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PRIME MINISTER

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH NOTES - INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

CHOGM, NEW DELHI, 23 NOVEMBER 1983

- . THE ARMS RACE HAS REACHED ALARMING PROPORTIONS -
\$700 BILLION PER YEAR.
 - IT IS GRAVELY THREATENING EVERYBODY'S SECURITY. ARMED CONFLICT CONTINUES IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD, THERE ARE 10 MILLION REFUGEES AS A RESULT OF SUCH CONFLICT.
 - IT IS A SCANDALOUS WASTE OF HUMAN RESOURCES AND INGENUITY. ECONOMIC GROWTH, JOBS, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ARE BEING MATERIALLY SET BACK BY EXPENDITURE ON ARMS.
 - THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS SPOKEN OF THE \$1 MILLION SPENT EACH MINUTE ON ARMS. MY CALCULATION IS THAT THE EXPENDITURE IS NEARER TO \$1.3M. BUT NONE OF US NEED TO BE TOLD HOW MUCH \$1 MILLION PER MINUTE COULD PRODUCE IN TERMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF, FOR EXAMPLE, THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.
- . EAST/WEST TENSION IS ALARMINGLY HIGH.
 - ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SUPER POWERS ARE IN DIFFICULTY.
 - THEIR RELATIONSHIP IS PERMEATED WITH SUSPICION.
 - THE RHETORIC IS VERY DANGEROUS.
 - BUT WE SHOULD NOT BE OVERWHELMED BY A SENSE OF GLOBAL PESSIMISM OR OF IMMINENT DISASTER.

- . IT WOULD BE STERILE TO SEEK TO APPORTION BLAME, BUT AUSTRALIA DOES NOT SUBSCRIBE TO THE VIEW THAT THE UNITED STATES BEARS THE GREATEST RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN THE SUPER POWERS.
 - WESTERN SOCIETIES ARE OPEN. DEBATE TAKES PLACE AND THIS EXPOSES THEIR CONCERNS FAR MORE THAN IS THE CASE IN THE SOVIET UNION.
 - IT MUST ALSO BE RECOGNISED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS PURSUING AN ARMAMENTS PROGRAM OF UNPRECEDENTED PROPORTIONS.
 - MY OWN CONTACTS AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION HAVE LEFT ME IN NO DOUBT THAT THAT ADMINISTRATION IS UTTERLY SINCERE IN WANTING TO STOP THE ARMS RACE.

- . AUSTRALIA DOES NOT ACCEPT THAT THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES ALONE SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THESE ISSUES.
 - THEIR CALCULATIONS - THEIR MISCALCULATIONS - COULD AFFECT US ALL OR ELIMINATE US ALL.

- . THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONSIDER THAT UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT WOULD BE AN EFFECTIVE WAY IN BRINGING ABOUT AN END TO THE ARMS RACE.

- . WHAT IS REQUIRED ARE REALISTIC, CONCRETE AND BALANCED PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE AT THEIR HEART A RECOGNITION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS INVOLVED.

- . AUSTRALIA'S SECURITY INTERESTS REQUIRE COLLECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR OUR DEFENCE.
 - WE HAVE SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT IN THE ANZUS ALLIANCE, COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ARE SANCTIONED BY THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

- . MY GOVERNMENT HAS CLARIFIED THE NATURE OF THE ANZUS ALLIANCE AND THIS HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE THREE TREATY PARTNERS.

- . A CONSEQUENCE OF OUR SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS UNDER ANZUS IS THE PRESENCE ON AUSTRALIAN SOIL OF JOINT FACILITIES.
 - THESE PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN MAINTAINING WESTERN SECURITY.
 - THEY ARE ALSO ABLE TO VERIFY ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS.
 - WE ALREADY HAVE AND ARE DEVELOPING FURTHER A SEISMIC MONITORING CAPACITY WITH REGARD TO NUCLEAR TESTING.

- . WE HAVE GREATLY ELEVATED ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT GOALS WITHIN OUR FOREIGN POLICY
 - WE ARE A MEMBER OF EVERY MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATING BODY.
 - IN THOSE BODIES WE ARE PROMOTING THE NEGOTIATION OF TREATIES TO END NUCLEAR TESTING, TO BAN CHEMICAL WEAPONS, AND TO PREVENT AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE.

