



## PRIME MINISTER

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER  
PARLIAMENTARY RESOLUTION ON THE GULF CRISIS  
21 AUGUST 1990

MR SPEAKER

IN MOVING THIS RESOLUTION TODAY I WANT TO TAKE THIS FIRST OPPORTUNITY AVAILABLE TO ME TO INFORM THE HOUSE OF THE VIEW THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN OF THE SITUATION WHICH HAS ARISEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST OVER THE PAST THREE WEEKS, AND OF THE MEASURES WHICH WE HAVE ADOPTED TO MEET THAT SITUATION.

ON 2 AUGUST IRAQ INVADED KUWAIT. THAT ACTION HAS PROVOKED ONE OF THE GRAVEST INTERNATIONAL CRISES SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR; AND IT HAS CHALLENGED US TO DEFINE THE WAY IN WHICH THE WORLD COMMUNITY WILL COOPERATE IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS THE FRIGHTENING RIGIDITIES OF THE COLD WAR HAVE DISSOLVED, AND THE THREAT OF GLOBAL WAR BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS HAS RECEDED. THE TASK FOR ALL OF US HAS BEEN TO CONSTRUCT A NEW WORLD ORDER WHICH WILL GUARANTEE THAT THE END OF THE COLD WAR WILL BRING AN ERA OF PEACE.

THAT CANNOT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED. IN THE COLD WAR, REGIONAL CONFLICTS WERE CONTAINED BY THE CARE THAT EACH SUPERPOWER TOOK TO AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH THE OTHER. BUT NOW, AS THE THREAT OF GLOBAL WAR RECEDES, THE RISK OF MAJOR REGIONAL WARS MAY, PARADOXICALLY, HAVE INCREASED.

IRAQ'S INVASION OF KUWAIT IS A TRAGICALLY CLEAR PROOF OF THE NEW DANGERS WHICH EXIST, JUST AS THOSE OF THE COLD WAR THANKFULLY FADE INTO HISTORY. AND THOSE DANGERS ARE NOT UNIQUE TO THE MIDDLE EAST. WHEREVER WE FIND BIG ARMIES, NATIONAL RIVALRIES AND RECKLESS LEADERS, WE WILL FIND A RISK OF MAJOR WAR. IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT THOSE CONDITIONS COULD EMERGE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION IN THE COMING YEARS.

WE NEED THEREFORE TO WORK OUT HOW TO MANAGE THESE DANGERS WHEREVER THEY MAY ARISE. IN DOING SO WE ARE CASTING BACK TO THE ERA BEFORE THE COLD WAR BEGAN; THOSE TWILIGHT YEARS OF OPTIMISM BETWEEN THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE FALL OF THE IRON CURTAIN.

WE FIND OURSELVES LOOKING AGAIN TO THE UNITED NATIONS TO UPHOLD THE RULE OF LAW AS THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, OVER THE RULE OF FORCE. THE COLD WAR OFTEN MADE

THE UN LOOK IMPOTENT AND IRRELEVANT; BUT AS THE COLD WAR FADES, THE UN HAS MOVED BACK TO THE POSITION ITS FOUNDERS INTENDED FOR IT.

IN DRAFTING THE UN CHARTER, THE FOUNDERS OF THE UN DREW ON THEIR VIVID AND BITTER EXPERIENCE OF A WORLD SLIDING INTO CHAOS: THE FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN MANCHURIA AND ABYSSINIA; THE APPEASEMENT OF FASCISM IN EUROPE; AND THE CATASTROPHE THAT FOLLOWED.

THE WORLD HAS CHANGED A LOT SINCE 1945, BUT I THINK THE LESSONS OF THE 1930'S, WHICH UNDERPIN THE UN CHARTER, STILL HOLD TRUE TODAY: THAT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES MUST NOT BE SETTLED BY FORCE; THAT NATIONAL BORDERS MUST BE RESPECTED; AND THAT THOSE WHO USE FORCE MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO PREVAIL.

