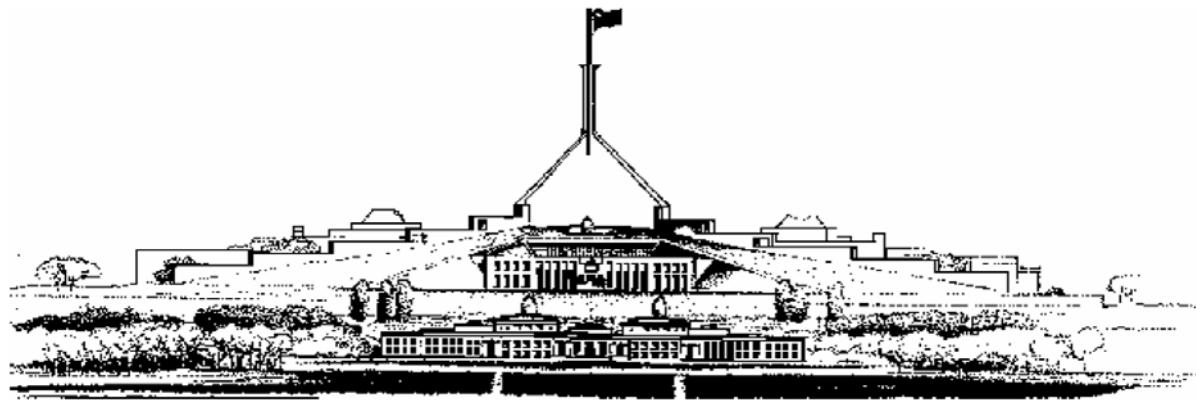




COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES



House of Representatives

Official Hansard

No. 175, 1991
Tuesday, 22 January 1991

**THIRTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT
FIRST SESSION—THIRD PERIOD**

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THIRTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT

FIRST SESSION—THIRD PERIOD

Governor-General

**His Excellency the Honourable William George Hayden, Companion of the Order of Australia,
Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia**

House of Representatives Officeholders

Speaker—The Honourable Leo Boyce McLeay

Chairman of Committees—Mr Ronald Frederick Edwards

Deputy Chairmen of Committees—Mr David Bruce Cowan,
Hon. James Donald Mathieson Dobie, Mr Stephen Cairfield Dubois, Mr Colin Hollis,
Mr Henry Alfred Jenkins, Hon. Michael John Randal MacKellar,
Mr Garry Barr Nehl, Hon. Gordon Glen Denton Scholes,
Mr Leslie James Scott and Mrs Kathryn Jean Sullivan

Leader of the House—The Honourable Kim Christian Beazley

Leader of the Opposition—Dr John Robert Hewson

Deputy Leader of the Opposition—Mr Peter Keaston Reith

Manager of Opposition Business—The Honourable Wallace Clyde Fife

House of Representatives Party Leaders

Leader of the Australian Labor Party—The Honourable
Robert James Lee Hawke, AC

Deputy Leader of the Australian Labor Party—The Honourable
Paul Keating

Leader of the Liberal Party of Australia—Dr John Robert Hewson

Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party of Australia—Mr Peter Keaston Reith

Leader of the National Party of Australia—Mr Timothy Andrew Fischer

Deputy Leader of the National Party of Australia—Mr Bruce Lloyd

Members of the House of Representatives

Member	Division	Party	Member	Division	Party
Aldred, Kenneth James	Deakin, Vic	LP	Dubois, Stephen	Cairfield	ALP
Anderson, John Duncan	Gwydir, NSW	NP	Duffy, Hon. Michael	Holt, Vic	ALP
Andrew, John Neil	Wakefield, SA	LP	John		
Andrews, Kevin James	Menzies, Vic	LP	Duncan, Hon. Peter	Makin, SA	ALP
Atkinson, Rodney Alexander	Isaacs, Vic	LP	Edwards, Dr Harold Raymond	Berowra, NSW	LP
Bailey, Frances Esther	McEwen, Vic	LP	Edwards, Ronald	Stirling, WA	ALP
Baldwin, Hon. Peter Jeremy	Sydney, NSW	ALP	Frederick		
Beale, Julian Howard	Bruce, Vic	LP	Elliott, Robert Paul	Parramatta, NSW	ALP
Beazley, Hon. Kim Christian	Swan, WA	ALP	Fatin, Hon. Wendy Frances	Brand, WA	ALP
Beddall, Hon. David Peter	Rankin, Qld	ALP	Ferguson, Laurie Donald Thomas	Reid, NSW	ALP
Bevis, Archibald Ronald	Brisbane, Qld	ALP	Fife, Hon. Wallace Clyde	Hume, NSW	LP
Bilney, Hon. Gordon Neil	Kingston, SA	ALP	Filing, Paul Anthony	Moore, WA	LP
Blewett, Hon. Neal	Bonython, SA	ALP	Fischer, Timothy Andrew	Farrer, NSW	NP
Bradford, John Walter	McPherson, Qld	LP	Fisher, Peter Stanley	Mallee, Vic	NP
Braithwaite, Raymond Allen	Dawson, Qld	NP	Fitzgibbon, Eric John	Hunter, NSW	ALP
Brereton, Hon. Laurence John	Kingsford-Smith, NSW	ALP	Ford, Frank Allen	Dunkley, Vic	LP
Broadbent, Russell Evan	Corinella, Vic	LP	Free, Hon. Ross Vincent	Lindsay, NSW	ALP
Brown, Hon. Robert James	Charlton, NSW	ALP	Gallus, Christine Ann	Hawker, SA	LP
Burr, Maxwell Arthur	Lyons, Tas	LP	Gayler, John	Leichhardt, Qld	ALP
Cadman, Alan Glyndwr	Mitchell, NSW	LP	Gear, George	Canning, WA	ALP
Cameron, Ewen Colin	Indi, Vic	LP	Gibson, Garrie David	Moreton, Qld	ALP
Campbell, Graeme	Kalgoorlie, WA	ALP	Goodluck, Bruce John	Franklin, Tas	LP
Carlton, Hon. James Joseph	Mackellar, NSW	LP	Gorman, Russell Neville Joseph	Greenway, NSW	ALP
Catley, Dr Robert	Adelaide, SA	ALP	Grace, Edward Laurence	Fowler, NSW	ALP
Chaney, Hon. Frederick Michael	Pearce, WA	LP	Griffiths, Hon. Alan Gordon	Maribyrnong, Vic	ALP
Charles, Robert Edwin	La Trobe, Vic	LP	Hall, Raymond Steele	Boothby, SA	LP
Charlesworth, Dr Richard Ian, AM	Perth, WA	ALP	Halverson, Robert	Casey, Vic	LP
Cobb, Michael Roy	Parkes, NSW	NP	George, OBE		
Connolly, David Miles	Bradfield, NSW	LP	Hand, Hon. Gerard Leslie	Melbourne, Vic	ALP
Costello, Peter Howard	Higgins, Vic	LP	Hawke, Hon. Robert	Wills, Vic	ALP
Courtice, Brian William	Hinkler, Qld	ALP	James Lee, AC		
Cowan, David Bruce	Lyne, NSW	NP	Hawker, David Peter	Wannon, Vic	LP
Crawford, Mary Catherine	Forde, Qld	ALP	Maxwell		
Crean, Hon. Simon Findlay	Hotham, Vic	ALP	Hewson, Dr John Robert	Wentworth, NSW	LP
Crosio, Hon. Janice Ann, MBE	Prospect, NSW	ALP	Hicks, Noel Jeffrey	Riverina-Darling, NSW	NP
Darling, Elaine Elizabeth	Lilley, Qld	ALP	Holding, Hon. Allan Clyde	Melbourne Ports, Vic	ALP
Dawkins, Hon. John Sydney	Fremantle, WA	ALP	Hollis, Colin	Throsby, NSW	ALP
Dobie, Hon. James Donald Mathieson	Cook, NSW	LP	Howard, Hon. John Winston	Bennelong, NSW	LP
Downer, Alexander John Gosse	Mayo, SA	LP	Howe, Hon. Brian Leslie	Batman, Vic	ALP
			Hulls, Rob Justin	Kennedy, Qld	ALP
			Humphreys, Hon.	Griffith, Qld	ALP
			Benjamin Charles		
			Jakobsen, Carolyn Anne	Cowan, WA	ALP
			Jenkins, Henry Alfred	Scullin, Vic	ALP
			Johns, Gary Thomas	Petrie, Qld	ALP
			Jones, Hon. Barry Owen	Lalor, Vic	ALP
			Jull, David Francis	Fadden, Qld	LP
			Keating, Hon. Paul John	Blaxland, NSW	ALP

Members of the House of Representatives—*continued*

Member	Division	Party	Member	Division	Party
Kelly, Hon. Roslyn Joan	Canberra, ACT	ALP	Rocher, Allan Charles	Curtin, WA	LP
Kemp, Dr David Alistair	Goldstein, Vic	LP	Ronaldson, Michael	Ballarat, Vic	LP
Kerin, Hon. John Charles	Werriwa, NSW	ALP	John Clyde		
Kerr, Duncan James	Denison, Tas	ALP	Ruddock, Philip Maxwell	Dundas, NSW	LP
Colquhoun			Sawford, Rodney Weston	Port Adelaide, SA	ALP
Langmore, John Vance	Fraser, ACT	ALP	Scholes, Hon. Gordon	Corio, Vic	ALP
Lavarch, Michael Hugh	Fisher, Qld	ALP	Glen Denton		
Lee, Michael John	Dobell, NSW	ALP	Sciaca, Hon. Con	Bowman, Qld	ALP
Lindsay, Eamon John, RFD	Herbert, Qld	ALP	Scott, Bruce Craig	Maranoa, Qld	NP
Lloyd, Bruce	Murray, Vic	NP	Scott, John Lyden	Hindmarsh, SA	ALP
McArthur, Fergus Stewart	Corangamite, Vic	LP	Scott, Leslie James	Oxley, Qld	ALP
McGauran, Peter John	Gippsland, Vic	NP	Shack, Peter Donald	Tangney, WA	LP
McHugh, Jeannette	Phillip, NSW	ALP	Sharp, John Randall	Gilmore, NSW	NP
MacKellar, Hon. Michael John Randal	Warringah, NSW	LP	Simmons, Hon. David William	Calare, NSW	ALP
McLachlan, Ian Murray, AO	Barker, SA	LP	Sinclair, Rt Hon. Ian McMahon	New England, NSW	NP
McLeay, Hon. Leo Boyce	Grayndler, NSW	ALP	Smith, Warwick Leslie	Bass, Tas	LP
Mack, Edward Carrington	North Sydney, NSW	Ind.	Snow, James Henry	Eden-Monaro, NSW	ALP
Martin, Stephen Paul	Macarthur, NSW	ALP	Snowdon, Hon. Warren Edward	Northern Territory	ALP
Melham, Daryl	Banks, NSW	ALP	Somlyay, Alexander Michael	Fairfax, Qld	LP
Miles, Christopher Gordon	Braddon, Tas	LP	Staples, Hon. Peter Richard	Jagajaga, Vic	ALP
Moore, Hon. John Colinton	Ryan, Qld	LP	Sullivan, Kathryn Jean	Moncrieff, Qld	LP
Morris, Allan Agapitos	Newcastle, NSW	ALP	Taylor, William Leonard	Groom, Qld	LP
Morris, Hon. Peter Frederick	Shortland, NSW	ALP	Theophanous, Dr Andrew Charles	Calwell, Vic	ALP
Nehl, Garry Barr	Cowper, NSW	NP	Tickner, Hon. Robert Edward	Hughes, NSW	ALP
Newell, Neville Joseph	Richmond, NSW	ALP	Truss, Warren Errol	Wide Bay, Qld	NP
Nugent, Peter Edward	Aston, Vic	LP	Tuckey, Charles Wilson	O'Connor, WA	LP
O'Keefe, Neil Patrick	Burke, Vic	ALP	Walker, Francis John, QC	Robertson, NSW	ALP
O'Neil, Lloyd Reginald Terrence	Grey, SA	ALP	Webster, Alasdair Paine	Macquarie, NSW	LP
Peacock, Hon. Andrew Sharp	Kooyong, Vic	LP	West, Hon. Stewart John	Cunningham, NSW	ALP
Price, Hon. Leo Roger Spurway	Chifley, NSW	ALP	Willis, Hon. Ralph	Gellibrand, Vic	ALP
Prosser, Geoffrey Daniel	Forrest, WA	LP	Wilson, Hon. Ian Bonython Cameron	Sturt, SA	LP
Punch, Hon. Gary Francis	Barton, NSW	ALP	Woods, Harry Francis	Page, NSW	ALP
Reid, Hon. Nicholas Bruce	Bendigo, Vic	LP	Woods, Dr Robert Leslie	Lowe, NSW	LP
Reith, Peter Keaston	Flinders, Vic	LP	Wooldridge, Dr Michael Richard Lewis	Chisholm, Vic	LP
Riggall, John Peter	McMillan, Vic	LP	Wright, Keith Webb	Capricornia, Qld	ALP

PARTY ABBREVIATIONS

ALP—Australian Labour Party; LP—Liberal Party of Australia; NP—National Party of Australia;
Ind.—Independent

FOURTH HAWKE MINISTRY

(To 4 June 1991)

Prime Minister	The Honourable Robert James Lee Hawke, AC
Deputy Prime Minister, Treasurer and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Commonwealth-State Relations	The Honourable Paul John Keating
Leader of the Government in the Senate and Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce	Senator the Honourable John Norman Button
Deputy Leader of the Government in the Senate and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade	Senator the Honourable Gareth John Evans, QC
Minister for Finance	The Honourable Ralph Willis
Attorney-General	The Honourable Michael John Duffy
Minister for Employment, Education and Training	The Honourable John Sydney Dawkins
Minister for Transport and Communications and Leader of the House	The Honourable Kim Christian Beazley
Minister for Primary Industries and Energy	The Honourable John Charles Kerin
Minister for Community Services and Health and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Social Justice	The Honourable Brian Leslie Howe
Minister for Trade and Overseas Development, Minister Assisting the Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce and Minister Assisting the Minister for Primary Industries and Energy	The Honourable Neal Blewett
Minister for Social Security and Vice-President of the Executive Council	Senator the Honourable Graham Frederick Richardson
Minister for Defence and Manager of Government Business in the Senate	Senator the Honourable Robert Francis Ray
Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Multicultural Affairs	The Honourable Gerard Leslie Hand
Minister for the Arts, Sport, the Environment Tourism and Territories	The Honourable Roslyn Joan Kelly
Minister for Industrial Relations and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Public Service Matters	Senator the Honourable Peter Francis Salmon Cook
Minister for Administrative Services	Senator the Honourable Nick Bolkus

(The above Ministers constitute the Cabinet)

Fourth Hawke Ministry—*continued*

Minister for Justice and Consumer Affairs	Senator the Honourable Michael Carter Tate
Minister for Aged, Family and Health Services	The Honourable Peter Richard Staples
Minister for Veterans' Affairs	The Honourable Benjamin Charles Humphreys
Minister for Land Transport	The Honourable Robert James Brown
Minister for the Arts, Tourism and Territories	The Honourable David William Simmons
Minister for Higher Education and Employment Services	The Honourable Peter Jeremy Baldwin
Minister for Small Business and Customs	The Honourable David Peter Beddall
Minister for Defence Science and Personnel	The Honourable Gordon Neil Bilney
Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Northern Australia	Senator the Honourable Robert Lindsay Collins
Minister for Science and Technology, Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Science and Minister Assisting the Treasurer	The Honourable Simon Findlay Crean
Minister for Local Government and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women	The Honourable Wendy Frances Fatin
Minister for Resources	The Honourable Alan Gordon Griffiths
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Aboriginal Reconciliation	The Honourable Robert Edward Tickner
Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister	The Honourable Ross Vincent Free
Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasurer	Senator the Honourable Robert Francis McMullan
Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Social Security	The Honourable Con Sciacca
Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Transport and Communications	The Honourable Warren Edward Snowdon

FOURTH HAWKE MINISTRY

(From 4 June 1991)

Prime Minister	The Honourable Robert James Lee Hawke, AC
Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Health, Housing and Community Services, Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Social Justice and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Commonwealth-State Relations	The Honourable Brian Leslie Howe
Leader of the Government in the Senate and Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce	Senator the Honourable John Norman Button
Deputy Leader of the Government in the Senate and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade	Senator the Honourable Gareth John Evans, QC
Minister for Finance	The Honourable Ralph Willis
Attorney-General	The Honourable Michael John Duffy
Minister for Employment, Education and Training	The Honourable John Sydney Dawkins
Minister for Transport and Communications and Leader of the House	The Honourable Kim Christian Beazley
Treasurer	The Honourable John Charles Kerin
Minister for Trade and Overseas Development, Minister Assisting the Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce and Minister Assisting the Minister for Primary Industries and Energy	The Honourable Neal Blewett
Minister for Social Security and Vice-President of the Executive Council	Senator the Honourable Graham Frederick Richardson
Minister for Defence	Senator the Honourable Robert Francis Ray
Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Multicultural Affairs	The Honourable Gerard Leslie Hand
Minister for the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories	The Honourable Roslyn Joan Kelly
Minister for Industrial Relations and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Public Service Matters	Senator the Honourable Peter Francis Salmon Cook
Minister for Administrative Services	Senator the Honourable Nick Bolkus
Minister for Primary Industries and Energy	The Honourable Simon Findlay Crean

(The above Ministers constitute the Cabinet)

Fourth Hawke Ministry—*continued*

Minister for Justice and Consumer Affairs	Senator the Honourable Michael Carter Tate
Minister for Aged, Family and Health Services	The Honourable Peter Richard Staples
Minister for Veterans' Affairs	The Honourable Benjamin Charles Humphreys
Minister for Land Transport	The Honourable Robert James Brown
Minister for the Arts, Tourism and Territories	The Honourable David William Simmons
Minister for Higher Education and Employment Services	The Honourable Peter Jeremy Baldwin
Minister for Small Business and Customs	The Honourable David Peter Beddall
Minister for Defence Science and Personnel	The Honourable Gordon Neil Bilney
Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Northern Australia	Senator the Honourable Robert Lindsay Collins
Minister for Local Government and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women	The Honourable Wendy Frances Fatin
Minister for Resources	The Honourable Alan Gordon Griffiths
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Aboriginal Reconciliation	The Honourable Robert Edward Tickner
Minister for Science and Technology, Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Science and Minister Assisting the Treasurer	The Honourable Ross Vincent Free
Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasurer and Manager of Government Business in the Senate	Senator the Honourable Robert Francis McMullan
Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister	The Honourable Leo Roger Spurway Price
Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Social Security	The Honourable Con Sciacca
Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Transport and Communications	The Honourable Warren Edward Snowdon

THE COMMITTEES OF THE SESSION

FIRST SESSION: THIRD PERIOD

STANDING COMMITTEES

ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS—Mr Kerr (*Chairman*), Mr Anderson, Mr Gibson, Mr Lavarch, Mr Nugent, Mr Riggall, Mr Sawford, Mr Les Scott, Mr Snowdon, Dr Wooldridge.

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS—Mr Jenkins, (*Chairman*), Mrs Bailey, Mr Broadbent (from 7 March), Dr Catley, Mr Cowan, Mrs Crosio, Mr Elliott, Mrs Gallus, Mr Goodluck, Mrs Jakobsen, Mr Johns, Mr Walker, Mr Wilson (to 7 March).

EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND TRAINING—Mr Price (*Chairman*—to 6 June), Ms Crawford (*Acting Chairman* —from 6 June), Mr Anderson, Mr Atkinson, Mr Bevis, Mr Bradford, Mr Charles, Mr Elliott (from 21 June), Mr Gibson, Mrs Jakobsen, Mr Jones, Mr Sawford, Mr Bruce Scott.

ENVIRONMENT, RECREATION AND THE ARTS—Ms McHugh (*Chairman*), Dr Charlesworth, Mrs Darling (to 5 March), Mr Dobie, Mr Dubois, Mr Ronald Edwards, Mr Peter Fisher, Mrs Gallus, Mr Gear (from 5 March), Mr Jenkins, Mr Newell, Mr Truss, Mr Webster.

FINANCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—Mr Martin (*Chairman*), Mr Andrew, Mr Braithwaite, Dr Charlesworth, Mr Courtice, Mr Downer, Mr Dubois, Mr Ronald Edwards, Mr Elliott, Mr Gear, Mr Hall, Mr Wilson. (Mr Les Scott and Mr Somlyay to serve on the Committee during consideration of the inquiry into the Australian banking industry).

HOUSE—The Speaker, Mr Elliott (from 21 June), Mr Hollis, Mr MacKellar, Mr Martin, Mr Nehl, Mr Price (to 21 June), Mrs Sullivan.

INDUSTRY, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY—Mr Lee (*Chairman*), Mr Campbell, Mr Cobb, Mr Ferguson, Mr Ford, Mr Gibson, Mr Grace, Mr Jenkins, Mr Jones, Mr McArthur, Mr Nugent, Mr Reid, Mr Les Scott.

LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS—Mr Lavarch (*Chairman*), Mr N.A. Brown (to 25 February), Mr Cadman, Dr Charlesworth (to 5 March), Mr Costello, Mr Holding (from 5 March), Mr Kerr, Mr Martin, Mr Melham, Mr Ronaldson (from 7 March), Mr Scholes, Mr Sinclair, Mr Smith, Mr Wright. (Mrs Bailey, Ms Crawford and Ms McHugh to serve on the Committee during consideration of the inquiry into equal opportunity and equal status for Australian women. Mr Nehl and Mr Snow to serve on the Committee during consideration of the inquiry into the legal regimes of Australia's external territories and the Territory of Jervis Bay).

LIBRARY—The Speaker, Mrs Bailey, Mr Fitzgibbon, Mr Hollis, Mr Jones, Mr Ronaldson, Mr Truss.

LONG TERM STRATEGIES—Mr Jones (*Chairman*), Mr Andrews (from 20 June), Mr Atkinson, Mr Bevis, Mr Bradford (to 21 June), Mr Broadbent, Dr Catley, Mr Dobie, Mr Ferguson, Mr Johns, Mr Allan Morris, Mr Nehl, Mr Snow.

MEMBERS' INTERESTS—Mr Dubois (*Chairman*), Mr Connolly, Mr Cowan, Mr Lindsay, Mr O'Neil, Mr Ruddock, Mr John Scott.

PRIVILEGES—Mr Gear (*Chairman*), the Leader of the House or his nominee, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition or his nominee, Mr N.A. Brown (to 25 February), Mr Costello, Mrs Crosio, Mr Dobie, Dr Harry Edwards (from 7 March), Mr Johns, Mr McGauran, Mr Snow, Mr Snowdon.

PROCEDURE—Mr Scholes (*Chairman*), Mr Ronald Edwards, Mr Grace, Mr Hollis, Mr Rocher, Mr Shack, Mr Truss, Mr Walker.

PUBLICATIONS—Mr Gorman (*Chairman*), Dr Harry Edwards, Mr Filing, Mr Peter Fisher, Mr Fitzgibbon (*Acting Chairman* from 16 April to 3 June), Mr Gear, Mr Gibson.

SELECTION—Mr Ronald Edwards (*Chairman*), Mr Andrew, Mr Burr (to 20 June), Mr Gear, Mr Grace, Mr Halverson, Mr Hicks, Mr Hollis, Mr Kerr, Mr Langmore, Mr Nehl, Mr Reid (from 20 June).

TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS AND INFRASTRUCTURE—Mr Peter Morris (*Chairman*), Mr Anderson, Mr Cadman, Mr Ewen Cameron, Mr Campbell, Mr Elliott, Mr Gorman, Mr Hawker, Mr Hollis, Mr Mack, Mr John Scott, Mr Harry Woods.

JOINT STATUTORY COMMITTEES

AUSTRALIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE ORGANISATION—Mr Wright (*Presiding member*), Mr Duncan, Mrs Jakobsen (from 21 February), Mr Langmore (to 21 February), Mr McGauran, Senator Coulter, Senator Lewis (from 17 April), Senator MacGibbon (to 17 April), Senator Zakharov.

BROADCASTING OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—The Speaker (*Chairman*), the President, Mrs Darling, Mr Ronald Edwards, Mr Hicks, Mr Jull, Mr Price (to 21 June), Mr Les Scott (from 21 June), Senator Coates, Senator Vanstone.

CORPORATIONS AND SECURITIES—Senator Beahan (*Chairman*), Mr Brereton, Mr Ford, Mr Kerr, Mr Moore, Senator Campbell, Senator Cooney, Senator Lewis, Senator Spindler.

NATIONAL CRIME AUTHORITY—Mr Lindsay (*Chairman*), Mr Filing, Mr Melham, Mr O'Keefe, Mr Sinclair, Senator Crichton-Browne, Senator Jones (from 20 February), Senator Loosley, Senator Reynolds (to 20 February), Senator Spindler, Senator Vanstone.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS—Mr Punch (*Chairman*), Mr Aldred, Mrs Crosio, Mr Fitzgibbon, Mr Kerr, Mr Langmore, Mr Nehl, Mr Les Scott, Mr Shack, Mr Somlyay, Senator Aulich (from 6 March), Senator Bishop, Senator Giles, Senator Loosley (to 6 March), Senator Reynolds, Senator Watson.

PUBLIC WORKS—Mr Hollis (*Chairman*), Mr Ewen Cameron, Mr Gorman, Mr O'Neil, Mr Bruce Scott, Mr Taylor, Senator Burns, Senator Calvert, Senator Devereux.

JOINT COMMITTEES

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY—Mr Langmore (*Chairman*), Mr Elliott, Mr Halverson (from 7 March), Mr Moore (to 7 March), Mr Scholes, Mr Sharp, Senator Aulich, Senator Bell, Senator Parer, Senator Reid, Senator West.

JOINT STANDING COMMITTEES

ELECTORAL MATTERS—Mr Brereton (*Chairman*), Dr Catley, Mr Cobb, Mr Melham, Mr Miles, Senator Beahan, Senator Faulkner, Senator Harradine, Senator Kemp, Senator Kernot.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DEFENCE AND TRADE—Senator Schacht (*Chairman*), Mr Bevis, Mr Connolly, Mr Dubois, Dr Harry Edwards, Mr Ferguson, Mr Fitzgibbon, Mr Halverson, Mr Hicks, Mr Hollis, Mr Langmore, Mr Lee, Mr Lindsay, Mr MacKellar, Mr Moore, Mr Punch, Mr John Scott, Mr Sinclair, Mr Taylor, Dr Theophanous, Senator Beahan, Senator Brownhill, Senator Chapman, Senator Childs, Senator Crichton-Browne, Senator Jones, Senator MacGibbon, Senator Maguire, Senator McLean, Senator Valentine.

MIGRATION REGULATIONS—Dr Theophanous (*Chairman*), Mr Burr (to 4 June), Dr Catley, Mr Holding, Mr Ruddock, Mr Sinclair, Mrs Sullivan (from 6 June), Mr Wilson, Senator Bourne (from 19 February), Senator Cooney, Senator McKiernan, Senator Olsen, Senator Spindler (to 19 February).

JOINT SELECT COMMITTEES

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE OPERATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FAMILY LAW ACT—Senator McKiernan (*Chairman*), Mrs Jakobsen, Mr Lavarch, Mr Martin, Mr Peacock, Mr Webster, Senator Brownhill, Senator Crowley, Senator Reid, Senator Spindler.

SELECT COMMITTEE

TELEVISING OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—The Speaker (*Chairman*), Mrs Darling, Mr Ronald Edwards, Mr Hicks, Mr Jull.

PARLIAMENTARY DEPARTMENTS

SENATE

Clerk of the Senate—H. Evans
Deputy Clerk of the Senate—A. Lynch
Clerk Assistant (Table)—M. Cornwall
Clerk Assistant (Management)—J. Vander Wyk
Clerk Assistant (Procedure)—C. J. C. Elliot
Clerk Assistant (Committees)—P. O'Keefe
Usher of the Black Rod—R. Alison

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Clerk of the House—A. R. Browning
Deputy Clerk of the House—L. M. Barlin
First Clerk Assistant—I. C. Harris
Clerk Assistant (Procedure)—I. C. Cochran
Clerk Assistant (Committees)—B. C. Wright
Clerk Assistant (Table)—J. W. Pender
Clerk Assistant (Administration)—M. W. Salkeld
Serjeant-at-Arms—P. Bergin

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING STAFF

Principal Parliamentary Reporter—J. W. Templeton
Chief Hansard Reporter—B. A. Harris
Acting Assistant Chief Reporter (House of Representatives)—M. A. R. McGregor
Acting Assistant Chief Reporter (Senate)—K. B. Ryder

LIBRARY

Parliamentary Librarian—H. de S. C. MacLean

JOINT HOUSE

Secretary—M. W. Bolton

Tuesday, 22 January 1991

Mrs DARLING (Lilley) (12.05 a.m.)—I support the peace motivation behind the subject matter of the motion before the House, Australia's involvement in the multinational forces in the Gulf, and I respect the rationale of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) for the achievement of that peace and his sincerity in promoting that rationale. Indeed, I do not believe there is one person in this Parliament or in the outside community who does not condemn the brutality of Saddam Hussein and who does not want peace. It is a matter of how it is achieved, whether the end justifies the means, and whether the chosen means will in fact achieve the desired end.

I do not believe that the use of force, even that which is authorised by the United Nations, is the way to achieve peace. In fact, I have a deep-seated conviction that if I support the United Nations action in this instance, I will contribute to the perpetuation of that fabric of moral justification for war which stops our world, despite progress on other social issues, from coming to grips with this overwhelming social cancer.

I cannot do this, despite my long-standing support for the United Nations and my conviction that the Hawke Government has done and will continue to do more to meet social needs in Australia than has any other government in our history. I cannot do it because every vote that I have given in support of good social policy will be as nothing if I do not vote according to my convictions on the issue which I believe to be the most important to face any politician—that is, the author-

isation of war, even in the pursuit of peace. However, I do support the major portion of the motion, and I would like to address its various parts.

I certainly welcome the House's reaffirmation of support for an ongoing role for the United Nations in promoting world peace and the self-determination of nations. I was in New York for the 1988 meeting of the United Nations General Assembly when I was proud to represent the Australian Parliament and the Australian Government. At that historic meeting, both President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the Assembly for the first time, signalling a new era of East-West cooperation. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Gareth Evans, led the contribution of the Australian delegation with distinction. It was during the course of this meeting that the announcement was made that the United Nations peacekeeping forces had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in just recognition of their successful peacekeeping activities through the use of non-combat strategies, both past and present—for example, the resolution of regional conflict in Namibia.

Indeed, 1988 was a high point in the fortunes of the United Nations, which experienced a rejuvenation during the 1980s, a rejuvenation in which Australia played a leading role. This heightened recognition of the value of the United Nations was particularly to be cherished, given the lean decades when that body was regarded by its detractors as a toothless tiger unable to deliver non-combat strategies which effectively led to resolutions to conflict. The 1980s and 1990s saw the end of this tarnished image, with the United Nations developing its role as a problem-solving body with its implementation of a range of strategic peace plans—for example, the peacekeeping forces in Namibia and the peace plan for Cambodia, in which Senator Evans played a significant role following the aborted Paris conference on Cambodia in August 1989. The stalled peace process was reinvigorated by Senator Evans in November 1989 by his negotiation for a UN administra-

tion to be installed in Cambodia, pending the holding of elections there.

Given these and other successes of the 1980s in the implementation of non-combat strategies to assist in the resolution of regional conflicts, I believe it is most important that the United Nations is retained as an independent referee, a body which does not actively enter the field of war—

Mr Peter Fisher—Read its charter.

Mrs DARLING—But is available to implement supportive action and non-combat strategies without the risk of triggering the escalation of regional conflict to global proportions. This is made all the more important by the vacuum left following the close of the Cold War era.

I am aware of the potential within the United Nations Charter; I merely do not agree with this particular aspect of it. I am not convinced by the argument that use of the UN potential to authorise combat forces will enhance that potential, but I will not pursue that point at this stage.

Rather, I wish to express my full confidence in and support for Australian forces serving in the Gulf, and for their loved ones here in Australia. Although the 24-hour television coverage of activities in the Gulf was depressing to many people to whom I have spoken and offensive to others, who saw the coverage as verging on the presentation of a spectator sport, it served the purpose of bringing home to Australians the war environment in which our forces are serving, the environment of the people who are serving their countries and the environment of the local victims of the attacks and counter-attacks. A 24-hour coverage of war is the reality. Those people cannot switch it off and they deserve and, I am sure, are sent the gratitude of every representative in this Parliament and the Australian community.

There is one part of the motion which I do not support—that is, the use of force authorised by resolution 678 of the United Nations Security Council—certainly not before a longer trial of non-combat options such as sanctions. While some people declare that five months is time enough to

trial sanctions, I believe the more highly regarded prediction for sanctions is up to 12 months. In such a serious situation I believe that more time should have been given for the sanctions to work before the option of force was drawn on.

I would like to repeat some of what I said to the House on 11 October 1990. Today's military situation, while it can certainly be said to be complex, should not be viewed as beyond the realms of human possibility to change, particularly given the human contrivance which results in perpetuation of a culture of war based on armed services, arms manufacture and aid funding to mop up its devastating effects, including agricultural projects which provide profits for the donors.

It is surely not pessimistic but an inescapable reality to observe that no sooner does one war exhausted region slump into uneasy truce than another conflict is being conceived to take its place in the fabric or culture of war. And we all contribute, if not to its inception then certainly to its growth. If this were not so, world governments would not be so selective in their responses to appeals to assist regions in conflict, with the potential by their very presence to change the status of that war from regional to global.

So, while wars in the 1990s may be termed 'internal conflicts', the power play is certainly worldwide. While the Cold War may appear to have been diminished

. . . there is still evidence that there will be, or there is always on the horizon, another regional conflict which is part of a global power play.

I said further at that time that the effects of this situation are devastating. The link between war and socio-economic security is well documented with 1989 military spending in the developing world approximately 30 per cent greater than spending on health and education combined.

The 1989 report of the United Nations Children's Fund points out that for almost 900 million people, approximately one-sixth of humankind, the march of human progress has now become a retreat.

In many nations development has been thrown into reverse and after decades of steady economic advance large areas of the world are sliding backward into poverty. It is time for decisive action by all nations to break the self-perpetuating war syndrome into which we have locked ourselves.

I still believe this. This is the reality of war. However, I believe that the war syndrome will not be broken while people in positions of authority who deplore war and its perpetuation nevertheless continue to contribute to it by passively accepting the rationale which accompanies and is part of the ethos of war.

Media support of the war effort can also be part of the tactic of war, its main objective to provide a united front, to keep up the morale of front-line troops and armchair strategists, and to promote the alleged rightness of war as the fight for peace. This is part of the language of war. But when one argument is sustained by the diminution of the alternative, an unhealthy balance can result.

I thank the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) for recalling Parliament to give us all the opportunity to place on record our personal viewpoints. In this context, the so-called peace coalition has been reported in some media as misinformed, emotive people. Yet their reality of war is authentic and logical: a producer of death, disease, refugees, hunger and massive foreign debt. This reality should be continually before our eyes, for the world is pulling two ways, with enormous mental resources going into global issues such as the foreign debt crisis and its devastating effect on the Third World, while power plays continue to generate the conflicts which feed the manufacturers of arms, who are the only winners in war.

A halt must be called in the name of sanity, and this will occur only when certain supportive myths are debunked. This includes the myth of short, sharp solutions. A war has never started with the prediction that it would last eight years. World War I started in August and was meant to be over by December. As Campbell Reid pointed out:

No war this century has followed the script that military experts wrote for it. All were longer than expected. All killed more people than expected, and all turned up new horrors no-one could have anticipated in their darkest nightmares.

Fighting for peace is a phrase built not only into our language but also into our way of thinking. War for peace is seen to be a righteous act and a necessary component of safeguarding our democratic principles.

It has been said that appeasement has not worked in eradicating war this century. But this is not a logical reason for turning to force, for has war succeeded in eradicating war? Obviously, it has not. History this century has recorded that there is no such thing as a war to end all wars, as promised by World War I. The litany of wars since is tragic evidence of that. Apart from World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War, the world has been and continues to be pock-marked by regional conflicts, battles and civil wars. So any peace won is a fragile peace, a peace that can be maintained only by nurturing it, negotiating for it, and stalking it with patience and time.

I wish to finish with a recognition that we all want peace; we are only looking at different ways to get it. I can see the rationale behind the people who are supporting the majority position in this House; it is just that I have another position. Decisions regarding war hold a broader responsibility, a responsibility beyond any other issue likely to be raised in this House. I cannot vote for war to end war because to me it is a tragic nonsense, proven by history to be so.

I understand the rationale that Saddam Hussein should be stopped in his evil efforts and that if he is not stopped, that they will burgeon. But, while this may be so, if anyone can offer a foolproof way of stopping him without sacrificing millions of lives, I would say, 'Go to it', but I have not seen such a way. It would be naive in the extreme to believe that conflict in this dangerous zone would not spread, that it would just wipe him out without spreading. Given the fragile state of peace which exists in our world, given the number of inflammatory regional conflicts which

exist, I believe that such a step as was taken should have only been considered following a longer period of trying for other alternatives.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Hollis)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr ANDERSON (Gwydir) (12.20 a.m.)—Martin Niemoller was a German Protestant who dared to oppose the Nazis in the 1930s and found himself locked away in a concentration camp for seven years for his trouble. He penned these powerful words:

In Germany they came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no-one was left to speak up.

I am convinced that it would be irresponsible for us as a nation to refuse to take a stand, on both moral and practical grounds, in the face of Saddam Hussein's adventures in the Middle East. For those reasons, I strongly support the motion before the House. I say this despite my abhorrence of war. Like the honourable member for Dobell (Mr Lee), who I thought made a particularly useful contribution earlier this evening, I am one of the younger members of this House who have been privileged enough not to have had to fight in any sort of war—thanks, I might add, in no small part to those like my own father who did in order that I and my generation might enjoy the benefits of freedom and peace.

So it is not as if I can claim to know first-hand just how dreadful war must be, and in that sense it would be easy to dismiss my views as all too easily expressed from the relative comfort and security of this place tonight. I confess that it is necessary for me to plead guilty to that charge. Despite that, though, I believe absolutely that there are such things as a just war and a preventative war. Those are the two themes that I earlier introduced—themes of moral in-

vovement in a war and practical reasons for involvement.

If we refuse to confront evil through a desire not to know, or a determination not to care or not to get involved, we are in fact being stupidly and wrongfully selfish. To allow others to suffer injustice and cruelty is never excusable; nor is it practical and sensible. We ourselves may need help one day; we do not want to find that, as Niemoller put it, there is no-one left to speak or act for us should we ourselves need help at some time in the future.

It can never be right to turn a blind eye to what is being done to innocent people, wherever they may be. As the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) said today, no civilised country can ignore the appalling facts before us. Kuwaiti citizens have lost their homeland and have been brutalised. We have heard quite a bit about that today. Amnesty International has been referred to for its documentation of the most horrific torture, rape and killings that have been the mark of Iraqi rule over its small and conquered neighbour.

Here is the first point at which I must take serious issue with our protesting visitors in the gallery this afternoon. I find it personally abhorrent in the extreme to note that at no time did those visitors express any outrage at the way in which the Iraqis have behaved. Indeed, they chose to heckle and condemn the very mention of the name of George Bush and the American people, who are not the aggressors in this conflict, and yet chose to remain totally mute in relation to Saddam Hussein and his evil regime.

Mr Cobb—Biased and selective behaviour.

Mr ANDERSON—Extremely. This is worse than the distortion of moral equivalence; it is to paint the allies as the warmongers and the perpetrators of evil and to ignore the reality of Iraq's cruelty and aggression as plainly the wrongdoers who deserve and have the condemnation of all decent people right across the globe.

So those people, I hope not all wittingly, give comfort and succour to a first-class monster. As the honourable member

for Prospect (Mrs Crosio)—again from the other side of the House—in an excellent contribution this evening said, this is the man who tested chemical warfare on his own people. This is the man who casually initiated and perpetrated a war with his neighbour which cost over one million lives—a war which he did not win and yet over which he showed no remorse at all; a war over which he offered his people no apology. This is the man who talks gloatingly of a holy war in which any amount of blood will flow in the streets or the deserts. This is the man who refers to Bush as the great Satan—the President Bush who has won accolades in this place today for having pulled together the most remarkable coalition of peacemakers that perhaps the world has ever seen.

I would hope that the more thinking and responsible anti-war activists will move as quickly as possible to distance themselves from the attitudes expressed by some of the people who have behaved, in my view, so irresponsibly here in the gallery today. Another thing that I could not help but notice about many of those people who made so much noise in here today is that they themselves appear to be consumed by hatred. Coming in here preaching the virtues of peace, they fairly bristle with hostility in themselves. Their hostility is towards the Americans, towards us in this place and towards those we represent who happen, by and large, to concur with the stand that we are taking. Why were there no denunciations, no catcalling, or no juvenile hissing from these people directed towards the 'butcher of Baghdad' and instead directed only to the United States and to us?

Perhaps some of those hysterical women who displayed such an incapacity to cope with the rigours of living in and respecting the institutions of a free and open democracy such as the one that we are lucky enough to live in might stop to think how they would cope with the repressive cancer of an Iraqi-style repression, if it is allowed to spread. They might like to consider how much freedom they would enjoy under the sort of regime they are apparently happy to give comfort to.

Some of the men in the gallery today might like to give some thought about their own willingness to fight for things that they believe in—whatever they might be—and their willingness to fight for their loved ones, should it ever be necessary. If they were prepared to be rational and listen to the debate in this place, they might have learnt something about the cost of doing nothing in the Europe of the 1930s.

Chamberlain, as the Prime Minister of Britain during the late 1930s, lived amongst people to whom the harshness of human evil had ceased to seem real. Hitler gave Chamberlain and the British people more than adequate evidence that he was evil, unreasonable and bent on war. Yet, both Chamberlain and most of the people that he led could not and would not see it. Well-meaning, honourable, quoting Shakespeare all the way, Chamberlain earned the dreadful epitaph of 'He could have stopped Hitler'. He could have, perhaps, but he did not, and World War II eventually became a catastrophe that claimed around 75 million lives. This was the price of not being prepared to act when it was obvious that action was called for. There are obvious parallels.

We live in an age, too, when we have got out of the way of recognising and being willing to confront unsociable behaviour on the world stage. Yet all the evidence makes it plain that Saddam is not for negotiating, not for the striking of reasonable agreements and not for the avoidance of conflict. He started this war on 2 August. He can stop it now, as he should have stopped it immediately it became obvious that he was out of line. As Santamaria wrote in last weekend's *Australian*, Saddam Hussein's declaration of war against Iran in 1980 should have left little doubt as to his unshakeable resolve. It cost his own forces and those of his Iranian enemies over one million lives. A man like that can no more be appeased than could an Adolf Hitler.

At no stage did Saddam show any willingness to move out. Sanctions seem to have been unlikely to have had any real effect for a very long time indeed, particularly given this man's inability to show

any real regard for the hardships that his people might be facing. So it is that the use of force must now be seen as the best protection against a later, more protracted battle with an Iraq more fully armed than ever—and probably nuclear armed at that.

Another line which we have heard is that war never solves anything. I find this a particularly obnoxious sort of line and one particularly insulting to those Australians who gave up so much in previous wars that we might be free. Are we really to believe that the Allied response in World War II did not solve anything—that it did not end the ugliness of Nazism in the end, with its final solution approach to the Jewish 'problem' and its attempt to dominate the world for 1,000 years? Are we really to believe that the Pacific theatre, including Australia, should have been simply surrendered to the Japanese?

Of course, there are also some practical reasons, which have been well covered in the debate in this place today, for Australia's involvement in the Gulf coalition. I do not believe that we should be ashamed to admit that oil is important. It is important not just for the economic health and well-being of the West, including ourselves; the havoc wreaked on Third World countries has seen great hardship for many people already. If too much damage is done, starvation will no doubt result for many in the Third World. Again some of our peace protesters, with their emotive language about blood being on our hands, might do well to think compassionately about the need to see justice done for the weak and oppressed who do not have our capacity to confront Saddam.

Another practical reason, as I indicated at the outset, is quite simply that if we do not stand up for the little Kuwaits of today, we may not enjoy the privilege of having others stand up for the little Australias of tomorrow. We must therefore resolve to support those Australians in the Gulf in this crisis. We have sent them to do a job on our behalf. We owe it to them now to give them our rock solid support in order that they can get on with the job with which we have entrusted them.

Finally, on the question of the need to find a better way than war, it is vitally important to seek to ensure that nations respect the rule of law and that force be used only as a final resort. I am sure that we are all agreed on that. But I want to wind up with a quote taken from General Douglas MacArthur's words of peace which he delivered when the Japanese surrendered on the decks of the *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay in 1945. I believe that we would do well to consider our progress since 1945 against these remarks. MacArthur said in what was regarded by many as the greatest speech he ever gave:

We have had our last chance. If we do not now devise some greater and more equitable system, Armageddon will be at our door. The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronise with our almost matchless advances in science, art, literature and all material and cultural developments of the past 2,000 years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh.

I support absolutely the motion before the House but acknowledge the urgent need to continue to strive to find answers other than war in the future. The best way to help that process in the current dilemma is to confront Saddam fair and square.

Mr MARTIN (Macarthur) (12.34 a.m.)—A little over a week ago my family and I were saying goodbye to my parents, having spent a couple of weeks holiday with them on the Gold Coast. In that surreal atmosphere of sun and surf, et cetera, on the Gold Coast, one could probably think of nowhere else on earth that was more removed from any consideration of what was to happen in the following week. Certainly my family and other people were discussing what would happen if the deadline came and passed; what would happen if, as we have seen, the United Nations resolutions were not acted upon by Saddam; what would happen if the coalition, as it has come to be called, had to act in some way; what would happen if Australia was drawn into a conflict.

With the knowledge that I had, I said, 'Look, don't worry. It won't happen. Even somebody like Saddam Hussein, whose exploits had been written up in news-

papers, who had been covered in television documentaries in the weeks leading up to that time, will realise the massive forces that have been ranged against him and established in those countries nearby his own. He will realise that to continue with his particular hold on Kuwait is futile. He will see reason and leave that country and peace will be restored. It will be a peaceful solution'. How wrong I was in my assessment as to what would be a just outcome for that situation.

In the time since, I have had an opportunity, as has every member of this House and every thinking person in this country, to reflect upon the events that led up to that declaration of war on 17 January. It led us to reflect upon the fact that on 2 August 1990 there was an unprovoked and illegal act of aggression perpetrated against the sovereign state of Kuwait, a small nation in the Middle East, by Iraq, a country which had waged war on another Arab neighbour for the seven to eight years prior to that. Iraq is a country which, as many honourable members have said today, has not been afraid to use poisonous gases and other forms of destruction and death to test its weaponry against its own people.

What we saw following that illegal act of aggression in the following months were the implorings of people right around the world—of people from Arab nations, from the Western alliance and of people who had come from what had been traditionally regarded as Iron Curtain countries. This happened through the magic people came to see as being the United Nations calling for the unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait. What we saw was 12 United Nations resolutions passed on the issue. What we saw was the unending stream of world leaders traipsing, some might say cap in hand, to Baghdad to see Saddam Hussein and beg him to consider his actions and get out of Kuwait. What we saw in the final hours was the United Nations Secretary-General stood up for 24 hours before he was given an audience, and yet those implorings fell on deaf ears. What we saw were foreign nationals captured and held against their will by Iraq

and used as human shields in that country.

What we saw through the media that came out of that country was this great leader patting children on the head as if to say, 'Don't worry, it's all right.' Meanwhile, the psychological scars probably will be left with those people for a lifetime. What we saw was a United Nations deadline imposed which gave clear and unequivocal signals as to what the outcome would be if this regime in Iraq did not back down. Yet what we have heard since is the ramblings and utterings of people who have not thought through this issue, and we have heard people in this place even tonight, sadly, saying that economic sanctions should have been given greater time to work, such as in South Africa. We are talking about 20 years of economic sanctions in South Africa and we have seen absolutely nothing from them.

We have heard people say that we do not need to worry about the solution to this problem because it is an Arab problem. Let the Arabs sort it out. It is on the other side of the world. It has nothing to do with Australia. Again, that is nonsense and the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and others have addressed that tonight and during this debate. For those who still sat back and said that it is a problem for two Arab neighbours fighting over disputed territory, since that time and since the aggression was to be thwarted with the allied response on 17 January we have seen the Iraqis rain down missiles on yet another country, this time a country that was not even involved in the war in the first place. The Israelis, who had taken the decision to stay out of the conflict, were to be drawn in, as if by magic again, by Saddam, who said, 'I will destroy the Israeli state and I will turn this into a holy war where the Arab partners in the coalition will walk away and join me and we will ride across the deserts to victory'.

Innocent people have been affected. Scud missiles have been fired not at military targets but at people, at old people, at the heart of Jerusalem, at Haifa and at Tel Aviv. People say, 'But only 12 or so people have been injured. It is not really a worry'. What absolute nonsense. In the

last day or so we have seen that reign of terror being extended to yet another Arab country—this time Saudi Arabia.

What has the 5½ months of negotiated settlement, or attempts there at, achieved? Unfortunately, it has achieved zero. Any-one who tries to tell me that negotiations were not being undertaken at the highest level and by those of the highest motives simply does not understand or does not want to understand the facts. We have all seen and heard of the history of this dictator in Iraq. Yet again today we have seen reports coming out of Iraq as to what Saddam Hussein would do with the people he has captured—those United States pilots, Italian pilots, British pilots and so on. These people are being paraded. They are being subjected to duress and also, according to expert testimony, to torture of various forms. Now they are to be used as human shields at some of the defence installations in that country.

This is somebody who does not want to escalate the war effort, somebody who wants a just peace for his own people! What absolute nonsense. As each day goes by, we see more and more examples as to why this country and the other 28 countries under the United Nations banner and bound by resolutions—12, including resolution 678—have taken the steps they have.

Much has been said during this debate about peace activists and the role they have played. Mr Deputy Speaker, you and I know their real concerns. You and I last Friday in our electorates were visited by a collection of peace activists from our Illawarra region and we sat down to discuss the concerns they have. I said to them then, I say to them now, and I say to those people who have this fervent belief in Australia not being involved and action not being precipitated at all to rid Kuwait of the Iraqis: did they demonstrate outside the Iraqi Embassy when the invasion occurred in the first place? Where were they during the eight years of the Iraq-Iran war when one million Iraqi people were wiped out through the use of chemical weapons? When the hostages were being used as human shields, where were they demonstrating, showing their

solidarity for Australians who were also being used there, and calling for their release?

Where were they when Amnesty International was documenting the horrors of torture and murder being perpetrated on the people in Kuwait after the invasion? Where were they when 300 premature babies were murdered when their humidi-circuits were turned off after the Iraqi armies marched into Kuwait? Where can they be seen to be demonstrating this concern for peace? Perhaps they say that as this occurred in a foreign country, a long way from Australia, it had no significance for us.

I ask the same questions of our friends in the other place. I ask questions of the Australian Democrats and some other members of the Senate who have taken on this issue and tried to confound the whole thing and cloud the basic thrusts of the argument and debate in this Parliament by saying that the Government will escalate our involvement and bring in conscription. What absolute nonsense. I absolutely reject it for what it is. I make it clear that, on this side of the Parliament, I for one will not support an increase in Australia's involvement under any circumstances.

Mr Bilney—And you won't be asked to.

Mr MARTIN—I note what the Minister for Defence Science and Personnel says by way of interjection. Many of those who have raised with me the issue of Australia's involvement say that we are the lackeys of the United States. Again I point out to them that Australia's role is commensurate with our position in the world. Australia has a role because of our relationship with the United Nations. Australia is there because of the United Nations and because of our belief in the United Nations. This is not a United States-led push simply for some other reason. This is a United Nations action.

Let nobody be under the apprehension that the question of economics and oil is not part of this issue: it is. It has been touched on by many people in this debate tonight. It is important. But what people

must remember is that if we stand back idly and see the continued domino effect that may well have come through Saddam moving firstly through Kuwait and then Saudi Arabia and the other countries in that region, we will see almost one half of the world's oil controlled by a government which is unstable and certainly which will hold the world to ransom in an economic sense.

For the world, for the world's security, and for the collective security of the people of the Middle East, this motion must be supported and carried overwhelmingly by the Parliament. I am pleased to see the final paragraph included in the motion moved by the Prime Minister today. There is a need to address the overall issues of a Middle East peace and a need for a conference at the end of the conflict to discuss those issues. When that time comes, Australia should and must play a just role in those discussions.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Hollis)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr STEELE HALL (Boothby) (12.49 a.m.)—I rise in support of the motion before the House tonight and in so doing commend the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) on his address this afternoon. I also commend the action of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) in placing, as he did, Australian forces at the disposal of the United Nations multinational force to achieve the objectives which have been clearly set out.

What is interesting and significant today is the recognition by this Parliament of the traditions of Australia and the recognition that the majority of Australians are also aware of the long tradition that this country has of becoming involved in international affairs and in defending the rights of man around the world in the various wars of this century.

This House too, along with the rest of Australia, is deeply aware of the cost of war and the dreadful burden that is borne by so many people—so many of them innocent—who are caught up in warfare as it passes through or directly affects their country and their lives.

One thing to understand, which should be stated about this particular action, is that of course it is not a war of retribution, it is not a war of punishment; it is an action taken to restore the integrity of Kuwait, to release its people from the bondage imposed upon it by the leadership of Iraq, and to prevent the further pillage of that region of the world. There is indeed a perhaps unspoken, at times, but deep awareness of the strategic necessity of preventing Saddam Hussein from further adventures, and of course his reaction now and his endurance under this enormous weight of attack illustrate the strength of the war machine he has built up in the last decade or so of his government. This is available to him despite the obvious attrition and the resources Iraq had to use in its war against Iran. Obviously without check he would have been able to move significantly against the whole region and selectively take the resources of that area, and as well subject its people to the whim and brutality of his type of government.

I want to pay tribute to the nation of the United States of America and President Bush for the leadership they have given. It is perhaps interesting to reflect now on the consequences that have occurred since the last war and the leadership that the United States has given to the free world.

It was of course after the last war that the United States distinguished itself with the Marshall Plan and took on the enormous task of applying its energy, its resources and its funds to build up the shattered nations of Europe. At the same time it protected those nations with the installation and maintenance of large modern forces on the European continent. The early optimism which followed the 1939-45 war was soon shattered in the aftermath of that conflict by the menace of the intention of the Russian Communist leadership at that time to obviously dominate and take as much of the world as it could. The maintenance of forces by the United States and the enormous success of the Marshall Plan have perhaps seen their culmination in the emergence of the European Community, and in the

success of that community economically in the example that it has set for the rest of Europe which has been, until recently, subject to Russian dominance and involved with the Russian empire. So Europe has emerged—because of the successful, determined, long range leadership of the United States—to what it is today, a successful community giving a lead to the emerging nations of eastern Europe. Whatever the future of the Russian empire may be, it is no longer in a sense an empire, because that government can no longer use massacre to maintain the strength of its domination.

But some others in the world still use force—and hideous force—when they are not constrained by the sorts of comparisons with which eastern Europe has been constrained in the last year or so. The Government of Iraq, under Saddam Hussein, is one of those which is not constrained by comparisons; nothing will constrain or force him to lead a government which recognises decency and the rule of law.

So now we have a situation where we are at war because sanctions did not work. The irony of sanctions, of course, is that we endeavoured, through the United Nations, to put Iraq in a situation such that it could not proceed to the stage at which we have now arrived. How much better it would have been if the world had been able to arrange sanctions on arms supplies rather than waiting until the arms were already in place before trying to arrange sanctions to prevent their use.

If there is one thing that we should perhaps look forward to when this conflict is settled and, hopefully, there is a new order under the leadership that the United Nations has been able to give, it is a sanction on arms supplies so that situations will not arise whereby dictatorships can assemble such a mighty force of arms, as Iraq has now done.

We have committed a significant volunteer force from the Royal Australian Navy and we are proud of that force. This House today, through its members, has shown its strong support, both morally and practically, for what has been done

in support of the United Nations resolution. However, the strains of war of course bring out, as we have seen today, those people who oppose action—no matter how much their opposition may amount to appeasement and no matter how much it may, at times, undermine the position of our volunteer force which is in the service of our nation. Some of that opposition is of a political nature; it is an anti-United States ideology. I think there is little that can be done for those people, except let them fester in their rather twisted political views.

Others, of course, believe that there ought to be a better way. Of those people I think one has to ask the question: why are we free now? The obvious answer is that we in Australia are free now because of certain actions that this country has taken in previous conflicts and because of the sacrifice of people who fought in those conflicts. So we would not be free if we had taken the road of appeasement then and we will not be free at some time in the future if we take the road of appeasement now.

But there is a particular question that one could put to those who believe that there should be a better way. If they do not believe in acting collectively, how would they defend Australia if we acted in our own defence in isolation? The obvious answer is that if we do not accept the collective road to security in the world we would have to face the burden of our own security ourselves sometime in the future. Have those people considered the nature of the Australian defence forces that would be required if we did not have collective support that would act in our interests in our time of trouble?

What those people are actually recommending by their vision that we should not take part in collective force is that we should have an enormously expanded Defence Force. I do not believe they would admit that, but that is the obvious result of their proposition in opposing our action and the United Nations' action in Iraq.

It has been said before here today, and it is obvious, that this war could end very

soon—within hours—if one man and one government took the required action to comply with the United Nations direction; that is, Saddam Hussein could begin the withdrawal from Kuwait. Therefore, it is in the hands of Iraq as to whether this war will end immediately and if it does not respond to the force arrayed against it, quite obviously it will end with its defeat.

I believe that the House will give a resounding vote in favour of this motion. Most speakers here tonight and during the day have given their support to it for the various reasons that they have brought forward. I would say that this is perhaps one of the most united debates that I have heard in the Parliament, considering the seriousness of the subject which is under discussion. It is not with pleasure that any of us associate ourselves with this motion; it is for the utter necessity of the protection of our interests and the interests of people in the other important region of the world where the conflict is taking place that we support this motion in the House.

Debate (on motion by Mr Free) adjourned.

House adjourned at 1.02 a.m. (Tuesday)

PAPERS

The following papers were deemed to have been presented on 21 January 1991:

Acts Interpretation Act—Statement relating to the extension of specified period for presentation of periodic report—Christmas Island Services Corporation—Report for 1989-90.

Air Navigation Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 432.

Archives Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 403.

Australian Capital Territory (Self-Government) Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 401, 405.

Australian Capital Territory Supreme Court Act—Rules of Court—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 372, 458.

Australian Federal Police Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 408, 409.

Australian Postal Corporation Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 431.

Australian Securities Commission Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 454.

- Australian Telecommunications Corporation Act—Regulations Statutory Rules 1990, No. 430.
- Australian War Memorial Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 448.
- Civil Aviation Act—Civil Aviation Regulations—Civil Aviation Orders Parts—
105—Amendments, dated 5 (4), 6, 12 (2), 17 (2), 18 (3), 19 (4) December 1990.
106—Amendments, dated 5 December 1990.
107—Amendments, dated 5 December 1990.
- Commonwealth Serum Laboratories Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 406.
- Control of Naval Waters Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 407.
- Corporations Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 455, 456, 457.
- Customs Act—
Approval of forms by the Comptroller-General pursuant to section 4A, dated 19 December 1990 (2). Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 438, 450.
- Dairy Produce Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 424, 433.
- Defence Act—
Determinations under section 58B—1990—
No. 169—Excess vehicle depreciation.
No. 180—Rates of Travelling Allowance—Romania and other allowances.
No. 181—Rate of Travelling Allowance—Bulgaria and other allowances.
No. 186—Temporary Rental Allowance.
No. 187—Post allowance and other allowances.
No. 189—Rates of Travelling Allowance—Papua New Guinea and other allowances.
- Export Control Act—Export Control (Orders) Regulations Order—1990—No. 9—Export Meat as amended (Amendment).
- Export Inspection (Establishment Registration Charges) Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 420.
- Export Inspection (Quantity Charge) Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 419.
- Export Inspection (Service Charge) Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 418.
- Federal Court of Australia Act—Rules of Court—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 414, 453.
- Fisheries Levy Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 421, 423.
- Health Insurance Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 436.
- Honey Export Charge Collection Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 425.
- Honey Levy Collection Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 426.
- Industrial Chemicals (Notification and Assessment) Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 440.
- Insurance Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 446.
- Insurance (Agents and Brokers) Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 447.
- Insurance Contracts Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 444.
- Interstate Road Transport Act—Regulation—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 435.
- Life Insurance Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 445.
- Live-stock Slaughter Levy Collection Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 427.
- Meat Inspection Act—Meat Inspection (Orders) Regulations—Orders—1990—
No. 4—Meat Inspection (General) as amended (Amendment).
No. 5—Meat Inspection (Victoria) as amended (Amendment).
- Migration Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 402.
- Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters Act—Regulations Statutory Rules 1990, No. 441.
- National Health Act—
Determination—1990—No. BPT14.
Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 404, 437.
- Navigation Act—Navigation (Orders) Regulations—Order—1990—No. 8—Marine, Part 1.
- Pig Slaughter Levy Collection Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 428.
- Proclamations by His Excellency the Governor-General fixing the dates on which the following Acts and sections of Acts shall come into operation—
Australian Securities Commission Act 1989—Parts 10, 11, 12 and 141 January 1991.
- Commonwealth Banks Restructuring Act 1990—
Section 74—the beginning of the completion date, within the meaning of the State Bank (Succession of Commonwealth Bank) Act 1990 of the State of Victoria.
Subsection 8 (1), paragraph 10 (b), sections 16, 43, 46 and 47, section 62 (in so far as it relates to the Banking Act 1959 and the Papua New Guinea (Transfer of Banking Business) Act 1973, and Parts 4 and 6—the end of that completion date.

- Section 7, subsection 8 (2), sections 19 and 36, subsection 58 (1) and Part 5 (other than section 74)—the beginning of the day immediately following that completion date.
- Corporations Act 1989—Other than Part 1—1 January 1991.
- Corporations Legislation Amendment Act 1990—Section 8, subsection 9 (1) and Parts 4,5 and 61 January 1991.
- Protection of the Sea (Shipping Levy) Act—Regulations Statutory Rules 1990, No. 429.
- Public Service Act—Determinations—1990—Nos. 146, 167, 168, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 193, 194, 197, 198, 199, 214, 215, 219, 221, 222, 223, 234, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244.
- Quarantine Act—Quarantine Proclamation No. 143A, dated 17 December 1990.
- Radiocommunications Act—Amendments—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 449.
- Remuneration Tribunal Act—
- Remuneration Tribunal Determinations—1990/28Chief Executive Officer, Superannuation Fund Investment Trust and holders of public offices on other bodies.
- Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 439.
- Ships (Capital Grants) Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 410.
- States Grants (Schools Assistance) Act—Determination of amounts and approval of payment under sections 16 and 17, dated 17 December 1990.
- Student Assistance Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 442, 443.
- Superannuation Act 1976—
- Declaration—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 412.
- Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 451.
- Superannuation Act 1990—Declaration—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 411.
- Superannuation (Productivity Benefit) Act—Declarations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 415, 416.
- Supported Accommodation Assistance Act—Variation agreement in relation to the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program between the Commonwealth and—South Australia, dated 26 September 1990.
- Victoria, dated 26 October 1990.
- Trade Practices Act—Regulation—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 434.
- Wheat Marketing Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 417.

Tuesday, 22 January 1991

Mr SPEAKER (Hon. Leo McLeay) took the chair at 10 a.m., and read prayers.

QUESTIONS WITHOUT NOTICE

Mr BEAZLEY (Swan—Leader of the House)—I ask that questions be placed on the *Notice Paper*.

BEHAVIOUR IN GALLERY

Mr SINCLAIR (New England)—Could I ask a question of you, Mr Speaker?

Mr SPEAKER—I call the right honourable member for New England.

Mr SINCLAIR—Would you explain to the House whether there is any reason why a member of another place should have any greater right than a stranger when that member is in the gallery of this chamber?

Mr SPEAKER—I noted yesterday that a senator in the gallery did interject. As I do not normally attend the Senate, I do not know whether that was normal behaviour for senators or whether it was extraordinary behaviour. This House gives senators a privilege of being able to attend the House without passes, but I think the arbiter of the behaviour of senators should be the Senate rather than this House. If we heard behaviour yesterday that was different from the standard that they require in their House, then maybe that is something that they should handle, not this House.

PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

Mr BEAZLEY (Swan—Leader of the House)—Papers are tabled as listed in the schedule circulated to honourable members earlier today. Details of the papers will be recorded in *Hansard* and the *Votes and Proceedings*.

The schedule read as follows—

The Australian Forestry Council—Summary of Resolutions and Recommendations—Twenty Sixth Meeting—Hobart—26 July 1990.

Australian Wheat Board—Annual Report 1989-90—section 89 of the Wheat Marketing Act 1989.

Industry Commission—The Automotive Industry—Report No. 5—17 December 1990.

Torres Strait Protected Zone Joint Authority—Annual Report 1990—section 41 of the Torres Strait Fisheries Act 1984.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT

Motion (by Mr Beazley) proposed:

That the House, at its rising, adjourn until Tuesday, 12 February 1991, at 2 p.m., unless otherwise called together by Mr Speaker or, in the event of Mr Speaker being unavailable, by the Chairman of Committees.

Mr FIFE (Hume—Manager of Opposition Business) (10.02)—Because of the special nature of this sitting, the Opposition will not vote against the motion that has just been moved by the Leader of the House (Mr Beazley), but I take the opportunity to point out that the Opposition believes the House should continue to sit for the remainder of the week. The Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) in fact has written to the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) along these lines and the Prime Minister has rejected the request for the meeting to continue.

It is important that the House of Representatives and the Senate discuss the motion that was moved by the Prime Minister in relation to the Gulf issue. Two days have been set aside for that purpose, yesterday and today, but there are other foreign affairs matters of immense importance to the people of Australia concerning the Soviet Union, with special reference to Lithuania, and also the grave situation so far as the economy is concerned. The expense has been incurred to bring members and their staff to Canberra for this special sitting and we believe that we should continue to sit for the remainder of the week.

Mr N. A. BROWN (Menzies) (10.04)—I ask whether there will be any opportunity to debate the deteriorating situation in the Baltic states. I make the suggestion that there should be an opportunity to debate that subject and to adopt a resolution which, I would hope, would be passed automatically and unanimously. We have had a constructive debate on the Persian Gulf issue and virtually every member who spoke quite rightly drew attention to the flagrant breaches of international law, to the callous invasion of

Kuwait by Iraq and to the monstrous abuses of human rights that have taken place in Kuwait, instigated by Iraq.

It is exactly those circumstances that exist in Lithuania. It is exactly those circumstances that exist in Latvia. It is exactly those circumstances which, unless we do something about them, may well occur in Estonia. This is an appalling situation. It should be condemned without any qualification by the Australian Parliament and there should be an opportunity, before this House rises, for those of us who want to condemn the brutal activities of the Soviet Union in the Baltic states to do so.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Motion (by Mr Beazley) agreed to:

That leave of absence be given to every member of the House of Representatives from the termination of this sitting of the House to the date of its next sitting.

MIDDLE EAST Ministerial Statement

Debate resumed from 21 January, on the motion by Mr Hawke:

That this House:

- (1) reaffirms its support for an on-going role for the United Nations in promoting world peace and the self-determination of nations and in particular the resolutions of the Security Council directed to end the aggression of Iraq against Kuwait;
- (2) affirms its support for Australia's positive response to the request made by the United Nations Security Council in Resolution 678 for support in implementing that Resolution;
- (3) expresses its full confidence in, and support for, Australian forces serving with the UN-sanctioned multi-national forces in the Gulf;
- (4) deplores Iraq's widening of the conflict by its unprovoked attack upon Israel; and
- (5) recognises, as those with whom we are acting now in the Gulf have recognised, the need to intensify efforts to establish peace and stability in the Middle East, including a just resolution of the Palestinian issue and the continuing security of Israel, once the crisis in the Gulf is resolved.

Mr BARRY JONES (Lalor) (10.06)—I have five areas of deep concern about the Gulf War and Australia's involvement in

it. My first concern is the comparative remoteness of the Parliament and the Caucus from the decision-making process. The United States (US) Congress had a wide-ranging debate on the issue before the 15 January deadline, as did the House of Commons. While it is true that the matter has been discussed here before, the first two debates on 21 August and 4 December were very narrow in scope, with only 13 speeches between them. This reinforces my concern that meetings of the House of Representatives are becoming increasingly rare. The House sat for only 38 days in 1990, probably the lowest number for any Westminster style parliament.

Secondly, we gave the impression of being too eager volunteers. Our commitment in August, well in advance of action by the United Nations, may weaken any possible future role we may have as honest brokers in the Middle East. However, our action paralleled that of the Canadians. Now we emphasise that we are acting on the United Nations mandate; we did not always do so.

Thirdly, there was a failure to recognise the West's complicity in building up Saddam Hussein's power. We have helped to construct a demonology which suggests that Saddam only became a monster on 2 August 1990. The evidence suggests that he was a monster long before that, a practitioner of genocide and chemical warfare, a user of torture and murder, both in his personal and professional capacities.

To a significant degree, he was our monster. The West chose to support him against Iran in that fratricidal war lasting eight years which claimed hundreds of thousands of lives, mostly civilians. There were no protest marches about that. The West connived in the selling of arms to Iraq, breaking the spirit of the international arms embargo. We protested only feebly against his use of chemical weapons. We looked palely aside when he applied his own final solution to the Kurds. Many children died there. We took refuge in the explanation, 'Not our problem.'

Fourthly, there was a late recognition of the centrality of oil as an issue in the

Gulf crisis. The anti-war protesters recognised it clearly enough with their banners declaring 'No blood for oil'. In fact, a strong case can be advanced that if anybody has shed blood for oil, it has been Saddam Hussein. Kuwait has enormous oil reserves estimated at 250 years, irresistibly attractive to Iraq which has been a larger producer, but with more limited reserves.

There were two major reasons for the timing of Saddam Hussein's annexation of Kuwait. Firstly, Kuwait, having bank-rolled Iraq's Iranian war with Saudi Arabia, began to demand repayment of its \$US14 billion debt. Secondly, Kuwait dropped its oil price sharply with a potential of destroying Iraq's exports.

The US economy is increasingly dependent on cheap oil, lavishly used. It is ironic that President Bush's home base of Houston in Texas is the gold medal winner for petrol usage, using eight times as much petrol per capita as Amsterdam and 2½ times that of Melbourne, Sydney or Canada, Canada being the silver medal winner.

The US insists that the greenhouse effect is not a serious problem and resists attempts to secure an international target for reducing CO₂ emissions. US policy is shaped in part by a determination to increase access to cheap oil rather than working towards a global energy policy in which European consumption patterns could be adopted as normative. The American view quite often, is to say that to adopt European patterns of energy usage would be to reduce the United States to a Third World condition, and I regard that as an absurd position.

Fifthly, I refer to a lack of a clear post-war strategy. Moir's cartoon in today's *Sydney Morning Herald* sums it up neatly. Long range capacity is illustrated by a missile aiming for its target with extraordinary precision. Long term policy is illustrated by a club. The only explicit war aims are to force Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait and restore Kuwait to its ruling family, and no more. How realistic is it to assume that we can restore the status quo? Is it intended or desired that Saddam

Hussein will remain in power?—because the history of the Middle East suggests that military defeat actually reinforces leaders in power. Is it suggested that after Kuwait is restored, it will be business as usual for Israel, Jordan, the Lebanon, or for Iraq itself?

While I agree in rejecting a concept of linkage, we must begin thinking about how the tensions in the Middle East can be resolved so as to guarantee justice and security for Jews, Palestinians, Kurds, Assyrians, and other minorities in the area to remove the fratricidal tensions that have produced so much blood-letting between Muslim states. When are we going to start working out how to accommodate conflicting interests? I am uneasy about the current vogue phrase 'the new world order' which is being bandied about. First, I do not know what it means; secondly, it has a whiff of the 1930s about it, and I do not like that.

One of the post-war priorities must be the development of a rational international energy policy which decreases reliance on extravagant use of fuel in transport, heating and cooling, and the organisation of cities. The US, as the most wasteful user of fuel, must take the moral lead here. The US cannot merely proclaim its principles on the battlefield; it must accept moral responsibility in peacetime resource use too.

Having expressed my deep concerns about the issues—issues that we are not discussing adequately—I should explain why, with all my reservations, I support the motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke). Just six months ago there was widespread confidence that global politics was about to enter a new era of optimism. The Cold War had been ended, and, as President Gorbachev said, without winners and losers being identified. The Soviet Union and the United States were prepared to reduce armaments expenditure and collaborate on what was then called the new world order—very unspecific—based on cooperation. Tensions were being relieved in Africa and South America.

In such a climate it was possible to conceive that many outstanding issues could be settled amicably in the foreseeable future. I refer to a Middle East settlement, including the Palestinian question, settlements in Ireland, Tibet, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, perhaps even Timor and Bougainville. In January 1991 this universal hope is, if not shattered, at least in disarray. It is rare that one leader and one nation can be identified as destabilising the movement towards the peaceful resolution of conflict, but Saddam Hussein is that leader.

On 29 November the United Nations Security Council passed resolution 678 calling for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. For the first time the United Nations seemed capable of fulfilling the role for which it was created—bringing the world community together to ensure non-violent resolution of conflict. The Security Council resolution enshrined a very important principle: that no country has the right to use force to cross national boundaries, to overrun and annex another. The adoption of this principle is too important to allow a saving clause 'except where Saddam Hussein is involved'.

Is this principle worth fighting for? Reluctantly I would say yes. Stitching together an international coalition which included the United States, the USSR, most of Europe, India, Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and a number of other Muslim states was an extraordinary achievement. I was optimistic enough to assume that faced with this strength and unity of opposition, first indicated by the blockade, later by the airlifting of military forces to the region, Saddam Hussein would seek a compromise, looking for the best outcome possible for his people and the region. I was wrong.

Now this long time secularist is invoking the jihad, calling for a sea of blood, the annihilation of Israel and death rather than dishonour—the policy of Saladin. Of course, the promise of instant resurrection now has far less appeal in the secularised West. Sympathetic as I am for the cause of pacifism and respecting the motives of thousands of fellow Australians who have marched for peace in the last

few days, I doubt whether their message has penetrated to Baghdad. Indeed, Saddam Hussein may well see the demonstrators as an endorsement of his apocalyptic vision. I am sure they are not. I would be immeasurably relieved if a non-violent alternative could be proposed, but extension of the sanctions would simply reinforce Iraq's intransigence.

Syria, under President Assad, has a history of terrorism—it is not for nothing that he is identified with the Lockerbie disaster—but he is now happily welcomed to the coalition. Colonel Gaddafi has also given his tacit support, another extremely unlikely ally. King Hussein of Jordan, right in the firing line, and normally sympathetic to the West, is in a virtually impossible position. The coalition lacks an agreed common cause other than its dislike of Saddam Hussein.

The central premise of Saddam's foreign policy was the belief that the US was a paper tiger and, following Vietnam, that when faced with the reality of all-out war, it would back off. Saddam advances the morality of the assassin: 'You must do what I say, not by force of logic or appeal to justice, but because I carry a gun. I believe so strongly in that position that I am prepared to kill anybody who stands in my way'.

I understand the deep feelings of fear, grief, and revulsion in the Australian community about war; but the hope that Australia could give just theoretical support to the principle of collective security without converting a moral position into action was always untenable. But fear and hatred are inadequate bases for policy formulation. So at this stage the war must be brought to a speedy and victorious end. With the sophistication with which the war is being executed, we have to start thinking with some sophistication about what we want for the Middle East and how we can bring together those conflicting issues. The appalling thing about this tragedy is that little or no thought has been given to the basic long term issues.

Mr REITH (Flinders) (10.18)—This war in the Gulf is an awful necessity. Those opposed to Australia's commitment, de-

spite their good intentions, need to understand and to realise that their calls for peace now will lead only to more horrifying conflict and suffering later. So it is that I welcome this recall of the Parliament as an opportunity for honourable members to express their views on the Gulf situation, and there have been some very good and worthwhile contributions, as typified by that of the last speaker, the honourable member for Lalor (Mr Barry Jones).

The Liberal Party of Australia and the National Party of Australia support the motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke), and I specifically endorse the forceful speech of the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) in outlining the details of our policy. The Opposition Leader and the Prime Minister both went to some length to establish clearly the rationale for Australia's involvement and, importantly, both of their speeches answered the assertions and claims of those who oppose Australia's commitment to the Gulf.

It is important that the reasons for our policy be well understood and that all of us who support that policy do so publicly. This conflict is far from over. Whilst it will be resolved in total victory for the coalition forces, there is every prospect that the resolve of those forces will be tested many times before that victory is complete. To sustain Australia's commitment, we need to harness the public support of the policy.

I believe that a majority of Australians do in fact support the policy of the Government and the Opposition. Yesterday's hecklers in the parliamentary gallery represented only a small minority. In my own electorate, the silent majority supports the policy endorsed by the United Nations. I have rung a number of my constituents to seek their views. Let me express those views on their behalf in the Parliament today.

