

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

JOINT COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE

DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

BEING A REPORT THAT THE COMMITTEE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO COMPLETE ITS INQUIRY

October 1984

MEMBERSHIP OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE

Chairman: Deputy Chairman: Hon W L Morrison, MP Hon M J R MacKellar, MP

Senator R C Elstob Senator R Hill Senator G N Jones Senator A W R Lewis Senator D J MacGibbon Senator K W Sibraa Senator M C Tate Mr G N Bilney, MP Mr D E Charles, MP Mr W P Coleman, MP Mr M D Cross, MP Mr R F Edwards, MP Mr J Gayler, MP Hon R J Groom, MP Mr R Jacobi, MP Hon R C Katter, MP Dr R E Klugman, MP Mr S A Lusher, MP

Secretary: Mr P F Bergin

Mr R F Shipton, MP

Membership of the Sub-Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control

Pursuant to para 8 of the resolution of appointment of the Committee, the Chairman, the Hon W L Morrison, MP and the Deputy Chairman, the Hon M J R MacKellar, MP were ex-officio members of the sub-committee.

Chairman: Deputy Chairman: Mr D E Charles, MP Hon R J Groom, MP

Senator G N Jones Senator M C Tate Mr W P Coleman, MP Mr M D Cross, MP Dr R E Klugman, MP

Secretary to the Sub-Committee

Mr P F Bergin

Adviser to the Sub-Committee

Dr G L Cheeseman

FOREWORD

- 1. On 8 December 1983 the Committee appointed a sub-committee to conduct an inquiry into disarmament and arms control. At its first meeting the sub-committee elected Mr D E Charles, MP as Chairman and Hon R J Groom, MP as Deputy Chairman. Since then the members of the sub-committee have been involved in public hearings and informal discussions in relation to the inquiry.
- 2. In his opening statement at the first public hearing of the inquiry on 23 May the Chairman of the sub-committee, identified a number of issues which would be considered by the sub-committee. 'Issues which are sure to arise during the course of the inquiry include nuclear war and its effect on Australia; current capabilities and the intentions of the superpowers; a nuclear freeze; horizontal nuclear proliferation; nuclear weapons-free zone in the south-west Pacific; Australia's role in the strategic arms limitation talks and the anti-ballistic missile treaty; a comprehensive test ban; conventional arms; peace and disarmament studies; and reduction of military budgets. That is not an exhaustive list', transcript p.3.
- 3. However, it has not been possible with the limited time available in the current session to prepare a final and comprehensive report on this complex and very important issue which is of concern to so many people.
- 4. This short report outlines the sub-committee's activities, on the basis of which the Committee will be able to proceed to the preparation of a final report to be presented to the parliament during the autumn session of 1985.

Introduction

- 1. The sub-committee was established on 8 December 1983 and proceeded to arrange for a series of briefings on disarmament and arms control and to the relevant literature prior to calling for submissions.
- 2. The sub-committee was fortunate in being able to meet with a number of distinguished overseas visitors to Australia for informal discussions on matters relevant to the inquiry. Visitors included Mrs I Thorssen, a former Swedish Disarmament Ambassador, Mr J Martenson, the United Nations Under-Secretary General for Disarmament, Mr Shapar, Head of the Nuclear Energy Agency of the OECD and Mr Asbjorn Eide, Executive Director of the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo.
- 3. The question of disarmament and arms control also arose during discussions between the Main Committee and other visitors including Dr Blix, the Executive Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Dr Mertes, the Deputy German Foreign Minister and the Returned Services League of Australia.
- 4. Assistance was sought from the diplomatic missions in Canberra. This assistance was forthcoming and the sub-committee was provided with a wide range of publications and statements as well as invitations for discussions. However, it was not possible to arrange for the discussions with the diplomatic representatives. These discussions could be held when the sub-committee is re-appointed. Recent initiatives announced by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics could also be explored in these discussions.

The Inquiry

5. On 14 February 1984 the Sub-Committee was briefed by officers of the the Department of Foreign Affairs and

representatives from the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University. The briefing paper provided by the Department was later included in the transcript of evidence.

- 6. The Chairman in a press release on 15 March invited submissions from the general public. Advertisements inviting submissions were then placed in the Age, Australian and Sydney Morning Rerald. A number of peace groups were informed directly on the inquiry and invited to make submissions.
- 7. The sub-committee received 86 submissions and some of those who made submissions were invited to appear before the sub-committee at public hearings. During July hearings were held in Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne at which persons representing organisations appeared before the sub-committee.
- 8. Prior to these hearings the sub-committee had held hearings in Canberra with the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Department of Defence on 23 May. On 7 June Mr Richard Butler, the Disarmament Ambassador appeared before the sub-committee. A further hearing was held in Canberra on 9 August at which a number of persons with specialised insights into the issues appeared before the sub-committee. The transcript of these hearings and the submissions authorised for publication are available for inspection at both the National Library and the House of Representatives Committee Office.
- 9. Appendix A lists the persons who gave evidence to the sub-committee at the public hearings and Appendix B the submissions received. The sub-committee would like to thank all those who made submissions to the inquiry for the time and effort made to assist the sub-committee in this very complex yet important inquiry.
- 10. The issues raised in the submissions represented a cross-section of the views of the Australian community. They ranged from proposals for unilateral disarmament to suggestions