THOSE LESSONS ESTABLISH PRINCIPLES THAT ENGAGE OUR REAL, TANGIBLE INTERESTS, NOT JUST OUR SENSE OF RIGHT AND WRONG. THE SECURITY AND PROSPERITY OF THE WORLD, AND THE SECURITY AND PROSPERITY OF AUSTRALIA, WILL DEPEND IN THE YEARS AHEAD ON THE STRENGTH OF THOSE PRINCIPLES. AND THE STRENGTH OF THOSE PRINCIPLES IN THE YEARS AHEAD DEPENDS ABSOLUTELY ON THE SUPPORT WE GIVE THEM TODAY.

THIS IS THE BROAD FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAS CONSIDERED IRAQ'S INVASION OF KUWAIT, AND AUSTRALIA'S RESPONSE.

WITHIN THAT FRAMEWORK, MR SPEAKER, IRAQ'S ACTIONS ARE CAUSE FOR VERY DEEP CONCERN. THAT CONCERN ARISES FROM THE NATURE OF IRAQ'S LEADERSHIP, FROM THE CAPABILITIES OF ITS ARMED FORCES, AND FROM THE NATURE OF THE GULF REGION ITSELF.

IRAQ'S GOVERNMENT HAS, OVER MANY YEARS, PROVED THAT IT IS WILLING AND EVEN EAGER TO USE ARMED FORCE TO ACHIEVE ITS NATIONAL GOALS; AND THAT THOSE GOALS ENCOMPASS NOTHING LESS THAN THE DOMINATION OF ALL ITS NEIGHBOURS - IRANIAN AS WELL AS ARAB - AND THE ACCUMULATION OF GREATER AND GREATER POWER AT THE EXPENSE OF THEM. ANY WHO DOUBT THAT ANALYSIS OF IRAQI INTENTIONS SHOULD ASK IRAQ'S NEIGHBOURS THEMSELVES, IN THE GULF AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST GENERALLY.

BUT THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT'S AMBITION HAS BEEN MATCHED BY ITS RUTHLESSNESS - INCLUDING TO ITS OWN CITIZENS. IN THE WAR WITH IRAN IT INFLICTED YEARS OF SUFFERING AND HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CASUALTIES ON THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ, FOR A FEW MILES OF GROUND THAT IT HAS NOW SURRENDERED. AND IN KURDISTAN THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT GASSED ITS OWN PEOPLE.

BUT THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ IS NOT ONLY VERY RUTHLESS AND VERY AMBITIOUS; IT IS ALSO VERY POWERFUL. IT HAS ONE OF THE LARGEST ARMIES IN THE WORLD, WELL-EQUIPPED AND BATTLE-HARDENED, AND A LARGE AIRFORCE. IT HAS A LARGE FORCE OF BALLISTIC MISSILES, A MASSIVE CHEMICAL ARSENAL, AND A PROGRAM TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITHIN A FEW YEARS.

THAT POWER IS BASED ON OIL. THE GULF REMAINS THE HUB OF THE WORLD OIL MARKET. IRAQ, KUWAIT AND SAUDI ARABIA ALONE HOLD NEARLY HALF OF THE WORLD'S OIL RESERVES. THAT IS A VERY IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THIS SITUATION, FOR TWO REASONS.

THE FIRST IS THAT IRAQ'S POWER WOULD INCREASE DRAMATICALLY IF IT COULD CONTROL KUWAIT'S OIL ASSETS, AND EVEN MORE IF IT CONTROLLED SAUDI ARABIA'S. WITH INCREASING POWER WOULD COME INCREASING AMBITION, MAKING IRAQ EVEN MORE DANGEROUS THAN IT IS TODAY.