- . IN THE WIDER POLITICAL ARENA WE ARE URGING BOTH SUPER POWERS TO MODERATE THEIR ANTAGONISM, TO IMPROVE UNDERSTANDING AND TO SEEK AN END TO AND A REDUCTION OF THEIR NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

- . AUSTRALIA'S DISARMAMENT OBJECTIVES ARE GUIDED BY THE FOLLOWING GENERAL PRINCIPLES -
 - SECURITY FOR ALL STATES AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF ARMAMENT
 - STABILITY IN THE NUCLEAR BALANCE
 - ADEQUATE VERIFICATION OF DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS.

- . IN LINE WITH THESE OBJECTIVES WE ARE ATTACHING A PARTICULAR PRIORITY TO EFFORTS AIMED AT SECURING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT THROUGH REDUCTIONS IN THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS (AS FOR EXAMPLE THROUGH THE START AND INF NEGOTIATIONS), UPHOLDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME, AND CONCLUSION OF COMPLETE BAN ON NUCLEAR TESTING.

- . IN ADDITION AUSTRALIA HAS PROPOSED TO ITS SOUTH PACIFIC PARTNERS THE POSSIBILITY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IN THE SOUTH WEST PACIFIC
 - THIS IS SOMETHING THAT CAN ONLY BE DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF AGREEMENT AMONGST THOSE PARTNERS
 - WE HOPE IT WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE BANNING OF ALL NUCLEAR TESTING AND DUMPING OF RADIOACTIVE MATERIALS IN THE REGION, AND INVOLVE A REGION-WIDE COMMITMENT TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

- . THE STARTING POINT IS TO REDUCE THE SIZE OF BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARSENALS AND BRINGING THEM UNDER THE CONTROL OF VERIFIABLE AND EFFECTIVE AGREEMENTS.

- . ADEQUATE AND EFFECTIVE PROVISION FOR VERIFICATION IS THE CRUCIAL PRECONDITION OF PROGRESS IN THIS AREA
 - IF ANY AGREEMENT IS TO COMMAND CONFIDENCE, GROUNDS OF SUSPICION OF NON-COMPLIANCE MUST BE ELIMINATED.

- . AUSTRALIA WOULD WISH TO ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT ACTION IN THIS FIELD
 - FOR EXAMPLE, IN CONSIDERING AUSTRALIA'S OWN CAPABILITIES WE ARE ACTIVELY EXAMINING THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPROVING AUSTRALIA'S CAPACITY TO MONITOR NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS BY FURTHER DEVELOPING OUR SEISMIC MONITORING CAPABILITY.

- . THE PROBLEM OF PROLIFERATION IS MORE DIFFICULT.

- . THERE IS NO FOOL-PROOF MEANS OF PREVENTING THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES BUT AUSTRALIA IS AMONG THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THE PROCESS CAN AND SHOULD BE SLOWED AND THE COSTS TO THE PROLIFERATOR INCREASED.

- . IT IS PERHAPS ENCOURAGING THAT IN MOST NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES, PARTICULARLY DEVELOPED ONES, THE PERCEIVED MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC UTILITY OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES HAS BEEN IN DECLINE SINCE THE 1960s.
 - AS AGAINST THIS, CIVIL NUCLEAR PROGRAMS ARE INCREASINGLY INVOLVED WITH TECHNOLOGIES THAT ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES.

- . IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AN ISSUE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO AUSTRALIA IS THE POSITION OF SOUTH AFRICA.
 - THE APARTHEID SYSTEM IS TOTALLY UNJUST
 - IT WOULD BE UTTERLY UNACCEPTABLE IF APARTHEID WERE TO BECOME NUCLEAR ARMED
 - WE MUST ALL ENSURE THAT THIS DOES NOT OCCUR.

- . THE NPT MUST REMAIN A CORNER-STONE OF INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
 - AUSTRALIA IS A STRONG SUPPORTER OF THIS VITAL TREATY AND ITS ASSOCIATED SYSTEMS OF VERIFICATION.

