



PRIME MINISTER

SPEECH BY THE AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER
THE HON R.J. HAWKE, AC, MP, TO THE
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I APPRECIATE VERY MUCH THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB IN WASHINGTON, AND THROUGH SUCH A PRESTIGIOUS FORUM AND THE MEDIA REPRESENTED HERE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE - ESPECIALLY AS THIS OPPORTUNITY COMES SO EARLY IN THE LIFE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRALIA, ELECTED ON THE FIFTH OF MARCH THIS YEAR.

2. I DON'T WISH TO PRE-EMPT YOUR QUESTION TIME, BUT IN THESE INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, I SHOULD LIKE TO OUTLINE BRIEFLY AUSTRALIA'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE, AS MY NEW ADMINISTRATION SEES IT.

3. AS GOOD A STARTING POINT AS ANY, IS THE ELECTION ON THE FIFTH OF MARCH ITSELF, WHEN BY A CONVINCING DECISION, THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA CHOSE A NEW GOVERNMENT, A NEW LEADERSHIP, AND NEW DIRECTIONS, AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF THE PREVIOUS CONSERVATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

4. BUT IN DOING SO, THEY DID NOT SEEK OR CHOOSE ANY RADICAL CHANGE IN THE MAJOR DIRECTIONS OF AUSTRALIA'S FOREIGN POLICY, OR IN OUR FUNDAMENTAL INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY THE RELATIONSHIP WE HAVE WITH THE UNITED STATES.

5. THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN ITSELF, DOMINATED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BY ECONOMIC ISSUES, WAS NOTABLY FREE OF CONTENTIOUS DEBATE ON MAJOR ISSUES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE. TO ILLUSTRATE THIS POINT - AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO ILLUSTRATE THE ESSENTIAL CONTINUITY WHICH UNDERLIES THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT, I CAN DO NO BETTER THAN QUOTE MYSELF, FROM WHAT WE CALL IN AUSTRALIA, 'THE POLICY SPEECH', WHICH IS THE BASIC DOCUMENT ON WHICH AUSTRALIAN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS ARE CONDUCTED. IN THAT SPEECH, I SAID:

'THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY HAVE TAKEN ON A QUALITY OF BIPARTISANSHIP INCONCEIVABLE BEFORE 1972 (IE, BEFORE THE ELECTION OF THE WHITLAM LABOR GOVERNMENT). THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF AUSTRALIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES, WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, INDONESIA, OUR SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS, PAPUA NEW GUINEA, NEW ZEALAND AND JAPAN, AND OUR CONDUCT ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS, NOW POSSESS A HIGH DEGREE OF CONTINUITY, CONSISTENCY, AND CONSENSUS.'

6. THAT DECLARATION WAS ACCEPTED BY THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA AS THE BASIS OF OUR APPROACH, AND IN TURN, ACCEPTED BY US, AS THE NEWLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRALIA, AS AN INSTRUCTION FROM THE PEOPLE AS TO THE PROPER CONDUCT OF THEIR AFFAIRS IN OUR DEALINGS WITH THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