THE SECOND IS THAT ANY NATION WHICH CONTROLLED THE OIL INDUSTRIES OF IRAQ, KUWAIT AND SAUDI ARABIA WOULD BE ABLE TO DICTATE OIL PRICES. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT WHAT IRAQ'S PRICING POLICY WOULD BE; AND THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT WHAT THAT WOULD MEAN FOR THE WORLD'S ECONOMY - AND FOR AUSTRALIA'S. WE MAY BE A NET ENERGY EXPORTER, BUT WE IMPORT OIL, AND THE MARKETS FOR OUR EXPORTS DEPEND ABSOLUTELY CRITICALLY ON THE ECONOMIES OF OUR CUSTOMERS.

I DO NOT INTEND TO GO INTO THE MERITS OF IRAQ'S GRIEVANCES AGAINST KUWAIT, NOR OF ITS CLAIMS TO KUWAIT'S TERRITORY. THEY ARE IRRELEVANT TO THE CURRENT CASE; BECAUSE NO MATTER HOW STRONG THOSE CLAIMS MIGHT BE, THERE CAN BE NO JUSTIFICATION FOR ASSERTING THEM BY ARMED FORCE. AS I EMPHASISED TO THE IRAQI AMBASSADOR WHEN HE CALLED ON ME YESTERDAY, IF IRAQ DOES HAVE GRIEVANCES THEY SHOULD BE ADDRESSED THROUGH PROPER, INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNISED AND PEACEFUL PROCEDURES.

MR SPEAKER, I WANT TO TURN NOW TO REVIEW THE STEPS TAKEN BY AUSTRALIA AND BY THE WORLD COMMUNITY TO MEET THE CHALLENGE POSED BY IRAQ'S ACTIONS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS CONDEMNED THE INVASION OF KUWAIT BY IRAQ IN THE MOST DIRECT TERMS. THE OPPOSITION HAS DONE THE SAME, AND I WELCOME THAT. I HOPE THAT THIS HOUSE, SPEAKING AS IT DOES IN A VERY SPECIAL WAY FOR ALL AUSTRALIANS, WILL EXPRESS ITS CONDEMNATION THROUGH THE RESOLUTION WE ARE PROPOSING.

THE FACT THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF AUSTRALIANS AGREE IN CONDEMNING IRAQ'S INVASION IS IMPORTANT. BUT HOW MUCH MORE IMPORTANT IS IT THAT GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD HAVE FELT THE SAME CONCERN, AND EXPRESSED THE SAME CONDEMNATION?

THAT VITAL CONSENSUS HAS BEEN REFLECTED IN THE UN, WHERE THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS NOT ONLY BEEN ABLE, PROMPTLY AND UNANIMOUSLY, TO PASS RESOLUTIONS CONDEMNING THE INVASION. IT HAS ALSO BEEN ABLE, FOR THE FIRST TIME, TO GO BEYOND THAT TO ADOPT MANDATORY AND COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS DESIGNED TO COMPEL AN IRAQI WITHDRAWAL.

AUSTRALIA IS COMMITTED TO IMPLEMENTING THOSE SANCTIONS WITH FULL RIGOUR. THAT WILL NOT BE WITHOUT COST; IRAQ HAS BEEN A MAJOR EXPORT MARKET FOR AUSTRALIA. BUT WE HAVE NO CHOICE; ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ARE AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE

INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO RESTORE PEACE AND STABILITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST. THE ECONOMIC AND SECURITY COSTS OF SHIRKING THAT RESPONSIBILITY ARE MUCH GREATER THAN THE COSTS OF THE SANCTIONS THEMSELVES.

BUT THE SANCTIONS WILL NOT DO THE JOB BY THEMSELVES. THEY WILL ACT, SLOWLY BUT SURELY, TO FORCE IRAQ TO GIVE UP KUWAIT. IN THE SHORT TERM, HOWEVER, THERE HAS BEEN AN URGENT NEED TO DETER IRAQ FROM TAKING EVEN MORE TERRITORY. IN THE DAYS AFTER ITS INVASION OF KUWAIT, IRAQ BUILT UP HUGE FORCES ON THE BORDER WITH SAUDI ARABIA. ALL THE EVIDENCE POINTED TO A PLAN TO INVADE SAUDI ARABIA AND SEIZE THE SAUDI OIL-FIELDS WHICH LIE CLOSE TO KUWAIT ON THE SHORES OF THE GULF.