I rang Vic Eustace—someone I have known for many years. Vic is a great bloke. He is President of the Rosebud branch of the Return Services League of Australia. He is a laconic sort of character, a World War II veteran and a former

prisoner of war (POW). I rang and I said, 'What do you say, Vic? What would you like said about Australia's commitment?'. These are his words:

I liken this fella to Hitler. We had to front up . . . if we hadn't moved in he'd have taken over others. History shows in World War II if we had moved earlier, many lives might have been saved.

I rang Leigh Boneham because he is a younger person and a Vietnam veteran and this is what he said:

I'm fully behind what the Government is doing. I'm sorry we can't do more. The man is a madman and the sooner it is over then the sooner the world can get back to some sort of equilibrium!

As someone who went to Vietnam, he said:

I wouldn't relate it to Vietnam.

I have had a number of people ring my office and I rang one in response just to seek out his views more fully and to give him an opportunity to put his views to the Parliament. John Von Der Putten, who works for the Shire of Flinders, rang my office to talk about the war. These are his words:

My feeling is that a hell of a lot of people support the Government. The people who support can't afford to march—the war is a recognition of an awful necessity.

Referring to Saddam Hussein, he went on to say:

Something has to be done about these sorts of characters.

Those quotes do not surprise me because they sum up well the views of many Australians. Saddam Hussein is a ruthless aggressor. His record as the dictator of Iraq is not in doubt. He attacked Iran because he thought the departure of the Shah created a vacuum. He invaded and occupied Kuwait, not for any reason related to the Palestinians, but simply to allow him to loot and plunder a sovereign but small and helpless neighbour. He has attacked, without provocation, the state of Israel to try to widen the conflict and to falsely clothe his actions with some veneer of pan-Arabism. He has used chemical weapons against his own people, he has authorised the systematic pillaging and looting of Kuwait, and the torture of in-

nocent civilians has been commonplace. He has brutally murdered his own personal advisers and ordered the summary execution of his own people. He does not hesitate to trample on common decencies: first he threatened to use hostages as human shields, and last night he said he would use POWs to protect military installations—clearly contrary to the Geneva Convention.

I do not repeat the arguments put so well by the Leader of the Opposition yesterday. Suffice it to say that the bottom line is that this conflict started when Iraq invaded Kuwait. The international community has literally bent over backwards, by negotiations and sanctions, to seek Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, and it is crystal clear that Saddam Hussein has no intention of moving. Faced with this inflexibility, the world's choice is either to accept and thereby implicitly condone his illegal occupation of Kuwait or, in concert, to forcibly evict Saddam from Kuwait.

In my view we have no choice. Appeasement of Saddam does not enhance peace; in my view it only encourages further aggression. The policeman who uses force to arrest a violent criminal prevents further violence. The use of force in these circumstances—to compel adherence to international law—is thus both necessary and justified.

I read with interest a letter in the *Weekend Australian* from Brigadier Mackenzie-Orr, an international authority on counter-terrorism, and I thought he summed up very well an important aspect of the United Nations actions and authority which seems to have been overlooked or ignored by many who have opposed the policy of the Government and the Opposition. Let me quote him:

The UN action is no war. It is a police action aimed at terminating a large scale criminal incident. The criminal must be stopped, brought to book and, as following any other criminal activity, the raised police profile in the region should be maintained until tensions simmer down.

The policy therefore to support the direct and indirect actions of around 40 other nations within the auspices of the United Nations is thus right. As a small nation

Australia does have an interest in promoting collective security arrangements and on this occasion an obligation to join the countries of the free world in this police action. People ask, 'What is Australia's interest?'. The answer is clear: our national interest is to maintain and enforce international law and order within which our own security is guaranteed.

Let me say that the world has been indeed fortunate to have had a leader of the calibre and experience of George Bush in the White House at this critical time. He has gathered this great coalition together, achieved a remarkable unity amongst so many diverse nations, including Arab and Muslim nations, and painted a clear vision of a new world order post the Cold War.

I pay particular tribute to the President but also to his colleagues Secretary of State James Baker and Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and to the American people for the leadership they have provided the world. I also publicly commend our Prime Minister for his leadership on this issue. Certainly, the Opposition's support has made his role easier and we have constructively pressed the Government on related policy issues where appropriate. The Prime Minister has, however, had to take the lead role and I believe that it is a good thing for Australia that we have had a bipartisan and united approach to this grave issue.

I also take the opportunity of publicly asserting my full support of Australia's defence personnel in the Gulf. I know of a number of them through my association with HMAS *Cerberus*, which is in my electorate. They serve in the finest traditions of the Anzacs and we pray for their safe return.

In rebutting the critics of Australia's policy the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition rightly pointed to the possible economic consequences for the world economy of allowing Saddam to take over Kuwait and exercise great influence over the world oil market. The world does have a proper interest in standing against aggression directed at holding the world to economic ransom. I therefore

support the argument that there is a nexus between the Gulf crisis and the state of the world's economy.

Similarly, the Australian public is entitled to hear the Government's views on the likely impact of the war on the Australian economy. I was surprised that the Treasurer (Mr Keating) said absolutely nothing on that subject yesterday in his contribution. The Australian electorate is also entitled to know the cost of the war to date. Details of this sort have been freely available from congressional sources in the United States. The Treasurer has been saying that recovery from his recession will commence in the first half of 1991. Is that still the case? In due course, we will hear the Treasurer's response with interest.

In conclusion, I reiterate my support of this motion and I commend it to all members of the House and to the Australian public.

Motion (by Mr Beazley)—by leave—proposed:

That, in respect of the remainder of the debate relating to multinational forces in the Gulf, the maximum period for which a member may speak shall not exceed 10 minutes except that the mover of the motion may speak for 15 minutes in reply.

Mr FIFE (Hume—Manager of Opposition Business) (10.28)—The Opposition supports the motion that has just been moved by the Leader of the House (Mr Beazley). The Leader of the House and I discussed this matter last night, and of course it is designed to provide an opportunity for even more members of the House of Representatives to make a contribution to this historic and important debate.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Mr KERIN (Werriwa—Minister for Primary Industries and Energy) (10.29)—I wish to make four basic points to the Parliament. Firstly, governments have to deal with reality. This includes acting in the perceived interests of their constituency on the basis of knowledge, analysis, experience, logic and principle. Secondly, the Middle East is a central component of the global strategic equation. This war is not about some limited United States

(US) military adventure. Thirdly, Australia should be committed to this war. We are a middle power with international responsibilities. Fourthly, while I uphold the right of everyone in our democratic society to dissent, many of those opposed to this war and to Australia's limited but significant military involvement are engaged in irresponsible, ignorant and shallow thinking.

Australia has committed armed forces to the Gulf war as a result of resolutions passed by the United Nations (UN). These resolutions came about because one UN member, Iraq, attacked, occupied and seeks to incorporate another UN member, Kuwait. This act is one of international illegality and immorality or, put in the emotional terms of its opponents, an act of banditry and of criminality. Since the days of Dr Evatt, Australia has strongly supported the UN system and a multilateral approach to world problems through international organisations. This war is not about US desires for cheaper oil.

Peace lovers have always had high hopes for the UN system; that is, collective security. Only now that the Cold War is apparently over do we see a chance of it working well regarding other than limited regional disputes. Australia strongly supports the UN system, and we have committed our defence forces to UN peacekeeping missions in many parts of the world—in Korea and southern Africa as well as the Middle East.

When I was last in Tehran, I met Australian soldiers who had been posted to the Iran-Iraq border at the behest of the UN. Tehran is a city whose civilian population had been subject to up to a thousand indiscriminate rocket attacks by Saddam Hussein during the Iran-Iraq war, which he initiated and which cost up to one million lives. I went to the south-west of Iran and saw a destroyed air base and the results of bombing on industrial installations. I also saw the ancient mud brick and stone city of Desful which had been levelled by Saddam Hussein—the people who survived had to live underground in the rubble.

Why has the UN passed an unprecedented 12 resolutions all of which centre upon the requirement for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait? Why is Australia involved? Does anyone seriously suggest we can ignore our share of collective responsibilities?

The Australian Government took the hard decision to commit armed forces to the Gulf, despite mixed emotions, despite fear and apprehension, despite concern and sympathy for lives that may be lost and despite our respect for the views of genuine pacifists. The Cabinet is concerned about the ramifications of this war if it deepens and widens. But no analysis stated to us we would be better advised to allow Iraq to take what it wants, invade who it wants and murder who it wants.

There is yet no such thing as international morality. Power and its projection is rarely benign. In the international marketplace, hypocrisy—which some might call pragmatic self-interest—abounds: from Timor to Lithuania, from Cambodia to Grenada. It is obvious that small states have few friends when interests and events get in the way of larger states, or when larger states have little choice but to react. Only the UN can protect smaller states if they are not allied with the great and powerful.

This war is in the Middle East which analysts have said for a long time is the most likely touchpaper for World War III. The Israeli-Arab conflict, the Palestinian question, the nature of Middle East regimes, religious tensions, age-old territorial disputes and oil all make it so. It is the greatest foreign policy puzzle and, unlike Grenada, this region is of far more importance to world peace.

We know the most relevant history of the Middle East peoples—at least since the end of World War I when the 400-year-old Ottoman Empire broke up. We know that national boundaries bequeathed by colonial powers are arbitrary. But the boundaries of many modern nation states are arbitrary. Most have been determined by history, by war or by both, but boundaries have to be accepted or renegotiated

to avoid international anarchy and the prospect of constant war.

In a part of the world where we are dealing with civilisations as old as Babylonia, anyone can pick up any boundary from the past as justification for change. Israel has been attacked and has been under threat of attack ever since its creation in 1948. The world is not perfect and Israel exists, whatever the rights and wrongs of its original creation. Israel will exist, unless the world or some madman destroys its 4.5 million people and the will of its much larger diaspora.

The boundaries of Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq were determined by colonial powers after World War I, but the Armenians and Kurds have been persecuted ever since. Kuwait's boundaries were fixed on the basis of occupancy by three prominent families and their followers at the trading and port location of today's Kuwait. The desert was virtually useless and pearlning, not oil, was the major money earner in the 1920s.

We cannot rewrite history, but we can learn to manage or ameliorate its worst effects. That is what I mean when I say that governments have to deal with reality. We know something of people known generally as Arabs and their fabulous history. Most Arabs are either Sunni or Shia Muslims, but some Arabs are Christians, and there are many Muslims in the world who are not Arab. We also know that the Middle East has been a region where the will of outside powers has been imposed for a long time, and that the family, the tribe, the village, the religion and the sect, and the party and the regime are all-defining. 'Me and my brother against our cousin', 'me, my brother and my cousin against the stranger', and 'my enemy's enemy is my friend' are phrases that some say define attitudes caused by the history and geography of this part of the world.

It is these attitudes and requirements for survival that may explain what Syrian President Assad of the Allawite sect did to the Muslim Brotherhood at a place called Hama in Syria. The Brotherhood called for a jihad against Assad's infidel Allawites. Assad retaliated and 38,000

people died in Hama. Saddam Hussein once defined himself in terms of his village of Tikriti. Some say that the Tikritis rule through the Baath Party in Iraq where Hussein butchered the dissident Muslim leaders of the Dawa.

The second thing we know about regimes in the Middle East is that they are authoritarian and non-democratic. That they are or have become that way is because of this lack of self-determination in the near past, and because as nation states they can and have to exercise power domestically as well as internationally to survive. Jordan expelled the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) with military force. Hussein gassed the Kurds. There are few prizes for not being authoritarian in the Middle East. In an obtuse way this explains why, when nations lose, their leaders seldom change.

To the tradition of family, tribe and sect and to the authoritarian nature of governments in the Middle East is now added arsenals of high technology weapons provided by the West and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Also oil has given some of the nations which make up the Middle East massive wealth and the capacity both to modernise and to wage credible, destabilising and damaging wars.

Governments have to deal with reality. Iraq attacked and overwhelmed its southern neighbour just as it attacked Iran when post-revolution Iran was at its weakest, hoping for a quick victory. The West, the Warsaw Pact countries, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait among others supported Iraq and armed it to the teeth. After eight years and a million dead, Saddam Hussein signed a peace treaty with Iran giving up the acres he had won because it was convenient. It was by contrast not convenient to have a large battle-hardened army on his hands doing nothing as a result or pay his debts. Saddam therefore had an historic missionary zeal, a territorial and economic imperative and a practical purpose of regime survival to drive him on to take Kuwait.

Despite the apologists for Saddam Hussein, the counterwar of which Australia is a part can be justified. No coun-

try has the right to overrun and annex another. If the only justification for war is self-defence, then every small country will have to arm itself to its teeth and be prepared for suicide. Secure access to the oil of the Gulf on which the prosperity of the world depends is not about venality. If we allow Iraq to take Kuwait, given the tensions in the region and Saddam's stated aims, we are only forestalling a larger war. This is the overriding reality.

Why has the General Assembly of the UN and the 28 directly involved nations taken the stand they have? They understand Saddam Hussein; they know what he is capable of. He attacked Iran, knowing Iran had nearly three times Iraq's population. He owes \$80 billion for his last war, much of it to countries now engaging; he is trying to acquire nuclear weapons; he has an arsenal of chemical weapons; he has a high-tech military machine; and he is adept at inflaming the hatred of Israel and Western infidels.

Kuwait has oil; the Gulf states have oil. Saudi Arabia, relatively weak, supplies most of the Western World's oil. Just as we would not be as concerned if Kuwait only grew dates, Hussein would not have attacked it if it only grew dates. 'No blood for oil' is the cry. The anti-Americans so beloved by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation say this is all about the US wanting to get cheap oil. They forget that during the two oil shocks that the US did nothing and that it was the failure of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries to maintain the cartel and then the development of conservation policies and movements that brought the price down again.

Suppose we let Saddam Hussein take over the Saudi peninsular. No doubt the economists would point out that even with all these reserves he eventually could not control the price. The cost to the world of finding out if the economists could be right would be horrendous. The Western World may well be driven to its knees; Hussein would get his nuclear bombs; and we would have the ingredients of an inevitable nuclear holocaust at least in the Middle East.

Mr CARLTON (Mackellar) (10.40)—In supporting the motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and supported by the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) and the Leader of the National Party of Australia (Mr Tim Fischer), I would like to focus on one aspect of the opposition to the war. The honourable member for Lalor (Mr Barry Jones) raised the question of the long term aims of the campaign in the Middle East. I would like to look at the broader canvas, and specifically the role of the United States, the leading nation in this particular exercise and the target of a lot of attack by opponents of the war.

The war is being opposed by the so-called peace movement, which is international in nature, although it has been generally limited to the democracies. I have followed the activities of the peace movement for very many years. In my younger days I spent the best part of a decade—the late 1950s and early 1960s—in England where the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was a well organised body that conducted very large rallies.

On the Saturday before last I was in London, where I observed the same groups, with much the same slogans they have used over these past 30 years, conducting an enormous rally. There was a trail of people going from Hyde Park Corner right down to Trafalgar Square. I went into Trafalgar Square and listened to some speakers. It was very familiar to me, having attended some of those events many years before. I listened to an eloquent clergyman arguing against the war in very persuasive terms and I reflected on what would have happened to us since the war if we had followed his advice.

Threading through the so-called peace movement is a strong element of anti-Americanism. It is certainly evident in this case. There is a power play by America. It is concerned with oil and dollars. America is seen as an imperial power. There seems to be an equality, or there has been in the past, between the Soviet Union and America, as two imperial powers vying with each other and each having similar objectives. America is seen as imposing an ideology, a particular brand of

democracy, by force around the world and also as imposing capitalism around the world.

The history of the twentieth century has been shaped to an enormous degree by the United States. The question is whether this shaping has been for good or for ill. The elder Arthur Schlesinger, the historian, in a major work on the history of the United States pointed out that in the year 1910 the productive capacity of the United States exceeded the combined productive capacities of Germany and Great Britain. Basically, by 1910 the shape of power in the twentieth century had been decided.

The power certainly has been there. My argument for America's role and in favour of what America has done generally rests on the overall outcome of this century and not on individual mistakes or failures, of which there have been many. It also rests on the process within the United States by which decisions are made and mistakes are corrected. This century has been an awful one but it has also in some respects been a positive one. In 1910 there were only 10 democracies. In 1920 there were about 20. There were fewer in 1940, but now there are 60 or 70, with good prospects for more. There is also a general acceptance of the value of a market economy in increasing people's prosperity and the capacity to improve their lives. If we believe that people are better off if they are free and prosperous, and those concepts are not necessarily supported by many in the peace movement, we will rejoice in this outcome. I suggest that the United States has contributed greatly to this, as have other powers, particularly the United Kingdom.

We recall that in World War I it was the intervention of the United States only towards the end of that war which decisively changed the balance of power. It was the American President Woodrow Wilson who said that we should have collective action amongst the democracies to prevent dictatorship and tyranny; that we should have a league of nations which would get together to try to prevent such things happening in the future. Largely because of cynicism in Europe and isola-

tionism in the United States, the League of Nations failed. During the 1930s the European democracies failed to get together in collective action against Hitler's tyranny. The Americans stayed out of that because of the triumph of isolationism.

It is interesting that isolationism in the United States has been more associated with the Right than with the Left. But there is a strange kind of alliance between the peace movement internationally and the isolationism of the Right in the United States. Franklin Roosevelt fought that isolationism against enormous internal opposition in the United States. He gave succour to Britain in its worst hour. He also subsequently provided support to the Soviet Union against Hitler. He and Truman were quite remarkable people in the support of peace and democracy. The isolationists lost out. As a result of what happened, Germany, Japan, Italy and the rest of western Europe became democratic.

The advance in democracy as a result of the Second World War was extraordinary. Beyond that, the influence of the United States in pressing the old colonial powers to release their hold over much of Asia and Africa led certainly, if not immediately, to democracy, and at least to an improvement in the human lot, particularly in India, which became the world's largest democracy. Postwar, the isolationists were not allowed to get the upper hand. In the absence of an effective United Nations, the United States took on the role of leadership of the democracies which the Europeans had failed to do in the 1930s. It decided on a policy of deterrence of the Soviet Union. For 20 years after the war it could have wiped the Soviet Union off the face of the earth. Of course, it did not because it was a democratic country. When the Soviet Union itself had the ability to do a similar thing to the United States, it was the power of deterrence that maintained peace up until the time of the economic collapse of the Soviet Union.

Somebody had to take on that leadership role. The United States did it, but individual Americans have paid the price for that. They pay a lot more individually

for defence, for deterrence, out of their taxes than anybody else in the democracies. In terms of human lives, their sons and daughters have been placed at risk more than others in the democracies. We have enjoyed that shield.

Just how important is the so-called peace movement? Would we, if we had followed the peace movement's advice over the last 30 years, be in better shape? Clearly not. The same kind of advice that the appeasers were giving in the 1930s would have been followed. The United States would have been consistently opposed in the things it tried to do to prevent the spread of communism. Those of us who believe that capitalism, the market economy, improves the human lot, those of us who believe that free votes, free elections and a free press are very important for humanity, will applaud the action of the United States over the course of this century. Of course there have been mistakes. Of course there have been bad interventions and so on, but the process within the United States itself has been the greatest critic of those mistakes. There are always more critics in the United States of its own mistakes than there are internationally.

As to the strength of the so-called peace movement, I was, as usual, impressed by the size of the rally I saw in London and the ability to get 100,000 or so people into Trafalgar Square and conduct a march that continued for two or three miles—they still call them miles over there. But on Thursday I attended the House of Commons for Prime Minister's Question Time and questions were put to the Prime Minister on the Gulf. There was about an hour of this questioning. There were 15 minutes of normal questions during which the Prime Minister answered about 10 or 12 questions. There was a five-minute statement on the Gulf, followed by 45 minutes of questions to the Prime Minister during which he probably—I say this with some point in this House—answered some 40 or 50 questions.

The people in the House of Commons, unlike the people in Trafalgar Square, had been elected democratically. The voices

that were raised, such as those of Tony Benn and a very small number of the left wing of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, were absolutely dwarfed by the democratically elected members of the Labour Party, the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democratic Party. That is where the balance of democracy lay. It was there in the House of Commons, not in Trafalgar Square. It is in this House, not in the demonstrations outside. It is in the elected members of this House that we place our faith in the decisions of democracy, in bipartisan support for the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition for once again standing out against tyranny in the twentieth century.

Mr WEST (Cunningham) (10.50)—I totally oppose the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. I cannot support war at this time as an instrument to liberate Kuwait. I think it is a mistake for Australia to be militarily involved. However, I certainly do not call at this time, given the decisions that have already been taken, for the return of the three ships. It necessarily follows that I support the last three paragraphs of the motion. I cannot support the first two paragraphs of the motion because they indicate support for war at this time and for Australian involvement. However, I note with pleasure that the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) has indicated that there will be no further involvement over and above that which we have already contributed.

The support for the current actions of the United Nations and the allies is the UN resolutions, including resolution 678 which authorises the use of all necessary means to liberate Kuwait after 15 January. But I stand with those who maintain that sanctions should have been that necessary instrument. In doing so, I believe I am in very respectable company. Many of the former bureaucrats of the Carter and Reagan regimes have been saying the same thing. If one reads the international press, one will see that there is a preponderance of editorials which say the same thing. I could quote from the *Guardian Weekly* as an example, but I will not have time. Many influential United States (US) congressmen have been saying the same thing.

To those who say to us 'How long are you prepared to accept the reliance of sanctions?', I can do no better than to quote from the *Guardian Weekly*. In its editorial of several days ago, it says:

Ah—the immediate counter cry—but how long could you give that first, more peaceful policy? Three months? A year? Three years? It is a facile debating point, easily turned upon the proponents of war. How many casualties are they prepared to endure? Three thousand? Thirty thousand? How long are they prepared to fight for? Three days, or months, or years? How much of Kuwait City are they prepared to flatten in the exercise, the liberators of Dresden?

Those are the matters that ought to be considered. I believe that this war is a failure of US and Western foreign policy in the Middle East, on two counts. For 43 years the Palestinians have waited for a homeland; for 23 years Israel has occupied the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and the Golan Heights; and for 23 years there has been no attempt by the United Nations and the West to enforce resolution 242, for example, by the use of sanctions, no sanctions were ever proposed.

The second point on which foreign policy has failed in the Middle East since the Second World War is that when it came to a choice in the late 1970s and early 1980s between support for Islamic fundamentalism and secular Arab dictators like Saddam Hussein the West, including the US, France and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), chose Saddam Hussein. As others have pointed out, it is those countries that have armed this dictator. It is the Soviet Union specifically that has provided the Scud missiles which now fall upon Israel.

I want to examine very quickly the range of actions of the allies since 2 August. I believe that the first policies were the correct policies—that is, the putting in place of a large enough force to defend Saudi Arabia and then at that point relying upon sanctions. That is what Bush said that he set out to do. However, after the elections in mid-November, there was a sea change of policy. There was the accelerated build-up, leading up to UN resolution 678 which included the 15 January deadline. That resolution allowed for strikes at installations in Iraq. The strike

from the air against the entrenched ground forces will soon commence, followed by what the Prime Minister has described as a possible horrific and ghastly ground war.

The most striking point of the lead-up in the post-November positions taken by the allies and the US and Iraq and Saddam Hussein was the inflexibility of the two positions. The allied position, as led by the US, was one for unconditional withdrawal and the return of the emirate. The Iraqi position was total and intransigent rejection of the request to withdraw totally and unconditionally. In that atmosphere, as many others internationally have pointed out and are still pointing out on the Cable News Network news coverage, there was no room for meaningful negotiation at all. As a result, there was an inexorable momentum to war after 15 January.

As I have listened to the debate, particularly to the statement of the Prime Minister yesterday, the argument for this position is that we stand in a post-Cold War situation, where there is now one superpower instead of two, on the verge of a so-called brave new world in which the UN can reign supreme and the US can be its enforcer and that what we need is solidarity for that UN position. My problem with that position is that the USSR is a key permanent member of the Security Council which endorsed the inferred use of force, now a reality, against Iraq but which, having done that, is now busily engaged in putting down the Baltic states that it annexed 45 years ago. Quite frankly, it is a two-faced and hypocritical position to be drawing upon the so-called enforcement powers of resolution 678 and, being one of the key countries involved in that resolution, putting down states which it annexed inside its own country. Quite frankly, that is an unacceptable position.

This thesis also breaks down because, an enforcer always being required, the enforcer cannot be allowed to get tired. That will happen if this is a prolonged ground war. As many others have pointed out in the US media, this could be the last attempt, not the first, at this sort of thing if the war drags on, because the US will

carry the burden both in blood and financial commitment. It is more likely that the brave new world enforced by the UN and the United States will have a better chance of being successful in the future if victory is achieved through peaceful and economic means rather than costly war. My fear is that we will win the war—have no doubt about that—but we will lose the peace.

After the so-called 'victory', what will be the situation in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf? I cannot see that much thought has been given to the post-war situation, the problems resulting from which will be more severe than even the pre-war problems. Consider the possible situation: how long will the restored emirate in Kuwait last? I believe that it will be living on borrowed time as the sands of history shift in the Middle East. What about the situation of a shattered Iraq, squeezed between Islamic fundamentalism by Iran on the one hand and by a secular dictatorship in Syria on the other? I am worried about the reinforced Israeli determination to resist the setting up of a Palestinian homeland. There will be huge problems in imposing regional security and the probability of the West, including this country, having to endure the hatred of the Arab masses that may last for decades.

The Prime Minister warns of the probability of a ghastly and terrible ground war. I believe that every effort ought to be made to avert that ground war. Even at this late stage after war has commenced, we should be putting forward a peace initiative which includes the total withdrawal by Iraq from Kuwait, the setting up of an Arab-UN occupational force in Kuwait, the setting out of regional security arrangements in the Middle East and the commitment to a meaningful peace conference which will, once and for all, force Israel to set up a Palestinian homeland.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Ronald Edwards)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr LLOYD (Murray) (11.00)—I wish to add my support to the five-point mo-

tion of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) supporting the multinational forces in the Gulf, which was strongly backed by the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) and the Leader of the National Party of Australia (Mr Tim Fischer) and, as the debate has unfolded, has been backed more completely by the Opposition parties than, seemingly, by the Government. I hope that there will be unanimous support—that is, a unanimous vote—in the House of Representatives for this motion. I believe that is the best message of confidence and support that we as a House of Representatives could give to our contingent of 900 defence personnel who are in the Gulf on behalf of Australia.

I commend not only that Australian contingent but also the other countries that make up the multinational force and the hundreds of thousands of their defence personnel that responded to the United Nations Security Council resolutions. In particular, I refer to the United States and the strong world leadership being given by President Bush. I also recognise the significant contribution of Great Britain.

My support reflects the strong support of the people of northern Victoria. I have not received one complaint or one criticism from people in northern Victoria in relation to Australia's support for that United Nations sanctioned force. I can assure honourable members that plenty of other complaints are coming into my office at present, and the only ones which relate to the Gulf are those by Australian Broadcasting Corporation viewers who believe that the ABC is not presenting a fair coverage of the Gulf situation—that, after it has presented the situation there, the rest of the footage is on anti-war protesters, in reality anti-US protesters, in a number of countries around the world.

I also add my support to the two final points of the motion, which deplore the attack on Israel by Iraq and recognise the need to establish peace and stability in the Middle East in the longer term—that is, resolve the Palestinian issue but with recognition that that is separate from the Iraqi withdrawal—now defeat—and must occur after the Gulf crisis is resolved. I believe that attempts by Hussein to link

withdrawal to the Palestinian issue or, in the latter days, to justify his invasion of Kuwait by the Palestinian issue has harmed the cause of the Palestinian people at least outside the Arab countries—and I have considerable sympathy for the Palestinian cause.

We all need to remember that Iraq's tragic and brutal invasion of Kuwait on 2 August is the reason why all of this has been necessary, why it is necessary for the allied multinational forces to pursue this issue to the end. It came, as other speakers have said, at a turning point in post-World War II history. It came at the end of the Cold War, when the leaders of the communist countries acknowledged the bankruptcy of their system. Many people saw that as heralding a new era of peace and cooperation. The reality of greed, power and territorial ambition of dictators, as displayed by Hussein on 2 August, reminded us all that there is no such thing as any permanent peace or permanent new era of cooperation.

As a result of this aggression and of the new world situation in the sense of a greater degree of cooperation following the ending of the Cold War, there is hope for a better future, because for the first time in 40 years the Security Council has been able to act decisively. The United Nations does have renewed credibility. There has been world pressure through the resolutions of the Security Council, the condemnation by almost every country of the world of the Hussein invasion and occupation, and the attempts at a peaceful solution by sanctions for quite a few months. In other words, there has been a graduated and civilised response to that brutal invasion. Unfortunately, although those pressures were not successful, I would hope that those pressures, now following on with what is necessary, provide a message for a better ability to handle these situations on a world scale in the future.

I also commend the ability for quick action, though it was too late to save Kuwait. The very quick response by the United States in particular and by other countries meant that any anticipated fur-

ther attack on Saudi Arabia was not able to proceed.

We have to remember that the action being taken in the Gulf is the most universally supported international police or military action in the history of the world. That is a significant achievement. The Australian Government has supported this action; the Opposition fully supports this action as an appropriate response and contribution by Australia. It was a correct decision made in both the national and international interest.

When decisions are made in the national interest, I hope that those sacrifices are, as far as possible, equally shared within the nation, but I acknowledge that that cannot be completely so because of the potential sacrifice of the 900 professional defence personnel now in the Gulf on our behalf. I commend them again for that.

But a second group is also suffering. I refer to the rural exporters, who are suffering and will continue to suffer considerably because of this necessary and correct action. Because of their initiative, their strict standards of quality control for the goods that they are exporting and their international competitive ability, they have gained over the years substantial markets in the Middle East—and gained them against fierce and sometimes unfair competition. To a certain extent they are the forgotten group in this debate. At risk is agricultural trade from Australia worth \$2 billion a year. That is a severe blow when average farm income this year in Australia will be \$5,500, or only 20 per cent of average weekly earnings. I refer in particular to wheat already sold to Iraq as a credit sale, like most countries' wheat sales, for which payments are due. Eighty per cent of it is covered by national insurance and 20 per cent by the growers themselves. Now that it is recognised that there is no way that repayment can be made, it is appropriate in the national interest for the Government to provide a timetable of its guaranteeing those payments of insurance and also providing compensation not just for the lost sale—there have been plenty of lost sales since then—but for the lost income to the wheat

growers of this country who are in a desperate cash flow position.

I refer to a second situation, the post-Gulf war situation. Rehabilitation will be necessary and will be very welcome. An important part of that will be restoration of agricultural trade. Once again, in this question of national and international interest, I hope that there will be justice for our agricultural exporters in that post-Gulf war situation. I hope that they are able to retain their market share, and our allies need to be sensitive with regard to this.

I have said that on behalf of this important group of people who are also affected by the Gulf crisis. I wish to confirm their strong support for the Australian action, an international action that is being correctly taken, and their hope, along with ours, for the safe return of our Defence Force personnel.

Mr MELHAM (Banks) (11.10)—I rise to support the motion before the House. I do so with a very heavy heart. I do so as a member of the left wing of the Australian Labor Party. I do so as a practising Catholic. I do so as a supporter of the peace movement in Australia and around the world from the time I first joined the Labor Party in 1974. I arrive at this conclusion on a different path from those who have spoken in the debate already and some of those who will follow. I do so with a clear conscience, with a firmly held view that it is the correct decision to take at this point in the world's history.

I am a firm believer in the United Nations (UN) as the forum and instrument to resolve international conflict. I am saddened by the failure of the sanctions. I am saddened by the failure of the negotiations. I would have liked further time to give peace a chance. I was one of those members of parliament who signed the advertisement in the *Australian* and in the *Sydney Morning Herald* sponsored by the Network for Peace. All that has gone out the window.

War cannot be glorified; war is a terrible thing. I do not support war. I do not see this as a war motion. The UN is the only forum through which such disputes

as this can be resolved. A peaceful resolution to the conflict has to be found early before the war escalates further. Discussions need to be commenced by all world leaders. I am heartened by the fact that the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) has already commenced consulting with leaders from nations around the world.

This is not a war that can be categorised by simplistic, jingoistic anti-United States or pro-Iraqi slogans. It is very complicated and a thing that has developed gradually. I refer members of parliament and the public to the comprehensive statement issued by the Prime Minister to this Parliament on 4 December. This is a grave decision that the Australian Labor Party has taken. It has taken it in the knowledge that there is growing opposition to war. The Labor Party's history against Vietnam is well known. We do not glorify war. It is not the solution.

My parents were born in Lebanon. I had the benefit of being born in Australia. War is not new to me. I have lived with war being shown on television every day since the mid-1970s when Lebanon was invaded by a foreign army—and it remains occupied by a foreign army. I look to the UN to seek a peaceful resolution to the conflict of war.

Last Friday, together with the Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (Mr Hand), I moved around the Arabic community to reassure its members that this Government is not about vilifying them, that they are entitled to their opinion, that those who are opposed to war in this democratic country in which we live are entitled to voice their opposition to it without retribution.

It is a tragedy that Arabic women are being rung up and harangued by thoughtless, mindless people, bigoted, prejudiced people. Arab Australians are loyal Australians. They are entitled to a different point of view. The Network for Peace and those who march in the street and come to the public galleries of the Parliament are entitled to a different point of view. They, just as I am, are horrified by what has happened in the Middle East. They, like me, feel frustrated by the turn of events,

imprisoned by what is happening, and are looking to a peaceful solution. Their presence here today and on the streets signifies that they are horrified. I applaud them.

The situation will not be solved by us just bringing our ships back home. We have a role to play in the world order in ensuring a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We have a role to play and we cannot renege on that role no matter how heavy some people might think the price is. There are hundreds of thousands of people who are affected by this conflict. There is a jaundiced view that is being perpetuated. During the Vietnam war we saw images of the horror, of death and destruction. We could not escape the truth that war is a vile thing. So far, however, there have been very few images of what is really happening. Immaculately groomed newsreaders and commentators, computer generated maps and graphics, the totally comprehensive satellite switching all convey the sense that we are receiving information. While this is certainly to be preferred to the controlled media of totalitarian states, nevertheless it has its own dangers. The technology of it all can blind us to the truth that many innocent people will die and, even now, are dying and that 750,000 people have become refugees in the first two days of the war.

The only opportunity for a lasting and peaceful settlement is through the United Nations. If hard decisions need to be taken we should take them. Those decisions have been taken by this Government and should not be reneged upon. There is a difference of opinion between the Labor Party and the conservative parties in this country. The Labor Party believes that we have given enough of a commitment. I am pleased that the Prime Minister has said that not one ship will be sent in addition to the ones that are at present in the Gulf. We are not a superpower; we are a middle ranking power, and that carries with it duties and responsibilities.

I am pleased to see in this motion the recognition that we need to intensify efforts to establish peace and stability in the Middle East, including a just resolution of the Palestinian issue. The only way of achieving lasting peace when this tragic

war has ended is through meaningful negotiations. For negotiations to be successful, all parties involved must enter on an equal footing and be prepared to listen and be flexible. We need to listen, not to abuse, harass and harangue those with a different view. We need to listen. We are all working for the one aim: a just and peaceful solution. We cannot condone the invasion of one country by another. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, the day before war broke out, offered the olive branch to Saddam Hussein in his last press statement. He talked about the process that was well under way, the commitment that he had received from governments at the highest levels that neither Iraq nor its forces would be attacked if they withdrew from Kuwait, that peace in the region required that all of its problems be resolved justly and equitably in accordance with the charter of the UN.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Hollis)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr COSTELLO (Higgins) (11.20)—Before this House is a grave motion which tests whether Australia supports a naval commitment to war in the Persian Gulf, Kuwait and its surrounds. We should bear in mind the solemnity of these proceedings and we should not overlook the carnage and the destruction that will be involved in that war. No-one has disputed the fact that Saddam Hussein is a ruthless tyrant who began his political career with politically inspired murder. As head of state security in Iraq he presided over public executions; he seized power as President and executed his rivals in the Arab Baath Socialist Party; used chemical weapons against a Kurdish minority; went, in a vainglorious stand, to war against Iran with casualties of one million and used gas and chemical weapons; sought to develop a nuclear capability; and has a track record for brutality, ruthlessness and tyranny that has made his nation of 17 million people a significant military force in the region.

No-one has disputed the fact that the action of the regime in Iraq, in moving into Kuwait, was totally unjustified. That action came before the United Nations

(UN) General Assembly and was condemned by a vote of 144 nations to one—that one vote being Iraq's vote. It was condemned for taking over Kuwait. Iraq, as a member of the United Nations, pledged to respect the territorial integrity of other member states. As a member of the United Nations, under its Charter, Iraq itself has recognised the right to individual and collective self-defence when there is an armed attack against any member state. There is no question that Iraq's invasion was in breach of international law and in breach of principles of law that it, itself, has subscribed to.

The question that has been disputed is whether nation states are justified in taking military action against Iraq—an action that has been endorsed by the United Nations Security Council; a move perhaps unparalleled in its history. Those people who say that nation states should not intervene in an armed way are in dispute with not only Australia but also the five permanent members of the Council—France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and China, which abstained. They are in dispute with Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, Finland, Malaysia, Romania, Zaire and the Ivory Coast—the other temporary members of the UN Security Council. They dispute the proposition that is enshrined in the United Nations Charter that individual and collective armed defence can be made when a member state's territorial integrity is jeopardised.

Some people who oppose armed intervention will be pacifists who say that armed intervention is never justified. That is not a position I subscribe to; it is not one that I have time to debate here. Some people have said that it is sometimes right to go to war, but not in this case. They say that there are laudable goals to be achieved by resisting Iraqi aggression, but they can be pursued through economic sanctions. I have refrained from speaking earlier on this matter, but I have always believed that economic sanctions would have limited use against a country such as Iraq where suffering is not reported; where representatives do not go into a parliament and complain on behalf of

their constituents as to the hardship which is being suffered; and where those who incur the hardship for their nation through foreign adventurism do not have to face those people in an election.

At no time has this regime been constrained by public opinion, and dictators who rule by force glory only in force and respond only to force. In any event, it is not clear that sanctions would lead to lesser suffering. They would certainly inflict greater hardship on the civilian population as resources were saved for the military at the expense of civilians. Let me make this point clear: Australia does not join the multinational force in order to attack Arabs. It joins that force in order to defend Arabs—the Arabs of Kuwait, the Arabs of the Gulf states and the Arabs of Saudi Arabia.

Some people will argue that other nations should bear the brunt of the multinational force, but not Australia. They will use the words of Neville Chamberlain which we chillingly remember from the Munich settlement of 1938—‘Why should we be concerned with a faraway country of which we know little?’. Yet, if we look at the outcome of that settlement we see the glaring answer to that kind of attitude. The force in the Gulf is a force made up of Muslims, Arabs, Europeans, South Americans and, yes, North Americans too. One cannot help but feel that those who are opposing Australia’s involvement in that multinational force have the unmistakable sentiment of anti-Americanism.

The United States of America is perhaps the only superpower in the world today without whose involvement this force would not be feasible. The liberation of Kuwait would not be feasible without the commitment of the United States (US). Make no mistake about where my loyalties lie. Where there is a conflict between Australian and United States interests, they lie fairly and squarely with Australia. But I do not share the cringe, the chip-on-the-shoulder attitude, that respects a more powerful nation and that automatically regards it with suspicion as a bully. Whatever its faults, the US is still a democracy. Australia, too, is a democ-

racy and as a democracy, which is respected in the civilised company of nations, Australia has an interest in raising its voice and making its commitment against the kind of aggression that we have seen in Kuwait.

I believe that the Iraqi leadership made the mistake that all dictators have made—Hitler, Mussolini, the Latin Americans, the communists—in believing that when it comes to a crisis, democracies are inherently weak in staring down aggression. By our commitment we say that that is not so—democracy can make a nation strong. People who have freedom can still see where their interests lie. They can still take the horrors of war and stand for principles and recognise that there are principles which they believe in and which, ultimately, are worth fighting for. Even today the Iraqi leadership seeks to manipulate public opinion and say that it can force democracies—because of that inherent weakness—out of taking a stand against aggression. I hope that this will deliver an unmistakable message to the world community that nations which believe in taking notice of their public and who let the public choose their government are still strong and are still able to play a strong role in the international community.

If I have one regret about this involvement, it is that I believe we have concentrated too much on winning the war at the expense of winning the peace. I believe there has been a tendency to overrate what is going on, with suggestions that we are about to usher in a new world order. Let us not delude ourselves. This is not the war to end all war. There will be failures in the future as there have been failures in the past. But when the moment of opportunity comes and when the world community stands united, let us stand with it. But let us also embark on a diplomatic and political offensive to reinforce that the way to end war is to democratise regimes so that people can have a say about their governments; so that they can have a say against adventurism and against the suffering that war causes. Let us say that the way to become a great leader in the Arab world is not by

force of war, but by force of peace. Let us say that the way to build a strong nation is not by tyranny, but through democracy. Let us hold up as an example in the Arab world the peacemakers—Sadat, Mubarak and those people who had the courage to make peace rather than war—as those who have been really great leaders.

Let us not delude ourselves into thinking that, basically, this is a Palestinian issue. This is not a Palestinian issue. Hussein did not go into Kuwait because of the Palestinians, he went in because of his own vainglorious stand for leadership in that region. When we intensify, as I hope we do, our efforts to bring peace in the Middle East and resolve the Palestinian question, let us make sure that we intensify our initiatives in response to overtures of peace, not overtures of war.

Let us remember at this time that while we stand here and debate this matter Australians are taking an active part in the conflict. Let us stand behind them; let us admire them and give them every support that we possibly can for they stand for a just cause, an international cause, which will bring a better future.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Hollis)— Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr BEAZLEY (Swan—Minister for Transport and Communications) (11.30)—I certainly agree with the previous speaker, the honourable member for Higgins (Mr Costello), that this is not the war to end all wars. However, if we are lucky in this conflict, it may be the war that establishes collective security. That will be a plus for this country and for every other country of our equivalent status and power in the international system. It is one of the many reasons why this war should be fought. In the 10 minutes available to me, I want to talk basically about two things. We cannot cover all the ground and it is the case in this debate that most of us agree with what each other is saying; so we ought to make a highly focused contribution when we speak.

The two things I want to talk about are, firstly, why the war should be fought and, secondly, what Australia's interest is in the war. The war should be fought, obviously, because it is the only means whereby Kuwait can be liberated. It is the only means, because the character of the Iraqi state makes normal sanctions and diplomatic processes, which would work on a society like ours, not work on it. In the case of Iraq, sanctions and diplomacy only provide the time by which Iraq can place itself in a position where it is more capable of resisting military assault when it comes and therefore deterring military assault. Unless backed up ultimately by a willingness to go to war, diplomacy and sanctions mean nothing. So in fact the sanctions are caught in a catch 22 situation, largely because of the character of the Iraqi regime and sanctions themselves.

Sanctions in place over time, like the ones that were established here, are more likely to leak than not, lessening their effectiveness. The way in which Saddam Hussein occupied Kuwait, the way in which his armed forces were being developed, suggested no intention on his part to do anything other than fight for possession of Kuwait if he had to; accept it by peaceful means, albeit, but fight for it if he had to.

In international politics it is important to remember that longevity equals legitimacy. The longer one occupies a territory, the more one is regarded as the legitimate holder of it. After all, we have held this territory for 200 years and that establishes our legitimacy. Our legitimacy was not strong in 1788. It does happen to be particularly strong now because we have been here for 200 years.

Every month that went by established Saddam's legitimacy in Kuwait. More and more as time went by there would have been an unwillingness on the part of the Western community to confront the requirement to remove him. The Scud missiles have proved to this point in time laughably ineffective. They have become something of an international joke. Thirty of them have fired at civilian targets and there is not yet a single civilian death.

Those weapons are a military joke. If he were to stick chemical, biological or nuclear warheads on them, we would not be laughing. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that if he cannot do that now, in a few months time he might well have been able to do that and the destruction and horror of this war would be magnified as a result of it.

Fundamentally, sanctions will not work because of the character of the Iraqi state. It is a warfare state. It is not easy for us to comprehend the mind set of people who run a country like Iraq. The organising principle of the Baath Party of Iraq, and the particular character of Hussein's regime, is that legitimacy is sought in endless conflict with its own citizens and with its neighbours. And because it is actively engaged in implementing its philosophy, it has reached a point where it cannot help itself. Therefore, if any point of disagreement arose between Iraq and Saudi Arabia or the other Gulf states, it would resolve it in exactly the same way as it resolved it in Kuwait. Its military has been enhanced by experience and acquisition.

Excluding Egypt and Iran, Iraq is a very much larger power than the other states. It would have had the capacity to implement its policies, irrespective of whatever decisions were taken by those other countries to arm themselves. Even if they had—as many of them have—armed themselves with sophisticated weapons, the will and the experience of the Iraqi armed forces would cut through them like a knife through butter. They would have absolutely no chance at all of resisting. It is no accident that Arabs support us in this fight. Arabs know that on their own they cannot resist the claims of Iraq, and for that reason they support us in this war effort.

Australia's particular interests in this conflict are probably a little more sophisticated than we have given credit for in our analyses here to this point. What is being set by the Iraqi warfare state is an example, if other countries choose to accept it, whereby a relatively small state can, by will and a not unreasonable devotion of resources, turn itself into an

effective military power. There is no state in our region or even slightly further afield that does not have the capacity to develop a mass army like that of Saddam Hussein and to bring into its military inventory weapons like the ones he is trying to perfect. They are not expensive; many of those weapons are quite cheap. When the wages of servicemen are cheap also, mass armies are relatively easy to develop too. There is no doubt at all that as nations sit down and look at what Saddam Hussein achieves or fails to achieve, they will make judgments about their own force structure requirements.

Some statements have been made in this place about a need to review Australian defence policy and I will talk about that very briefly later, because now is not the place to do it. Let me say this: if it became the case that in our region, states of a psychology equivalent to that of Saddam Hussein were to develop, even if they were not that hardline, or if militaries were to develop with the qualities of those being developed by the Iraqi military, our force structure would definitely need to change. We would enter into an era of divisive public debate in this country over whether or not this nation should possess chemical, biological or nuclear weapons in order to possess a deterrent capability of its own.

That is something that the peace movement needs to consider. When I was Minister for Defence debating with the peace movement, I made this point: 'You have missed the main game. In the end, the Americans and the Soviets will never fight a nuclear war. They will never use weapons of mass destruction on each other. Your focus on them is incorrect. You should be looking at what is being done in Iraq in the Iraq-Iran war because there you look at your future. There you look potentially at what this nation will confront.' And if this nation ever has to confront that situation and if we have uncertainty about our alliance relationships when we do confront it, front and centre on the agenda of Australian politics we will be debating whether or not this country should possess nuclear weapons and gas weapons.

It is quite clear that nations in this region take a great deal of notice of what Saddam Hussein does, some out of fear, some out of admiration. Quite evidently, some populations look at what Saddam does and have admiration for it. That ought to be, in the long term, a cause of concern for us and for anybody concerned about peace in this area.

Some criticism has been offered of the Government's defence policy which is based on self-reliance within a framework of alliances. If we look at the fate of Kuwait, we can say with absolute certainty that no self-reliance plus neutralism does not equal security. That is exactly what Kuwait's position was when it confronted this conflict. I do not sneer at it. A country the size of Kuwait with its population base cannot even remotely hope for self-reliance. Nevertheless, it is the case that no self-reliance plus neutralism does not equal security.

We have always said in our defence policy that the defence of Australia must be a priority, but other things also need to be addressed. I quote from one paragraph of many that I could quote from in the White Paper on defence:

Options will always be available to Australian governments for assistance to allies, even though such assistance of itself will not be a force structure determinant. The type of Australian force structure required to protect our interests in our area of military interest entails substantial capabilities for operations further afield. For example, our guided missile frigates (FFGs) equipped with Seahawk helicopters are capable of effective participation in a US carrier battle group well distant from Australia's shores.

So they are. This conflict was anticipated by us. The need to use our military for diplomatic purposes was always on the cards for us. We have the capabilities in our force structure to do what we need to do in this circumstance. What we are doing in this regard involves the most sensible use of Australian armed forces in the international climate which exists today.

Mr JULL (Fadden) (11.40)—At dawn on 2 August 1990, Iraqi troops stormed across the Kuwaiti border, crushing the Government of this tiny nation in a matter of hours. The brutality with which the

illegal invasion and occupation was carried out and the atrocities to which the Kuwaiti population were and still are being subjected on a daily basis have shocked the world. The terror of the Iraqi invasion has come to light through the media, the reports of Amnesty International, United States Congressional hearings, and through eyewitness accounts, all of which have horrified and angered the people of the civilised world. We have heard of the infants who have been torn from incubators in hospitals, thrown on the floor and left to die. We have heard of the women who have been raped, of refugees who have been shot as they attempted to escape through the desert and we have heard of wholesale torture and pillage in what has been a shocking indictment of the Iraqi military regime.

But prior to this invasion the Iraqis were already responsible for more than a million deaths during the Iran-Iraq war and through actions on their own people by the cruel use of chemicals, torture and total human devastation. This was all the work of one President Saddam Hussein, a sponsor of terrorism, a murderer, a hostage-taker, and a plunderer, who will go down in history with Adolf Hitler and Pol Pot as one of the most hideous political figures of this century. This comparison with the Nazi leader is more than superficial, and I think it is important for Australians to accept that the world has been faced with more than one totalitarian dictator in this century.

We should think about the kind of Iraq under Hussein. He has persecuted a race of people, the Kurds, and he is now attacking Israel. He has total control of the media and has established an iron grip over the freedom of open expression. The people of Iraq, his own nation, have been murdered for daring to question his authority, which is enforced through the ruthless military.

The 2 August invasion of Kuwait was in itself the culmination of a month long campaign of harassment and of unreasonable demands on the Kuwait state. He charged Kuwait with over-production of oil, of stealing oil from the Rumaila oil-

fields. There were demands for ports and territories, and there was the matter of the \$15 billion loaned by Kuwait to Iraq in support of Baghdad's efforts during the Iran-Iraq war. Saddam ordered the total destruction of the Kuwaiti nation, and the annexation of Kuwaiti territory as the nineteenth state of Iraq, which, in history, it has never been.

The world realised that there was much more at stake than just the future existence of Kuwait. The world has recognised that in order to safeguard progress towards a new world order of peaceful nations, hostile regimes such as that of Saddam Hussein cannot be permitted to exercise their evil ambitions without adequate restraint. The world has now imposed that restraint on Saddam Hussein's plans, in the interests of world peace for nations both large and small.

The history of the period from 2 August is well documented. Despite the warnings, despite the intense diplomatic efforts by the United Nations and by individual nations, by past and present political figures, Saddam thumbed his nose at the world and proceeded to shock even the most hardened international diplomats with his barbaric tactics. Every possible tool of international condemnation was used by the United Nations to halt Iraq's military aggression—from trade sanctions right through to the 12 United Nations resolutions. But cynically, Saddam ignored all efforts to bring about a just end to the situation, and the United Nations deadline of 15 January was reached.

The 28 nations which have committed forces to the coalition to enforce the UN Security Council resolution have acted in the knowledge that more than 100 countries have condemned Iraq's actions. Australia, with the bipartisan support of both the Government and the Opposition, has made its commitment of ships and medical teams, and now more than 800 Australians are involved in the war zone.

Clearly the Opposition supports the motion before the House. The action by the coalition forces, including Australia, is designed to achieve the end of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, to restore the legit-

imate government of that nation and to allow its people to return to their homeland. The motion, most importantly, gives full support to those Australians now serving in the Gulf. We have heard of the very real role they have played both prior to and after 15 January. It is obvious already that the Australians have earned the very real respect of the leaders of the allied forces in the Gulf. These Australians are maintaining the very great tradition of our forces and deserve the full support not only of members of this House but of all Australians who share in the democratic values of this nation and of the free world. It is important that that support continue in the days and weeks ahead. It is obvious that despite the allied successes so far, this war will not be over in the next few days, and that in human terms some of the toughest actions for all the coalition forces are yet to come. Our forces and, indeed, all members of the allied groups will be under enormous pressures and will be looking forward to the continuation of the great level of support from Australia.

Nobody would ever suggest that war is easy or pleasant. The immediate television coverage being provided of the Gulf situation will bring some of the horrors of the coming weeks right into the homes of all Australians, and that will give some members in our community the opportunity to promote dissent. But I am hopeful that even in the more difficult phases to come, the great bulk of Australians will continue to give that support that is so much appreciated by our forces.

While so much of the concentration of this debate on the motion correctly rests in the support of our forces, we also acknowledge our confidence in the membership of the coalition forces. Unfortunately, the motion does not specifically acknowledge the leadership that has been provided to the forces acting as a result of the United Nations resolution. There is no doubt that the leadership provided to the world by the United States and Great Britain has been outstanding. It is obvious that without the leadership of President George Bush and the depth of commitment from the United States of

America and Britain, not only would the illegal invasion and occupation of Kuwait have continued but there would have been even greater threats to the stability of the Gulf states and indeed to the future stability of the rest of the world.

I have no doubt that Saddam would not have stopped with Kuwait. Who would have been next in terms of his ambitions? Possibly the emirates, possibly Saudi Arabia. There is no doubt that he alone sees himself as leader of the Arab world. He sees himself as being in total control of the entire Middle East and as having control of the greater part of the world's oil supplies.

The fact that Iraq, a country of only about 17 million people, has the capacity to force the present situation shows what sort of investment Saddam has made in armaments since he came to power in 1979. There is no doubt that his greater dominance of the international oil market would result in an even greater investment in arms—conventional, nuclear or chemical. We would then be faced with an even greater threat to world stability.

Saddam's record shows he would have absolutely no hesitation in using these weapons under any circumstances. Surely there is no better evidence of his record than the nature of the man in recent days, especially in the case of his unprovoked attack on Israel. This was not an attack in self-defence. It was not an attack on military targets. It was a blatant and indiscriminate attack on the civilian population of a non-hostile state in this conflict. Israel is not a member of the allied forces nor has it declared war on Iraq, but that certainly did not stop Saddam. He fired at the innocent residents of Israel, in one of the most cowardly acts in this dispute so far.

The motion before the House today deplores the attacks on Israel and recognises the continuing security of that nation. There is no doubt that Israel has the right to continue to exist within secure boundaries. We can surely understand the feeling of the Israelis and their great desire to respond to the Iraqi attacks, and, with that in mind, I think we should congrat-

ulate them for the restraint they have displayed in these dreadful circumstances. We hope that that restraint will continue and that the added support of Israel by the United States will lead to Israel's direct involvement in the conflict not being necessary.

The Scud missiles launched by Iraq against Israel and Saudi Arabia have the capacity to produce damage in a relatively small area. The Scuds, in their current configuration, are of little military significance and are obviously being used by Saddam purely for psychological purposes, and that is typical of the nature of this man, who was prepared to use such weapons on civilian targets in a country which, at this stage, posed him absolutely no threat.

There is ample evidence that the application of United Nations Security Council resolution 678 was the only way that Saddam Hussein's quest for the complete subjugation of Kuwait and his further ambitions could be halted. While the sanctions have had some effect on Iraq, they have not proved enough for Saddam to get the message. He not only ignored the signals of international condemnation but he blatantly disregarded the pleas and exhortations of the international community that he approach the negotiating table. The sanctions have had little effects on the Iraqi military, and Saddam was not influenced by them.

The Opposition supports this motion. The people of Australia are giving their support to our forces and to our ships in their direct role in the conflict. We trust that we will have a speedy resolution of that conflict, and I am sure the whole House joins with me in wishing our contingent good luck and God speed.

Mr LINDSAY (Herbert) (11.50)—In support of the motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and seconded by the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) I begin my speech by saluting the brave men and women of Australia's Defence Force now serving in the Middle East in the battle to liberate Kuwait. I know they will serve and fight according to the honourable traditions of the Aus-

tralian Defence Force until victory is won. We all pray for their triumph in battle and for their safe return home.

Australia is at war with Iraq. We are at war because on 2 August 1990 Iraq invaded and seized a small Arab nation, Kuwait, which was its neighbour. Twenty-eight countries have sent military personnel and material to the Middle East for the campaign to free Kuwait. Muslim soldiers stand ready, together with thousands of American and British soldiers, to begin the battle of liberation. They are joined by powerful multinational forces at sea and in the air. Australia has two combat warships, HMAS *Brisbane* and HMAS *Sydney*, and a supply vessel, HMAS *Success*, as part of these naval forces. Never in recent memory have so many nations come together to resist aggression. In contrast, only 15 countries contributed military forces to the United Nations during the Korean War.

The decision to commit Australian armed forces to the Gulf conflict came after the most exhaustive search for a peaceful solution to the crisis. The United Nations implored Iraq to leave Kuwait. Envoy after envoy pleaded with Saddam Hussein to withdraw his forces from Kuwait immediately. He contemptuously rebuffed their entreaties.

Saddam Hussein scorned the January 15 deadline imposed by the United Nations. Indeed, on January 14, Iraq's 250-member National Assembly voted by acclamation to go to war rather than bow to United Nations demands to pull out of Kuwait. Deputies rose to their feet and chanted, 'Long live Saddam' and recited Koranic verses extolling the virtue of martyrdom in battle.

Every nation in the civilised world, with the exception of Cuba, Yemen, North Korea and Jordan, has supported the United Nations resolve to free Kuwait by force of arms. We who support the United Nations will win this war. Iraqi forces in Kuwait will be defeated and destroyed. I believe that this task will be accomplished within a short time.

The world was outraged by the Iraqi conquest of Kuwait on 2 August 1990.

The Iraqi conquest was executed with unremitting ferocity. Thousands upon thousands of Kuwaitis have died as a result of the conquest and tens of thousands of Kuwaitis are missing since the 2 August invasion. This once prosperous, independent, peaceful nation has been systematically raped, pillaged and looted. Its people have been subjected to unspeakable atrocities. Among those murdered and maimed are innocent children. The scale of Iraqi barbarism directed against the people of Kuwait defies comprehension and every principle of civilised life.

Reports by Amnesty International contain graphic evidence of an unrestrained Iraqi campaign of murder and torture of Kuwaiti citizens. Youths have been summarily executed at whim, women raped and citizens tortured with unspeakable cruelty. There is a report of a couple taking two children to hospital. On their way, they were stopped at an Iraqi checkpoint and when they asked for mercy, to be allowed to continue on their way, the Iraqi soldier summarily shot their children—'curing them', in his words.

Until the Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait, no country had attempted to annex another separate independent state since the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. What is at stake in this conflict is very clear. It is the inalienable right of a sovereign nation to exist peacefully among the family of nations. The fact is Iraq's aggression challenges world peace. When I spoke on this issue in this House on 4 December last year, I referred to a statement by the United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Jock Covey. It deserves repeating. This is what Jock Covey had to say:

There's something much more fundamental at stake: The vision of a better, more peaceful world beyond the Cold War. Saddam Hussein's aggression presented us with our first challenge to peace and progress in the post-Cold War era. The manner in which we respond to this challenge can set the tone for international relations for decades to come. In this particular instance, if we had done nothing in reaction to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, even without direct aggression against Saudi Arabia and the other gulf states, we would have handed effective control of much of the Near

East to a man who has demonstrated his utter contempt for civilised values.

Had we failed to confront him, all the other states in the region would have been compelled to follow his lead in everything, from oil pricing to his own special brand of Arab chauvinism. If we and our allies decided not to persevere in our efforts to contain and reverse Iraqi aggression, we would have demonstrated to every dictator and potential dictator in the world that we do not possess the political will to deal with ruthlessness. If we do not succeed now against Iraqi aggression, we will still face Saddam Hussein, triumphant, rich, powerful, and unendingly ambitious. If we do not face him now, we will surely face him later, and at a much greater disadvantage.

The United Nations has the responsibility of proving to the world that might does not make right and that aggression will not be allowed to succeed. It is for this reason that President Bush has sought to rally the international community against Iraq's aggression. It is also the reason why the United Nations Security Council has condemned Iraq in resolution after resolution. It is also the reason why 28 countries have sent military forces to the Persian Gulf. It is also the reason why Australia has deployed three of its naval ships in support of the United Nations forces in the Gulf.

Everyone knows that this is a test case for the United Nations. Saddam Hussein must be defeated if the United Nations is to shape a world that lies beyond the Cold War where civilised rules of conduct apply. Australia has a vital interest in an effective United Nations which curbs military adventurism and enforces international law.

There are a number of nations in the South Asian and South East Asian region which have the capacity to acquire a far greater military capability than that currently possessed by Iraq. If any one of these nations were to acquire that capability and pose a threat to regional peace and stability then the consequences for Australia and many other countries would indeed be ominous.

Australia must have sufficient naval combat vessels to ensure the defence of Australia and to honour our alliance responsibilities. We must hasten our naval re-equipment program and we must en-

sure that additional funds are provided for that program.

As a nation that claims to make a major contribution to stability in this region, Australia must continue to maintain its reputation for moral leadership and its military capability. It must continue to build on the strength of its defence alliance with the United States of America. As I have said many times in this House, it is the United States of America that continually provides leadership for the free world that guarantees the success and the survival of liberty. I ask honourable members: if it were not for the firm moral leadership of the United States in the Gulf crisis, who else would have marshalled world opinion and ensured the deployment of sufficient military forces to forcibly remove Iraqi forces from Kuwait? The answer is no-one—not even the United Nations.

It is the planes, the ships and the brave soldiers of the United States of America that form the bulk of the strength of United Nations forces in the Gulf. It is the American taxpayer who is funding the liberation of Kuwait. Take away the forces of the United States and the effort to remove Iraq would assuredly falter and fail.

But why did America take the lead? Why are American kids over there in the desert? Now that the Cold War is over why could the United States not just leave this one alone? The answer has been put very, very clearly by the United States Secretary of State, and I quote:

The Cold War is over alright. We fought and sacrificed and persisted for over 40 years because we would not accept a world that was safe for the likes of Joseph Stalin. The American people have not come this long, hard way to make to the world safe for the likes of Saddam Hussein.

The leadership of President Bush and the shear moral strength of the American people have been magnificent and I salute them. I join with other speakers in support of the motion and I hope and pray, and share my prayers with other Australians, that this conflict may be brought to an end as soon as practicable.

Mr CHANEY (Pearce) (12.00)—With most of the issues capable of being raised

having already been canvassed in this debate on the motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke), I have only two reasons for wishing to add to the debate. Firstly, I believe it is very important for there to be a demonstration of the broadest possible support in this chamber for the Prime Minister's motion—and it certainly has my unequivocal support. The second reason, though, is that I have received a small number of messages from both constituents and friends of mine who are opponents of the motion and who believe that it should be opposed. Those messages are few in number, but they are certainly heartfelt and they are from people for whom I have affection and respect. Those messages seek peace and they seek negotiation and, in deference to the views that have been put to me by those people, I wish to say something in this debate.

I certainly hope that the people of those views understand how strongly those of us who support this motion feel that yes, we too favour negotiation and peace. I think the history of this matter shows that all of the protagonists who have now joined in the alliance to eject Iraq from Kuwait believed in both peace and negotiation. There has been a long delay in the military response. It has been said often in this debate that the invasion took place on 2 August, and the military counter-response by the nations who are opposed to that aggression did not commence until a few days ago. There were endless attempts to achieve negotiation, both through the United Nations (UN) and by direct approaches from many sources.

It seems to me that the demonstration that this is not some peculiar Australian perspective was given to us by the Malaysian Government, which heads a nation which is a Muslim nation and which has a great deal of fraternal feeling for Iraq. The Malaysian High Commissioner chose to distribute to the members of this Parliament a statement by the Foreign Minister of Malaysia on the Gulf crisis made just a few days ago. The statement points out:

As a member of the Security Council then, Malaysia together with other non-aligned countries, had exerted every effort to bring about a peaceful resolution to the conflict without the use of force.

That was the effort of Malaysia and many other nations quite sympathetic to Iraq, and Malaysia expresses itself in this statement as being 'deeply saddened by the outbreak of hostilities'. The Foreign Minister said that since the beginning of the Gulf crisis in August, Malaysia had hoped that Iraq would have abided by all relevant UN resolutions and withdrawn from Kuwait by 15 January, as required by UN resolution 678 to avoid the use of force. The Foreign Minister said in another part of the statement:

Malaysia will not accept the invasion of a weak country by a stronger neighbour. Malaysia is especially distressed that the problems between the two Muslim countries could not be resolved in a spirit of brotherhood that should exist among Muslim nations.

I quote that because the opponents of the motion particularly those outside the Parliament, like to put this conflict forward as being one between the United States (US) and Arab nations—and that is clearly what it is not.

This is an action which has been taken to protect an Arab nation against the aggression and the dreadful conduct of another Arab nation—a nation which has demonstrated throughout this decade a preparedness to act against its own people, against minorities within its own borders, and against neighbouring Arab states—and I reject the presentation which has been made of this as some sort of United States-Arab conflict. It is Iraqi intransigence and aggression which is to blame for the situation in which we now find ourselves.

The issues and arguments have been canvassed again and again, and I respectfully adopt the arguments of the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson), the honourable member for Kooyong (Mr Peacock) and the honourable member for Bennelong (Mr Howard) and, indeed, many other honourable members who have put the case in terms which I would adopt.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait occurred in a year when I think most of us felt there was new hope for peace in the world. There was an extraordinary change for the better; there was the spontaneous and peaceful liberation of central Europe; there was the dismantling of the Cold War; and there was a great optimism, but I think also a clear understanding that we had entered an era of great uncertainties. The extent of those uncertainties is reflected in the actions now taking place in the Baltic states, which unfortunately we are not to have an opportunity to debate during this sitting.

It is in fact a time of opportunity and a time of great risk, and the risk of aggression is demonstrated very clearly by Iraq. Iraq has invaded a neighbouring country; it has repressed and destroyed elements of its own population; it has posed the risk of wider action against countries in the region; and of course it has posed the risk of massive abuse of economic power against the whole of the world. What is happening now has nothing to do with traditional ideological divides. This is a large Arab nation against a small country and of course the whole of the 1980s shows, with respect to the war with Iran, that there is nothing in the sort of ideological divide that many of the opponents of this motion adopt. There is no relevance in that ideological divide to where we find ourselves today.

I want to reject the instinctive anti-Americanism of much of yesterday's demonstration which I think is sadly out of date and utterly irrelevant to the facts. I think the United States is to be thanked for the degree to which they are shouldering the burden, which is a burden which should be borne by the whole of the world. The real division in this debate is between those who believe that war is never justified and those who believe that it is sometimes the only avenue of escape from misery, despotism and destruction.

I listened carefully to what was said by the honourable member for Lilley (Mrs Darling) and I was left thinking: and what then? What if all of these worthy attempts to achieve a peaceful solution failed? Are we to accept that we are impotent, that

nothing can be done other than to lie down in the face of a dictator and a tyrant? Since I reject that argument, I say to those people who have the view that war can never be justified, how can we ever say that the Second World War should not have been fought when there are literally millions of souls who would cry out and say that the tragedy in the Second World War was that the free world did not intervene far earlier to stop the destructive activities which included the near wiping out of the Jewish race.

The only real prospect we have for peace in the world is to have concerted international action. That is what we have here. The only concern that I have about that concerted international action is that the United States has been called upon to take a disproportionate share of the burden, and I would want to thank both President Bush and the people of the United States, and of course principally the men and women of the armed forces of the United States, for their preparedness to assume that burden. I think that we need to remember that just as there are many thousands of Australians who see their sons, their husbands and their parents exposed to risk in this war, there are literally millions of Americans in the same circumstance and our support and concern should go out to them, and I wish to express that view on behalf of myself and many others in this chamber.

The fact is that there is no escape from sacrifice and difficulty. I think that the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition were right to warn this House that there may be very great difficulties ahead. I believe that war requires fortitude, courage and clear sense of direction. Those qualities are needed most for our servicemen and their families and, on behalf of this House, I express to them the hope that they will live up to their responsibilities and that we will live up to ours.

Mr CAMPBELL (Kalgoorlie) (12.09)—I think it was the Duke of Wellington who observed that if your neighbours are church people, you should mark your lambs early. It is advice I have found very profound in my life. I think it also applies to people who moralise, and we have had

no shortage of hyperbole and moralisation in this debate. I do not think this war is going to be a war to end wars. I do not think it will be the beginning of a new order. I think talk of a new order is a nonsense concept.

Hyperbole has abounded. The United Nations is not an institution that I have a lot of time for. It has proved to be a stamping ground for little nations. It is fortunate for the United States that this time it had the backing of the United Nations; on many occasions when it should have had that backing it has not been forthcoming. However, I must say that in terms of hyperbole, in terms of outright stupidity, in terms of the greatest leaps of intellectual dishonesty, those people who are supporting the position of the United States cannot compare with those who are opposed to it.

I do not deny people the right to oppose the action that has been taken. I do not deny that right because I believe wholeheartedly in democracy. However, I have the utmost contempt for them and for the arguments they put forward. I ask myself: where were these people when the original aggression took place? Of course, they were nowhere to be seen. We have seen an outpouring of irrational anti-American feeling, and I do not condone that.

I was appalled by the actions of Jo Vallentine. I hate to give Jo Vallentine any publicity, but it seems that no matter what she does the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) will. Sadly, it has come to my notice that these days if one wants any objectivity in broadcasting, one does not listen to the ABC.

Talking about Jo Vallentine's contribution to peace, during the Vietnam war she joined the National Party of Australia whose policy it was to nuke Vietnam. Now, it is true that, while she does not deny this, she excuses herself on the grounds that she thought it was a social club. The National Party could be described as a lot of things but certainly not as a very social club. One must therefore be left wondering about the sagacity, the wisdom, the depth of understanding, of

Jo Vallentine. Obviously she does not have them. What she does have is a lawless grasp of opportunism.

The reality in world affairs is that all superpowers will always pursue what they perceive to be their short term interests. They are not always right, but they perceive them to be their interests. Middle powers such as Australia will invoke morality; they will try to invoke logic and the forces of right, truth and justice, et cetera. That is not to say that superpowers do not do those things, but their motivating power is always self-interest. They can do that because they can get away with it. If we could get away with it, we would too. I just want to give the lie to the taunts of morality.

We must look at the genesis of the problem in the Middle East. It did not just occur and it makes me sick to hear Saddam Hussein claim that he is a champion of the Palestinians. Saddam Hussein has never given a damn about the Palestinians. It is interesting that we have not seen many of the Palestinians in Kuwait supporting Saddam Hussein. The Palestinians in Kuwait were quite comfortable. They got a good deal there and many of them prospered. However, the Palestinian problem is part of the issue; there is no getting away from that.

On 18 September 1982, 328 Palestinians were killed in the camps in Sabra and Shatila. There are a thousand Palestinians missing as a result of that exercise. I believe that I was the first Australian into that camp after the massacre—I was there a few days later—and what I saw made an indelible impression on me. It was a blatant act of terrorism. While the massacre was carried out by the Falange, Israel cannot escape responsibility. In fact, it is probably not known by many people, but the hospitals at Sabra and Shatila were staffed by Australian, British, New Zealand and Danish nurses, in about that order of numbers, the majority being Australian. One Australian nurse said to me, 'You can't tell me that the Israelis were not involved because Israeli soldiers were there'. I said to her, 'What utter nonsense, they all look the same. How could you possibly tell?'. She said, 'In Lebanon it is

easy; everyone speaks Arabic. If you don't speak Arabic, you don't come from Lebanon. They had soldiers there who did not speak Arabic. You might speak English, you might speak French, you might speak all three languages, but everybody speaks Arabic'. That was her view. It is not substantial proof, but certainly enough to leave a lingering doubt. Whether that is true or not, Israel was undoubtedly involved in that exercise.

It is an irony that Israel was the first state to institutionalise terrorism as a policy. The actions of the Stern gang from the early 1940s onwards were the genesis of terrorism as a state policy. It is also true to say that they would not have succeeded in Israel without the support at the time of the Americans.

Having said that, we come to the bottom line: Iraq is a warlike state. It is a state geared entirely for war. I happened to catch the words of the honourable member for Swan (Mr Beazley) in this debate and there was a lot of very sound logic in what he had to say. Iraq's actions were inexcusable. Its attack on a smaller state is beyond justification. Its treatment of the people of that state appals me. No Arab country could stand against the power of Iraq. I can assure honourable members that had the Iraqis succeeded in Kuwait it would not have been long before they were into Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia would have lasted little longer than did Kuwait.

I believe that President Bush's actions have been impeccable. I do not think any president has ever ticked the boxes of appropriate action as much as President Bush has. I believe we are fortunate that the United States still has the will to pursue this sort of measure because it is making it harder for people to behave in this very antisocial manner.

The dangers facing us are great. In many ways Iraq holds a stacked deck. There are many ways in which Iraq can win. Of course, it could have a straight-out win—a highly improbable situation, given the power ranged against it, but there could be a win for Iraq. If Iraq is expelled from Kuwait but maintains its own power, it is

a win for Iraq. If the state of Iraq fights for a considerable time but is completely overtaken, with enormous loss of life, it will still be a win for Iraq. If Saddam Hussein is killed but becomes a legend in Iraq, it will be a win for Iraq. There are a lot of things going for Iraq.

On the other hand, we face grave dangers. To succeed we have to win. We have to win quickly and we have to win with minimum loss. But we cannot afford to lose, for historic reasons. We must be sure that we do not lose our nerve, that we do not lose our faith. We must not shirk the pursuit of ultimate victory. The victory must be complete and it must lead to a willingness to restructure the boundaries in that area. Let us not kid ourselves: all those boundaries are fabricated. We must be prepared to look at Jordan as a Palestinian state. In my view, King Hussein has forfeited any right to run that state. It should more properly be a Palestinian democracy. People have condemned the royal family in Kuwait, but they are infinitely preferable to the thugs who rule Iraq. However, in Kuwait there are large numbers of other peoples; Palestinians outnumber Kuwaitis. In my view, we should be pushing for a democracy in that country. I believe that a democracy in Kuwait would give it the will and the ability to defend itself against incursions from other powers.

If we shirk this, if we shirk the pursuit of total victory, we will have betrayed the fighting men and women we have sent to do our will. I hope that we as a nation are not sacked, by the misguided behaviour we have seen—

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Les Scott)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

MR McGAURAN (Gippsland) (12.20)—As with most if not all other honourable members, I have engaged in debate in recent days with fellow Australians opposed to the Gulf war. There is obviously much common ground. Firstly, war is utterly abhorrent and the killing and maiming of any human life, whether friend or foe, is unconscionably cruel. Secondly, the Gulf war will not address the political

consequences of Islamic fundamentalism and Arab nationalism as demonstrations in Algeria, Pakistan and Jordan to date have shown. However, those demonstrations are nowhere near as widespread or large in number as we could rightly have expected. Thirdly, it is not possible to ensure, let alone guarantee, that security and stability will follow the Gulf war in the Middle East.

These observations made by the anti-war movement are essentially correct, and they have been used to advance the give-the-sanctions-a-chance lobby. However, this lobby will not objectively examine the worth or otherwise of sanctions. The idea that Saddam would be forced to quit Kuwait because of the strength of the sanctions is myopic; it is so patently ridiculous a notion that I find it hard to accept the sincerity of those who proffer it. After five months the sanctions—and they would appear to have been as watertight as the international community could make them—were not working. According to those journalists stationed in Baghdad and Iraq at large, there were shortages of almost nothing. It seems that the very long border of several hundred kilometres with Iran allowed for the influx of a great deal of goods, almost certainly on a black market basis. In any event, the United Nations will have to examine very carefully at a later time why the sanctions were not working to the extent that could reasonably have been expected and who was responsible for breaking them.

Moreover, the give-the-sanctions-a-chance lobby has not considered the implications of its own strategy, because 12 months of sanctions as a minimum period, which is what has been suggested, would have required the maintenance of a Western and Arab force in Saudi Arabia. The political consequences of that are very serious for countries like Egypt and Saudi Arabia. There was the risk that the Western alliance would not hold up, given the unilateral actions on a number of occasions by France, for example.

But the greatest destroyer of the myth of sanctions other than the fact that they have not worked to date and would not

have worked is that there was no time. Saddam was systematically destroying, dismantling piece by piece in a very physical way, the nation of Kuwait. It would have ceased to have existed by the time sanctions could have affected the flow of foodstuffs into Iraq in any minimal sort of way.

Moreover, what about the suffering of Kuwaitis whilst we waited supposedly for sanctions to take effect in the years to come? We know that the suffering of Kuwaitis is immense. There has been summary execution, imprisonment and torture. Saddam's occupation of Kuwait would have been irreversible, I would have thought, within the next few months but certainly within that time period that we might have expected sanctions to work, as they have against South Africa. It should be borne in mind that those sanctions have been in place many years. So the sanctions argument does not hold up.

We were therefore left with making every possible diplomatic effort to force Saddam to quit Kuwait. Could anybody argue that there has been an unprecedented attempt by the United Nations and any number of individual countries throughout the world to force Saddam to recognise the 12 United Nations resolutions calling upon him to leave Kuwait? I believe as strongly and as passionately as the peace brigade that not to have used force against Saddam after 15 January would have been appeasement. Appeasement would shortly have caused far greater hardship and suffering than the present Gulf war.

The occupation of Kuwait was not the result of some mass movement or popular uprising. It was the action of a cruel despot of the kind that has used chemical warfare against the minority Kurds, who has personally killed people and who has installed a regime of the utmost ferocity in his own country. Moreover—and this is one of our greatest fears as it seems certain that we will move to land based warfare—he has no care or concern about casualties amongst his own forces.