7. BUT HAVING STRESSED THE CONINUITY WITHIN THE CHANGE, I SHOULD IMMEDIATELY DEFINE THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF OUR APPROACH WHICH, IN TERMS OF PERSPECTIVES OF THE WORLD AS IT REALLY IS, AND PERSPECTIVES OF AUSTRALIA'S ROLE AND INTERESTS AS THEY REALLY ARE, DO REPRESENT DISTINCTIVE AND SIGNIFICANT CHARACTERISTICS OF OUR ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN POLICY.
8. FIRST, WE WILL PURSUE AN INDEPENDENT AND SELF-RESPECTING FOREIGN POLICY, BASED ON A COOL AND OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT - HARDHEADED, IF YOU LIKE - OF AUSTRALIA'S GENUINE NATIONAL INTEREST, BUT AT ALL TIMES, CONSISTENT WITH AUSTRALIA'S INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. WE WILL ALWAYS SEEK TO RESOLVE ANY DIFFERENCES THAT MAY ARISE WITH OTHER NATIONS THROUGH CONCILIATORY DIPLOMACY.
9. BUT SHOULD OUR LEGITIMATE NATIONAL INTEREST BE CHALLENGED - WHETHER IN MATTERS OF FOREIGN OR ECONOMIC POLICY - OR SHOULD WE BELIEVE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ARE AT STAKE, WE WILL RESPOND OPENLY, DIRECTLY, FORTHRIGHTLY.
10. SECOND, WE WILL PURSUE A REALISTIC AND RELEVANT FOREIGN POLICY, ONE WHICH RECOGNISES AND ACCEPTS THE CONSTRAINTS ON OUR CAPABILITY AND THE LIMITATIONS OF OUR INFLUENCE. THAT MEANS, TO BE REALISTIC AND RELEVANT, THE FIRST PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR NEIGHBOURS OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGION, AND TO THE MAJOR INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES WITH WHICH WE SHARE SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS, ESPECIALLY THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN.
11. THIRD, WE WILL PURSUE A FOREIGN POLICY APPROPRIATE TO A NATION WITH NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT ITS CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE GLOBAL EVENTS, AND NO FALSE NOTIONS OF OUR SELF-IMPORTANCE. ACCORDINGLY, WE RECOGNISE THAT OUR CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF EVENTS, IN WAYS CONSISTENT WITH OUR NATIONAL INTEREST, IS BEST INCREASED THROUGH PARTICIPATION IN MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS. WE SHALL BE FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE ROLE OF SUCH INTERNATIONAL BODIES, UNDER THE GENERAL AEGIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.
12. FOURTH, WE WILL ENDEAVOUR TO DEVELOP A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH ACCEPTS THE OPPORTUNITIES AS THEY ARISE TO PLAY AN APPROPRIATE PART IN PROMOTING CO-OPERATION AND RESOLVING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATIONS AND NEIGHBOURS, ESPECIALLY IN OUR OWN REGION.
13. IF I MAY SAY SO, IN THIS CONTEXT, MAGNUM IN PARVO, MY OWN BACKGROUND IN THE FIELD OF AUSTRALIAN AND INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS FORMS THE BASIS OF MY STRONG CONVICTIONS OF THE PART THAT THE PROCESSES OF RECONCILIATION CAN PLAY IN THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT. THIS IS AN APPROACH I KNOW IS SHARED BY MY FRIEND, THE UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE. BUT IN ANY SUCH INITIATIVES AS WE AUSTRALIANS SHALL BE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE, WE WILL BE SEEING THE WORLD AND OUR REGION AS IT IS, RATHER THAN AS WE MAY WISH IT TO BE.
14. AND FIFTH, OUR FOREIGN POLICY WILL OPERATE WITHIN THE OVERALL POLICY FRAMEWORK OF OUR NATION, CLOSELY RELATED TO THE CONDUCT OF OUR DOMESTIC POLICIES, PARTICULARLY THOSE RELATED TO THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR ECONOMY. IF WE CAN'T DEMONSTRATE A CAPACITY TO MANAGE OUR OWN NATIONAL AFFAIRS EFFECTIVELY, THEN OUR INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS IS THEREBY DIMINISHED. SO THERE IS INDEED AN INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE PROMPT MEASURES MY GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN TOWARDS ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND THE RESTORATION OF NON-INFLATIONARY ECONOMIC GROWTH, IN ORDER TO PLACE AUSTRALIA IN THE BEST POSSIBLE POSITION TO BENEFIT FROM THE ANTICIPATED RECOVERY IN THE WORLD ECONOMY AND TO SHARE IN THE DYNAMIC GROWTH OF THE WESTERN PACIFIC REGION TO WHICH WE BELONG - THE FASTEST-GROWING ECONOMIC REGION IN THE WORLD.