TO RESPOND TO THAT VERY RAPIDLY EMERGING THREAT, IT WAS NECESSARY TO ACT QUICKLY. AT THE REQUEST OF SAUDI ARABIA, THE US DEPLOYED FORCES SWIFTLY TO DETER FURTHER IRAQI AGGRESSION. AFTER AN HISTORIC MEETING OF THE ARAB SUMMIT OTHER ARAB STATES QUICKLY FOLLOWED, PROVIDING FORCES OF THEIR OWN TO HELP DEFEND SAUDI ARABIA FROM IRAQ, AND ENDORSING THE US CONTRIBUTION.

THIS OPERATION APPEARS TO HAVE SUCCEEDED IN DETERRING AN IRAQI INVASION OF SAUDI ARABIA, AND THOSE INVOLVED DESERVE CREDIT FOR IT. I WANT TO BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR ABOUT THIS - IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH ACTION I BELIEVE IT HIGHLY LIKELY THAT WE WOULD BE FACED NOW NOT WITH A MILITARY STAND-OFF, DEEPLY WORRYING AND DANGEROUS THOUGH THAT IS, BUT WITH ACTUAL HOSTILITIES; NOT TO MINCE WORDS - WAR.

AND THIS ACTION HAS THEREFORE PROVIDED A FRAMEWORK IN WHICH SANCTIONS CAN DO THEIR WORK. BUT TO BE EFFECTIVE THE SANCTIONS ALSO NEED TO BE ENFORCED. AND IT IS AT THIS POINT THAT I WANT NOW TO DESCRIBE THE DECISIONS MY GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN IN DEPLOYING SHIPS OF THE RAN TO THE GULF REGION.

MR SPEAKER, THIS HAS BEEN A VERY SERIOUS DECISION. I HAVE LEFT IT UP TILL THIS POINT IN MY STATEMENT TODAY BECAUSE I HAVE WANTED TO PLACE OUR DECISIONS IN THE CONTEXT IN WHICH WE MADE THEM; THAT IS, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR ASSESSMENTS OF THE BROADER INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK, OF THE PARTICULAR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IRAQI REGIME AND OF THE GULF REGION, AND OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ALL OF THESE FOR AUSTRALIA.

AUSTRALIA VALUES ITS ALLIANCES, BUT WE RECOGNISE THAT INCREASINGLY WE WILL HAVE TO LOOK TO OUR OWN SECURITY. AS A SELF-RELIANT COUNTRY, WE MAY NEED TO DEPEND MORE AND MORE IN THE YEARS AHEAD ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER TO PROTECT OUR INTERESTS. SO WE ARE NOT SENDING SHIPS TO THE GULF REGION TO SERVE OUR ALLIES; WE ARE GOING TO PROTECT THE INTERNATIONAL RULE OF LAW WHICH WILL BE VITAL TO OUR SECURITY, HOWEVER OUR ALLIANCES MAY DEVELOP IN THE FUTURE.

AFTER CAREFULLY ASSESSING AUSTRALIA'S INTERESTS, THE NATURE OF THE JOB TO BE DONE, AND OUR ABILITY TO DO IT, THE GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO DEPLOY TWO GUIDED MISSILE FRIGATES AND ONE REPLENISHMENT OILER TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE UN EMBARGO AGAINST IRAQ.

MANY OTHER NATIONS HAVE REACHED OR ARE CONSIDERING THE SAME DECISION. SO FAR THE US, UK, FRANCE, CANADA AND THE NETHERLANDS HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WILL DEPLOY SHIPS TO ACT IN SUPPORT OF THE EMBARGO AGAINST IRAQ: WHILE ITALY, THE FRG, GREECE, SPAIN, BELGIUM AND PORTUGAL ARE CONSIDERING WHAT ROLE THEY CAN PLAY.