What choice did the United Nations have but to employ force? Saddam

Hussein would have gone further than Kuwait. What is this image that the anti-war demonstrators have built up of Saddam—that he is reasonable, that he can be negotiated with, as if that has not been tried, that he would have been satisfied with Kuwait? What is this air of unreality that pervades their arguments that we should give sanctions a chance or embark upon a new round of negotiations? Why would he have stopped at Kuwait? There are other small and vulnerable countries in that region besides Kuwait.

I believe that the resolve of Australians will be very severely tested in the very near future. I do not know why people were so ecstatic with the first wave of multinational air strikes against Baghdad and Iraq. After all, the United States Military Commander in the Middle East, General Norman Schwarzkopf, warned us only two weeks ago that he envisaged a conflict lasting six months. Even the best estimates have told us for a very long time now that the conflict would go on for several weeks. So it is inescapable that there will be casualties, and I very much fear that the present support of Australians could be weakened.

My colleagues have touched upon the role of the United Nations and the leadership role provided by the United States. There is rhetoric and an element of dreaming of the new world order that will result, but what one can say definitively is that following the breakdown of the Cold War we have an opportunity at the very worst to severely restrict the ability and intentions of future dictators to acquire other countries. That is the very worst one can say, and it may be that we can, through the United Nations, stop them once and for all.

We are asked to respect the anti-war movement, and for many of them I do have a deep and abiding respect. But I am left with some puzzling questions. Why has there not been a single demonstration, at least to my knowledge, outside the Iraqi Embassy or any public protest against Saddam's actions? Why have the anti-war activists not mentioned the plight of the Baltic states, let alone paraded past the

Soviet Embassy or any of its consulates? Firstly, they stand accused of seizing on the issue of sanctions, which is so obviously ridiculous as to sow confusion and weaken the resolve of Australians, and, secondly, of being out and out hypocrites.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Les Scott)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mrs KELLY (Canberra—Minister for the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories) (12.30)—When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait last August he not only began the Gulf war and another episode in the 3,000-year history of conflict in the region; he also began six months of argument and anguish for us. What did we, here in far off Australia, think about the war? What were we going to do about it? Not for the first time in our brief 90 years of nationhood, the sound of a distant Middle East battle rang in the ears of Australians. In terms of Australian distances, it is just a drive from Kuwait to places that my father and the fathers and grandfathers of other Australians knew well: Beersheba, the Sinai, El Alamein. It is a ferry ride to Crete and Gallipoli.

Australians have been dying for principles in the Middle East for nearly as long as we have been an independent member of the family of nations. Perhaps some of these principles seem today to be a little less obvious than they once did. Perhaps the nobility of Gallipoli derives some of its power for us as an emblem of the war to end all wars not only from its failure as an invasion but from its utter pointlessness. Principles are often easily destroyed in the crucible of war, but sometimes they are alloyed into something much bigger and stronger. For Australians, I think Gallipoli is an example of both ideas. We must hope that in the heat of the fighting and the long hours of television coverage, we can keep our principles in focus.

The question I have been painfully thinking about and worrying about in the past six months—with all the responsibilities of a Cabinet Minister—has been whether the principles involved are more

important to us as Australians than the tragic costs of war. I have been wrestling with whether the price involved in allowing Iraq to invade, occupy and destroy Kuwait and its people is worth paying.

Not doing something has implications for the prospects of a peaceful world in our lifetime and for the political stability of the Middle East. If Saddam were allowed to corner the oil market, he could well create the conditions for a world economic catastrophe that would have a profound effect on rich and poor nations alike.

There are plenty of reasons why I might have thought our involvement in the Gulf not worth it. As a woman and a mother of young children, I find the idea of war abhorrent. I found it very difficult to be party to sending the daughters and sons of other Australian mothers to the Persian Gulf. But hearing of the atrocities committed on Kuwaiti women and children by Saddam and his men has been sickening. That Saddam has ordered the use of quite disgusting chemical weapons against Iraqi women and children who happen also to be Kurdish is a gruesome measure of his twisted nature. In the end, I believe that the quicker Saddam is evicted from Kuwait and the more swiftly he is driven from power in Iraq by his own people, the sooner the suffering in those places will be relieved.

Many women, especially those in the peace movement, find this sort of argument unacceptable. They think that however terrible the crimes of Saddam, overall suffering is not lessened by participating in yet another man's war. They think there are no principles, political or otherwise, powerful enough to overcome the cause of peace. They believe that by doing nothing militarily, we might make the problem go away. They say that we should have given peace a longer chance.

But we gave Saddam a chance to get out of Kuwait. We gave him six months of chances and diplomacy. He simply ignored the request and ground the jack-boot harder into the faces of Kuwaiti and Iraqi women and children. Saddam does not care one iota about the suffering of

his people and he has not given a single glimmer of hope in any of that time that he might leave Kuwait voluntarily—not one wink or nod that there may be a peaceful solution. That is the reason why we know that his heart is totally impervious to world opinion and sanctions.

Peace is not worth buying at any price. As the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) rightly says, we cannot just wish for peace; sometimes we have to fight for it. To the Kuwaitis, peace and freedom are not abstract concepts; they are practical impossibilities because their country is occupied by half a million men with guns. As Australian women, the only way we can give peace a chance is to join the world community in making Saddam leave Kuwait. There may well have been other regimes as odious as this one, other invasions of neighbouring countries and other United Nations resolutions, but all of them took place at a different time and in a different historical context. Perhaps we have not always done the right thing in the past, but that should not prevent us from doing the right thing now. That is what learning from history is all about.

Another reason I might have been opposed to our involvement in the Gulf is that I was opposed to the Australian and American involvement in Vietnam. That opposition was the major reason I joined the Australian Labor Party. I was not against the war in Vietnam because I was a pacifist; I was against it because the United States and Australia participated in a furtive intervention in what began as a civil war. That participation became a full scale invasion of Vietnam and ended in defeat.

Many of us had what I might call political objections to the Vietnam war—to Australia's involvement, to conscription and to a wide range of social and cultural matters. Our aim was to end our involvement in South East Asia. The unhappy years that followed were largely caused by American and, in a minor way, Australian intervention. Our involvement was the result of a particular political conjunction in the post-colonial depth of the Cold War. The Iron Curtain and the Bamboo Curtain then shrouded our real national

interests and ways in which peace in the region might have been achieved.

Today the political landscape is quite different and our relationship with all its component parts is quite different as well. But one thing is the same: I wanted the invading troops out of Vietnam; I want them out of Kuwait.

The last reason I want to cite for why I might be opposed to going to war over Kuwait is that I am Minister for the environment. There is no question but that under a worst case scenario, the environmental effects of the war would be very serious. Should Saddam set fire to a thousand Kuwaiti oilwells as a final scorched earth throw of the dice before he left, some 3 million barrels of oil would go up in smoke every day, creating between half a million tonnes and 3 million tonnes of smoke a month. It would take a year to put out those fires.

That could create a cloud of dense black smoke stretching for thousands of kilometres, blocking out the sun and lowering local temperatures by between five and 20 degrees, with subsequent effects on food production. Should the prevailing winds carry the smoke towards India during the northern spring and summer, there is a chance the monsoons might fail; so might water and food supplies. Short term cooling, however, might lead to a long term warming because of the amount of carbon dioxide generated by the burning oil. The additional carbon dioxide might add 5 per cent to existing greenhouse emissions. To these problems we might add the possibility of regional acid rain because of the sulphur dioxide and the oxides of nitrogen produced by the burning oil which would impact on lakes, forests and buildings. Pollution from oil spills, ruptured pipelines and damaged or sunk tankers is a danger. Of course, there could be the effects from the use of chemical and biological weapons.

These are, of course, worst case scenarios. We are hopeful that they will not eventuate. So far they have not; let us hope they do not. I believe that the worst case will not occur but expect that there will be serious environmental damage in

the area. Would the danger to the world environment be any less by allowing Saddam Hussein to remain in control of Kuwait? Would leaving him the power to use chemical, biological and even nuclear weapons against any nation of the region or licensing their use by terrorist groups in the rest of the world be of benefit to the environment? I think not.

Australia has in recent years become a significant, independent and progressive voice on the environment in the forums of the world. The environment is an issue for the whole world, where the actions of each nation affect the people of all the other nations. Australia has to stand up and be counted as an independent member of the United Nations, because in the world political environment the actions of a rogue state such as Iraq affect every other state. The only way to give peace a chance in the Gulf is for Iraq to leave Kuwait immediately so as to set the scene for a long term solution for the region's historical problems.

No-one in this House wanted war less than I did six months ago. Today I believe that there will be no peace in the Middle East without winning one, and that is why I support this motion.

Dr BOB WOODS (Lowe) (12.39)—Some six months ago Iraq invaded Kuwait without warning and without any prior dispute. In the days and weeks which followed, Iraqi forces murdered, raped, brutalised and pillaged, savagely attacked innocent men, women and children and terrorised the population. No justification was given except a spurious claim that Kuwait had once belonged to Iraq—a gross distortion of the complex history of the old Mesopotamia region.

The United Nations, following extensive debates, resolved to condemn Iraq's naked and unjustified act of aggression, to demand an immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait, to impose sanctions on Iraq and to authorise the use of force if other actions, including many influential diplomatic interventions, failed. In these matters the United Nations (UN) was more united and more resolute than at any time in its history. It is important

to note that the UN consistently refused to agree to any conditions of withdrawal, including attempts to link proposals for conferences and solutions on the Palestinian problem.

For five months the sanctions were enforced and innumerable private and diplomatic missions were undertaken, all to no avail. Iraq continued its brutality and pillaging and sought to use hostages as human shields in the vicinity of defence targets. Ultimately, the UN set 15 January as the final date for Iraqi withdrawal. By so doing nations of the world indicated that they saw no value and, indeed, only further suffering in delaying any further. All those who take the view that sanctions should have been given more time should note these UN conclusions, based upon an evaluation that the effect of the sanctions was not enough to have the severe impact on the economy and the military power of Iraq which was necessary to force a withdrawal by that country.

Few, if any, argue about the justice of the coalition cause. Iraq is regarded almost universally as a dangerous and bloody aggressor, a bully moulded after the bullying characteristics of its leader. Some people argue that this is a war in United States interests—a war to preserve US oil interests and that, therefore, we should have no part in it. Clearly the war is primarily to resist and reject aggression. Clearly it is also to stop Iraq's illegal acquisition of oilfields and its threat of invasion of Saudi Arabia, the success of which would allow Iraq to dictate oil prices and so damage the whole world economy. Such an effect, I might point out, would not be on just the affluent nations which have energy reserves and alternatives and which by and large can survive recessions but more importantly on the thousands of millions of people in developing nations who have no alternatives to the use of oil and who would face the use of more and more of their export earnings to buy oil.

No reasonable person wants war. Whether we seek the maintenance of a just peace in the forums of parliaments or law courts or we elect to demonstrate

in the streets or in this House, our aim is peace. Those who demonstrate in the streets, the so-called peace network, do not have a monopoly on the desire for peace. No sane person in this country wants anything other than peace. The questions at issue are the mechanisms of achieving this goal and the price we are willing to pay.

But first, what do we mean by peace, and is peace a goal in itself? Do we mean peace at any price? Do we reject the use of force totally? Are we willing, if all diplomacy fails, to give in to the aggressor? Is peace simply the absence of war or does it also require the achievement of justice and freedom? Surely the latter. Surely our goal is freedom and justice—a state of peace in which those vital qualities prevail. Those currently on the streets asking for peace at any price have simply not thought through the problem. Their answer is that peace at any price is the goal. The answer of sensible people is that sometimes there is a price, often a tragic price, which must be paid to maintain peace in this world.

If we lived in an ideal world there would be no need to use force to maintain world order. In an ideal nation there would be no need for a police force or prisons or punishments. We do need a police force in our own country. We do need to use force—the minimum needed to enforce our laws and keep the peace.

Throughout history nations have risen to act as local or regional policemen forming empires and developing regional or even world hegemony, for better or worse. In recent decades, however, the old forms of empires have crumbled. Paradoxically, nuclear weapons have made it virtually impossible for superpowers to fight each other. Almost inevitably, a conventional war would see resort to nuclear weapons. There can be smaller conventional wars where the imperative interests of the great powers do not conflict but the superpowers themselves have lost the capacity to maintain empires, as the current crumbling of the Soviet Union reveals.

If there has to be a world policeman, the only feasible body is the UN. If an

aggressor is to be resisted, a process of logical steps within the UN is the obvious way. If the UN approves the use of force if necessary, as it has done, that force must be delivered only after diplomacy has failed, as has been the case here. The impact on the civil population must be minimised. The current military action by the coalition forces seems to conform to these guidelines. We can only pray for a speedy and successful resolution with a minimum of casualties and without inflammation into wider spheres and issues.

One of the great challenges in this conflict is to the maturity of Israel. It is difficult for any individual to turn the other cheek when faced by an aggressor or a bully. It is even more difficult for a nation to turn its collective cheek in the face of such provocation. For Israel to absorb the casualties and blows to its collective pride without retaliating is much more difficult than for it to display its military prowess and, in the act, bloody the nose of its old enemy.

Israel deserves our congratulations for its restraint so far, and our prayers that such restraint may continue in the interests of a speedier end to this war, to a limitation of its extent and to a prolonged peace following the war. This war must never be seen to be a war against the Arab people, a great many of whom are opposed to Saddam Hussein. Early twentieth century history has not been kind to the Arab people of the Middle East region. Decisions made over their heads by great nations and the exploitation of their energy resources have created inevitable bitterness and hostilities.

The last clause of this proposed resolution relates to the importance of a lasting resolution of this conflict and of a durable peace following such a resolution. Sadly, the inclusion of the second part of this clause creates a linkage between the Palestinian question and the invasion of Kuwait. There is no linkage and there should be no such linkage. Indeed, at present the only connection between the Israeli-Palestinian problem and the current conflict is the launching of Scud missiles into Israel.

To create a linkage between the Palestinian problem and this conflict can be interpreted only as offering a reward for aggression and for the invasion of Kuwait. Worse still, creating such a linkage will enhance the standing of Saddam Hussein within the Arab world. He may be seen to be the one who achieved a resolution of the Palestinian question and will hand down the message that he achieved this end by the use of naked, brutal aggression—surely the last message that any of us would want to offer. Any linkage between the Palestinian question and this conflict must be resisted. Indeed, the resolution would be better without the last part of the final paragraph.

In the years ahead we must have a better understanding of the regional problems and a willingness to achieve just solutions. A freed Kuwait would be a good start. It is no use looking over our shoulders at past errors, whether of failure to intervene or of faulty intervention, because we need to build upon the unity of the UN and the cooperation of nations in good faith to seek to achieve a new and practical form of world order.

Some say that this is visionary; perhaps that is so. But with resolution and good faith, such visions can become realities. Let us work for enduring benefits to be derived from this tragic conflict. Someone, apparently anonymous, has said it all so much better than I can:

War is an ugly thing but not the ugliest of things. The decayed and degraded state of moral feeling which sees nothing worth a war is worse . . . A man who has nothing which he cares more about than his self preservation is a miserable creature who has no chance of being free unless made so and kept so by the existence of better men than himself.

Those of our citizens who are in the streets and in other forums protesting about the war in the Middle East should remember that they have the freedom to protest and to speak because of prior generations; because those prior generations were prepared to take a stand against tyranny and aggression. They were prepared to pay the price, however severe that price might have been, however tragic that price might have been. They considered it to be a

price which had to be paid to preserve true peace. It is very important that we look to the future after this war. We should not just look to the winning of the war but to the peace afterwards.

I have been critical of Israel in this House in regard to the Palestinian problem. I have stated that I believe the Israeli Government needs to be more flexible and more understanding and to come to terms with the Palestinian problem. The Palestinian nation does have a right to self-determination. I am on the *Hansard* record as having said this. It is very important that together we resolve this particular problem and the other problems in the region. We will certainly win this war. We must make absolutely certain that we also win the peace.

Mr SNOWDON (Northern Territory—Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Transport and Communications) (12.49)—I rise to support strongly the resolution put to this House by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke), yet I come to this debate with a feeling of ambivalence. I would be less than honest if I did not admit to being very uncomfortable with the notion that force is required to resolve international conflict. My feelings are concerned with the human impact of war, my own abhorrence for it and, of course, the fundamental abuse of human rights through war. However, although I believe strongly in the cause of peace and the sanctity of human life, I am not a pacifist. I find the idea of war abhorrent, yet I acknowledge and accept that there are circumstances when there is no option but to involve the use of force to resolve conflict.

I maintain that, of itself, war is not the complete answer. The fundamental requirement is that the resolution of conflict is just, that the prosecution of war or the use of force, such as in this case, provides the platform to implement a mechanism for a lasting peace. On this occasion, the use of force to expel Iraq from Kuwait will provide the conditions and the platform on which to stabilise and address the myriad problems in the Middle East.

Just as the Second World War provided the conditions for the establishment of the United Nations (UN), in this sense this conflict will be a vehicle and not an end in itself. I accept the sincerity and respect the views of those who are not prepared under any circumstances to accept or contemplate the legitimacy of the use of force to challenge the conduct of nations which resort to violence to subjugate, abuse, pilfer and despoil other nations and peoples. My hope is that out of this conflict will come a United Nations that is in a position to prevent and similarly oppose any future abrogation of the sovereignty of one country by another, not selectively but uniformly.

It is a tragic historical fact that conditions have not previously existed for the United Nations to have taken such a forthright position to other invasions such as, for example, that of East Timor which, to our everlasting shame, was sanctioned by a Labor Prime Minister and government.

Although it is impossible to rewrite history, it is of vital importance that in the future we assert that roles such as that played by the UN in this instance will be developed and encouraged in the hope that the notion of collective security will inhibit future conflicts.

I have not been blinded by what will inevitably be the successful prosecution of this conflict by the United Nations forces. I am aware of the shortcomings of the United Nations and the historical abuses of position by permanent members of the Security Council at various times. We should be aware of the inconsistencies of their respective positions on the broader questions in the Middle East. But the bottom line is that the world community cannot allow Saddam Hussein and those who follow him to continue to perpetrate the barbarities he has inflicted, and continues to inflict, on his own people and on the people of Kuwait. Those barbarities are epitomised by his current threat to use prisoners of war as shields.

It is trite to say 'Give peace a chance', but what chance did Hussein give his own people, the Kurds, or the Kuwaitis? I ac-

knowledge the depth of feeling of those who have a different view on this conflict and support absolutely their right to express their views—the fundamental right of a democracy.

As the last world war drew to a close it was Australia which played a leading role in the formation of the United Nations in which the world put its hopes for peace, security and justice. Even before the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it was Australia which was arguing and actively lobbying for the formation of an international forum to address the needs of the new world order which would rise from the ashes.

It was our country which played such a vital role in developing the mechanisms for international dialogue. I am thinking in this instance particularly of the visionary work of Dr H.V. Evatt, who stood in the Australian Parliament on 8 September 1944 to urge all Australians to support Australian efforts aimed at assisting the establishment of the United Nations. He said:

... measures aiming at security against war should be based upon a world organization.

He declared that the aim of the United Nations should be firstly—and I quote:

... the maintenance of world peace, and second the promotion of economic and social welfare.

So, too, must our thoughts even now be turning to the strengthening of the United Nations and the preparations for a lasting peace in the Middle East. Evatt said:

Lasting world peace is not a negative but a positive concept. It is not enough to undertake obligations not to resort to arms or by the application of force to carry out a particular executive decision to settle a justiciable dispute before a permanent or ad hoc international tribunal. A permanent system of security can be made effective and acceptable only if it has a foundation in economic justice. Indeed, the real stability in the post-war period can be achieved only by building a way of life in which the various nations and peoples can live together in prosperity as well as in security.

It was for this reason that the Australian Government took the position during the formation of the UN that non-security matters covering economic, social and welfare plans should be pushed with vigour. The same principles hold true today

as we ponder the role of the United Nations following the war in the Middle East.

As I said, I am not blinded by the ideology of the United Nations. We recognise that there are real shortcomings in that body. I represent many people in my electorate who are appalled by the lack of action in past conflicts by the United Nations, particularly in the case of East Timor. However, we recognise the reality that the United Nations is far from being developed to the point where it can fulfil all the hopes and aspirations that we hold for it, but equally we can all recognise that the process of developing the United Nations into a true world body is far from complete. There are problems of financial dependence, of greater nations being more equal than smaller nations, of might driving the perception of what is right. That is the current reality and we would be foolish to argue otherwise. Now is not the time to withdraw from the ideal, however, of the United Nations. Now is the time to push vigorously to pursue the goal.

We must find a solution to the military problems of the Middle East. We must bring the current war to a speedy conclusion, minimising military and civilian losses. We must as an international community face up to the long term security questions of the Middle East. We must look to the long term social and economic future of that part of the world. In that context, without question the United Nations must address the position of the Palestinians as well as guaranteeing the security of Israel. It is imperative that planning begin now for a major UN conference on the Middle East and that this be seen as an integral component of the peace process.

Mr Deputy Speaker, I represent an area in which great concern has been expressed about the current conflict. I have heard from defence personnel and families. Ordinary citizens from as far away as Uluru and Groote Eylandt have taken the time to contact my office to express their views. Peace campaigners in Alice Springs, Tennant Creek, Katherine and Darwin have

held quiet and dignified vigils and rallies to show their concern.

As the first raid on Baghdad was taking place last Thursday, 400 Aboriginal people at Galiwinku on Elcho Island marched from a traditional burial site in support of a peaceful resolution to the Gulf conflict. I use that example to underline the fact that no part of our nation is excluded from the reality of what is taking place.

I join wholeheartedly with our Government in expressing my concern and support for those 884 Australian servicemen and women in the Gulf and in assuring their families and friends that we will do everything—I stress, absolutely everything—to work for their safe return. I further endorse the very strong message of support from our Government for the many Australians who were born in or continue to have strong links with the Middle East. I condemn in the strongest possible terms those very few in our community who have attempted to use this disaster to promote racial division and hatred.

Mr Deputy Speaker, no use of violence is good. It is unreasonable to expect the population of Australia to say that we believe that war is in this instance the only solution, but it is also reasonable to assess that sometimes the use of force is necessary.

Dr KEMP (Goldstein) (12.59)—I rise today to speak in favour of this most important motion concerning the Gulf crisis. I want to pay tribute to the many fine speeches we have heard in the House over the last two days. I am proud to identify myself with the sentiments expressed in those speeches. In particular, I wish to emphasise and echo the uncompromising condemnation of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, to express my full support for the actions of the multinational force, to endorse the condemnation of Iraq's unprovoked attack against civilian areas in Israel, and finally to pay tribute to the role being played by our armed forces in this endeavour.

In doing so, I feel confident that I express the views of the majority of the residents of the electorate which I repre-

sent. Whilst deeply regretting the need for war, I am confident that they look upon the role being played by Australia and our armed forces with pride. I can well appreciate the anguish which the Australian Jewish community, with its family, spiritual and cultural links with Israel, is experiencing as it witnesses Iraq's reprehensible attacks on that country. Equally, many Arab Australians will also feel the pain as war threatens their families and the countries from which they come.

The motion before this House supports the intensification of efforts to deal with other problems afflicting the Middle East after Iraq has been defeated. These issues faced the region before the invasion of Kuwait and will continue to do so. Saddam Hussein did not put them on the agenda. Will his defeat facilitate their solution? There are underlying lessons which this conflict holds for us all and which have implications for the future of the Middle East.

There are many causes of war and conflict, but one cause stands out from all the others. It is the political system of the aggressor nation. For if the many wars that we have witnessed this century have proved one thing, it is that democratic nations do not wage war against each other. Democratic nations do become involved in conflict, as they are involved in conflict now, but this involvement is of a particular kind. In the vast majority of cases it is either defensive or responsive to a threat.

Let us make no mistake: the wars of this century, international and civil wars which have killed some 36 million people, have had their origin in the actions of dictatorships and authoritarian regimes as their rulers seek to preserve and increase their power. Such regimes have inflicted an even greater toll on their own citizens. One hundred and nineteen million people this century have been killed by the authoritarian governments of their own countries.

A kind of peace between democracies and dictatorships is possible, but it is inevitably armed peace. The great unde-

fended borders of the world are between democracies; between countries such as France and Germany or Canada and the United States. Democracy, with its checks and balances and its responsiveness to public sentiment, instils a certain morality into a nation's political processes. Dictatorships pervert this morality.

Democratic nations are not easily led into war, with all its cost and suffering. Democracies do not shoot opponents of the government; dictatorships like Iraq do. Democracies do not launch chemical warfare attacks against their own citizens; dictatorships like Iraq do. Democracies do not attack and annex other sovereign nations; dictatorships like Iraq do.

Those committed to peace in this country should above all be advocates for democracy. In effect, those who oppose Australia's participation in collective security arrangements are saying that aggressive dictatorship should be allowed to triumph. Such people must tell us much better than they have done so far how aggressive dictatorship is to be restrained. Some say that we should give sanctions more time, but I ask: could sanctions really have succeeded? Could sanctions really have had any impact on a man who ruthlessly sacrificed the lives of hundreds of thousands of his citizens in his futile eight-year war with Iran? Saddam Hussein's Iraq launched its war against Iran and then against Kuwait because it lacks the checks and balances that a democratic system provides. Saddam is not accountable to his people; he is not responsible to them; they have been cowed into submission.

What I have to say has implications for the Middle East in the post-Gulf crisis era. Some have provided a rosy vision for the post-crisis era. It has been said in this House that when Kuwaiti sovereignty is restored the conditions for peace and stability in the Middle East will have been established. This is not the case. The restoration of Kuwaiti sovereignty will achieve the objects of the United Nations sanctioned force; a historic achievement. It will remove a very great threat to stability.

The development of the concept of collective security will have provided a sobering lesson to the Saddam Husseins of this world, but it will leave us well short of establishing the conditions for peace and stability in the Middle East. For the fundamental problem of the Middle East remains: the Middle East is largely bereft of true democracies. Only in Israel do we find a flourishing multi-party democracy. For the moment at least, the democratic revolution of the world has passed by the Middle East and Africa.

I invite honourable members to consider the Arab-Israeli conflict within the context of what I have just said. The intensive efforts to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict will require a form of peace treaty. Peace treaties, not to mention other forms of international conventions and agreements, are taken seriously by democratic nations. They are not entered into lightly and they are carefully adhered to. The same cannot be said for dictatorships. Let us not for one moment forget that not long ago Iraq and Kuwait were allies. Kuwait was a strong supporter of Iraq in its war with Iran. Both were members of the Arab League. There were tensions between the two nations before the conflict but, rather than overstate these tensions as some have been inclined to do, I prefer to discount them.

Saddam Hussein has the morality of the common thief eyeing a poorly guarded treasure. He is merely more brutal and better equipped and nothing was going to stop him—not past friendship, not treaties, not common membership of organisations such as the Arab League. The tensions that some have referred to were not the cause of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait; they were the excuse.

If this is not proof enough, Iraq's abhorrent violation of the Geneva Convention, to which it is a signatory, with respect to prisoners of war yet again demonstrates the contempt of dictatorships for the norms of international law. It will be with Iraq and with other nations with repressive regimes such as Syria with which Israel will sign any comprehensive peace treaty. Furthermore, the continued internecine conflict within the Palestine

Liberation Organisation, as evidenced by the murder of three PLO members by a rival faction last week, demonstrates that democracy has yet to take root in that Organisation.

When we preface our remarks about solving the Arab-Israeli conflict with a statement on protecting Israel's security we perhaps ought to reflect on this fact: the point we cannot forget is that fundamentally the Arab-Israeli dispute is not about land; it is about lack of trust, insecurity and fear. This lack of trust cannot be adequately addressed when some of the combatants lack the freedom of debate, the checks and balances that are a feature of democratic society. Noteworthy is the fact that the Arab nation which comes closest to matching a Western democracy, Egypt, is also the one nation in the Middle East which has entered into a peace treaty with the State of Israel.

If solutions in this region of the world are to be enduring, if crises such as we have had in the Gulf are to be avoided, then democracy in the region must be strengthened. This is not impossible. Ten years ago we might have been derisory at the thought that the Filipino people would resist Marcos's tanks; that Mandela and de Klerk would sit down together, and that the German people would rip down the Berlin Wall. Dictatorships are inherently unstable and in time democracy will take root in the Middle East. Then, I believe, we will begin to see the afflictions that have tormented that unhappy region dissipate and actions such as Australia has engaged in become merely parts of the historical record.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Hon. J.D.M. Dobie)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr HOLDING (Melbourne Ports) (1.10)—The issues involved in this proposed resolution are many and complex. Many of them have been canvassed by previous speakers and I do not propose to reiterate those arguments, the majority of which I certainly adopt. For me, the major issue is whether we stand by and support the implementation of United Nations resolutions and endeavour by so

doing to create an international structure that has the capacity to give effect to its own resolutions. The fact that Cold War tensions may in the past have prevented the United Nations from exercising this very important role is simply to argue that one compounds past failures and transforms them into virtues.

Resolution 678 was the last of 12 resolutions designed to encourage the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait following their invasion on 2 August last year. Saddam Hussein has simply used the six months of diplomatic effort to strengthen his occupation forces in Kuwait and, at the same time, having taken civilian hostages, he has called for the extension of the conflict to involve Israel in a jihad or holy war. He has ignored international conventions and laws and threatened to use chemical and biological warfare. In that situation do we, as a member of the United Nations, having regard to the previous decisions of this House, simply walk away and say, 'War is too difficult'? In that case we would be placing the United Nations in the position of the League of Nations—a voiceless edifice whose resolutions mean nothing because they cannot be backed up with sanctions.

I support this proposed resolution and the implications that go with it. In the short time available to me I want to concentrate on one aspect of this dispute, that is, the attempt by Saddam Hussein to involve the state of Israel in this dispute and to endeavour to obtain a linkage with the Palestinian issue in order to get broad support within the Arab world.

Let me say at the outset that since its inception no nation state has been the subject of so many separate acts of invasion or single acts of terrorism as the state of Israel and its citizens. The attempt by Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) supporters in Australia to equate Israeli control of occupied territories with Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait is a perverse attempt to represent Israel's control of the occupied territories as resulting from a similar armed act of aggression to that of Saddam Hussein's, instead of from its defence of its own

state and its people following a whole series of invasions which have occurred since the creation of the infant state of Israel.

This is not to ignore the plight of the Palestinians or their need for a homeland. History has indicated that the right of the state of Israel to exist within secure and defined borders is and must be a condition precedent for a peaceful resolution of Palestinian aspirations.

The double standards of some Australian PLO supporters is breathtaking. The slaughter of Palestinian workers by a mentally deranged Israeli citizen is for them a matter of international condemnation. But the launching of notoriously inaccurate Scud missiles by Saddam Hussein on the civilian populations of Tel Aviv and Haifa, centres of Arabic and Israeli populations, is a matter that is not worthy of comment. I have yet, in any modern technology, to see any evidence that a Scud or any other missile can be directed to the exclusive destruction of Israeli citizens.

The defeat of Iraq and Saddam Hussein, while it will solve some of the immediate issues in the occupation of Kuwait, will bring with it a new and fresh set of problems that need to be answered. It is, I believe, regrettable that members of the PLO leadership have tied themselves and their future to that of Saddam Hussein. In the words of one eminent PLO spokesman, they are 'in the trenches with Saddam Hussein'. That is their decision, and they live with the responsibility of that decision, just as we in this Parliament are going to have to live with the responsibility of our decision. But given that situation, I can see no way in which members of the PLO can expect to have any kind of effective relationship with this Government, this Parliament or its representatives while they see themselves as being 'in the trenches with Saddam Hussein'.

While the passage of this proposed resolution will create problems for the Government and this Parliament, it will also provide some opportunities. For the first time there will be an opportunity to develop the United Nations as a major

international structure, able and equipped to resolve international disputes within the framework of international laws and conventions. I believe that is an immensely significant historical development for the future of all mankind. I hope that past failures, past difficulties, that emanated from Cold War tensions can be put behind us as we try to build a new structure which has the capacity to enforce its resolutions. If that is successful, it will represent mankind's long term hope for the peaceful resolution of international disputes.

Whatever the outcome of the current tensions and the situation that now exists in the Gulf, and while I share the hope that has been expressed by all members for the ultimate defeat of Saddam Hussein, we should not delude ourselves that that will solve some of the problems that continue to bedevil that whole area. It will still leave us with the unresolved question of the Syrian occupation of Lebanon. It will still leave us with the continuing issues relating to the rights of the Kurdish and Armenian peoples—displaced people who have undergone considerable persecution. It will also leave us to face up to the question of the future of the Palestinians.

Some of the comments that have been made by my colleagues in the debate on this proposed resolution—that this Parliament, its members and its relevant committees should be addressing some of these issues now—are important and should not be overlooked. Problems will arise from a victorious result over Saddam Hussein. It is, I think, one of the odd facts of history that as one solves one set of problems the very solution contains a new set of problems.

I stand by the proposed resolution of the Parliament and of the Government. I welcome the support that has come from members of the Opposition. I have sympathy for many conscientious objectors. In particular I have respect for those who are prepared to put their lives on the line in the Middle East. I must say, however, that I am disappointed by some of the glib assertions and slogans which have supplemented some of the actions we have

seen in this Parliament in the last 24 hours.

I would simply say to some of my colleagues who believe that under no circumstances should we ever support a war of this kind that, if we had not taken an opposite view to that which was expressed by them in this place, both in the public galleries and in the Parliament, when war was threatened by Adolf Hitler, then the right of some of those members and some of those people to express their views in this Parliament may well not have been possible. There is a time when people do have to take a stand in the interests of freedom and the rights of ordinary citizens. I believe that at heart that is what has motivated this Government, this proposed resolution and this Parliament.

Mr MacKELLAR (Warringah) (1.19)—No graver responsibility can confront a government than the decision to commit Australian men and women to a war campaign, with all the risks and distress which such conflicts inevitably bring. No responsible government would take such a decision lightly or without good cause, and the coalition parties in opposition would not give the Government their unqualified support for such a decision without being equally convinced of its necessity.

Australia does not have a history of belligerence. We are not a warlike people and we have no aggressive ambitions against other peoples or their territories. Australians are a people who do not like war. I believe I express the sentiments of most Australians when I admit to a real sense of grief that the Gulf crisis could not be resolved without the use of force. But let no-one mistake that sadness or the essentially peace loving nature of the Australian people for an inability to recognise right from wrong and to have the determination to use force where circumstances make it clear that all other reasonable courses of action will fail.

Like other speakers, I am well aware that there is an opinion, strongly held by some in the community, that war is an admission of failure—a failure successfully to resolve a dispute by conciliation, negotiation or other means which bring it

to a peaceful resolution. I understand that sentiment. What is more, I accept that in many conflict situations it is a technique which can and will bring about an acceptable result. What I am acknowledging in fact is that it would be foolishness in the extreme to resort to war or the use of force in all cases of conflict. But equally, there will be circumstances from time to time, however rarely, and hopefully ever more rarely, where negotiation will not succeed and where the seriousness of the conflict warrants the use of force. This is one such case.

Iraq, without warning, without negotiation, without giving peace a chance, invaded a small and largely undefended neighbouring nation and has refused to withdraw, and in view of the very special circumstances we face with regard to the nature of Iraq's leadership, the resolution of that conflict has moved, in my view legitimately, from negotiation to the necessary use of force.

I hear, as others hear, the demand for more time for sanctions to be allowed to work, even if this should take one or two years or even more. In other less critical circumstances that might be acceptable, but history, hopefully, has taught us to discern between the foolish and naive on the one hand and the dangerous on the other. All of the evidence that I have seen convinces me that in the case of Saddam Hussein we have an extremely dangerous man who would see such negotiations as a sign of weakness. He would negotiate until we were at the point of collapse and not hesitate to impose whatever hardships might be necessary on the people of Iraq in order to resist the effect of sanctions. He would use that time to strengthen his defences of Kuwait and of Iraq, to continue the manufacture of chemical warfare and the development of nuclear weaponry or biological weapons.

Such a course of action would leave Saddam Hussein as the conqueror of Kuwait, permitting him to continue his brutalising of the Kuwaiti people, the stripping of its assets and reaping the benefits of Kuwaiti oil. Saddam Hussein would be the victor of Kuwait and he would introduce a new balance of uncer-

tainty and fear into an already unstable Middle East. He would perceive himself, and would be seen by his Arab neighbours, as the man who thumbed his nose at the United Nations and world opinion, the man who has proved that might is right, that flagrant acts of aggression can be taken with impunity.

Such a response to his invasion of Kuwait is not acceptable to me. It is not acceptable to 75 per cent of Australians. It is not acceptable to the Australian Government or to the Opposition. It is not acceptable to the Kuwaiti people. It is not acceptable to the 38 countries supporting the alliance in the Gulf war. It is not acceptable to the United Nations. It is not acceptable to almost every country in the world, as is indicated by the virtually unanimous vote in the United Nations for its several resolutions. Yet, unfortunately, it seems acceptable to a few in our community.

We live in a society where people have the right to express their views, and I support that right. We all have a responsibility to ensure that that right is safeguarded. Equally, those views must be expressed within the guidelines established by this society. Just as the dissenting opinion warrants our respect, those dissenters must also have respect for those with other opinions. In an open, liberal society such as ours, the task of dissenters is to convince us of the correctness of their case, to express their views publicly, to persuade us if they can of the merits of their point of view. Sadly, I see little effective debate or attempt at persuasion; rather, a rhetoric which all too often looks like a thin wrapping of sloganism, emotion, and noise around appeasement, together with a frantic hostility to the United States and all its actions. Unfortunately, this bias and hostility has all too often been promoted and encouraged by some of the programming on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

The issues which are at the core of the Gulf crisis are Iraq's blatant invasion of an independent sovereign nation, the apprehension with which we regard the nature of the Iraqi leadership, and the unprecedented determination of the world

community of nations to prevent Saddam Hussein retaining his ill-gotten gains.

History tells us to beware of a man such as Saddam Hussein. Any reasonable and considered analysis of his background and public statements show him to be a ruthless leader. He controls Iraq with a military dictatorship. There is well documented evidence of his ruthless purging of subordinates and dissenters, coupled with his promotion of family members into almost all positions of power throughout the Government and the military forces. He has created one of the most formidable military machines in the Middle East. He has developed chemical warfare weapons and he has used them both on his own people, the Kurds, and in the eight-year war against Iran. It is well established that Saddam Hussein has been working for several years towards the development of a nuclear capacity. The precise state of that technology is not publicly known, but it is telling that amongst the first targets of the allied bombing were the three plants which produce uranium and manufacture nuclear capable equipment.

He fought a bloody and fruitless war for eight years with Iran, just one or two years after coming to power, with Kuwait financing much of his war needs. Yet now he repays that friendship with naked aggression and brutal violation of the territory and people of Kuwait. He used civilian hostages as human shields at strategic military installations and, in contravention of the Geneva Convention, he is now doing the same with captured allied servicemen. This is a war crime in the eyes of the world and it says a great deal about the man, Saddam Hussein.

Finally, he has actively supported world terrorism in general and the terrorist arm of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in particular. The world today is in a state of heightened alertness for terrorist actions, for the simple reason that they will be encouraged and supported by a man who will use any means, whether it is chemical warfare, terrorism or even the possibility of nuclear weapons, against his enemies.

This is the nature of the man we are dealing with. His reputation is not one of negotiation or conciliation. He is a calculating, ambitious, ruthless and dangerous man who would regard our vacillation over Kuwait as a sign of weakness and give him encouragement to look beyond Kuwait to other Arab nations and emirates. Saddam Hussein wants power; he wants to be acknowledged by history as the leader of the Arab world. It is Saddam Hussein who recognises that at the heart of that power struggle lies the control of Persian Gulf oil.

We see in the United Nations response to his invasion a recognition by the world of the uncertainties, instability and danger which Iraq's actions present to his Arab neighbours and the rest of the world. In my view, Saddam Hussein was given a reasonable period of time in which to reconsider his actions and to indicate a willingness to withdraw from Kuwait. No such willingness was apparent and he used the 5½ months to convert Kuwait into a military fortress.

The tragedy of the Gulf crisis is not the use of force on 17 January. The tragedy is Saddam Hussein's ill-judged invasion of a friendly, small and non-aggressive neighbour and his failure accurately to judge the determination of world opinion not to tolerate such a blatant and unacceptable act of war.

Mr PETER MORRIS (Shortland) (1.29)—This debate is taking place in a very sombre time in Australia's history. I find it very difficult, with regard to some of the media reporting, to comprehend the manner in which the reportage has taken place. On some occasions the impression given is almost of a spectacle being created for some kind of a sporting final. On the one side are arrayed one team, their background, their experience, their training and their arms, and on the other side is the other team. In a way it almost trivialises the gravity of what is taking place on the other side of the world. It is a time for sombre thinking, for deep reflection. It is the gravest issue that can come before this Parliament—the commitment of Australian men and women to war.

The strongest message that we can send to those Australian men and women serving our nation in the Gulf zone is this message of support—support that is coming from both sides of the House, support that I very much welcome in these circumstances.

These are agonising times for all Australians. I know the agony that I have been going through with my own family, with those near and dear to me, with my constituents, and other people who have rung me and spoken to me about what is happening on the other side of the world. These are agonising times. Everyone abhors the brutality of war, its tragic waste of human life, its destruction of nations, its squandering of economic resources. But there are occasions in life when all attempts at peaceful resolution of disputes fail, when all attempts at peaceful resolution have been exhausted, when forcible removal of an invader is the only option available. We are discussing one of those occasions in this Parliament at this time.

I know that some Australians strongly oppose Australia's participation in the Gulf war. I know that they fervently wish for peace without military action to forcibly remove the Iraqi invaders from Kuwait. I respect their views. I can understand their feelings; I can understand the depth of the emotions that they are experiencing at this time. They do not have a monopoly on that wish for peace. They do not have a monopoly on that desire for peace. We in this chamber would all like to see a course of action that resolved the issue without any loss of life, without any war, but the sad reality is that all peaceable attempts have failed. If we are to ensure a greater peace and a continuing peace in the future, the action being taken at the present time under the auspices of the United Nations is the only responsible action that can be taken.

When Iraq invades its neighbour, the tiny nation of Kuwait, when that aggressor rapes, pillages and plunders that nation and resolutely rejects all efforts by the rest of the world community to negotiate a withdrawal from Kuwait, the world community, through the United Nations, has to act. There is no 'wish for peace'

option; there is no 'wish for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait' option. There is no 'do nothing' option. If action had not been taken to strengthen and protect Saudi Arabia following the Iraqi invasion of 2 August, there is no doubt that other Arab states by this time would have been invaded by Iraq.

Australian men and women are in the Gulf zone fulfilling Australia's fair share of responsibilities as a member state of the United Nations. Australia was a major founding nation of the United Nations. We played a major role in the formulation of its Charter. The role of Dr Evatt as our then Foreign Affairs Minister is widely renowned across the world. But if, as a small nation in this part of the world, we look to the protection, cooperation and support in time of need of fellow member states of the United Nations in the future, we as Australians have to fulfil our share of responsibility towards the organisation when other nations and other member states are in need.

Australia has a direct economic interest in the Middle East—in commodities and other trade and oil supplies to ourselves and to our major trading partners—and, importantly, because of linkages between Middle East oil and the health of the world economy, with the impact of the price of oil and any restriction on the supply of oil on inflation and on the rate of growth. It is all directly linked to the standard of living of our people. So we have a direct national interest in what has happened there quite distinct and separate from our overriding responsibility as a member state of the United Nations.

I am sure there are other members in this chamber who felt as I felt at the time. Initially, I was optimistic about the Iraqi withdrawal. When the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) made the first statement back on 4 December in this place, I felt that by 15 January 1991 the matter would have been resolved in a diplomatic fashion and between the nations involved. I clung to that belief all the way through because I could see that a step by step process was taking place; the opportunity was being taken by Saddam Hussein to engineer

every bit of political kudos for Iraq that he could in the Arabic nations.

I felt that when it came to the crunch commonsense, responsibility and care for his people and other people of the world would prevail—and I clung to that hope until the final effort of the French in the United Nations on 14 and 15 January, which was also ignored by the Iraqis. At that stage, it suddenly fell upon me that there was not going to be a peaceable solution to this problem.

There are those fellow Australians who say that we could have done more or we could more and that the world could do more to find a solution by diplomatic means. It is 5½ months since the invasion of Kuwait took place. The United Nations has carried some 12 separate resolutions on this issue. There have been numerous consultations, deputations and discussions between member states of the United Nations and Iraq, and the actions of the United Nations Secretary-General in the latest discussion with the Iraqis, when he was kept waiting for some 24 hours and was humiliated and trivialised.

I say to those fellow Australians who say that we could have done more that all of those steps have been worked through. Australia has come slowly, carefully and responsibly to this position where we have exhausted all available diplomatic means, all available processes through the United Nations and within the United Nations, to find a peaceable solution to the removal of Iraq from Kuwait.

They have all failed and now we are at the stage that we, as Australians, have to stand as a member state of the United Nations and be counted. It is not an easy decision. It is not an easy decision for the Government; it is not an easy decision for members of the Opposition nor for any member of this chamber or the other place. But it is the right decision that is being taken. It is the responsible decision that is being taken.

I do not want to indulge in pillorying or attacking those people within our community who have contrary views. Most of them hold those views fervently and, I believe, genuinely. They are fearful; they

are worried. But there comes a time when the tough decision has to be taken. That tough decision has been taken by Australia and is being taken by this Parliament.

History has taught us that wars are not short no matter what the level of optimism of expectations at the outset. What the world must ensure once Iraq is removed from Kuwait is that the United Nations acts with speed to resolve the other issues in the Middle East, particularly to resolve the issue of bringing justice and security to the Palestinians and to the people of Israel.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Hon. J.D.M. Dobie)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr COBB (Parkes) (1.39)—Previous speakers in this debate have spoken in considerable detail about what an insane, murderous and brutal dictator Saddam Hussein is. I concur with that, as I concur with the words in this motion. Previous speakers have stated that, if Hussein is not stopped in Kuwait, he would probably already have marched into Saudi Arabia and eventually, with the extra wealth that he would have acquired from the oil in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, he would have destroyed Israel. We all know that he has a passionate, paranoid and racist hatred of that country.

Previous speakers spoke also of the eight-year Iraq-Iran war and the atrocities committed there which led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, many of them teenagers conscripted into the army, and many of them innocent civilians. This dictator has shown no remorse for that action. Previous speakers have referred to what he did to the Kurdish people in his own country. He used helicopters to drop canisters of nerve gas, of mustard gas, into the villages, wiping out the whole population of those villages. They have spoken also of the treatment that he handed out to hostages from all countries of the world, using them as human shields as, apparently, he is now threatening to do with the prisoners of war. They spoke of the rape, pillage and

torture of innocent citizens in Kuwait and the reign of terror in that country.

Despite that, peace protesters have come to Parliament House and said that we should do nothing, that we should get out of Kuwait. They use inane and insane arguments such as, 'It's not our war, it's too far away'. Apparently they measure their morality in kilometres. What if Australia was attacked at some time in the future? Would they refuse to allow America to come to our aid because she lies across a distant ocean? I cannot see the logic of it.

I agree with the protesters' argument for peace. We all want peace, but I suggest that they look at themselves, for I think they are naive and misguided. They come here and try to deny us the right of free speech. It never ceases to fascinate me how they have that haggard, rent-a-crowd look about them. Most of them seem to have contributed nothing to the welfare of this country or to the uplifting of modern civilisation. They are consumed with hate, particularly in relation to the United States of America, and they are filled with aggression, particularly towards anybody with views which are contrary to theirs.

The irony that seems to be lost on them is that if they lived in Iraq they would be taken outside and shot. All they are doing is giving aid and comfort to Saddam Hussein. If they are genuinely in favour of peace, they should not be here at Parliament House; they should be protesting outside the Iraqi Embassy. Having regard to the ones I have seen here, I have concluded that they are nothing more than unwashed, unkempt, unemployed and uninformed.

Every day that we delay doing something about the Iraqi atrocities that are occurring in Kuwait we are allowing dreadful things to happen in that country. Many people argue that we should extend sanctions, but I believe that is nonsense. They have been there for 5½ months. At the same time we have offered so many olive branches to Saddam that we have almost offered him the whole tree. He has rejected it every time. Sanctions have never worked in the course of history.

They have usefulness at a lower level, mainly at a symbolic level, but they have never worked. They were farcical in the case of Afghanistan. They never worked in 10-odd years in Rhodesia. They have not worked during the 20-odd years in which they have been imposed on South Africa. They are not working in Iraq.

I invite anybody who doubts this, who doubts that we should act earlier and not delay, to read the 80-odd pages of the Amnesty International report. I would like to quote some excerpts from it. More than anything I can say, it will illustrate the horror of what is happening in Kuwait today. The first account is provided by a Kuwaiti medical doctor examining the bodies of victims that have been taken to the hospitals there. I quote:

I personally examined about 60 bodies. In addition to the shot through the back of the head, some of them also bore marks of torture, such as burns on various parts of the body. Some had broken limbs, others bore signs consistent with having been beaten with heavy implements. One victim had clearly had his beard plucked out and others had had their finger and toenails pulled out. I came across three people who had been tortured with electricity on their genitals and back, and three others who had had cigarettes extinguished on their eyeballs. In some cases the immediate cause of death was not a bullet, but torture. One such body which I examined had no bullet wounds. The victim had been kicked and beaten extensively.

This was a 20-year-old boy—

He had been arrested in early September while distributing food from the cooperative society to people's homes. His body was found lying in the streets 10 days later.

Amnesty International lists 38 methods of torture. If time permits I would like to read these out:

1. Beatings on all parts of the body, involving punching, slapping, delivering Karate-style blows and kicking with heavy army boots. Implements used for beating include canes, metal rods, whips, steel cables, hosepipes, rubber truncheons and rifle butts.
2. *Falaga*: prolonged beating on the soles of the feet. Sometimes the detainee is then forced to walk or run.
3. Suspending the detainee by the feet, or by the arms which are tied behind the back.
4. Beating the detainee while suspended from a rotating fan in the ceiling.
5. Breaking of the arms, legs or ribs; dislocating elbow and shoulder joints.
6. Lifting the detainee high up in the air and then dropping him, sometimes resulting in the fracturing of bones.
7. Applying pressure to the fingers with a clamp-like instrument.
8. Slashing the face, arms or legs with knives.
9. Extracting finger and toenails.
10. Boring a hole in the leg, apparently with a type of drilling tool.
11. Cutting off of the tongue and ear.
12. Gouging out of the eyes.
13. Castration.
14. Hammering nails into the hands.
15. Piercing the skin with pins or staplers.
16. Shooting the detainee in the arm or leg at point blank range, . . .
17. Rape of women . . . and young men.
18. Inserting bottle necks, sometimes when broken, into the rectum.
19. Tying a string around the penis and pulling it tightly.
20. Pumping air using a pipe through the anus, particularly of young boys.
21. Applying electricity to sensitive parts of the body, including the ears, lips, tongue, fingers, toes and genitals. Sometimes the detainee is doused with water prior to the administration of electricity. . . .
22. Burning various parts of the body, including the genitals, with domestic appliances such as electric irons, with heated metal rods, or with a naked flame.
23. Extinguishing cigarettes on the eyeballs or on various parts of the body, including the genitals, nipples, chest and hands.
24. Pouring hot and cold water alternately over the detainee.

The list goes on and on. I do not have time to list them all, but that gives some idea of what is happening in Kuwait today while we delay doing something about this dictator.

I put it to honourable members that this motion should be fully supported. There should be no defectors or equivocators when it comes to a vote on this. For the sake of civilisation, for the sake of humanity, and above all for the sake of peace, we should act. Saddam Hussein should be stopped in his tracks and condemned by this Parliament and all the

world for the atrocities that he is committing in Kuwait.

Mr BEVIS (Brisbane) (1.50)—It is a regrettable yet accurate statement to say, as the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) did on 17 January, that we cannot have peace just by wishing for it or just by talking about it. I, along with all Australians, am deeply concerned and upset that war has erupted and that Australian forces are involved. Indeed, I know that a number of people in my Brisbane electorate oppose the war and/or Australia's participation in it. As one who has marched in many Palm Sunday peace rallies and Hiroshima Day rallies, I empathise with their genuinely held concerns, wrong though I believe them to be on this occasion.

The circumstances of this Middle East crisis are vastly different from many of the regional wars and invasions we have witnessed since the end of World War II. Iraq has without any provocation or cause invaded Kuwait, plundered its cities and villages and committed atrocities against its people. Under the dictatorial rule of Saddam Hussein actions of tyranny are not uncommon. The eight-year war he waged with Iran cost millions of lives and bankrupted his own country's economy. He succeeded only in inflicting hardship upon his people. The total lack of reason and principle behind that conflict were graphically demonstrated by Hussein's quickly arranged truce with Iran. His ruthless attacks upon the Kurdish people in his own country using chemical weapons ranks as one of the most cowardly and immoral actions of the decade.

However, Saddam Hussein's Iraq has not only demonstrated its ruthlessness but also its expansionist desires. Hussein has made no secret of his intentions to lead a single Arab world by invasion where he thinks he can and by inciting revolution elsewhere. With a population of only 17 million people, he has created a military force which ranks as the fourth or fifth largest in the world. There can be no doubt that the military growth of Iraq is not designed for defence. Saddam's Iraq has threatened the Middle East region with his political ambitions and a huge arsenal

of weapons—an arsenal which he is expanding to include nuclear abilities.

All of us had hoped that the weight of world opinion would persuade Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait. The imposition of sanctions was designed to drive home the depth and extent of world opinion against Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. The trade sanctions were not designed to starve Kuwait, nor could they. They were not designed to starve the nation of Iraq. In fact, reports from a number of sources indicated that trade by land was continuing with Iraq. In any event, the sanctions were clearly having no impact on Hussein's intentions in Kuwait, nor on his military machine.

It may have been that sanctions would have brought the necessary pressure upon a country ruled by a democratic government responsive to the concerns of its people. However, it is plain that, as a military dictator who has used the most horrific weapons against his own citizens, Saddam Hussein was little concerned about the inconvenience created by the trade sanctions, nor their effect upon his people. Those who argue that sanctions should have been allowed to continue ignore the facts, undesirable as they may be. What is more, in the absence of a large multinational military force, those people would condemn Kuwait to oblivion and the entire region to continued threat.

This brings me to comments condemning the use of force in this dispute on the basis that other disputes have been left seemingly ignored—for example, the Palestinian situation, the invasion of Panama and Grenada by the United States of America (USA), and the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. There are in each of these cases injustices which in my view have not been properly addressed by the nations of the world. Some of these events are part of history and largely are unable to be corrected. However, I take this opportunity to place on record my view that with respect to the question of Palestine the United Nations (UN), and particularly the United States of America and Israel, have an unavoidable obligation to work urgently for a just outcome of the

problems confronting the Palestinian people. This should be their highest priority for the region when the current hostilities end.

In the context of the current dispute, however, it is not sufficient to criticise the use of force on this occasion because it was not used in other cases. What is more, there are a number of distinguishing features of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Iraq, as I have said, is led by a military dictator commanding a force far greater than required for defence. Saddam Hussein has clearly demonstrated his expansionist desires. He has repeatedly demonstrated his willingness to use the most horrific of weapons, even against his own people. He has set about acquiring nuclear weapons. He has displayed a total lack of respect and integrity in his dealings with other nations, including many Arab countries. He has refused to negotiate meaningfully, preferring instead bluff, threat and the use of force, and he threatens the hopes for a peaceful world in the wake of an end to the Cold War. All of these things have led to a situation where the countries of the world have united as never before to oppose aggression.

Twenty-eight nations have committed armed forces in support of the United Nations resolutions, including nine Arab nations and Moslem countries in other parts of the world. The non-aligned movement and over 100 countries have condemned Iraq's actions. In the face of massive world action, Saddam Hussein has relied on his threats and military. His only effort at negotiation was on 12 August last year when he demanded that Israel withdraw from the occupied territories and Syria withdraw from Lebanon. His proposal did not include any undertaking to withdraw from Kuwait even if his demands were met. On the contrary, he has repeatedly referred to Kuwait as Iraq's nineteenth province.

Repeated efforts at negotiation by leaders throughout the world were ignored or rejected. A range of Arab leaders, individually and collectively, sought to negotiate Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, and on more than one occasion; all were rejected. The European Community proposed so-

lutions; all were rejected. Algeria sought a solution; it was rejected. Zambian President Kaunda visited Baghdad; no solution. The United Nations Secretary-General offered a proposal, which I believe allowed for all involved to retain self-respect and to bring peace to the region; it, too, was rejected. The French proposals for peace were rejected. Saddam Hussein has made clear to all his complete unwillingness to negotiate. He approaches his relations with other countries much as he conducts his relations with his own people.

I wish now to address a matter which I know concerns some in my electorate. It is the worry that Australia and others are somehow simply acting at the behest of the USA; that Kuwait is somehow another Vietnam. For some of the reasons I have stated earlier, I think it is clear that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is quite different from the other conflicts, including Vietnam—a war which I strongly opposed and a war which, I am proud to say, the Australian Labor Party opposed.

The fact that this conflict is not another Vietnam is also illustrated by the level of support given to the United Nations resolutions. To claim that 28 nations with forces deployed in support of the United Nations resolutions made their decision at the behest of the USA belittles the independent decision making ability of those countries. It also ignores the reality that some of those countries involved would not normally be regarded as allies of the USA. In fact, if one looks more closely at the situation one finds political parties within those countries, which since World War II have seldom supported military action by the US, actively supporting the enforcement of these UN resolutions. My own Party is one such group, as are the British Labour Party and the French socialists.

This view further ignores the reality that it is the United Nations, not the USA, which has authorised the use of force to remove Iraq from Kuwait—and that, of course, the forces acting on behalf of the UN are volunteer forces, not conscripts. It is in fact support for the United Nations

that is the motivation for the 28 participating nations.

There are lessons which must be learnt from our tragic experience in the Middle East. Foremost on that list must be a lesson to the major military powers that arms sales, and what seems like the exponential growth of the arms industry, must cease.

The end of the Cold War provides the major powers with an opportunity to redirect their wealth to improve the quality of life on this planet rather than to develop increasingly destructive weapons. We must recognise that many of the problems confronting the world and the Middle East have been caused by the supply of weapons. It is a matter of fact that America, Britain, France and the Soviet Union have sold weapons to countries not only in the Middle East but around the globe. With the Cold War behind us it is time for those countries particularly to put an end to the growth in their arms industry. For us in the South Pacific it is possibly more important that they do not seek new markets for the sale of their weapons here.

There can be no doubt that the responsibility for this war rests solely on the shoulders of Saddam Hussein; nor can there by any doubt that our participation in support of the United Nations resolution is proper and just. It is a sad reminder to us all that peace sometimes has a high price. We know, however, from bitter lessons of this century that appeasement of an aggressor is far too high a price to pay and one which seldom brings peace.

I wish to end by recording a message of goodwill to the Australian forces in the Middle East and my wish for their speedy and safe return. I especially think of the officers and crew on board the HMAS *Brisbane* which proudly bears the name of my home city. I wish the *Brisbane* and all aboard her well and hope for their safe return to Australia and to their loved ones.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Hon. J.D.M. Dobie)— Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr ROCHER (Curtin) (2.00)—There has been a lot of cant in the wider debate

about the Gulf war and Australia's role in the conflict. Fortunately, there has been little of it in this chamber, but no doubt there will be a judicious serve of it from the Australian Democrats and at least one other person in the Senate. I want to address a number of arguments that have been put forward against both the allied operation to remove Iraqi troops from Kuwait and Australia's contribution to the multinational force, arguments raised by a small but nonetheless vocal minority of Australians.

The most common story we hear from those opposed to Western intervention in the Gulf is that the allies are being selective in their opposition to international aggression. We are told that the United States has in fact been an instigator of aggression against Iraq, with the examples of Panama and Grenada being the most commonly cited as though they are evidence of a policy of mindless aggression on the part of the United States.

This argument ignores the fundamental differences between the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the other military operations carried out by the West. The United States did not seek to occupy Panama and Grenada. It did not loot the national assets of those countries or attempt to instil a puppet government or annex territory. On the contrary, the United States was concerned about the continuance of two illegitimate regimes and wanted to allow the people of those countries the self-determination to choose new governments. Thus, while military means were employed across international borders in each of those cases, the objectives served were fundamentally different and that is why we rightly treat them differently.

It is sad that so many people who have taken part in the public debate about the crisis to date—including some notable Australians such as Malcolm Booker—cannot see the fundamental differences between the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and other military actions that have had entirely different, even worthy, goals. It involves a moral blindness which can reflect only profound ignorance, where it is not wilfully pernicious.

It is true that aggression often goes unchecked in this world. It is not always possible to respond to aggression in the manner that we would like. Sometimes the costs of doing so, in economic and human terms, would far outweigh the benefits. The Soviet Union's various invasions of countries along its borders spring to mind. But we still condemn aggression where we see it, even if condemnation is our best and only response. Where we do have a good chance of reversing aggression and creating a better world as a result we should take the opportunity of doing so.

The anti-war movement cannot have it both ways. Either it condemns aggression or it does not. Every time people complain about the lack of response to aggression elsewhere in the world they inadvertently lend strength to the allied cause in Iraq and give themselves every reason to support that allied operation. Questions have been raised about the legitimacy of the Kuwaiti regime, with a view to casting doubt on the allied operation to expel Iraqi troops from that country.

The fact that Kuwait is not a liberal democracy is undeniable, but surely this is irrelevant to what we are trying to achieve in this war. The allies are concerned to reverse an unwarranted act of international aggression and annexation. This will involve restoring the former Kuwaiti government, not because we necessarily approve of its character but because we seek to respect and enforce international law. It is for the people of Kuwait to determine the nature of their government, but they can do this only if they are allowed self-determination as a sovereign state and a sovereign people. By all accounts, the people of Kuwait do not want to be ruled by Iraq. If they are to be ruled at all, most Kuwaitis would probably prefer the former regime to many other conceivable forms of government.

Another consideration that is supposed to militate against the allied action on behalf of Kuwait is the origin of the Kuwaiti state. The fact that Kuwait is an artificial creation is certainly true, but it is also true of nearly all other states. Most

international frontiers are the result of the invasions, conquests and political settlements of the past, whether just or unjust. Virtually all national regimes are, in this sense, illegitimate.

While these are events which cannot now be reversed, even if it were desirable, we can do something about contemporary invasion and conquest. We cannot retrospectively enforce respect for the norms of international law, particularly given the short history of many of those norms. Much of history simply cannot be undone. But we can enforce the norms of today with the hope that such action will ensure greater respect for international law in the future.

Kuwait's border with Iraq dates back to 1923. When Iraq became an independent state in 1932, it accepted Kuwait's borders. It reaffirmed that acceptance again in 1963. Today we all have reason to value respect for those borders and the self-determination of the people within them. Those people who seek to raise historical furphies of one kind or another show an amazing disregard for the role of international law in contributing to peace.

The interesting thing about the protest actions currently being staged by those opposed to the allied operation and Australia's involvement in it is the fact that they are unashamedly selective. The war broke out on 2 August last year when Iraq invaded Kuwait, but there were no protesters in the streets then. Those who have taken to the streets since the allies commenced operation Desert Storm thus give every appearance of not caring a damn about Saddam Hussein's aggression, despite their words to the contrary. They ignored his act of war and yet they have come out in vocal opposition to the Western powers' actions to defend Kuwait.

Another furphy in this debate is that we are seeing blood being spilt for oil. I think I have already made it sufficiently clear that this conflict is not about oil or money—although oil undeniably contributes to the strategic importance of this part of the world. We should not forget the extent to which Iraq has been motivated in all of this by the notion of per-

ceived financial gain. The dispute between Kuwait and Iraq over oil production is well-known. Iraq also owes Kuwait billions of dollars which were loaned to Iraq in order to help it finance its war with Iran. Although Saddam Hussein clearly miscalculated the international response to his actions, his original invasion of Kuwait was motivated by reasons of national finance and had nothing to do with Arab nationalism or the Palestinian question.

There is another school of thought which argues that sanctions should have been given time to work. I think this school of thought ignores the capacity of many nations—Iraq included—to retreat into autarky as a response to sanctions. Whilst Iraq might have endured much hardship as a result of sanctions, the Iraqi regime has always indicated that it would be prepared to stand the much greater privations which could be visited on its people and the risk of war in order to continue with its occupation of Kuwait.

Waiting for sanctions to cripple Iraq—assuming that they could in fact be relied upon to have that effect—carried far too many risks. Even if sanctions had resulted in Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, it would have left behind the military threat from the Iraqi regime, which is arguably better dealt with now rather than later. The Israelis knew that in 1981 when they bombed Saddam's nuclear facility, and they turned out to be more prescient than the West which at the time condemned Israel's action. Israel made then what must now rank as an enduring contribution to peace in the region.

We are also told by some that Western intervention will destabilise the Middle East. Of course, the Middle East is inherently unstable but this is largely because of the various attempts by Middle Eastern autocrats and would-be autocrats to impose their will on others. A demonstration by the West that international aggression of the type launched by Saddam Hussein is unacceptable will be a lesson well-learned in that part of the world. There is much to be said for the motion and I support it.

Mr SPEAKER—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr BALDWIN (Sydney—Minister for Higher Education and Employment Services) (2.10)—Most of the speakers in the debate so far seem to have been fairly confident about the rightness of the case that they have been advancing either for or against the recent launching of military action in the Gulf. Frankly, I think that the arguments are much more finely balanced than either side is prepared to acknowledge.

I will shortly outline how I see the issues. Unfortunately, given the time constraint on this debate, I will have time to touch on only those matters most directly relevant to the current conflict. However, I firmly believe that the international community must give close attention to the full range of issues that will bear on the future of the region. In particular, notwithstanding the Palestinian leadership's ill-considered tilt towards Iraq, I believe that much more intensive efforts must be made to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

At the outset we need to think about how the current military action can be brought to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. It is worth noting that the war has yet to enter its most destructive phase. So far it has been confined mainly to an aerial campaign against various military installations. However, if the war proceeds to the launching of a full-scale ground offensive to retake Kuwait, with a 'battle for the rubble' over Kuwait city, we can expect to see many more civilian as well as military casualties, as well as potentially serious environmental damage if the Kuwaiti oil facilities are damaged.

I do not go along with the sort of utilitarian calculus one often sees in wartime whereby the military casualties of the other side tend to be discounted when the human cost of the conflict is being assessed. Frankly, I believe that the unfortunate people dragooned into service as cannon fodder in Saddam's army should be seen as victims of this war as much as anyone else. The prospect of thousands of such people being slaughtered in air at-

tacks is an appalling one, and we should aim to minimise this human toll.

I am concerned at suggestions that this military offensive may be prosecuted in such a way as to make it difficult, perhaps because of the destruction of effective technical means of communication, for the Iraqi side to signal agreement to abide by the United Nations (UN) resolutions and to make an orderly withdrawal from Kuwait. I believe that, before the main ground offensive is launched, consideration should be given to a cease-fire, or at least a hiatus in military activity, in order to provide the Iraqi leadership with a very clear opportunity to make such a decision.

By invading and annexing Kuwait, Saddam Hussein has confronted us, and the world, with a terrible dilemma. A number of speakers have referred to this as being the first test of a post-Cold War order which, while generally welcome, has some down sides. One of these—this was widely remarked on as a possibility even before the present crisis in the Gulf emerged—is that regional despots of the Saddam type could feel that they have greater freedom of action than in the old bipolar world. These fears seem to have been borne out in this case.

This forces us to confront the issue of the circumstances, if any, in which recourse to military force might be justified. For those adhering to a principled and thoroughgoing pacifist position, the answer to this question is straightforward: military force is never justified. I have the highest respect for those who adhere to a principled position of this sort. However, I do not find their position persuasive. I have never been a pacifist in this sense, despite my strong opposition to Australia's involvement in specific armed conflicts, such as Vietnam.

Military force should be used only as a last resort when the consequences of failing to take such action outweigh the appalling human consequences of taking it. I firmly believe that the scope for non-violent methods of resolving conflict and even for resisting armed aggression are significantly greater than the prevailing

wisdom would have us believe. The recent history of eastern Europe provides a number of encouraging, and until recently inconceivable, instances of non-violent action overthrowing heavily armed dictatorial regimes.

However, for non-violent resistance to stand a chance of success certain basic conditions need to be fulfilled. The most important of these is that the regime being challenged is constrained in some way from making unrestricted use of force and terror to enforce its will.

There has been much reference in the course of this debate to the nature of the Iraqi regime, with repeated references to such terrible episodes as the killing of 5,000 Kurdish civilians with nerve gas. The media has been full of stories about Saddam's brutality—and I must say that some of these stories have an apocryphal sound to me. However, there is enough credible material from organisations such as Amnesty International to enable the characterisation of the Iraqi regime as one of the worst, if not the worst, in the world today in terms of its domestic policies.

Given this, it is hardly surprising that the notion of civilian non-violent resistance to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait has not been considered as a serious option by anyone. So the issue really comes down to what action should be taken by the outside world to reverse Iraq's invasion, and what sort of price the world should be prepared to pay to achieve this end. To make a judgment about this, it is necessary to take a broader look at the behaviour of the present Iraqi regime and at its probable intentions.

Saddam formally assumed power in the Iraqi regime in 1979, though he was probably the dominant figure in the Iraqi power structure for several years before that. In September 1980 he went on Iraqi television and demonstratively tore up a formal agreement that he had negotiated with Iran in 1975 by way of settling their border differences. This was followed by an attack against Iran, leading to an eight-year war which caused over one million deaths.

During the war Iraqi military expenditure assumed enormous proportions, accounting for roughly half of its oil-enhanced gross national product. Iraq became the world's second largest importer of military equipment. Significantly, this expenditure did not abate after the 1988 cease-fire, but continued with a huge effort to acquire the necessary equipment and technological capacity to manufacture and deliver to their targets weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons.

Iraq is not unique in its desire to acquire such weapons. What does mark it out is its demonstrated preparedness to use them almost routinely, both as weapons of war and in order to suppress domestic dissent. For most of the post-war period the world has had to endure a balance of terror between the nuclear weapons powers. We can be thankful that these powers at least had the good sense to be terrified of the consequences of using such weapons.

There is some doubt about just how far down the track Iraq is with its weapons programs. Clearly Iraq has chemical weapons but seems to lack the capacity to deliver them effectively with ballistic missiles. As to nuclear weapons, there is conflicting evidence. The general view until recently was that Iraq was five to 10 years away from such a capability. Yet a recent article by the *Sunday Times* 'Insight' team, which exposed the Israeli nuclear program, argued that Iraq may be very close to having the ability to enrich uranium by gas centrifuge techniques, which brings the probable date for an Iraqi nuclear weapon much closer.

A recent article in the British *New Scientist* magazine sought to rebut the *Sunday Times* article. But even this article raised the prospect of Iraq's being able to explode a single crude nuclear device in as little as six months using 20 kilograms of weapons grade enriched uranium supplied to it some time ago by France and the Soviet Union. This is essential background when considering what the implications would be of Iraq's successfully acquiring Kuwait's oil wealth in addition to its own.

It has been pointed out by some participants in this debate that the interest in Kuwait's fate shown by the United States would not have been nearly as intense had it not been for oil. To me the relevant issue here is that the economic power conferred by oil can ultimately be transformed into military power by enabling the acceleration of Iraq's huge weapons programs of recent times.

I now turn to Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait. Honourable members may not recall the rationale provided by Iraq when it decided to announce the annexation of Kuwait, shortly after the invasion. The British Broadcasting Corporation monitored a radio speech by Saddam Hussein made at about that time in which he justified those actions in the following terms:

Malicious Westerners partitioned the Arab homeland and intentionally multiplied the number of countries, with the result that the Arab nation could not achieve its full capability . . . The Arab nation will return to its rightful position only through real struggle and Jihad to place the wealth of the nation in the service of its noble objectives, so that the opinion of the majority becomes prevalent, capable and honest.

We need to consider that those words constitute an essentially open-ended rationale for military expansionism throughout the Arab world. Saddam has never concealed his ambition to assume the leadership of the Arab world and lead it in its final confrontation with Israel—a course which could easily lead to the horrific prospect of a regional nuclear, chemical and bacteriological war, Israel's being, of course, a nuclear power, as we know.

How should the UN and the world community have dealt with this situation? One potentially viable alternative approach would have been the rigorous application of economic sanctions over a sustained period. Given the overwhelming dependence of the Iraqi economy on oil, it can be argued that such sanctions would have had a much greater chance of success than any comparable effort in recent times. The case for this approach has been put cogently by a variety of public figures in the United States and it is certainly, on the face of it, a more attractive option than war. The hope would be that

this sort of pressure would produce intolerable internal strains within the Iraqi regime, and hopefully lead to the removal of Saddam Hussein.

The key difficulty I see with such a course is the uncertainty concerning the state of Iraq's advanced weapons programs, which I discussed earlier—programs which are presumably being set back heavily by the present military operations. The only thing that I can think of that could be worse than the present military conflict would be a future confrontation with an Iraq possessing an enhanced chemical and bacteriological—and perhaps even nuclear—weapons capacity.

It is on this basis that I support the motion before the House, but with a deep sense of ambivalence.

Mr TAYLOR (Groom) (2.20)—While not wishing to detract from the strongly bipartisan nature of this debate, I must say that this recall of Parliament and special debate on such a grave issue should have taken place much earlier. It is with some regret that I find that Australia was one of the few countries of the 30-odd involved whose national legislature was not sitting at such a time of crisis. Indeed, I sent an urgent message to the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) last Thursday morning seeking his earliest response in that direction. In part, I said to the Prime Minister:

You have had the deserved bi-partisan support of the Federal Opposition for your Government's actions to date in the Gulf. That support can only be strengthened by the urgent Parliamentary debate of the many domestic and international ramifications of war in the Middle East.

I . . . feel strongly that the Australian people see this as an essential element of our Parliamentary democracy.

None of us wants war, but if Australian lives are to be put on the line, we need to debate that prospect comprehensively in both Houses.

I simply make the point to the House that there are serious ongoing domestic economic issues to be addressed also and we should not let these be shrouded unduly by the international ramifications of this war.

Like many of the previous speakers in this debate, I rise with an uneasy combi-

nation of national pride and a sense of international unease to support the motion before us. Like a number of earlier speakers, that is not to say that I accept in any way the linking of the settlement of this increasingly horrendous war with Saddam Hussein's call in the days leading up to the 15 January United Nations deadline for any Iraq-Kuwait settlement to be directly related to the Palestinian issues, no more than I accept the inevitability of his attempts to drag the sovereign state of Israel helter skelter into armed conflict.

No reasonable person could want war. Clearly, both by his words and deeds, Saddam has demonstrated that he is not a reasonable man and that for him the lives of many thousands on both sides are simply the expendable means to a disastrous end. He and he alone stands condemned as an unambiguous aggressor who has shown his consistent disregard for human life.

A number of writers and speakers in recent weeks have, in my view, conveniently forgotten that and have attempted to mobilise mindlessly an anti-United States sentiment, come what may. I refer specifically to an article in the *Australian Financial Review* of 14 January last by Andrew Mack, the head of the Peace Research Centre at the Australian National University. He concluded:

A US-instigated war would also inflame the pervasive anti-Americanism throughout the region and risk destabilising pro-Western regimes such as Egypt and Jordan.

For Australia to send ships to help enforce the naval blockade of Iraq at the beginning of the crisis made sense both strategically and morally.

Collaborating with the US in prosecuting a war which, at this time, is quite unnecessary—and therefore immoral—makes no sense at all.

In a letter that I wrote to the *Financial Review*, which was published two days later, I said:

Andrew Mack and his Peace Research Centre continue to suffer from myopia when it comes to the Gulf crisis. His latest opinion 'Justifying an end only the Hawks desire' once again degenerates into selective Uncle Sam bashing. We are not dealing with, as Andrew suggests, 'A precipitate US-instigated war' but with an act of pre-meditated aggression by one sovereign nation

(Iraq) on another (Kuwait) and the total rejection by the international community of such unconscionable conduct. Sanctions are not working as he suggests. The conflict is no more of infidel against believer than it is one of Uncle Sam and the Israel connection; international justice and states' sovereignty are at issue. Saddam's reputation as the butcher of Baghdad may yet be confirmed if eleventh hour diplomatic initiatives fail.

I would like to refer the House to another article from the *Financial Review* of 18 January last headed 'The commitment to a new world order' by Gregory Hywood in which he said:

America went to war for the tenth time in its 200 year history with mixed emotions. It is afraid for its young men and women. By a distinct majority, it supports the President and is determined to win. But it is angry that again the US is bearing such a disproportionate burden.

For 40 years the US fought the Cold War, trading guns off health and welfare systems other Western nations take for granted. It reconstructed Europe and Japan. All it asked in return was to impose democracy on people scared by totalitarianism.

Sometimes it made big mistakes—Vietnam. But the basic strategy was correct. And it won. Germans, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, South Koreans, Japanese, and perhaps one day even Soviets have a lot to be grateful for.

Now, in the first test of a post-Cold War world, gratitude appears in short supply.

Indeed, many of the publicity hungry demonstrators in this place have taken a similar, misguided, ungrateful tack. No-one should shy away from reasoned criticism, but we should all draw the line when it comes to a total disregard for objective thinking and a blatant rejection of our parliamentary traditions and practices.