15. AND FINALLY - AND THIS POINT IS INTEGRAL TO ALL THAT I HAVE JUST SAID - COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH OUR DETERMINATION TO PURSUE FOR AUSTRALIA A VIGOROUS, INDEPENDENT, REALISTIC AND RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL ROLE - AUSTRALIA IS NOT AND CANNOT BE A NON-ALIGNED NATION. WE ARE NEUTRAL NEITHER IN THOUGHT, NOR ACTION.
16. SPECIFICALLY, WE ARE LINKED WITH THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE ANZUS TREATY.
17. BUT BEYOND THAT, WE ARE LINKED WITH THE UNITED STATES - INDISSOLUBLY LINKED - BY A WHOLE RANGE OF COMMON INTERESTS, ATTITUDES, ASPIRATIONS, PERCEPTIONS, INSTITUTIONS, TRADITIONS, AND ASSOCIATIONS IN WAR AND PEACE.
18. UNDER MY GOVERNMENT, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO FIND, IN AUSTRALIA, A CO-OPERATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE PARTNER. WE REGARD OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE., AND WHATEVER DIFFERENCES OF PERCEPTION OR POLICY MAY ARISE FROM TIME TO TIME - AS THEY MUST BETWEEN MATURE AND RESPONSIBLE PARTNERS - THIS BASIC FACT REMAINS THE FOUNDATION OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.
19. ALTHOUGH, AS I HAVE SAID, OUR ASSOCIATION IS CLOSE, LONG, DEEP, AND WIDE-RANGING, IT IS PERHAPS INEVITABLE, AND IN MANY RESPECTS APPROPRIATE, THAT IT IS THE SECURITY ASPECTS OF THE ALLIANCE WHICH SHOULD BE THE PRIMARY FOCUS OF ATTENTION.
20. THE ANZUS TREATY WHICH FORMALISES OUR ALLIANCE, IS NOW OVER THIRY YEARS OLD. IT WAS CONCEIVED IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHEN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND SOUGHT GUARANTEES FROM THE UNITED STATES AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY REVIVAL OF A MILITARY THREAT FROM JAPAN.
21. THIS MAY SEEM ALMOST BIZARRE NOW. NEVERTHELESS, HOWEVER MUCH PERCEPTIONS AND REALITIES MAY HAVE CHANGED SINCE, AUSTRALIANS ARE IN NO DOUBT THAT THE ANZUS TREATY SUPPORTS AUSTRALIA'S SECURITY IN CURRENT AND PROSPECTIVE STRATEGIC CIRCUMSTANCES AND REFLECTS A COINCIDENCE OF STRATEGIC INTEREST BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS COINCIDENCE OF INTEREST PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR CO-OPERATION WHICH YIELDS SUBSTANTIAL BENEFITS FOR AUSTRALIA'S DEFENCE EFFORTS AND WHICH, IN RETURN, AFFORDS SUBSTANTIAL BENEFIT TO THE UNITED STATES. THE BENEFITS ARE MUTUAL AND RECIPROCAL. THE TREATY PROVISIONS DO NOT DEROGATE FROM AUSTRALIA'S RIGHT OF NATIONAL DECISION-MAKING IN FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY. THE RISKS INVOLVED FOR AUSTRALIA IN RELATION TO THE HOSTING OF THE JOINT DEFENCE FACILITIES ON OUR SOIL HAVE TO BE BALANCED AGAINST AUSTRALIA'S INTEREST IN SUPPORTING THE UNITED STATE'S GLOBAL DETERRENT EFFORT AND HER PRIME CONTRIBUTION TO THE GLOBAL STRATEGIC BALANCE.
22. IN MY TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT, I HAVE REAFFIRMED MY VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ARRANGEMENTS REACHED IN 1974, WHICH BROUGHT ALL OF OF THE INSTALLATIONS IN AUSTRALIA UNDER THE JOINT ADMINISTRATION OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES, AND THE NEED FOR US TO BUILD ON IT IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS MOVES AHEAD CO-OPERATIVELY AND EFFECTIVELY, AND TO PROTECT AND ENHANCE AUSTRALIAN SOVEREIGNTY.
23. I HAVE ALSO PUT IT TO THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, AND FOUND IT SYMPATHETIC TO THE IDEA, THAT THERE WOULD BE VALUE IN THE TREATY PARTNERS - AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND THE UNITED STATES - CARRYING OUT A JOINT REVIEW OF THE ANZUS TREATY. AS WILL BE ABUNDANTLY CLEAR FROM ALL I HAVE SAID, MY PURPOSE IN PROPOSING THIS IS CERTAINLY NOT TO CALL THE TREATY INTO QUESTION BUT TO STRENGTHEN IT AND MAKE SURE THAT IT IS AS RELEVANT AS POSSIBLE TO CONTEMPORARY CIRCUMSTANCES.