IN JOINING THIS GROUP, AUSTRALIA IS ACTING WITHIN THE UN CHARTER TO ASSIST KUWAIT - AT ITS SPECIFIC REQUEST - TO EXERCISE ITS RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE, UNDER ARTICLE 51, THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

LIKE MOST MEMBERS OF THE GROUP, AUSTRALIA BELIEVES THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UN FORCE ACTING UNDER THE UN FLAG AS PROVIDED FOR EXPLICITLY BY ARTICLE 42 OF THE UN CHARTER WOULD BE THE BEST FRAMEWORK FOR ENFORCEMENT OF THE UN'S ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, AND WE ARE WORKING HARD TO ACHIEVE THAT.

THERE IS AS WELL A NUMBER OF ALTERNATIVE MECHANISMS AVAILABLE UNDER THE UN UMBRELLA TO ENHANCE DIRECT UN INVOLVEMENT IN THE OPERATION OF THE FORCE. THESE ARE BEING EXPLORED. BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE UN ITSELF, AS WELL AS THE DYNAMICS OF THE SITUATION IN THE GULF, REQUIRE THAT WE WORK WITHIN THE VERY CLEAR LEGAL FRAMEWORK PROVIDED BY ARTICLE 51 UNTIL THESE ISSUES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED.

WE BELIEVE THAT TO REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE UNLESS A FULLY-FLEDGED UN FORCE WAS ESTABLISHED WOULD MAKE IT LESS LIKELY THAT SUCH A FORCE WOULD BE ESTABLISHED, AND MORE LIKELY THAT THE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, AND THE UN ITSELF, WOULD FAIL IN MEETING IRAQ'S AGGRESSION.

OUR SHIPS ARE BEING SENT TO THE GULF REGION WITH A CLEAR MISSION TO ASSIST IN ENFORCING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS DEFINED THE WAY IN WHICH OUR SHIPS WILL OPERATE IN FULFILLING THAT MISSION - IDENTIFICATION, CONTACT, INTERROGATION AND WARNING - AND DISCUSSIONS ARE NOW UNDER WAY WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS TO ESTABLISH COORDINATION PROCEDURES AND AREAS OF OPERATIONS. THE OPERATIONAL ROLES OF OUR SHIPS WILL BE REVIEWED IF NECESSARY TO ENSURE THAT THEY MEET THE AIM OF THE DEPLOYMENT, BUT OUR DISCUSSIONS SO FAR HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THEIR CURRENT ROLES WILL ALLOW THEM TO FULFIL THEIR MISSION WITH A SENSIBLE MINIMUM OF FORCE. ANY CHANGE TO THE ROLE PROPOSED FOR THE AUSTRALIAN SHIPS WOULD NECESSARILY INVOLVE THE WIDEST POSSIBLE CONSULTATION.

I SHOULD MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR HERE THAT OUR SHIPS ARE NOT BEING SENT TO THE GULF REGION TO ATTACK IRAQ. THEY WILL ENGAGE IRAQI ARMED FORCES ONLY IN SELF-DEFENCE.

OUR SHIPS ARE WELL-SUITED TO THE ROLE WE ARE ASKING THEM TO FULFIL. THEY ARE THE MOST MODERN SHIPS IN OUR FLEET, EQUIPPED WITH STATE-OF-THE-ART WEAPONS AND SENSOR SYSTEMS, AND MANNED BY CREWS THAT ARE AS GOOD AS ANY IN THE WORLD. THE SAME TYPE OF SHIPS ARE SERVING WITH THE US NAVY IN THE GULF REGION AT THE MOMENT, ON SIMILAR TASKS TO THOSE OUR SHIPS WILL PERFORM.

NONETHELESS, WE MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE DEPLOYMENT OF SHIPS IS NOT WITHOUT DANGER, AND THIS HAS BEEN REFLECTED IN THE CONDITIONS OF SERVICE FOR PERSONNEL ON THE DEPLOYMENT WHICH WERE APPROVED BY CABINET LAST WEEK.