I found the conduct of Senator Valentine in this place yesterday both unnecessary and unacceptable. She is a member of a privileged few able to speak publicly at this terrible time. Her gratuitous words and actions in this gallery do her and her peace activists a disservice. Mr Speaker, I would hope that at the very least she will apologise to you and to this House. Anything less will be seen as an indictment of everything she supposedly stands for and of those who support her.

Despite such largely unsubstantiated protestations, rarely if ever in history has

there been a crisis in which the international community has been so united against aggression. An unprecedented international coalition has developed that has cut across the old east-west divisions, that has included the majority of the Arab world and that has brought together many old enemies.

The gravity of this crisis calls for a united Australian response and defence of our national interests that are at stake. These interests are clear. At a strategic level, we have a very real national interest in helping to build a world order in which the international community upholds the rights of nations not to be subjected to the arbitrary use of force by others. At an economic level, the implications of Iraq's aggression are serious and global. They affect nations large and small, prosperous and struggling. In particular, they pose very real threats to Australia's highly vulnerable economic situation and to the industrialised countries with which we are closely associated. Finally, at the human level, many Australians have relatives and loved ones in our Defence Force who are deployed in the Gulf.

The Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) yesterday referred to the nature of the Australian people, Australia's interests in this war and our parliamentary message. On the first point he said:

Throughout our history we have been a genuinely peaceful people, but we have never been a pacifist people. We have been a proudly independent country, but never a neutral one.

We have always been a nation prepared to stand up for our principles and to stand by our friends.

We have a clear idea of what is fair and acceptable international conduct. We know what our vital interests are and we have been prepared to defend them.

We are a nation that believes in a 'fair go', but not a free ride.

On the second point he said that Australia's interests are directly involved in this crisis, particularly the building of a new, more equitable international order in which the preservation of peace is paramount. Finally, he said that this Parliament, on behalf of the Australian people whom we represent, must send a clear

and unambiguous and united message to Iraq, to the rest of the world and not least to our defence personnel in the Gulf that Iraq must withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait in line with the 12 UN resolutions; the territorial integrity of Kuwait as a sovereign country must be restored and respected in the future; the right of Israel to exist in peace and within secure and internationally recognised boundaries must be respected; finally, and very importantly, our message must also reflect our pride in the role and professionalism of our Defence Force in the Gulf.

The Leader of the Opposition also referred to some unfinished business needing governmental attention. I hope the Government will take heed of what he had to say about the 1987 White Paper review and the development of a more realistic defence strategy.

Mr SPEAKER—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Dr CHARLESWORTH (Perth) (2.30)—In this debate on the Middle East it would be easy to get carried away by the spirit of bipartisanship. I must say that I have not found this a very simple issue; indeed, it is very complex and difficult. Many disquieting elements are involved. I have listened to the debate in the Caucus. I have spoken to many constituents. I have watched experts on television and I have listened to experts on radio. I have endeavoured to read as much as I can about the issue, and I have had discussions with friends. I have found that there is a vast spectrum of views on this issue. Many of my constituents have asked me in their letters to exercise a conscience vote on this issue, and I will endeavour to take the House through the process that I have gone through as I have tried to distil a position over the last few weeks.

Most of us in the West see Saddam Hussein as a murderous dictator with a track record for ruthlessness and a callous disregard for international law. It is somewhat sobering—and we tend to ignore the view—that many Arabs see George Bush in just the same way. I am comforted by the support that the international community has received from the Muslim

community in this struggle. Earlier, the honourable member for Pearce (Mr Chaney) read a piece from a Malaysian newspaper. I intend to read from an article in the *Pakistan Times* which quotes Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and it states:

The Iraqi action . . . made a mockery of the principles of non-use of force and the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force. If the international community were to condone the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait, all small and vulnerable states would be at the mercy of their more powerful neighbours.

He said:

Pakistan . . . had therefore, denounced the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and subscribed to all Security Council resolutions pertaining to the crisis.

There is a great deal of support from the Muslim community for the action that has been taken against Saddam Hussein. Given the generally held view that I have put forward of Saddam Hussein, there is a consensus that he needs to be stopped. The divisive issue in our community and, indeed, in this Parliament, and perhaps everywhere, is what course of action is best—whether we should take the route of sanctions and diplomacy and carry and extend them further or whether the military option is that which we should pursue. Military option, of course, is the euphemism that we use for war.

It is interesting to see how much support for the military option there is in this House. In the United States Senate, just a couple of weeks ago, the vote was 52 for, and 47 against, to give George Bush the authority to wage war. In the United States House of Representatives the vote was 250 for, and 183 against. A reporting of the procedures of the Congress stated that the Congress was solemn and divided on this issue. It is clear that in the United States there was not the same bipartisanship that exists here.

My initial inclination has always been to support the sanctions option. Indeed, I believed that the economic crippling of Kuwait would bring about Saddam Hussein's downfall. That is an option that is very comfortable for those of us who

have a democratic tradition. But I ask myself: is it realistic?

I think the majority of honourable members and members of the general community have an abhorrence of war, but most of us, sooner or later, are willing to fight against an aggressor, and in the end it just comes down to where you draw the line—whether you draw the line at an attack on your allies; whether you draw the line at an attack on Australia; whether you draw the line at an attack on yourself; or whether you draw the line at a threat to your children or your family. Most of us, by that definition, would fall short of being pacifists; indeed, the true absolute pacifist is someone who opposes war or violence of any kind and who would never countenance it. I have respect for that position, and I have respect for those people who hold that position. It is not a view that I hold; I believe that sometimes it is necessary to fight an aggressor when there is no credible alternative. Given the view, a view that I believe is held by the majority of Australians, that it is necessary to fight an aggressor, we then come to the sanctions versus military option, and I will endeavour to go through the argument that I went through in my mind to come to my conclusions.

On the sanctions side was the position put by the Chairman of the United States Senate Armed Services Committee, Sam Nunn, as reported in the *Washington Post*. He said that the sanctions were in fact being very effective, and that they had brought about a 50 per cent decrease in gross domestic product (GDP) in Iraq. He said that it was quite possible that Iraq would become an economic basket case and that therefore the sanctions may bring about the overthrow of Saddam Hussein. He qualified his statement with the word 'may'.

On the other side of that argument, the information that we have from the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade (Senator Gareth Evans) and, indeed, from the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) is that there has been only a 10 per cent decrease in GDP, and a negligible effect on the military capacity of Iraq, as a result of the sanctions. In these circumstances a coun-

try like Iraq diverts its resources to its military options and away from the domestic options. This is a persuasive argument because in a dictatorship such as in Iraq, the sorts of forces that operate in our democracy are not operating. Those are two sides to the sanctions argument.

I cite again an unlikely source, the Central Intelligence Agency Director, Mr William Webster, who said that it was clear that Iraq was militarily weakened by the sanctions. Shortages of spares were occurring. The Iraqis were running out of munitions. Breakdowns were occurring. But the other side of the argument is the point I have already made about diverting resources. I also refer to the fact that the sanctions period allowed Iraq an opportunity to dig in, an opportunity to develop and improve its military capacity and it increased the likelihood that Iraq would further improve its capacity to deliver chemical, biological and, perhaps, nuclear weapons.

Another argument put forward for sanctions was that they had worldwide support and that the military option would be seen as just the initiative of the US and that it would dissipate the worldwide support. The counter to that argument is that the United Nations is firmly behind its resolutions.

The view has been put that sanctions would not destroy the infrastructure in Iraq and in Kuwait, and therefore there would be a better chance to rebuild after the conflict. The other side of that argument is that while the sanctions were operating, Kuwait was being destroyed and over time support for the coalition was being undermined. In each case we have this sort of scenario.

Another view was put that the sanctions option offered a better chance for the resurrection of peace in the Middle East after the conflict. But I have not found a convincing body of evidence that suggests that anybody knows what the likely scenario will be when this dispute is over, given either case—war or sanctions. Also the history of the success of sanctions in these sorts of cases is not particularly good. If the sanctions option

were to be tried and were it to fail, the military option would no longer be available to be renewed and over time the legitimacy of Iraq's annexation of Kuwait would grow.

For all of those reasons and after some consideration, I eventually felt that the argument for using the military option was a compelling one, and that while the sanctions route was longed for and preferable, it was an unattainable fantasy.

I wish to take one or two more minutes to destroy some of the canards in the community. Yesterday in this place while one honourable member was stating that action should be taken against the invasion of a small defenceless state by its neighbour, we heard a cry, 'What about East Timor?'. Very few of us who are members of this House now were members at the time of that invasion. Ironically, I saw someone who was a member of this House at that time speaking at one of the recent peace rallies. What are these people asking for? Is their cry for intervention a suggestion that there should have been intervention at the time of the East Timor takeover? If that is the case, that is a position that I support. But it does not undermine in any way the legitimacy of the action that we are taking now; indeed it supports it. These people are crying crocodile tears over East Timor because it is not free now. It is probably not free now because stronger action was not taken at the time and because a coalition such as the Middle East coalition was not available and the force of the United Nations was not put behind a small defenceless nation.

Two things will occur in Australia over the next couple of months. There will be an increase in pacifism in this country. People will take the view that nothing is worth the evil of war. But they need to be more than jingoistic or sincerely emotional in their views. They need to have reasoned, well-argued, honest views.

Mr SPEAKER—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr BRADFORD (McPherson) (2.40)—In the debate in this chamber on 5 December last year, I said that we were deal-

ing with the committal of Australia, and Australians, to war. During that debate, although it was only a short time ago, the idea of a full-scale Gulf war still seemed remote and somehow unreal. Since that time events have moved rapidly and tragically.

The world holds Saddam Hussein totally responsible for the present war. He will have a great deal to answer for. He already has a great deal to answer for; he has had blood on his hands since the very early years of his life. Saddam Hussein is a monster almost without peer in modern history. He is ruthless, determined, cunning and fiercely proud. When he makes threats he apparently keeps them. Now, incredibly, he has managed to bring the world back from the brink of peace—peace ushered in during 1990 with the end of the East-West Cold War.

I do not believe that Saddam Hussein's move against Kuwait was sudden. He has apparently planned this move for some years. It is part of his overall strategic plan which includes, significantly, the liquidation of Israel. Saddam Hussein sees himself as a modern day Nebuchadnezzar intent on recreating the great Babylonian empire. Finally, but almost too late, the world has realised what Saddam Hussein is up to. He cannot, and could not, be allowed to keep Kuwait under any circumstances.

The United Nations has taken a justifiably firm and correct stand. The international community, it seems, has learnt from the lessons of the 1930s. Appeasement of aggression only risks greater catastrophe later on. Saddam Hussein must be stopped now. To appease him in any way would be to reward his aggression. I agree wholeheartedly with what the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) said in his statement—that 'peace is brought at too high a price, if that price is appeasement'.

Saddam Hussein is, to the Western mind, a complete enigma. His appearances on television with children are in stark contrast to his attitude to the children that he gassed to death in the Kurdish towns. He is not a religious man. Only recently and for expediency has he

apparently become so—we have seen him praying and calling for a holy war. I do not believe that God will hear the prayers of this evil man until he prays for forgiveness for his murderous activities.

There are many ironies in this situation—not the least of which is the fact that it is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Britain, France and West Germany which have provided much of his arsenal of weapons. These countries provided the chemicals and the expertise for the production of the weapons that may be used against the coalition forces.

Indeed, one of the extreme ironies of this world is the lucrative weapons industry. Ultimately, those weapons on the market are used for their designed purpose—killing people. And often the makers of those weapons become their victims. Another sad irony is that, while our attention is focused on the Gulf and as we confront aggression there, we become aware of the situation in the Baltic states of the USSR.

In addition, even today, the Yugoslavian republics of Slovenia and Croatia, which recently democratically elected non-communist governments, are threatened with aggression by the Yugoslavian Government. No wonder many despair for the future of mankind. Already this century over 100 million people have died in wars—and we still have 10 years to go.

Saddam Hussein subscribes to the motto 'Might is right'. He has quite deliberately, over time, put together a military machine of considerable proportions. Control of Saudi Arabia, which would certainly have been Saddam's next objective, would have given him control of almost 50 per cent of the world's oil supplies. This would have allowed him to determine the price of oil and, by virtue of that fact, to threaten the whole world economy. Already the world is feeling the effects of a recession, and this recession would have been considerably exacerbated.

This war will be costly for Australia. In economic terms it is not clear yet what the full effects will be. Our tourism industry has just recovered from the airline

dispute of 1989 and was on the verge of a boom year. There is news today, however, of the cancellation of a major international conference on the Gold Coast, which of course forms part of my electorate, and this conference was expected to attract more than 1,500 Americans.

There are now fears for the Lions convention which was to be held in June and was expected to generate between \$80m and \$100m for south-east Queensland. The Indy Grand Prix race in Surfers Paradise in March may also be affected. All of this will come at the worst possible time for many small business and tourist operators.

Without suggesting that we should in any way capitalise on the misery and tragedy of the Middle East, there is nevertheless an opportunity to promote Australia as a safe tourist destination. The Australian Tourist Commission and the Federal Government must embark on a program of tourism promotion in the Asia-Pacific region, and particularly within Australia and New Zealand. Australians must be encouraged to remain home for holidays, and business conferences should be held on-shore whenever possible. Tourism is Australia's No. 1 industry and everything must be done to ensure its continued viability.

Australia has more than just a direct economic stake in the Middle East. Australia's own security interests also depend very much on our having an international framework capable of upholding the security of middle and small sized countries. The great majority of Australians support the stance that the Government has taken to date. Most Government members have made outstanding contributions to the debate so far, and I congratulate them. Only a pathetic few have equivocated.

The Opposition, as the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) said yesterday, strongly and unanimously supports this motion before the House. The Australian Democrats, however, have given their support to the anti-war movement, and I wonder what we are to make of this shallow political opportunism. Whilst I am

not excusing her behaviour in this House yesterday, at least Senator Vallentine has sincerely held beliefs and convictions. But the Democrats are totally unconvincing.

In my view, and speaking as a Christian, turning the other cheek in this situation is not an option. This is clearly a just war. As the euphoria surrounding the first days' events in the Gulf subsides, it has now become clear that the apparent early successes have not been as complete as we would have liked. We have been warned by allied military commanders that the Gulf war could be a 'long and bloody struggle', perhaps lasting months. The majority of those who die will be young Americans.

The debt owed by the whole world community to the United States is incalculable. Let us be certain that the United Nations coalition would not have been possible without the total, unreserved commitment of the United States. Once again, as it did in Vietnam, where 50,000 Americans died, the United States has been prepared unselfishly to defend the freedom of others. President Bush has shown himself to be a great leader. He has remained in control at all times and is cool and reassuring in the face of what must surely be incredible pressure.

Saddam Hussein refused to seriously take part in any of the various diplomatic approaches that were made to him, and in his whole attitude displayed his complete intransigence. His latest abuse is the public display and humiliation of prisoners of war and his threat to use them as human shields. This flagrant disregard for the Geneva Convention makes one wonder just how low this monster will stoop.

What will happen now is still unsure. Clearly, no war this century has followed the script military experts wrote for it. As Winston Churchill once said, 'War is mainly a catalogue of blunders'. And Dwight Eisenhower said, 'Every war is going to astonish you'. I believe that Australia can be proud to be seen to assume a role in this particular conflict and, in so doing, contribute to the preservation of world peace.

We are one of 28 nations that are there. It may well be that if the war escalates we will have to make an even greater contribution. We must keep our options open in terms of that possibility. I am sure that the Australian Army and the Royal Australian Air Force have units that are well prepared to play a role in the Gulf war if the need arises. Let us hope that this will not be necessary but, if it is, I am sure that they will not shrink from the task.

I know that our service men and women who are in the Gulf at the moment serve in the finest traditions. We pray for their safe return. As a younger man I was conscripted into the Australian Army and served 359 days in South Vietnam. I know that the families of those who serve in the Gulf will be as anxious as my parents and brothers were for me.

Families may nevertheless be assured that those who serve in the armed forces today do so by choice. None is conscripted. They have nevertheless chosen a high calling and they deserve our respect and admiration. They will, hopefully, return, unlike many Vietnam veterans, to a befitting welcome.

MR SPEAKER—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

MR HOLLIS (Throsby) (2.50)—At the outset, I must say that I had to think long and hard before supporting this motion. This is not because I or anyone in any way could or would want to justify Saddam Hussein's action, but because of my long held revulsion of war. I have participated in every anti-war march and every peace rally in the Illawarra for the past 20 years. Like so many other members, this has been the most difficult decision for me to make in my almost eight years in this place. I also respect the strongly held views of those opposed to this war. We are all opposed to it. We wish it had not happened. But, just as I respect the views of those who are opposed to the motion, I hope that they can understand why I am supporting it and, in turn, respect my view.

Who would have thought that in 1991 our televisions would have been filled with images depicting the unleashing of hor-

rific weapons? But this has been the sad reality of the past few days. It has left me with a feeling of numbness, sadness and despair. If Kuwait had not been oil rich, I wonder whether the result would have been any different from events that occurred in East Timor, Grenada, Panama, the West Bank, Tibet and Lithuania? I also have questions about the legitimacy of going to war for oil.

I have reservations about so-called democracy as it was practised in Kuwait. Are we proposing that the ruling elite be restored there? But because we have failed in the past—and I believe especially in the case of Timor we did fail—does that mean we can never in future take the correct action? This is a ludicrous argument. I believe in this case we can take the correct action.

Of course, international politics is full of contradictions. We wring our hands about the sophisticated weapons that the madman of Iraq has. And who supplied him with them? The United States of America (USA), Britain, France, the Soviet Union and others. It has also concerned me that Hussein was our ally when Iran was the enemy of the West. There has been far too much hypocrisy about this whole affair and, unfortunately, there will be more.

I have also thought deeply about the millions of dollars this war is costing each day. It is sobering when one thinks of the better uses this money could be put to—eradicating illiteracy, giving all children enough to eat as well as clean drinking water, and finding a solution to some of the diseases of the world. Saddam Hussein's special crime in my view is to encourage a greater expenditure on arms throughout the world. Just at the time when nations were talking realistically about arms reduction, this war will mean that a reduced expenditure on arms will remain an unrealised dream.

I have had to convince myself about negotiations. However difficult, should they have been continued; should sanctions have been given more time to work; or would the continuation of sanctions only have given Hussein more time to

perfect his weapons, such as chemical weapons? This, indeed, would have given Hussein time to put chemical heads on missiles, develop his nuclear capacity and enable troops to dig in. How many more people would have been killed or maimed because of this?

People like myself have made speeches about giving the United Nations (UN) some real power. We have made these speeches for years. Let the UN fulfil the high ideals that the framers of the UN Charter had in mind. Now that the UN is acting in the way in which I have over many years called upon it to act—fulfilling its Charter—it would be hypocrisy for me now to oppose this motion. Never before have the nations of the world acted in such a way as to condemn and reverse an action as in these last few months they have condemned and acted to reverse Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. In the United Nations General Assembly, 144 nations have condemned Iraq's invasion.

I urge those who say that the world did not try hard enough to read the statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations of 15 January 1991. No statement could have gone further to try to meet the concerns of Iraq. But this appeal, like every other, was totally rejected by Hussein, and it was made after 12 resolutions of the UN and appeals from leaders of all parts of the world—each treated with contempt. The real test comes, I guess, when one of the larger nations intervenes—be it the United States in its so-called sphere of influence, the Soviet Union in eastern Europe, or the People's Republic of China in relation to Tibet. I would expect the world body to act in such a way as to condemn and reverse such an action. Only time will tell whether I am wrong. I know that there will be other wars, but let us be clear: this dreadful war would not have commenced had not Iraq invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990, and nothing can detract from that fact.

I must say that I am very sceptical about this so-called new world order. I want peace, but does anyone really think peace would have been attained by giving in to Hussein? What would have hap-

pened when he made his next demand? I have a long-standing commitment to human rights. I have been appalled at the documented evidence of the abuse of human rights in Kuwait since the Iraq invasion. But what about the human rights of the innocent Israeli citizens who have had missiles rained on their cities? Make no mistake about it: Iraq has no monopoly on the abuses of human rights, but I am appalled that Iraq is talking of using prisoners of war as human shields.

Of course we must work for a negotiated cease-fire, but it has to be an honourable one and Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait. When peace does return to this troubled area, there must be a comprehensive action towards correcting the many unsolved issues dividing the Middle East, including a just settlement of the Palestinian issue. War is an admission of failure. Many people worked hard to avoid this war. It was the intransigence of Iraq that made it inevitable. I have many friends in the peace movement. I respect them; I do not question their motives. But their case would be stronger if many of them were a little more even-handed. It is all right to criticise the USA and Israel, but one would expect the criticism of Iraq to be equally as strident.

It was not the United States that started this war, and the actions that the United States did take were sanctioned by the UN. We can say the UN was bought off—and people are saying that—but just think of the world without the UN. Even with all its imperfections, life without it would indeed be for many nasty, brutish and short.

I ask my friends: what would you do about Hussein and his like? We would all like the world to be better and in an ideal world there would be no wars, no aggressions and no trampling on human rights. What is the answer when one is confronted by someone with whom it is impossible to negotiate? It is too simplistic to say that we would do nothing, that we would turn our backs and close our eyes in the hope that if the problem did not go away we would neither see nor hear it. That to me is not and cannot be the answer to the Husseins of this world.

I have listened to the argument that this is a Middle East problem and Australia has no place in it. I have a real difficulty with this because I am very involved with the anti-apartheid movement. In fact, I am Chairman of the Australian Parliamentarians Against Apartheid group. It is often put to me that apartheid is an African problem and that we have no right to get involved. I believe that we do—so do many people in the peace movement. They see no contradiction in becoming involved in the anti-apartheid movement and saying that we have no right to be involved in the Middle East problem. There are some problems that transcend national boundaries and, unfortunately, we cannot be selective.

I listened to the speech of the honourable member for Gilmore (Mr Sharp) last night, and I support the remarks he made about the personnel from HMAS *Albatross*, some of whom live in the electorate of Throsby. My thoughts—as do the thoughts, I am sure, of every member of this House—go out to the 884 Australian service personnel in the Gulf region. It is my earnest prayer that each will return safely to Australia. I hope peace will come quickly to the Middle East, but I fear it will not. But whether there is peace or war in the Middle East now is in the hands of one man—and that is Saddam Hussein. I support the motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and seconded by the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson).

Mr TRUSS (Wide Bay) (2.59)—There is no greater exercise of government power than to send the nation's armed forces to war. There can, therefore, be no more difficult decision for a government or a parliament to make than to participate in or to wage war. In peace-loving civilised countries like Australia, such decisions are only rarely made—perhaps half a dozen times in our history. It is appropriate, therefore, that this Parliament should be recalled and provided with this opportunity to debate the issues involved. It is perhaps sad that there are some people in this community who do not want to listen to that debate. Nonetheless, these opportunities are essential.

An incident having occurred in the gallery—

Mr SPEAKER—Order! Those people in the gallery who are clapping will cease doing so.

Mr TRUSS—There is nothing glamorous about war. It is not like the Hollywood epics. The real war is a horrible thing full of suffering, anxiety and despair. There are no victors, just some who are hurt less than others. War destroys not just enemies and cities and countries, but also lives and families, hopes and ambitions and the plans of a generation. No civilised country would go to war if there were any other options.

One of yesterday's protesters suggested that it was very easy for members of this House to sit here in comfort and callously send our soldiers to war. Even though the cause be just, this is not the case. Even though the public may overwhelmingly support the Australian commitment, the decision is not easy. No member of parliament can put his fellow Australians in a position of danger without feeling something of the enormity of his action.

When I became a member of this House I hoped that I would never be asked to participate in a decision on whether or not our country should wage war. So I approached this debate with a heavy heart, but also with a deep consciousness of my responsibilities. In many ways, however, this decision is straightforward. The issues are not particularly complex. All other options have been tried. The problem will not just go away. The warnings have been ignored; the deadlines have expired.

Iraq, a country with a million or more soldiers at its disposal, a vast armoury, modern missiles, tanks and aircraft, invades its tiny neighbour, Kuwait—a young, peace-loving country with the smallest of armies. Then follows a regime of murder, torture and looting, laying waste a productive country. Quite rightly, there was international condemnation. Even in the United Nations (UN), a body often ridiculed as ineffective, there was unprecedented unanimity. Iraq's behaviour created international outrage. This type of behaviour cannot be tolerated by

a world seeking peace and security. To ignore the invasion would have been to overlook conquest, to appease the aggressor. To grant concessions would encourage others to commit similar acts of outrage.

Saddam Hussein, the imperialist aggressor, ignored international opinion. He ignored diplomatic initiatives. He ignored the advice of his traditional allies. He scorned the olive branch. He ignored the 12 mandatory UN resolutions. He ignored the warnings. He ignored the threats. The sanctions had little effect. Sanctions rarely work; they affect the civilian population but do little to affect the aggressor's capacity to wage war. To have extended the sanctions would have been to cause additional suffering and concern to the citizens of Iraq and Kuwait. Five long months were allowed to pass. Iraq was given every chance—a chance it did not give to Kuwait. The deadlines were put in place, but they too were ignored.

The multinational force is not some trigger-happy United States expedition of conquest. It is a UN-sanctioned force of some 40 countries. It is perhaps the greatest international assembly of armed forces in history. It is a broad alliance coming from every continent. There are communist countries, democracies, dictatorships; blacks and whites, Arabs, Muslims, traditional foes. They are all united for the common cause of evicting Saddam from Kuwait. This is not a war between Christian and Muslim. It is not a war to end all wars. It is not even a war to resolve the Palestinian question. Fundamentally, it is police action to evict a dictator, a looter, from his annexed territory. It is a police action to restore international order.

The world gave Saddam plenty of time to leave Kuwait. Even now, he can leave and create instant peace. The world tried sanctions and other gentler persuasion. Indeed, Australia's initial naval commitment was to enforce sanctions. Now more must be done. Not to have acted to repel the Iraqi aggression would have been to render the UN useless and impotent for all time. It would have been to approve aggression and the right of might. It would

have left other countries exposed to Iraqi invasion—some day, maybe even Australia.

Our involvement is small—fewer than 1,000 men and women—but those men and women are entitled to our unequivocal support. They answered the call when their country demanded, just as their forefathers did in their thousands at Anzac, in World War I and World War II, and in Vietnam. They carry the proud traditions of the Diggers.

It is perhaps easy for all of us in this House to support the commitment and this motion at a time when the war is going well, while we have spectacular pictures and minimal casualties and while public opinion is overwhelmingly in support. But there may be reversals. There may be heavy casualties, perhaps even some Australians. Public opinion may wane as the war drags on over the weeks and the months. But the decision to go to the Middle East is right. It has been made for the right reasons. It is right even if the costs become high, even if the protests get bigger, even if public opinion wanes. We cannot change that decision, even if it gets tough. We must continue to support our commitment. Then we must welcome our soldiers home. Even if they come home battered and tired, we must welcome them as heroes and defenders of freedom. We must then give them and their families the honour they deserve.

Australia's most significant casualties of the war could well be its grain growers and other exporters. Now that we are entrenched in war, the Government must honour its promise that no one sector will be required to bear the major burden of this conflict. Farm incomes have been cut to less than 20 per cent of average weekly earnings. The Government must move promptly now to pay out on its obligations under insurance arrangements for lost wheat sales and compensate for the lost markets. The whole community must bear its share of that load. After the war we must ensure that our exporters are able to build up their markets once again in that area and not be threatened by United States subsidies and the like.

This war teaches us a number of lessons. We must be aware yet again of the folly of allowing our nation's defences to run down because of some perceived lack of threat. Our commitment at present in the Saddam Hussein eviction is not great, but our capacity to play a more significant part in that war also is not great. We must ensure that our military forces are retained. It is just when we think there is no risk that the international community may call on us, as it has done in these circumstances. We must also plan for the future. The Middle East has been the home of war for thousands of years. We must look to put in place something for the long term security of that region.

Yesterday I wandered outside to see some of the protesters—a few hundred, a few for and a few against. It is easy to support the peace slogans. I do not want war. I do not want blood for oil or for anything else. I pray for peace, and particularly for the safe and secure return of our Australian contingent, and soon. But I know that peace will not be found at the wishing well. We have to work for it. Sometimes we even have to fight for it. Once peace is achieved, we must then build on it. We must free the world of the Saddams and guarantee an enduring peace for this generation and for the future of the world.

Mrs JAKOBSEN (Cowan) (3.09)—On 2 August 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait in an act of war which I deplore and abhor, as I know do all other members of this House. More recently, Saddam Hussein has carried out his threat to attack Israel in a threadbare attempt to change the emphasis of the conflict and to dilute the will of the Arab states presently standing against him. Like others in this place, I earnestly hope that in the interests of confining the conflict and maintaining the effectiveness of the Gulf alliance, Israel is able to continue to resist the temptation to retaliate.

The history of Saddam Hussein's treatment of his own people and those of Kuwait since its occupation is repulsive and he deserves the condemnation of each and every one of us. He has certainly shown himself to be devoid of humanitar-

ian ideals and to be capable of the most outrageous atrocities, including the use of chemical weapons.

The threat to use prisoners of war as human shields at probable military targets is the latest in a long line of obscenities. Nevertheless, my abhorrence of Hussein and his ruthless terror tactics does not persuade me to accept the rectitude of war as a legitimate way of achieving peace. The end is seldom, if ever, likely to justify the means. Like many other Australians and parliamentarians, therefore, I am confronted with an acute dilemma, given our nation's involvement in the Gulf war. I acknowledge that in this instance there are special circumstances which may render it the only means possible, but I am distraught at the thought of the tremendous loss of life and destruction which will most assuredly flow from this conflict.

The question we must each ask ourselves is whether that price will be too high compared to the undoubted slaughter and misery which will accompany a continued expansion of Hussein's tyranny and power in the Middle East region. Frankly, I have great difficulty in envisaging a set of circumstances within which I could condone Australia's active military involvement in any war save one where we were being invaded or our sovereignty was being significantly threatened. Of course, I refer to the Australian Labor Party platform in this regard and entirely subscribe to it.

However, I also support the view that there should be a greater and more influential role for the United Nations in promoting and maintaining world peace and the self-determination of individual nation states. Reaffirmation of support for such a role for the United Nations is clearly put in the first paragraph of the motion we are currently debating. As long ago as November 1988, I committed myself in this House to the concept of last resort force for the United Nations when I said:

The United Nations, or a body extending from it, should be given the teeth and the authority it needs to resolve disputes between nations.

I went on to say:

Australia should use its influence in international affairs to promote the United Nations as an independent arbiter which can be trusted in order to maintain the momentum for a peaceful world.

This view at least implies support for the recourse to force that the United Nations Charter provides for and which it has invoked in the case of the Gulf crisis; but it does not supersede my firm belief in the need to exhaust every possible avenue of peaceful negotiation as the preferred method of obtaining the resolution of differences between nations.

Obviously, then, the Gulf conflict presents me with particular problems because the United Nations has underwritten both the enforcement of trade sanctions through a military blockade and the commencement of comprehensive military action on the part of the multinational forces, which has simultaneously involved Australian forces in a sphere of war which might not, at first glance, have a great deal to do with the security interests of our country. I accept absolutely that Australia's commitment was made in the utmost good faith and in the belief that our assistance with the enforcement of sanctions was essential to bring Saddam Hussein to book.

Unfortunately, that was not to be. The sanctions were truncated, an ultimatum date was announced, further negotiations by many parties were attempted in vain and hostilities were finally embarked upon. The possibility, or probability, of armed conflict must at least have been envisaged, if not expected, at the time the original contingent of personnel left Australia—and I accept that position. I do not believe, therefore, that having agreed to send our ships to the Gulf for the blockade it is realistic for us to suggest that they should now be recalled. However, two wrongs do not make a right, and it is absolutely unacceptable to further escalate our involvement.

I hereby flag my opposition to any suggestion that we should do so and am greatly heartened by the assurance of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) that Australia will not be making any additional commitment of forces to the conflict. At

the same time, I sincerely hope that our service personnel currently in the Middle East will be able to return home safe and soon. I do not doubt their courage or conviction to do whatever our nation demands of them in the interim.

Given the level of rumour and concern in the community over the possibility of conscription, I am relieved that the Government has made it clear that it has no intention of introducing conscription for this Gulf conflict. Like many honourable members of this House, I recall vividly the concerns of people over the Vietnam conflict and the difficulties that people were confronted with on the issue of conscription.

As a member of World Women Parliamentarians for Peace and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, I recognise that the most tragic casualties of any war are the innocent men, women and children of the nations attacked and/or invaded. Under the circumstances, I feel the same empathy and compassion for the ordinary people of Kuwait as I do for the non-combatant people of Iraq and maintain the view that war is not a valid avenue to the achievement of peace.

Mr CADMAN (Mitchell) (3.15)—On 10 August the Australian Government, with the long history and tradition of the Australian Labor Party, took an impeccably right decision. I acknowledge that it was not an easy decision for the Government. The factions and difficulties within the Party itself and the number of speakers from the Labor Party who have been opposed to the Government's stance on this issue make it obvious how difficult that decision must have been. Nevertheless, the Government took an impeccably right decision.

The Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) has enunciated the reasons for that decision. He has clearly spelt out the reasons why his Government decided on 10 August to put Australian ships into the Gulf to maintain the sanctions. That decision was taken exactly one week after the invasion by Iraq of Kuwait and following warnings by the President of the United States that

Iraq had best not proceed and that invasion of Saudi Arabia was totally unacceptable to the United States.

Slowly, over a period, the whole world gathered together to support the decision of the United States and, frankly, support the opinion of the Australian Government—one of the few governments at that time to show an active commitment to a matter of principle. On this side of the House, we have continued to endorse the Government's action. I will deal later with one part of the motion before the House with which I do not agree. The motion before the House expresses the views of the House. The motion is a compromise motion, basically designed by the Prime Minister to ensure that all or most members of his Party can be carried forward in endorsement of the Government.

We need to look at the situation in the Middle East, because over the last 10 years there has been a great competition for control and power. For many years, up until the Camp David agreement, the Egyptian Government was dominant in Arab affairs. Egypt, of the whole Arab bloc, was the most powerful and successful country and had the capacity to sway others to its point of view. That centre of power after Camp David gradually shifted until President Assad of Syria became the prime person in Arabic politics. President Assad has now held that pre-eminent position for a period of five years.

President Hussein has felt, as a matter of pride for his nation, that he should assume that pre-eminent role for Iraq as the dominant Arabic country. He tried by force to persuade Iran that he should be dominant. That dreadful horrific war in which the character of Saddam Hussein became obvious to the world went on for eight years. He pursued and used techniques against the Iranians and his own people—all sorts of barbaric torture and weapons banned by conventions endorsed by the rest of the world—which were, tragically with hindsight, supported in some circumstances by the Western world.

In these affairs people, leaders and the United States will make decisions that are wrong. We as a nation will make deci-

sions that are wrong. But in this instance of the invasion of Kuwait 28 nations have said, 'We will join together and hope that we can prevent further events of this type'. By joining together, the rest of the world is staking a principle and saying that it is unacceptable for a country to invade another country in this way and that it is prepared to back that principle with action.

It does not make it an easy decision or one that many would want to follow regularly, but I believe that it was the right decision. We in this Parliament will agree that those 28 nations have made a right decision and that the 100 nations that have condemned Saddam Hussein have made a right decision too.

Saddam Hussein, with his fierce will to dominate the Middle East and gather control of the oil resources has set out on a campaign of terrorism and a seeking for power to endorse his ambitions. If oil were the only factor with which he wanted to bargain, he could have withheld the oil of Iraq. He chose to think that that was not sufficient, and that he would gather first of all the oil of Kuwait and then that of Saudi Arabia until he reached a point where he could control the vital resources of, and also be pre-eminent in, the Middle East. I believe that has been his objective for many years. He seeks to dominate.

When the first commitment to try to impose sanctions to shortcut the course of events is unsuccessful, we come to a decision as to whether force is used. We all have to make those sorts of decisions. I respect those who make decisions that under no circumstances will they offer resistance, that they will allow people to invade their houses and abuse themselves, their families and their homes. There are not many people like that, but I respect that point of view.

There are also those who would say they have a right to protect their own homes and will not tolerate the abuse of their families, their persons or their homes. That is another respectable view just recently expressed by the previous speaker from the Australian Labor Party, the honourable member for Cowan (Mrs

Jakobsen). It is a very selfish and narrow view because it says that everybody becomes responsible for themselves and nobody else—that people have certain principles that they endorse, but that those principles apply only to themselves and, when somebody abuses their neighbour, the person down the street, their family or their home, then those people down the street must fend for themselves.

There are only two principles in this debate. The first is whether someone is prepared to stand up against those who would seek to abuse him. Then there is a subsequent matter, which is automatic: if someone is prepared to do that, he must endorse assistance to those who are also abused. The other sound principle is the one that someone offers no resistance whatsoever. The halfway house of being an isolationist, of being prepared to be completely selfish, is one that would lead to tragedy if adopted by the nations of the world, and particularly if adopted by Australia. Australia has never adopted that attitude. Australians have always been people who would support the underdog and those who need to have a fair go. I do not believe Australians will ever change their attitude to assisting their neighbour or their friend if they are in need. Sometimes we may be slow; sometimes we may equivocate. But that is the basic nature of an Australian. It is not isolationist, nor is it so pacifist in outlook that somebody would not lift a hand if somebody sought to invade his own home. The pacific principles of completely protecting people's own households or seeking to help their neighbour when in trouble are sound, but the principle that we are following as a nation is the best and the one that is endorsed by most Australians—that is, to assist somebody that is being abused. We will not always get it right. To talk of a new future for the world may be idealistic. I hope that it is right; but we will make mistakes.

The one part of this motion that I do not agree with is the one that the Government has decided to include linking Palestine and the Palestinian cause with the affairs of Iraq. I know there is a qualification, but no parliament in the world

has linked a paragraph that says 'including a just resolution of the Palestinian issue and the continuing security of Israel, once the crisis in the Gulf is resolved'. There will be decisions when the current problem is resolved. The Palestinian issue is a separate matter, but for the first time the Government has established some sort of linkage process. I reject absolutely that linkage and reject that section of the motion.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Ronald Edwards)—Order! The honour member's time has expired.

Mr WRIGHT (Capricornia) (3.26)—On Sunday morning I was sitting in a church in Melbourne—I was down there for a few days—when the minister announced he was going to read a special statement on the Gulf war from the national president of the Uniting Church of Australia, Sir Ronald Wilson. I waited with some anticipation. Ultimately the statement was read and I would like to bring to the House some aspects of this statement—at least the first four or five paragraphs. Sir Ronald Wilson said:

The decision to begin military action against Iraq is terribly wrong.

Such a decision is a tragic consequence of the failure of us all to work hard enough for a just peace.

History will condemn us for having allowed national pride and self-interest—although hidden behind fine words about right and wrong—to dictate the course of events.

This is a senseless war, brought about by a rush to use force as a first option in expelling Iraq from Kuwait. Diplomacy has been reduced to threats and public name calling. Sanctions were never given a chance to work.

It is not a war fought for the good of the people of Kuwait or the other countries of the Middle East. It is a war in which many innocent people from both sides will suffer death, dislocation and great hardship.

It goes on to mention the need for Australians to ensure that the Arab and Muslim communities do not suffer harassment and sends a special message of prayer for those who are involved in the region, and particularly for our troops.

When this message was first read, my reaction was very positive. I felt totally supportive, because the points raised by

Sir Ronald Wilson picked up my own beliefs, including a belief that war is senseless, and I saw this war as being unnecessary. I made some statements 5½ months ago suggesting that the real emphasis was oil. I also felt that sanctions were never given a chance to work; they could have been tougher and extended over a longer period. I also felt for innocent people from both sides who would suffer ultimately as the war continued.

As I talked this through with my wife Alison, as we walked away from the church and later on, I started to understand and appreciate that whilst the national president was putting forward a view which was very strongly held and which expressed the opinions, sincere views, emotional thoughts and attitudes of many other Australians, his statement did not give the full weight, and proper weight, to some of the other relevant factors. It overlooked that it was Saddam Hussein who actually attacked Kuwait; it was Saddam Hussein who raped and pillaged that country; it was this man and his forces whom Amnesty International had recorded as committing atrocities on children, men and women; it was this dictator who had declared that this country did not even exist—that it was now a nineteenth province.

People have to understand the facts. I would rather say, 'Let us not have the war; let us not have our ships there; let us try to have sanctions'. But sanctions can only work if they can be enforced, and that enforcement requires force. It required a blockade—which did not seem to be working—and that required force. I see a confusion here. People say, as I was saying, 'Let the sanctions prevail', yet those sanctions cannot prevail unless we enforce them. People are saying, 'Pull back our troops; do not let our ships stay in the Gulf'. Yet we are saying, 'Let the sanctions prevail'. They will only prevail if we have the blockades, if we have universality in trying to block the supplies to and from Iraq, to block trade.

I want to move on to another fact, a military fact. The Iraqis have been using the sanction period for their own reasons: to build up their weaponry, to build up

their chemical and biological weapons and their ballistic missiles, to dig in and to give legitimacy to the invasion and control over that nation. There is another fact. We talk about peace and we say, 'We don't want to fight against this country'. But this man has called for a war of terror. He has called for a holy war. He has called for the murder of innocents. He has called for bombing and terrorism throughout this world, regardless of whether people are against him. He has called for a war against the infidel. If people are not of his religious beliefs, they are against him. That is a fact that has to be understood.

We also have to ask ourselves: if he is not stopped now what are the consequences and the outcomes? Will it be Saudi Arabia? Will it be the Middle East itself? Remember, this man is saying that he has a claim on Kuwait historically. He has gone past the Ottoman Empire; he has gone back to Babylon. He wants to take Syria, theoretically. He will take Jordan. He will take Iran. He will take every nation in that historic regime. That is the reason the Syrians and the others want to see him stopped—not destroyed, but stopped. If Saddam Hussein is not stopped now, what will be the consequences, not just for the region but for the world?

I have been concerned about the diplomatic efforts and I wondered whether more should have been done. But when we get to the extreme that the United Nations Secretary-General is rejected and ultimately we have the nations of the world rejected—whether it be France, the European Community nations, whether it be those that have been seen to support, such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)—and when we get a situation where Moslem countries themselves speak out in huge numbers against the invasion, against the aggression, irrespective of what we feel we must come to say that something is radically wrong.

It comes back to Iraq itself, its policies, its strategy of aggression and its agenda. That agenda must be stopped. This brings me to the major point of my contribution. I see not just the situation now but the future situation. I take the minds of

honourable members back to the speech of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) on 4 December when he said that Australia has a direct interest in the establishment and maintenance of an international order based on the charter of the United Nations. He was not talking about a new world order controlled by the United States. He was talking about a new structure throughout this world that gives us some rules. Primary to that objective is the ability of the United Nations effectively to enforce an international system of accepted rules of behaviour but, more importantly, the ability to constrain those who internationally misbehave.

The key to that ability is the willingness of the members of the United Nations to back the decisions of that body, to back the resolutions, to carry out the resolutions, to provide some instrument—if necessary an instrument of force. Without that instrument of force the United Nations will be powerless tomorrow and in the years and decades to come to limit and reverse aggression. It will be powerless to localise a problem and prevent it from expanding to a regional and global base. It will be powerless to implement its own decisions.

As many honourable members—I think 78 before me—have said, I suggest that the consequences of that shall be disastrous. As a nation, as a world, as a parliament, we need to grab with enthusiasm the opportunity before us to build on the changes that have occurred, changes that have taken place throughout this nation, throughout this world, across the globe, throughout the eastern European areas, in the USSR, South America, Central America and South Africa. The prerequisite to that is, as the Prime Minister said, that we need to have a charter, a structure. It is my belief that the United Nations is the only possible structure.

I would have preferred tougher sanctions. I would have preferred a less threatening posturing by the United States because it seemed that, in part, it was saying, 'We want you to do this and if you don't, we have some missiles or a brickbat to force you into that position'. I would have preferred even a greater role

played by the Arab nations. But that has not been the reality. So I am forced to come back to the situation now and say that Saddam Hussein has to be stopped—and he has to be stopped now. We, as a nation, as part of the United Nations, for the sake of this nation and as part of the players in the world of the future, need to say, 'Yes, Saddam has to be stopped now'. Regrettably that means war.

Dr HARRY EDWARDS (Berowra) (3.35)—The motion before the House about the United Nations action in the Gulf expresses the support of this House for the commitment of our armed forces to the United Nations sanctioned multi-national force (MNF) in the war against Iraq. To commit the nation to war is the most grave and serious step that the Government, with the support of the Opposition and this Parliament, can take. As the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) reminded us, Australians in this century, like many others, have endured severe trials in war and have made great sacrifices so this nation might live in peace.

The few days of the actual fighting in the war and the horrific prospect of the maiming and killing that would result if the ground fighting in Kuwait goes ahead again remind us of the awful price that has to be paid when countries engage in the horror, the brutality, the obscenity of war. I have been asked—this is the main reason I have entered the debate—how, as President of the Parliamentary Christian Fellowship in this place, I can possibly lend support to this war in the Gulf.

That sort of questioning springs from the obvious contradiction between the fact of war and the ethic of Christ summed up in the law of love and, in particular, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself', which is of central significance to the Christian gospel. The mainstream Christian church has never been pacifist, as was so ably argued in the context of World War II by the great theologian Reinhold Niebuhr.

The truth is that the injunctions—'Thou shalt not kill' or 'Resist not evil'—are only part and parcel of a total ethic which we violate every day of our lives, every

one of us, in one way or another. For all its horror and barbarity, war may be seen as but a final and vivid revelation of the dimensions of the character of human existence. Indeed, the Christian might more easily be accepting of war precisely because beyond the assertion 'God exists and rewards those who seek him', the very starting point of the structure of Christian belief is the sinful nature of men and women as stated in Jeremiah, chapter 17, verse 9—'the heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked'. The secular mind does not accept that proposition. The secular mind has a more renaissance-like faith in the goodness of man and is inclined to regard the Christian doctrine of original sin as an outmoded bit of pessimism.

I observe in passing that, while the law of love is indeed central to the gospel and thus many perceive Christianity as primarily a challenge to man to obey the law of Christ, in point of fact Christianity is a religion which deals realistically with the problem presented by the inevitable violation of the law of love. The gospel deals with the fact that men violate the law of love. So far from believing that the ills of the world would be set right 'if only' men obey the law of Christ, Christianity has always regarded the problem of achieving justice in a sinful world as a very difficult task.

The fact is that in the world as it is and with human pride, selfishness and lust for power being what they are, a tolerable justice and peace are achieved by structures and political strategies which invariably involve the balancing of power with power. There is always the potential for tyranny on the one hand and warfare on the other when the balance is tipped, gets askew. That which confronts us, ordinary Australians and whether with a strong Christian conviction or not, is whether the war, the subject of this motion, is a just war or, more accurately, stripped of possible theological connotations, a justifiable war.

I feel a heavy sense of responsibility and I share with all honourable members in this place a deep sense of compassion for the suffering of the victims of war.

Not least, one is conscious of today's news reports of what is happening to captured MNF pilots who have been paraded before the television cameras, and of the deep worry and concern that that would cause their families. I say—not without a heavy sense of responsibility and a deep sense of compassion for the victims—that one can only assert that this is a justifiable war. That is the view that is taken by the great majority of ordinary Australians.

My colleague the honourable member for Bradfield (Mr Connolly) set out the conditions for a 'just' war. It should be fought for a just cause, to end the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq in this case; undertaken with the backing of a right authority, the United Nations; undertaken with the right intention; the resort to force must be proportionate to the end; it must be seen as a last resort—Iraq had made it abundantly clear that it refused to comply with the United Nations resolutions ordering it to quit Kuwait and that it would never so comply—it must be a war undertaken with peace as the goal; and, finally, it must be undertaken with reasonable hope of success.

More straightforwardly: a recent issue of *The Economist* quotes Benjamin Franklin as saying that there is no good war or a bad peace. The article goes on to say that he was only half right. While there is no good war, there would be a bad peace—trebly bad, worse than war—if the ruthless, tyrannical dictator Saddam Hussein had been left unchallenged in Kuwait. It would be trebly bad because, firstly, such a peace would have meant sacrificing a high principle—no country has the right to invade, occupy, pillage and brutalise another as Iraq has done in Kuwait. I hesitate to comment on the torture, rape and killings that have marked Iraq's occupation, as documented by Amnesty International, but it certainly underlines that there is a just cause for the removal of Iraq from Kuwait. I mention in passing that the word 'aggression' in the first clause of the motion would better read 'the invasion and occupation of Kuwait' because that is what it is, as the UN resolution clearly states.

Secondly, such a peace would be bad because it would have meant sacrificing a great and vital interest—namely, secure access to the oil of the Gulf upon which the prosperity of the whole world has come increasingly to depend. I stress that both that principle and that interest have been clearly stated from the outset.

I recognise the right of peace protesters to have their say and I recognise their fears and concerns. Yet the pejorative, disparaging line they take that 'this is just a war about oil' or the protest call 'No blood for oil', or further that it is some sort of war launched by the United States of America and its allies—all of that is totally wrong-headed and misguided. The whole world does depend on oil and it is the poor in advanced industrial countries and most of the population in developing countries who would suffer most from the adverse manipulation of the international oil scene by a tyrant such as Saddam Hussein. This is a dispute and a war not between the United States and Iraq but between the United Nations and Iraq, as Mr Andreotti, the Prime Minister of Italy and a former colleague in Inter-Parliamentary Union deliberations, aptly put it.

Thirdly, it is a peace that is trebly bad because sacrificing those two things—sacrificing a high principle and a great and vital interest—would have meant accepting a peace that was no peace at all. Rather, it would have been a peace that was the lull before an even larger conflagration. There can be no doubt about that.

I conclude by paying tribute to our Australian service personnel who are deployed in the Gulf for their professionalism, courage and devotion to the task. Let us get behind them and give them all of the support and encouragement that we can. We pray for their early and safe return.

Mr JOHNS (Petrie) (3.45)—Many useful contributions have been made to this most difficult debate, and I am glad that the House was recalled so that each of us was forced to think again about whether our actions, as a government, were necessary. I mean think again because mem-

bers of the Government were forced to think about these issues a month or more ago. We in the Australian Labor Party and in the Government thought about and debated these issues last year. It was then that we made up our minds that we should have a presence in the Gulf; that we should resist the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq; that we should free Kuwait from that invasion; and that we should be involved militarily.

A journalist approached me yesterday morning with the news that some allied servicemen had been captured by the Iraqis. She said, 'What is your position now that this war is real?'. I said to her, 'This war has been real since 2 August last year'. It has been real for Kuwaitis and Iraqis. It is no more real just because we, as Australians, are involved. It is more sensitive for Australia now that we are directly involved, but it is no more real. It has been a real war for some six months and it will continue for some more months before it is resolved.

I want to make just six points in my contribution. The first is that I agree absolutely with the motion of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke), in all its parts. Secondly, I believe we, as politicians, should moderate our language because as leaders people will take their signals from us in this debate—and that moderate language must be used by those who are hawkish, as well as by those who take the attitude of doves in this debate. Thirdly, this is not an absolutely just war, but it is entirely justifiable. I think if we begin to slip into the language of absolutes this will blind us to the further and necessary debate that we will have to hold about the future of the region and whose interests are to be satisfied once we win a peace.

Fourthly, because war is the final recourse, we should not assume that it will resolve all of the problems of the Middle East. It will not, but it was the only option we had in order to find some solution to the Middle East problems. Fifthly, propaganda on both sides must be avoided because some of the false reports about this war that we have received already from our allies have lifted hopes unnecessarily. It makes it more difficult, politi-

cally, for us to maintain support among the Australian public for pursuing this justifiable war. Sixthly, to use the very old term, I regard this as a police action by the United Nations acting jointly against an aggressor nation. It is no more and no less than that.

We ought to remember that this is one of the few occasions on which nations have been able to join together in this way. There have been many other bloody dictators who have not been removed from their countries, even when they have invaded and taken over another country. There have been two reasons for this. The first is that the United Nations has been unable to act in concert for the last 45 years because the two great power blocs, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, were able to veto the actions of the other. Secondly, and more importantly, it is only when there is the coincidence of a moral justification and real live economic and political interests that one does act.

I was pleased that the Prime Minister in his speech did place side by side all of the moral justifications as to why we ought to be there—that is, the horrible things that the Iraqi armies are doing to Kuwaitis. Those are necessary reasons why we should want to stop them, but they are not sufficient. The sufficient reasons that really take us there are those of oil and political stability in the Middle East.

I say those things because any number of people have mentioned previous conflicts—previous wars in which either the United States, Australia or other allies have not been involved and have not been seen to do the right thing. It is only when specific interests, broadly felt amongst a whole array of nations, are sufficiently strong and when there is the moral imperative that we should seek to go to war. Those two sorts of things have come together, perhaps as never before, in the situation that now exists in Kuwait.

Our language should be very restrained. There are those who are starting to slip into the language of 'the just war', 'we are fighting it for Australia', 'we want to wave the flag' and 'you are a wimp if you are

not in it'. Then there are those on the other hand who will read page after page of the awful events in Kuwait to justify their point of view. The use of appropriate language here, especially by politicians, is essential; it must be moderate, it must go to the facts and the arguments, and it must never be used to inflame opinion one way or the other amongst the Australian public.

On the eve of 15 January I was asked to present an Australian flag to a local Lions Club. I cannot convey the exact conversation but it was assumed that it would be a good opportunity to wave the flag because the following day we were going to war. I did not respond to the opportunity to wave the flag; but I did take the opportunity to explain to members of the Lions Club in Redcliffe that there were justifiable reasons why we would most likely be going to war in the days to follow; that we would not be there to fight for our flag; we would certainly be there in our own interests, but we would be there equally in the interests of an array of other nations. For the first time, at least since the Korean experience, we would be fighting under a United Nations banner and under specific guidance of United Nations resolutions. Australians must not be allowed to forget that.

So I am optimistic that, whilst this war will not be as short as we would hope—and though, whilst I hope that there are no Australian casualties, there will certainly be allied casualties—at least there is a glimmer of hope that nations now are free to join under the banner of the United Nations to enforce collective security, as we have never done before.

It has always been an aim of the United Nations, and always supported by Dr Evatt of the Labor Party in his time at the head of the United Nations, that at some stage a military response would have to be made against an aggressor nation in order to secure the greater interests of the United Nations and to secure a peace.

For those many reasons I support the motion of the Prime Minister. I hope upon hope that Australians serving in the Gulf

will come back to us unharmed and that this conflict at least will provide further possibilities for a long-lived peace in the Middle East.

Mr ATKINSON (Isaacs) (3.55)—The decision-making process is a rather hard one and at no time harder than when people's lives are involved. I am pleased to see that we have given full support to our forces in the Middle East. They are professional; they know what is expected of them; and it is reassuring for them to know that they have our support. I wish them well and know that our prayers and our best wishes are with them, their families and loved ones at this time.

As this conflict expands into ground force activity, we must be aware of the temptation that will be there for many people to question the decisions that have been taken. It is then that our resolve will be tested and it is then that our decisions will be questioned. It is then that many who speak of just wars will wonder whether a soldier or a civilian who dies in a just war is any better off than one who dies in a conflict of some other type.

Having served some 22 years ago in an infantry battalion in Vietnam, I have to say that there is no joy in seeing conflict. There is no joy in seeing death, be it in a just war or in any other type of conflict. But we must look at the options that we have available. We must be satisfied that the actions that we are taking are correct. If we cannot satisfy our own hearts, we cannot satisfy the hearts of the people of our country.

To those who speak of saving lives, I ask to which lives they refer. Do they refer to the lives of the Kurdish minorities that Saddam Hussein has attacked with his chemical warfare? Do they refer to the lives of Hussein's military leaders and senior advisers whom he disposed of to ensure his continued leadership? Do they refer to the British journalist and others whose lives he has snuffed out prematurely? Do they refer to the lives of the one million soldiers who perished in his eight-year war with Iran? Do they refer to the lives of the people of Kuwait where torture, rape and murder were the

order of the day—or to the lives of the innocent civilians in Israel where Saddam Hussein now attacks with missiles? Clearly, these lives have been lost because of the reign of terror of the butcher of Baghdad.

But the international community has said that enough is enough. In a vote in the United Nations 144 to one—interestingly, the one was Iraq—the international community condemned the invasion of Kuwait. Some 28 countries have contributed to the international force that plans to remove him from that country. They have been patient.

The occupation has lasted some five months in which Iraq's defences have been building up in that country. So I ask the following questions of those who speak of peace, who would prefer that there be no conflict there and who want to extend the sanctions. In those five months Saddam Hussein has put in place kilometres of razor wire that will cut and injure our forces and direct them into his killing ground where machine guns and mines will destroy them. Would those people who speak of peace give him the time to lay additional razor wire?

In those five months Saddam Hussein has dug trenches to restrict the movement of tanks which are necessary for support to our infantry. Would those people give him time to restrict even more the support to those infantry forces? In five months, Saddam Hussein has laid minefields that will permanently injure or kill our soldiers as they remove his forces from Kuwait. Would they give him time to lay more minefields?

In five months, Saddam Hussein has prepared concrete protection to defend these positions. Would they give him more time to provide more concrete protection for his defence of this country? Would they allow him time to place more explosives around more oil wells? Would they allow him more time to develop more chemical weaponry? Would they allow him more time to complete his nuclear capabilities? I hope not.

In an ideal world, Saddam Hussein does not really exist. We are in a real world.

We are in a world where we have to make the choice about how to handle the situation and, whichever way we handle it, lives are going to be affected.

I believe that it is much better for us to ensure that the expansionary ideals of Saddam Hussein are stopped now, that we do not allow him to expand his defences so that at some future time, when eventually some people will come to the realisation that we must remove him and stop his movements, he does not have more opportunity of injuring more of our people. It must be done now. We must support the motion and I indicate my support of it.

Mr HARRY WOODS (Page) (4.02)— Since war broke out in the Middle East on 2 August last year, there has been one phrase that has constantly come to mind: the price of peace is eternal vigilance. That phrase is often associated with our Returned Services League. I do not think it has ever been more relevant and appropriate than it is now with the conflict in the Gulf and the aggression of Saddam Hussein.

Saddam Hussein is a man who used chemical weapons against helpless men, women and children of his own country because they spoke out against him. He is a man who publicly hanged those in his parliament who dared to oppose him. He is a man who, without provocation, invaded a neighbouring country, killing its citizens and claiming that it was God's will. He is a man who held innocent nationals from any country as a human shield against possible action from Western countries attempting to return Kuwait to its rightful government and he now threatens to do the same with prisoners of war.

Saddam Hussein is a man prepared to bomb the most densely populated areas of innocent Israeli cities, only for the purpose of broadening the conflict. He cares nothing for the human suffering that he causes. It must be remembered that he fired these weapons upon Israeli citizens rather than use them for the defence of his own country. He is a man who threatened to invade other oil rich nations of

the Arab world to claim their possessions for his own. He is a man who showed no signs of ever giving up on his campaign of greed and lust for power.

He is a man who now calls on Australians of the Muslim faith to rise up and kill their fellow Australians with acts of terrorism. This is a man who has to be stopped. Where would his next field of conflict be? With each successful conquest, his power, his influence and his resources grow. He could have, and most likely would have, become almost unstoppable.

We all crave peace, but the cost of that peace is what is important. I endorse the feelings of the people in my electorate and across the nation who call for peace, but I do not agree that lasting peace would have been achieved by letting Saddam Hussein's actions go unanswered. This man is evil. He has demonstrated that he has no difficulty in inflicting the most dreadful of crimes against anybody who stands in his way.

The United Nations, now working with the support of the Soviet Union, has given world leaders the authority to do something to stop this tyrant. But the Western peace protesters who now attempt to hinder the coalition partners in their fight for a more just order, rather than opposing the familiar evil of Saddam, have unknowingly become supporters of his evil deeds. Their actions, if taken as government policy, would allow his inhumanity to go unchecked. That is something I could not bear on my conscience. Simply, those people, although they are committed and genuine, have got it wrong.

The history of wars provides a clear and unambiguous warning against a policy of appeasement. We need look no further than the Second World War for that evidence. There are those in the community who claim we did not give sanctions long enough to take effect. I disagree with that. It was evident from intelligence and media reports that sanctions were having little real effect. All the time these sanctions were operational, Saddam was building on his impressive arsenal to fire

at the gathering coalition members, or to use them in future invasions.

If given further time, his military might would have continued to grow. His battery of chemical and biological weapons would have expanded and there is every chance that in the near future he would have developed a nuclear capability. Given his complete disregard for humanity, it is a frightening proposition and it is appropriate that the world oppose him.

Australia is not a nation intent on war. It is and always has been a nation intent on the preservation of peace throughout the world. Our former Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Evatt, was one of the founding figures of the United Nations. The United Nations is an organisation formulated after the harsh realities of war, formulated with the full knowledge of the dangers of letting aggression go unchecked, with full knowledge of the repercussions of a policy of appeasement.

It is idealistic, but realistic enough to recognise that aggression, if it is to be minimised, sometimes, when all diplomatic and other efforts have failed, has to be stopped through force. The United Nations is an organisation established in order to provide peace. The preamble to the Charter states the members' determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. All decisions leading to the present conflict were taken on that basis.

The 12 resolutions of the United Nations calling on Iraq to leave Kuwait were not taken lightly. It is clear that the United Nations saw no other means of preventing an escalation of instability in the Middle East than by authorising the use of force to evict this aggressor. Even at the eleventh hour it was attempting to negotiate a peaceful settlement. But that is not what Saddam wanted. It is tragic, but Saddam Hussein is happiest with one of two outcomes: either victory or a bloody defeat. Other results do not suit him.

I heard a frightening comment for the people of Iraq last week that Saddam Hussein will not surrender, that basically he is a coward and is terrified of what the

international community will do to him when he is tried for his crimes against humanity. How many Iraqi lives are going to be lost in order for him to save himself from prosecution? We have no argument with the people of Iraq; they are not the guilty party. They are simply following the orders of a dictator who will kill them if they dissent.

I support the call of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) for a continued search to find a peaceful resolution whilst this conflict is going on. We all pray that this conflict can end with a minimum loss of life. We should now make definite plans that will give us lasting peace in the Middle East when this conflict is over. Although I dismiss Saddam Hussein's idea that the Palestinian issue and the invasion of Kuwait are linked, there is no doubt for the future of the Middle East that the Palestinian issue must be addressed.

I am sure that I speak on behalf of all the people of my electorate of Page in wishing our Navy personnel now serving in the Gulf a speedy and safe return to Australia. We send our thoughts too to the wives and families of those now overseas. We share their anguish and we join them in their prayers. Peace will be restored too soon for none of us.

On 13 September last year in my first major speech to this House, I told the Prime Minister that I brought with me the bipartisan support of the vast majority of the people in the Page electorate to the stand the Government had taken against the invasion of Kuwait. I am confident that that support extends to the more direct role that we are now playing.

The dangers facing our sailors in the Gulf may not be as high as some of those now at the forefront of the battle, but they are dangers nonetheless, and the role they are playing is an important and just one. As members of a fair and free society, we have a duty to support united world action against an aggressor. In doing so, we demonstrate that our commitment to world peace is real, that we are not afraid to make our presence felt in establishing a more equal and humane world.

We have always stood up for the oppressed, and that is what we are doing now. This is what we must continue to do. If we play this important role, perhaps in the future others will show a greater desire to help us if we have problems in the South Pacific and in our region. We have to look outwardly at the peace that we can help provide to the rest of the world and not inwardly to the peace we now feel at home. If we do not do that, the peace we now enjoy in Australia may be placed in jeopardy. For the sake of peace, let us remain forever vigilant.

Mr BRUCE SCOTT (Maranoa) (4.11)—I rise to speak on the motion on the Middle East presently before this Parliament. I rise not as a military expert, nor with any great depth of knowledge of foreign affairs. I have never served in the armed forces; the only time that I wore a military uniform was when I was in the cadets at school. I rise because I have the privilege to serve as the member for Maranoa, which is a vast agricultural and resource based electorate in southern Queensland. It is interesting to note that Kuwait would fit several times over into the landmass of Maranoa.

For the past 5½ months, the affairs of the Middle East have been very much preying on my mind. I believe they have been of great concern to all Australians and they have been of even greater concern since war broke out in the Middle East. I commend the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) on his actions in recalling this Parliament. I believe that our armed forces in the Middle East must have the unanimous support of the democratically elected representatives of the Thirty-sixth Parliament of Australia. I also commend members of this House on the standard of debate on this motion and the behaviour of members from both sides is worthy of mention. This was spoken about during the opening of the Thirty-sixth Parliament. It shows that we have a unity of purpose and that we are united behind those forces in the Middle East, and that all we really ask is that there be peace in the Middle East. We are not aggressors; we are part of a process which seeks to bring peace in the Middle East.

The stark reality is that we are at war. We are part of a coalition of 28 nations seeking the withdrawal of Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. Neither I nor other members of this Parliament underestimate the seriousness or the implications of war and, more particularly, the implications of this war to Australia and to the rest of the world. One of those implications is that lives could well be lost. Lives have already been lost, but Australian lives could be lost. It is up to each and every one of us to bear some of the burden if Australian lives are lost. It is a burden that we as members of this Parliament would have to share for the rest of our lives. Those families who are left behind will suffer loss for the rest of their lives. Those professional people who are now in the Middle East—those well-trained forces of men and women—know the implications of what lies ahead, and they, of course, are very well prepared for any eventuality.

I share the concerns of the war protesters who have sat in the gallery in this House, who have marched in the streets of Australia and who have written to my electorate office. I understand their concerns. I understand them as a parent, and I understand what they are talking about. But I have weighed up the implications of the alternative, and I just cannot support it. The efforts of the protesters would be far better directed by their being outside the Iraqi Embassy in Canberra than by their being in the streets here or by their writing to members of parliament. I really believe that by their actions they are saying that they support the actions of Saddam Hussein, and I cannot be party to his actions. So I say let us have our say. Let the democratically elected members have their say.

The protesters have called for more dialogue. We have had 5½ months of dialogue. They call for sanctions to be extended. I for one believe that sanctions have never worked and that all that sanctions of the last 5½ months have done is give Saddam Hussein more time. Some countries have made money out of the sanctions. As the eleventh hour drew closer, the United Nations Secretary-

General failed in his last-minute attempt to convince Saddam Hussein to pull out of Kuwait, fearing to do otherwise would see war come to fruition.

Saddam Hussein could have pulled out at the eleventh hour; he could still pull out. But instead he wants to draw other nations into the war. He wants to draw Israel into the war; he wants to draw Saudi Arabia into the war. I think he wants a world war, because that is what his failure to heed the United Nations calls for peace demonstrates to me. If he were to win in Kuwait—and he will not—he would not stop there, and I say to the anti-war protesters: what if it were Australia that he had invaded? What would they call for then? Would we then have a process of dialogue and sanctions for months and months? Clearly, Saddam Hussein must be brought to trial when the war is won and he must answer for his crimes against humanity.

This debate is probably one of the most important debates that I will witness in my parliamentary career. There are a couple of other issues that I wish to address. It is only right and proper that every member of this House gets the opportunity to speak on this issue, but I believe that we should sit tomorrow and the next day because there are other issues that spin off from our being recalled to Parliament. I am concerned that not enough time has been given to Opposition members to ask the Government certain questions. While all our minds are focused on the war in the Middle East, Australia is in a recession and I would have thought that it would have been right and proper, after this debate had concluded, had we as a parliament been able to ask the Government questions about the implications if this war continues.

One of the subjects I would have brought up is the commitment the Government will give to those people who are suffering an unjust and unfair loss of markets and who are suffering financial burdens right now as a result of the imposition of sanctions. I would like to ask the Government what interim compensation payments it is considering, particularly with regard to wheat and live

sheep, and in many other areas. It would have been pertinent that the Parliament sat tomorrow to allow some time for questioning of the Government, because we are in recession and we do not know how this crisis will impact on our economy and our everyday lives from here on.

I support the motion the Prime Minister put before the House yesterday. One of the things we can profit from history is the ability to look back and see what history tells us, because the further that we, as a nation, and as parliamentarians and as decision-makers, are able to look back, the further we will be able to look ahead. I support the motion because if we fail to support the multinational armed forces in the Middle East, clearly we will fail those millions of people who lost their lives during the world wars in which we have been involved and in the other wars that we have witnessed around the world. It is those many millions of people who lost their lives who gave us our freedom and the standard of living that we enjoy today.

Ms McHUGH (Phillip) (4.20)—I would like—I acknowledge that I have the right in a democracy, and in this Parliament—to state my opposition to our involvement in the Gulf war, first, because I find it impossible to endorse the use of the horrific modern war machine and its appalling weapons and, second, because so many people have asked me to speak on their behalf in this place. That is a responsibility that I have as a representative in a democracy.

Having signed public statements and attended rallies in recent weeks, I cannot support paragraph (2) of the motion, which clearly endorses the implementation of the military option and our part in it. I make it clear that I support every other section without reservation, and I particularly support our naval personnel. I certainly support the United Nations, as I always have done, and even, reluctantly, its capacity to sanction the use of force as a last resort. I used that argument to support the Government position last December when I was persuaded that the nations of the world had to present a

united front to Saddam Hussein so as to prevent war.

But war has come. Resolution 678 allowed but did not necessitate the use of the military option, and I am not persuaded that sanctions were not working. Now we will never know. I am not persuaded that the immediate use of military power was justified, let alone necessary, and I am convinced it is not wise, that it will solve nothing. It will create as many problems, and as much tragedy, as it attempts to solve.

It has been invoked now to try to solve the terrible intransigence of Saddam Hussein and his ghastly regime of almost unimaginable ruthlessness. But I simply cannot believe that war, with all its horrors, will do that or is the answer. There cannot be any doubt that the massive air assault does not discriminate between civilians and combatants—it cannot. There is a report in today's *Australian* that the Kurds—already the victims of Saddam Hussein's awful cruelty—are now being bombed by allied aircraft and that 5,000 Kurdish civilians are fleeing.

To oppose the use of the war machine is not to appease Saddam Hussein. The peace movement resents being accused of appeasement when we immediately condemned Hussein's attack on Kuwait. It is not the peacemakers who have supported, endorsed and armed Hussein in the years before this. Besides, the concept of a just war—supported, correctly, at the time of Hitler's aggression and in World War II—has now been rejected as irrelevant in the nuclear age. It was rejected by Pope John XXIII in the Second Vatican Council, and that has been reaffirmed recently by the American bishops.

The weapons themselves have gone beyond justification. And to use them in the Middle East, where from the start Saddam Hussein said that if Iraq were attacked he would go straight for Israel, seems totally irresponsible. For Israel the issue would not then be oil, as so many believe it is for the allied Western nations: for Israel the issue would then be survival.

I have to mention oil because the argument that we will not allow aggressors

to go unstopped begs the question of Cyprus, where the invader is still in occupation, and East Timor. But try to imagine the strain on Israel, now under attack—no longer just under threat—and still not responding. Who can expect such restraint to last, such responsibility to continue in the face of such madness? And the problem is that madness has now been unleashed in the Middle East because of the use of the military option.

People have reacted with shock at the ruthless efficiency of modern warfare. It is ruthless all right but is it efficient? Will it be the answer? After the greatest aerial bombing ever in the history of the world, Israel's assessment this morning is that it has changed nothing in preventing the threat from Saddam Hussein.

Our involvement has offended and worried many people. For those with family, friends and hearts in Israel especially it must be unbearable. I know that hundreds gathered in Sydney at the Great Synagogue and supported the war, and I have to respect that decision. But I share and understand the grief and worry of those with family and it is for them I speak. I personally admit to genuine stress—I mean, I am showing it—now that modern weapons, even 'only' conventional, are being used in such numbers but always with the potential of including non-conventional.

But it does not make me a wimp, although I must admit I am no Rambo. People are concerned. The concerned people who are coming in their thousands to the rallies have impressed me enormously. So has Peter Smark's unforgettable piece in the *Sydney Morning Herald* a few weeks ago and the letters in the newspapers and the church leaders.

I deeply regret that many in this House do not realise that the concerned, caring, frightened people—the people whom honourable members know, their people—are coming to those rallies. It is not just those people that those honourable members cannot cope with, that they have difficulty relating to. It is their people. I know because I am there with them, and I deeply regret the slurs on the peace

movement generally. We are accused of coppering out—told it is easy to adopt an anti-war position and avoid the hard decisions. I can tell you it is not very easy to be in a tiny minority in this place.

We are told that it is cosy and comfortable to be a peacenik. I think resorting to war is the unthinking, uncivilised, ignoble, unjustifiable option. The challenge, the difficult thing, the thing we have to take on, is to find and establish other peaceful resolutions of conflict and, as the honourable member for Lalor (Mr Barry Jones) said this morning, to start to work for and establish a long term strategy on things like energy so that oil will never be the issue, if it is now.

We have to start on strategies for eliminating poverty and on the means, the mechanisms, for enforcing a rule of just law without the use of the horrendous weapons that we have now. My colleagues and I do not sit back or opt out. We have worked consistently and we have urged, and we now welcome, the initiatives of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and his overseas colleagues in working to a peaceful resolution.

Many people have asked me to speak for them. What I will do is use their words. Here are some, and I wish honourable members could read some of the names to some of these letters from people I have never met before in my electorate. One states:

I am saddened that your government has not continued with the sanctions earlier imposed on Iraq and has instead resorted to violence as a means to an end.

The destruction of human life and aspirations that such conflicts cause have, I fear, set back for years the cause for a long standing peace in the Middle East. Instead of Beirut we now have Baghdad and Kuwait.

Here is another one:

If we as a people seek to live by a code of ethics and morality in dealing with our fellow human beings, it is both hypocritical and immoral to abandon this code for reasons of 'national interest' or 'international security' in the political arena.

Ethical issues aside, it is extremely dubious that the interests being served in the pursuit of a Gulf war are in any way proportionate to the huge cost in terms of lives and money that this war

will necessitate, not to mention the disastrous long-term impact on the environment and the psychological damage to soldiers surviving combat. It is essential that more time and effort be given to creating peaceful solutions to the crisis.

Here is another one:

We are voters of your electorate, and are absolutely opposed to any military involvement by the Commonwealth of Australia in the Middle East War.

We give you the mandate to vote against such involvement by Australia.

I conclude with a comment by Ann Symonds, a member of the New South Wales Parliament:

Isn't it clear that the world cannot afford a war in the Gulf? Today in our changing world we have the opportunity to create new ways of resolving conflict. If by the Year 2000 we are still no more than warring tribes, how can we claim to be a civilised society? The environmental movement has shown us that we are one planet and that we all suffer from the degradation of our physical environment. We must recognise that a war in the Middle East would be a tragedy for the whole world.

It now is, and let us do our utmost not to have any escalation. I hope peace comes soon.

Mr MACK (North Sydney) (4.30)—The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that this sitting of Parliament would be irrelevant and would be a contest to see which party could wrap the flag tightest around itself. How could it be otherwise? We were committed to war a week ago. Even Saddam Hussein obtained his rubber stamp from his parliament before 15 January 1991. The Americans thoroughly ventilated and debated the issue before authorising their country to go to war in a split decision of both Houses. Holding this debate after the commitment to war had been made and then seeking a unanimous decision on the grounds of supporting our service men and women is beneath contempt. I oppose the motion before the House.

Saddam Hussein is a thug and a tyrant. His influence is an unacceptable threat to the world and his power must be removed. But that is not the question. The question before this Parliament is: should Hussein's removal be attempted at this time by war or by an economic blockade with the allied forces in place; and is this

approach worse than continuing with a war? In my view, it is not. This is not an extreme view. Almost half of the American Congress and Senate took that position, and certainly the vast majority of Australians are not prepared to die for what is supposedly at stake in Iraq.

Irrespective of the merits of either option, this war is not about the moral principles involved in the removal of a tyrant. We did not go to war with respect to Idi Amin, Somosa, Pol Pot and all the others—most of whom we supported. It is not about the right of nations to live in peace without being invaded. Many countries have been invaded and occupied—the Baltic states, Tibet, Timor, Chad, Eritrea, Grenada, Panama, Afghanistan and even the West Bank. They were mostly invaded by members of the United Nations Security Council. We did not go to war over those invasions.

This is not about enforcing United Nations resolutions. What happened to the unanimous resolutions of 1975 declaring that Turkey leave Cyprus or, more importantly, the 1967 resolution declaring that Israel leave the West Bank? It is not about restoring democracy in Kuwait. It is unthinkable that any Australian should die for the restoration of a despotic, obscenely wealthy Sabah family.

This war is about oil, because 40 per cent of the world's oil reserves are in this area. This war is about years of greed, of intrigue, of malevolence by local despots and the developed world. Saddam Hussein is a Frankenstein monster created over the last decade by the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and other western European countries that supplied him with billions of dollars of armaments, and with the technology for chemical and nuclear warfare. France built Saddam's nuclear reactor. In the years 1983 to 1989, United States trade with Iraq increased from \$571m to \$3.6 billion. Only one month before the invasion, the United States Department of Commerce tried to push through a \$7.6m deal to sell Iraq nuclear parts.

This war was inevitable. Saddam Hussein was created by the members of the Security Council. He is a monster who is now out of control and he has to be stopped by those responsible for creating him. Not one Australian should be asked to die to achieve this purpose.