24. I HAVE AGREED WITH SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION THAT THIS WILL BE CONSIDERED BY THE ANZUS COUNCIL, DUE TO MEET IN WASHINGTON NEXT MONTH.

25. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT ANZUS WILL REMAIN THE FUNDAMENTAL DOCUMENT GOVERNING THE CONDUCT OF AUSTRALIA'S STRATEGIC ROLE IN THE PACIFIC AND SOUTH EAST ASIAN REGIONS.

26. IT IS ON THAT REGION - THE REGION IN WHICH DESTINY HAS PLACED AUSTRALIA FOREVER - THAT MY GOVERNMENT WILL FOCUS ITS PRIMARY ATTENTION IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

27. IN THEIR EFFORTS TO FULFIL THEIR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS, THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC WILL CONTINUE TO FIND A CO-OPERATIVE, SENSITIVE AND SYMPATHETIC NEIGHBOUR IN AUSTRALIA.

28. THESE NEW NATIONS SHARE WITH AUSTRALIA THE DESIRE TO SEE THE RESIDUAL COLONIAL SITUATIONS IN THE REGION ENDED IN AN ORDERLY AND PEACEFUL FASHION.

29. AUSTRALIA IS UNIQUE IN THE WORLD IN HAVING AS ITS NEAREST NEIGHBOUR ITS OWN FORMER COLONY - PAPUA NEW GUINEA. WE ACKNOWLEDGE OUR SPECIAL ASSOCIATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY. DURING MY CURRENT VISIT OVERSEAS, I VISITED PORT MORESBY FIRST AND AGREED WITH PRIME MINISTER SOMARE ON NEW AID ARRANGEMENTS TO HELP PAPUA NEW GUINEA COPE WITH THE PRESENT GLOBAL RECESSION WITHOUT DESTABILISING ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES.

30. TO OUR NORTH, THE ASEAN COUNTRIES ARE OF OUTSTANDING IMPORTANCE TO AUSTRALIA. WE REGARD ASEAN - WITH ITS MEMBER NATIONS OF INDONESIA, THE PHILIPPINES, MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND THAILAND - AS AMONG THE MOST VALUABLE AND VIABLE REGIONAL GROUPINGS IN THE WORLD TODAY. ASEAN FORMS, WITH THE GIANTS OF CHINA AND JAPAN, TOGETHER WITH SOUTH KOREA AND HONG KONG, THE WORLD'S FASTEST-GROWING ECONOMIC REGION.

31. AND QUITE APART FROM CONSIDERATIONS OF STRATEGY AND PROXIMITY, AUSTRALIA'S OWN INTERESTS DEMAND THAT WE ASSOCIATE OURSELVES AS CLOSELY AS WE CAN WITH THE ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE REGION.

32. THE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JAPAN AND AUSTRALIA IS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. WE SEEK A BROADER RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN, BEYOND THE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP, AS OUR MAJOR TRADING PARTNER.

33. MY GOVERNMENT WILL BE WORKING CLOSELY WITH JAPAN AND WILL BE ENCOURAGING THAT COUNTRY TO PLAY A POLITICAL ROLE IN THE REGION MORE COMMENSURATE WITH HER ECONOMIC POWER. IT HAS OFTEN BEEN ASSERTED THAT THE JAPANESE ARE GETTING A 'FREE RIDE' IN TERMS OF DEFENCE. YET NONE OF US CAN IGNORE THE CONSTRAINTS ON JAPAN ARISING FROM DOMESTIC OPINION, HER POSTWAR DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION, AND REGIONAL SENSITIVITIES. NO COUNTRY IS MORE AWARE OF THOSE REGIONAL SENSITIVITIES THAN AUSTRALIA. WE WILL SEEK, AS SUCCESSIVE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE DONE, TO ENHANCE AUSTRALIA'S ROLE AND REPUTATION AS A RELIABLE AND STABLE SUPPLIER OF THE RESOURCE NEEDS OF JAPANESE INDUSTRY.

