cease once the situation in Lebanon has further stabilised', Mr West added.

Australian representation overseas

OCTOBER

- 10 Syria
Mr R.A. Burns presented his Letter of Credence as Ambassador.
- 15 Spain
Mr D.G. Wilson presented his Letter of Credence as Ambassador.
- 18 Yugoslavia
Mr J.H.A. Hoyle presented his Letter of Credence as Ambassador.
- 20 Gabon
Mr A.R. Taylor presented his Letter of Credence as non-resident Ambassador.

Foreign representation in Australia

There were no presentations by foreign heads of mission during October.

Australian Foreign Affairs Record (AFAR)

This journal, first published in 1936 as *Current Notes on International Affairs*, is a monthly publication of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs, Canberra. The views expressed in articles appearing in *AFAR* are not necessarily those of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Australian Government. Provided acknowledgement of the source is given, articles and information in the journal may be reproduced except where it is indicated that copyright is not held by the Australian Government. Enquiries about *AFAR* should be sent to: The Editor, *Australian Foreign Affairs Record*, Department of Foreign Affairs, Canberra, ACT 2600 Australia.

Publications

Publications prepared by the Department about Australia's foreign relations may be purchased from Australian Government Publishing Service (AGPS) bookshops or through: Mail Order Sales, Australian Government Publishing Service, GPO Box 84, Canberra, ACT 2601 Australia.

Titles available:

Annual Report Department of Foreign Affairs
Australian Foreign Affairs Record (AFAR)
Documents on Australian Foreign Policy
 Vol. I (1937-1938)
 Vol. II (1939)
 Vol. III (January-June 1940)
 Vol. IV (July 1940-June 1941)
 Vol. V (July 1941-June 1942)
 Vol. VI (July 1942-December 1943)
Select Documents on International Affairs
Australian Treaty Series
Uranium, the Joint Facilities, Disarmament and Peace

Publications on aid:

ADAB Annual Review
Bilateral Program
DAC Memorandum
Australia's Overseas Development Assistance Program (Budget Paper No. 9)
Key Statements
Statistical Summary: Australian Official Development Assistance to Developing Countries
Report of the Committee to Review the Australian Overseas Aid Program (Jackson Committee)

Other information on overseas aid is available from: The Information Unit, Australian Development Assistance Bureau, GPO Box 887, Canberra, ACT 2601 Australia.



pk
RECEIVED
DEC 11 1984

THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF AUSTRALIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

14 December 1984

Personal.

Dear Secretary General,

You might like to have a copy of the October issue of the Australian Foreign Affairs Record, the official journal of the Department of Foreign Affairs. You and the President of the General Assembly, Paul Lusaka, feature on the cover.

With warm personal regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Dick Woolcott.

(Richard Woolcott)

H.E. Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar,
Secretary General,
United Nations,
NEW YORK. N.Y. 10017.

885 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

(1)

PERSONAL please.
===== VICTORIA

POLICE

Australia
Falkland Trip

Next 11.25

C1

RECEIVED

APR 28 1983

29 Hamel Street,
Wattle Park.
Victoria 3128.
Australia.
12th April 1983.

Mr. Cuellar,
The Secretary General,
United Nations,
New York.
NEW YORK.

11.25
informed
verbally

SG not going to the reunion - for a bit

Dear Mr. Cuellar,

Invitation to attend the 20 years Reunion in
Melbourne, May 1984 by Australian Police who
served in Cyprus.

future

In 1960 Cyprus was granted independence and in 1964 the United Nations Peace Keeping Force entered that island. Part of the initial Force comprised of Australian Civilian Police and it was in the 4th contingent that I served there.

In 1982 in Adelaide, South Australia, we had a two day reunion of the Australian members who had served in Cyprus over the many years. It was a wonderful success.

In May 1984, one year from now, there is to be a grand reunion in Melbourne and again, members from every corner of Australia will be attending. This reunion is the anniversary of the first Australians serving in Cyprus twenty years ago.

During the last twenty years, no HEAD of the United Nations has visited Australia to see the members who served in Cyprus. I write this letter hoping that you yourself could be in Melbourne next May.

Because we have no finance for long air fares, it is suggested that you come to Canberra to have world talks with our Federal Government. I'm certain that the Police, especially the ones who have served in Cyprus, would cater for accomodation, transport and security. Your presence at our major reunion would be very much appreciated and it would give you an ideal opportunity to thank all the Australians who served in Cyprus, "in the service of Peace."

Further details can be obtained from our Club Secretary, Inspector Gavin BROWN about future plans and services at Police Headquarters, William Street, Melbourne. Victoria 3000. His telephone No. is 320.3333.

This invitation is sent that you, yourself, may come to the reunion and enjoy Australia.

Yours faithfully,

Geoff Hammett

COPY TAKEN BY
SG's OFFICE



23-1
RECEIVED

JAN 28 1983

THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF AUSTRALIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

27 January 1983

Dear Secretary General,

I write to acknowledge your letter of
25 January addressed to Ambassador Woolcott.