I reject the share-the-blame argument put forward in recent years whereby all Australians are to be blamed for the foreign debt of the 1980s created by banks, entrepreneurs and governments; and I also reject the notion that Australia's youth have any responsibility for the current war and the attempt to apply doctrines of collective security to it. If honourable members really believe most of the rhetoric of the last two days, they would be supporting a full Australian naval, air and ground force commitment—not the token 884 sacrificial lambs. If honourable members really believe their pious statements of sympathy and support for our service men and women, they should bring them home.

The lesson of history is that the results of war are unpredictable. It is all very well to say that this is not another Vietnam. Another Prime Minister stood in Parliament 25 years ago talking about a quick surgical war and about the invincibility of B52 bombers. Would we, in hindsight, have taken the decisions that we did in the mid-1960s? In 1914, would the powers of Europe have taken a different course of action had they foreseen the slaughter of millions of human beings at Verdun and the Somme? Would Japan have attacked Pearl Harbour with the expectation of Hiroshima? Would 1939-1945 have been different if it had been known that Germany and Japan would be the dominant economies of the world; that they would be paying the youth of America, or at least the blacks in the low income groups, to fight a war in the Middle East to ensure a supply of oil for their economies?

We talk about a just war, but 5,000 years of recorded history gives little credence to this concept. Could the suffering of civilians in Tel Aviv or the Palestinian mother who was shot two days ago on a balcony for breaking the curfew under-

stand a just war? Is it a just war for the several hundred Kurdish civilians opposed to Saddam Hussein who were reportedly killed yesterday by allied bombing? Is it a just war for the 47 per cent of the Iraqi population under the age of 15? Who will explain the just war to the families of Australian service personnel who may be killed? No war will solve the problems of the Middle East.

The suggestion of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) that this war has one cause only is a gross over-simplification. This war arises from 2,000 years of history; from religion; from the big power carve up of the Middle East in the 1920s; and from the artificial national boundaries based on propping up a series of feudal despots. It arises from poverty and a 40 per cent illiteracy rate which enabled Saddam Hussein to emerge from obscurity—and it will create others like him in the future. Stability in the Middle East can never be achieved while the world's armament industry, banks and governments are pumping in billions of dollars worth of weapons. Stability can never be achieved unless there is some justice for the Palestinians.

Much store has been put on the implementation of the United Nations resolutions, but what about the six resolutions recently passed regarding breaches of human rights and international law by Israel? Will bombs change the Arabs' view that there is one law for them and another for the West? The war option is elevating Saddam Hussein to an Arab legend. Irrespective of whether he survives or is killed, he is winning the public relations battle in the Moslem world. The war will elevate Hussein to a stature in Arab eyes that will poison millions in future Arab generations. Most of all, the war option reinforces the Mao Tse-Tung doctrine that power comes out of the barrel of a gun.

At the moment possibly 20 countries are in a position to wage nuclear war. That number will grow and the war option will be no longer available to anyone but the insane. Much has been said about a new world order, but almost everything that has been preached in the last two

days in support of this war represents the old world order.

The unpredictability of war is never more evident than in respect of economics. The United States of America is the dominant superpower, but it is already faltering. It is in recession; it is now the world's largest debtor. The first day of this war was estimated to cost \$645m. The cause of America's economic slide began in Vietnam and, while there are many criticisms of America's role as the world's superpower, there are many worse scenarios in an unstable world with the disintegration of the Soviet Empire, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism and the rapid arrival of China as a dominant world power.

A great deal has also been said by experts around the world about unpredictable environmental effects. These statements cannot be dismissed. The war will result in an explosion of refugees. There are already over a million. Can we cope with an increase in Iraqi refugees to Australia as we had from Vietnam? Can the reconstruction of the Middle East under some form of Marshall Plan be afforded?

To arrange a cease-fire for a period and continue the blockade with military forces in place may have disadvantages, but there is less to be lost in this option. The might of the coalition forces has been demonstrated. There has been a substantial reduction in Iraq's military capability. The war option is available at any time. The argument that a few weeks or even six months would give Iraq time to recover is not sustainable. The idea that any alternative to war means appeasement must be rejected. The containment and deterrence policies followed by the West in dealing with the communist world over the last 45 years were certainly better than war, and they will be better than war in this case.

Dr THEOPHANOUS (Calwell) (4.39)—I speak in this debate to support the motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke), but I do so with a heavy heart. For to commit a nation to war is a very heavy burden and responsibility. At

this time I am reminded of the words of Abraham Lincoln, a man of peace who nevertheless was forced to commit his nation to war:

Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honour or dishonour, to the latest generation . . . We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honourable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth.

With these words and a heavy heart, Lincoln showed that he was prepared to fight for an important ideal—the emancipation of the black slaves in America—and, in so doing, to keep the American union.

The principle involved here is similar. What is at stake is not some grubby exercise of who shall rule which nation in the Middle East or who shall have more or less access to oil or oil wealth. The fundamental principle at stake is whether there is to be a new international order in the governance of relations between nations. At stake is whether at this time in human history mankind can develop and enforce a world system of justice, peace and international law. Such a system must be based upon respect for the principles in the Charter of the United Nations. Now, more than at any other time in history, we must be ready to act to achieve this international system of peace and security. The consequences of our not doing so are too dreadful to contemplate. I shall return to this point later.

What is so important about the present? Why enforce the United Nations resolutions in relation to Iraq? The answer is that we stand at an important threshold in history. In the 40 years up to 1990 the world lived on the brink of a nuclear holocaust. The superpower rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union threatened to engulf the world. Through feverish efforts of men and women of good will, a balance of terror was achieved. Stability was achieved at

an awesome price: the fear of destruction of the whole planet.

During this period there was some control of the actions of renegade nations, but it was a control based on the Cold War. During this period Saddam Hussein, who was a client of the Soviet Union, would not have dared invade Kuwait. The Soviet Union would not have permitted it because it would not have wanted a huge confrontation with the Western powers. Many of us lived in dread as to the fate of mankind. We called for reductions in the superpowers' armaments. We wanted to give peace a chance. Suddenly, in 1988 and 1990 things started to happen at a remarkable pace. The Berlin Wall came down. The Soviet Union and the United States concluded historic agreements to reduce arms. In Europe, 35 nations concluded a pact to respect human rights, democracy and the sovereignty of nations. The Cold War was over.

Even before this period, the power and authority of the United Nations was being threatened, but in the last two years it received a huge boost. Even intractable problems such as Cambodia looked as though they would be resolved under the auspices of the United Nations and its member bodies. Sadly, this period of international harmony and peace was suddenly and brutally shattered on 2 August 1990 when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait and destroyed its sovereignty by incorporating it into Iraq. I need not repeat, as many others, including Amnesty International, have done, details of Saddam Hussein's brutal actions since that time. Suffice it to say that it is behaviour that is unacceptable to civilised people and totally contrary not only to the principles of the United Nations but also to all systems of international justice.

Many will agree that the United Nations was correct to condemn this behaviour and that it needed to act to solve the problem. Many will agree with the United Nations sanctions, but why, they will ask, was it necessary to resort to force? There are two issues involved. Firstly, were the sanctions given enough time to work? Secondly, were enough diplomatic efforts made to allow Hussein to withdraw, per-

haps by saving face? The answer to both of those questions is yes.

Firstly, it is clear, as the Minister for Transport and Communications (Mr Beazley) explained, that sanctions in Iraq, which is a warlike state, were not hurting the military machine or the elite that runs the state. If they were hurting anyone, they were hurting the common people. Sanctions could have continued for many years and hurt the common people more and more, but they would not have forced Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait or forced any concessions from him. During that period there was also further development of chemical weapons and even the possibility of the development of nuclear weapons.

Were enough diplomatic efforts made? Of course there were. It is not just a question of diplomatic efforts on the part of the United States or other Western powers. Many Third World countries, Arabic countries and, most importantly, the United Nations Secretary-General even at the eleventh hour tried to get concessions. Was Hussein given the opportunity to save face? Yes, on many occasions. He was offered a number of formulas—by the French, by the Soviet Union, by the United Nations Secretary-General himself, formulas which were unacceptable, in certain cases, to the United States. Nevertheless, Saddam Hussein refused to give any indication that he had any intention of withdrawing from Kuwait under any formula.

In those circumstances we had a direct challenge to the new international system. We had the subjugation of a sovereign nation by a dictator who had an outrageous human rights record in regard to the treatment of his own people. I refer to the Kurdish people, many of whom now live in Australia, who were subjected to bombardment with chemical weapons by Saddam Hussein.

We must ask what needs to be done to achieve a just peace. We do not want to prosecute this war for any longer than is necessary. The Australian Government yesterday accepted a motion from the Labor Party Caucus urging it to see what

can be done to achieve a cease-fire in any circumstances and under any conditions which Saddam Hussein indicates to anyone around the world will get him to withdraw from Kuwait. This war can stop at any moment. It is in Saddam Hussein's hands to stop it.

In these circumstances we all ought to be praying and working for a peaceful solution. We all ought to be working to get a cease-fire as soon as possible. Diplomatic efforts have not been thrown out of the window; they are continuing all the time. Our Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade (Senator Gareth Evans) is keeping abreast of these matters. We on this side of the House will certainly be very vigilant in ensuring that as soon as such a cease-fire is possible it will occur.

The central question is whether there will continue to be, on the part of Saddam Hussein, this flagrant violation of international law. Will this outrageous behaviour continue? More importantly, why can we not just say that the Middle East is far away, we should forget about it and not be involved? Australia has a very proud record of being serious about the United Nations and about achieving an international system of justice. The former Labor leader, Dr Evatt, was instrumental in establishing the United Nations. He made it very clear that when certain nations were prepared to behave outside the system of international law it would be necessary for the UN to act. This is one of those cases.

As I said at the beginning of my speech, we do not want war. We come to this with a very heavy heart. But as Abraham Lincoln said:

... with malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on ... to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace.

Mr ALDRED (Deakin) (4.50)—While entering Parliament House over the last two mornings I have been met by demonstrators demanding that the Government reconsider its position in the Gulf war. I can understand the genuine concern of many of them as to the enormous implications of the conflict in which Aus-

tralia is now involved. However, I do very much believe that it is in Australia's long term strategic interest that we support the implementation of the United Nations resolutions. We should support them even though victory will not be quick. The defeat of Saddam Hussein by the United Nations sanctioned multinational forces will require hard and protracted campaigning. It was never going to be a quick victory, and anyone who thought there would be obviously does not read history, most especially the complex history of the Middle East.

Early in 1990, it was fashionable to claim that with the apparent end of the Cold War there would be no need to maintain large armed forces. It was fashionable to maintain that the money, the so-called peace dividend used to maintain these forces, should be invested in community services. How very fortunate we are that this process did not have long to gather momentum and that the free world did not have the time to undertake the drastic force reductions intended.

Despite the end of the Cold War, the situation in the Gulf and even the recent adverse developments in the Baltic states must harshly serve to remind the world of the fanciful nature of the peace dividend. Unfortunately for Australia, the Hawke Labor Government has for several years appeared to support this very concept. It was a sorry day when the three Royal Australian Navy vessels, HMAS *Adelaide*, HMAS *Darwin* and HMAS *Success*, left Sydney Harbour as Australia's initial detachment to the United Nations sanctioned multinational forces in the Gulf.

It was a sorry day because Navy stores were so depleted of ammunition, spare parts and other supplies that the Navy could not initially provision the ships with all the material they required for their task. These supplies were later loaded in Perth, only after naval stores around Australia were ransacked. This sadly repeats the experience of the Regular Army which, when preparing for the Fijian operation, found that there was a shortage of such simple items as boots. Not only did the Army also have to ransack stores, but it

also had to ask serving soldiers to return boots that had been issued to them to kit out the nearly 200 task force soldiers.

This situation is typical in Australia's defence forces today. I am aware, for instance, of a recent Army Reserve exercise where the decision was taken to drastically limit the use of the \$28 field ration packs so that the units involved could afford to buy ammunition. Frequent vehicle breakdowns were a daily occurrence on the same exercise. The Hawke Labor Government has continually made cuts to the Defence appropriations—cuts that place the well-being of this country in potential danger. These cuts were justified because the 1987 White Paper on Defence told the Government that there would be no identified threat to Australia for the near future. Recent history has proved the White Paper patently wrong. This Government has successively cut back Defence expenditure as a percentage of gross domestic product from 2.7 per cent in the 1982-83 financial year, the last year of the Fraser Liberal Government, to 2.3 per cent, in 1989-90. This reduction has occurred during a time when we have had coups in Fiji and the Philippines, insurrection in Bougainville, the continuing deployment of the Soviet Pacific fleet, the rapid expansion of the Indian Navy and India's increased expenditure on missile development, and the rise in Muslim fundamentalist movements in a number of countries.

We are in fact situated in a dynamic economic region of the world. With that rapidly expanding economic growth comes a significant degree of volatility and a rising probability of external aggression. Despite all these factors, the Defence cutbacks continue. I understand that the Government at this stage is even committed to the Department of Defence funding Australia's contribution to the war from existing Budget allocations. This miserly requirement will simply result in the further run-down of our defence forces in Australia.

There is a pressing need of the highest priority, especially in view of the naval obligations we have taken on in the Gulf conflict, for substantial additional finan-

cial resources to be urgently devoted to defence so as to rapidly uplift our three armed services from their present parlous condition.

One further aspect of the Hawke Labor Government's actions in this conflict which has not been brought to the notice of the Australian people is the continuing vendetta against Australian pilots. One of the consequences of the campaign of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) against the Australian Federation of Air Pilots in 1990 is that many Australian pilots were forced to find work overseas. There are currently 43 Australian pilots and the families of most of them living and working in the Gulf states. There is evidence of a continuing vendetta against the pilots and, whilst the Government might be willing to evacuate Australians working in the region, there are continuing rumours that it is not prepared to evacuate Australian pilots or their families. I have been advised that an embassy representative told one of these pilots that as far as the Australian Government was concerned they were on their own. I call upon the Government to either squash this rumour without delay or reverse the policy that discriminates against our own citizens.

Much has been made of the decision to send Hercules transporters and a Boeing 707 to the Middle East to evacuate Australian citizens in the region. Many of us assumed that this would include evacuating Australians working in Saudi Arabia. I was informed last night that shortly after 9 p.m. Australian eastern standard time the Australian Embassy in Riyadh informed all Australians living in Saudi Arabia of the following message:

Contrary to previous rumours there are no plans whatsoever to evacuate any Australian citizens from the eastern, central or western provinces of Saudi Arabia.

That, of course, leaves the northern and southern provinces. There is an Australian medical team in the northern province, which is only a short distance from the Israeli border. The southern province is known as the empty corner and is only inhabited by a handful of Bedouin.

I call upon the Government to ensure that those Australians currently in Saudi

Arabia are safely evacuated, even if this means Telecom Australia, for instance, is financially disadvantaged by the move.

Despite having ample warning of the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, it is obvious from all that I have said that the Hawke Labor Government has been caught out once again by events, so much so that it has to be asked how firmly the Hawke Government and the Australian Ambassador in Iraq conveyed to Saddam Hussein the acute seriousness with which Australia would regard an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in the months immediately preceding that terrible occurrence. I ask the Government to respond precisely to this question during the debate and table any documents that would indicate what warning, if any, was made through diplomatic channels to the Government of Iraq.

Notwithstanding my severe reservations about the political, military and diplomatic competence with which the Hawke Government has handled this intensifying crisis, it was bound to support the implementation of the United Nations resolutions and I, along with the rest of the Federal Opposition, fully support the motion now before the House. Let there be no doubt, though: stopping Saddam Hussein and restoring the sovereignty of Kuwait will be a long and bloody business.

Mr WILLIS (Gellibrand—Minister for Finance) (4.57)—I rise to support the motion. In doing so, I want to note the enormous tragedy that this war in the Gulf represents. War is always a tragedy because of the large-scale killing and maiming of opposing forces and maybe innocent civilians, the waste of resources, destruction of property and because it represents the failure of civilised processes and resort to reason. It is especially a tragedy now because of the dashing of hopes, at least temporarily, that with the ending of the Cold War between the superpowers a new era of enlightenment may commence in which the threat of horrendous war was greatly diminished.

Only a year ago the world strategic outlook was highly optimistic with both glasnost and perestroika in the Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics ascending; major advances in arms control agreements, including the large scale destruction of fearsome weapons by each of the superpowers; the collapse of the Berlin Wall; and the disintegration of communist regimes in a number of east European countries. Such developments led to much talk, especially in the United States of America, of the so-called peace dividend by which it was envisaged that defence expenditure could be slashed in line with the greatly diminished threat of war. But just when it seemed safe to talk in these terms, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait dramatically reversed that assessment.

Instead of a new era of peace, the world is now on edge as the multinational force attempts to force Iraq out of Kuwait and the possibility exists of a wider war, especially if Israel is drawn into the fray. Could we then have avoided this war; and if so, why was it not avoided? Clearly, it could have been avoided, but only at the cost of allowing Iraq to continue to occupy and pillage Kuwait and brutalise and massacre its people.

Economic sanctions, even though very tightly imposed by the multinational naval blockade, were highly unlikely to bring about a change of policy by Iraq regarding Kuwait—at least not for a much longer time frame than the five months that they have been in place so far. This is because, firstly, as a dictatorship the Iraqi Government is not subject to removal by a dissatisfied and deprived public. A suppressed people can simply be made to suffer further. Secondly, militarily the sanctions probably have had little effect. Iraq's military resources are already extraordinarily high for a country of its size. Thirdly, the event that brought about the imposition of sanctions, the occupation of Kuwait, itself provided some insulation from sanctions as Iraq was able to loot and dismember Kuwait. This undoubtedly provided Iraq with a large supply of household and commercial goods, industrial plant and equipment, automobiles and other transport equipment, financial resources and, not least, military equipment from the defeated Kuwaiti forces.

Economic sanctions therefore could only be effective against such a regime as Iraq's by bringing it economically to its knees. That is certainly a much longer time frame than five months—quite possibly a number of years. Even then we could not be sure sanctions would be effective. This is because the effectiveness of their imposition would most likely diminish over time as a result of, firstly, cross-border trade with such neighbouring states as Jordan and Iran being likely to occur on an increasing scale over time; and, secondly, a likely diminution in the willingness of countries in the multinational force to continue to commit ships and forces to applying sanctions, partly because of cost factors and partly because, with the passage of time, Iraq's occupancy of Kuwait would come to be seen more and more as a fait accompli and other issues would likely loom larger in nations' priorities.

Time therefore was most likely on Iraq's side, time which could be used to further fortify Kuwait, to develop biological, chemical and maybe even nuclear weapons and make any invasion of Kuwait by liberation forces an even more formidable and costly exercise. Continued reliance on economic sanctions to remove Iraq from Kuwait therefore carried serious implications. Firstly, the world economy would have continued to be adversely affected for some time, especially by high oil prices. The economies of a number of Third World countries which had lost trade, employment and income remittances would continue to be very adversely affected. Secondly, even if economic sanctions were eventually successful, Kuwait would have had to remain under Iraqi control for a further substantial period, during which time its economy would have been further wrecked, its remaining people terrorised and the fabric of its nation increasingly destroyed.

Thirdly, Kuwait may have had to remain permanently under Iraqi control if economic sanctions failed and there was no resort to war. In this case the implications for order and stability in international relations would have been very serious indeed. Iraq's aggression against Kuwait would have triumphed, thereby

encouraging it to further aggression against neighbouring states. Just as worryingly, the demonstration effect to other nations with expansionist tendencies would be enormous. The United Nations would be shown to be nothing more than a talk shop; its standing among nations and its ability to play an effective role in the resolution of disputes and conflicts between nations would be grievously impaired. The Western powers would have threatened much in this scenario but done little, and they would be seen to be paper tigers, highly unwilling to pay the price in terms of loss of troops to back up their threats, especially where their own national security was not at stake. Fourthly, the conclusion by expansionist inclined states that armed aggression against small states was likely to be successful as long as there was enough national determination to face down the rest of the world would be irresistible.

In such circumstances we would rightly be fearful about the future of the world. Hopes for a new order of peace and security in the post-Cold War era would be shattered. Prospects for peace in the Middle East with a triumphant Iraq would be minimal and defence expenditures around the world would increase as nations sought to protect themselves in an uncertain and threatening world. Those who argue that there should never be resort to anything more than economic sanctions and diplomacy against such aggressors as Iraq should contemplate fully the likely consequences of pursuing such a policy.

There are, of course, those who argue that although war against Iraq may need to occur at some stage, it should not have been considered until economic sanctions had applied for a further period of time. But such a policy is deficient in a number of respects. First, it involves leaving Kuwait to Iraq's tender mercies for a further substantial period. It involves the world economy, and many Third World economies in particular, being adversely affected for a further period. More importantly, as time goes on it would not be any easier to make a decision to embark on a war against a continuing intransigent

Iraq. It could always be maintained that economic sanctions should be persevered with just a little longer. Furthermore, the resolve of nations to commit forces and resources to the armed removal of Iraq from Kuwait would be likely to weaken rather than strengthen as time passed and other issues became more pressing. The difficulty of removing Iraqi forces which had been given much more time to reinforce their positions would be considerably greater. As Iraq continued to acquire chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, the implications of war with such a nation would become far more serious than they already are.

The likelihood is therefore that a decision to rely on economic sanctions for another few months—half a year, a year or whatever—would have meant that nothing more than economic sanctions would ever have been used, and in the event that they failed Iraq would have triumphed, with all the horrendous implications I have already referred to. The conclusion that I reach, and that the Government has reached, is therefore that the least worst policy to pursue in the circumstances we face is to seek to forcibly remove Iraq from Kuwait. Twenty-seven other countries in the multinational force have come to the same conclusion.

There are considerable risks in such a policy. First, there is the possibility of horrendous loss of life on both sides, particularly if the war becomes a long drawn out affair, with large scale conflict between ground forces. Secondly, there is the possibility of a wider conflict, especially if Israel is drawn into the battle. Thirdly, there is the possibility of the destabilisation of a number of Arab states by the encouragement of Muslim fundamentalists through large scale involvement of Western forces against an Arab state, quite conceivably leading to the overthrow of governments in some states and the development of a much more hostile attitude by such states towards the West and Israel. Fourthly, there is the possibility of major oilfields being destroyed by fire, with considerable loss of valuable resources and possibly very serious environmental problems.

All these are substantial risks. Considerable and real as they are, they are not as considerable as the prospect of a triumphant Iraq firmly entrenched in Kuwait, armed with weapons of mass destruction, threatening various neighbours in nearby states, controlling much of the world's oil supplies, providing a focus for Muslim militants in other Arab states and, most importantly, providing a role model for other would-be expansionist states throughout a world which has demonstrated its fundamental inability to contain them.

Mr FILING (Moore) (5.06)—Rudyard Kipling said of the policy of appeasement:

And that is called paying the Dane-geld

But we've proved it again and again,

That if once you have paid him the Dane-geld

You never get rid of the Dane.

I am deeply impressed by the historical importance of the debates we are conducting in this chamber and the other place today and yesterday. My contribution today will turn on the issue of appeasement, but will examine two other matters that are closely related. One of those is the use by the Iraqi dictator of chemical and poison gas weapons to achieve his ends. The employment of banned weapons to subjugate his Kurdish minority and his repeated threats to deploy poison gas warheads against the international coalition and Israel demonstrates a deep contempt for even the most basic of civilised codes of behaviour. The other matter which I briefly wish to examine is the consistency of some of the criticisms thrown at those who support the actions of the international coalition forces in the Gulf consequent on resolution 678 made by the United Nations Security Council.

There is a strong link between the appeasers of the 1930s and those who would prefer to ignore the outrages conducted by the dictator of Iraq in an effort to avoid any physical conflict with his armed forces. Between the First World War and the Second World War appeasement was seen as a realistic means of achieving peace and stability. Appeasement was seen to provide the opportunities to conduct

international relations without the ultimate sanction of armed conflict. It was believed to allow for the determination of national grievances without stirring up hatred and fear. It reached its apex in the Munich agreement in 1938 when many believed that the aspirations of the Nazi dictator Hitler would be satisfied with the ceding of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia to the greater German Reich. This was despite the prevalent knowledge of the treatment being meted out to those of Jewish faith within the German Reich itself and the territorial grabs already made by Hitler.

In Australia itself there was some strong support for the policy of appeasement. For example, Prime Minister Joe Lyons sent a cable of congratulations and gratitude to British Prime Minister Chamberlain following the news of the Munich Pact. The great Australian war historian C. E. W. Bean claimed that, however much they disapproved of German methods and the thrust to the east, people were not justified in opposing it in every shape. He added that economic expansion by Germany in that direction was justifiable and even beneficial.

And yet, as has been mentioned in this House today, how many would now claim that the Allied fight to defeat the Axis powers was not necessary or even justifiable? Perhaps Churchill best summarised the Allied objective in the Second World War when he said:

Victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror,
victory however long and hard the road may be;
for without victory there is no survival.

Churchill, a voice in the political wilderness for much of the 1930s, prophesied the ensuing world conflict as a result of the consequences of the failures of the policy of appeasement. In his mind the global conflict that saw the deaths of many millions of combatants and civilians alike arose as a result of the policy of appeasement. He claimed it was an unnecessary war because Hitler could and should have been stopped much earlier when he was less powerful and his military capacity was weaker compared with that of Britain and France. The great similarity between today and the 1930s is the belief of both

these dictators that in the final analysis the international community would not risk a war against them and would continue to try to appease them.

The great difference between then and now is that the United Nations (UN) has taken action early enough to be in a position to defeat the Iraqi dictator quickly with a minimum of human and material losses. We should not in any way have supported a course of action where a more serious and dangerous conflict would have been made inevitable by allowing Saddam to improve his strategic position through territorial acquisitions and the build-up of an arsenal of highly destructive weapons. We should be eternally grateful that President Bush had the political wisdom and the strength of character to learn from the past and act according to the lessons of the past.

Gas! Gas! Quick boys, boys!—An ecstasy of fumbling,

Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time;
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling
And floundering like a man in fire or lime
Dim through the misty panes and thick green light,

As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.

In all my dreams, before my helpless sight, He plunges at me

guttering, choking, drowning.

If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud.

Thus Wilfred Owen, one of the great poets of the First World War, described a gas attack in the trenches. The terrible agony inflicted by mustard gas on soldiers within its range was probably one of the most terrifying prospects for combatants on both sides of the battlefields. Its use was banned in a 1925 Geneva protocol. Ironically, this week was to see the resumption of a UN sponsored conference on disarmament which was to agree on a global ban on the production and stock-

piling of chemical weapons. Iraq was to have attended with observer status.

The symptoms of mustard gas exposure are burning eyes, blistering of skin, coughing and bleeding of nose, and death occurs within one hour to 30 years, depending on exposure. Blister agents, of which mustard gas is one, if inhaled, can strip the lungs and burn the throat. The Iraqi dictator has ready for use nerve gases, Sarin and Tabun, which cause dysfunctioning of the nervous system and a rapid death, again depending on exposure. Sarin and Tabun were developed as pesticides by the German company I.G. Farben in the 1930s and were used to gas Jewish victims in German concentration camps. The horrifying effects of these gases include uncontrollable spasms followed by loss of bowel control. Death through the contact with the skin of a single droplet can take between 15 minutes and two hours. Inhalation brings on death in about 15 minutes.

The willingness of the Iraqi dictator to use these terrible weapons on his own people and to threaten to use them on Israeli citizens as well as the UN multinational forces is testimony to his attitude to civilised behaviour. It also points to the futility of attempting to negotiate further with a murderous strongman who laughs at accepted standards of behaviour and ignores the rule of international law in attaining his objectives.

What evidence is there that Saddam would honour any agreement made between himself and the United Nations? I believe that the Iraqi dictator views those who insist on observing international treaties with contempt. In my view, as has been expressed by other honourable members before me, the only way to remove the Iraqi dictator is to destroy him. There is no evidence to support the view that a negotiated settlement with Saddam would be anything other than a temporary solution.

As was repeatedly put to the British House of Commons at the outbreak of hostilities, this war is not against the Iraqi people but against their murderous, tyrannical dictator, Saddam Hussein. The use

of poison gas and chemical weapons as in the Iran-Iraq war and against his own people must be stopped once and for all. It must be shown conclusively to the rest of humanity that poison gas and chemical weapons are not tolerable under any circumstances. Saddam's defeat will be a significant step towards that objective.

I would like to turn very briefly to some of the criticisms emanating from the anti-war brigade. The most annoying of all is the frequency with which its members equivocate when it comes to the United States (US) and Iraq. Incidentally, these are the same people who attacked the United States rather than demonstrating outside the Iraqi Embassy. They are the same people who screamed out that Manuel Noriega was undeserving of US recognition and support and then flogged the US for removing his odious and criminal presence as head of state of Panama.

The peace brigade equates Grenada with Kuwait. How ridiculous when we consider that Grenada underwent a Marxist coup and the kidnapping of the Prime Minister, prompting the assistance of the United States to restore the rule of law and democratic process. Unfortunately members of the peace brigade continue to ignore the great differences between United States and the Iraqi states.

Has George Bush used poison gas on his own citizens? Does the United States torture its citizens? Is the acceptance of a government post in the US Cabinet accompanied by the fear of summary execution should one disagree with the President's view? Of course not. On all these counts there is no comparison and any equivocation by the peace brigade demeans its argument. Finally, as a representative of the people of Moore, I will close by offering my gratitude to, and appreciation of, the brave men and woman of the Australian defence forces who are serving in the Gulf and offering my support to the motion of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke).

Mr ROBERT BROWN (Charlton—Minister for Land Transport) (5.16)—I can understand the anguish of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and the other mem-

bers of the security committee of Cabinet who were required to provide initial responses for Australia's participation in the actions of the United Nations multi-national force in the Middle East. That awesome responsibility was initially theirs. The Parliament is now in the process of reviewing those decisions. The Australian people will make their own individual judgments.

The humanitarian credentials and the commitment to peace of the Prime Minister and the other Cabinet Ministers need no defence by me. There is no more serious decision which any government or parliament can be called upon to make than to commit its people to war. The enormity of this question weighs heavily on us all. I suppose that we will agonise for a long time over questions which have now become largely academic. Were diplomatic initiatives pursued sufficiently? Were sanctions given long enough to work? Should firm deadlines for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait have been set?

I must emphasise that the war involving Iraq did not start on 17 January and it was not started by the United Nations coalition forces in the Middle East. That war started on 2 August 1990 when Iraq invaded, occupied, pillaged, raped and humiliated Kuwait. That was six months ago. In the meantime there have been 12 critical decisions by the international community of nations attempting to reverse that position. Among those, resolution 678 provided for the use of all necessary means to require the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait.

Diplomatic initiatives were pursued, sanctions were applied, the deadline was set. The response of Iraq was one of absolute defiance of world opinion and United Nations decisions. While Iraq consolidated its position in Kuwait, it continued to build and refine its stockpile of chemical and biological weapons. It was seeking to fit these weapons as warheads on its Scud missiles. It was pursuing the development of a nuclear capacity. It was committing horrifying atrocities against the people of Kuwait which have been documented by Amnesty Inter-

national, a body of absolute integrity and credibility.

The only countries which have thus far expressed objection to the UN action have been Cuba, Yemen, North Korea and Jordan. The vast majority of the world's nations—Christian, Moslem, socialist and capitalist—have endorsed the UN position. They include Western liberal democracies, including those with social democratic governments like Australia.

Parallels have been drawn with other wars and crises of recent occurrence. Those analogies do not sit well with me. There is no question that an issue as serious as this will be divisive within the Australian community. The opposition to Vietnam started with hundreds of protesters. The opposition to our participation in the UN response to Iraq's conquest of Kuwait has started with tens of thousands. It is likely that the longer the war lasts, the greater the opposition will grow, especially when the conveyor belt of body bags speeds up and the films and photographs of devastation and death begin to flow.

I am pleased that speakers have generally recognised and acknowledged that the war protesters are neither fools nor traitors. Most are concerned and compassionate human beings. We would have more cause to be concerned about the nature of Australian society and about the Australian character if there were no protests. On this occasion I believe they are wrong. I may well be proved wrong, but that is a judgment that I must make today.

The initial euphoria and optimism that there would be an early conclusion to this sorry event were short-lived. President Bush has acknowledged that. He said:

There will be losses. There will be obstacles along the way. War is never cheap or easy.

One of the frightening dimensions of this war has been the objective, calculating, scientific and mathematical precision of the technology which underpins it. It has been the same high level of technology which has brought the grotesque reality of this war into our living rooms. Like every other member of this Parliament, I had hoped that the escalation of this war could

have been avoided—that Saddam Hussein would have withdrawn his forces. This proved not to be. There is no body other than this Parliament which can make a decision on this issue on behalf of the Australian community. There is no body other than the United Nations which can make a decision on this issue on behalf of the world community.

I opposed conscription. I marched in and addressed anti-Vietnam rallies when the numbers of protesters were minuscule. While I have opposed the possibility or the reality of Australia becoming embroiled in military adventures in response to the actions of any one nation or a small group of nations, I have always maintained that the world community should abide by the decisions and actions of the recognised international forum—the United Nations. Then, if some of us are wrong, we are all wrong. I do not and never will believe that war is an appropriate means of settling international differences. But I am not an uncompromising pacifist. I avoid concepts such as the 'just war' because I do not believe that there is any such thing.

In a powerful statement about the nature of war, the *Sydney Morning Herald* columnist Peter Smark said, 'God preserve the young from the follies of middle-aged males'. A *Newcastle Morning Herald* editorial on the Gulf crisis stated:

It is a dismal reflection on humanity's progress and priorities that such wars as this are seen to be necessary or justified.

A *Sunday Telegraph* editorial stated:

Today Australia is at war. It is a war no-one wanted, one the world has spent five months preparing for, one some may say no-one will win. This is a war that may never end.

His Holiness Pope John Paul II, has said:

In this hour of great danger I want to repeat forcefully that war cannot be an instrument for solving problems between nations. It has never been and never will be.

No-one has attempted to obscure the importance of oil in this issue. Early in this episode, President Bush said:

Our jobs, our way of life, our own freedom and the freedom of friendly countries around the world would all suffer if the world's great oil reserves fell into the hands of Saddam Hussein.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* has stated:

It was not merely that Saddam was a ruthless and brutal dictator: he was challenging an order in the Middle East on which the entire world economy relies . . .

Does the world community have a right to take into account the preservation of its collective material security in making decisions on issues of this kind? I tend to believe, with the internationalisation of productive effort and social relations, that it has. I do not believe that the ending of hostilities in the Middle East, in whatever form that may take, will usher in that new world order in which relationships between nations will suddenly become civilised and will be based on the rule of international law. The task to achieve that great human aspiration will be much more difficult.

One other issue causes me great concern. It is firmly believed that Iraq has mined most, if not all, of the Kuwaiti oil wells. It is believed that if Iraq were to detonate and ignite most of those 365 active oilwells it could create an environmental nightmare similar to a nuclear winter. This could involve the failure of the Indian monsoons and enormous losses of life, even for people outside the Middle East. It has been suggested that the fire could burn for up to 12 months, spewing millions of tonnes of thick, black smoke 25 kilometres into the atmosphere and shading up to 100 million square kilometres, or one-fifth, of the earth's surface.

Finally, if we are to have international order and the maintenance of international standards among the nations of the world, we must depend upon recognised international bodies—not the actions of single countries or small groups of countries. To do otherwise is to condone the path to anarchy. If we want to preserve and use the recognised forum for making collective decisions about the future of the world, we must depend upon that international body known as the United Nations. Whatever its faults may be, there is no other.

Mr PETER FISHER (Mallee) (5.25)—This Parliament meets today in grave and sombre circumstances. It is an awesome decision to commit Australian defence

forces to war. War's suffering insults humanity, and war has never been more destructive. Even those of us who have been bombarded by the technological miracle of instant media coverage will never comprehend the scale of that destruction. It is beyond most people's understanding.

The Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and his Executive have the unified and bipartisan support of the Opposition in this decision. What a tragedy it is that at a time when our world seemed so close to peace, another evil dictator has destroyed that dream with his brutality and with the rape and indefensible invasion and occupation of Kuwait.

I had the opportunity to represent this Parliament at the Forty-fourth General Assembly of the United Nations (UN). This particular period produced a euphoria of rapid and extreme change in eastern Europe. Forty years of ideology and suppression of the human spirit was, in three weeks, torn down by the people. The people of Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria repudiated their former communist regimes and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) changed its approach and attitude both within and outside its borders. Major ideological conflicts between North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and Warsaw Pact countries melted and nations subdued their political animosities and the pettiness of decades. The issues of human rights, disarmament, the environment and matters economic became the linchpin for discussions and negotiation for international peace and security.

How important these dramatic changes have proved to be, allowing now for this coalition of nations under the auspices of the United Nations, as it seeks to sweep away this evil of Saddam Hussein. I note one other feature of that Forty-fourth General Assembly. Amongst that assembly of world leaders who once a year strut the world stage ever so briefly and who generally address not the world's issues but their own domestic and political audiences, two men commanded respect for their vision, modesty and principles. One was the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Edward Shevardnadze, whose principles

have now precipitated his resignation from a faltering Soviet reform program. The other man was George Bush, the United States President, whose quiet strength, diplomatic skills and understanding has now given the United Nations an opportunity to fulfil its intended role—that is, to affirm a faith in human dignity, to unite the most diverse of nations in the repulsion of the aggression and rape of Kuwait, and to be resolute in pursuing a lasting peace in the Middle East.

As many have said, this conflict did not start on 17 January. Hussein has ruled by fear for decades. He has a record of horror. He has quelled dissent and protest within Iraq—amongst his own nation's people and his own nation's children—with mustard gas and cyanide. He has poisoned the troops of Iran. He has executed his own political opposition. He has sent his nation's children to war and now he has inflicted brutal atrocities on Kuwait.

There are reports that some 7,000 Kuwaiti people have been slaughtered. Hundreds of thousands of Kuwaitis and foreign nationals have fled the country, their livelihoods destroyed, and looting is rife. There are more Iraqi soldiers in Kuwait than the 200,000 Kuwaitis who remain. Amnesty International documents a picture of terrible human rights violations—rape, detention, torture and summary executions. This course of action had one aim at its core—and that was the elimination of the national identity of Kuwait, of its people, and the unlawful seizure and destruction of property.

Australia, as a middle-sized power, has always believed in the charter of the United Nations. We have a vital national stake in an international system that works. We support this world forum, despite its often unrealised potential to call a halt to military expansionism and the enforcement of international law. We also have a very direct interest in the economic affairs of the Middle East. Our own standard of living depends on commodities and other trade. It depends on oil supplies for us and our major trading partners and because of the linkages between the Middle East oil and the general

health of the world's economy, the issue is one of vital significance to us. We understand the burden that this conflict has already imposed, and it will continue to wreak harm on our agricultural exports and individual farmers.

Iraq today is in contempt of 12 mandatory United Nations Security Council resolutions. Hussein's attack on Israel attests to his intent and to his evil. It has also set back the strong movement towards a Palestinian solution and, sadly, has hardened attitudes of moderation developing on this tragic issue.

In the past week or so, hundreds of people in my electorate of Mallee, in public vigils, in churches and in private communion, have been praying for peace. They have directed the power of their prayers to the leadership of all nations—to President Bush, to Prime Minister Hawke and to Saddam Hussein and his people—and they have prayed that the voice of reason and compassion will prevail. They have prayed for our service men and women, for the commitment of our ships and medical teams and for their loved ones living daily in the stress and uncertainty of war.

My constituency is asking two questions that deserve answers. Firstly, has enough been done to achieve a solution by diplomatic means? We all know that it is now some 5½ months since Iraq invaded Kuwait. Throughout all this period Iraq has ignored or rejected every international initiative, and that has been well documented. The United Nations Security Council has passed 12 resolutions on the issue, and this message could not have been clearer.

There have been a number of opportunities for Hussein to pursue a peaceful solution, including visits to his country by a succession of Arab leaders and other international political leaders. We remember the last-minute visit of the United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, only to suffer humiliation and rejection.

I believe that the Australian Government, for its part, has made every effort to see that the crisis is resolved by diplo-

matic and peaceful means. All of these intensive efforts foundered by Hussein's flat refusal to consider withdrawal, with his cynical and manipulative attempt to link this crisis with other issues and through his continued massive military expansion and build-up in Kuwait.

The second question that my electorate asks is: why not give sanctions more time? Sanctions did not bring about Iraq's compliance with the UN Security Council resolutions and it chose to ignore the signal that sanctions were intended to relay. To have continued the sanctions would have ensured that Iraq would have continued its cruel and oppressive occupation of Kuwait, and there would have been nothing left of that country to salvage. There has been no sign that sanctions were influencing this butcher of Baghdad. If sanctions had been maintained for a long period, a substantial multinational military presence at high levels of alert, preparedness and expense would have been necessary. Diplomatic endeavours failed and sanctions proved to be ineffective.

We all know that war is terrible; it is an evil. A coalition of nations has determined that force will be used to rid the world of Hussein. We have a war and it must be won or future peace will be a forlorn hope. It is not just the Western allies which have joined the coalition against this man. Twenty-eight countries have committed forces in support of the United Nations. Nine Arab countries, notably Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, have substantial forces deployed. Pakistan and Bangladesh have smaller contingents. The non-aligned movement and over 100 countries have condemned Iraq's actions.

It is in this context, therefore, that I wish to refer very briefly to the peace protesters and our so-called pacifists. The steps of the embassies of Iraq and the Soviet Union have not been littered over this past week with their slogans. Instead, they shriek with intolerance and curses in this House, seeking to drown out democratic debate and quell those very freedoms that allow them their expression.

No voices of dissent are heard from Baghdad today. There are no peace protesters in its streets. There are no peace protesters in its public gallery, attempting to drown out a democracy. Instead, there are fears and forces of darkness that we in this House pray are rapidly lifted from an oppressed and abused people whose leader the world must not appease. Peace at any price is not an option. One cannot negotiate with the devil.

Mr WALKER (Robertson) (5.34)—I should say at the outset that I strongly support the last three paragraphs of the motion before the House. Having committed our troops to the war, we must give them every support possible and pray for their safe return. Any escalation of the war, such as the attack on Israel, must stand condemned. Any peace mission must be welcomed with open arms. No such initiative will succeed without a just resolution of the plight of the Palestinian people.

The invasion of Kuwait was illegal and brutal and cannot be allowed to succeed. All right-thinking people support the United Nations (UN) in its determination to remove the Iraqis from Kuwait.

My difference with the motion before the House is not about that objective; it is about the best way to achieve it. I regret to say that I cannot in conscience give unqualified support to the motion because it is my conviction that the United Nations decision to forgo sanctions and to pursue the war option was premature and wrong, and the Government's decision to respond by taking a military role in the conflict was also wrong.

In taking that stand I find myself in the company of only a handful of my parliamentary colleagues. Nevertheless, I take solace in the fact that my position is shared by a broad cross-section of the world's religious and community leaders and a very substantial proportion of Australians. The decision to initiate military action has been condemned by the Pope, who described the war as 'a tragic adventure with disastrous consequences for humanity' and I find myself in strong

agreement with the sentiments of Sir Ronald Wilson of the Uniting Church in Australia who argues:

The decision to begin military action against Iraq is terribly wrong.

Such a decision is a tragic consequence of the failure of us all to work hard enough for peace.

History will condemn us for having allowed national pride and self interest—although hidden behind fine words about right and wrong—to dictate the course of events.

This is a senseless war brought about by a rush to use force as a first option in expelling Iraq from Kuwait. Diplomacy has been reduced to threats and public name calling. Sanctions were never given a chance to work.

It is not a war fought for the good of the people of Kuwait or the other countries of the Middle East; it is a war in which many innocent people from both sides will suffer death, dislocation and great hardship.

The consequences of this war can only be horrendous and far reaching.

Those are the views of the Uniting Church in Australia, and they are my views as well.

As Churchill pointed out, going to war is like riding the back of the tiger; once astride you never quite know where or how it will end. To my mind there are several powerful reasons why we should have given peace a greater chance. Firstly, Australia has no vital interests to defend. There is no threat to our national or economic security. We are virtually self-sufficient in oil, which is the major reason for the involvement of the United States of America (USA).

Indeed, we stand to lose a great deal of trade as the Middle East is a major purchaser of Australian cereals, meat and other consumables. At a time when Australia is suffering a recession and has a critical balance of payments problem, a protracted war in the Middle East can be only disastrous for our economy.

Secondly, Australian public opinion is sharply divided about the war. Already the demonstrations against it are reaching Vietnam proportions and are likely to grow as the casualties and destruction mount.

Thirdly, I must say that I am extremely uncomfortable with the international

coalition that we find ourselves in bed with. Only a short time ago Saddam Hussein was embraced and armed to the teeth by the President of America as the hero fighting a just war against the expansionist fundamentalist policies of the Ayatollah Khomeini and the mad mullahs of Iran. The attempts by Congress to bring him to book for human rights abuses, including gassing the Kurds, were frustrated by President Bush and the Republican Party in America. Today we find ourselves in coalition with Assad of Syria, who was yesterday's king of the terrorists and is now a worthy ally despite his recent naked aggression and massacres in the Lebanon. The Saudis and Kuwaitis are hardly models of democracy or upholders of human rights.

It was painfully ironic that at the very time that the American Congress was voting for a war against Iraqi aggression we saw our ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, roll the tanks into Vilnius, Lithuania, trampling human rights in that republic. Need I remind the House that it did the same in Afghanistan?

Our American allies are no less culpable. In recent memory we can recall their bloody aggression in Grenada, Panama and Libya, not to mention Vietnam. Saddam Hussein is a tyrant and a butcher, but it is sheer hypocrisy to overlook the fact that most of our allies have also been prepared to indulge in blatant aggression when it is perceived to be in their national interests to do so.

My fourth and probably strongest reason is based on a deep apprehension that neither the United States nor any of its allies seem to have any realistic plan for bringing the war to a conclusion or, for that matter, to have considered the consequences of a coalition victory. We are told by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) that the war may not be short, but it will be conclusive. But nobody tells us how it will end. Does victory entail merely pushing the Iraqis out of Kuwait? Does it involve the massive destruction of Iraq, the establishment of a puppet government, a long term US or United Nations military presence in Iraq? There is the

greatest danger that the war effort will end in pyrrhic victory.

According to former US National Security Adviser Brzezinski, the most probable outcome of an allied victory is that fundamentalist Iran will become the dominant power of the Persian Gulf and that terrorist Syria will inherit the mantle of leadership amongst the Arabs. Time will tell, but what is certain is that the American invasion will set off a chain reaction amongst the Arab nations which will ensure the intensification of political instability in the region. That bodes ill for those of us concerned about fuel prices and balance of payments deficiencies.

Finally, I am manifestly uneasy when I listen to my colleagues talk about the new world order. Like many in the Australian Labor Party, I have long supported the peacekeeping role of the United Nations. However, the Iraqi model which provides for a United States driven Security Council does not appeal to me at all. The USA may be the only surviving superpower and military master, but I cannot see the US becoming the world's policeman shedding American blood and using American resources to prevent aggression around the globe. Anyway, who is going to police American acts of aggression?

In recent years we have seen the Americans taking military action in breach of the United Nations Charter in Libya, Panama and Grenada. Recent weeks have seen Russian tanks rolling into Lithuania. Who is going to police the Soviets or, for that matter, major powers such as China? I know some of my colleagues have long nurtured a pipedream of the United Nations becoming the military enforcer of breaches of its Charter. The reality has always been that the major powers will veto any attempt to curb their excesses.

The final matter that I wish to deal with is the constantly repeated assertion that it was necessary to act now because if sanctions were continued, Saddam Hussein would have been able to perfect his nuclear, chemical and biological weaponry and dig in so deep that his removal would be too painful to contemplate. Despite constant assertions to the contrary in this

debate, the overwhelming testimony given to the US Congress was that sanctions were having a devastating effect. They had virtually cut off 100 per cent of Iraq's exports and 90 per cent of imports. Iraq was increasingly pressed to find the foreign currency necessary to pay the smugglers for the 10 per cent of imports.

So far as the weapons of terror are concerned, my response is that we did not complain when the Israelis took out Saddam Hussein's nuclear plant in 1981. I, for one, would have supported the coalition making limited air strikes against those facilities because Hussein has shown that he is prepared to use those unconscionable weapons.

I note in this context that Senator Byrd of West Virginia——

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Dubois) —Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr BROADBENT (Corinella) (5.44) —The procurement of peace is uppermost in the minds of the members of this House. And for those outside this building who stand with placards today who would scoff at that remark, I would put to them that war is costly; peace is priceless; peace at any price is useless. Let them not believe that there is not anguish in the hearts and minds of our Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and the Deputy Prime Minister (Mr Keating), of the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson), and his deputy, the honourable member for Flinders (Mr Reith), when decisions are taken that lead our people into theatres of war. Let them not believe that there is not a heaviness in the hearts of members of this House and many in the community when we hear that bombs have dropped on Israel, when we hear that the bombing of Baghdad has begun, as I heard at a meeting in this House, where silence reigned for quite a deal of time.

This is not a war that anybody wants. Any sane person hates war. There is great anguish in this House as to where we will be going and we know not where we are going when we get into a war such as this. The previous speaker, the honourable member for Robertson (Mr Walker), was

most remarkable because he raised many questions that have to be faced by our leaders, the leaders of this nation. I stand to support the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition because of their great anguish.

I also commend this House to the people of Australia because for two days I have heard with reverence, sincerity and great decorum, presentations and views from both sides of the House that have been listened to without interjection, except one important and major one from the gallery, which was a disappointment to many.

Too often we are silent in this House about injustice in the world. That point has been made today by many honourable members but this is not a time to walk away from this madman, Saddam Hussein, this murderous, vitriolic dictator. Because there are many other serious crimes in the world do we let go on this particular issue? Do we ask our Prime Minister not to make a decision at all in this case, to choose peace, to be the peacemaker; or are we going to ask that he be a war-maker to achieve that peace?

Each one of us in this House is now involved directly in this conflict, as are many Australians and their families. To make no decision at this time is to acquiesce. To make no decision, in fact, is to condone what is happening in Iraq, Iran, Israel and Syria. We are now a nation that has committed forces to the Middle East looking for a resolution. I say 'looking for a resolution' because entering this war we do not know what we are heading into. These are troubled waters.

I thank the House for this time to speak tonight. On Sunday I was at St Phillips Church at Phillip Island. A contribution was made there by the Reverend Father Warwick Winsall-Hall. It would take too long for me to repeat what he said to his congregation, but the anguish that is being displayed in this House about our commitment to this war is not only relevant to this House. As mentioned by a previous speaker, in every church there have been vigils. In many households there have

been prayers before dinner, and I know that there have been prayers in this House of Parliament, outside this room, on behalf of those who would choose peace and who would work towards peace.

What is frightening is that we are facing an enemy that does not live in Australia with all the freedom that we enjoy. We are facing an enemy from an area in which people live in constant threat of losing their lives. If even the small events that happen on a daily basis in the Middle East were to happen in Australia, we would be outraged and would probably be desperate to lynch our leaders because they could not keep some reasonable control. How can we in this nation ever stand up and make decisions on behalf of those people in the Middle East? All we can do is contribute to what we believe is right. We can make an assessment on the basis of the information that has been presented to us and we can support those that we believe are on the right side.

It is not easy for our leaders to make decisions that will take us into a theatre of war that is a tinderbox of which we have little understanding. It is a step in faith to commit to that area our ships, our men and women, our doctors and nurses and to pray that they will return safely. If there has been a tragedy in the last week, it is that our leaders have not stood up and said God bless that fleet and all that sail with it. I do not believe that has been said in this House by the major leaders. It is important that our forces be protected. I hope that their great ability to perform their tasks in the most professional manner will be their self-protection. It is my fervent hope that their training and the equipment that we have supplied will protect them and that they will be able to come home safely to their families.

I now direct my remarks specifically to those who have marched perhaps against this proposed resolution and to those who have been vocal in this House from the gallery. We all hope that they also would support those people who are overseas on our behalf. We know that tragedies are occurring on a daily basis, because when bombs are dropped they do not necessar-

ily hit just the targets that we have chosen; they hit ordinary people—people such as other member's wives and mine, people such as our fathers and mothers and maybe our children and our babies. We stand here today on their behalf as well.

A peaceful resolution of this war is the desire of every member of this House. We fervently desire that this House send on our behalf the message to the forces overseas that we support them as individuals. I know that even though some honourable members on both sides of this House hold the view that they would choose peace above any form of war, straight from their hearts, they will support any person in our defence forces. That is the message we are sending today in support of our Prime Minister, whose statement I, as a member of the Opposition, am proud to support. I support also the Leader of the Opposition, whose statesmanly presentation showed that we have something to look forward to in the leadership of this nation. I commend this motion to members of this House and I thank them for hearing me.

Mr FREE (Lindsay) (5.53)—I join this debate on the Middle East to support the motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and to endorse in particular the five considerations in support of our involvement, which were advanced by the Prime Minister in his statement last Thursday and again in the House yesterday. It is true that the right of independent nations to exist and the moral authority of the United Nations are worth fighting for. The Prime Minister correctly recognised that the process which began in August and lasted until 15 January had been one of restraint and caution. He correctly identified our commitment to a clear and achievable goal in the Gulf—namely, the end of aggression. Finally, he correctly pointed to a quest for a new world order. I, like the honourable member for Lalor (Mr Barry Jones), find something faintly Orwellian about the new world order, but nevertheless we all recognise that, in the wake left at the ending of the superpower confrontation, the quest for a world in which all can enjoy peace,

security and freedom is an objective well worth pursuing.

The background to the events of 17 January is, of course, well known. The conflict began on 2 August with the invasion and subsequent rape of Kuwait. Other speakers in this House have amply covered the atrocities that have been committed against the Kuwaitis that have been documented by Amnesty International, including detention, torture and summary execution, and the parallel economic destruction of Kuwait and the systematic pillage of that country. The motivation behind these acts is not the stated reasons—the so-called nineteenth province argument—but rather Iraq's urgent need for funds after eight years of war with Iran and Hussein's longer term goal of supremacy in the Middle East. The nature of Hussein's regime is now well known. I refer not just to Hussein's behaviour in Kuwait but also to his behaviour against his own people in his treatment of the Kurdish minority, who have been victims of chemical weapons.

I remind the House that this is a regime that until December took innocent civilians as hostages and used them as human shields. That same regime is now using prisoners of war for the same purpose in flagrant breach of the Geneva Convention. The history of United Nations' condemnation of Iraq is also well known. I refer to the series of 12 UN resolutions, which began with resolution 660 on 3 August, which condemned the invasion of Kuwait and demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait, right through to the series of resolutions enforcing the embargo and ending with resolution 678 of 29 November. This resolution set the deadline of 15 January for the withdrawal from Kuwait. Resolution 678, in effect, gave Iraq a final chance to withdraw and to honour the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. This resolution was a clear and considered expression of world opinion. It authorised the commencement of hostilities by the multinational force on 17 January, of which we correctly are a part.

Reactions throughout the Australian community on and after 17 January have

been varied and all members of Parliament have had the experience of hearing ordinary people volunteer their views on this situation in conversations, over the phone, and by fax, as is common these days. There are those in favour of the resolution and there are those in opposition. Those who support the actions of the multinational force overwhelmingly have displayed a mood which has been described by other members of this House as sombre—a mood of regretful resolve, of a recognition that with Hussein we have a problem that will only get worse if it is not confronted now. It is a mood that has been most eloquently described by a correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 13 January. I refer to a letter from a Mr Peter Mackay. I shall quote briefly from this letter. He said:

How naive the demonstrations, letters and advertisements calling for peace in the Gulf scene. Presumably their authors also publicly express their desire for perfect weather, motherhood and balloons that never burst.

Peace is a good thing. Everybody knows this and everybody wants it. Most of all the politicians and servicemen involved, for, if they know their stuff, they know that war is expensive, unpopular, destructive and very rarely achieves any useful purpose.

* * * * *

The sanctions haven't worked, nor the negotiations and discussions. Despite the conviction of the pacifists that there must be some combination of words that will yield a happy result for all parties, the time for discussion has passed. Hussein would be delighted to negotiate until well into the next century, so long as he keeps Kuwait.

Like the poor, bullies and tyrants will always be with us. If the Western democracies do not show that they are willing to back up their diplomacy with force, then eventually there will be no democracy, merely the mighty ruling over the meek.

So the calls for peace are pointless. George Bush and Bob Hawke are not little boys wanting to play with their toys, but sad and disappointed men reluctantly carrying out the duty they were elected to perform.

Those opposing our action quote parallels in other places and at other times that have been shown in this debate to be false. They use the slogan, 'No blood for oil'—and I believe that we should not be ashamed to say that oil is a valid factor

among other factors in our decision. Hussein now controls 20 per cent of the world's known oil reserves. His current position clearly threatens Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states, to put him in a position where he could threaten up to 70 per cent of the world reserves. As part of the world community Australia has a clear interest in preventing such control, which could cause incalculable damage to the world economy and to the living standards of the people we represent.

I turn briefly to the Palestinian question, and I say as a friend of Israel that I cannot justify all aspects of Israel's response to the intifada. But I do say that a solution to the Palestinian question should not be a precondition for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. It was never a reason for the original invasion, and I believe that the future of Israel must never become a bargaining chip in the settlement process. I therefore welcome those references in the motion both to the unprovoked attacks on Israel and to the need for a settlement to guarantee, as one aspect, the continuing security of that country.

I turn briefly to the role of the media since 17 January. Overwhelmingly, of course, this has become a television war, and I want to commend the television channels, and particularly those journalists overseas, for the coverage that they have been providing. The coverage in the Australian press has also been comprehensive and up to date, and comment by and large has been sensible and measured. There have been some notable exceptions. I draw the attention of honourable members to the Dubbo *Daily Liberal* of Friday headlined, 'Cop That Hussein!', which ranks in the bad taste stakes among some of the more extreme headlines of the bottom end of the British press during the Falklands war.

I join with all of those in this debate who have referred to the 884 Australians serving in the Gulf, and I too wish them a safe and early return. I also welcome the decision to recall this Parliament. Critics of that decision have accused the Government of symbolism and I say that yes, in one aspect that is true, but it is

very important symbolism. It demonstrates the best of our system—that the views of the people, through their elected representatives, can be expressed here openly and freely. We should all recognise also that our democratic system carries with it the right to disagree.

There were those yesterday who sought to disrupt the proceedings of this House and of the Senate, and I want to say to them that, like many in my generation, I joined the Australian Labor Party and became politically active during the sixties—during the time of the Vietnam war. So I want to be particularly careful not to subject this generation to the kind of treatment that an earlier generation gave to mine. However, I want to say to them that dissent is their right and that it is my duty and the duty of every other honourable member in this place to protect that right but that they have obligations too. They need to recognise that abuse and disruption are not substitutes for logic and reason and they should recognise that this Parliament is not just ours. The institution is the property of every Australian, so it is theirs too. They should treat it with respect.

Almost 30 years ago I opposed government policy because I knew it was wrong. I support it now because I know it is right.

Mr RONALDSON (Ballarat) (6.04)—Mr Deputy Speaker, much of what I intended to say today has been said by others over the last two days, although I wish to place on public record my support for the military intervention of the coalition forces. Quite frankly, I have been sickened by some of the reports given by honourable members to this House of atrocities as reported by Amnesty International. Although I was aware of some of those atrocities, I was unaware of the full extent of them. I am sure there would not be one honourable member in this House who has not been touched by the extent and the degree of those atrocities.

For the last two years we have lived in a climate of new hope for world peace. The ongoing thawing of East-West relations and the spread of democracy pro-

vide renewed hope for a new free and peaceful world. The world, however, cannot and indeed must not stand by and allow this world peace to be threatened by a brutal dictator.

This dispute is primarily about one man whose actions in 1990 were totally unacceptable to the world community. It is about the unlawful annexation of a sovereign state and the violation of the sovereignty of a people. It is about the obscene attitude of one man towards the objectives of world peace. It is about one man who has an obscene attitude to the value of life itself. The realities are that Saddam Hussein is a man without conscience and a man totally devoid of any commitment to peace.

This war is not, as alleged by some, an act of economic imperialism. It is the lawful and legitimate exercise of the authority of the United Nations. The question that we as Australians must ask ourselves is: are we as a nation prepared to make a commitment to world peace, and are we as a nation prepared to make the ultimate commitment to ensure that world peace?

As the elected representative for Ballarat, I have been approached, naturally, by both sides—both those who oppose our involvement and those who support it. Those approaches have been from both organisations and individuals, and I have been asked by those people to place their views before this House. Last Thursday morning, for example, some 10 minutes before war broke out, I received a petition signed by some 400 people. It was presented by peace activist Petra Kjutsckow, and I share with both Petra and the signatories to that petition a fervent hope for peace.

I must also express to the House the views of one gentleman who expressed profound disappointment that mass demonstrations did not occur on 2 August last year when Kuwait was illegally invaded by Iraq. He also expressed regret that the rape, pillage and brutality associated with the invasion were not condemned by those who now condemn our involvement.

I totally support the right of all groups to express their point of view lawfully, but the fact that this basic right is presently being denied to the peaceful people of Kuwait should not be lost on anyone. As much as I am horrified by the loss of life that must inevitably follow this war, the likely consequences of non-involvement are even more horrific. Saddam Hussein would not have stopped at Kuwait.

He is committed to the control of the Middle East and its oilfields, and there can be no doubt in anyone's mind about the lengths he is prepared to go to to achieve his aims. This Parliament must recognise that his goal is complete domination of the region. The overthrow of legitimate governments and peaceful and industrious peoples is an act against humanity to which he would not give a moment's thought. If he is not stopped now, then there will be no stopping him.

This war is being fought by a coalition of countries that abhor the violation of the territory and the sovereignty of a free and peaceful nation. It is a war that will be won by the United Nations supported coalition and it is a war that will finally present a united world front against those who still seek to attack the sovereignty of independent nations and their peoples.

To those who exercise their legitimate right to oppose Australia's contribution to the international coalition, I say that while I will fight to defend their right to disagree with this Parliament they must recognise that Australia is fighting for a world where contrary opinions can be expressed with impunity and where that right to do so is held to be sacred.

Argument against our involvement is not advanced by raising similar past actions and pointing to the lack of a cohesive world approach to those abuses. The reason it achieves little is that we are now in a new age. It is an age that has seen a real commitment to world peace by those with the very means to destroy that peace. I believe we now have the opportunity to cement the United Nations in a new role, in a role as the keeper of world peace, in

the role of a world organisation that has the ability to enforce that peace.

As has been said in this House by a number of speakers, it is a brutal dictator who has caused this war. It is Saddam Hussein who has shown total disinterest in a peaceful resolution. It is Saddam Hussein who has placed at great and grave risk the lives of so many, including the Iraqi people—his people.

Finally, like the rest of my electorate, I pray for peace. I pray for an early resolution of this conflict and, above all, I pray for the safe return of our service men and women. I also extend to their families my support and the support of this House.

Mr DUNCAN (Makin) (6.09)—I am deeply troubled and anxious about the events which now confront this world and the nation. We are at war under the auspices but not the command of the United Nations. I have grave problems in accepting this situation.

Along with every other member of this Parliament, I condemn the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein and his government and the rocket attacks that have been launched against Israel. By such actions he has brought untold suffering to millions of Kuwaitis and others, including the population of Iraq.

The initial response by the world community of anger, outrage, condemnation, sanctions and the blockade was the correct response. It was a sign of a mature international community adopting a new world order. I supported those steps as being entirely appropriate. I supported the sending of Australian men and women and ships to enforce the blockade. I cannot, however, accept the use of military force at this time, and I cannot support the motion before the House. I believe the decision to begin military action was unnecessary and premature. Two cold-blooded wrongs never made a right.

It is time, I think, to be very honest with the Australian public. They should be told that, while more than 150 countries supported the sanctions and the blockade, Australia was one of only 28 countries which moved on to support the military action of President Bush with the

so-called appropriate support. Nor has it been made clear to the Australian public that almost half of America's senators and members of the House of Representatives did not support the use of force under United Nations resolution 678. In other words, even in the United States a significant parliamentary minority opposed the war. It is sad that we cannot say the same for Australia. Along with 47.5 per cent of US senators and 42.3 per cent of members of the US House of Representatives, I do not believe that sanctions were given nearly enough time to take full effect.

Iraq does not have the industrial complex or the commodities to be able to produce its own range of industrial equipment. Many experts in these matters have pointed to the fact that, in a relatively short time, industry would have ground to a halt through lack of spare parts and shortages of raw material, thus inevitably impacting Hussein's war machine. President Bush was not prepared to show sufficient patience to allow this to happen. At the time of the decision to implement the blockade, many commentators raised doubts as to whether the blockade would impact quickly enough to satisfy the United States.

Sadly, those commentators were proved right. Almost overnight, with the US elections out of the way, the Bush Administration began moving from a sanctions policy to a war policy. There has been conjecture that this was because of the Iraqis in Kuwait digging in deep, the political problems, the declining morale of troops sitting it out in the desert, or the weather window in January and February. However, financial experts, it seems, may tragically have hit on the correct reason: money. The US could not afford to wait for peace and so, to calm the coffers of the US, we are now at war.

Whatever the reason, it was a tragic mistake, in my view. The game plan changed; the machinations began to look more like a war game than a peace plan. Virtually overnight we were told that sanctions were not working, and I simply ask: can any logical, caring person committed to peace really accept that sanctions so suddenly became ineffective? If

that were the truth, why were the sanctions chosen as the principal weapon in August? In these circumstances, I do not accept that the military forces have been committed as forces of last resort.

I also question the commitment of the Bush Administration to finding a peaceful solution. Bush did not offer negotiations. He offered only set piece preconditions which were obviously unacceptable before those conditions were put. Diplomacy is about finding solutions—but solutions acceptable to both sides. At the last minute the French Government offered a peace plan which sought to link the Palestine question with the Gulf crisis. Unfortunately, the US and the United Kingdom determined to veto the proposal in the Security Council. Whether it would have had a chance of succeeding we will now never know.

We are told that the fundamental issue of the Gulf crisis is the sovereignty of Kuwait. As I have said, I condemn Iraq for its invasion and violation of Kuwaiti sovereignty. But I ask those who now take us to war: where were they in the 1980s when Iraq was invading Iranian sovereignty? The answer to that is that they were tacitly supporting Iraq in its aggression. Australia throughout that period was supplying Iraq with a range of goods and commodities. Soviet, French, German, US and British arms manufacturers and merchants were suppliers, financiers and backers of Iraq.

The supply by those countries of weapons of war was the very foundation of the Iraqi military machine which is now being used with such devastating effect against Kuwait and against Israel. I ask this House and the Australian people not to forget that. The means of war in the hands of Iraq have been supplied to Saddam and his government by the forces who now call him a madman. The comparisons with Hitler may well be correct, but this is the same person and the same government that much of the First World was arming to the teeth and for a decade was tacitly supporting in their invasion of Iran. The point is that the matter of sovereignty seems to be one of some convenience. What is now fundamental and worthy of

world war apparently was not worthy of comment throughout the 1980s.

Following the declaration of war, I have received dozens of phone calls from my constituents and others expressing their worry and concern that Australia is again at war. There is no greater responsibility, in my view, on the shoulders of any member of Parliament than the decision to commit our country to war. I feel it the heaviest of burdens. I know that the people of Makin will understand my position and my dilemma.

I oppose Hussein and condemn the invasion of Kuwait and the attacks on Israel. I support the economic sanctions and the blockade and our involvement in it. I cannot support the use of force at this time. I do not accept that resolution 678 required the use of force at this early date. I also question the need for Australian military involvement. Resolution 678 requested member states to provide appropriate support. Only 28 of over 150 states have answered this call, and I ask whether Australia has interests in the Middle East to justify our sending warships. Certainly Australian Labor Party policy does not appear to support sending ships in these circumstances. Clause 15 of our international relations policy says:

. . . not commit Australian forces for combat overseas unless there is a clear and imminent threat to Australian security and lives. This does not preclude the possibility of participation in peace-keeping operations.

How can one, without abusing the English language, describe the US-led multi-national forces as peacekeepers? I ask Australians to place themselves in the position of innocent Kuwaitis, Iraqis and Israelis whose families are being destroyed and whose lives are being lost. For this is what war means. We have three ships and three medical teams in the Gulf war. I do not support bringing home the ships and personnel now that they have been committed, and I have confidence in and real feelings for those Australians who are now serving in the Gulf. It is the decision to commit them that I am unable to support.

I have agonised greatly over this matter. I am depressed by the war in the

Gulf, but I do see some signs of hope in the fact that such a large number of US congressmen and senators were prepared, probably at high personal political cost, to speak out against the decision of President Bush to declare war. I am also pleased to see the strong anti-war sentiments and policy being expressed by so many Australian churches and, in particular, the Uniting Church in Australia. The statement of the Uniting Church President, former High Court Judge Sir Ronald Wilson, is worth quoting:

The decision to begin military action against Iraq is terribly wrong.

Such a decision is a tragic consequence of the failure of us all to work hard enough for a just peace. History will condemn us for having allowed national pride and self interest—although hidden behind fine words about right and wrong—to dictate the course of events.

This is a senseless war, brought about by a rush to use force as a first option in expelling Iraq from Kuwait. Diplomacy has been reduced to threats and public name calling. Sanctions were never given a chance to work.

These views are those of the third largest church in Australia and are a real expression of the tenets of the *New Testament*.

Those who support this war say it is about the establishment of a new world order. Sadly, those people are no different from those who promised that the Great War would be the war to end all wars. We have heard variations on that theme whenever war has been declared. I hope for an early end to this war, but I feel it will not happen soon; I hope for a ceasefire, but this will require more flexibility on both sides; I hope for an early peace initiative in which our Government plays a role; I hope our service personnel return safely; and, most of all, I hope that human suffering caused by this war will end soon. I will do all in my power to ensure these hopes are realised.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Dubois)
—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr CHARLES (La Trobe) (6.19)—War and acts of war and actions in war are abhorrent to all thinking people and all people of goodwill. War is a nightmare, a horror beyond our comprehension. Only

the mentally unstable would wish for or delight in the agony of armed conflict. War kills and maims and destroys. But there are times in the conduct of human affairs when it seems there is little or no option but to resort to arms to resolve conflicts for which no other method of resolution is possible.

When I determined to stand for Federal Parliament, when I won my seat and when I was sworn in as a member of the House of Representatives, I gave, perhaps naively, no thought whatsoever to the likelihood or possibility that the day would come when I, as a member of this national parliament, would be asked to debate the correctness or otherwise of a decision of the Government and, specifically, the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) to commit Australian armed forces to one more foreign war. But that reality has been with us yesterday and today.

It is because we enjoy a participative democracy that we are here debating the motion moved by the Prime Minister and supported by the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson). It is right and proper that we, as the elected representatives of the people, should debate this issue and that we should debate it in this public forum. It is a tribute to this House and to the Senate that all who have spoken have so obviously given detailed and serious consideration to both the arguments and the ramifications of this debate.

I support the actions of the Prime Minister. I support the motion and I support the statements of the Leader of the Opposition. Only one short year ago the world rejoiced, and Australia with it, at the end of the Cold War, the demolition of the Berlin Wall, and the easing of tensions in the opening up of effective communications between the East and the West. With the euphoria that accompanied those dramatic events it seemed that at long last the world community had matured and that in the last decade of the twentieth century solutions to the world's problems would be found in debate and negotiation, thus opening the road to a twenty-first century of a new world order.

Debate and negotiation are not on the agenda of the madman of Iraq, the butcher of Baghdad. Saddam Hussein, like Hitler before him, knows not the bounds of reason; nor does he take account of the fact that a new world order is emerging. The dictator, Saddam Hussein, following his brutal military acquisition of Kuwait, held thousands of hostages as ransom to the world at large and threatened the use of those hostages as a human shield against any retaliation to his unlawful, unjustified and violent acquisition of a sovereign country. Now Hussein threatens to use his captives in the shooting war as that same human shield.

It is significant that those people demonstrating for peace in our country mindlessly call for the cessation of military action and the resumption of negotiations to resolve the conflict. Many members of this House and many senators have spoken of the seemingly inappropriate response of the peace movement in Australia to the international action. Democracy is about freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of association, and many others. But the concept of freedom carries with it the necessity for responsibility. In a world sense, the concept of responsibility demands that we who are free take some responsibility for those who are not. In that sense we are outraged by the invasion of Kuwait, by the holding of hostages, by the use of prisoners of war in an inhumane way, and by the threat of terrorist acts all over the world. It seems obvious that any man or any government which undertakes and supports such inhumane actions will not respond to the democratic logic of negotiation and fair play. Hussein must be stopped. Negotiation will not stop him.

The threat of terrorist acts around the world in support of the madman of Iraq is truly frightening. Mindless intimidation of the world's free and democratic countries by a dictator who has shown his capacity for the most inhumane acts is abhorred by all in this place. It is not a war of the West versus the East, of the infidel versus the Muslim or the United States versus Iraq. This is a war supported by the international community,

joined by Australia, engaged in appropriate action to liberate a sovereign country and remove the threat of a madman holding the world to ransom.

It is of the utmost importance that we in this House display to the population at large not only our resolve in this matter but also our grave concern for the rights of those Australians who were born in the Middle East or who have Arab backgrounds. We must at any cost give a clear message of our resolve that there be no violence or discrimination against Arab Australians. The Australian concept of a fair go demands our tolerance, understanding and respect for those Australians who have their roots in a country with whom we are now engaged in mortal conflict.

While we debate the rights and wrongs of this war and while protesters disrupt our debate, all of us must pause to remember that we need to send to our armed forces in the Gulf the strongest possible message of united Australian support for our ships and for our people. The men and women now representing Australia in the Gulf, and those who may go in the future, must know that they are there with our support and our prayers for their safety. As with others who have gone before them to other foreign wars, there is no doubt in our minds regarding their loyalty, their dedication, their competence and their belief in the values of our democratic society. We wish them God speed and we pray for their safe return.

Sitting suspended from 6.28 to 8 p.m.

Mr FORD (Dunkley) (8.00)—I support this motion and welcome the opportunity of supporting the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson). Like all others in this chamber and throughout the nation, the thought of war horrifies me. But at some stage it is necessary to say, 'Enough'. Since 2 August last year Saddam Hussein has had ample opportunity to mend his ways. Indeed, the United Nations (UN) has passed 12 resolutions condemning the actions of his brutal dictatorship. Finally, in late November, Baghdad was given one final

opportunity to comply with all previous resolutions. Saddam Hussein's failure to comply with the 15 January deadline left the forces of the coalition with no alternative but to launch its threatened military strike.

I deeply deplore the human suffering, but we must look more closely at the record of Saddam Hussein. His actions over the past decade have revealed his regime in all its horror and brutality. This self-aggrandising and ruthless tyrant aspires to be the present-day Nebuchadnezzar, Saladin and Nasser of the Arab world. Since becoming President of Iraq in 1979 he has chosen guns, not butter. He has purchased a First World military machine at the expense of his own people, many of whom live in Third World misery.

Saddam Hussein is no respecter of human rights. The ideals of the enlightenment have no role in his political agenda. The taking of civilian hostages last year and his threat to use coalition pilots as human shields are the methods of a coward and despot. During the 1980s, he waged a bloody and futile war with Iran. The cost in human and economic terms was enormous. Despite being given every opportunity to negotiate a non-military solution to his invasion of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein has once again subjected the unfortunate citizens of Iraq to the miseries of war. It is difficult to respect those who support such a person. By any standards, he is a monster. The vile logic revealed by Iraq's attack on Israel to demonstrate his aggression as a pro-Arab is bizarre. There are also civilians in this region. I question the contract that Telecom Australia has entered into which allows employees and their families to be in the Middle East. They can return to Australia, I understand, but at their own expense. I also understand that some Telecom personnel were relocated to safer areas today, which is good news.

Appeasement of Iraq brings even greater risks. On several occasions earlier this century the international community yielded to the mendacity of the appeasers, always with disastrous results. The tragic failure of the League of Nations and its ineptitude in securing the peace so longed

for in the aftermath of the Great War must not be the failure of the United Nations. Let us hope that the 1990s will not be the 1930s. It is imperative that the sovereign rights of all nations are protected. Kuwait must not be Manchuria, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia or Poland. As Paul Johnson has so vividly documented, from the early 1930s the Nazis fully expected to be stopped—but they never were.

Although the ultimate outcome of this war is uncertain, the consequences of appeasement are certainly disastrous. The peace purchased with appeasement is a false peace. We need a secure and lasting peace. The challenge facing the coalition is to secure a victory that ensures stability; yet achieving this victory may be difficult. Iraq has so far protected its air force and has used its instruments of terror—the Scud missiles. Iraq's strength is its army of over half a million regular troops. These men are well equipped and battle hardened. They are dug into heavily fortified defensive positions along its borders. Dislodging these troops will be difficult and could be costly in terms of personnel and equipment. This task will test the resolve of the nations of the coalition, but I believe that they will be successful.

The great tragedy of the drama now unfolding in the Persian Gulf is that for many citizens around the world the new decade had seemed so full of promise. With the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War in Europe, many believed that they were about to see the advent of a new era of peace, prosperity and international cooperation. Saddam Hussein's invasion of the tiny nation state of Kuwait has jeopardised these hopes. Moreover, the joint initiatives of the United States and the Soviet Union have been shaken by the recent suppression of nationalist imperatives in the Baltic states. As a matter of urgency, this Parliament needs to debate the implications of this Gulf war and the Soviet action on our future defence planning.