34. AUSTRALIA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND CHINA'S OWN INFLUENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OUR REGION HAVE ADVANCED POSITIVELY TO A DEGREE THAT WOULD HAVE DEFIED IMAGINATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1970'S.
35. RECENTLY, THE PREMIER OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC VISITED AUSTRALIA AND WE HAD ILLUMINATING AND FRANK TALKS WITH HIM.
36. IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING FROM THESE TALKS THAT SIGNIFICANT CHANGES ARE TAKING PLACE IN CHINA IN TERMS OF ITS ECONOMIC PRACTICE, AND, INDEED, ITS PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH - CHANGES WHICH SEEM TO ME TO BE OF GENUINE IMPORTANCE TO CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST AND OURS WITH CHINA. I DO NOT THINK WE SHOULD UNDER-ESTIMATE THE POTENTIAL WHICH THESE DEVELOPMENTS OFFER FOR AN EVEN MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA.
37. BECAUSE OF CHINA'S POTENTIAL INFLUENCE IN NORTH AND SOUTH EAST ASIA PARTICULARLY, BUT ALSO IN THE BROADER INTERNATIONAL SCENE, WE VIEW WITH CONCERN SIGNS OF STRAINS IN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. A CO-OPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE TWO GREAT POWERS WILL HELP EACH TO CONCENTRATE ITS ENERGIES ON THE MORE DIFFICULT AND, SOMETIMES, DELICATE AREAS OF ITS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.
38. OF THESE, NONE REPRESENTS A DEEPER CONTEMPORARY HUMAN TRAGEDY THAN THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CAMBODIA.
39. THIS IS ONE OF THE AREAS IN WHICH MY GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT AN AUSTRALIAN INITIATIVE CAN BE OF GENUINE VALUE - AND CERTAINLY, WE BELIEVE WE HAVE A MORAL OBLIGATION TO MAKE AN EFFORT TO ALLEVIATE THE HUMAN SUFFERING ARISING FROM THAT SITUATION.
40. THE OBLIGATION WE FEEL AND THE SPECIAL OPPORTUNITY WE BELIEVE WE HAVE IN THIS MATTER FLOW FROM THE SOUNDNESS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA, THE ASEAN MEMBER NATIONS, AS WELL AS, OF COURSE, WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND OUR CAPACITY TO TALK TO VIETNAM - A CAPACITY NOT UNRELATED, I HAVE TO SAY - TO THE CONSCIENTIOUS OPPOSITION MY OWN PARTY ADOPTED, AT CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL COST, THROUGHOUT THE YEARS OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM.
41. THIS IS A COMBINATION OF FACTORS NOT AVAILABLE TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND NATIONS IN THE REGION.
42. SO WE BELIEVE WE WOULD ABDICATE OUR OBLIGATIONS, SHOULD WE FAIL TO MOVE ON THIS QUESTION. EQUALLY, WE HAVE TO MOVE CIRCUMSPECTLY, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT WE DO NOT FORFEIT THE UNIQUE POSITION WE HOLD.
43. AS TO VIETNAM ITSELF, IT SEEMS TO AUSTRALIA THAT IT IS NEITHER IN VIETNAM'S INTEREST - NOR IN OUR (UNDERLINE ONE) INTERESTS - OR IN ANYBODY'S INTEREST - THAT VIETNAM SHOULD BE ISOLATED FROM THE AFFAIRS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE REGION. SUCH REGIONAL ISOLATION COULD ONLY MEAN EVEN MORE COMPLETE ORIENTATION OF VIETNAM TOWARDS THE SOVIET BLOC.
44. I AM HAPPY TO SAY THAT THERE HAS BEEN A POSITIVE REACTION TO OUR INITIATIVE FROM THE ASEAN COUNTRIES. THE AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, BILL HAYDEN, WILL BE MEETING THE ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BANGKOK AT THE END OF THIS MONTH, AND WILL GO FROM THERE TO HANOI. SECRETARY SHULTZ HAS INDICATED TO ME IN THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS THAT THEY UNDERSTAND AND SUPPORT WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO, WITH THE BACKING OF THE ASEAN COUNTRIES.