- . BUT AUSTRALIA GOES FURTHER.

- . WE RECOGNISE OUR OBLIGATIONS UNDER NPT ARTICLE IV AS A PRODUCER AND EXPORTER OF URANIUM TO FACILITATE AND PARTICIPATE IN THE EXCHANGE OF EQUIPMENT, MATERIALS AND INFORMATION FOR THE PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY, WITH DUE CONSIDERATION FOR THE NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING AREAS OF THE WORLD.

- . AUSTRALIA ALSO, AND AS PART OF THIS RECOGNITION, ACCEPTS THAT IT HAS A PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY TO SECURE IMPROVED INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS AGAINST DIVERSION OF NUCLEAR MATERIAL FROM PEACEFUL USES.

- . AUSTRALIA NEVERTHELESS DOES NOT CONSIDER IT ENOUGH TO PUT IN PLACE A MORE STRINGENT SAFEGUARDS SYSTEM.

- . WE SHOULD ALSO LIKE TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO ALL FORMS OF NUCLEAR TESTING THROUGH A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY. THIS IS ALSO AN NPT OBLIGATION (ARTICLE VI).
 - CONTINUED NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING IS A SYMBOL OF AN INCENTIVE TO THE ARMS RACE
 - THE GREAT MAJORITY OF NUCLEAR TESTS ARE CONDUCTED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, BUT FRANCE ALSO CONDUCTS TESTS EACH YEAR IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGION.
 - BRITAIN AND CHINA CONTINUE TO CONDUCT OCCASIONAL TESTS, CHINA - MOST REGRETTABLY - IN THE ATMOSPHERE
 - WE ARE ONE OF THE MAIN PROMOTERS IN THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE NEGOTIATION OF A TREATY TO BAN NUCLEAR TESTING BY ALL STATES IN ALL ENVIRONMENTS FOR ALL TIME.

- . THIS IS A POINT ON WHICH COLLECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION IS OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE.

- . CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS ARE SECOND ONLY TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THEIR CAPACITY TO INFLICT DEATH AND HUMAN SUFFERING ON A LARGE SCALE.

- . AUSTRALIA BELIEVES THAT IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS BE STRENGTHENED AND WOULD DRAW ATTENTION TO THE DISAPPOINTING FACT THAT ONLY 2/3 OF THE COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS ARE PARTIES TO THE 1925 PROTOCOL, AND LESS THAN 2/3 HAVE AGREED TO THE 1972 BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION.

- . WE ALSO STRONGLY SUPPORT EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THE ARMS RACE DOES NOT EXTEND OFF THIS PLANET AND INTO OUTER SPACE
 - THE PROSPECT OF EXTENSION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE INTO THAT ARENA IS FRIGHTENING IN ITS POSSIBILITIES
 - IT SHOULD BE HEADED OFF BEFORE THE INEXORABLE LOGIC OF A NEW ROUND OF COMPETITIVE BIDDING IMPOSES ITSELF AND PROVIDES US WITH YET A FURTHER DANGEROUS ARENA OF INTRACTABLE DIFFICULTY.

- . THE COMMONWEALTH CAN PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN DISARMAMENT AND IN REDUCING TENSIONS
 - THESE ISSUES ARE CHARACTERISED BY DISPUTE BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN BLOCS
 - THE COMMONWEALTH DOES NOT REPRESENT BLOCS, IT IS A HETEROGENEOUS ORGANISATION
 - ITS VOICE CAN COMMAND THE ATTENTION OF THE SUPER POWERS.

- . IT CLEARLY IS AN ILLUSION TO BELIEVE THAT SECURITY CAN BY OBTAINED ON THE BASIS OF AN ARMS RACE OF THE PROPORTIONS WE FACE TODAY.

- . NO-ONE SHOULD DOUBT THAT THE RESOURCES INVOLVED IN THAT ARMS RACE COULD BE VASTLY MORE PRODUCTIVELY EMPLOYED IN THE WORLD ECONOMY, IN CREATING JOBS, AND IN MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

- . ACTION IN THIS FIELD IS URGENTLY REQUIRED.