There were people in the gallery yesterday whose main purpose was to blame the United States. I ask those who have

so arrogantly cast themselves in the role of the self-appointed conscience of the civilised West: what would the Middle East look like today if the United Nations, supported enormously by the United States, had not intervened? The responsibilities of this war have been accepted by the nations of the international community. This is a United Nations initiative. Those in the gallery yesterday also spoke of blood for oil. Those words more accurately describe the actions of Iraq. So far, it has been Iranian, Kuwaiti and Iraqi blood for oil, and I fear that far more blood will be spilt in the coming months. A number of peace protesters have contacted my electorate office. While I, too, have strong feelings of revulsion at the prospect of war, not one advocate of non-involvement has been able to supply an alternative to the current course of action. There have been far more supporters for the UN action than peace protesters.

I commend the coalition of nations on its vigorous attempts to secure a resolution to this crisis and the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his efforts in trying to negotiate a peace. In particular, I congratulate the United States and President George Bush for his strength and courage. The decisive leadership of the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition must also be applauded. I send my personal support and best wishes to the 900 personnel in our armed forces now serving in the Middle East and record my appreciation of their skill and devotion to duty. They have the support of this institution and the vast majority of their fellow Australians. It is my fervent hope that they will all return home safely in the very near future.

In conclusion, I address several issues raised by earlier speakers. The honourable member for Phillip (Ms McHugh) and the honourable member for North Sydney (Mr Mack) have compared the situation today with Cyprus, East Timor, Pol Pot and Idi Amin. They are exactly what we are trying to avoid. Strong United Nations action could have avoided these terrible episodes. They believe that there is an alternative to the current war. Yes, there is. Unless the United Nations acts and con-

tinues to act decisively, these incidents will continue to occur. The honourable member for Makin (Mr Duncan) believes that there was no rush. Tell that to the Kuwaitis. He believes that a diplomatic solution was possible. Tell that to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He gave up in disgust. I support this motion moved by the Prime Minister.

Mr O'KEEFE (Burke) (8.09)—I welcome the decision of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) to recall Parliament. We needed the broadest possible public discussion of our role in this United Nations response to the occupation of Kuwait. On Sunday evening, before travelling here to Canberra, I met with a group of Australian Labor Party members in my electorate. This group comes together from time to time to advise me about issues which are of particular concern to people at the local level. I often find that they have an uncanny sense of those matters which are close to the hearts of people; the things which create the most concern; the issues which need much more explanation if we are to have the full support of the nation in endeavours such as this.

Let none of us in this Parliament assume that just because one of our leaders has explained something on television or some newspaper article has canvassed a particular issue, the need to set out the facts in terms which can be understood by all Australians has somehow been met. This just is not the case. Let me give an example. Can anyone here in the Parliament tell me how it could be that we still need to spell out the position on conscription? We would all have assumed that sufficient had been said on this. Yet my advisers put conscription at the top of the list for me to clarify immediately. Clearly the Vietnam experience of 25 years ago is still very fresh in the minds of our people. Fortunately it is the easiest question of all in the current situation. The Whitlam Labor Government repealed the National Service Act in 1973 and, even though the Government has no power to conscript, more importantly, it has no wish to do so. Not one member of the Labor Caucus would countenance the call-up in these

circumstances. I hope that serves to reassure people on this matter.

I turn next to Australia's role in the United Nations, our relationship with the United States and the linkage between the two. It is important to say something about this because there is a belief sincerely held by a significant number of Australians that we find ourselves in this conflict more as a function of our support for America than as a constituent member of the United Nations.

Let me set the record straight. In 1948 the world, still recoiling from the horrors of the Second World War, looked for the answer to the question 'How can we stop this from ever happening again?'. The answer was the newly structured United Nations. It was given a specific charter to intervene against aggression, including the use of a combined military force if necessary. It was the only path that the member nations could define to provide combined action to ensure that the weak could be protected as well as the strong.

But the charter had a flaw: it was the veto powers given to the most powerful nations, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That was a reality of the day, but it meant that for the next 40 years there would not be a situation where the United Nations could decide to act without one or other exercising that veto. That is why there are the inconsistencies of history such as the Baltic nations, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Grenada, East Timor and so on. But wrong though the actions in those places were, as ineffectual as the United Nations was at the time, those are not the circumstances of today. The thawing of the Cold War has given the United Nations its first real chance. It cannot be lost or missed. It may be the one real solution for world peace.

Every Australian has a right to know that we were the country which in 1948 spoke out loudest in the United Nations for this charter. Australia seconded the motion which spelled out the role of world policeman for the United Nations. Many still say that the speech of our Foreign Minister of the day, Dr Evatt, was one of

the finest he ever made in the political arena. Certainly it is the one which shoots home to many of us today.

So there it is. Australia has a special obligation to stand up for what we originally called for. It was right then and I hope that history will show that it is right now.

I turn to the very important question of what comes after the battle is over. There must be something worth while from the sacrifices now being made by people around the world. As this motion before the House states, Australia will call strongly for the United Nations to lead the way in a negotiated solution, preferably one which comes sooner rather than later and preferably one which involves an early ceasefire rather than the obliteration of the armies of Saddam Hussein. But, either way, when it comes there must be immediate steps to put in place a solution to the issues of the Middle East, including a fair resolution of the legitimate claims of both the Palestinian people and the people of Israel.

There must be a concerted effort by the developed countries to wean themselves off Middle East oil. Sensible energy policies are likely to be the most significant factor in lifting the pressures and the disparate wealth that come from controlling significant oil reserves. To those in the Western countries who protest about the morality of a war about oil, I say this: of course it is a war about oil, but take a hard look at our own contribution to the world's insatiable demand for oil. While we in the developed countries continue to live the lifestyles we do, with the massive energy use we condone—and few countries do worse than Australia—then we create the very demand for energy which exacerbates the issues of culture, religion, land rights and wealth which so badly divide the Middle East.

I conclude with one further observation about this whole mess. Right up until about four hours before the United Nations forces moved in, I believed that a compromise would be reached. I could not believe that Hussein could not foresee what was ranged against him. However, it

was not to be. Hussein has created consequences far beyond those which are so apparent now. I feel for the people of Kuwait. We all do. I have read the reports from Amnesty International of the documented atrocities. I fully foresee the horror of casualties, civilian and military, which are still to come. I do not discount any of the horrors and the sickening aspects of war. But I point to the real legacy of Saddam Hussein: the cost to the cause of world peace and disarmament.

To those who are most cynical of the words of governments, those who most criticise the morality of the dollar, I say: consider the real consequences of what Saddam has done. Right at the time when the military economies of the world, the USSR and the USA, were being forced to wind back their spending on defence, right at the time when, in order to hold their economies together, the Berlin Wall was coming down, perestroika and glasnost were marching forward and George Bush was pressing the US Congress for a major reduction in defence expenditure, along comes Saddam Hussein. This must strike to the core of every person who has called for world disarmament. Hope for world peace and social justice is pinned on the chance that at some time the powers will see that the resources of the world can no longer be spent on defence.

These hopes are being smashed by every new picture on the television screens. It was just beginning to sink home that the two countries denied a defence economy at the end of the Second World War, Germany and Japan, the two countries which have spent their money instead on education, research and development, are now the success stories in the modern world economy. This is the real legacy of Saddam Hussein. Which superpower leader can now go to an election on the platform of cutbacks in defence expenditure? The one hope that insanity may have had its day was shattered with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

I support the motion. At each stage of the deliberations I have supported Australia's involvement and commitment, and I do not walk away from this now. I hope that our own forces, men and women who

are trained and committed to their role, have fortune and luck on their side. We all wish them a safe and speedy return.

The people of the Middle East must undergo yet another round of the suffering which history has decreed as their lot. But, in the end, none of us can walk away from the major immorality which is highlighted by the whole sorry episode. The developed countries are the arms manufacturers of the world. It is not enough for the leaders of the world to chant slogans about Hussein the monster; the developed wealthy countries fed the dragon which now turns its fire on them. The one great role to be played by the United Nations in this aftermath is to take up the very serious cause of world disarmament. It is time for the world to introduce its own gun laws. That is the goal that is worth fighting for; it must be our goal for the future.

Mr SPEAKER—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr HALVERSON (Casey) (8.19)—I rise to add my unequivocal support to the motion before this House and, in doing so, take this opportunity to emphasise the level of agreement that has been achieved amongst both Government and Opposition members for this most important, indeed historic, motion. It is indicative of the wider support which is so evident within the Australian community. This bipartisan support, which has been so freely expressed from both sides of this House, does not stem from any desire to see Australia and Australians involved in an international conflict but rather from our determination to endeavour to secure a just and lasting peace in an historically troubled and turbulent region.

I do not believe that any member of this Parliament wants to see our young and dedicated service men and women committed to war with all its awesome consequences. Having served for nearly 26 years with the Australian defence forces, I certainly appreciate and understand the challenges they are facing and the sacrifices that they may be called upon to make. The responsibility for asking them to face those challenges and to make

those sacrifices is a most daunting one and must never be taken lightly. That is why Parliament has been recalled—to provide an opportunity to debate this matter fully and to enable us to arrive at the correct solution to a problem which is of enormous significance to all Australians.

There comes a time in the history of a nation when it is appropriate, proper and in the best interests, both national and international, of its people for the leaders of that nation to stand up for its principles and to stand by its friends. The situation in which we currently find ourselves is one of these times.

Australians have a long, distinguished and proud heritage of defending or of helping others to defend the fundamental values, such as freedom, democracy, equality and justice which we hold so dear. War cemeteries around the world attest to this fact. We have never shirked our duty in this regard and will not do so now. Some may argue against our involvement in the Gulf on the basis that what has happened and is happening there is not our problem and, therefore, it should not be our war. We have heard such arguments many times over the past few days. I remind these people of the concept immortalised by the sixteenth century English poet John Donne in an often quoted piece which begins:

No man is an island, entire of itself—

and concludes with the words—

therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

When Saddam Hussein marched into Kuwait, the bells tolled loud and clear for each and every freedom loving citizen in the world. Thankfully and rightly, they were heard and not ignored. This war may not be of our doing. It may not be being fought on issues which are of immediate consequence to us. It may not endanger our territory but nonetheless it is our war, just as if it were being fought on our very own doorstep.

In this situation, as in past situations, we cannot and should not disregard what is happening because it happens to be thousands of miles away. We cannot shut

our eyes to what is going on. There are no valid reasons or excuses to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. The importance and the reality of the threats posed and the atrocities perpetrated by this monster are not diminished by distance alone. Our response to them as a member of the United Nations coalition forces is just and totally justifiable.

Let there be no mistake and no confusion. This war is not the doing of the United States, nor of the United Kingdom, nor of Israel, nor of Canada, nor of Saudi Arabia, nor of any of the other 144 member countries of the United Nations that voted in support of United Nations resolution 678 and have expressed their outrage at Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The responsibility for starting this war lies with one man, one man alone—Saddam Hussein. He was the aggressor and what he has started the rest of the world must now finish; otherwise no-one is safe and there can be no real or lasting peace.

To those who have adopted the catch-cry, 'Give peace a chance' or who advocate peace at any price, I say that in this instance the chance was given but not taken. The price demanded is much, much too high. We cannot achieve peace by turning our backs on someone who is intent, as is Saddam Hussein, on achieving war. That would not be peace; it would be capitulation. The two are very different and should never be confused.

Do the vocal minority who are now protesting so loudly against Australia's involvement in the Gulf really believe that Saddam Hussein intends to stop at Kuwait? If they do, they are totally wrong. This madman, this megalomaniac, has other plans. His invasion of Kuwait is, by his own admission, just the first step. If left unchallenged he will continue to create tragedy, despair and havoc throughout the Gulf region and beyond. What type of peace would the future hold for the other Middle Eastern nations and, indeed, for the rest of the world if Saddam Hussein's onslaught is not checked? None. Tyranny is not peace. Dictatorship is not peace. Cruelty and hatred will not lead to peace. As Benedict Spinoza wrote in 1670 in his *Theological-Political Treatise*:

Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence and justice.

There is no virtue, no disposition for benevolence and no justice flowing through the veins of Saddam Hussein. There will be no peace in his time.

In the few moments I have left I want to take the opportunity to endorse wholeheartedly the comments made yesterday during this debate by the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson). I also want to recognise and applaud the roles being played by the United States President, George Bush, and the British Prime Minister, John Major, and their colleagues. The leadership, the determination and the dedication they have demonstrated have been of the highest order. I commend them on their endeavours, their judgment and their commitment to this cause for peace.

Finally, I respectfully and very proudly salute those 800 Australian service personnel who are on active duty in those front line areas and who are carrying on the tradition that is so much a part of our Australian heritage. Our thoughts and our prayers are with them and their families. God bless them all.

Mr JOHN SCOTT (Hindmarsh) (8.28)—When I came to this House over 10 years ago I never believed that I would have to address the question of Australia at war. I have no doubt that our Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and other Ministers have felt deep anguish over the decision they have taken. Many members from both sides of this Parliament have spoken and put their views, their hopes and their fears on record. No-one should doubt their sincerity. No-one should deny their right to express their views.

There are of course other views, other voices that cannot be raised in this forum. I speak of the peace movement of Australia. While many in this chamber attack and deride the peace movement, I thank God that we have a peace movement in Australia. My wife and I marched in the rally for peace in Adelaide on Saturday. We were in good company. A police estimate of over 10,000 people marched. They

included groups ranging from the Quakers, the Uniting Church, trade unions, pensioners and many young people, too young to have known the Vietnam war. But their concerns, their fear of war, were real. The slogans, the posters, the chants were many and varied but the sum total of their plea was, 'We don't want war'. I support their call. I support their right to express their concerns in the streets of Australia.

I find it sad indeed to hear some of my colleagues on this side of the House trying to put down the peace movement. It is true that there are a few ratbags in the movement, such as those who smashed my office windows last week, but the peace movement has the honourable goal of seeking peace. The movement's activities are in the main aimed at keeping the focus of legislators on that honourable goal—peace.

The motion moved by the Prime Minister contains propositions and statements that I can readily agree with and support. This House must have full confidence in, and support for, our Australian forces serving in the war. We should be equally resolute in ensuring that those service men and women are supported and looked after should they suffer in any way while serving in the war. We must ensure that returned service men and women are not let down as were the agent orange Vietnam veterans and the nuclear veterans of Montebello, Emu and Maralinga.

The unprovoked attack on Israel by Saddam Hussein must stand condemned by every country in the world. Israel has shown great restraint in the face of these attacks. The Prime Minister's motion recognises the need to intensify efforts to establish peace and stability in the Middle East, including the Palestinian issue. This must be welcomed. The problem I have with the motion before the House goes to the question of how we became involved and the failure to try every possible means short of war to resolve the matter. I believe that our commitment was rushed. I believe that sanctions were not given time to have a real effect on the outcome. I further believe that the two main combat-

ants, the United States and Iraq, were spoiling for a fight.

There are of course other ingredients that made the whole area a powder keg. Iraq was armed to the teeth and posed a real threat to the stability of the Middle East. Iraq's arsenal was frightening—a huge well-equipped army, with missiles, chemical weapons and possibly nuclear weapons. Certainly Iraq was well on the way to developing nuclear weapons.

Often in the heat of the argument we lose sight of some basic truths. Who sold these massive amounts of arms and missiles to Iraq? The United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and Germany. I am prepared to predict that shortly after the end of hostilities with Iraq we will see the merchants of death—the armament manufacturers of the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and Germany—again selling arms. The armament manufacturers of these countries and others will be back on their sales rounds with these awesome weapons of mass destruction.

In times of war peace does not get a chance. The peace movement is asking that peace be given a chance. Old men make wars, but young men and women have to fight them. So I will not join in the drums of war but, rather, ask that peace be given a chance. I believe that men of goodwill can and will find peaceful solutions to conflict. Let me say that I am not a pacifist; I served three years in the Royal Air Force.

There have been many contributions to this debate. I must confess that when it was announced that Parliament was to be recalled, I thought it would be a waste of time—a fruitless exercise. Maybe I was wrong; maybe something good will come out of these two days of debate. I want to commend, in particular, the speeches of the honourable member for Fraser (Mr Langmore) and the honourable member for Lalor (Mr Barry Jones). The honourable member for Fraser made a very serious and thought-provoking speech, dealing particularly with the United Nations Charter. Speaking about the United Nations build-up of military per-

sonnel and equipment in Saudi Arabia, the honourable member for Fraser said:

. . . the deployment was under US rather than UN control. The US should have adopted the proper procedure under the UN Charter and secured the resolution under article 43. That would have created a United Nations force under the United Nations Military Staff Committee, and provided a more effective command structure. This would not have prevented the US from providing the general in command of the overall operation, because the US has been by far the greatest contributor.

. . . As George Ball wrote in the *New York Review of Books* on 6 December:

'In the current Gulf crisis the presence of the United Nations flag would probably have provided some credible insulation from critics of the US while also making possible an authorised central command.'

So not only would a UN command structure have given greater political authority to the alliance forces in the Gulf, it would also have created the framework which would have improved the effectiveness of the command structure.

Australia's involvement should certainly have been more carefully considered before the decision was made and our involvement should have been conditional on deployment under a UN Military Staff Committee.

I agree with that statement. This leads me to raise the question of the new world order. When I first heard this phrase in connection with the Gulf situation, it sent a chill down my spine. It had a familiar ring about it and brought back fears and memories of the Second World War. Yes, it was a familiar phrase—apparently used by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*. If a new world order means superpowers hijacking the United Nations and using that cloak to impose their form of world order by the use of arms, we should all be extremely concerned about such a form of new world order. We must all pray for a speedy end to this Gulf war.

I will also touch on the concerns that some honourable members have expressed that there will not be a unanimous vote in favour of the motion. In the United States on 12 January this year the vote to give the President the special powers was 52 to 47 in the Senate and, in the House of Representatives, 250 to 185. Yet some people here are concerned that a few of us have differing views on how we

got involved in this conflict and perhaps how we should get out of it. I only hope that from this debate comes respect for each other's point of view and a common concern by the people of Australia that we must fight collectively to get that peace, starting with an early cease-fire.

Mrs BAILEY (McEwen) (8.38)—It is with great sadness, but with hope, that I rise tonight to add my voice in support of this motion before the House. I am saddened to think that, in spite of the rapid advancement of technology and the explosion of knowledge that has occurred in the last few decades—ranging from satellite communications, where a scene being enacted on one side of the world can be viewed almost instantaneously on the other side, to the application of the microchip in flying planes or building cars—the frailty and excessiveness of the human spirit can, with the speed of the microchip, plunge nations into war, with scant regard for the value of human life. With all of these advances it is just so wasteful and tragic that independent nations are unable, or unwilling, to settle their differences in a just manner, because their failure to achieve resolution of individual conflict threatens the peaceful coexistence of other nations and, in fact, threatens their very existence.

This is the current situation that faces us in the Gulf—and I say 'us' because we are socially, economically and politically part of the world community. History has recorded many leaders who have been prepared to use whatever means they have at their disposal to gain economic and territorial advantage—whether that be by invasion, occupation, intimidation or terrorism. Saddam Hussein, as leader of Iraq, has employed all of these tactics in order to achieve his historic, political and strategic goal to be the modern-day leader of the Arab world.

We must not lose sight of those facts because they tell a terrifying and brutal story. Saddam Hussein has, step by calculating step, escalated his actions—from building a huge military arsenal, being prepared to use chemical warfare against his own people, ignoring international law and aggressively invading and occupying

Kuwait and plundering it of its resources and assets, to using hostages as human shields to protect his military installations in order to buy more time in an effort to incite a holy war.

Today, we know that he flagrantly abuses and disregards the Geneva Convention in his treatment of prisoners of war. This time, instead of using civilians as human shields at selected military installations, he is prepared to use prisoners of war. World leaders and the Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN) have tried to reason with this man and his regime. They have tried to negotiate a peaceful settlement and they have increased peaceful pressure by implementing economic sanctions and a naval blockade, all to no avail. Not one inch of progress was made.

Much has been said in this debate covering all facets of the Gulf crisis, including such issues as Australia's membership of the multinational naval force; the role of our Defence Force in the Gulf and our pride in it; the leadership role of the United States in mobilising previously unattainable cooperation between East and West; the economic ramifications of this war and, in particular, how these are affecting and will continue to affect Australia, the human tragedy of war, and the integrity of the United Nations position. The overriding issue must surely be the right of an independent and sovereign country to exist in peace and security within its own recognised international boundaries.

Each of us here deplores the fact that Australia is at war. I have previously stated how I feel about that, but I do believe within my heart that we have made the right decision and I have a sense of pride that we have shown a collective responsibility because by taking that decision along with 27 other countries, including nine Arab states, there is hope for world peace and stability.

I support the stance taken by all honourable members in this House because that stance is a reaffirmation of those principles and ideals of the founding charter of the United Nations. Amidst the

emotion and rhetoric that has been generated by the Australian presence in the Gulf, I would like to remind all those listening to this debate that the United Nations was created, as the preamble to its Charter states, to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind'. The United Nations was formed 'to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small, to promote social progress and better standards of life in freedom'.

There has been much valid criticism of the United Nations since it was founded some 40 years ago—for example, that it has not fulfilled the task of maintaining international peace for which it was designed. The hostility between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, through their use of power of veto in the Security Council, has effectively nobbled the ability of the UN to intervene and to try to achieve peaceful settlements to conflict in many parts of the world.

However, for the first time since its formation, the UN has a real chance of achieving its original function of international peacemaker. Now that we finally have an end to the Cold War battle between the superpowers and the collapse of totalitarian governments in eastern Europe, we really do have a chance of achieving world peace, but only if all member nations are prepared to work together with united purpose for the common good of all.

This new era, heralding the birth of a new world order that we have entered since the end of the Cold War, is in its infancy. On the one hand, there is a growing awareness that many of the global problems, especially economic problems, require collective solutions. On the other hand, we are faced with independent states that deliberately isolate themselves from the increasingly interdependent international community with acts of violent aggression.

The Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) raised a number of questions, especially in relation to Australia's role in the challenge that lies ahead in the 1990s for ensuring the future success of this new order. But the one sound base we have to consolidate and build on is that forum for negotiation provided by the UN.

If a peaceful new world order is to have a chance of surviving beyond infancy, we—not just as Australian citizens, but as part of the international community—cannot sit back in splendid isolation ignoring the principles of sovereign rights of independent states and respect for human decency that we have fought to uphold since the birth of our own independent nationhood. If we wish to be part of this peaceful new order, we must demonstrate our commitment to stand and be counted as a nation that will not tolerate the aggression and terrifying conflict in the Gulf, as a nation that recognises that by making a stand, we have the chance to establish a lasting peace.

I would like to express my support and encouragement to those men and women of our Australian defence forces currently serving on our behalf in the Gulf and to let them and their families know that they are in our thoughts and that as a nation, we are grateful to them and proud of them. I would also like to express my concern and compassion for Australia Muslims and Jews who have families living in the Gulf zone.

Nobody wants war. It is always the innocent who are the victims of war. I would urge all those who are protesting against our decision to support the UN Security Council resolution 678 and be part of the multinational force committed to implementing that resolution to direct their attention and energy into calling for humane treatment and compassion of prisoners of war and the innocent but traditional victims of war, women and children.

I conclude my remarks by quoting the former Australian Ambassador to the UN, Richard Woolcott, where he said:

Today Australia is perceived in the United Nations organisations as a decent, constructive and responsible influence in the international community. This perception of Australia is an

asset we need to protect and on which we should seek to build in the future. There will always be in the United Nations a gap between aspiration and performance. But Australia can play a role in helping to close that gap, a gap which can make the difference between the survival of civilised life and international chaos.

For those reasons, I support the motion before this House.

Mr NEWELL (Richmond) (8.48)—I enter this debate when much has already been said of this seemingly inevitable action of war to remove Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. Like many of my colleagues, the weight of responsibility, the agony of having to reach a conclusion in regard to permitting another military commitment by Australia flies in the face of values and beliefs.

My abhorrence of war, the use of arms to resolve conflicts, stems from a philosophy that violence is no resolution to any conflict, whether we talk of conflict in the family, between neighbours or between nations. It is a philosophy which is not as widespread in the community as I would wish.

This is only the second time in the Australian Labor Party's long history that we have taken a decision such as this. Many may say we did not get it right the first time. With hindsight, and recognising the view of the veterans who participated in that war to end all wars, I am inclined to agree. With no enthusiasm for this conflict, but with only the knowledge of present circumstances, not the benefit of hindsight, and with a sceptical outlook on many of the reasons thus far given in this crisis, I would like to place on record, for the benefit of the many Australians opposed to Australia's participation in Security Council resolution 678, the scepticism and arguments in opposing this war.

I do this because, if this scepticism and opposition are not taken on board, then this resort to arms as a resolution will be more frequently resorted to—more than is necessary. It is possible to talk of many things that can be done to decrease the likelihood of military conflict. I will expand on these as things that this Parliament should address and campaign for immediately. If both this Parliament and

the United Nations General Assembly are to achieve the respect of the people in this country and others, then we must act on this scepticism. This supposed new order is rightly greeted with questioning, if not alarm, by many. Is the new order to be controlled by one man or is it the view of many—the nations, the people worldwide?

Let us look at some of the situations affecting this decision. No doubt what so many people are sickened by is the view that maybe—more than maybe—this war is about oil supplies and not the freedom of Kuwaitis.

I distance myself from the argument that it is immoral for someone or for some country to control 20 per cent of the world's oil with its consequent possible impact on world economies. I do not accept as a justification for war this spurious defence from free market pundits, who believe it is all right for our guys to control the free market. To sanction war to defend our standards of living, standards most likely already being gained at someone else's expense, or that of future generations, I find pathetic and patronising at the least. Previous oil shocks, in fact, had desirable effects not just in Australia but in that seemingly arrogant consumer of oil, the United States of America. The environment benefited, and so did our driving habits.

Let us look at the area of conflict. The Kuwaiti royal family did very nicely out of the nation's lucky geological position. The tens of billions of money taken from the people by the royal family and converted to other assets for the royal family's own use is to be deplored. Who wants the royal family back? I said 'So what?' if Hussein controls 20 per cent of oil stocks. I, and anyone else opposed to war, cannot ignore the fact that Saddam is converting that 20 per cent of oil to nothing except the development of weapons of destruction.

That leads me to a further argument in opposition to war and the futility of war, and that is that weapons of destruction were made readily available by the very countries allied against Saddam Hussein

today. The irony and hypocrisy of these nations crying foul is not lost on any sensible person. At the behest of their governments, they readily bartered oil dollars for the output of their munitions factories.

This Parliament and the United Nations General Assembly must look at restricting, and not talking about, arms sales. A little has been said about the reductions in armament levels in Europe. I ask this Parliament to pursue actively both restrictions in the arms trade and the real reduction in arms levels and not just the destruction of obsolete weapons. If this Parliament is to represent, it must take a more active role in this area. It must lead or cajole, but it must get action in the United Nations on the international trade of arms.

I also take issue with what some people see as the solution to the crisis. Just a quick scan of past military victories and treaties as solutions to conflict must warn even the dullest observer that we have not learnt from past experiences. While past history has been used to justify action and not waiting longer, I recall that only the honourable member for Lalor (Mr Barry Jones) has so far pointed out the lack of a post-war strategy for the Kuwaitis by the United Nations and various nations including Australia. Without a clear and open plan for the future of Kuwait and its administration post-Saddam, whatever may occur, people are entitled to view with scepticism the motives of any of the nations involved in Kuwait, and our troops involved in the action are also entitled to feel somewhat sceptical about where their position will lead them.

If any lesson is to be applied from history, it is that the solution to this crisis and to any other conflict in the Gulf and Middle East region must come from and encompass views of the nation states of the region. The solution cannot be imposed by the United Nations Security Council or the United Nations General Assembly; the Security Council and General Assembly can merely help these nations put in place that solution. I fully realise that this conflict and others date back a number of years, mainly because

of the intransigence and lack of will forthcoming from these countries. However, it should be the role of the United Nations to make these countries, either collectively or singularly, put a proposal on the table. That is the price of United Nations intervention. That should be the price of the responsibility of continued collective security.

It is the role of this Parliament to pursue, as an obligation to the people of Australia, the road to a solution and not to allow a repeat of Versailles—which, incidentally, was criticised at the time as an unjust imposition, and gave an emerging Hitler his cause to undo and rally support for his ambitions.

The cynical action which produced the country of Kuwait in 1923 is something that few people can address. Certainly, the United Nations has seemingly been very selective in response to invasions and military actions. The United Nations, to have a role in further deliberations on conflicts, cannot see solely the maintenance of borders but must further the wishes of races and groups within. It is not easy, as borders are definite. To deal with issues, intangible as they may be, is certainly challenging. It is not for rhetoric and hyperbole of which we have heard so much in this House today.

The invasion and occupation of many countries has been allowed to go unchallenged. Rectification of those invasions is non-existent on the United Nations agenda or, at best, so many countries are being allowed to drag their feet. How can this Parliament ignore these hypocrisies. Again, for this Parliament to regain the respect of people—not just a majority of people—it must take these issues and put them squarely on the agenda of the United Nations. Until this is achieved, many more people will demonstrate, and may they demonstrate and protest or at least take a cynical view of government and its institutions here and in the UN. In my conclusion, I will return to the UN and the so-called world order.

From the beginning I have indicated that I believe that strong sanctions backed up by determined negotiations under the

leadership of the United Nations should be given more chance to work. I share the unease of those people who read that in November the Chairman of the United States Armed Services Committee, Sam Nunn, had called on President Bush to explain to the world why he was in such a hurry.

Many people who oppose our involvement and some who are prepared to support it have the nagging doubt that, had we hesitated a little and tried to make the United Nations embargo take hold, the war might have been avoided. There is no question but that the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait has to end. It is easy to say 'Let's not get involved', and to bury our heads in the sand. But if we want to make for our children a world that is preserved from madness, we need actively to work for solutions.

I agree that while slogans and rhetoric are catchy, they lead us nowhere. Having said all that, I think that we should recognise that it is easier to start a war than to finish one, and it is hard to alleviate the consequent human suffering and economic damage. The choice for war in the Gulf may well prove to be out of all proportion to the sacrifice that will be required of us.

I have told people in my electorate that I too am sceptical of the sanctions and of whether they would be effective, but I said that I wanted to see them work, and I still am of that view. I know that I am not on my own when I say that I deeply regret the tragedy that will result for ordinary people in the war zones. The voices of people all around the world are being raised in opposition to this war, and while we waited for sanctions and a blockade to work, what do we say to the Kuwaitis and to their families, those dying or dead, while we wait and see? I have no choice but to accept the rhetoric that Saddam Hussein would not negotiate but had greater ambitions. I will never be certain that the trust I gave to the nation's leader and to the UN is not misplaced.

Finally, I return to the holy grail of this campaign—the new world order and the role of the United Nations in that order.

The scepticism with which this role has been received is understandable and justified. If the United Nations is to emerge from this period with credibility, it must change, and this Parliament must pursue that change.

The old order of East and West is certainly gone, so let us give the United Nations a new order and get rid of the anachronism that exists within the Security Council. Let us get rid of the permanent members. Let them join with us and the other nations on a level playing field. If the permanent member nations want the strategy of collective security, that surely is not too much to ask.

If people are to support the new order, let us give people the order and not the vested interest of the permanent members—the veto of action against their own aggression. Until the permanent members do away with their inner sanctum and the system which has enabled them to protect their own interests, we will have no new order. We will continue with the rhetoric and hypocrisy that have pervaded decisions throughout the United Nations history of previous sanctions and intervention. Plenty examples of future conflict abound, with no resolution of these problems. In conclusion, it is with great regret that I support this motion that has been moved by the Prime Minister. I note the UN has sanctioned what so many people have called for in the past.

Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mrs Sullivan)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr HICKS (Riverina-Darling) (8.58)—When I was first elected to this Parliament, as is the case with all members of this House, I was very honoured that my electorate had decided that they wanted me to be their representative in the Parliament. When I first came to this Parliament I was very honoured, but, of course, I was also overawed knowing the very great responsibility we have in this place.

If we are not already students of Australian history when we come into this Parliament, we soon become students of that subject and particularly of parliamen-

tary history. We understand that in this Parliament House and in two other buildings before this one, a number of momentous decisions have been made. I refer to decisions affecting depressions, our economy, and Australians' plans for the future, how they will live and what their standard of living will be. In the back of our minds, of course, is always that dreaded decision we may have to make, which has been made on a number of occasions before, to send our young men and young women off to the battlefield. That has been done before, and it has been done after a great deal of thinking and of resolutions by members of this House, and with a great deal of regret.

Tonight I find myself supporting a motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) to once again send people off to a war zone to support the United Nations, and I do not find this matter very easy at all. I know that no member of this House will find it easy. The members of this House are a cross-section of the community. We come from all walks of life. There are many members in this House, like me, whose fathers may have served in the Second World War. Certainly, no man who goes to war and sees active service—he may have wounds that one can see; he may have wounds that one cannot see—ever comes back the same, and I firmly believe that.

Many honourable members have friends who were wounded in the Korean War, had boys in Vietnam who never returned and, as in my case, have sons of military age. While the Prime Minister assures us that Australia will not increase its representation in the Gulf war—and I know that those of us who have sons of military age think of this—there is a slight possibility that something may happen there. So we all have these fears in our heart.

I do not blame people for being in the peace protest movement—they also have concerns. But I want them to know that it is not easy for members of parliament to make decisions about war. I say to them that this is the very place in Australia where the buck stops. We in this place sometimes have to make decisions that we find very difficult but decisions

nevertheless that we have to make if Australia is going to take its place in the world community and to do those things that we believe are right for the world community so that Australia can hold its head high in that community and be respected and judged on its merits.

I have had many differences with the Prime Minister. As a matter of fact, I have been flattered on occasions when he has come into my electorate to campaign against me. But I would like to apologise to the Prime Minister because, when he first announced his decision to support the resolution of the United Nations Security Council, I meant to sit down and write him a letter and say to him, 'I commend you, Mr Prime Minister, on the action you are taking because it makes me feel good as an Australian to be able to hold my head up high.'

Put in its simplest terms—and honourable members have spoken yesterday and today on the complexities of the issue, on the weapons available, the history of the Gulf war and all those types of things—we all have some knowledge of school bullies. There is only one thing that a school bully understands, and that is a fat lip. Someone has to deliver it to him if he is to be stopped. That is the situation I believe we have in the Middle East—a bully of the largest order who has to be stopped.

In all the debate I listened to here yesterday and today, one thing does worry me—as it does the honourable member for Hindmarsh (Mr John Scott), the honourable member for Mayo (Mr Downer) and others—and that is the 'one world order'. I am not quite sure what that means but I know over the years that I have been in the Parliament I have received many letters from people in my electorate who are fearful of this world order. If someone can explain to me exactly what that means, I would like to know.

I know a number of honourable members have been in this Parliament longer than I have but I have been here 10 years, and yesterday was the worst day I have experienced in the Parliament as far as

parliamentary democracy is concerned. I have seen ping-pong balls thrown over the gallery rail; I have seen daffodils come over the rail—we all have. I see the Minister for Land Transport (Mr Robert Brown) agreeing with me. I have seen people jump over the rail but I have never seen people stop parliamentary debate. That that should happen is a shame because this is the very place that allows those people the freedom to demonstrate—no-one stops them from doing that. This is the very place where we as a Parliament allow those people those privileges. Of course, what they are doing is taking action to destroy this democracy of ours. We have a fragile flower here in democracy which could easily be crushed. I say to those people: please keep that in mind. When I go around to schools I explain to schoolchildren the situation that we are in in this place—that democracy is very fragile. There are very few countries in the world that have a democracy.

If we do not want to see big glass screens in the public gallery to stop the people taking part and listening to parliamentary debate—separating the people from the Parliament—then people have to take only their share of liberty because if they take more than that then they are going to refuse other people in the community their share of liberty. In the 10 years I have been in this Parliament I have seen more and more guards, I have seen the introduction of X-ray machines—I have seen all of those things—simply because some people take more than their fair share of liberty. I add that comment because I think that is something that should be considered.

I now turn to the media. The media is doing something for the 'Norm' campaign—the Life. Be in it campaign—because it is driving everyone outside. People are going outside to exercise. Coverage of the Gulf war has reached super saturation point where the media is asking people what they think about what somebody thinks about what somebody else thinks. Everyone has become an instant expert on the Middle East.

What worries me about that is the poor taste of some. Yesterday there was a dem-

onstration out the front of the House by those people who are anti-war, and that is good. They got plenty of publicity, as they always do. There was also another group there who were supporting the United Nations resolution, supporting the United States. On the radio they were referred to as the 'pro-war group'. Any person who is pro-war should be in a mental institution. Those people are not pro-war; they are simply supporting the United Nations, supporting this Government and of course supporting the stand of the Opposition.

A week ago when I was driving through my electorate I heard probably the worst example of bad taste I have ever heard on the radio. Somebody on the ABC, I think it was, started talking about body bags. If I had a son in the forces—in the Navy—and someone on a responsible radio station in Australia rang the manager of a body bag company and asked him how many body bags he expected to make, how big they were, how long they were, whether their manufacture was going to make a good profit for the company, et cetera, I would be absolutely appalled. I think that is just absolutely disgraceful. I would like the people responsible for it to know that, because I think it is a tragedy.

Like everyone here, I would like to pay tribute to those people who are serving in our armed forces in the Gulf. I would like to commend their families and say, 'We are all thinking of you'. I say to those people who are demonstrating: I would hate to see the situation that occurred during the Vietnam war. The only occasion I was ashamed to be an Australian, and I still think of it—honourable members might recall it—was when a ship was loading up to take supplies, I think Christmas supplies, to our troops in Vietnam. Unionists would not load the ship because of political reasons—they were against the war.

Governments make decisions, not the troops who are fighting. I still live with that shame. I think it was a despicable act and I just blame myself that I was not down there on the wharf trying to do something about it. So I just hope that those people who are demonstrating know

that they are already causing fear amongst the families of those people who are serving overseas.

Finally, this bully, Saddam Hussein, has to be stopped. We all feel not so much for him but for the people he represents because a lot of those people are going to get hurt. We know that war is an abomination, and I say to those people who really want peace: please pray for a very quick and decisive victory by the allies.

Mr HAND (Melbourne—Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs) (9.07)—I rise to speak in this debate, and let me say at the outset that I would like to offer a vote of thanks to people in my own electorate who have bothered to contact me and express their point of view, ranging from the petition presented on behalf of St Joseph's Catholic Church group and the Fitzroy group delegation that I saw last week, and all those people who telephoned the office here and the electorate office in Melbourne. I appreciate them expressing to me their points of view. That is what we are here to do—to listen to the range of views that are put to us and inevitably make judgments on them.

This is a very difficult debate, as many have said, for us to take part in, given our traditional positions that we have adopted over many years on this type of issue. It has given me a lot of sleepless nights addressing this issue from right back in August through to now as a member of the Cabinet, along with my colleagues, weighing up all of the information that was put to us and, in my capacity as Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, talking to the various ethnic community groups around Australia, be they Muslim, Christian, Arab, Jewish or whatever, about what is a very difficult situation. I have not reached my conclusion very lightly. I am supporting the motion of the Government for a number of reasons.

I know that it might upset some people that we who have been involved in the peace movement for a long time are taking this attitude, but I remind people of the role of the United Nations and I reject

the scepticism and put-down of what is termed 'a new order'. I do not know whether it is a new order but it certainly is a new hope, and if we do not have hope we have nothing.

People ought to try talking to these people from the Islamic Council, the Arabic Welfare Centre, the Assyrians, the Lebanese Christian Federation and to those at the Mosque at Lakemba. Muslim women have been on the news lately. People ought to take note of what is happening to our society and the lack of tolerance that exists within it. I ask people to read the documentation of incidents of harassment and racism towards Australians of Arab descent and Australian Muslims. I table it, and I ask people to read it to learn what people have had to put up with; I ask them to find out what people have done to mosques and what people have done to the synagogues. It is not on. So that is one issue I have had to grapple with when talking to those people.

We should listen to them talk about their families. We should talk to the Assyrians, talk to the Kurds, talk to the Palestinians—talk about the tragedy in the Middle East. There will be no peace in the Middle East until the Palestinian issue is addressed. That is the position I have held for a long, long time, though it is a position with which others in my Party do not necessarily agree. I have been to the camps—Sidon, Beirut and other places. They are rotten places to live. That is one issue we have had to look at in respect of this motion. Each honourable member has 10 minutes to talk about something as important as this. How would one go home and discuss something as important as this in 10 minutes?

Why did I come to my conclusions on Iraq? I have made a judgment on the facts as I see them. I have talked to the Assyrians, I have talked to the Kurds—and I have not only talked to them since August; I have talked to the Kurds since 1980. I have talked to people from Kuwait, and I have talked to displaced people from the region. I cannot support the continuation of Saddam and the aggression of Iraq. I cannot do it. So I say to the peace movement: you have got to

understand how some of us have come to this conclusion. I know that war is wrong and rotten and evil. And it did not start in August. It started when people sold arms to these people years and years ago. They got fat off their backs; they fleeced them of their oil money and flogged them these arms. So 2 August is nothing, and that is what I have been on about all my life.

As to the role of the United Nations, my own Party has passed 102 foreign affairs resolutions since 1979. Fifty-five of them refer to the UN. Over half of my own Party's resolutions have placed faith in the UN; and I have faith in the UN. I was going to ask that we incorporate into *Hansard* the 12 resolutions that have been discussed by the UN. But they can be read, so I cannot incorporate them in the *Hansard*. I wanted to incorporate the peace plan from the French, but I cannot because it can be read. I wanted to incorporate in *Hansard* the UN Secretary-General's last minute plea for peace, but I cannot because it can be read. I wanted to incorporate resolution 681 in relation to the Palestinian issue, but I cannot. I wanted to talk about the aggression in the Soviet Union, but I cannot, and I wanted to incorporate a document in relation to that, but I cannot because it can be read. So one is left with making a decision which is very hard, and I have come to a decision to support the resolution.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Les Scott)—Does the Minister wish to table those documents?

Mr HAND—Yes.

Mr DOBIE (Cook) (9.15)—I would say with reference to this part of the debate that there would not be one honourable member of the House who has not been moved by the statement made by the previous speaker, the honourable member for Melbourne (Mr Hand). I think that we all, in this 22 hours of debate we have gone through, must understand that for some people in this House, the decision to support this motion has bitten deep into their conscience. I think that all the people concerned with this motion should bear in mind that although the decision

will be all but unanimous in this House, it will have caused great conscience decisions—a fact which I believe should be relayed to the public of Australia.

Neither today nor yesterday has any honourable member, from either side of this Parliament, come here easily. The Australian public really will not have been listening to the Parliament—they will have been watching the debate on television, or the parts that have been televised, but again only limited numbers will have been so doing—and I, for my part, am arranging to have the whole debate printed, not just my own speech, to send to as many people as possible in my electorate so that they may more fully understand that this just has not been a vote without conscience.

We are hearing so much from some of the pundits on the radio and television and occasionally in the press in the last few days about our coming here. What the hell are we here for, says Laws from Sydney radio. Where was Laws in the last two days? Was he hearing people speaking from their heart on this very matter before the House and before the nation?

There is nothing glib or superficial in any of the speeches that have been made in this debate by honourable members on either side. Though I was not going to speak on this—I had other notes—the genuinely deep emotion displayed by our friend the honourable member for Melbourne, whom we know to be a man of deep emotion and of deep conviction, has moved me to say that one of the greatest nonsenses that has come out of this debate outside this Parliament has been that we all want war. What absolute nonsense. No-one wants it—and certainly not the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) himself, who had the most awesome of decisions to make.

Though we shall fight on political matters strongly and heavily from this day on, what must be appreciated is that this special sitting of the Parliament over these two days has seen us putting our Party attitudes aside. I wish some of the pundits on the radio and the television would realise this. Where are members of the

gallery now? Presumably, they are sitting watching their televisions, glued to every speech. If one believes that, one believes anything.

I had a note today from Senator Amanda Vanstone. Maybe other honourable members have already received and opened it; it has just arrived on our desks and is marked urgent. She says that Radio Australia has decided not to send to Australians serving in the Gulf messages from their families and loved ones. Senator Vanstone says it all in her first line: the decision stinks.

What is our media on about with this war? We see tonight on television hypothetical questions: what happens if; what happens when—not what is happening now and what has gone before. The argument as to Kuwait is not simple and, as has been said by other members in this debate, it is a most complex area and a most complex situation.

For my own part, I was most fortunate, with the now Minister for Transport and Communications (Mr Beazley), to sit on a Middle East committee of the Parliament some years ago. There can be no doubt that those who have shown an interest in and concern for the Middle East over the years, as the Minister has, realise that there is no simple solution.

It was my luck to go to the Persian Gulf in 1981 and I visited most of the small states and was a guest of the Iraqi Government. It is ironical that they asked me to start the Iraqi-Australia friendship society. They thought I could be president and Bill Hartley could be secretary. Honourable members will clearly understand that I was less than enthusiastic, but enjoyed the meal tremendously.

I was in Iraq for six blooming hot days. One wonders how on earth a war could take place once the temperature reaches 50, 55 and 60 degrees Celsius, with blazing winds coming through. It was rumoured, and it has been evidenced since, that my host for the six days had occasion to go down to Basra during my visit, with the outcome that 400 officers of the Iraqi army were summarily dealt with at a court martial because of reverses in the war

against Iran. They were executed—400 of their own officers.

Another interesting thing happened with the invasion of Kuwait and we have forgotten it. It was scarcely mentioned in the Australian press—it was not mentioned in our electronic media—but it was mentioned in all the British newspapers that the Iraqis just happened to execute 167 of their officers as they were invading Kuwait. They happened to string up one of their own colonels, allegedly for looting. We are talking about a regime, not just about Saddam. We are talking about a regime that cannot even begin to understand the principles on which we operate in this type of parliament and this type of country. How can a man still be a hero in his country, if indeed he still is, when everybody knows that a minimum of half a million Iraqis were killed in the war with Iran?

There is one point I would like to mention at this stage. I am sick of people talking about Arab against Arab. It is not. It is Arab against Persian. Any Arab country in the Middle East will soon tell us that the Iranians are not Arabs. We are not talking of Arab fighting Arab; we are talking of Arab fighting Persian. And now we are talking about sheer and utter greed.

The other point that has not been raised in this debate is that Iraq has been in a state of war with Israel ever since the state of Israel was created 40-odd years ago. It is the one nation in the Middle East that has never recognised Israel's existence, and regimes before Saddam have maintained a war stance with Israel for 40-odd years. So we should not be stunned or surprised by the raids that are taking place on Israel. What we should be doing is giving credit to Premier Shamir for the tolerance he is showing in not reciprocating. Let us remember that Israeli pilots sit around the clock in the cockpits of their planes because they have a matter of seconds, not minutes, to respond to any air attack.

I have moved away from the text of my speech; in fact, it bears no resemblance to the original. I am glad that I have been

able to say something about the real issues in the Middle East and the utter necessity for Australia to be part of them. I support the motion very strongly.

Mr ALLAN MORRIS (Newcastle) (9.25)—I believe that all members of this Parliament of all political persuasions have thought long and hard about the events in the Gulf. They have reached their conclusions independently. I am not aware of a single case of a parliamentarian speaking or voting in a way other than the way he or she has chosen. It is not often that this Parliament debates a motion supporting Australia's involvement in a war. It is therefore important that honourable members consider the matter deeply and that they then publicly express their decision in this chamber and in the other place.

In reaching my decision to support the motion I have had to come to terms with all the implications flowing from it. This includes an awareness that many people I know well and of whom I think highly will not agree with my conclusion. However, I trust that the whole of Australia will consider the speeches that have been made and will respect the genuineness of the conclusions we have individually come to.

I have long had an extreme repugnance for the obscenity of large, aggressive countries invading and suppressing smaller neighbours, invariably with significant loss of life and freedom and an attempt to change the culture and attitudes of the people of the occupied nation. Perhaps it has always been thus in the history of man. Despite numerous attempts, most notably by the League of Nations, the world has failed to prevent these occurrences. They still continue.

I have very vivid memories of being in Munich when the Russians entered Prague in their invasion of Czechoslovakia. I have friends who escaped from Hungary following the 1956 Russian invasion. Equally, I cannot justify the American invasion of Granada. It is not surprising that I cannot accept that Iraq should have the freedom to invade, annex and pillage Kuwait.

The conclusion of the Second World War and the formation of the United Nations were heralded as the beginning of a new era in which the United Nations would be the instrument through which the world would avoid major conflict. It did not take long for these hopes and aspirations to be replaced by the emergence of the superpowers and the Cold War.

Ever since, the defence and foreign policies of the smaller nations of the world have been distorted and corrupted by their need to ally themselves with one of the superpowers for protection in the event of possible aggression by larger nations. In many ways Australia is one of the prime examples of this. I and many thousands of other Australians have bitterly resented the almost obsequious approach of Australia towards America aimed at retaining its goodwill and, hence, its defence protection. On countless occasions there have been shudders of apprehension throughout our community when one American President or another has signalled that no bilateral relationship which included the United States and Australia would necessarily guarantee that the United States would defend us in time of need. However, we must not allow that resentment to prejudice our assessment of the current situation. Australia is and must remain a sovereign country. It cannot truly be so while ever we depend on a major ally for our defence in the way that we have since the Second World War.

The almost dazzling speed of change within the world community in the last 18 months, the disintegration of the military alliances in the Eastern bloc, and the emerging redundancy of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation have implications of critical long term significance. The ending of the balance of power, or the balance of terror, that was essentially maintained by the superpowers and their various allies has left a major vacuum and a potential for substantial instability throughout the world. The decisions of the United Nations last year were important because they signalled the preparedness of the United Nations to move to fill

that vacuum resulting from the superpowers dismantling their military machines.

If the war in the Gulf simply involved Australia and the United States, as did Vietnam, then I and many others in this House would not have a bar of it. However, I respect very much the judgments made by many other countries, who in some ways have much more to lose than Australia. Countries such as France and Italy have used their own judgment and have made their own assessment of the avoidability or otherwise of armed conflict, the effectiveness of sanctions, and the possibility that Saddam Hussein would peacefully withdraw from Kuwait. Their individual decisions to become involved in this war and to risk their future trade relationships, their equipment and, most importantly, their own people in the front line of this battle indicate the significance they place on this change in world relationships.

No-one can ever accuse the French of kowtowing to the Americans. While there are many Australians who will question the sincerity and validity of the decision made by the American and even the Australian governments in this matter, I urge them to look to the equivalent assessments made by so many countries and to accept the significance to their countries of those decisions. The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in recent times have prevented, for well into the future, any single country ever having the dominance that those two countries have shared. The middle nations, some of whom I mentioned earlier, have shown an acceptance and understanding of that and have moved to fill the vacuum via the United Nations.

There is a further matter in the war that concerns me and that is the attempt by the President of Iraq to transform it into a religious war. That process was on well before 17 January. Australia has a proud and impressive history of religious tolerance, unlike perhaps the majority of countries in the world. People are free to practise their religion, whether it be Hindu, Islam, Buddhism, Christianity or any other, free from discrimination of any form, in a society that not only tolerates

such practices but actually values the diversity that it brings. The link of spiritual and temporal, of church and state, is abhorrent to me, most importantly in the context of any war or confrontation.

By the end of this debate a great many words will have been uttered, and in the weeks ahead statements, accusations and condemnations will emerge in our community. There are very few in Australia who actually approve of war and the deep-seated unease that war brings to our people will lead to apprehension and confusion. We must not let it lead to internal conflict and confrontation.

I cannot dismiss lightly the pain and suffering that has been caused in Iraq in recent days; nor can I dismiss the pain and suffering that has been occurring in Kuwait for 5½ months. I believed, like most of my colleagues, until recently that the President of Iraq would respond to sanctions and world opinion. It is now my judgment that he never will, and that judgment is clearly shared by the majority of the United Nations. In such a situation there is no justification for prolonging the suffering of the people of Kuwait in the forlorn hope that the President of Iraq will change.

Clearly, the events in the Middle East have long term implications for the region. It is imperative that the Palestinian issue is resolved subsequent to what is now occurring and that the trauma in Lebanon comes to an end. The 12 decisions of the United Nations, backed up as they have been by the substantial involvement of so many countries which have committed manpower, equipment and/or funds to assist in the freeing of Kuwait, mean that for the first time there is a serious prospect of the United Nations playing a protective role in resolving these matters.

Another invasion took place nearby more than 20 years ago when an occupation army left tens of thousands of refugees. That country is Cyprus, where the United Nations, with Australian support, carried resolution after resolution calling for the withdrawal of those occupation troops. These resolutions, like so many

others, were pointless and fruitless in the context of the balance of power maintained by the superpowers. I believe that the prospects for a just peace in Cyprus and the restoration of Cyprus to sovereignty are enhanced by what is currently occurring in the Middle East.

I further believe that the role of America in recent months will do more to diminish its role as the world's policeman than any other event since the late 1940s. The acceptance by so many other nations of the responsibility for repulsing Iraq and re-establishing Kuwaiti sovereignty will help to ensure that in years to come no one country will ever again have the dominance or the responsibility that America and Russia have previously shared.

The major beneficiaries may well be countries such as Australia, who will live within the protection of the umbrella provided by the United Nations and the current precedents. We cannot expect to enjoy that support and protection unless we participate in the building of it. These are the reasons—and there are many others—why I support the conclusions I have put tonight and the motion.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Les Scott)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr REID (Bendigo) (9.35)—I speak on this most important motion before the House and I trust that I can do it justice at this time. I want to support strongly the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition (Mr Reith) in the comments they have made on this motion. I reinforce some of the comments made by my Leader. There never has been a good war. There have been necessary wars and just wars, but never good wars. Only the foolish and the deluded welcome war as something enabling and uplifting, but even this is only half the truth. There may never have been a good war, but there can be a bad peace—a peace that is bought at any price; a peace that compromises the very foundations on which it is supposed to be built. That kind of peace makes war more likely, not less likely. There are times in a nation's history when

its vital interests are directly threatened and when the only effective response is unity of purpose and commitment. The decision by the Government to commit this nation to the multinational forces in the Gulf has the strong support of my Party, the coalition and myself.

My father was one of many Australians who served with the Royal Australian Navy during the Second World War. He served in the Pacific area during this time as a deep sea diver and explosives demolition expert, immobilising mines and rendering explosive warheads safe—a very dangerous and hazardous task, but a task from which he did not flinch or resile at any time. He was prepared to stand up for this nation and his principles and to support our allies. Australia has always been a nation prepared to stand up for the principles that we hold dear and to stand by our friends in a crisis. The situation in the Gulf is a crisis and the Government has committed our support to the stance taken by the United Nations, and we in the coalition support that action.

No-one in my electorate wants war. People of all churches have been praying for peace and for a settlement by diplomatic negotiation, and I commend them for their actions. But, regrettably, there is no room in Saddam Hussein's personality or heart for proper and meaningful negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

I state in the clearest possible terms that the coalition shares with the Government a fundamental unity of purpose concerning the Gulf war. We stand united in condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and its strategy, which has become apparent over recent days, of spreading the conflict even wider. We stand united in our belief that the United Nations is upholding the principles of its charter and on the issue of the current nature and extent of Australia's defence involvement in the Gulf crisis. That is why we as an Opposition are pleased to support the motion which the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) moved yesterday. Many members of this House have searched their consciences long and hard, none more so than the Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Eth-

nic Affairs (Mr Hand) and the honourable member for Cook (Mr Dobie).

To ensure that the unity of purpose is continued, I believe it is important that the Australian Parliament sit on a regular basis to enable the involvement of Australia to be monitored at all stages and the community of Australia to be fully informed of what is occurring at this critical period in its history. The Government must ensure that this is done; the public must be accurately informed of Australia's role not only now but also in the future. I pray—and I know that many constituents in my electorate have been praying—that the conflict is resolved quickly and that our service men and women and all Australians in the Middle East are returned to their families safe and sound at the earliest time.

Mr KERR (Denison) (9.41)—In a few hours' time we will be asked to vote to endorse Australia's continued participation in the United Nations international force now engaged in a war with Iraq to compel the implementation of Security Council resolution 678. We face a cruel choice, but let us not delude ourselves that we have no choice. If we make the choice of continued participation, we must fall in step with the decision to go to war and face squarely the immense human and financial devastation that war entails. I am of the generation which resisted the participation of Australia in the Vietnam war and, as a long term participant in Australia's peace movement and a person with 22 years membership of the Australian Labor Party and the Left, I do not want to speak tonight with high sounding words but rather want to say what the hard choice means and how I will answer it.

Before I give that answer, I want to make some general comments in anticipation of this motion being adopted and the armed conflict continuing. First, I think there is much substance to the allegation so powerfully made by the honourable member for North Sydney (Mr Mack) that Saddam Hussein is a Frankenstein of the major powers' making. The monster Iraq that possesses a military might far beyond its rational needs, which left

300,000 of its own people dead in the war with Iran, which has used poison gas against its own people, which has chemical and nuclear competence or near nuclear competence and which now, after invading a small neighbour, is engaging us in battle, was created in large part by the United States, the Soviet Union and France, which have supplied this regime with the materiel of war now turned against the United Nations sponsored forces.

Much has been said tonight in the hope that out of this conflict and out of the breakdown of superpower confrontation and the re-empowerment of the United Nations, a new world order may emerge. That will be a vain hope if the trade in arms and the trade in death is not brought under international control, minimised and ultimately suppressed. By doing so, the tragedy of regional conflict may not be entirely eliminated, but at least our hands will be clean and the world will be far better off if some of the resources now going to arms go instead to peaceful purposes.

Secondly, if the UN is more frequently to undertake a military role, as contemplated by its charter, Australia should be vocal in insisting that its forces fight under the flag of the United Nations. It is a wrong but almost understandable perception that many sincere critics have that the present conflict is one of the United States against Iraq. In reality there are 100 countries involved in decision-making processes and 28 countries involved militarily. But perceptions are important and these forces should be under the blue flag and under formal UN control. For the future that must be so.

Thirdly, we must recognise that many in the Arab world will properly demand that we pursue justice for the Palestinian people, without abandoning the security of Israel, with the same urgency that has properly marked the world's response to the plight of the Kuwaiti people.

Fourthly, I reject entirely, as sincere but monstrously in error, those in the Liberal Party calling for increased commitments of Australian forces and for a move away

from the strategic priorities which Australia adopted following the publication of the 1987 Defence White Paper. Our defence priorities must remain defence of continental Australia and our region. Our priorities will not always be those of the United States or be subservient to any great or powerful friends. We can, of course, within the procurement and personnel limits of those priorities, accept our share of the burden in United Nations approved actions, as we have done in Cyprus and a number of other peacekeeping forces, but we are not the world's police force and we must not shape our defence strategies to that end.

Finally, I insist that the door to peace be kept open. Diplomatic links to the Iraqi regime are still available to Australia, the United States and the United Nations. We must insist that they be used. I agree with the Minister for Higher Education and Employment Services (Mr Baldwin) that once air superiority is finally achieved there should be one final major diplomatic offensive for peace before the final horror of a land assault, with all the costs that that entails. I am pleased in that regard to note that the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) has indicated to this Parliament and to our Party that he is committed to making sure that the door to peace is always kept open.

So to the choice. I am not a pacifist, although much of my political life has been devoted to seeking peace. I am fully aware of the horrors of war. My mother served in Hiroshima and Nagasaki as part of the medical team devoted to medical reconstruction after the devastation of those cities by nuclear weapons. My father fought as part of the Australian armed forces through the Pacific and ultimately met and married my mother in Japan. I know that they—my mother now dead, but my father alive—would have horror of Australia again finding itself in a position where its soldiers are in war, but I do accept ultimately in the extreme case—terrible extremities—that a final resort can be had to war. I note in that regard that even a man such as the Minister for Justice (Senator Tate), for whom I have immense admiration as a committed pacifist,

has searched his conscience and said that on this issue he too accepts that in the extremity of this case resort can be had to war.

Labor has led this nation twice before in war and the Left, properly, has supported armed struggle on occasions—against fascism, against the apartheid regime in South Africa, against colonialism and imperialism in Vietnam and, closer to home, in East Timor. I have thought deeply and seriously and, whilst fully understanding and respecting the views of those both in this place and outside who have formed another view, I have resolved to support this motion.

Craxi, the Italian socialist leader, said that never before has the international community been so united, so determined to achieve a common goal in asserting a principle, in asking that United Nations resolutions be respected.

There is therefore a choice. Australia could yet withdraw its ships, could seek to fragment the international consensus. But I believe the war would yet go on—perhaps more urgently, with those remaining seeking victory all the more before further withdrawals from those forces. And what of Israel? If it saw the coalition cracking, leaving a bloody but triumphant Saddam Hussein in effectual control of the whole Gulf, what could we reasonably anticipate the forces of Israel would do?

If there are risks in our pursuing the United Nations approach, the consequences, in my judgment, of failing to do so appear to me far more terrible, with the prospects of escalated regional warfare and also the destruction of the credibility of the United Nations, the one institution that I and so many in the peace movement have looked forward to for so long to accept the responsibility for proper international response.

Mr ANDREW (Wakefield) (9.49)—I abhor war. I believe in the sanctity of human life. I believe that every individual is unique, has a unique value and is irreplaceable. By saying that I am not affirming anything that has not already been said somewhere in this chamber in the past two days. I am not offering anything

original. I am merely repeating what 147 other members of this place and 76 senators also feel. My abhorrence of war has been identified by every speaker in this House and in the Senate. It is fair to ask: what then is left to be said?

All I ask tonight is that those who feel that the Parliament has failed to represent them pause to consider how much, as Australians with different viewpoints, we have in common. I would like to say to the honourable member for Hindmarsh (Mr John Scott) and to the honourable member for Denison (Mr Kerr) that I too seek peace. To those who have been protesting against the decision to back the United Nations sanctioned force in the Middle East, I would like to say that war is evil. I also want to reassure them that in the eight years that I have spent in this Parliament I have yet to find a warmonger among my colleagues on either side of the House.

The decision to engage Saddam Hussein merely represents for me and my colleagues the lesser of the available evils. I do not expect those who have been protesting to agree with me but I ask them to consider that my motives may well be every bit as unselfish as theirs. It has been easy in cheap interjections to imply that those of us who live in the rather insulated atmosphere of this Parliament are simply prepared to engage in war because we will not be immediately involved. Those interjections cut.

Among my colleagues on both sides of the House there are those who have been engaged in war and those who, like me, have children of an age who could become engaged in war and who, like me, as parents would gladly go in the place of any one of their children if that were to be where the nation should find itself. By those comments I am not suggesting that that is the direction of this conflict. I am reminding those who have chosen to disagree with the Parliament that we too have feelings and that we have reached our decisions only after the sincerest of soul-searching.

I stand here in support of the Government motion and in support of the com-

ments not only of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) but also of my Leader, the honourable member for Wentworth (Dr Hewson). I recognise that there are questions to which we will never know the answer. We will never know whether enough has been done in diplomatic terms or whether sanctions should have been tried for longer. We do know that 12 resolutions of the United Nations have been ignored. We do know that by his intransigence, Saddam Hussein effectively declared war. We do know that the longer we wait the more prepared he will be in defence of Kuwait. We do know that in a dictatorship it is very difficult for sanctions to truly bite.

I will never know how much of this decision for war is dictated by control of the world's oil resources, but I do know that the United Nations has endorsed what is happening. I do know that after the United States and its allies evict Hussein from Kuwait the United States will not remain there as an occupier of Kuwaiti territory. I do know that Saddam Hussein with a debt of \$80 billion seeks that oil only to meet his own immediate economic demands.

In my contribution tonight I want to say that no-one in this Parliament or outside of it can pretend to be absolutely right. We have all agonised over our positions. We have all had to face the terrible truth that we are at war and that none of us can stand here with clean hands. We cannot pretend that, like Pontius Pilate, we can wash our hands of all responsibility. All of the choices we face, whether to engage in war or not to engage in war, are imperfect choices and, frankly, probably evil.

In this debate, inside or outside of this chamber, there should be no sense of self-righteousness—not here, not there, not from the Australia Labor Party Left and not from the peace movement. All of the choices being faced by Australians, most particularly by parliamentarians, are choices fraught with cruel actions, with awful results and they are choices that exact enormous sacrifices. Our support of the Prime Minister's motion is based solely on what we sincerely believe to be

the least evil of the regrettable choices—choices restricted by the gross intransigence of Saddam Hussein.

Much has been made of the comments made by the President of the Uniting Church, Sir Ronald Wilson. I am sure that Sir Ronald Wilson means well. In any speech tonight I would not impeach his motives but I would remind him that the alternatives he leaves us with are also fraught with awful consequences. Any delay in engagement in war further enhances Iraq's preparedness. We are all too aware of the willingness of Saddam Hussein to use civilians or prisoners of war to protect his military establishments. When Sir Ronald Wilson says that what we are doing is terribly wrong, he is right. But he ought to pause to consider that all of the alternatives are terribly wrong as well. The awful truth we have to face is a choice between evils and a choice for what we ultimately believe to be the lesser of the evils.

A decision not to support the United Nations sanctioned force also unleashes awful, evil repercussions. Ask the Kuwaitis, ask the Israelis or ask the Saudis. I stand here as a practising member of the Uniting Church. I have to tell honourable members with some familiarity with at least one parish in South Australia that, whilst Sir Ronald Wilson, may be able to stand as the President and make a statement—I do not refute his right to do so—he could not claim to carry with him the third largest denomination in Australia. I do not know of one congregation in my area that would be unequivocally supporting him. I do not say that to be critical of him but to remind him that everyone who stands and participates in this debate inside or outside of this chamber is not faced with a pure choice but an impure choice and simply has to choose what are the least of the available present evils.

Much has been made of the fact that the Western world, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France have already armed Saddam Hussein. I have no doubt that is right. We will go on making those stupid mistakes because it is inevitable. It is too easy with the benefit of

hindsight to tell previous generations what they did wrong. I do not have any guarantee that the decisions we are making are right but I say to our sailors and medical team in the Gulf that, with all of the information we have available to us, we have witnessed in this chamber in the last two days a debate more extensive and more supportive than this chamber has seen in decades. We support those who are representing us in the Gulf because we believe that what they are doing is regrettable, but right.

Mr ELLIOTT (Parramatta) (9.59)— This debate is one which causes immense personal anguish to, I expect, all members of this House. Just as importantly, there is understandable apprehension in the community about the war in the Middle East started by Saddam Hussein on 2 August 1990. Over recent months and weeks all of us with a real interest in humanity, I have no doubt, have agonised over the most effective means of achieving an honourable, lasting and enduring peace in Kuwait and the Middle East and through such enduring peace contribute to the so-called new world order following the long destructive Cold War process coming to an end. At a time when this unique opportunity for world peace was in our hands, the violence and aggression of Saddam Hussein's invasion and annexation of Kuwait deserve the resounding condemnation not only of Australia but of the entire world community of nations.

Therefore, I derive no satisfaction from our Government being obliged to commit Australians to war. Indeed, I would prefer that we did not need to participate in such a decision and debate. All honourable members, together with all Australians, wish for peace and we hope that all peoples will preserve the sanctity of human life and respect international justice. It is because of my belief in these issues that I strongly support the motion of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) which was submitted to this House yesterday.

We seek peace in the world; we seek to ensure the special opportunities that the end of the Cold War offers—to have the United Nations fulfil, for the first time, its real charter as a vehicle for peace. The

United Nations really does offer the only opportunity for just peace in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. It is crucial that the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council receive the support that they deserve from Australia and our Parliament.

We cannot condone the invasion of Kuwait; we cannot ignore the massive breach of international law; we cannot pretend that the well-documented crimes of Saddam Hussein have not happened. We cannot sit back and say that the well-documented reports by Amnesty International of human rights violations by the Iraqi regime in Kuwait do not exist. The torture, the pillage and the extreme cruelty of Hussein's regime in Kuwait should be an object lesson to people around the world—violence and military aggression must not be rewarded. Indeed, such documentation about Hussein is not new. We have seen examples of the mentality of Hussein in his cruel past and violent attacks on people within Iraq itself.

I acknowledge that the Hussein regime is not the only dictatorship to perpetrate acts of violence. I acknowledge that there are other problems elsewhere in the Middle East. But that is not an argument against our stand in this case. The world, through the United Nations Security Council resolutions, has striven for peace. We have been active, as a nation, in seeking peace and in supporting all diplomatic efforts to go the extra mile for peace—a peace for now and in the future that is built on the solid foundations of collective security. At the same time that we have sought a just and enduring peace, Hussein has talked and acted in the most violent and warlike fashion imaginable. The United Nations and our allies have gone the extra mile for peace and the slogans about which people talk, I think, have been readily carried out.

Whilst I defend the rights of people to protest and criticise, I urge that they have regard to all of the facts and consider the alternatives if we do not support the United Nations efforts to secure world peace. I do not believe there are viable alternatives. Similarly, I trust that those who have been so strident in expressing

opposition to our decision will reflect on Hussein's past record of using chemical warfare against the Kurdish people and will also contemplate the horrible consequences that would follow if nuclear capacity were to be fully developed by Hussein. His unprovoked, indiscriminate attack on Israel in recent days really should show those people who doubt the justice of our stance and who suggest giving Hussein more time that it would be a totally counterproductive approach. The coalition of nations, through the United Nations, gave economic sanctions and peaceful efforts every chance. In truth, Hussein used our search for peaceful solutions and our desire to avoid war to dig in his brutal regime and to strengthen his military position in Kuwait. Sadly, therefore, I draw the conclusion that we have no choice but to be resolute in our endorsement of the United Nations' endeavours.

War is not an end in itself and I trust that after the unconditional withdrawal of Iraq's forces from Kuwait is achieved—and I hope that will be much sooner rather than later—we will seek real solutions to the problems of the Middle East, particularly the Palestinian problem. Frankly, such a solution is long overdue and, whilst I recognise and value Israel's very clear rights as a sovereign nation and its ongoing security needs, it must be understood that, in securing peace in the Middle East, the Palestinian issue must be comprehensively and honestly addressed by the world community. Similarly, I hope that for the good of all people the tragic destruction of Lebanon will be faced with intellectual rigour by all and that an honourable peace will be achieved. Sadly, the past history of conflict in the region and the inconsistency of policy of many nations—including many allied nations—has been, in part, an accomplice in sowing the seeds of instability in the region. We must ensure aggressors know that in the post-Cold War era such despots as Hussein will not be given succour; nor, I suggest, will they be supplied with the sort of arsenal that Hussein has been able to accrue.

International law and order will not be aided by accepting the notion that aggres-

sion can prevail. The coalition, harnessed through the United Nations, must prevail over the violent takeover of a small nation by a large warring dictatorship. Equally, after the war has been won, world indifference and opportunism must be replaced by just solutions to the complexities in the Middle East. They must be reached by a process of real negotiation.

World history is littered with wars which have been shown to be wrong, counterproductive and futile. In recent experience, the Vietnam war is one example of a war in which Australia should never have been involved. Equally, I believe that the abandonment of East Timor is a sorry episode in our nation's history which should be deplored and which I regret today. But the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is none of these things and in the post-Cold War era we have the opportunity to set the example for future generations through the United Nations performing the functions that it was originally conceived to undertake. We should learn from our past mistakes, but we should not be captives of that history.

I wish to make a few other points in support of the motion moved by the Prime Minister. I join other members in paying tribute to the service men and women of the Royal Australian Navy in the Gulf who are serving on the three ships. I know that they will perform their tasks professionally and assiduously. We look forward to their safe and speedy return following successful completion of their assignment at the earliest possible time.

I join other members in paying tribute particularly to the Arabic community in Australia. I have a very large Arabic contingent in my electorate of Parramatta, as has my colleague the honourable member for Prospect (Mrs Crosio) in her electorate. Together with the Jewish and other ethnic communities, they show the real virtue of our multicultural nation. They show the success of, and lead the world in, multicultural affairs. I urge that the tolerance and understanding for which our democratic nation is envied around the world be extended by all Australians to these communities in this difficult time of conflict. I know that the leaders of these

ethnic communities in Australia put their new country—Australia—first, and yet I have no doubt that they suffer, at this time, great stress and great anguish and that they feel very deeply for friends and relatives—and rightly so. They are grappling with the uncertainty of the future in the Middle East. We should be tolerant and understanding in helping them during this difficult time.

I support our quite appropriate commitment of the three ships and express thanks to the defence personnel involved and to their families for the dedication and commitment that they are giving. Our commitment is proper. Those who suggest that there is a possibility of conscription or a broader military role seek to refute the precise undertakings of the Prime Minister and the Minister for Defence (Senator Robert Ray). I refute such suggestions, and we oppose them outright. I doubt that this is the war to end all wars, but it is justified in the interests of collective security.

For all of these reasons the Prime Minister's motion must be supported. The United Nations resolutions must be enforced and Hussein must withdraw from Kuwait. There is no doubt that our future depends on us playing a constructive role, both in debating this process in this Parliament and in contributing actively, now and in the future, to ensure a lasting and just peace for all the peoples in the Middle East. That can start only if we accept the notion that the invasion of one country by another should not be allowed.

Mr SMITH (Bass) (10.10)—Listening to the words of the previous speaker, the honourable member for Parramatta (Mr Elliott), one is reminded, when he talks about the people in his own electorate and the divergence of views, that there will be many casualties in this conflict, but tolerance and understanding are usually the casualties of war. One would hope, and I am sure that all of us share this view, that tolerance and understanding within our community are the prime considerations in people's minds as we deal with the very conflicting and complex issues that we have been talking about for

these last two days and which I fear will be with us for some considerable time.

The motion seeks to reaffirm the support for the ongoing role of the United Nations in promoting world peace and self-determination of nations and, in particular, the resolutions of the Security Council directed to end the aggression of Iraq against Kuwait. We are coming to the end of a very long debate with nearly every person in both chambers having had the opportunity to speak. I need not canvass those matters again. The commitment of forces to the multinational forces is an issue that has caused a great deal of anguish for speakers whom we heard earlier tonight. Indeed, the decisions that many have made are respected. The decision that was made on 2 August by Iraq to attack Kuwait in the aggressive manner that it did really was the final move in a long and deeply rooted historical problem which has religious and economic connotations. Nevertheless, it has happened, and as a world community we now need to deal with it.

Most speakers have been at pains to point out today and yesterday—eloquently so from the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) and the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke)—that not one of us in this place would want to support war or be seen to be doing so. There is a recognition that the complexities of the Middle East require a solution to the Palestinian problems and they must be solved, but at the same time, we must ensure that Israel's security, within recognised boundaries, is maintained.

Like many others in this place, in the years I have been here, I have had the opportunity to visit the Middle East, which has enabled me to understand the complexity of these issues. There are no quick solutions and there are no easy answers, but I think all of us would extend to Israel credit for the restraint that it has shown. In doing so, it has reflected great credit on itself at this very difficult time.

The fortunes of war and the policies that underpin the decisions to enter into war generally change quickly. As I said earlier, I believe that these changes will

be taking place in the course of this conflict and it will require some deep resolve from the Government—indeed, the whole Australian community—to stay the course of this very difficult decision that we as a nation have now taken.

There was some mention in speeches about the dramatic changes that have taken place since the winding down of the Cold War and that provides new opportunities which I would like to mention a little later on. In supporting this motion, we are doing several things. We are asking for Iraq's withdrawal, unequivocally and completely, from Kuwait. We are seeking a return to legitimate government and we are working for peace and security in the region.

President Bush and other members of the coalition have all been making these points. The other underlying point is that we seek an end to the suffering and we need not overlook the suffering that is taking place, both to the citizens of Kuwait and to many citizens of Iraq. If one looks back over time at what has been visited upon the citizens of Iraq by its own government, it adds moral persuasion to the decision that we have taken to try to bring an end to Saddam Hussein's misadventures that are plunging the world into such deep and difficult times.

The events of recent days and the attack on Iraq and the dangers of the escalation of this crisis have always been very great. It is now clear that these dangers may be realised and that Iraq has chosen to widen its campaign of violence. Like its invasion of Kuwait, this latest Iraqi aggression against Israel violates international law and accepted standards of international behaviour. It reinforces the wisdom of the United Nations response to this crisis.

Saddam Hussein's aggression must be resisted even more now than was the case on 2 August. That issue and those sentiments have been expressed very eloquently by so many speakers in the course of this debate. We in this place are lucky that we are able to see very comprehensive news coverages. Tonight's news showed new moves with regard to the use

of prisoners of war. It would appear that we may be seeing the commencement of the use of prisoners of war in a way which will constitute war crimes. Obviously, that is particularly an incident to be regretted and one would hope that Saddam Hussein will not continue with that. But I believe that it has started and it adds further gravity, difficulty and suffering to all of us in this place, but it also underlines the wisdom of the decision that we are taking.

Some comment is required to be made with regard to the media. I think the media has been somewhat cynical in lots of ways, particularly the electronic media. The comments by many editorial writers were encapsulated in my own local newspaper, the Launceston *Examiner*, which said that parliamentary debate adds little. I think that shows a fundamental misunderstanding of what is taking place in this Parliament. This is the nation speaking and I think if editorial writers take it upon themselves in this arrogant fashion to dismiss the Parliament, they do themselves and their readers a disservice. I was particularly distressed to read that editorial in my local newspaper this morning.