45. BEYOND REGIONAL PROBLEMS, HOWEVER INTRACTABLE, THERE REMAINS, LOOMING OVER US ALL, THE SPECTRE OF THE NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

46. MY GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE FIELDS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. THIS REFLECTS THE DEEP INTEREST WHICH AUSTRALIA SHARES WITH ALL COUNTRIES IN BRINGING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE UNDER THE CONTROL OF EFFECTIVE AGREEMENTS.

47. BUT WE IN AUSTRALIA, HAVING ACCEPTED THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH THE HOSTING OF JOINT DEFENCE INSTALLATIONS, HAVE A PARTICULAR CONCERN ABOUT THE ISSUES AFFECTING THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR BALANCE - AND, LET ME SAY, AN ENTITLEMENT TO BE HEARD ON SUCH ISSUES.

48. AUSTRALIANS HAVE BEEN DEEPLY WORRIED BY THE EXTENT TO WHICH IN RECENT YEARS, ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT HAVE BECOME A SOURCE OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION RATHER THAN A BASIS FOR POSSIBLE CO-OPERATION - AS, INDEED, HAPPENED IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE CUBAN CRISIS OF 1962. WE UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER, THAT THE POLITICAL BASIS FOR PROGRESS IN THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AREA HAS NOT BEEN GOOD IN RECENT YEARS, AND HAS BEEN UNDERMINED BY OTHER ASPECTS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, NOT LEAST THE ABHORRENT AGGRESSION OF THE SOVIET IN AFGHANISTAN, AND ITS INTOLERABLE PRESSURE TO SUPPRESS THE FLOWERING OF FREEDOM IN POLAND.

49. WE AUSTRALIANS UNDERSTAND VERY WELL THE PROBLEMS WHICH FACE OPEN SOCIETIES LIKE OURS IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

50. BUT, NEVERTHELESS, WE TAKE THE VIEW THAT IT IS BETTER TO CONTINUE TO ENGAGE THE SOVIET IN DIALOGUE RATHER THAN TO ATTEMPT TO ISOLATE IT - AN IMPOSSIBLE ATTEMPT IN THIS DAY AND AGE.

51. COUNTRIES LIKE OURS, WHICH ATTACH THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO THE AVOIDANCE OF NUCLEAR CONFLICT, CANNOT SENSIBLY TALK ABOUT INTERNATIONAL PEACE WITHOUT ATTEMPTING TO HAVE RATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. OUR OWN DEALINGS WITH MOSCOW WILL BE FIRM, CIRCUMSPECT AND CONSTRUCTIVE.

52. WE WANT TO SEE INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE IN THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT PROCESS STRENGTHENED. WE HOPE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER WAY IN S.T.A.R.T. AND I.N.F. WILL LEAD TO A HALT IN THE ARMS RACE AND A REDUCTION IN NUCLEAR ARSENALS. IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT THE SOVIET WILL RESPOND POSITIVELY TO RECENT AMERICAN INITIATIVES WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED IN PURSUIT OF THESE OBJECTIVES. WE WISH TO SEE A REVITALISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME. WE LOOK TO THE CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE WHICH WOULD LEAD TO AGREEMENT ON A COMPREHENSIVE AND FULLY VERIFIABLE BAN ON NUCLEAR TESTING.

53. IN OUR OWN REGION, WE STRONGLY OPPOSE THE CONTINUATION OF FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING. WE ARE CURRENTLY TALKING WITH OUR SOUTH PACIFIC NEIGHBOURS ABOUT PROPOSALS FOR A SOUTH WEST PACIFIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE. OUR PURPOSE IS TO SEEK TO PREVENT NUCLEAR TESTING, THE STORAGE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE DUMPING OF NUCLEAR WASTE IN THE REGION. BUT REFERRING BACK TO THE PRIMACY WE ATTACH TO THE ANZUS TREATY, I MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE CONCEPT OF A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IS NOT INTENDED TO PRECLUDE THE PASSAGE OF NUCLEAR POWERED AND ARMED SEA VESSELS OR AIR TRANSIT IN THE REGION.