APART FROM THIS DEPLOYMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE UN SANCTIONS, THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE DIPLOMATIC APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEMS IN THE GULF. WE DO NOT SEEK CONFLICT - ABSOLUTELY THE OPPOSITE. WE WILL SUPPORT ANY CONSTRUCTIVE DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS. BUT THAT CANNOT BE THROUGH TURNING A BLIND EYE TO AGGRESSION, AND IT CANNOT SUCCEED WITHOUT THE MAINTENANCE OF PRESSURE ON IRAQ. OUR FOREIGN MINISTER, SENATOR EVANS, WILL LEAVE TOMORROW FOR EUROPE WHERE HE WILL CONSULT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EC BEFORE VISITING CAIRO, NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON FOR DISCUSSIONS ON THE CRISIS, RETURNING TO BRIEF CABINET BEFORE THE END OF NEXT WEEK.

MR SPEAKER, IT IS OF COURSE DIFFICULT TO SAY HOW THE CRISIS IN THE GULF WILL DEVELOP FROM HERE. LOGIC SHOULD DICTATE THAT THE IRAQI REGIME - RECOGNISING THAT IT HAS AROUSED THE ANGER OF THE WHOLE WORLD, THAT IT WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO SUCCEED, AND THAT IT WILL PAY A HIGH PENALTY FOR ITS ADVENTURISM - SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM KUWAIT AND ALLOW THE RESTORATION OF THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT THERE. I EARNESTLY HOPE THAT THAT MIGHT HAPPEN, AND HAPPEN SOON. BUT THE BEHAVIOUR OF IRAQ'S GOVERNMENT GIVES NO GROUND FOR OPTIMISM.

IN PARTICULAR, WE ARE ALL APPALLED BY THE ACTIONS OF IRAQ'S GOVERNMENT IN DETAINING FOREIGN NATIONALS - INCLUDING AUSTRALIANS - AGAINST THEIR WILL, AND IN PARTICULAR THE CONTEMPTIBLE PRACTICE OF PLACING THEM AS HUMAN SHIELDS AROUND IRAQ'S ARSENAL OF OFFENSIVE WEAPONS. IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE RESOLUTION, THIS IS AN OUTRAGE AGAINST ALL THE NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT AND HUMAN DECENCY. ANY MISTREATMENT OF THESE PEOPLE WILL BE A STAIN ON IRAQ'S GOVERNMENT FOR EVER.

ABOUT 150 AUSTRALIANS ARE AMONG THOSE BEING HELD IN IRAQ AND KUWAIT AGAINST THEIR WILL. THE GOVERNMENT, THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE AND IN COOPERATION WITH OUR FRIENDS, IS DOING ALL IT CAN TO HELP AND ADVISE THESE PEOPLE. WE CANNOT SIMPLY, BY SOME ACTION OF OUR OWN, RESTORE THEIR FREEDOM. BUT WE CAN AND WILL TAKE EVERY ACTION OPEN TO US - CONSISTENT WITH OUR PRINCIPLES - TO PERSUADE THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ TO DO SO.

THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS CREATED BY IRAQ'S INVASION OF KUWAIT IS FOR IRAQ TO WITHDRAW FROM KUWAIT AND TO RELEASE ALL FOREIGN NATIONALS. WE HOPE THAT WILL HAPPEN, BUT WE

CANNOT ASSUME THAT IT WILL HAPPEN SOON. THE EMBARGO WILL TAKE TIME TO WORK. IT WOULD BE WRONG OF ME TO HOLD OUT HOPE OF AN EARLY BREAKTHROUGH. WHAT WE NEED IS CLARITY OF PURPOSE, AND FIRM RESOLVE.