This parliamentary debate has been significant. People watching the debate may not appreciate it, but there have been some very moving speeches in this place, some very difficult decisions taken by some very fine men and women who are serving this nation with distinction. They do not agree with me on many matters and I do not agree with them, but I recognise the difficult decisions they have taken. There can be no more difficult decision to make. Indeed, as a shadow Ministry, we had to make a decision as to whether we would support the Government. Many of us anguished over that decision as to whether or not young Australians would be committed to war.

I cannot think of a more difficult decision for a Prime Minister or a leader of a nation to have to make. So for those people who have had that anguish tonight, I understand it and I salute them. I think they did themselves credit in reaching that decision. After these two days, despite the cynicism that might be displayed by editorial writers, the Austra-

lian people will get a message and that is that all colours of political opinion in this country stand together; they stand united. I think that is particularly significant because we stand united with the leading countries of the world in facing this aggression which can do so much harm to the world.

Our Leader made a very eloquent speech, as indeed did several members from this side of the House. One speech which I thought was very interesting was that of the honourable member for Kooyong (Mr Peacock). He has had extensive experience in foreign affairs and he was the Army Minister at the time of the Vietnam war. Much has been said that that is not a matter with which we need to draw any parallels, but the one thing he said which would not be lost on many members here is that this will be a long and difficult conflict and it will be up to us to continue to explain and expand upon and make clear to the Australian people the principles that underpin this decision we make in supporting this motion. There are many other matters I wanted to raise tonight, but particularly I wanted to draw the attention of the House to the opportunities for the United Nations. The Leader of the Opposition quoted Woodrow Wilson and I would like to quote him again:

There must be not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organised rivalries, but an organised common peace.

The United Nations is our best hope for implementing that vision. The peace protesters disappointed many of us yesterday, but none more so than Senator Valentine. I share with Senator Valentine the privilege of having served overseas as an exchange student. The motto of that exchange student group was 'We walk together, talk together; then and only then shall we have peace'. She distorted that motto yesterday in an orchestrated display, trying to deny the Prime Minister of this country the opportunity to speak to the nation. She has done herself a great disservice; she has done her peace movement a great disservice. It is quite appropriate that the Senate demand an apology from her to this chamber for that behav-

iour. I have some respect for her, but it has been diminished greatly by her antics yesterday and I am glad to see that many on the other side hold that view. I know that she has passionate views, but so do I. I committed myself to that motto and do so continually, but this was a decision that had to be made and it has to be defended. Each and every Australian that thinks about our future and where we are going will be standing with us.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Du-bois)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr HULLS (Kennedy) (10.20)—Like most speakers before me, it does sadden me greatly to speak on this motion, but speak I must so that my views on this dreadful conflict are recorded. Like many of my colleagues, I have wrestled long and hard with our involvement in the Gulf war, a war that really does have the potential to escalate drastically and to cause devastation almost beyond calculation and comprehension.

Over the past two days I have listened closely to speakers from both sides of this House. I have listened to arguments to justify Australia's involvement in the Gulf war on the reality of the situation—arguments based on the call for a new world order; arguments conceding the pivotal role of oil in the war; arguments based on Hitler's precedent; arguments referring to the views of veterans of the Second World War and the Vietnam war; arguments based on the need for collective security and on the validity of the United Nations; and some arguments so thick with the rhetoric of war that memories of newsreels of similar speeches about our involvement in previous wars flick through my mind.

I will be 34 years of age tomorrow. I grew up through the 1960s, watching the Vietnam war on the nightly news. While, as a kid, I saw the war on television I was not personally touched by it. I was just nine years of age when in March 1966 Harold Holt announced the decision to send national servicemen to fight in Vietnam. My friends did not die or come home scarred physically or emotionally;

other older men were victims of the war. It was always older people who were involved in that war and the First and Second World wars. It was always older people who were involved in the decision making and in the negotiations that went on before and after those wars.

Now here I stand in the Parliament of Australia speaking on a motion to support the role of the multinational forces in the Gulf—a motion in support of Australia's current level of active involvement in the Gulf war. I am now one of the not so old men, and our involvement disturbs me greatly; but ultimately, I have to support this motion.

I grew up believing that the major threat to world peace lay in a potential nuclear war resulting from the Cold War conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. The last two years have seen a remarkable diffusion of that conflict. The breaking down of the Berlin Wall caused the release of a collective sigh of relief in the West and East. That was less than 18 months ago. Now we are at war under the banner of the United Nations, and we are allied with the Soviet Union. This has happened fast and almost with a momentum of its own.

Concomitant with the drastic changes in East-West relations have been the just as radical changes in the political scene in the Middle East. For eight years Iraq was involved in a cruel and relentless war with Iran. During that time the West considered Iraq the lesser of two evils. Consequently, the war was fought with weapons that were supplied to Iraq by the United States, France, East and West Germany, and other Western nations, as well as the Soviet Union. How perspectives have altered, and how much we have to answer for.

It astounds me that after eight years of battle, supposedly for the Shatt al-Arab waterway leading to the Gulf and for the eastern half of the main channel, after eight years during which the Iraqi people saw their soldiers, their brothers, partners, fathers and other members of their families and their friends, killed by the Iranian war machine and after eight years during

which the Iraqis enthusiastically killed their Iranian neighbours, on 15 August 1990, Iraq agreed to all of the Iranian demands, including Iranian possession of the Shatt al-Arab waterway and the eastern half of the main channel.

The Iraqis' unconditional withdrawal from 1,000 square miles of Iranian territory and the immediate exchange of prisoners of war that took place at the end of the Iran-Iraq conflict enabled Iraq to redeploy 15 divisions from the Iranian border to the borders of Turkey and Syria in the north and north-east of the country.

Just what did all those Iraqis die for, and what is Saddam Hussein asking his people to die for now? A pig-headed belligerence that is very terrifying is being exhibited. It is also terrifying to be at war. It disturbs me that our response to such belligerence has to be to resort to the same level of uncivilised, if not barbaric, behaviour. The television coverage of the allied attacks may be disturbingly reminiscent of video games; yet the cold hard fact is that the end result on the ground will be massive destruction and an as yet untold loss of life.

I, like any rational person, would much prefer that this Gulf crisis be resolved without resort to violence. I sympathise with the beliefs of the peace movement, and I agree that we cannot call ourselves totally civilised until we can resolve international disputes without resort to violence. However, for that to happen we have to have a massive psychological shift in the way we view each other across the globe as human beings and as nations.

In the West the environmental movement and the peace movement have gone a long way towards changing the way we see our world and the way we see human and international relations. Unfortunately, the shift to the idea of one world, one people, has not occurred globally. My hope is that with time this shift will occur. In the meantime, we have to make recourse to the United Nations and, unfortunately, in this case, to the UN sanctioned use of force.

The United Nations has played an unprecedented role in international relations

as a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The United Nations was born out of the devastation and horror of World War II. Its Charter was signed 46 years ago on 26 June, 1945. The preamble to the Charter stated the members' determination to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war', to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights for all men and women, to establish respect for international law and treaty obligations, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. I believe these are still lofty ideals, and to achieve these ideals we will have to continue to work to change attitudes and perceptions throughout the world.

As I have said, the contents of the motion that are about to be voted on in this House tonight disturb me. I desperately want to believe that we are now a part of the beginning of a new role in world government for the United Nations. For that to be the case, there must be an end to hypocrisy in international relations. It is especially terrifying that war is taking place in the Middle East where a state of constant distrust and fear and hostile defence is the norm. That is why I welcome the inclusion in the final part of the motion before the House that it recognises: the need to intensify efforts to establish peace and stability in the Middle East, including a just resolution of the Palestinian issue and the continuing security of Israel, once the crisis in the Gulf is resolved.

Despite the apparent speed of the conflict in the Gulf, the fact is that its origins really date back to the Second World War and well beyond. It is also a fact that even if this conflict were to be resolved militarily tomorrow, the political, social and economic repercussions will rebound for decades to come. I agree with those sentiments already expressed that a stable post-war Iraq is essential and indeed crucial for ultimate peace in the Middle East. Whether this stability can be achieved is a question I honestly cannot answer.

We will all be much older by the time these issues are ultimately resolved. In the meantime, we live in a world where unfortunately motions such as that put before this House by the Prime Minister

(Mr Hawke) are necessary. I sincerely hope that in my lifetime we will become wiser and more able to achieve peaceful resolutions to conflict.

Mr PROSSER (Forrest) (10.28)—On 2 August last year Iraq, led by its leader Saddam Hussein, committed a grave violation against the principles of freedom and human rights by invading Kuwait. This action was widely condemned by the international community. This is the reason we are here today to place on record our condemnation of the actions of Hussein and also our support of the attitude adopted by the United Nations.

Iraq and Kuwait have had longstanding differences. In 1961 Iraq threatened to invade Kuwait. British troops were sent to guard the Kuwaiti borders. Those troops were subsequently replaced by forces of the Arab League. In 1963 all troops then withdrew from Kuwait. Then in July last year Iraq accused Kuwait of robbing Iraqi oil from the Rumaila oil-field. Talks on this issue took place but subsequently collapsed. On 2 August 1990, Iraq secured a swift military invasion of Kuwait. Since August Iraq has brought forward a number of claims to justify its actions. These claims include: the claim that Kuwait historically has always been a part of Iraq; and the claim that Iraq needed an unencumbered recently developed Iraqi naval base which is presently commanded by the Kuwaiti Islands in the Persian Gulf.

Unstated reasons for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait include wanting to alleviate Kuwait's pressure for repayment of funds given to finance the eight-year war with Iran, their urgent need for funds for economic redevelopment after the war, the desire to become the regional power in the Middle East, the long term goal of establishing a Baathist dream of one Arab nation, and to galvanise Arab action over the issue of the occupied territories by Israel.

The world condemnation of Hussein's action was reinforced by the United Nations Security Council, which over August and September last year with unprecedented consensus passed a series of 12

resolutions. It is important to note that the use of force was agreed to only after a final and unambiguous call was made to Saddam Hussein to get out of Kuwait. A reasonable timetable was also given for him to comply. Hussein chose to ignore this message.

World reaction to the United Nations agreement to the use of force was swift. It is to the United States President, George Bush, that much of the credit for this should go. The United States Administration had perceived the significance of the crisis from the start. And it has acted in a responsible, clear and consistent manner throughout. Indeed, President Bush has set a new standard for crisis management. He has brought about an unprecedented international coalition which has cut across the old East-West divisions—a coalition that has included old enemies as well as the majority of Arab nations.

This coalition includes the major powers of Britain, France and Italy. It also includes the small nations of Canada, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Argentina, Greece, Belgium, Spain, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Arab nations of Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar have also been united in the project to free Kuwait. It is the participation of Australia in this international coalition that we are debating here today.

The Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) has set out our nation's perception of, and response to, the conflict in a five-point motion. This motion essentially reaffirms Australia's support for the role of the United Nations in promoting world peace, particularly with regard to the Kuwait-Iraq conflict; seeks the support of the Australian people in the participation of its forces in the process of liberating Kuwait; and deplores Iraq's attempt to widen the conflict by attacking Israel. The Liberal-National Party coalition is happy to support this motion.

Indeed, on an issue of such grave significance, it is appropriate that a degree of bipartisanship exists across the whole spectrum of political parties. Unfortunately, while the coalition is mindful of

this, some parties are cashing in on a minority view, causing dissent and division across the country.

The coalition believes that this Parliament, on behalf of the Australian people, must send a clear and united message to Iraq, to the rest of the world and, most importantly, to the men and women of our defence forces who are in the Gulf. That message must be strong and clear: firstly, Iraq must withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait in line with the 12 resolutions set out by the UN; secondly, the territorial integrity of Kuwait as a sovereign country must be restored and respected in the future; thirdly, the right of Israel to exist in peace and within secure and internationally recognised boundaries must be respected; and fourthly, our message must also reflect our pride in the role which our defence forces are playing in the Gulf.

As the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) said in the debate yesterday:

We, as an Opposition, will do all we can, in cooperation with the Government, to ensure that such a message is the outcome of this special sitting.

I have heard it said that Australia should not be involved in this conflict; that sanctions should have been given more time to work and that there should not be a war over oil.

Debate interrupted.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Du-bois)—Order! It being past 10.30 p.m., I propose the question:

That the House do now adjourn.

Mr Snowdon—I require the question to be put forthwith without debate.

Question resolved in the negative.

MIDDLE EAST

Debate resumed.

Mr PROSSER—These comments are wrong on several counts. First of all, Australia is a relatively small nation. We are not a military force in our own right. It is our responsibility to join any international coalition which aims to free a country which has had its freedom and

independence snatched from it. It is also important to consider that if our country was invaded and our freedom violated then a similar coalition force would and should come to our aid.

It is fundamental that we cannot expect from other countries what we ourselves will not give. I might also point out that Australia's contribution is proportional to its size and its military might.

Secondly, I beg to differ that this is a war purely over oil. Of course, the supply of oil is part of the justification for the conflict. The Arab countries provide a significant proportion of the world's oil supplies. None of the countries involved in the multinational force have concealed the fact that fear of the consequences of Hussein's increased control of world oil reserves is a factor in their response. Their fear is legitimate and real. Increased power and wealth will only give Hussein the opportunity to repeat his invasion of Kuwait on any of his other neighbours. That is an opportunity which the world community should go to all lengths to stop. While the protection of oil supplies is a part of the motivation, this war is fundamentally about the principles of freedom and independence. Aggressive countries must learn that they cannot invade their neighbours at will.

Finally, I come to the issue of economic sanctions. Specifically, why were they not given more time? The sanctions strategy was pursued rigorously by the United Nations for five months, but all indications were that they had had a negligible effect on Iraq's military. While they may have had a limited effect on the people of Iraq, previous experience shows that Saddam Hussein has little consideration for the suffering of his own people. For the sanctions to have been truly effective they would have had to have been in place for at least one or two years.

In the meantime, Iraq would have continued its occupation of Kuwait, plundering the country's resources and terrorising and torturing the people of the Kuwaiti. Sanctions were initiated primarily as a signal to Saddam Hussein intended to illustrate the world's abhorrence of his

actions and their determination to liberate Kuwait.

Hussein chose to ignore that message, using the time given to allow the sanctions to work to fortify his troops in Kuwait. I urge the peace protesters to think long and hard about these points and to think objectively rather than be blinded by their sentiments of anti-Americanism.

I should also like to make some comments on the most recent actions of the Iraqi government—actions which reinforce the fact that the Australian and allied forces are doing the right thing. Reflecting his complete disregard for human rights, Saddam Hussein has announced that he will be using captured allied air force pilots, effectively prisoners of war, as human shields. According to announcements made on Baghdad radio, these prisoners of war will be placed at strategic military and economic sites.

Baghdad radio charged the US dominated multinational force with shelling civilian, economic and educational targets. This comes on top of broadcasts on Iraqi television of some prisoners of war making anti-war statements. There are also allegations of beating and torture of these prisoners of war. These actions of Saddam Hussein directly violate the third Geneva Convention.

Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Du-bois)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr SCHOLES (Corio) (10.39)—I enter this debate on a note of sadness because I had hoped that such debates would not, at this time in our history, have to take place. I have had the opportunity to see the destructive capacity of military weaponry, and one of the greatest reliefs of my life was the eventual breakdown of the balance of terror between the Soviet Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation forces. The destruction of the world was not only something that they were capable of, but also something which could have been triggered by almost any sort of incident which, given consideration, could have been regarded as totally irrelevant in a bigger picture.

I remember the Second World War, and my family, like many others, suffered fairly heavily through death and maiming. The enemy was real after 1941—very real and very close. I remember the Berlin blockade during which the countries of the world came very close to war, largely because of the madness of Stalin. I remember Hungary in 1956 during the Olympic Games here in Australia, the games of peace; and I was in this Parliament when we had a unanimous vote condemning the Soviet Union for its invasion of Czechoslovakia. I certainly was not here in this place when Adolf Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia.

We have slogans and we have very serious and dedicated people who say that war is not the way to solve the world's problems—and I wholeheartedly agree. But is there anyone who seriously believes that the problems which existed in the 1930s because of the mad ambition of and the world's weakness with respect to Adolf Hitler would have been solved by a series of Munichs? I do not think so. Is there anyone here or outside who seriously believes that talking or delaying would resolve the problems which are now causing such havoc throughout the world and which plague the Middle East?

Iraq invaded Iran in order to obtain control of Iran's oilfields and to increase its income and power in the Middle East—not because of need, and it may have had need, not to improve the standards of its people and not because there was any threat from Iran, but because it wanted the money to develop more quickly the military power to give it leadership of the Arab world and to threaten the sovereignty of Israel. That is what the Iranian war was all about and that is what the Kuwait invasion is all about. It is about money to pay past debts for war and to acquire for future war greater arsenals of sophisticated and deadly weapons, which some Western nations must take responsibility for supplying.

The sanctions which were applied over the recent six-month period showed no sign of having worked—and I think that people who really thought that Hussein would be hurt by sanctions were deluding

themselves, though the people of Iraq may have been hurt. When we are told we should wait longer, we are told that we should place at risk other people, including the existing occupied people of Kuwait. They may not be important to some but, if one reads Amnesty International's words outlining the horror which has been wrought on them—the murder of babies and the rape of women, which is not unusual in war, but not generally found to the extent which has been reported—we can see that if we wait, we condemn those people and we ignore those people. We forget that they exist. We may get a warm inner glow in our chest, and we may avoid having to answer our own consciences about whether or not we go to war.

It is not valid to say 'no blood for oil'. A million lives and the blood of a lot of Kuwaitis on top of that has already been spilled for oil by Hussein. At any time it is within the power of the leadership of the Iraqi nation to end this conflict by withdrawing to their own boundaries and ceasing action which is designed to take over Kuwait for economic profit, to gain the wherewithal to arm further with nuclear and chemical weapons and provide the capacity for further conquest and invasion of other territories. Does anyone seriously think that Hussein's aims in seeking to acquire Iranian oil was anything other than that?

I ask honourable members what the alternatives are. We are told that Australia should not be involved. We are a member of the United Nations and I think we have been involved on almost every occasion when we have been requested by the United Nations, starting with Korea. We are told that this is an American conflict. It is true that America is supplying the wherewithal and did supply the leadership. But on the United Nations Security Council, there are five nations with votes. Any one of those nations could have used its vote to prevent the Security Council resolutions—any one of them—being carried. It is not good enough to follow the old slogan of the wild west. Those who read westerns will have read how Billy the Kid had 21 notches on his

guns when he was 21 years of age, not counting Mexicans and Indians. If one uses the slogan 'no blood for oil', one does so not counting the people of Iraq, the people of Iran and the people of Kuwait.

We have a choice, and it is a difficult choice. We either take part in actions approved by the United Nations or we do not. If we do not, we choose to accept the horrors that have been perpetrated and to accept the future risks. Those risks are real—very real. I doubt that any person would be foolish enough to suggest that given the opportunity, given the time to develop nuclear weapons and to develop vehicles for the conveyance of chemical and bacterial weapons, they would not be used. I am concerned that we are at war; I am concerned that people are being placed at risk; and I am even more concerned at the efforts of at least some television commentators over the weekend to goad Israel, for instance, into retaliation.

War is never nice, it is never acceptable, and it is not an alternative we should have to be faced with. But unfortunately we are and our choice is: do we try to prevent the horrors that face us in the future; or do we turn our backs and walk away, comfortable in the knowledge that we are thousands of miles from the Middle East and we are not under great threat as a nation?

Mr SOMLYAY (Fairfax) (10.49)—I join colleagues on both sides of the House in supporting the motion before us, moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and seconded by the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson). I will be brief because honourable members on both sides of the House have canvassed at great length and in a bipartisan way the chronology of events which brought about the outbreak of hostilities on 17 January. There is no need for me to repeat those circumstances.

When I entered Parliament only 10 months ago, it did not even occur to me that I would have to exercise my vote in this place on a motion which would see young Australians at war again on foreign soil. The decision was not an easy one, as

many of my colleagues have said. We have all agonised over this decision. I, personally, had to be totally convinced that there was no other option.

The debilitating effects of war on winners and losers cannot be overstated. I doubt whether there are any real winners in any war. Australia has a large ethnic population, many of whom sought and received refuge in this country as a result of war and oppression in faraway lands. My family was one such family displaced by a war started by another megalomaniac aggressor. My parents lost not only their heritage and belongings in that war but also two children—my brother and sister—as infants. My parents lived for their freedom and taught me its value. While there are only a few members of this House with experience of war, none of us is untouched by war through our parents and grandparents and their tragic losses of loved ones through duty to this great nation.

A united Europe at the beginning of 1990 gave great promise of a decade of real world peace—a solid foundation for a peaceful world in the twenty-first century. By August those hopes were shattered by the barbaric and brutal actions of Saddam Hussein in his unprovoked attack on Kuwait. These have been adequately put on record in this debate. I need not restate them.

I speak in this debate so that the Parliament will have on record my assessment of the attitude of the people of my electorate of Fairfax. My office has received many calls from constituents to express their views on the Gulf war and particularly on Australia's involvement. I have received calls from but a handful of people who are opposed to Australia's involvement. By far the majority of callers have expressed the view that it is their sad duty to support the spirit of the motion before the Parliament today. They agree with the need to stop Saddam and pray for a speedy resolution to the war. As we have heard time and time again during this debate, peace is entirely in the hands of Saddam. An immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait would mean an immediate end to this war.

The Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) spoke of his participation in the pilgrimage early last year of World War I veterans to Gallipoli. He spoke of the tradition of Anzac and Australia's history of duty and willingness to participate in conflicts where aggression had to be stopped. I see that the honourable member for Mayo (Mr Downer) is at the table. He will recall the occasion in 1978 of another Anzac pilgrimage, in which I participated, that commemorated the sixtieth anniversary of the Armistice in the war to end all wars. I too was privileged to experience the fierce pride of those World War I veterans in what happened 60 years previously. I also saw their deep sorrow in their remembrance of the horror of war at such places as Passchendaele, Polygon Wood, Tyne Cot, Sanctuary Wood, Ypres, Villers Bretonneux—the battlefields of the Somme and Belgium. The graves of Australians across the world give testimony to Australia's preparedness to stand up for principles and for our friends.

I said that my decision to support Australia's involvement in a war on foreign soil once again was not easy. Like many others in this House, I have children whom I want to live in a better world. That was and is my motivation for being a member of this Parliament. I get no pleasure from seeing young Australians at war. My support for this motion is based on an assessment of all the available information, research and as much discussion as I could become involved in. There can be only one conclusion from this assessment, and that is that Saddam Hussein must withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait. I believe that there was no reasonable alternative to the use of force. Saddam defied all peaceful attempts for a solution. Responsibility for the Gulf war starts and ends with Saddam Hussein.

There is little doubt about the outcome of the conflict; the coalition of allied forces will achieve the liberation of Kuwait. However, that will not be the end of this affair. In many ways it will be the beginning. The aftermath of any war places great responsibility on nations and, in particular, on the United Nations, to assist in reconstruction and a return to nor-

mality in the lives of those people affected and displaced. Peace negotiations must be concluded in such a way as not to sow the seeds for future disaster but rather for lasting peace.

I join all Australians in praying for the successful return of young Australians involved in this theatre of war—not just those Australians who serve in our defence forces but the many others such as our journalists in front line areas who at great personal risk keep us informed of the realities of the war and Australia's involvement. I pray for a quick solution to this conflict. I pray for peace. I support the motion. I ask all Australians to do likewise.

Mr SAWFORD (Port Adelaide) (10.56)—There is only one body that can ensure collective security and achieve peace in our world and that is the United Nations. For the first time, and unlike the failures of the 1930s and the postwar period, the international community has responded collectively to act upon the aggression of one member nation against another.

If there is one thing for which ordinary Australians can rightly criticise both the Government and Opposition alike it is the means and methods we use sometimes to communicate our messages. We are very good at stating principles, personal philosophies and policies. We are also fairly good sometimes at articulating outcomes and goals. However, I am afraid that we are all too often inept, at times appallingly inept, at communicating those principles and philosophies in a form understood by ordinary Australians where purpose is reconciled with outcomes through the acknowledgment of an appropriate process.

All too often we link purpose and outcome without acknowledging or, indeed, recognising that a deliberate communication process needs to exist to explain effectively the purpose of ideas floated and their likely effect as outcomes. Parliamentarians by their very nature are essentially ideas and task oriented. There are few process people in this Parliament who possess the necessary interpretive, trans-

lative and expository skills to explain the purpose of philosophies and translate those often complex ideas into a form where their purpose can be easily identified to enable outcomes—the very things that affect people's lives—to be congruent with purpose and clearly spelled out.

However, the fact remains that the vast majority of Australians receive their information not from this House but through a media controlled by a very small number of people. The media in this country too often trivialise, beat up, sensationalise and present singular views whilst failing to analyse information to enable ordinary Australians to make considered views on simple issues, let alone complex ones. Too often in this country the popular press and populist television and radio reduce issues to the lowest common denominator, omit the central issues or simply get it wrong. Of course, there are significant exceptions, but the fact remains that the media too often seek the easy descriptive stance without any attempt at alternative views or real analysis. In the past two days this Parliament, in debating this most regrettable issue, has without doubt lifted its game. Concerned Australians have put the Government and Opposition on notice. That is right and proper. Perhaps the media, and especially the popular media, could lift their game too.

The contempt shown by Hussein's leadership of the Iraqi Government for the United Nations Security Council resolutions should be totally unacceptable to any person genuinely seeking peace. There can be no escaping this one fact: since Hussein assumed the leadership of Iraq that country has been on a war footing—against Iran, against the Kurds, and now against Kuwait and Israel. There is no escaping the fact that the build-up of Iraq's military capability under Hussein is for aggressive and expansionary reasons and not for legitimate defence purposes. Saddam Hussein is a dictator. He has shown utter contempt for the unprecedented international unanimity to reverse the aggression of Iraq.

Despite extensive efforts to achieve a peaceful solution through diplomatic

means Iraq has ignored or rejected every international initiative aimed at resolving the crisis. The possibilities for meaningful discussion through diplomatic means failed, even from the Arab world. Iraq provided no response other than to opt out of its moral international responsibilities as a member of the United Nations. In fact, Iraq took advantage of the objectionable holding of hostages from many countries to attempt to weaken the resolve of the international community whilst at the same time digging in, ransacking and strengthening its hold on Kuwait.

Appeasement has been rightly rejected for all the reasons stated by members on both sides of the House, and I will not repeat the historical lessons of that proven failed response. Many people have called for sanctions to be given more time. As this particular parliamentary debate draws to a close, it is perhaps timely to re-examine what the word 'sanction' actually means. 'Sanction' means a penalty for disobedience; 'sanction' means a consideration that operates to enforce obedience to a rule of conduct; 'sanction' means to coerce another into conformity with international norms of conduct; and 'sanction' means implied force, both economic and military. However, the United Nations has not been as coldly analytical as those basic definitions suggest. The United Nations asked Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait without penalty. The United Nations sought not just to enforce obedience to a rule of conduct; it flagged opportunities to open meaningful discussions. The United Nations sought by a great number of means to influence one of its member nations with accepted norms of international conduct. And yes, the United Nations applied economic sanctions for a period of five months. But the United Nations flagged in language that could not be misunderstood that military action—part of the meaning of the word 'sanction'—would be exercised if Iraq did not withdraw by the 15 January deadline.

Iraq rejected the opportunity to withdraw from Kuwait without penalty. Iraq rejected the many, many opportunities for a diplomatic solution. Iraq rejected its

responsibility as a member nation to support the United Nations. Iraq, also by its actions, rejected the opportunities that the world was given with the ending of the Cold War. Iraq rejects the need to establish in our world a new set of non-military priorities like the environment, human rights, the needs of children in the Third World and Iraq, and people priorities with funding directed away from arms to lift visions, spirits and hopes for a better world. Sadly, those priorities are further delayed. They are not the priorities of Hussein. He means to threaten the poisoning of the environment through chemical, biological and potentially nuclear warfare. He means to completely ignore the rights of ordinary people. He obliterates his opposition. He contemptuously uses and abuses children to manipulate his power objectives.

He, and he alone, reduced the options of the United Nations to one of force—firstly, economic and now, regrettably, through military action. He tests the will and resolve of the United Nations coalition with the very lowest possible common denominator of resolution and conflict—a bloody, bloody war; the very option that he knows is hated, despised and deplored by those who have chosen to oppose Iraq's aggression. It distresses me greatly, as I am sure it does many Australians, that after the euphoria and celebrations of the ending of the Cold War a short time ago, the United Nations is now exercising the military option. Nine hundred Australian defence personnel and their families and friends are facing a huge personal burden as Australia's commitment to supporting the United Nations collective responsibility for peace in our world.

I have not always been a supporter of American foreign policy—Vietnam, Panama and Grenada, to cite the obvious. Yet on this conflict the United States has, I believe, acted responsibly and provided the necessary leadership through the United Nations. Of course, there have been other unresolved conflicts in the world where it is obvious that the international community in the past has been impotent—East Timor, Cyprus, Lebanon

and Ulster. There are current issues to be addressed in the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. There is also the issue that has for too long remained unresolved—a just solution for the Palestinian people.

The credibility and integrity of the United Nations are being sorely tested by this current Gulf conflict. I respect the views of those people who have protested their opposition to this war. However, for some, their actions are too late and are devoid of criticism of Iraq and uncaring of the plight of the Kuwaiti people. Their efforts diminish the genuine peace movement. I desperately wish that Iraq was a democracy with an effective opposition, a free press and informed public opinion, for if it was I would be confident that diplomatic means or, as a last resort, economic sanctions would produce peaceful solutions. But that is all it is—wishful thinking. There are no means to negotiate with a dictator.

I do not accept the view that the extension of economic sanctions would work. There is simply no evidence to support that contention. I wish it were otherwise, but dictators by the very nature of their regimes have no respect for alternative points of view, no concept, acknowledgement or recognition of any process other than the violent pursuit of their aims.

There is perhaps another reason why a relatively small nation like Australia should uphold its responsibility and commitment as a member nation of the United Nations. If Hussein is allowed to get away with taking Kuwait, no small nation will ever be secure in the future. Indeed, arms sales will increase, not decrease, because small nations are more likely to rely upon building up their own military defences. Without doubt, that is a definite path to further insecurity in the world. There is no question that nations which export arms will indeed in the future need to be more cautious and circumspect and be monitored.

I have one final point. The Iraqi people should not have to pay for the acts of a madman and a motley collection of murderous cohorts. We can only hope that

the end of this conflict will be closer rather than further away and that potential horrific bloodshed will be minimised.

Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mrs Sullivan)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr WILSON (Sturt) (11.06)—I rise to support the motion moved by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke). I do so in circumstances where, like other members in this House, I feel that these two days have been two of the most moving days in which I have taken part in this Parliament. One unique event has occurred, and that has been the televising of Parliament. The honourable member for Port Adelaide (Mr Sawford) rightly drew attention to the power of the media and the way in which it sometimes misrepresents the sincerity, genuineness, thoughtfulness and deep conscious concern of members of this House. The televising of the proceedings of this House and the Senate has given the Australian people the opportunity of seeing the seriousness with which members of this House tackle difficult problems. I hope that one of the small benefits that arise as a consequence of our being involved both today and yesterday in this debate is that the proceedings of this House will continue to be televised fully and completely so that the Australian people can see their democratically elected representatives tackle the nation's problems.

This motion is of grave concern to hundreds of thousands of Australians; yet hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of Australians support the Government in its courageous decision and support us in the Opposition for giving wholehearted support to the carefully worked out decision that the Government has made. To support the United Nations, to support many countries in the tragic decision we have had to make, military force must be used against Saddam Hussein and his regime in order to free Kuwait. He is a military dictator; he is barbaric and unscrupulous; he is a cruel tyrant; and he lacks care, concern, compassion and humanity. His regime must be removed from Kuwait, for only then can the freed people of Kuwait be returned to their country.

and only then can efforts be made to try to resolve some of the problems of the Middle East.

Every time the news bulletin comes on the television we see 'The Gulf War'. Sometimes we have failed to understand the significance and meaning of the Gulf. The Arabian Gulf and the Persian Gulf are the same gulf, but it depends whether one stands on the eastern shores or the western shore as to whether one sees it as the Persian or the Arabian Gulf.

I mention that because it underscores some of the problems that go back to maybe the origins of this conflict in the Iran-Iraq war. The Iranians, as my colleague the honourable member for Cook (Mr Dobie) said, are not Arabs; they are Persians. Their historical hostility with the Arabs has gone on for many thousands of years. It may be that we will only overcome those hostilities when the winds of change such as those that have crossed eastern Europe cross the Arabian peninsula and Persia, or Iran, when democracy one day is born in those countries. Only then will we be able to negotiate and talk with peoples of those countries in the way described by the honourable member for Port Adelaide (Mr Sawford) just a few minutes ago.

I want to touch on one particular matter that has been of special concern for me. In this debate many honourable members have referred to the Geneva conventions and the Red Cross conventions, the conventions sometimes known as the rules of war, sometimes known as international humanitarian law. They were laws that took some 90 years to develop. They were inspired as a result of what Henry Dunant saw at the battle of Solferino in 1859, in which the Austrian, French and Italian armies were engaged and more than 300,000 troops fought a battle in which at least 40,000 were killed or wounded. The horror of that war struck that man. I hope, in terms of magnitude of loss of life and wounding, we do not have to confront horrors of that magnitude. Henry Dunant wrote:

In an age when we hear so much of progress and civilisation, is it not a matter of urgency, since unhappily we cannot always avoid wars—

and we could not in the present instance—

to press forward in a human and truly civilised spirit the attempt to prevent, or at least to alleviate, the horrors of war?

I think I, like other members of this House, like many thousands of Australians who watched their television sets tonight, was shocked by the horrors of war when I saw six or seven men from the coalition forces on the television screen. I do not know what other people thought, but it seemed to me that those men had been brutalised, bashed and forced to say what they said. I saw horror in the expressions in their faces. When I spoke to my wife tonight she said that one of those men looked like a friend of ours. He was not a friend of ours, but honourable members know that when they go into a large crowd they can often see their friends in the look-alikes, the similar people.

Iraq is a party to the 1949 Geneva convention on the treatment of prisoners of war. It acceded to the convention on 14 February 1956. I wonder whether that brutal man Saddam Hussein will have his country honour its international obligations. I have serious doubts. His country is a member of the United Nations and as a member of the United Nations he certainly has not fulfilled his country's obligations under the United Nations Charter. I just hope that, as he is required to do under article 13, he will treat prisoners of war humanely and at all times protect them against acts of violence or intimidation and against insults and public curiosity. I hope he treats them in a way that does not distinguish them on the basis of race, nationality or religion.

Let us look at article 17:

Every POW, when questioned on the subject, is bound to give only his surname, first names and rank, date of birth, and army regimental, personal or serial number, or failing this, equivalent information . . . No physical or mental torture, nor any other form of coercion, may be inflicted on POWs to secure from them any information of any kind whatever. POWs who refuse to answer may not be threatened, insulted or exposed to unpleasant or disadvantageous treatment of any kind.

Article 19 says that POWs shall be evacuated, as soon as possible after their capture, out of the combat zone. Article 22 says:

POWs may be interned only in premises on land and affording them every guarantee of hygiene and healthfulness . . .

Article 23 says:

No POW may at any time be sent to, or detained in areas where he may be exposed to the fire of the combat zone, nor may his presence be used to render certain points or areas immune from military operations . . .

In the light of the hostage experience, I wonder whether Hussein will comply with those obligations.

Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mrs Sullivan)—Order! The honourable member's time has expired.

Mr DUBOIS (St George) (11.16)—Everything that needs to be said about the Gulf war has been said in the last two days. The Government's decision to commit forces to the Middle East was not an easy one and it was not taken lightly, but we have to stand up to be counted. I support the motion before the House because our decision to be part of a United Nations military response to aggression is the only sensible course for Australia to take. Australia's own security depends on mutual respect for existing national borders. If the end of the Cold War sees the superpowers replaced by middle ranking powers in confrontation, would the world be any better off?

The prospects of dictators like Saddam Hussein, armed with today's poor man's atom bomb—chemical weapons and biological weapons—and tomorrow nuclear weapons and flexing their military muscles is alarming. Saddam's apologists will have no trouble at all explaining and justifying his invasion of Kuwait. Predictably, it will all be the fault of the United States.

Saddam saw in Kuwait the opportunity to convert some of his foreign debt into a domestic one. The oil reserves could also disrupt, if not destroy, the Western economies—including that of Australia. He saw that the end of the Cold War might allow him to achieve his Baath Party

dream of one Arab nation; of course, he would be the boss. His aggression would not stop at Kuwait. He would conquer the entire region and become the head of a united Arab nation, a modern day Saladin. Needless to say, there would be no Israel in his new order; nor would there be a Palestine.

Like many dictators before him, Saddam has taken to renaming parts of Kuwait after himself. He has even taken to claiming God's support for his 'mother of all wars'. I am sure God is great, but I do not think much of some of his self-proclaimed friends. Make no mistake: this man is evil, and if the world does not take a principled stand we will surely pay a higher price later.

I hope the conflict will be over soon, but to delay the inevitable would be foolish. I say 'inevitable' because Saddam Hussein is on the warpath and for him there is no alternative. He has lived by violence and brutality since his early life. He has waged war against his own people, against Iran and now against Kuwait. His dream of one state with him at the top rings a bell. I think we heard it at Nuremberg: 'Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Fuehrer'. We appeased Hitler, and look what happened. If we do not learn the lessons of history, we will be condemned to repeating its mistakes. Saddam has to be stopped, and we should all be proud that Australia is helping to stop him now.

Those who call for more time for sanctions to work are really saying that higher allied casualties later are okay, because to give him more time is to strengthen his military position. I know a number of people from Iraq. They are here in Australia because they want to get away from the likes of Saddam Hussein. It would be unfortunate if people in Australia believed this to be a war between the West and Arabs or against people of the Muslim faith. Let us just look at the line-up in the Gulf—the number of Arab nations and Muslim nations who have sided with the coalition against Saddam Hussein.

I have spoken to a number of Arab Australians in my electorate, both Muslims and Christians. They have fled the

violence of the Middle East and do not want Saddam Hussein to succeed. We have seen Lebanon torn apart by civil war and invasion. If aggression is condoned in Kuwait, every country in that troubled region will be up for grabs. But after the fighting comes the peace.

My worst fears are that unless the United Nations takes the opportunity to resolve a number of issues the violence and bloodshed will continue. What is to become of the Kurds, more numerous than the people of Australia, the Armenians, the Assyrians and the Palestinians? The people of Cyprus called for the implementation of UN resolutions to overcome their problems. The state of Palestine will not be created just by linking the Palestinian cause to the Iraqi invasion. There is no Palestine in Saddam's grandiose plan. I have supported the Palestinian people in their just struggle for a homeland. This is not inconsistent with our recognition that Israel has the right to exist with secure borders. This is also the position of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

I imagine that for Israel a peaceful neighbouring Palestine would be preferable to the intifada. But I am not so naive as to think that a conference can just redraw the borders of those Middle East countries and that then peace and friendship will blossom. It will be difficult but it is worth a try. Those borders were bequeathed by the retiring colonial powers. We have only to look at the colonial borders that eventually became the State borders in Australia to appreciate the task before the conference.

The United Nations military response to Iraqi aggression offers the hope that peace may be achievable in the Middle East. Would an aggressor threaten or invade Israel or any other country in the Middle East if it were to face such a UN response? Could those countries then dismantle their arsenals, as has happened in Europe, and spend their limited resources on improving the lot of their citizens?

To those people who have protested against our decision I say that is their right and I will defend that right. That is one of the advantages of living in coun-

tries such as Australia, unlike many others such as Iraq. To those who oppose war I say so do we. That is why we opposed Saddam Hussein when he waged war against his neighbour. I sincerely hope that the Gulf war will soon be over and that our service men and women can rejoin their loved ones. I am sure that their families in Australia know how proud we are of them and I look forward to the great welcome home that awaits them.

Mr HAWKER (Wannon) (11.22)—Like many of those who have already spoken in this debate, I view the decision that this Parliament is endorsing as one of the gravest that have been taken since my election to this Parliament. It is not easy for the elected members of a democratic country to make that decision. It is one that has to be considered. It is one that, when considered, is taken after all possible alternatives have been exhausted.

It is a credit to all those who have supported that decision—the vast majority of this Parliament—that they recognise that all of those efforts have been attempted, have been exhausted, and we have been forced to support a decision that has been taken. We recognise that in the long run the only way we will maintain peace throughout the world is to force people such as Saddam Hussein, who has shown quite clearly that he has no respect for other countries or the autonomy of other countries, to realise that we will not accept this type of behaviour.

There is no one person in this Parliament who would choose to send people from this country to war. I recognise that a vast majority of the people in this Parliament have accepted that we have had to take this very grave decision because we want to see peace in the long run. We realise that in order to have peace we have to be prepared to defend that right. It is very obvious that the decision taken by the Government and the motion that is before this House today has the whole-hearted support of the Opposition. It is very important to recognise that the Opposition does have a responsibility to declare very clearly where it stands and it has done so. It is also very important that we are seen to be standing with the vast

majority of the United Nations in condemning Iraq's invasion and the occupation of its neighbour Kuwait.

It is clear that, after careful judgment, it is in Australia's interests to support the United Nations sanctioned force that has been led by the United States in its efforts to expel the Iraqis from Kuwait. It is clear that after careful judgment we should be prepared to stand up for a just cause. I believe that this is one. It is important that we show that we are prepared to support and strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining a peaceful world. As has been stated by so many in this debate on both sides of the chamber, the actions of President Hussein are a direct threat to the peace of the world. The action we take is to be shown as a very strong deterrent to the threat of the use of chemical and other forms of abhorrent warfare. Again, I believe that we are serving notice to other nations that might harbour such considerations that it is not acceptable. We are showing that we are prepared to stand up against the brutality that is now being exacted against the citizens of Kuwait. Many speakers in this chamber have already alluded to some examples of that.

I should like to endorse the very important and the very significant role taken by the United States in its lead, first of all, in trying to negotiate a peaceful settlement to this problem but, having failed to do that, in gaining the support of not only so many countries in the United Nations but also so many in the force that is now assembled against Iraq. The United States has shown its credentials. We should all commend the efforts of President Bush, who tried so hard to find a peaceful solution before he was forced to take the decision that he has now taken.

A few points are very relevant to this debate and to the decisions that have been taken. The first and most important relates to the territorial sovereignty of Kuwait. As is mentioned in the motion, the second point relates to the right of Israel to exist in peace. That has already been threatened by some of the actions of the Iraqis over the last few days. The third point is that we should send a very

clear message to those Australians serving in our naval forces on those three ships currently in the Gulf, those who are prepared to be at the forefront, to be in a position of what could be considerable risk, that we recognise that they are undertaking that challenge with pride and with considerable professionalism. Those 900-odd Australians who are currently serving over there have the overwhelming support of the majority of Australians.

I too would like to allude briefly to the protests that we have seen around Australia. While I too respect the right of people to protest, I note in passing—as others have done already—that that right is not extended to people in Iraq. I fundamentally disagree with the protesters for the reasons that have been so eloquently put forward by so many in this debate in the last two days.

The key point, as has been pointed out by the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson), by the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and by others, is that appeasement has been shown in recent history not to have worked and to have led to far greater conflicts than is likely if we avoid the path of appeasement. Another point that can be made is that, while there are those who would argue that sanctions ought to be given longer to work, the actions of President Hussein and his response to the sanctions to date show very clearly that he is not the slightest bit interested in seeking a peaceful solution or, indeed, handing back to the Kuwaitis their country without being forcibly removed. Therefore, a policy of appeasement is unlikely in this case. In fact, I believe very strongly that it would not work when we are dealing with the likes of Saddam Hussein.

Obviously, the challenge that we will face goes well beyond achieving a quick and decisive military victory. I believe that it will involve a number of key factors. Firstly, it will involve negotiating the settlement of longstanding grievances within the Middle East, and obviously this includes the Palestinians and their claim for a homeland and it also respects the safeguarding of the rights of Israel. Secondly, I think we should be very con-

cerned that the volatility of the Middle East could in fact be greater than it was prior to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in August. Thirdly, as has been alluded to by the Leader of the Opposition, I think considerable questions could arise about the strength of our defence forces and the possibility of an emerging gap between the rhetoric of this nation and the actions of this nation in this war. Therefore, I think there is a very strong case in favour of our maintaining some consistency on that point.

It is obvious that it is a very grave situation. It is a situation that requires carefully thought out and well considered responses—and those responses have been indicated today and yesterday. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, this is probably the most grave decision that has been taken by this nation in my time in the Parliament. I think the fact that almost 100 members of this chamber have spoken in this debate shows that the Parliament is more than recognising the seriousness of the situation, and if we take into account the number of speakers who have spoken in the other place, obviously well over 100 members of this Parliament have spoken on this issue. I think that, in itself, shows that as a democratic nation we are in fact taking our responsibilities and our elected positions very seriously. Accordingly, I too join with so many others in supporting this motion because I believe that at a time like this it is very important for Australia to show that we are there to be counted in this very grave situation.

Mr STAPLES (Jagajaga—Minister for Aged, Family and Health Services) (11.32)—When I entered this House I never expected that I would be put in the position of speaking on such a motion. I am sure that it has been the hardest speech that each honourable member has ever had to make. If I were to speak now of the many reasons why I must find myself in support of this motion, I would be repeating much of what was said in the speech of the Prime Minister (Mr Hawke) and much of what has been said by so many other members. Words cannot satisfactorily express the feelings of pain and

the burden felt by all of us in this House and by those people outside it.

But on this occasion there is more than one way to protest for true peace. I am sure that most Australians who do not sit here understand the sincerity of conscience, the trepidation and the horror of the force of the decision that is entrusted to those people who do sit here. Never before, in my time in this House, have we heard such strength of speech and deep eloquence. Such eloquence does not come naturally to some, but, in his or her own way, the words have welled from the innermost depths of the soul and mind of each honourable member.

All of us have prayed to whatever force from which we seek support that this chamber would not be burdened with a motion such as this. We have all counted the days to 15 January 1991 with increasing trepidation, not euphoria. I will not repeat the reasons that have been put forward by so many honourable members. As I have said, there are things in the speeches of every honourable member to which I can certainly relate. What is clear is that we know that we have reached what is, at this time, the last resort in dealing with the megalomaniacal intransigence of Saddam Hussein. I would not be prepared to support the grim words of this motion if it were not for the unprecedented cohesion of the United Nations.

On the eve of a new era of peace which held—and still holds—so much promise, with the demilitarisation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Warsaw Pact confrontation, the emergence of a united Europe and the radical democratic changes in eastern Europe, this world has been taken, by the lunacy of the warfare of Saddam Hussein, to the edge of world misery. Never before in the history of humanity has there been so much universal condemnation and, indeed, commitment to united action to protect the promise of our emerging peace.

But there are no white knights. After thousands of years of human history there is no total fault and no total innocence. But there is, today, a united and accepted international order which must be re-

spected, and that is the only hope for the world. The diplomatic options must continue to be pursued, as they have been pursued so relentlessly by so many. We are not seeing a repeat of history; this is an example—one of the few examples—in world history of learning from history and from the mistakes of the past.

I have asked myself why so many sovereign nations on this planet, independently and in consultation with each other, have come to the same conclusion at this time. I believe it is because each of those governments and the people that those governments represent believe that to fail to act now would lead to a most bitter repeat of history which, for the last 40 years at least, we have sought to avoid. After the crisis in the Gulf is resolved we must address the complex issues of the Middle East. The principal issue that has festered there has condemned hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to despondent misery.

The decision that this House will make very shortly is really the lesser of two evils. If our Prime Minister had not given a commitment to the limitation of Australia's military role and said that there would not be conscription, my decision tonight would have been far more difficult. If our Prime Minister had not given a commitment to the processes of the United Nations and to diplomacy and if the sanctions option had not been completely exhausted, my decision tonight would have been far more difficult. But tonight I have no other realistic or responsible option but to support the considerably lesser of the two evils that are placed before this House. I pray, as do millions of others in this country today, for the safety of our Australian citizens who are in the Middle East and for tolerance within the various Australian communities.

Mr FIFE (Hume) (11.38)—Before the commencement of this debate and in response to a procedure motion I said that involving a nation in war is the gravest step that a government, with the support of the opposition, can take. That being so, it was appropriate that our nation's commitment and the situation in the Gulf

should be fully discussed by Parliament so that the Australian people would have no doubt where both sides of politics stood. The Opposition called for Parliament to be brought back to make our position clear, and I believe that has been achieved over the past two days.

The debate has been of a particularly high quality and, by the time we finish tonight, well over 100 speakers in the House of Representatives will have taken part in it. They have all been listened to most carefully. This has been the most moving debate in which I have ever taken part or witnessed during more than 30 years of parliamentary service.

From the outset, the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson) made it abundantly clear that the Opposition shared, with the Government, a fundamental unity of purpose concerning the Gulf war. We reached that view not on the basis of emotion or jingoism, but through taking a sober, considered and clear-cut view of Australia's interests, then we made a very careful judgment of the international realities that we had to face.

Our conclusion was that Australia's interests were directly engaged in this crisis and that we had to send a clear and unambiguous message to Iraq. That message, which is the undoubtedly outcome of this special sitting, is that, firstly, Iraq must withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait in line with the 12 United Nations resolutions. Secondly, the territorial integrity of Kuwait as a sovereign country must be restored and respected in the future. Thirdly, the right of Israel to exist in peace and within secure and internationally recognised boundaries must be respected. Fourthly, and very importantly, our message must also reflect our pride in the role and professionalism of our defence force in the Gulf.

Having decided on the message, it is now up to all of us in this place who support the motion to go out and sell it, as my colleague the honourable member for Kooyong (Mr Peacock) emphasised. If we are to sustain support for what the Government is doing, we have to keep arguing the case. It is essential that the

Government take the Australian people with it so that they too become fully identified with what we are affirming is the correct course. The Vietnam war demonstrated the absolute necessity to carry public opinion with us if we are to sustain the commitment that has been made.

Along with that message, we also have to put beyond doubt our fundamental unity of purpose. This means that we must stand united in condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and its strategy which has become apparent over recent days to spread the conflict even wider. Our belief is that the United Nations is upholding the principles of its Charter on the issue of the current nature and extent of Australia's defence involvement in the Gulf crisis.

In making that clear, the Opposition also understands the personal anguish which the war is causing Australia's Arab and Jewish communities. Furthermore, we condemn in the strongest possible terms any discrimination taking place against Jewish and Arab Australians because of the war. We hope that Australians will give them the fair go they deserve as citizens of our country.

Ever since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait last August, the Opposition has been committed to building a unified national response. We have done this not only because of our perception of the vital interests at stake, but also because of the principles involved. Inherent among those principles is that flagrant, unprovoked aggression should not go unchallenged, nor be allowed to succeed. Moreover, as the honourable member for Bennelong (Mr Howard) reminded us, it is just 12 months ago that this House, along with the rest of the world, rejoiced at the collapse of totalitarian communism in eastern Europe. We thought it had finally marked the end of the totalitarianism we have been battling since the rise of Hitler.

With Saddam Hussein, we have seen the rise of another dictator in the Hitler mould seeking to establish his and Iraq's dominance over the Arab world, along with the destruction of Israel. The consequences, through the effect on oil prices,

would deal a heavy blow, not only to our own economies, but also to those of eastern Europe's newly emerging democracies and to the Third World.

A stand had to be taken. Every possible effort has been made to secure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait by peaceful means, but to no avail. Peace has been given every chance. Sanctions have been given every chance. In the face of Saddam Hussein's intransigence, the United States acted, along with other members of the coalition. Now, in line with United Nations resolutions, the allies are taking military action to expel Iraq from Kuwait and restore the legitimate government. Such action is totally consistent with the United Nations Charter and that body is now getting the support it deserves. I have no doubt that upholding the integrity of the United Nations will be recognised and applauded by history.

Against that background, I think it is appropriate that I should also reiterate the Opposition's strong support for the role played by the United States, particularly President Bush, in this crisis. Let us not forget that it was the United States Administration which, from the outset, perceived the significance of Saddam Hussein's aggression. The United States has acted and is continuing to act responsibly and consistently. In terms of assessing actions on their merits, President Bush has shown great courage and wisdom.

By taking the stance it has taken, the Opposition is encouraging the Government to work with the Gulf coalition to help ensure that the United Nations fulfils its proper functions in establishing the sort of world order that we all want to see.

In the context of that new world order, we have to look beyond the present conflict to a long-term Middle East settlement. We have to look towards a resolution of the Arab-Israeli confrontation and a resolution of the Palestinian problem. If stability and peace are to be established in the Middle East, so bedevilled by conflict, it is crucial for any such settlement to be framed so as to give

practical effect to this emerging new world order.

For that reason, it is important that no gap opens up between our actions and our rhetoric in support of that new world order. It also means that we will have to be prepared to defend it. The way ahead is not going to be straight forward but, by supporting the actions of the multinational force to end Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, we are laying the foundation for an international order 'where the strong are just, the weak secure and the peace is preserved.'

Mr HAWKE (Wills—Prime Minister) (11.48)—in reply—The last two days of parliamentary debate have been of historic significance. This Parliament has exhaustively debated one of the most serious issues ever to come before it: the commitment of the Australian armed forces to support military action authorised by the United Nations in the Gulf.

At the outset, I want to express my thanks to all those who have contributed to this debate, regardless of their party affiliation, a debate which has lasted more than 20 hours and has involved more than 100 speakers.

I realise that this has not been an easy issue for any of us to confront. For the first time in 20 years, Australian forces are committed to combat. It will be to the lasting credit of this Parliament that we have confronted and debated this issue with realism, patience and a shared concern for the best interest of this nation.

I am deeply gratified that this motion will clearly be passed with an overwhelming majority. In concluding this debate, I want to repeat my thanks to the Leader of the Opposition (Dr Hewson), the Leader of the National Party of Australia (Mr Tim Fischer) and to the other members of the Opposition who have expressed their support for Australia's current involvement in the Gulf, and for the manner and the tone in which they have done it.

It is vitally important as we carry out our responsibilities in the Gulf that we maintain the shared spirit of commitment to Australia's national interest that has

characterised this debate. It is important because we need to send a coherent and strong message to the world and this message will fortify our serving personnel on board the *Brisbane*, the *Sydney* and the *Success*.

This message will encourage our allies in the United Nations coalition, including those who already in this war have lost men and materiel. In the morning I will be meeting with the heads of mission of all countries which are taking action in support of the United Nations resolutions on the Gulf and, amongst other things, I will be conveying to them the strength of this Parliament's support for those resolutions. This message, with its specific condemnation of Iraq's unprovoked attack on Israel, will tell the people of Israel of this Parliament's sympathy with them at this time of crisis and of our respect for the restraint they have displayed over recent days.

This message will underline our concern that once this crisis is over there will be intensified efforts to establish peace and stability in the Middle East, including a just resolution of the Palestinian issue and the continuing security of Israel, and, may I add, peace for that tragic country, Lebanon. This message will also underline very clearly and decisively the support of this Parliament for the resolute way this crisis has been handled by the United Nations in defence of the principles of national sovereignty and collective security.

It is also important that we send a clear message to the people of Australia because, as I said yesterday, it is important as we confront this crisis in Iraq that every Australian understand the facts of the situation. The message that we will be sending to the people of Australia with the passage of this proposed resolution will be a message that regardless of the widespread and innate distaste we all feel for war, and regardless of the hazards being undergone by our armed forces in the Gulf, we see support for this motion as thoroughly and intrinsically consistent with our highest duties as the elected representatives of the people of Australia.

The allied nations did not want this war. We did not start this war. We tried hard to solve the dispute by diplomacy. Only with the greatest reluctance and deepest regret have we resorted to the military option. The majority of Australians understand the magnitude of Iraq's challenge to the world community and the importance of our campaign to meet and to overcome that challenge.

Compassion and sorrow, including compassion and sorrow for the Iraqi people, are not the exclusive preserve of those who oppose the war but they are shared by this Government, by this Parliament, and by all Australians. I repudiate those who noisily set themselves up as the monopolists of morality. It would, of course be much easier if we could simply sit this out on the grounds that war is terrible, but we members of parliament, least of all people, cannot abrogate our responsibilities and opt for the easy arguments with which some may feel more naturally comfortable. We owe it to ourselves and we owe it to our fellow citizens to examine this complex situation with intellectual rigour.

Throughout the history of humankind, it has been easier for some to go to war than it has for others, and it has not always been true that those who have found it easiest have necessarily been the wisest. I understand that those members who have said they cannot bring themselves to support this proposed resolution have spoken from the heart, but this grave issue requires not just the heart but the head.

As previous speakers have acknowledged, the stakes in this conflict are very high, not only for Kuwait but for all countries great and small which may depend on a system of collective security for national survival. If this system fails us now, at its first major test against aggression, the consequences for our security are disturbing indeed.

I mention here my disappointment at the comments of some opponents of Australia's stance, those who, while previously stressing the importance of the United Nations mechanisms involving

international disputes, have now abandoned that approach at the very time the United Nations is proving to be an effective body. Let me remind honourable members, as I did in my statement to this House on 4 December of last year, of Dr Evatt's prescient view about the obligations of nations in circumstances such as we face today. In 1945 Dr Evatt said:

It must be made crystal clear that the nations seeking representation in the world organisations must be prepared to contribute their share of physical force to restrain the action of proved aggressors.

It was crystal clear in 1945, and it remains so today. This country did not question the truth of that statement then, nor should it now. Both the Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the National Party of Australia made mention of the Government's White Paper on Defence and questioned its adequacy as a framework for Australia's policy in the light of the current crisis and its global dimension. On the contrary, the White Paper explicitly recognised that we may need to deploy forces far from Australia's shores and ensure that the Australian defence forces would be able to meet that threat. Paragraph 1.17 of the White Paper explicitly states:

Options will always be available to Australian governments for assistance to allies. The type of Australian force structure required to protect our interests in our area of military interests entails substantial capabilities for operations further afield.

The White Paper continues:

For example, our guided missile frigates equipped with Sea Hawk helicopters are capable of effective participation in a US carrier battle group well distant from Australia's shores.

That is precisely what our ships are now doing in the Gulf. The fact that we were able to respond swiftly and appropriately to this present crisis in itself demonstrates, I believe, that our defence framework is right and appropriate to Australia's needs.

This Government firmly believes that in this matter before us we have taken the right decision on behalf of the Australian people, and the news of each passing day confirms that belief. Most recently we have been treated to the news that Saddam

Hussein's abuses of international conventions have reached new depths with his threats to use allied prisoners of war in Iraq as human shields at strategic sites. It is difficult for me to find words which adequately express our outrage at this latest development. Iraq's treatment of prisoners of war is in blatant breach of the Geneva Convention and is against all natural human decency. The passing of this motion is one way, an important way, in which we can demonstrate as a nation where we stand in this dispute with this dictator. It is a way of sending a signal to the world.

Mr Speaker, I take this opportunity to pay tribute to those Australian men and women serving in our embassies in the region, especially those in Riyadh, Tel Aviv and Amman and, until just before the fighting began, in Baghdad itself. In Riyadh and Tel Aviv, of course, our staff have been hearing the missiles fall. At considerable risk to their own safety, these staff have been working through the conflict to try to ensure the safety of fellow Australians who remain in the region, and I know that all members of this Parliament will join me in acknowledging their courage and their professionalism.

The 1990s began with the highest of hopes that peace would be given a chance, that former superpower rivalries and tensions would give way to a new world order of cooperation among nations, one in which ordinary men and women could get on with their lives and enjoy the fruits of a peaceful world.

Saddam Hussein's great crime is that he is destroying these hopes. If he is not stopped, the decade—the twentieth century—will end in hopes darkened and aggression again triumphant. Young Australian defence personnel are in the Gulf to stop this happening. It is important that they know that this Parliament and the overwhelming majority of the Australian people are fully behind them.

By supporting this motion today, members of this Parliament will, on behalf of all Australians, demonstrate their understanding of and support for the task that these Australians are to perform on behalf

of their country and for the international community of nations.

Mr SPEAKER—The question is that the motion be agreed to. All those of that opinion say 'aye'; those against 'no'.

Mr Mack—No.

Mr SPEAKER—I think the ayes have it. Is a division required?

Mr Mack—A division is required.

Mr SPEAKER—I hear only one voice. For a division I need to hear two members.

Mr Mack—I request that my name be recorded in *Hansard* as voting against the motion.

Mr SPEAKER—That will be done.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

**House adjourned at 12.02 a.m.
(Wednesday) until Tuesday, 12 February
1991, at 2 p.m., in accordance with the
resolution agreed to on 22 January 1991.**

NOTICES

The following notices were given:

Mr N. A. Brown to move—

That this House:

- (1) deplores the brutality used against the citizens of Lithuania and the deaths of 14 persons arising from the use of force by Soviet troops on 13 January 1991;
- (2) condemns the assault by Soviet troops on the Interior Ministry in Riga, Latvia, on 20 January 1991, in which at least four persons were killed and nine injured;
- (3) is appalled by the additional threat of force against the democratically elected Parliaments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania;
- (4) demands that the Soviet Union, in accordance with universally accepted principles of human rights, desist from the use of military force and violence against the peoples of the Baltic states;
- (5) calls upon the Australian Government, in conjunction with other democratic states, to protest such brutality to the Soviet authorities and in international human rights forums; and
- (6) calls upon the Soviet Government to facilitate the peaceful transition to independence of those Republics which have expressed through democratically elected Parliaments, a desire for self-determination.

Mr Scholes to move—

That this House:

- (1) is concerned at the enormous growth in the amount of goods stolen from private homes and the apparent failure of police forces to uncover the disposal networks which clearly must exist; and
- (2) calls on the Minister for Justice to establish a special Commonwealth/State task force drawn from the various law enforcement organisations to carry out a comprehensive investigation into the movement of, and subsequent disposal of, the extremely large amounts of goods being stolen from private homes.

Dr Woods to move—

That this House:

- (1) is of the opinion that grave injustices were done to many Australians of Italian descent who were interned during World War II;
- (2) acknowledges that many of these people were falsely accused of being fascists when in fact they left Italy because of their intense dislike of that ideology and the way in which it was being enforced by the then Italian Government;
- (3) whilst recognising the internment policy in the circumstances of the national emergency in which it was implemented, nevertheless regrets the suffering caused to certain innocent Australians of Italian descent who were interned;
- (4) recognises that many of those who were interned were loyal Australians who wished to see democracy triumph over nazism and fascism; and
- (5) investigate the possibility of having notations to the above effect appended to the internment records which are now part of the public record.

PAPERS

The following papers were deemed to have been presented on 22 January 1991:

- Banks (Shareholdings) Act—Regulation—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 469.
Civil Aviation Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 466.
Customs Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 467.
Defence Act—Determinations under section 58B—1990—
No. 164—Leave for Members Under Training.
No. 188—Amendment of Defence Determination 1990/164.
Extradition Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 470.
Family Law Act—Rules of Court—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 474.
Fisheries Levy Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, Nos. 462, 463, 464, 465.
Income Tax Assessment Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 468.
Industrial Relations Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 461.
Jervis Bay Territory Acceptance Act—Ordinance—1990—No. 1—Administration.
Judicial and Statutory Officers (Remuneration and Allowances) Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 472.
Maternity Leave (Commonwealth Employees) Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 473.
Remuneration Tribunal Act—Regulations—Statutory Rules 1990, No. 471.
States Grants (TAFE Assistance) Act—Determinations—Nos. TAFE 20/90, TAFE 21/90, TAFE 22/90, TAFE 23/90, TAFE 24/90.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

The following answers to questions were circulated:

Benzodiazepines

(Question No. 3)

Mr MacKellar asked the Minister for Aged, Family and Health Services, upon notice, on 9 May 1990:

(1) Has his attention been drawn to the article "Anything for a quiet life" in the *New Scientist* of 6 May 1989.

(2) Is he able to say how many prescriptions for benzodiazepines were issued in Australia for each year since 1979; if so, is he able to say how these figures compare, per capita, with available data from other countries.

(3) Is the Government undertaking, or contemplating undertaking, any action to investigate the possible relationship between the long-term use of benzodiazepines and violent and antisocial crimes; if so, what action.

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

(1) Yes.

(2) No. The only data available on prescriptions for benzodiazepines in Australia relates to those for which Commonwealth pharmaceutical benefits were paid under the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme (PBS). Data is available only from 1978-89 as follows:

Year	No. of PBS prescriptions
1978-79	5,177,776
1979-80	4,597,802
1980-81	4,774,180
1981-82	6,511,706
1982-83	6,152,441
1983-84	5,751,720
1984-85	6,647,422
1985-86	5,834,396
1986-87	5,968,732
1987-88	6,819,778
1988-89	6,786,736

During the above period, pricing structures of benzodiazepine drugs have resulted in Government dispensing prices in close proximity to the general patient contribution. In most years, however, the general patient contribution has been higher than the dispensed prices of these items and, as a result, PBS data relates only to prescriptions dispensed for holders of the various cards that qualify persons for free or concessional PBS prescriptions. Apparent increases in usage in some years are caused by price and dispensing fee increases allowing these items to be dispensed

under the PBS to general patients. Subsequent increases in patient contribution have then nullified this effect with only cardholders being eligible. The increases in the most recent years reflect the introduction of the PBS 'safety net' scheme.

(3) No. The Government is, however, providing funding to the Royal Australian College of General Practitioners to develop and evaluate the impact of peer education upon the prescribing of benzodiazepines by general practitioners with the ultimate objective of reducing prescribing of those drugs. The project will be conducted in 5 stages over a 2 year period and will cost \$291,272.

Highways

(Question No. 157)

Mr Mack asked the Minister for Land Transport, upon notice, on 22 August 1990:

(1) What was the (a) total sum provided by the Commonwealth for (i) construction and (ii) maintenance, (b) the total expenditures by (i) the Commonwealth, (ii) State and (iii) local governments and (c) the total numbers of (i) accidents, (ii) fatalities and (iii) serious injuries and their total cost with respect to the (A) Hume Highway, (B) Princes Highway, (C) Pacific Highway and (D) Great Western Highway from 1980 to 1989.

(2) What are the annual traffic volumes in terms of (a) cars and (b) heavy trucks (vehicles exceeding 4.5 tonnes gross mass when loaded) carried by the (i) Hume Highway, (ii) Princes Highway, (iii) Pacific Highway and (iv) Great Western Highway.

(3) What is the additional cost per kilometre of (a) construction and (b) maintenance for the (i) Hume Highway, (ii) Princes Highway, (iii) Pacific Highway and (iv) Great Western Highway which is attributable to their use by heavy truck traffic.

(4) What is the additional cost per kilometre for construction of concrete highway compared to bitumen.

(5) What is the annual maintenance cost to the (a) Commonwealth, (b) State and (c) local governments to the (i) Hume Highway, (ii) Princes Highway, (iii) Pacific Highway and (iv) Great Western Highway arising from damage caused by (A) heavy truck traffic and (B) all other traffic.

(6) What is the total cost of road wear and damage to the Hume Highway likely to be caused by (a) a 38 tonne semi-trailer travelling between Sydney and Melbourne in one day in fine weather at an average speed of 90 kph and (b) a four cylinder sedan with four occupants making the same journey at the same speed.

(7) What would be the total of Commonwealth and State taxes, fees and charges payable for each vehicle with respect to the journey referred to in part (6).

(8) What (a) materials, (b) equipment, (c) goods and (d) services are imported into Australia for use in highway design, construction and maintenance and what was the total cost of these imports from 1980 to 1989.

(9) What proportion of Australia's heavy truck fleet is imported and what is the total cost of heavy truck imports, including parts, from 1980 to 1989.

(10) what sums were provided by the Commonwealth and each of the States and Territories for (a) railways construction, excluding rolling stock, (b) railways maintenance, excluding rolling stock, and (c) all other expenditure with respect to railways.

(11) What (a) materials, (b) equipment, (c) goods and (d) services are imported into Australia for use in railway design, construction, maintenance and operation, excluding rolling stock, and what was the total cost of these imports from 1980 to 1989.

(12) What proportions of Australia's rolling stock were (a) imported and (b) manufactured in Australia and what was the total cost of rolling stock imports, including parts, from 1980 to 1989.

(13) What are the (a) rates of and (b) costs per 1000 kilometres for (i) accidents, (ii) fatalities and (iii) serious injuries with respect to (A) heavy truck and (B) trains carrying freight.

(14) What are the energy efficiencies of moving 10 000 tonnes of bulk goods from Sydney to Melbourne by (a) heavy truck and (b) rail.

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

(1) (a) and (b) The table at Attachment One provides these figures. 1 (c) The table at Attachment Two provides details of accidents, fatalities and serious injuries for the Hume, Princes, Pacific and Great Western Highways taken from NSW Roads and Traffic Authority (RTA) publications. Details of costs for fatalities and serious injuries are provided in Question 13.

(2) This information is not collected by the Department of Transport and Communications. Again information is available to a limited extent from the NSW RTA. Attachment Three provides details of average annual daily traffic (AADT) on these four highways and estimates of heavy vehicle traffic for the Hume and Pacific Highways extracted from RTA information.

(3) The issues raised in this question are addressed in the Inter-State Commission's March 1990 Report into road use charges and vehicle registration. The report proposes reforms of road

user charging, vehicle registration and road funding arrangements.

However, from information to hand of relevance to your question, in the United States, one study attributed 50 per cent of new pavement costs to trucks (including buses), and 72 per cent of rehabilitated pavement costs to trucks (including buses).

Traffic characterisation on the four highways are not at this stage adequate to readily attribute costs to heavy truck traffic. The New South Wales RTA has advised that it is carrying out a comprehensive program to obtain data as part of an Integrated Vehicle Survey System. It advises information should be available by mid 1991.

The allocation of road construction and maintenance costs to vehicle type is addressed in such publications as:

- The Inter-State Commission—Road Use Charges and Vehicle Registration: A National Scheme
- Bureau of Transport and Communications Economics Occasional Paper 90—Review of Road Cost Recovery
- Bureau of Transport and Communications Economics Occasional Paper 100—Pavement Management: Development of a Life Cycle Costing Technique.

(4) Costs for construction of concrete or bitumen pavements cannot be quoted in isolation. There are many technical and economical aspects which are considered when selecting a road pavement structure. Information from the NSW RTA indicates that in a number of instances concrete highways are selected because they are evaluated as being cheaper than bitumen highways to construct and maintain.

The RTA advises that the selection of road pavement structures for use in New South Wales' highway system is made after comprehensive design is undertaken by analysing a number of parameters which include the following:

- Existing foundation conditions (subgrade)
- Design life
- Traffic volumes, particularly heavy vehicles
- Availability of materials and their characteristics
- Environment
- Construction and maintenance consideration.

For light to medium traffic volumes bitumen sealed highways could be expected to be cheaper than concrete pavements, for all but very poor subgrade. The concrete highways are in most cases cheaper than bitumen highways, whereas for highways with high traffic volumes and high percentages of heavy vehicles then concrete pavements could give the least whole of life costs as well as initial cost.

(5) Information on this question is not fully available to the Commonwealth as the Commonwealth is only fully responsible for the costs of the National Highway System. The Hume Highway is the only National Highway of the four cited for information. Construction and maintenance expenditure on the Hume Highway for 1989-90 was:

Highway		Commonwealth Expenditure
Hume		\$m
Construction		43.0
Maintenance		41.5

(6) No relevant data specific to the Hume Highway exist. The Inter-State Commission has estimated road track costs for all registered vehicles on arterial roads at about 14.7 cents per kilometre for a six axle, 38 tonne articulated truck. This amounts to just under \$130 for an 'average' arterial road, the same length as the Hume Highway. Passenger motor cars are usually assumed to cause negligible road damage.

(7) The cost of Commonwealth and State taxes, fees and charges unique to the road user are defined in the Bureau of Transport and Communications Economics Occasional Paper 90. Using the method adopted in this Paper to allocate taxes, fees and charges to various vehicle classes, the amounts payable with respect to the journey referred to are

- on average, a private car would pay \$35.08 for an 877 kilometre journey (the approximate distance between Sydney and Melbourne along the Hume Highway) in 1986-87
- on average, a six-axle truck would pay \$144 for the same journey in 1986-87.

(8) Imported materials and equipment for general construction purposes are not classified by end use. It is therefore not possible to estimate the total value of the imported materials, equipment goods and services which are used exclusively in highway design, construction and maintenance.

Bitumen is a material which is used almost solely for road purposes. However, it is not possible to estimate the value of bitumen imports used exclusively for road construction, as these are classified as 'various bituminous mixtures', and this classification does not identify the bitumen used for road purposes. In 1986-87, 13,000 tonnes of bitumen were imported. Australian bitumen is manufactured from imported heavy crude oils, and 530,000 tonnes of bitumen were manufactured in Australia in 1986-87. (Bureau of Transport and Communications 1989).

(9) It is not possible to estimate what proportion of Australia's heavy truck fleet is imported, as some vehicles are assembled locally, from im-

ported components. Other vehicles are partly assembled from imported components. Such breakdowns are not given in imported goods classifications.

Below is a table showing the estimated value of heavy truck imports, including parts, from 1979-80 to 1988-89. These figures include all road motor vehicle parts, but exclude parts and accessories for motorcycles. It is not always possible to separate heavy truck parts from other motor vehicle parts, as these are classified together.

ESTIMATED HEAVY TRUCK IMPORT, INCLUDING PARTS

Current Prices (\$'000)

Year	Value
1979-80	\$ 750,026
1980-81	1,007,643
1981-82	1,154,648
1982-83	999,883
1983-84	1,400,009
1984-85	1,885,127
1985-86	1,996,985
1986-87	1,460,942
1987-88	1,570,441
1988-89	2,145,754

Source: ABS Catalogue No. 5426.0 series

(10) The table at Attachment Four gives details of capital investment in rail for the Commonwealth and each of the States' rail systems from 1980 to 1986.

(11) The available information concerning imported materials and equipment is not classified by end use. It is therefore not feasible to estimate the total cost of the imported materials, equipment, goods and services used in railway design, construction, maintenance and operation.

(12) The table below shows rolling stock imports, including parts to Australia from 1980/81 to 1988/89. These figures include tramway rolling stock and parts, as these cannot be separated from railway rolling stock.

ROLLING STOCK IMPORTS, INCLUDING PARTS

Current Prices (\$'000)

Year	Value
1979-80	\$ N/A (in same format)
1980-81	12,701
1981-82	13,032
1982-83	17,430
1983-84	17,875
1984-85	17,095
1985-86	25,074

Year	Value
1986-87	25,745
1987-88	38,602
1988-89	73,918

Source: ABS Catalogue No. 5426.0 series

In 1986-87, sales of Australian-made railway and tramway stock were valued at \$345.1 million. However, some imported components may have been used in Australian manufacture.

In 1986-87, \$25.7 million worth of railway and tramway stock was imported into Australia. This represents nearly 7.0 per cent of the total quantity made available in Australia, of railway and tramway rolling stock, including parts, for 1986-87, without allowing for imported components in Australian manufacture.

(13) The tables at Attachment Five provide (1) details of railway accidents showing injuries and fatalities per million train kilometres for 1984-1986 and (2) fatalities for road freight trucks per million truck kilometres for 1985 and (3) fatal crash rates by mode for all road vehicles in Australia in 1988. The average cost of road accidents in Australia are:

Fatalities	Serious Injury
\$000's	
479.0	426.7

Source: BTCE Information Sheet 2, Cost of Road Crashes in Australia—1988.

(14) The freight flows along the Melbourne-Sydney corridor are largely non-bulk commodities. The figures below are therefore for non-bulk commodities. Fuel consumption rates for bulk commodities are not available for the corridor.

Melbourne-Sydney

The fuel consumption in the movement of 10,000 tonnes of non-bulk goods from Sydney to Melbourne by

Melbourne-Sydney

The fuel consumption in the movement of 10,000 tonnes of non-bulk goods from Sydney to Melbourne by

(a) Heavy truck

Road distance	806 kilometres
Fuel consumed per tonne	0.028 litres per tonne
kilometre	kilometre
Total fuel consumed for 10,000 tonnes	225,680 litres of fuel

(b) Rail

Rail distance	961 kilometres
Fuel consumed per tonne	0.014 litres per tonne
kilometre	kilometre

Total fuel consumed 134,540 litres of fuel

(Source: Based on Ogden 1987)

Attachment 1

ROAD EXPENDITURE BY LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT

\$ million current prices

Year (Financial)	Commonwealth Construction	Government Maintenance	1	State Government	Local Governments	Total Expenditure All Governments
1979-80 . . .	534.7	66.5	608.2 ²	767.6	531.2	1906.9
1980-81 . . .	586.5	77.5	670.2 ²	855.3	689.9	2215.4
1981-82 . . .	619.2	99.1	718.3	926.0	808.3	2452.6
1982-83 . . .	749.2	113.0	862.2	985.0	934.0	2781.3
1983-84 . . .	1057.0	151.3	1208.3	1115.8	966.9	3291.0
1984-85 . . .	1117.9	162.2	1280.1	1314.3	1085.5	3679.9
1985-86 . . .	1132.0	182.0	1314.0	1479.2	1205.4	3998.6
1986-87 . . .	1148.5	200.4	1348.8	1419.7	1301.2	4070.6
1987-88 . . .	n.a.	n.a.	1248.7 ³	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1988-89 . . .	n.a.	n.a.	1217.8 ³	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: BTCE (1989), Australian Road Financing Statistics 1977-78 to 1986-87, Information Paper 33, AGPS, Canberra. Budget Papers 1988-89.