The Australian authorities are naturally
disappointed that you will be unable to make a visit
this year. At the same time they do understand the
difficulties facing you in regard to your many
commitments, including an existing heavy schedule
of overseas visits. It would be my government's
hope that you might be able to fit in a visit to
Australia next year.

Meanwhile we are indeed in touch with Brian
Urquhart. It is our strong hope that he will be able
to attend the Golden Jubilee Conference of the
Australian Institute for International Affairs in
your stead.


(Lance Joseph)

Acting Permanent Representative

H.E. Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar,
Secretary-General,
United Nations,
NEW YORK. N.Y.

File:
Xref:
cc :*Australia*
Javika/acc/rep
SC
Mr. Urquhartb/f: EO/AS/GP
VD Chron

25 January 1983

Future Trip

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

I should like to refer to your letter of 20 October 1982 and the subsequent contacts between your office and mine concerning the very kind invitation that your Government extended to me to visit Australia in August 1983.

I had greatly wished to be in your country for the Golden Jubilee Conference of the Australian Institute for International Affairs. Unfortunately, as you know, my schedule makes it impossible for me to travel to Australia this year. I know I can count on your understanding and I do hope that another opportunity will present itself in the future.

Given these circumstances, I am glad that you were in touch with Mr. Brian Urquhart concerning the possibility of his attending the Golden Jubilee Conference. I believe that the dates for his visit are being worked out in consultation with him.

With warm personal regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Australian Mission
January 25, 1983
Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
would not be going into
manila when B&D
would go for London

His Excellency
Mr. Richard Woolcott
Permanent Representative of
Australia to the United
Nations
New York

work
done



RECEIVED

OCT 21 1982

THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF AUSTRALIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

20 October 1982

Dear Secretary General,

I am writing to follow up my letter of 20 September concerning the invitation for you to visit Australia.

As I noted at that time my Government was hoping that you might be able to come to Australia in the second half of August 1983. My Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, has now raised this matter again with me. It seems that the wish to settle a date relates to an invitation which is likely to be forthcoming from the President of the Australian Institute for International Affairs for you to deliver the keynote address to the Institute's Golden Jubilee Conference. Firm dates for the conference have not been set but it will probably be held during the latter half of August.

The President of the Australian Institute for International Affairs is the Rt. Hon. Sir Garfield Barwick, P.C., G.C.M.G., A.K. He is the former Chief Justice of Australia and a former Australian Foreign Minister.

While recognising again the difficulties of scheduling your program so far ahead, I am hopeful that in these circumstances it may be possible for you to pencil in some dates for August next year, if only on a provisional basis. Having said that, I should also say that the Mission has been in contact with Mr de Olivares who has explained that it may be difficult to provide even a provisional indication of your travel plans until the end of the General Assembly. This advice has been conveyed to the authorities in Canberra and the purpose of this letter is to register again our strong interest and my own hope that we can decide on the timing for the visit as soon as you feel able to do so.

With personal regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Richard Woolcott

(Richard Woolcott)

H.E. Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar,
Secretary General,
United Nations,
NEW YORK.

Australia
x ref taken trip



19
EATS
GP

21-10

RECEIVED

OCT 21 1982

V
21/2

THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF AUSTRALIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

20 October 1982

Dear Secretary General,

I am writing to follow up my letter of 20 September concerning the invitation for you to visit Australia.

As I noted at that time my Government was hoping that you might be able to come to Australia in the second half of August 1983. My Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, has now raised this matter again with me. It seems that the wish to settle a date relates to an invitation which is likely to be forthcoming from the President of the Australian Institute for International Affairs for you to deliver the keynote address to the Institute's Golden Jubilee Conference. Firm dates for the conference have not been set but it will probably be held during the latter half of August.

The President of the Australian Institute for International Affairs is the Rt. Hon. Sir Garfield Barwick, P.C., G.C.M.G., A.K. He is the former Chief Justice of Australia and a former Australian Foreign Minister.

While recognising again the difficulties of scheduling your program so far ahead, I am hopeful that in these circumstances it may be possible for you to pencil in some dates for August next year, if only on a provisional basis. Having said that, I should also say that the Mission has been in contact with Mr de Olivares who has explained that it may be difficult to provide even a provisional indication of your travel plans until the end of the General Assembly. This advice has been conveyed to the authorities in Canberra and the purpose of this letter is to register again our strong interest and my own hope that we can decide on the timing for the visit as soon as you feel able to do so.

With personal regards and best wishes

Yours sincerely,

Richard Woolcott

(Richard Woolcott)

H.E. Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar,
Secretary General,
United Nations,
NEW YORK.

Australia
x ref Future Trip

GP

For advice please

20-7
RECEIVED

SEP 20 1982



THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF AUSTRALIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

20 September 1982

Dear Secretary-General,

I am writing to you personally about the invitation for you and Mrs Perez de Cuellar to visit Australia at a mutually convenient time.