54. WHILE THE ARMS RACE AND THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR REPRESENT THE ULTIMATE DANGER TO MANKIND, THESE THINGS ARE NOT THE ONLY SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, RIVALRIES AND CONFLICT.

55. INDEED, THE VERY MAGNITUDE AND POTENTIAL FINALITY OF THE NUCLEAR THREAT IN OUR PERILOUS AGE TENDS TO OBSCURE THE ONGOING CAUSES OF TENSION BETWEEN NATIONS IN THEIR ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

56. THE WORLD-WIDE RECESSION ITSELF HAS CONTRIBUTED TO TENSIONS BETWEEN THE MAJOR INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES AND CREATED NEW PROBLEMS FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

57. WE OF THE INDUSTRIALISED WEST CAN MAKE OUR MAIN CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESOLUTION OF SUCH PROBLEMS AS INTERNATIONAL DEBT AND CONSTRAINTS ON TRADE BY RESTORING ECONOMIC GROWTH TO OUR ECONOMIES. IN PARTICULAR, IT IS NO WAY OUT OF THE RECESSION FOR ANY OF US TO RESORT TO COSY BILATERAL DEALS, HIGHER LEVELS OF PROTECTION OR EXPORT SUBSIDIES INCONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF GATT AND WHICH DISTORT THE PATTERN OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE. IN THE LONG-TERM, THAT WOULD SOLVE NONE OF OUR PROBLEMS, AND CERTAINLY INCREASE THE PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS. IT WILL REDUCE THEIR CAPACITY TO SERVICE THEIR DEBT AND TO FINANCE THEIR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.

58. AS WITH ALL GREAT CRISES AND ORDEALS, THERE ARE IMPORTANT LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM THE WORLD RECESSION.

59. AND AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT LESSON OF ALL, THIS CRISIS SERVES POWERFULLY TO REMIND US OF THE INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE NATIONS - THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ECONOMIES, THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF SOCIETIES. I HAVE JUST MENTIONED THE INTERACTION OF THE ECONOMIES OF THE MAJOR INDUSTRIALISED NATIONS., AND THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE ECONOMIES OF THE INDUSTRIALISED NATIONS AND THE DEVELOPING NATIONS.

60. BUT IN THE WIDER SENSE, THIS INTERDEPENDENCE EXTENDS FAR BEYOND ECONOMIC INTERCHANGE.

61. AND WHILE FORMAL TREATIES LIKE ANZUS RECOGNISE STRATEGIC INTERDEPENDENCE, THE PRINCIPLE EXTENDS BEYOND REGIONAL SECURITY, IMPORTANT AS THAT IS.

62. WE LIVE IN A WORLD TODAY THAT IS TRULY, IN WENDELL WILKIE'S PHRASE: 'ONE WORLD'.

63. IT WAS THE GREAT BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WHO SAID AT THE TIME OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE:

'WE MUST HANG TOGETHER GENTLEMEN, OR ASSUREDLY WE WILL HANG SEPARATELY'.

64. TODAY'S NEED IS FOR A CLEARER RECOGNITION - A DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE (UNDERLINE THREE). HOWEVER JEALOUSLY EACH OF US MAY GUARD OUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, WE MUST EQUALLY RECOGNISE OUR INTERNATIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE.

65. AND ULTIMATELY, WE HAVE TO RECOGNISE, HOWEVER DIFFICULT IT MAY BE, EVEN HOWEVER UNPALATABLE IT MAY BE - WE HAVE TO RECOGNISE THAT INTERDEPENDENCE IS GLOBAL AND UNIVERSAL.

66. AT STAKE, IN THE RECOGNITION AND ACCEPTANCE OF THAT FUNDAMENTAL FACT, IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE SURVIVAL OF CIVILISATION ITSELF.

67. THIS WILL BE THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRALIA: THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONS OF OUR REGION., OUR INTERDEPENDENCE WITH THE GREAT DEMOCRACIES., BUT ULTIMATELY, AND INESCAPABLY, THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF US ALL - ALL NATIONS, ALL PEOPLES - IN THE STARK CHOICE BEFORE US ALL - A CHOICE NEVER BEFORE FACED BY HUMANITY - THE CHOICE BETWEEN SURVIVAL OR EXTINCTION.