- Owing to rounding, figures may not add to totals.
- In 1979-80 and 1980-81 the totals include Commonwealth expenditure of \$7.0 million and \$6.3 million respectively on planning and research.
- These figures may not be comparable to previous years, as only grants under Commonwealth road funding programs are included, whereas the previous figures include other Commonwealth roads expenditure such as special project allocations.

Attachment 2

Table 1
ACCIDENT STATISTICS FOR SELECTED NSW HIGHWAYS 1982-1989

Year	Crashes				Type of Casualties				Total killed or injured
	Fatal	Serious injury	Other injury	Non injury	Total crashes	Fatal	Serious injury	Other injury	
Hume—									
1982	44	755*				51	1169*		
1983	43	745*				49	1142*		
1984	41	772*				59	1181*		
1985	44	833*				56	1296*		
1986	35	219	640	1314	2208	36	302	988	1326
1987	38	203	565	1285	2091	40	281	896	1217
1988	47	199	587	1213	2046	62	309	936	1307
1989	32	173	545	1195	1945	48	251	837	1136
Princes—									
1982	34	698*				35	1000*		
1983	27	711*				27	964*		
1984	41	778*				47	1150*		
1985	24	764*				26	1094*		
1986	26	185	582	1280	2073	26	256	837	1119
1987	33	171	595	1240	2039	39	230	884	1153
1988	23	168	543	1066	1800	33	208	770	1011
1989	25	159	571	1138	1893	28	201	820	1049
Pacific—									
1982	94	1303*				114	2102*		
1983	79	1379*				90	2204*		
1984	69	1316*				84	2135*		
1985	78	1332*				99	2064*		
1986	76	400	884	1824	3184	94	607	1474	2175
1987	54	395	982	1801	3232	71	584	1560	2215
1988	80	402	962	1644	3088	96	635	1518	2249
1989	66	355	854	1544	2819	133	600	1402	2135
Great Western—									
1982	33	839*				39	1247*		
1983	31	824*				32	1133*		
1984	33	901*				38	1266*		
1985	30	860*				33	1259*		
1986	37	178	658	1597	2470	42	231	948	1221
1987	29	204	685	1648	2566	30	262	1006	1298
1988	32	185	660	1406	2283	39	221	927	1187
1989	25	175	598	1400	2198	30	217	877	1124

Source: Traffic Authority of NSW Publication "Road Traffic Crashes in New South Wales Statistical Statement".

* For years 1982-1985 inclusive. The data does not specify the degree of injury by categories serious injury, other injury or non injury crashes.

Attachment 3

Traffic Volumes on Highways:

Road Traffic Authority of New South Wales publishes figures on traffic volumes for particular roads. Figures are published as Annual Average Daily Traffic (AADT). Published figures are not available for all Divisions of the State for 1988. Table 2 summarises available information.

Table 2
AADT ON FOUR HIGHWAYS
(All Vehicles)

Highway	Minimum		Maximum		Average	
	1980	1988	1980	1988	1980	1988
Hume	3 600	6 000	49 630	70 000	NA	12 702
Princes	NA	NA	34 990	43 020	NA	NA
Pacific	3 400	3 500	36 290	44 156	5 980	NA
Great Western	4 800	5 426	22 470	30 826	NA	NA

Source: Traffic Volumes and Supplementary Data, Roads and Traffic Authority of New South Wales, several Volumes.

Heavy Vehicles:

Heavy vehicle volumes vary according to the location of highways and are normally quoted as a percentage of total traffic. Following figures provide some indication of volumes observed by NRMA surveys. Roads and Traffic Authority of New South Wales have more detailed information.

(1) Hume Highway: Heavy vehicles consisted of between 25 to 35 per cent of AADT in 1984 (See NRMA Highway Survey No. 38. App. E. Feb. 1985) in rural areas.

(2) Pacific Highway: Heavy vehicles consisted of 12 per cent of AADT to the north of Newcastle (See N RAM Highway Survey No. 42 App. E., Aug. 1985).

Attachment 4

CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN RAIL

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Year Ending 30th June							
Current Prices Rail System							
New South Wales	191.1	244.7	285.9	323.9	402.3	420.7	422.7
V/LINE	53.8	69.8	109.3	182.5	98.3	154.1	120.7
Mettrail. Vic	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	121.7	148.8	165.0
Qld	122.6	106.8	209.7	336.6	311.9	233.8	360.0
Westrail	29.4	37.4	38.7	23.2	18.9	22.4	21.7
Perth MTT	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
AN	50.0	38.4	56.9	56.2	35.4	27.2	35.1
Tasmania	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
STA of SA	N/A	N/A	6.3	6.4	2.1	7.7	17.7
Total	446.9	497.1	706.8	928.8	990.6	1 014.7	1 142.9
1985-86 Prices Rail System							
New South Wales	344.7	393.4	407.4	406.1	480.3	470.5	422.7
V/LINE	97.1	112.2	155.7	228.8	117.4	172.3	120.7
Mettrail. Vic	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	145.3	166.4	165.0
Qld	221.2	171.1	298.8	422.0	372.4	261.5	360.0
Westrail	53.0	60.1	55.1	29.1	22.6	25.1	21.7
Perth MTT	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
AN	90.2	61.7	81.1	70.5	42.3	30.4	35.1
Tasmania	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
STA of SA	N/A	N/A	9.0	8.0	2.5	8.6	17.7
Total	806.2	799.3	1 007.2	1 164.4	1 182.7	1 134.9	1 142.9

N/A—Not available.

All figures subject to rounding.

Source: Railway Industry Council Stocktake.

Attachment 5

Table 3.2
RAILWAY ACCIDENTS: TOTALS FOR ALL GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

	Year			
	1984	1985	1986	Average
Total fatalities	141	122	121	128
Urban*	84	73	72	
Non-urban*	57	49	49	51.7
Total injuries	252	303	385	
Urban*	129	155	195	
Non-urban*	123	148	188	153
Train kilometres (TKM)				
Non-urban ('000)		n.a.	n.a.	90,830
Fatalities per 1 million TKM				
Non-urban		n.a.	n.a.	0.54
Injuries per 1 million TKM				
Non-urban		n.a.	n.a.	2.06
				1.69†

* Estimate.

† The average fatality (injury) rate was computed by taking the average number of fatalities (injuries) over the 3 years divided by the 1986 Train kilometres.

n.a. Not available.

Source: BTCE An Economic and Environmental Assessment of Non Urban Railway Industry Council Scenarios, Jan 1990.

Table 3.4
FATALITIES FOR ROAD FREIGHT TRUCKS—1985

	New South Wales	Victoria	South Australia and Tasmania	Western Australia	Queensland	National average
National Highway						
Fatalities (1985)	38	12	13	5	29	
Trucks vehicle km (millions)	483	320	158	150	204	
Fatality rate per million vkm	0.079	0.038	0.082	0.0333	0.142	0.075
Arterial roads						
Fatalities	130	46	33	19	44	
Trucks vehicle km (millions)	2 615	1 735	857	813	1 106	
Fatality rate per million vkm	0.049	0.027	0.039	0.023	0.039	0.035
Local roads						
Fatalities	23	7	5	1	9	
Trucks vkm (millions)	925	614	303	288	391	
Fatality rate per million vkm	0.025	0.011	0.017	0.003	0.023	0.016
Total road						
Fatalities (1985)	191	65	51	25	82	
Truck vkm (millions)	4 023	2 669	1 319	1 251	1 701	
Fatality rate per million vkm	0.047	0.024	0.039	0.019	0.048	0.035

Notes:

1. Vehicle kilometres travelled are for all rigid and articulated trucks from ABS (1985).
2. It is assumed that National Highways account for 12 per cent, arterials for 65 per cent and local roads for 23 per cent of vehicle kilometres travelled.
3. Fatalities are from the Federal Office of Road Safety data bases.
4. The averages are arithmetic means of the State rates.

Source: BTCE: An Economic and Environmental Assessment of Non Urban Railway Industry Council Scenarios, Jan 1990.

FATAL CRASH RATES BY MODE, AUSTRALIA

	Year	Fatal Crashes	Fatalities million	Fatal crashes per 100 VKT	Fatalities per 100 million VKT
Buses	88	36	46	2.51	3.21
Articulated Trucks	88	268	332	6.99	8.66
Rigid Trucks	88	165	179	2.10	2.28
Motorcycles	88	307	325	15.96	16.89
Cars and derivatives	88	1709	1989	1.23	1.43
All Vehicles	88	2026	2336	1.32	1.52
Scheduled Airlines (Domestic)	78-87	0	0	0	0.00
General Aviation—					
Charter	78-87	32	73	4.15	9.47
Private/Business	78-87	97	234	7.25	17.50

Notes:

1. A Fatal crash of a particular vehicle type is a fatal crash involving at least one of that vehicle type and no pedestrians.
2. Buses includes all bus types and types of bus/coach services.
3. Rates for general aviation have been calculated from rates per hours flown by assuming an average speed of 250 kilometres per hour.
4. Figures for airlines are cumulative total for 10 years.

VKT = Vehicle kilometres travelled.

Sources: ABS—Survey of Motor Vehicle Usage, 1988. Federal Office of Road safety—Fatal File 1988. Survey of Accidents to Australian Civil Aircraft, BASI, 1987.

Australian Maritime Safety Authority

(Question No. 201)

Mr Sharp asked the Minister representing the Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support, upon notice, on 11 September 1990:

(1) How many Departmental staff will be moving from Canberra to Newcastle as a result of the establishment of the Australian Maritime Safety Authority (AMSA).

(2) Have any Departmental staff indicated that they will not be transferring from Canberra to Newcastle; if so, (a) how many, (b) what branches or sections do they come from, (c) at what level are they, (d) what experience do they have and (e) what is the projected cost of redundancies for such staff.

(3) What (a) was the original estimate, (b) is the current estimate and (c) is the current breakdown, of the cost of establishing the AMSA.

(4) Will the cost of establishing the AMSA increase.

(5) Will Sea Safety Centre equipment be duplicated to ensure constant service during the move to Newcastle; if so, what will the duplication cost.

(6) Will any equipment be left in Canberra; if so, what will be done with that equipment.

(7) Are staff currently being employed from the Newcastle area for the AMSA; if so, where will they be located in the period before the AMSA is established in Newcastle.

Mr Beazley—The Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support has supplied the following answer to the honourable member's question:

On 14 September 1990, the Government announced that it had decided that the Australian Maritime Safety Authority would be established in Canberra rather than in Newcastle. The cost of establishing the Authority will be \$2.7 million and the Authority commenced operation on 1 January 1991.

As a result of this decision, there will be no requirement for staff to transfer to Newcastle nor will the Sea Safety Centre be relocated.

Shipping

(Question No. 202)

Mr Sharp asked the Minister representing the Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support, upon notice, on 11 September 1990:

(1) With the establishment of the Australian Maritime Safety Authority, will charges be increased with respect to (a) the co-operation of maritime search and rescue services, in co-operation with State and Northern Territory search and rescue authorities, through the Federal Sea Safety Centre, (b) the administration, in co-operation with the authorities of the States and the Northern Territory, of the National Plan to Combat Pollution from Ships, (c) the implementation, application and policing of maritime safety and

pollution prevention conventions on Australian and visiting foreign ships, (d) the provision of a comprehensive network of navigational aids around Australia's coastline (e) the setting of standards for the education, training and certification of seafarers, (f) the provision of safety radio services to shipping through OTC, (g) the operation of Seamen's Engagement System, under contract to the Australian shipping industry, (h) the operation of the Australian Register of Ships, (i) the promotion to sea safety for small craft through a public education and awareness campaign and (k) Australian representation at the International Maritime Organization; if so, by what sum in each case.

Mr Beazley—The Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support has supplied the following answer to the honourable member's question:

The issue of fees to be charged by AMSA for its commercial activities is a matter for the AMSA Board. The level of fees will be set essentially on a cost recovery basis. As yet, the precise level of costs attributed to each element of AMSA's business activities is to be determined. It will depend upon factors such as the capital base and the outcome of the introduction of full accrual accounting to the Authority. Until the new financial systems are put into place, it is not possible to determine AMSA's likely fees or charges for a particular service.

The costs of maritime search and rescue and safety radio communications, AMSA's Community Service Obligation functions, will continue to be fully borne by the Commonwealth.

Railways

(Question No. 209)

Mr Hawker asked the Minister for Land Transport, upon notice, on 12 September 1990:

(1) What exemptions or concessions with respect to (a) Commonwealth (b) State and (c) local government taxes and charges apply to each State rail authority.

(2) What community service obligations does each State rail authority have.

(3) With respect to concessional fares, (a) how many were permitted, (b) what type were they and (c) what proportion were classifiable as (i) urban and (ii) country for each State rail authority in each year since 1987-88.

(4) With respect to each type of fare concession available on State and Commonwealth rail services, (a) what is its value, (b) what are the eligibility requirements and (c) what proportion of the concession is borne by the Commonwealth.

(5) What were the (a) operating revenues, (b) operating costs and (c) traffic volumes of each State rail authority and Australian National in

each year since 1983-84 for (i) urban passenger, (ii) country passenger, (iii) country freight, (iv) interstate freight and (v) interstate passenger services.

(6) What (a) sources of revenue and (b) expenses, on non-attributable costs, does each of the authorities have other than those referred to in part (5).

(7) What sum was invested by each State rail authority and Australian National in each year since 1983-84 in (a) passenger rolling stock for (i) urban, (ii) country and (iii) interstate services, (b) freight rolling stock, (c) locomotives, (d) track (i) maintenance and (ii) construction, (e) terminal construction and (f) debt servicing.

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

The questions as worded refer to State rail authorities, but the Federal Government does not hold details for rail authorities other than its own, the Australian National Railways Commission (AN). The following answers are based on advice from AN.

(1) (a) Section 67 (1) of the ANRC Act 1983 provides that the Commission is not subject to taxation under the laws of the Commonwealth. However, by virtue of other Commonwealth legislation, since 1 July 1987 AN has been liable for all Customs duties and since 1 July 1989 has been liable for all Excise duties. The Commission is also subject to tax under the Bank Accounts Debits Tax Administration Act 1982, and the Fringe Benefits Tax (Application to the Commonwealth) Act 1986.

(b) Subsection 67 (1) of the ANRC Act also exempts the Commission from the laws of Taxation of a State or Territory, except the subsection 67 (1A) removes AN's exemption in relation to State or Territory payroll tax. The Commission is also liable for State and Territory Financial Institutions Duty.

(c) AN does not pay local government taxes but does make ex-gratia payments in lieu of council rates for residential properties, in conformity with relevant Finance Department directives. AN also makes payments for services, such as garbage collection, provided by councils to its commercial properties.

(2) AN operates two business segments which are treated as community service obligations for funding purposes—AN Tasrail and AN Passenger and Travel.

(3, 4) The tabulation of concessional fares, attached at Appendix 1, contains information in response to these questions. Not all of the data were available prior to 1989/90 and, in relation to those forms of concessional fares for which AN is not reimbursed, information on the number of fares is not available. All AN's conces-

sional fares are classified as 'country' rather than 'urban'.

Also attached at Appendix 2 is an extract from AN's Passenger Rates Book which indicates the value and eligibility requirements of concessions available on AN.

(5) Details of AN's operating revenues and costs, traffic volumes, cost recovery, and details of costing methodology are provided in Tables 1-4. AN does not operate urban passenger services.

Table 1
AN Passenger & Travel Revenues and Costs 1983/84-1989/90

	Interstate		Country	
	Revenue	Cost	Revenue	Cost
1983/84	(\$m)	(\$m)	(\$m)	(\$m)
1983/84	19.8	N/A	1.1	N/A
1984/85	21.7	N/A	0.9	N/A
1985/86	24.5	N/A	1.0	N/A
1986/87	24.9	52.0	1.2	5.6
1987/88	27.6	57.0	1.6	5.9
1988/89	30.9	62.6	1.5	7.2
1989/90	39.5	*71.1	1.3	*7.6

* Preliminary Estimate

Table 2
AN Passenger & Travel Patronage, 1983/84-1989/90

	Interstate		Country	
	Passenger numbers	Passenger kms	Passenger numbers	Passenger kms
		(000s)		(000s)
1983/84	258,017	250,876	99,439	30,764
1984/85	254,863	250,281	55,119	20,699
1985/86	259,028	256,332	63,261	24,381
1986/87	258,434	258,299	70,458	31,323
1987/88	272,507	260,879	80,190	38,067
1988/89	274,801	271,134	75,449	35,769
1989/90	326,818	327,159	61,146	29,090

Table 3

AN Passenger & Travel Cost Recovery by Passenger Service 1989/90 (Estimated Result)

By train service	Percentage
Ghan	57.7
Overland	49.4

By train service	Percentage
Indian Pacific	49.3
Trans Australian	47.1
Iron Triangle	20.6
Silver City	17.5
Blue Lake	16.6

Table 4

Interstate, Mainland Country Freight and AN Tasrail Financial Performance, 1983/84-1989/90

Year	Interstate freight			Mainland country freight			Misc (a)	AN Tasrail		
	Tonnes	Revenue	Cost	Tonnes	Revenue	Cost	Revenue	Tonnes	Revenue	Cost
1983/84	(m)	(\$m)	(\$m)	(m)	(\$m)	(\$m)	(\$m)	(m)	(\$m)	(\$m)
1983/84	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.2	15.6	35.4
1984/85	4.7	N/A	N/A	5.6	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.2	17.0	36.8
1985/86	4.7	N/A	N/A	6.0	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.2	18.3	38.1
1986/87	4.6	N/A	N/A	6.1	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.2	22.4	37.9
1987/88	5.2	188.5	198.1	6.1	49.4	51.4	12.3	2.4	26.1	38.4
1988/89	5.7	211.8	212.7	5.8	45.7	43.6	7.9	2.3	29.2	43.6
1989/90	5.7	200.0	N/A(b)	6.4	56.0	N/A(b)	11.8	2.0	28.9	45.4

(a) Includes sales of assets, rentals, Commonwealth grants.

(b) Total freight expenditure for 1989/90 is \$256.8m.

Note: Costs shown are calculated on a fully distributed basis (see answer to Question 6 for details). Figures for Interstate Freight and Mainland Country Freight Expenditures for 1989/90 were not

available at the date of AN's advice. AN's accounting system does not separate mainland costs as requested—the figures reported above have been derived from the total mainland freight expenditure. The above expenditure includes some apportionment between the two freight categories based on National Freight Group (NFG) conventions.

(6)(a) In addition to freight and passenger revenues, the Federal Government provides revenue supplements to AN, but there are no 'unattri-

buted revenues'. Details of revenue supplements provided to AN in the period 1983/84-1989/90 are set out in Table 5.

Table 5
AN Revenue Supplements

	Passengers	Commercial	Total mainland	Tasmania	Total
1983-84		\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m
1984-85		N/A	N/A	72.8	18.5
1985-86		N/A	N/A	69.8	18.1
1986-87		27.1	19.6	54.1	18.4
1987-88		27.0	11.7	46.7	17.8
1988-89		31.2	8.9	38.7	16.2
1989-90		35.0	9.9	40.1	10.9
1990-91		45.7	6.8	44.9	15.4
				52.5	18.1
					70.6

(b) AN's costs are allocated against business segments on a fully distributed basis. Under this methodology, each segment is costed not only on the basis of direct costs such as fuel and crew costs but also on the basis of indirect costs, including an appropriate proportion of common costs such as track and signalling maintenance/rehabilitation and branch and corporate overheads.

(7) Details of Australian National capital investment and debt servicing over the period 1983-84 to 1989-90 are set out in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6
AN Capital Investment—Mainland 1983-84—1989-90

Year	Passenger country	Rollingstock interstate	Freight R/stock	Loco-motives	Track*	Other
1983-84		\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m
1984-85		0	0.8	1.5	4.3	10.3
1985-86		0	0	2.9	1.2	3.3
1986-87		0.8	0.4	4.9	1.4	7.2
1987-88		2.2	0.5	3.9	0.8	7.4
1988-89		0	0	0.9	24.4	26.6
1989-90		0	1.0	2.7	9.2	21.6
					18.5	28.4
						43.8

* Includes track construction and maintenance and terminal construction.

Note: Basis of accounting for expenditure on track altered after 1986-87.

Table 7
AN Capital Investment—Tasmania 1983-84—1989-90

Year Ended 30 June	Freight rollingstock	Locomotives	Track*	Other
1983-84	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.3
1984-85	0	0	3.1	0.9
1985-86	0.2	0	0	3.9
1986-87	0.6	0.9	5.1	0.8
1987-88	2.3	0	1.7	12.0
1988-89	1.1	1.1	7.5	1.8
1989-90	0.4	0	4.5	2.9

* Includes track construction and maintenance and terminal construction.

Table 8

AN's Debt Servicing 1983-84—1989-90

Year	Debt servicing (\$m)
1983-84	15.6
1984-85	20.5
1985-86	19.7

Year	Debt servicing
1986-87	19.6
1987-88	20.4
1988-89	*22.9
1989-90	*8.1

* Net financing costs, prior years' record interest on loans only.

Appendix 1

AN'S CONCESSIONAL FARES

Type	C/wealth (C)* State (S) or AN	1989/90 financial year	
		No. of fares	Concessional amount (\$)
WWI Veterans, Wives, Widows	C	N/A (Intersystem)	N/A (Intersystem)
Students over 16, ROA Card	AN	7,000	220,000
Blind Persons and Attendants	AN	N/A	N/A
Pensioners—PHB2	C		
Pensioners—TC1	C (Part)	86,000	4,059,000
Pensioners—839	S	N/A	340,000
Retired Employees > 30 years service, Wives, Widows	AN	N/A	N/A
Ministers of Religion	AN	N/A	N/A
Group/Caper Concessions			
— Athletic, Sporting, Social Groups, Delegates to Conferences, Common Interest Groups, Theatrical, Concert Groups, Overseas Visitors, Non Affinity Groups of 12 or more, Group Leader (Pre-purchase—Caper Concessions)	AN	28,000	1,650,000
Students and Teachers (Local Journey)	AN	N/A	N/A
Sitting and Retired MPs, Judges	C (Part)	N/A	20,000
Gold Passholders (Railway Heads, ex-Heads of Branch)	ANN/A (from 1/7/90) Internal	N/A	
Railway Employees and Families (AN)	Cross Charging	N/A	850,000 (Estimate)
Railway Employees and Families (Other Systems)	AN	N/A	2,000,000

* This column shows whether the cost of concessions (ie the difference between full fare and the concessional rate) is reimbursed by the Commonwealth or State Government, or is borne by AN itself.

221. CONCESSION FARES—INDIVIDUAL (LOCAL AND INTERSYSTEM)

Tickets for local and/or Intersystem journeys are issued at the following rates and conditions at the discretion of the Passenger Operations Manager, on presentation of the prescribed certificate or other form of authority.

221.1 It should be noted that certain concessions listed are restricted to one Local geographical area and these areas are defined as under:

Area 'A'

Includes all railway lines which, prior to 1 July 1975, were operated by the Government of South

Australia. It shall also include the railway line running between Adelaide and Serviceton (Victoria) and Adelaide and Broken Hill (New South Wales).

Area 'B'

Includes all railway lines which, prior to 1 July 1975, were operated by the Commonwealth Government of Australia, with the exception of the Australian Capital Territory Railway between Canberra and Queanbeyan. It also includes the railway line between Tarcoola and Alice Springs.

Local Travel

Shall include all travel on the mainland over the railways in either or both Areas 'A' and 'B'. Port Pirie is the only station common to both Areas.

Where these restrictions apply, a notation has been specifically endorsed in the summary of conditions.

- 22.2 Unless stated to the contrary, all tickets:
- may be issued for travel at any time throughout the year and in accordance with normal advance booking arrangements; and
 - shall have the same period of availability and break of journey privileges as a full fare ticket.

Concession granted to	Conditions	Concessional fare
World War I Veteran's Wives and Widows	1. Authority required to be presented is the "World War One Travel Concession Card" issued by the Department of Veteran Affairs.	Unlimited free 1st class travel over Australian National Lines—either for a local journey or the Australian National portion of an intersystem journey.
2. Tickets to be endorsed "Department WWI Veteran".	Full charges apply to ancillary charges, i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided. 3. The debit for this concession shall be accepted by the Department of Transport Canberra in accordance with instructions contained in Marketing Circular No. 2/82.	

**COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
WORLD WAR ONE TRAVEL
CONCESSION CARD**

NAME
CARD NUMBER
FILE NUMBER
DATE OF ISSUE
SIG. OF HOLDER

Not transferrable

(i) Students 16 years and over in possession of Railways of Australia Student Identification Cards.

**THIS CARD
ENTITLES THE HOLDER TO
CONCESSIONAL TRAVEL AS SPECIFIED
IN DVA BROCHURE NO
BROCHURES MAY BE OBTAINED FROM
THE DVA OFFICE IN EACH STATE**

1. Local and Intersystem concessions shall be granted only to fulltime students who are not engaged in any business or employment nor assisting in any way whether voluntary or otherwise, in the conduct of any business, and who are enrolled for regular daily attendance for the full school, college or university, etc., year. Allowances received from Secondary/Tertiary education allowance schemes, Bursaries or Scholarships, are not to be considered as "remuneration". Married women full-time students are eligible for the concession provided they themselves are not in receipt of remuneration.

Half ordinary adult fare—full charges apply to ancillary charges, i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided.

Concession granted to	Conditions	Concessional fare
<p>NOTE: The concession shall not be granted to students from overseas countries visiting Australia (including students from New Zealand and Papua and New Guinea).</p>	<p>2. The concession fare shall be granted on presentation of a current Railways of Australia Student Identification Card duly completed showing the name, signature, and place of residence of the student; signature of the Principal or authorised representative; name of school or school stamp (if available); and address of school. The cards will be issued by all Systems and the letter denoting the issuing System will precede the number and be printed on the cards as follows.</p> <p>Victoria—V; Queensland—Q; New South Wales—N; Western Australia—W; Australian National (including South Australia, Northern Territory and Tasmania)—A. The cards are to be retained by students and will expire on 31 March each year and are not to be honoured for travel commencing after the expiry date shown on the cards.</p> <p>3. Distribution of cards—Arrangements are made by this System for the delivery of the bulk supply of cards to the administration of educational institutions throughout South Australia, Northern Territory and Tasmania. In turn, these institutions will arrange for the personal issue to their eligible full-time students. Railways of Australia Student Identification Cards are not issued to individual students by Australian National.</p> <p>4. The identification letter and the number of the Railways of Australia Student Identification Card, e.g. A123, must be endorsed on the ticket by the Booking Clerk.</p> <p>5. The card, together with the ticket, must be carried and shown on demand to an authorised railway employee at a station barrier gate or during the journey, otherwise full adult fare must be paid.</p>	

Concession granted to	Conditions	Concessional fare
(ii) Blind Persons (Civilians)	<p>6. As from 1 March, 1988 R.O.A. Student Identification Cards must include a photograph supplied by the Student and the photograph stamped with the School Stamp.</p> <p>1. (i) An "all lines" blind persons yearly pass, issued to blind civilians resident in South Australia by the General Manager, State Transport Authority, must be held. This pass authorises travel on the State Transport Authority and Area 'A' of Australian National Railways.</p> <p>If travel is required beyond Area 'A', a ticket at the concession fare for journey being undertaken must be held.</p> <p>(ii) For blind persons resident in other States, a similar permit or yearly pass issued in that State may be accepted as the authority for the issue of a ticket at the concession fare.</p> <p>2. A blind person, whether travelling alone or with an attendant, must hold a ticket (and/or pass) for the journey.</p> <p>3. The ticket issued shall be endorsed "Blind Person" when travelling alone, "Blind Person and Attendant" when accompanied by an attendant.</p> <p>4. A blind person, entitled to a blind persons free pass for Area 'A' travel, may when undertaking a local or intersystem journey, be issued with a ticket to cover travel for the blind person—and attendant, if accompanying—on the basis of HALF the adult single or return fare from the point at which the free travel terminates, to destination.</p> <p>5. An attendant, accompanying a blind person who is utilising a free pass must be in possession of a ticket for that portion of the journey covered by the pass, i.e. to the point at which the free travel terminates. These tickets to be endorsed "Blind Person's Attendant" and are charged at HALF the appropriate single or return fare.</p>	<p>Half ordinary adult fare for any portion of the journey not covered by a pass.</p> <p>FULL charges apply to ancillary charges, i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided.</p> <p>When travelling with an attendant, one blind person's concession ticket shall pass the two persons. Both persons must however pay FULL ancillary charges.</p>

Concession granted to	Conditions	Concessional fare
(iii) Pensioners (irrespective of State of residence issued with a Pensioner Health Benefits Card (PHB.2) by the Australian Department of Social Security or the Department of Veterans' Affairs for the current year—but NOT any dependent shown on the card.	<p>6. Where the through intersystem fare for a blind person accompanied by an attendant is cheaper than the local fare for the "Blind Person's Attendant" plus the fare for the "Blind Person and Attendant" from the point at which the blind person's free travel terminates, a through ticket should be issued.</p> <p>7. No restrictions apply in respect of period of travel or the reservation of sleeping berths.</p> <p>8. Conditions for carriage of Guide (Seeing Eye) Dogs for the Blind and Hearing Dogs for the Deaf refer to Clause 365.10, page 59.</p> <p>1. An Intersystem concession fare shall be granted on production at the time of issue of ticket (and on demand by an authorised employee) of a current Department of Social Security or Veterans' Affairs Pensioner Health Benefits Card (PHB.2) in favour of the passenger. Each card is valid only for the year printed thereon and no concession is to be granted unless a card for the current year is produced.</p> <p>2. Tickets issued (whether printed pensioner, half fare, blank intersystem or R.O.A. Booklet) are to be endorsed with the word "Pensioner", the PHB.2 reference number and the total fare paid.</p>	

Concession granted to	Conditions	Concessional fare
(iv) Pensioners (permanently resident in South Australia or the Northern Territory)	<p>3. Subject to presentation of a current PHB2 card the concession fare applies also:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Between Serviceton and a station on the direct intercapital line in Victoria when the passenger is authorised to travel from a South Australian station to Serviceton in accordance with the Pensioner Free Travel Scheme operating over Area 'A' lines of A.N. (b) Between Serviceton and a station on the direct intercapital line in South Australia when the passenger is issued a ticket to Serviceton in exchange for a Victorian Government Free Rail Travel Voucher. <p>1. A Local concession fare shall be granted on production at the time of issue of a ticket (and on demand by an authorised employee) of a current Department of Social Security or Veterans' Affairs Concession Card (TC.1) in favour of the passenger. Each card is valid only for the year printed thereon and no concession is to be granted unless a card for the current year is produced.</p> <p>2. Tickets issued (whether printed pensioner, half fare, or blank) are to be endorsed with the word "Pensioner";, and the TC.1 reference number.</p>	<p>Half ordinary adult fare for intersystem journeys undertaken only between capital cities on the direct intercapital lines between Brisbane and Perth (both inclusive via either):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Kyogle, Albury, Serviceton, Redhill OR (b) Kyogle, Broken Hill and Gladstone, also between Sydney and Adelaide via Broken Hill and also including intersystem journey between intermediate stations on these lines. <p>Full charges apply to ancillary charges i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided.</p>
Pensioners (irrespective of state of Permanent Residency)	<p>1. This concession is restricted to travel within Area 'A' and 'B'.</p> <p>2. A local concession fare shall be granted on production at the time of issue of the ticket (and on demand by an authorised employee) of a current Department of Social Security Health Benefit Card (SU90) or written certificate from the Department of Social Security.</p> <p>3. Tickets issued (whether printed pensioner, half fare, or blank) are to be endorsed with the words "Pensioner" and SU90 reference.</p>	<p>Half ordinary adult fare—full charges apply to ancillary charges, i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided.</p>

Concession granted to	Conditions	Concessional fare
(v) Pensioners (Irrespective of State of permanent residency)	<p>1. This concession is restricted to travel within Area 'B'.</p> <p>2. A Local concession fare shall be granted on production at the time of issue of the ticket (and on demand by an authorised employee) of a current Department of Social Security or Veterans Affairs Pensioner Health Benefit's Card (PHB.2), or Concession Card (TC.1), in favour of the passenger. Each card is valid only for the year printed thereon and no concession is to be granted unless a card for the current year is produced.</p> <p>3. Tickets issued (whether printed pensioner, half fare, or blank), are to be endorsed with the word "Pensioner" and the PHB.2 or TC.1 reference number.</p>	Half ordinary adult fare—full charges apply to ancillary charges, i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided.
(vi) Pensioner (permanent residents of Broken Hill or Member, N.S.W. ONLY)	<p>1. This concession is restricted to travel within Area 'A'.</p> <p>2. A Local concession fare shall be granted on production at the time of issue of the ticket (and on demand by an authorised employee) of a current Department of Social Security or Veterans Affairs Concession Card (TC.1) in favour of the passenger. Each card is valid only for the year printed thereon and no concession is to be granted unless a card for the current year is produced. (New South Wales issue).</p> <p>3. Tickets may only be issued:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) at Broken Hill for travel direct from Broken Hill to an Area 'A' station (single or return); or (ii) at the Adelaide Booking Office for a single ticket for travel direct from Adelaide to Broken Hill. <p>4. Tickets issued (whether printed pensioner, half fare or blank) are to be endorsed with the word "Pensioner", and the TC.1 reference.</p>	Half ordinary adult fare—full charges apply to ancillary charges, i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided.
(vii) Retired Railway employees of all Systems with 30 years continuous service; including wives and widows.	<p>1. The Intersystem concession shall apply to all retired employees (and their wives) with not less than 30 years continuous service.</p>	Half ordinary adult fare—full charges apply to ancillary charges, i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided.

Concession granted to	Conditions	Concessional fare
(viii) Pensioners and others authorised by the South Australian Department for Community Welfare	<p>2. The Intersystem concession is available for the ex-employee or his wife, also to the widow of a deceased employee who has not less than 30 years continuous service prior to death.</p> <p>3. Application for the issue of a concession voucher must be lodged with the Pass Officer or other nominated officer of the System or Region concerned including the New Zealand Railways.</p> <p>1. This concession is restricted to travel within Area 'A', and also between Coonamia and Whyalla.</p> <p>2. The concession fare shall only be granted on production at the time of issue of the ticket (and on demand by an authorised employee) of a current "State Concession Card" (Form 839) issued by the South Australian Department for Community Welfare in favour of the passenger. Each card is valid for twelve months from the date of issue endorsed thereon.</p> <p>3. Tickets issued (whether printed pensioner, half fare, or blank) are to be endorsed "Pensioner" and the Form 839 reference number.</p>	Half ordinary adult fare full charges apply to ancillary charges, i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided.
(ix) Minister of Religion	<p>1. This concession restricted to travel within Area 'B'.</p> <p>2. Ministers of Religion regularly engaged in pastoral duties, upon production of an approved certificate duly completed, may be issued single or return tickets at one quarter fare between stations situated within the parish or district in their charge. Supervisory Ministers of Religion whose duty it is to visit areas on these lines in a supervisory capacity may be allowed the same concession. The same concession will be allowed in respect of freight charges on articles required solely in connection with such pastoral or mission work.</p>	One quarter ordinary adult fare.

222. CONCESSION FARES—GROUP (LOCAL AND INTERSYSTEM)

Local and/or Intersystem tickets at concession fares are issued on presentation of the prescribed certificate, completed in ink, subject to the following conditions which apply where mentioned:

222.1 Concessions do not apply for Intersystem journeys of less than 40 kilometres.

- No minimum distance applies to Local journeys.
- 222.2 Concessions are not granted without special authority of the Passenger Operations Manager, either by the appropriate certificate being countersigned, or by other instructions.
- 222.3 Application giving full particulars must be made to the Passenger Operations Manager for the issue of tickets at the concession fare. These applications should be received at least five days in advance for Local travel and ten days in advance for Intersystem travel.
- 222.4 Concession travel applies to full adult fares only. For travel to and from Stations in Queensland, the concession shall only apply to or from Brisbane.
- 222.5 The return journey must be completed within two calendar months of the commencing travel date and is available for break of journey at any station en route.
- 222.6 The minimum number to which the concession applies is six from stations on any one System (organised special parties and non-affinity groups excepted).
A child delegate or competitor under 16 years of age or a student 16 years and over (entitled to be issued with a ticket at half fare) counts as one for the purpose of computing the minimum number entitled to the concession.
- 222.7 Athletic and sporting bodies, delegates to conferences, competitors at educational competitions, and members of scientific bodies:
- 222.7.1 The spouse of a member, competitor, or delegate, when accompanying that member, competitor, or delegate;
- 222.7.3 A son or daughter under 18 years of age who lives with, and is dependent upon the parents for support, when accompanying a parent who is a member, competitor, or delegate;
- 222.7.4 A parent or guardian accompanying a competitor under 16 years of age; or
- 222.7.5 Accredited non-playing members of supporting bodies subject to the approval of the 36Systems concerned; may obtain the same concession on presentation of a similar certificate; such certificate to be endorsed "spouse", "parent", "guardian", or "child of competitor", etc, or non-playing member", as the case may be. Tickets issued in accordance with this clause must not be included in the number of tickets purchased for the purpose of the minimum number entitled to the concession.

Concession granted to	Conditions	Concessional fare
(i) Athletic and sporting bodies, rifle clubs, scientific bodies, competitors at educational competitions Delegates to Conferences	Clause 222 Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 shall apply	1. 20% off total adult fare including ancillary charges on all services other than the "Indian Pacific", "Trans Australian" and "Ghan". 2. For travel wholly or in part on the "Indian Pacific", "Trans Australian", and "Ghan"—10% off total adult fare including ancillary charges for the total journey involved. NOTE: No concession applies to pensioner, student, or child fares. 'AS ABOVE'
(ii) Scouts, teachers, organisers and officers in charge of organised common interest groups, etc, 16 years and over travelling with the common group. * Organised parties of 12 or more	Clause 222 Parts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 shall apply.	'AS ABOVE'
(iii) Theatrical, concert and circus, etc, companies	Clause 222 Parts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 shall apply.	'AS ABOVE'

Concession granted to	Conditions	Concessional fare
Tourist from overseas including conductor in charge of party	Break of journey privileges and period of availability applicable to ordinary tickets shall apply.	
(iv) Non-affinity groups of 12 or more without a common interest	Clause 222 Parts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 shall apply.	1. 10% off total adult fare including ancillary charges on all services other than "Indian Pacific" and "Trans Australian". 2. For travel wholly or in part on the "Indian Pacific" and "Trans Australian" during the periods: 1 February to 15 August and 1 November to 15 December only—10% off total adult fare including ancillary charges for the total journey involved. NOTE: No concession applies to pensioner, student or child fare.
(v) Nominated organiser or group leader of tour group	Clause 222 Parts 1, 2, 3 and 5 shall apply.	Free travel, including ancillaries may be granted to a nominated organiser or group leader of a tour group of thirty or more fare paying passengers.

THE FOLLOWING DETAIL AND CONCESSION IS ONLY APPLICABLE FOR A LOCAL JOURNEY OVER AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL LINES

(i) Students and teachers accompanying

1. Students (minimum number six) and teachers accompanying—when travelling for educational and/or sporting purposes, may be issued with concession tickets at the rates indicated.
2. Students tickets to be endorsed "educational" or "sport" and those for teachers "conductor".
3. Application for concession fares to be made to the Passenger Marketing Manager. The subject to be studied or sporting event should be indicated on the form and a list of names of the students and teachers travelling attached.

Students

Half ordinary adult fare—full charges apply to ancillary charges, i.e. sleeping berths and meals where provided.

Teachers

- (i) 20% off total adult fare including ancillary charges on all services other than the "Indian Pacific", "Trans Australian" and "Ghan".
- (ii) For travel wholly or in part on the "Indian Pacific", "Trans Australia", or "Ghan", 10% off total adult fare including ancillary charges for the total journey involved.

* Organised parties are defined as having mutual common association prior to the journey being undertaken, i.e. a club or other organisation.

223. CONCESSION FARES—PENSIONER "FREE" JOURNEYS

Definition—Area "A"

Includes all railway lines which, prior to 1 July 1975, were operated by the Government of South Australia. It shall also include the railway line running between Adelaide and Serviceton (Vic-

toria) and Adelaide and Broken Hill (New South Wales).

- 223.1 Pensioners permanently resident in South Australia or the Northern Territory who are issued a Concession Card (TC.1) by the Australian Department of Social Security or Veteran Affairs, or

pensioners permanently resident in South Australia issued with a State Concession Card (Form 839) by the South Australian Department of Community Welfare, are eligible to:

- 223.1.1 One free economy return or two single economy rail journeys during the year that the card is valid for travel between any two stations within Area "A" and also between Coonamia and Whyalla. However, provided the forward journey is commenced within the validity of the card, the return journey may be completed up to the limits of normal availability.
- 223.1.2 Provision has been made for particulars of the rail journey to be endorsed on the concession cards, and no tickets must be issued for the actual rail journey.
- 223.1.3 The card must be validated for forward travel by the Booking Clerk at the commencing station (if attended) or the Guard or Train Porter on the train (if joining at an unattended station) by endorsement of station "from", station "to", and "date forward", and details of all travel recorded as under:

Forward Journey

From an Attended Station

A record of all travel allowed under this scheme must be recorded on a separate Form No. 347 (Return of Excess Fares) which must be submitted with Monthly Returns. A nil return is required when appropriate.

The Form No. 347 is to be headed "Return of Pensioner Free Rail Travel" and must include the following data:

- Concessions Certificate number.
- Travel particulars.
- Value of the free travel granted at normal adult rate must be recorded but is not to be debited through station books, nor included in the monthly account current.

— Passenger statistics are to be recorded, but must not be included in data entered in Form No. 164.

From Unattended Station

If forward journey is commenced from unattended Australian National stations or any State Transport Authority of South Australia metropolitan stations (Adelaide Railway Station excepted), the Guard (or Train Porter) must make the necessary endorsements on the TC.1 or 839 card.

Full particulars of the initial endorsement of the "Free Economy Return" travel granted "on train" must be recorded on the appropriate form which will be issued by the Station Supervisor at the originating station. These particulars shall include:

- Type of Card (TC.1 or 839).
- Serial letter and number.
- Name of pensioner.
- Station from and to.
- Full value of return fare.

This form must accompany the train throughout its journey and be delivered to the Station Master at the destination station. A nil return is to be submitted if no cards are endorsed. The Station Master at the destination station is to transcribe this information to a separate monthly form 347 headed "Return of Pensioner Free Rail Travel—ON TRAIN ISSUES", and retain the forms for record purposes.

Return Journey

At the commencement of the journey, the TC1, or 839 card must again be presented to the Booking Office of an attended station or the Guard (or Train Porter) if from an unattended station, for the endorsement of the return date. No record of these endorsements is to be made.

- 223.1.4 Seats and sleeping berth accommodation may be reserved and on payment of the

- appropriate fee, the required ticket issued accordingly. Excess from economy to first is permitted at pensioner rate.
- 223.1.5 Examining staff must check-nip TC.1 or 839 card on the letters:
- ‘F’ indicating forward journey
 - ‘R’ indicating return journey
- 223.1.6 All endorsements on TC.1 or 839 cards must be made with ball point type pen and where practicable, the commencing stations name is to be stamped on the “Station From” section.
- 223.1.7 Only one return journey is permitted under the scheme (two separate single journeys are allowed in lieu). The availability period and break of journey conditions will be the same as for ordinary single and return tickets except that where the free travel is undertaken as portion of a through intersystem journey, the availability of both the TC.1 or 839 and the ticket for the balance of the journey shall be the same as for ordinary intersystem tickets, viz two months for a single journey and six months for a return.
- 223.1.8 Alterations or erasures are not permitted to travel particulars on the cards and any card bearing alterations or erasures must not be honoured for free travel (except as indicated in Clause 223.1.9).
- 223.1.9 In the event of the TC.1 or 839 card being validated and not used because of sickness or incorrect travel particulars being entered as a result of misunderstanding of the applicant the following action is to be taken:
- The appropriate section/section of TC.1 or 839 must be endorsed “cancelled, rebooked on X/F No.” and an excess fare ticket issued to enable the pensioner to undertake or complete the required journey.
- In the section “Why Excessed” the ticket must be endorsed “Free Pensioner TC.1 or 839 Card No.”.
- In the section “Amount” the value of the ticket issued must be followed by the words “Without Charge”.
- The excess fare ticket must be endorsed “Departmental”.
- The value of the excess fare ticket must be debited through station books and credit applied for on Allowance Voucher Form No. 117, quoting all details.
- The relevant excess fare book must accompany the application for credit.
- Travel details are still required to be recorded on Form No. 347 account free pensioner travel as indicated above.
- Only one excess fare is to be issued to remedy the validated concession card which was not used for travel account sickness.
- The Adelaide Booking Office ONLY may alter a date of travel shown on a validated TC.1 or 839 card, but must affix the authorising stamp near the alteration.
- 223.1.9 There are no restrictions concerning trains on which pensioners may travel under the scheme except on special guaranteed trains.
232. Pensioners resident in New South Wales who are issued with a Concession Card (TC.1) by the New South Wales Branch of the Australian Departments of Social Security or Veterans' Affairs, also receive a Pensioner Free Economy Travel Voucher which is required to be exchanged at a New South Wales station for a half fare return ticket between any two State Rail Authority stations in New South Wales. However, New South Wales pensioners who are permanently resident only at either Broken Hill or Menindee, New South Wales, may elect to exchange their economy travel voucher at Broken Hill for one free economy return or two single economy rail journeys to be made

available between any two stations located on Area 'A'; of Australian National Railways including Broken Hill. An appropriate ticket will be issued at Broken Hill in exchange for the voucher and the ticket will be endorsed "order" or "departmental" and no refund is to be allowed should any application be made to this System by the pensioner. Normal availability and break of journey conditions apply to any tickets issued under these arrangements and pensioners are required to present their Concession Cards (TC.1) when exchanging the voucher and also when travelling, on demand by an authorised employee.

Industries Assistance Commission

(Question No. 229)

Mr Scholes asked the Treasurer, upon notice, on 17 September 1990:

(1) How many reports of the Industries Assistance Commission (IAC) were tabled in this House during its period of operation.

(2) How many IAC reports were implemented fully.

(3) What was the total cost of the IAC's operations.

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

(1) A total of 422 IAC reports were tabled in the House.

(2) The IAC's influence on policy decisions, through its analyses and recommendations, has been cumulative over time. It is not always possible therefore to relate particular policy decisions at points in time to specific IAC recommendations, nor to assess the nature of decisions that would have been reached without the benefit of IAC information, analysis and recommendations. Not all IAC reports contained recommendations.

With these qualifications, the following specific information has been assembled by the Industry Commission. A total of 251 reports (or 59 per cent) were fully or substantially implemented. A further 106 reports (25 per cent) were partially accepted. A total of 41 reports (10 per cent) were not accepted. The remaining reports include cases where no decision was made or a dissenting report was accepted. Further information can be obtained from the IAC's annual reports and tabling statements by the responsible Minister pursuant to S45 (5) of the Industries Assistance Commission Act 1973.

(3) Expenditures in each year of operation of the IAC (from 1974 to 1990) sum to \$150.5m. This is likely to be a slight underestimate (of the order of \$2m to \$3m) due to the inclusion of

minor expenditures with Portfolio figures in some years.

Federal Sea Safety Centre

(Question No. 293)

Mr Allan Morris asked the Minister representing the Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support, upon notice, on 19 September 1990:

With respect to the twelve ASO 3 positions within the Federal Sea Safety Centre which the current establishment and staffing report indicates have been advertised as vacant, (a) when were the resignation notices which caused the vacancies received; (b) when and where were the vacancies advertised, (c) how many applications for the positions have been received, (d) have interviews been conducted to select replacement staff and (e) have any replacement staff been appointed; if so how many were (i) existing Australian Public Service employees and (ii) appointed from the Newcastle area.

Mr Beazley—The Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support has supplied the following answer to the honourable member's question:

- (a) no resignations were received as the positions were newly created, hence vacant.
- (b) the vacancies were advertised on 2 November 1989 in the Commonwealth of Australia Gazette, PS 42.
- (c) twelve applications were received for the positions.
- (d) as the number of applications matched the positions available, a Joint Selection Committee assessed the applications without interviews.
- (e) the twelve vacancies have been filled by:
 - (i) existing officers of the Australian Public Service—12
 - (ii) appointees from the Newcastle area—nil.

Australian Maritime Safety Authority

(Question No. 294)

Mr Allan Morris asked the Minister representing the Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support, upon notice, on 19 September 1990:

(1) How many staff is it proposed will be employed by the Australian Maritime Safety Authority (AMSA)

(2) Will the Minister provide a breakdown of each section of the proposed staffing of the AMSA, indicating the various positions and classifications or gradings in each section and the number of personnel for each classification.

Mr Beazley—The Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support has supplied the following answer to the honourable member's question:

- (1) 631
 (2) SHIP SAFETY BRANCH

SES 2 X 1
 ASO 2 X 1

SHIP STRUCTURES SECTION

SPO A X 1
 SPO B X 1
 SPO C X 2
 PO 2 X 1

SURVEY POLICY AND PLANNING SECTION

SPO A X 1

SURVEY OPERATIONS SECTION

SPO A X 1

SURVEY POLICY AND PLANNING SECTION AND SURVEY OPERATIONS SECTION POOL

SPO B X 6
 SPO C X 6

MARINE PERSONNEL AND OPERATIONS SECTION

SPO A X 1
 SPO B X 2
 SPO C X 2
 SO B X 1
 SO C X 4

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT SECTION

ASO 6 X 1
 ASO 5 X 1
 ASO 4 X 2
 ASO 3 X 1
 ASO 2 X 3
 ASO 1 X 1

SAFETY OPERATIONS BRANCH

SES 2 X 1
 ASO 2 X 1

POLICY AND PLANNING SECTION

SO B X 1
 SO C X 2

SPO C X 1
 ASO 6 X 3
 ASO 5 X 1
 ASO 2 X 3
 ASO 1 X 1

SHIP SAFETY SECTION

SO B X 1
 SO C X 2
 ASO 6 X 7
 ASO 5 X 8
 ASO 3 X 12
 ASO 2 X 11

MARINE POLLUTION SECTION

SO B X 1
 SO C X 2
 ASO 6 X 3
 ASO 4 X 1

Australian Maritime Safety Authority

(Question No. 295)

Mr Allan Morris asked the Minister representing the Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support, upon notice, on 19 September 1990:

(1) Will the Minister provide an analysis of the compulsory transfer notices issued to the personnel of the Maritime Operations Branch of the Department of Transport and Communications showing (a) the name of each section of the proposed Australian Maritime Safety Authority to which the staff are to be transferred, (b) the various positions and classifications or gradings in each section and (c) the number of notices applying to each position and classification or grading.

Mr Beazley—The Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support has supplied the following answer to the honourable member's question:

(1) 130 notices of compulsory transfer to Newcastle were issued to those staff held substantially against positions in the Maritime Operations Division of the Department's Central Office.

The number of notices issued to each classification in each section of the proposed Australian Maritime Safety Authority is detailed in the following table:

SHIP SAFETY BRANCH

Classification	Number	Notices
Senior Executive Service Officer Band 1	x 1	1
Administrative Service Officer Class 2	x 1	1

SHIP STRUCTURES SECTION

Senior Professional Officer Grade A	x 1	1
Senior Professional Officer Grade B	x 1	—
Senior Professional Officer Grade C	x 2	2
Professional Officer Class 2	x 1	1

Classification	Number	Notices
SURVEY POLICY AND PLANNING SECTION		
Senior Professional Officer Grade A	x 1	-
SURVEY OPERATIONS SECTION		
Senior Professional Officer Grade A	x 1	-
SURVEY POLICY AND PLANNING SECTION AND SURVEY OPERATIONS SECTION POOL		
Senior Professional Officer Grade B	x 6	5
Senior Professional Officer Grade C	x 6	3
MARINE PERSONNEL AND OPERATIONS SECTION		
Senior Professional Officer Grade A	x 1	-
Senior Professional Officer Grade B	x 2	2
Senior Professional Officer Grade C	x 2	2
Senior Officer Grade B	x 1	1
Senior Officer Grade C	x 4	3
ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT SECTION		
Administrative Service Officer Class 6	x 1	1
Administrative Service Officer Class 5	x 1	1
Administrative Service Officer Class 4	x 2	-
Administrative Service Officer Class 3	x 1	-
Administrative Service Officer Class 2	x 3	2
Administrative Service Officer Class 1	x 1	1
SUB-TOTAL 27		

Air Traffic Controllers

(Question No. 302)

Mr Filing asked the Minister representing the Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support, upon notice, on 20 September 1990:

Is the Civil Aviation Authority suffering from a shortage of qualified and experienced air traffic controllers; if so, why are suitably qualified and experienced air traffic controllers being rejected on the grounds that they are too old to cope with the pressures of the training program even though they are well below the mandatory retirement age.

Mr Beazley—The Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support has supplied the following answer to the honourable member's question:

The Civil Aviation Authority is currently operating below its normal complement of air traffic control staff at certain levels. However the Authority advises that this shortage is not such that it has caused any loss of service to aircraft operators.

In recent recruitment drives for air traffic control staff, the Civil Aviation Authority has only rejected two applicants on the basis of age. I am advised that these two applicants were of an age that the Authority determined that it would not be beneficial or cost effective to take on these applicants.

Federal Sea Safety Centre

(Question No. 319)

Mr Allan Morris asked the Minister representing the Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support, upon notice, on 9 October 1990:

With respect to (a) six senior co-ordinators and (b) seven search and rescue co-ordinators in the Federal Sea Safety Centre, how many have experience in (i) naval service, (ii) air force service, (iii) commercial shipping or (iv) commercial aviation.

Mr Beazley—The Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support has supplied the following answer to the honourable member's question:

- (a) Of the six senior co-ordinators in the Federal Sea Safety Centre, three have naval experience, one of whom also has naval aviation experience. Three have commercial shipping experience.
- (b) Of the seven search and rescue co-ordinators, four have naval experience and three have commercial shipping experience one of whom has commercial and private aviation experience.

Car Industry
(Question No. 337)

Mr Scholes asked the Prime Minister, upon notice, on 11 October 1990:

(1) Has his attention been drawn to a statement by Mr Cole, Chairman of the Industry Commission, that the loss of the Australian car industry would have some fringe benefits mainly in Dandenong, Geelong and parts of Adelaide.

(2) Would the loss of jobs in the car industry allow the persons in the industry to obtain more satisfying work.

(3) Has his attention been drawn to the fact that the majority of female workers in Geelong who lost their jobs as a result of the collapse of the textile industry between 1960 and 1975 never worked again.

(4) Will he require the Cabinet submissions on the new car plan contain specific details of the economic and social effects on the Geelong community and include details of alternative employment for any persons losing their jobs as a direct or indirect result of the plan being implemented.

(5) Will he ensure that Cabinet does not dismiss the 160,000 residents of Geelong as irrelevant.

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

(1) I am advised that Mr Cole has not made such a statement.

(2) Possibly.

(3) I acknowledge that many women who lost jobs in the textile industry in the 1690's and 1990's did not take up other employment. Under this Government's Textiles, Clothing and Footwear Plan, however, comprehensive adjustment assistance including labour market programs is available to assist with restructuring.

(4) Ministers will consider regional issues and structural adjustment assistance in this case, as has been the pattern with all industry reform plans from the Government.

(5) Geelong is not, to this Government, an irrelevant community.

National Acoustic Laboratory
(Question No. 364)

Mr Price asked the Minister for Aged, Family and Health Services, upon notice, on 6 November 1990:

With respect to the recently announced collaborative arrangement between the National Acoustic Laboratory and Ascom and Crystalaid, (a) what targets have been established for (i) exports and (ii) research and development for each year of the arrangement, (b) how will performance be monitored and will the result be published, (c)

what guarantees of performance have been provided and (d) what sanctions will apply if the targets are not met.

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

- (a) (i) Annual targets for production, export and research development are being finalised as part of the settlement of contractual arrangements. Final figures will need to allow for the delay in accepting the tender because of the need to consider the related Industry Commission Report. Production will be phased in with indicative figures for 1994, which will be the first full year of production of 170,000 hearing aids and 350,000 remote controls.
- (ii) Research and development by the collaborative partner will be approximately \$4 million over five years. The exact amount of annual investment will be dependent upon the cost of designing the specified four core hearing aids.
- (b) Performance will be monitored by regular reporting by the joint venture company General Manager to the Board of Management which involves Government representatives. The performance of all parties will be assessed and will be subject to a final review at the end of 1993, with the findings to be referred to Government which will decide on the extent of public release.
- (c) The collaborative partner has given a guarantee of payment to the Commonwealth of \$2.64 million over five years irrespective of the volume of exports. Royalties of more than \$9 million are anticipated on the basis of projected exports based on a fixed royalty payment for export.
- (d) Guaranteed minimum royalties of \$2.64 million will be payable. Sanctions in relation to any failure to deliver will be provided in the contract currently being finalised. Also, in accordance with the decision of the Government, failure by the collaborative partner to achieve targets by July 1993 could cause the varying of the collaborative arrangement.

Radiosurgery Unit
(Question No. 366)

Dr Bob Woods asked the Minister for Community Services and Health, upon notice, on 7 November 1990:

(1) Did the previous Minister for Health write to the NSW Government offering to make funds available for the establishment of a stereotactic radiosurgery unit in an appropriate State teaching hospital in New South Wales.

(2) Does such a unit (a) use the latest computer technology to pinpoint disorders of the brain allowing neurosurgeons to give very precise radiation doses to isolated spots of brain damage and (b) help to eliminate unnecessary neurosurgery.

(3) If the Commonwealth made the offer referred to in part (1), is it now seeking to withdraw the offer; if so (a) why, (b) does the Commonwealth Government oppose the decision by the NSW Government to place the unit at Westmead Teaching Hospital and (c) will the Commonwealth honour its commitment to provide capital assistance.

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

(1) On 21 December 1989, my predecessor, Dr Blewett, invited the New South Wales Minister for Health to develop a proposal for the establishment of a stereotactic radiosurgery (SRS) unit in NSW. Dr Blewett did not indicate that the unit should be located in a teaching hospital, rather he suggested that it be located in Sydney and indicated that the Prince of Wales Hospital had expressed interest in establishing such a unit. Dr Blewett indicated that the appropriate SRS technology for Australia could be achieved through the modification of existing linear accelerators which could "be achieved at a moderate cost, to which the Commonwealth may contribute."

(2) (a) SRS is the accurate focusing of ionising radiation (focused irradiation) on an intracranial target. The planning process, and thus the accuracy, is enhanced with the appropriate computing equipment.

(b) SRS is used in circumstances where conventional neurosurgical techniques are either not possible or not appropriate, usually in connection with treatment of arteriovenous malformations and other deep seated tumours of the brain. It does not help eliminate unnecessary surgery—it provides a more appropriate treatment of inaccessible tumours, without the risk of significant neurological deficit which may occur in some cases following conventional neurosurgery.

(3) (a) The Commonwealth is not seeking to withdraw its offer of appropriate financial assistance, an offer which was confirmed in my letter to Mr Collins of 6 September 1990. On the advice of Australian and international experts, Australia can sustain two clinically viable SRS units, assuming an annual throughput of 100-150 patients. The Commonwealth Government has offered to assist in the establishment of two units, to be located in Perth and Sydney. The Perth unit located at the Sir Charles Gairdner Hospital, and currently being installed, will be operational early in 1991. The Sydney unit has been referred to the Australian Health Technology Advisory Committee (AHTAC) by the Australian Health Ministers Advisory Council (AHMAC) for advice. For my part, I will accept the advice of

AHMAC based on its consideration of the AHTAC recommendation.

(b) My responsibility, and I believe the responsibility of State/Territory Health Ministers, is to develop a health care system which will provide access to appropriate health care services and facilities, at reasonable cost to the Australian taxpayer. Part of this responsibility is to avoid or at least minimise costly overlap or duplication. In this context the fact that the Prince of Wales Hospital has an operational SRS unit, a unit which successfully treated its first patient with an arteriovenous malformation on 14 November 1990 should be taken into account.

(c) Apart from the incorrect assertion in the recent press statement by Mr Collins, I am unaware of any suggestion that the Commonwealth will not honour its offer to provide appropriate financial assistance towards the establishment of an SRS unit in NSW. The nature and extent of any financial assistance cannot, of course, be determined until a final decision is made on the location of the NSW unit. The decision to establish two SRS units in Australia, based in Sydney and in Perth, was based on clinical as well as economic considerations. It is certainly true that a significant factor in the rationale for special Commonwealth financial assistance was that only two SRS units be established. The Commonwealth may need to review its position in relation to financial assistance if more than two units are established.

As the honourable member would be aware, SRS is a significant treatment modality not previously available in Australia. Overseas experience confirms a success rate of over 85% in treating life threatening arteriovenous malformations and other deep seated lesions of the brain. Over the past few years, some 50 Australian residents have been sent overseas for this treatment. Because of its commitment to a high quality health care system for Australia, the Commonwealth Government took the initiative and sought to establish two SRS units in Australia. The availability of this treatment modality has the potential to save a significant number of lives. It would indeed be unfortunate, and detrimental to the health of Australians, if political factors were to interfere with what is a significant health initiative.

Flight Time Limitations for Pilots

(Question No. 369)

Mr Jull asked the Minister representing the Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support, upon notice, on 7 November 1990:

(1) What are the flight time limitations for Australian (a) domestic pilots and (b) pilots flying overseas with Qantas.

- (2) When were the existing flight time limitations introduced.
- (3) What reviews of flight time limitations have been held since 1985.

- (4) Are changes to flight time limitations for (a) domestic and (b) international pilots planned; if so, what are the details.

Mr Beazley—The Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support has supplied the following answer to the honourable member's question:

(a) The Flight Time Limitations for Australian domestic pilots is an 11 hour duty day, an 8 hour flight time, 180 hours duty time in 28 days, 100 hours flying time in 28 days, and a 900 hour flying time yearly limit.

(b) For Australian pilots' flying overseas with Qantas daily duty time and flight time limits depend on dispensations given for individual routes. 28 day and yearly limits remain the same as for domestic pilots.

(2) The existing flight and duty times were introduced on 5 January 1953 prior to the introduction of jet aircraft, sophisticated auto pilots and flight management systems, and cabin environmental control systems.

(3) As far as the Civil Aviation Authority is aware, there have been no reviews on flight time limitations carried out since 1985.

(4) Changes to flight time limitations are being considered to bring the Australian flight and duty time limits into line with our overseas trading partners. There is no evidence of any decrease in safety related to more flexible flight and duty times in those country's where they exist. Proposed flight and duty times for multi crew operations, both domestic and international are for a 14 hour duty period with a 1200 hour flight time yearly limit. This would bring Australia into line with the United States, Canada and Germany.

Pharmaceuticals for Children of Pensioners

(Question No. 376)

Mr McArthur asked the Minister for Aged, Family and Health Services, upon notice, on 7 November 1990:

(1) In calculating the pension pharmaceutical rebate entitlement, has any allowance been made for pensioners' dependent children suffering long-term medical conditions for which regular prescriptions are necessary.

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

(1) and (2) Yes. A pensioner's dependent children share their parents' entitlement. As a family unit, they need to achieve the \$130 safety net threshold for which they are, as a family unit,

compensated \$130. The safety net provisions are designed to protect the chronically ill.

Australian National Line: Container Ships

(Question No. 390)

Mr Mack asked the Minister representing the Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support, upon notice, on 8 November 1990:

(1) Has the Australian National Line (ANL) placed on order with Korean shipbuilders Samsung Shipbuilding and Engineering for two container ships of a design that incorporates the use of hatchcovers, at a cost of \$68 million per ship.

(2) Has the Minister's attention been drawn to the availability of a design of hatchcoverless container ship designed by an Australian company, Advance Ship Design Pty Ltd, and already built for overseas carriers by Teraoka, Mitsubishi and Ishikawajima-Harima of Japan, which by employing no hatchcovers consequently uses less port turnaround time.

(3) What are ANL's current procedures for selecting designs and builders for construction of new vessels.

(4) Has ANL failed to trade profitably over a number of years; if so, and in view of ANL's selection of ship design, will ANL continue to use its current procedures for the selection of new vessels.

(5) In the light of the recent incorporation of ANL as a public company, with the greater independence from ministerial supervision that that entails, (a) what degree of ministerial restriction is placed on (i) ANL's decisions regarding the purchase of large items of capital equipment or (ii) the procedures instituted to arrive at such decision and (b) is the degree of ministerial restriction of ANL's use of its current selection procedures for new vessels in accord with the Government's policy of allowing government business enterprises the flexibility to operate on a commercial basis.

Mr Beazley—The Minister for Shipping and Aviation Support has supplied the following answer to the honourable member's question:

(1) Yes.

(2) Yes.

(3) ANL selects designs and shipbuilders through internationally accepted selection and open tendering processes. ANL is aware of the hatchless ship concept and indeed provided some assistance to its designers during the early development phase. However, at the time ANL placed the order a number of technical aspects of the design were unresolved and this, together with

cost and delivery date factors, led ANL to select a conventionally designed ship.

(4) No, ANL has made a profit every year since 1983-84. It considers its current ship selection processes to be commercially sound.

(5) Consistent with the Government's overall policy of providing its business enterprises with appropriate commercial freedoms, the responsibility for all operational aspects of ANL's activities, including ship selection, rests with the ANL Board. There is no provision for the Minister to place restrictions on the day to day operations of the Company.

National Acoustic Laboratory

(Question No. 400)

Dr Bob Woods asked the Minister for Aged, Family and Health Services, upon notice, on 12 November 1990:

Has his attention been drawn to allegations reported in the *Adelaide News* of 22 October 1990 of incompetence, harassment and abuse of taxpayers' funds in the South Australian branch of the National Acoustic Laboratory; if so, what action has he taken with respect to specific allegations that (a) some staff have slept and consumed alcohol on the job, abused flexitime, kept patients waiting needlessly and cancelled appointments at the last minute and (b) heads of the Department of Community Services and Health have ignored complaints about undisciplined staff and this has led to low staff morale, resignations and stress related sick leave.

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

Yes.

(a) The allegations made are largely historical. All staff supporting them, except for one, have not worked in National Acoustic Laboratory (NAL) for over 12 months.

All significant issues have been addressed over the past two years.

Specifically: The officer referred to in the *News* press article is no longer working in the program.

The technician who allegedly slept on the job, is now working at another hearing centre. This officer has worked in NAL for many years with a number of supervisors and there have been no problems such as those reported either previously or subsequently.

The senior audiologist who consumed alcohol and was erratic in attendance has been the subject of formal action and was transferred from his position. His performance remains under review. The issue has been addressed as a serious one through

formal processes as required under public service regulations.

(b) All staff in NAL South Australia have access to a range of forums where they have the opportunity to raise and discuss issues of concern.

Heads of the Department were aware of the complaints and have taken the appropriate action. The issues raised were the subject of a formal grievance which was finalised on 7 May 1990.

The officer making these allegations has not worked at any hearing centre for over 12 months.

Allotment of Time for Sailors

(Question No. 403)

Mr Sinclair asked the Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, upon notice, on 12 November 1990:

(1) In light of the Federal Court's decision (*Repatriation v. Doessel*, 4 May 1990) to amend the allotment of a sailor's time from Australia to first port of call on returning, and its consequential and appropriate extension to other sailors now in the Persian Gulf, will he also vary retrospectively the allotment of sailors serving on HMAS *Sydney* during the Vietnam War from last port of call in Australia to when entering and leaving Vung Tau harbour to first port on return to bring them into line with all other servicemen and women who served in Vietnam.

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

(1) The allotment of ADF members in the current Gulf crisis to operational service is not consequential to the Federal Court decision of 4 May 1990 regarding *Repatriation v. Doessel*. ADF members serving in the Middle East are being allotted to operational service as a result of the decision made by the Government on 14 August 1990. The allotment procedure will provide for port to port coverage in this case.

The method by which members are being allotted to operational service in the Middle East has been influenced by the Federal Court decision. This is so that there may be no misunderstanding as to the Government's intentions of specifically allotting members to operational service in an operational area, rather than merely posting them to the vicinity for less-than-operational purposes where repatriation benefits would be inappropriate. The Government has no intention of retrospectively varying the dates of allotment of sailors who served on HMAS *Sydney* during the Vietnam War. the retrospective allotment in 1986 of personnel on HMAS *Sydney* and other Defence Force units, was an Act of Grace by the Government and occurred well before the decision in *Doessel*. The effect of *Doessel* is to grant

benefits which were never intended. The period during which those members were retrospectively allotted to operational service is clearly specified on the instruments signed by the Minister for Defence. Then, as now, it was considered to be just and appropriate. Further, the effect of granting port to port coverage for repatriation benefits would also be to grant port to port coverage for the award of medals which is also not the intention.

It should be noted that recent amendments to the Veterans' Entitlements Act 1986 ensure that similar decisions to Doessel cannot be made. All claims and applications lodged after 8 November 1990 will be determined on the basis of the amended legislation. Claims lodged prior to 8 November 1990 will have to be considered with the Doessel decision in mind.

Membership of Unido

(Question No. 426)

Mr Hollis asked the Minister representing the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, upon notice, on 4 December 1990:

Further to the answer to question No. 30 (*Hansard*, 21 August 1990, page 1210) concerning consideration by the Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce of a report prepared jointly by their Departments, have the Ministers decided to resume membership of Unido.

Dr Blewett—The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade has provided the following answer to the honourable member's question:

In the context of 1990-91 Budget priorities it was not possible to allocate funds for a resumption of Australia's membership of Unido.

As part of a continuing review of Australia's participation in the United Nations system, Departments have been directed to conduct a further examination of the benefits and costs of Australian membership of Unido.

Car Plan : Loss of Jobs

(Question No. 455)

Mr Scholes asked the Minister representing the Minister for Social Security, upon notice, on 4 December 1990:

Has the Minister or the Minister's Department prepared estimates of the cost of providing support to the persons affected by the loss of jobs resulting from the implementation of the new car plan announced by the Chairman of the Industry Commission; if not, does this indicate that no support is proposed.

Mr Howe—The Minister for Social Security has provided the following answer to the honourable member's question:

No. Nothing has been proposed or agreed at this stage. The Industry Commission is still to finalise its report and the Government has yet to decide on the nature of the post-1992 car plan.

Tax Stamps

(Question No. 428)

Mr Bruce Scott asked the Minister for Land Transport, upon notice, on 4 December 1990:

(1) Will tax stamps be available from post office agencies, as well as official post offices, from 1 January 1991; if not why not.

(2) Can applications for (a) tax file numbers and (b) passports be lodged with post office agencies; if not, why not.

(3) Will he review availability of services at post office agencies outside major population centres to remove inconvenience to rural communities.

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

(1) Tax stamps will not be available from post office agencies from 1 January 1991. The withdrawal of this business from post office agencies was requested by the Australian Taxation Office which intended to phase out the tax stamp system and is writing to all employers seeking their cooperation in transferring to the group payment system.

(2) Applications for tax file numbers and passports cannot be lodged with post office agencies at the present time because the agency principals, i.e. the Australian Taxation Office and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade respectively, prefer to use only the official post office network for reasons of confidentiality and security. I understand that with regard to passports a clause has been included in the new contract between Australia Post and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade which may result in some post office agencies gaining passport application business.

(3) As mentioned previously, it is up to agency principals to decide whether they want to use post office agencies for the transactions.

Sri Lanka

(Question No. 461)

Mr Gibson asked the Prime Minister, upon notice, on 6 December 1990:

(1) Has he received a response from the President of Sri Lanka to his letter requesting Commonwealth of Nations' involvement in settling the conflict in Sri Lanka; if so, does the response give any indication of a willingness of the Sri Lankan Government to consider this proposal seriously.

(2) Has the Australian Government requested other Commonwealth nations to make similar requests to the Sri Lankan Government.

(3) Is he able to say what the view of the Commonwealth Secretary-General is to the proposal that the Commonwealth of Nations intervene in the Sri Lankan crisis.

(4) Has the Australian Government formally requested intervention by the Commonwealth of Nations.

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

(1) I have received a response to my letter to President Premadasa in which I offered to approach the Commonwealth Secretary-General on the President's behalf to see whether the Commonwealth would be prepared to play a good offices role in helping to resolve the conflict. The President said that he appreciated my initiative and, although he declined my offer in the short term, he would consider taking it up in the future should circumstances warrant it.

(2) No. The Government put its proposals to President Premadasa on its own behalf.

(3) The Secretary-General has been advised of Australia's proposals, but the Government has not sought his view on possible Commonwealth involvement in Sri Lanka.

(4) Commonwealth convention is such that any request for intervention would have to be made by the Sri Lankan Government.

Nomad Aircraft

(Question No. 476)

Mr Taylor asked the Minister representing the Minister for Defence, upon notice, on 21 December 1990:

(1) Further to the Minister's answer to question No. 298 (Hansard, 7 November 1990, page 3522) in which the Minister stated that there were some servicing deficiencies in Nomad A18-401 but that they were not related to the causal factors involved in the failure of the tailplane structure, in giving that answer did the Minister consult the official report of the RAAF Board of Inquiry; if not, why not.

(2) Did the Board of Inquiry conclude that "Had ARDU (Aeronautical Research and Development Unit) been directed to carry out an acceptance servicing, the damage would have been detected and the accident avoided. Similarly, had an S17 servicing been carried out, the damage to the tail plane would have almost certainly been detected and the accident would not have occurred" if so, (a) how does the Minister reconcile that statement with part (5) of the Minister's answer to question No. 298 and (b) will the matter be re-examined in the light of the Board of Inquiry's conclusion.

Mr Bilney—The Minister for Defence has provided the following answer to the honourable member's question:

(1) The RAAF Board of Inquiry proceedings and the review by the convening authority (Air Commander Australia) and the Chief of the Air Staff were consulted prior to answering question No. 298 (Hansard, 7 November 1990 page 3522).

(2) (a) During the conduct of the Inquiry some servicing deficiencies were discovered and in the statement by the Board the observation was made that if an acceptance servicing or a S17 anti-corrosion servicing had been carried out the cracks would likely have been found, hence the accident avoided. Note that at the time there was no legal requirement, nor an obvious need, for an acceptable servicing. Additionally, a RAAF independent engineering assessment lay doubts as to whether a S17 servicing would have indeed discovered the cracks.

It should be understood that these serviceings were only indirect opportunities. The tailplane could have failed just as easily during one of the last ASTA flights; or on the ARDU ferry flight from ASTA before the 'intended' acceptance servicing; or on one of the ARDU flights before the S17 servicing was due. In each case the aircraft would have been legally serviceable but unknowingly unairworthy. While an acceptance or S17 servicing may have broken the 'chain of events' leading up to the accident, they themselves were not related to causal factors involved in the failure of the tailplane structure.

(b) The circumstances surrounding the crash of Nomad A18-401 has been extensively examined both by the Board of Inquiry and the review process. There is no requirement for a re-examination of the matter.

Greystanes Children's Home

(Question No. 497)

Mr Braithwaite asked the Minister for Community Services and Health, upon notice, on 21 December 1990:

(1) Did Greystanes Children's Home, 2 Grose Street, Leura, NSW, submit a proposal to his Department in 1989 to provide a new accommodation service for 14 young adults inappropriately housed in the Home; if so, has a decision been made on the proposal.

(2) Will he approve the Home's proposal.

(3) Will the States be taking over responsibility for accommodation services; if so, is his Department deliberately delaying a decision on the proposal until this occurs.

(4) Who will provide a service for the people referred to in part (1) if they are discharged from the Home.

(5) What further action should the Home take to facilitate a decision on their proposal.

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

(1) Greystanes submitted a proposal dated 12 May 1989 to the Department of Community Services and Health for capital and recurrent funding for an integrated 15/16 bed unit.

Discussions between officers of the Department and Greystanes culminated in a meeting on 18 October 1989 to discuss this proposal. Departmental officers expressed their concern that a 15/16 bed unit would not further the Principles and Objectives of the Disability Services Act and advised that the current proposal would not be funded.

In a letter of 1 February 1990 to the Department, the Executive Secretary of Greystanes acknowledged her recognition of the Department's reasons for not recommending funding for Greystanes' proposal of 12 May 1989.

(2) No.

(3) There is currently discussion between the States and the Commonwealth regarding over a proposed Commonwealth/State Disability Agreement. In its current draft form, the Agreement proposes that State Governments administer accommodation services.

As the decision not to fund the 15/16 bed proposal from Greystanes has already been made, it is not being delayed.

(4) This question appears to imply that Greystanes would consider evicting 14 people, simply for becoming adults in their accommodation service. Although we all acknowledge that adults could be more appropriately accommodated, such an action would cause me concern about the level of commitment Greystanes has to these 14 people and to the Principles and Objectives of the Disability Services Act under which it receives Commonwealth funding.

(5) Greystanes has been advised that a proposal for a 15 bed institution would not be funded under the Disability Services Act.

If Greystanes wishes to provide alternative services for any of their existing adult residents, the Department is willing to discuss proposals which further the Principles and Objectives of the Disability Services Act. However, it needs to be recognised that the existing funding designated for these residents would be transferred with them in any new accommodation arrangement funded under the Disability Services Act.

If Greystanes then wished to expand their service by bringing in more children, they would be expected to make an application to the New South Wales State Government for funding, as State Governments have the primary responsibility for services for children with a disability.