MR SPEAKER, BEFORE CONCLUDING I WANT TO MAKE IT PLAIN THAT WE DO NOT CONDEMN THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ. WE CONDEMN THE ACTIONS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT. THE PEOPLES OF AUSTRALIA AND IRAQ ARE NOT INHERENTLY HOSTILE TO EACH OTHER. THERE REMAINS AT THIS FUNDAMENTAL LEVEL THE BASIS FOR COOPERATION ONCE THE PRESENT CRISIS IS SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESOLVING THE CRISIS LIES TOTALLY IN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO BROUGHT IT ABOUT - THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE RESOLUTION WHICH I PROPOSE BE ADOPTED BY THE PARLIAMENT IS CRYSTAL CLEAR. IT EMBODIES IN PLAIN TERMS ALL THE ELEMENTS OF ATTITUDE AND APPROACH TO THE CRISIS WHICH I HAVE DESCRIBED AS BEING APPROPRIATE FOR AUSTRALIA. IT REFLECTS OUR CONVICTIONS AS A PEOPLE AND OUR INTERESTS AS A NATION.

AUSTRALIA IS GEOGRAPHICALLY DISTANT FROM THE CRISIS. BUT OUR INTERESTS ARE REAL AND THEY ARE IMPORTANT. WE HAVE A REAL STAKE IN SUPPORTING PROPER NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR BETWEEN NATIONS IN THE POST COLD WAR WORLD WHICH IS EMERGING. WE HAVE A REAL STAKE IN DOING WHAT WE CAN TO PREVENT THE MIDDLE EAST FROM BEING ENGULFED IN A WIDENING CONFLICT. WE HAVE A REAL STAKE IN THE AFFAIRS OF A REGION WHICH PROVIDES THE VAST BULK OF ONE OF THE COMMODITIES MOST VITAL TO THE HEALTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY.

OUR POLICY MUST CONTINUE TO BE GOVERNED BY A CLEAR-HEADED RECOGNITION OF THOSE INTERESTS AND BY CAREFUL AND RESPONSIBLE CONSIDERATION OF THE MEANS OPEN TO US TO PROTECT THEM. THE ADOPTION BY THE PARLIAMENT OF THIS RESOLUTION WILL SEND A VALUABLE SIGNAL - A SIGNAL OF CLARITY AND OF FIRMNESS IN AUSTRALIA'S ATTITUDE AND APPROACH TO THIS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ISSUE. I COMMEND IT TO THE HOUSE.

PARLIAMENTARY RESOLUTION - GULF COMMITMENT

Mr Speaker

I seek leave to move a motion in relation to recent events in the Middle East, precipitated by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

[Leave granted]

Mr Speaker

I move that this House

First, condemns

- . the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq as contrary to international law and morality
- . the threat posed to the territorial integrity of Saudi Arabia by Iraq's deployment of massive armed forces on the borders of Saudi Arabia
- . the outrage to the norms of international law, international conduct and human decency of detaining foreign nationals - including Australians - against their will, and in particular the contemptible practice of placing them as human shields to protect Iraq's aggressive military capabilities.

Second, calls upon Iraq to

- . withdraw all its forces unconditionally from Kuwait
- . facilitate the restoration of the legal government of Kuwait
- . and respect the rights of foreign nationals.

Third, affirms

- . the fundamental importance of the United Nations Charter as the basis for the conduct of international relations and the preservation of peace
- . and, in particular, the vital principle of the sanctity of international borders.



Fourth, welcomes

- . the United Nation's prompt and unprecedented action in condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and in adopting mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against Iraq to force it to comply with the UN's decisions .

Fifth, supports

- . the Australian Government's prompt action to implement UN sanctions
- . the Government's decision to send ships of the RAN to the Middle East to assist - by means of identification, contact, interrogation and warning - in enforcing UN sanctions against Iraq under Article 51 of the UN Charter
- . the Australian Government's continuing diplomatic efforts at the UN and elsewhere
  - to bring the enforcement of sanctions under explicit UN control through further appropriate resolutions of the Security Council, and
  - to find a speedy and peaceful resolution to the crisis

and Sixth, expresses

- . concern for the welfare of Australians held in Iraq and Kuwait against their will, and sympathy for the apprehensions of their families and loved ones about their welfare.