It will be recalled that my Foreign Minister, Mr Street, conveyed the invitation to you last June 24. My predecessor, David Anderson, had also canvassed the possibility of a visit to Australia with you earlier. I note from our file that it was agreed then that we would try to work out mutually convenient dates.

Mr Street will be here for the first week or two of the General Assembly. In view of the heavy pressures on your time we have not sought an appointment on this occasion although I should hope that you will cross paths either at a social occasion or perhaps in the corridors during the time the Minister is here. In any event, I have been asked to raise with you the possible timing of your visit to Australia with the suggestion that, if it were convenient to you, we might plan for the second half of August 1983.

I recognise both the extent of your own possible commitments and the difficulties of scheduling a program that far ahead. It would, nevertheless, be helpful to the authorities in Canberra if we could pencil in a provisional date. Perhaps you could let me have your reaction to this suggested timing.

Finally, Mr Secretary-General, may I take this opportunity to say what I am sure many people must have said, namely that I found your recent report on the work of the Organisation a most interesting, thoughtful and constructive document which will, I hope, evoke a positive response from all member governments and in turn, promote the conditions in which the Organisation and its standing can be strengthened.

You may be assured that your proposals will receive full and serious consideration in Canberra.

With personal regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Richard Woolcott

(Richard Woolcott)

H.E. Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar,
Secretary-General,
United Nations,
NEW YORK. N.Y.

MJS/ET cc: SG
b/f: EO/AS
Ref: ~~trip~~ Future trip
Xref: Australia

26 June 1982

Dear Mr. Minister,

I should like to thank you for your letter of 10 June 1982, inviting me, on behalf of the Australian Government, to pay an official visit to Australia.

I very much appreciated this kind invitation, which I take great pleasure in accepting. As you know, I highly value the strong support your country has consistently extended to the United Nations, which is a source of particular encouragement to us in our efforts for peace and international understanding. I therefore very much look forward to having an opportunity to visit Australia and to assist in strengthening the close and constructive co-operation existing between your country and the world Organization.

Let me also tell you again how much I have valued our recent meetings in New York and the particularly interesting and useful discussions we had on those occasions.

Yours sincerely,

Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

His Excellency
Mr. Anthony A. Street
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of Australia

26 June 1982

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

The Secretary-General would appreciate it if you could kindly transmit the enclosed letter to His Excellency Mr. Anthony A. Street, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia.

A copy of this letter is attached for your information.

Please accept, Mr. Ambassador, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Alvaro de Soto
Special Assistant to the
Secretary-General

His Excellency
Mr. H.D. Anderson AO OBE
Permanent Representative of Australia
to the United Nations
New York

~~Top Australia~~
722 ME (Heban)

CONFIDENTIAL FOR SECRETARY-GENERAL

YOU WILL NOTE MINOR CHANGES IN LAST PARAGRAPHS OF TEXT IN VIEW
OF THE FACT THAT IT IS NOW VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT LEBANESE GOVERNMENT
WILL SUBMIT NO REQUEST OF ANY KIND FOR UN ASSISTANCE IN FIRST PHASE
QUOTE 8 FEBRUARY

MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL RECALL THAT IN ITS RESOLUTION 555 OF 12 OCTOBER 1984 THE COUNCIL REQUESTED THE SECRETARY-GENERAL 'TO CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON AND OTHER PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION AND TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL'. IN VIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, I THINK THAT IT IS TIMELY FOR ME TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION.

ON 14 JANUARY, THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED ITS UNILATERAL THREE PHASE PLAN FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM LEBANON. THE FIRST PHASE OF THIS PLAN, WHICH RUNS ALONG THE COASTAL STRIP INCLUDING THE SIDON AREA AND AS FAR SOUTH AS THE LITANI RIVER, WILL BE COMPLETED BY 15 FEBRUARY. THE SECOND AND THIRD PHASES, WHICH ARE TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR THE SPRING AND SUMMER RESPECTIVELY, WOULD BE SUBJECT TO FURTHER DECISIONS OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.

DURING HIS VISIT TO THE AREA, MR. URQUHART DISCUSSED A NUMBER OF OPTIONS RELATING TO A POSSIBLE UNITED NATIONS ROLE WITH THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT. HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT A REQUEST FROM THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT WAS THE ESSENTIAL BASIS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF ANY FURTHER UNITED NATIONS ROLE BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. UP TO NOW, NO REQUEST HAS BEEN RECEIVED IN THIS REGARD FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON.

AS MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ARE AWARE, CONCERN HAS BEEN EXPRESSED IN VARIOUS QUARTERS REGARDING THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN LEBANON IN THE WAKE OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES. I HAVE NO MEANS ACCURATELY TO JUDGE THE MERIT OF THE VARIOUS SPECULATIONS WHICH