that the peace movement was a surrender movement. The issues which were raised most often in the submissions concerned the export of uranium and the presence in Australia of the Joint United States-Australian facilities or the United States bases as they were referred to in some submissions. The role of the facilities has been commented on in both the parliament and the media, and the submissions received varied greatly in their approach to the bases issues, some believing the bases add stability to the region whilst others took the opposite viewpoint.

- 11. Other issues which were referred to in the submissions included the proposed nuclear free zone in the south-west Pacific, the role of the ANZUS Alliance and the visits of nuclear-powered ships to Australian ports. There have been some recent developments in these issues and the sub-committee wished to become fully conversant with implications of some of the recommended courses of action.
- 12. The economic and social consequences of war were commented on in some detail. One submission concentrated exclusively on 'nuclear winter' which was also referred to in a number of other submissions some of which disputed the claims of devastation put forward.
- 13. The dissolution of the House of Representatives means that the Committee will cease to exist from the date of the proclamation. 1. The Committee is therefore unable to complete the inquiry and reports to the Senate and the House of Representatives accordingly.

^{1.} Resolution of Appointment, paragraph 4.

Recommendation

- 15. The Committee recommends that:
 - (a) the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence be reconstituted in the 34th Parliament;
 - (b) the Committee appoint a sub-committee on disarmament and arms control.
 - (c) the Parliament give to the new Committee the power to consider and make use of the records of this Committee and its predecessors.

The Hon W L Morrison, MP Chairman

October 1984

APPENDIX A

WITNESSES WHO APPEARED AT PUBLIC HEARINGS

Australian Conservation Foundation

Mr D J Hill, Deputy Director

Churches Commission on International Affairs

Bishop D A Garnsey, Chairman Mr D L Purnell, Honorary Secretary Ms. M L Bearlin, Member

Clergy for Peace

Reverend P J Huggins, Secretary Reverend W N Campbell, Secretary Elect

Department of Defence

Mr R K Thomas, Assistant Secretary, ANZUS and United Nations Branch Air Commodore M A Turnbull, Director-General, Military Staff, Strategic and International Policy Division Mr W Connick, Director, Materials Research Laboratories

Department of Foreign Affairs

Mr R A Walker, Acting Special Disarmament Adviser Mr R J D Gee, Acting Head, Arms Control Section Mr J A Tilemann, Acting Assistant Secretary, Nuclear Policy Branch Mr T C Findlay, Acting Head, Disarmament Multilateral Section Mr R Butler, Australian Ambassador for Disarmament

Friends of the Earth (Manly) Old

Mr K MacDonald, President Mr L R Drake, Secretary

Medical Association for Prevention of War Australian Branch

Dr G Mann, Member, NSW Organising Committee Dr J A Ward, Secretary

National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of Australia

Dr J A Davidson, Member

People for Nuclear Disarmament - NSW

Dr D J Worth, Organiser Miss A E Horsler, Member

People for Nuclear Disarmament - Old

Dr N W Preston, Chairperson Mr G R Clarke, Member Mrs T M Brunton, Member Mr M D Hayes, Adviser

People for Nuclear Disarmament - Vic

Mr M E Hamel-Green, Member

Camberwell People for Nuclear Disarmament - Vic

Mr R O Desailly, Convenor
Mr M D Browning, Contact Person
Miss J C Crawford, Member and Member of Executive
Council of the Central Organisation of People for
Nuclear Disarmament

The Peace Research and Resource Centre of Oueensland

Mr R J Foote, Member Ms A T Ingamells, Member Mr M D Hayes, Member

Scientists Against Nuclear Arms

Mr M Beard, Secretary

Uniting Church of Australia - Old Synod

Mr M D Hayes, Consultant on Peace and Disarmament Issues The Reverend J Woodley, Consultant Dr F E Guard, Member

Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, ANU - A.C.T.

Mr A J Mack, Research Fellow Dr D Ball, Head

Wildlife Preservation Society of Old

Mr J Sinclair, President Mr D Henry, Director

Womens International League for Peace and Freedom

Ms E W Mattick, President, Australian Section Mrs M J Holmes, Past President, Australian Section Mrs E Rathgeber, Member and Past President UNESCO Liaison Officer Ms V G Abraham, Honorary Secretary

Private Citizens

Professor M E Howard, Oriel College, Oxford University, Oxford, United Kingdom

Mrs J M Redner, 20 Carnarvon Road, North Caulfield, Vic.

Mr H Redner, 20 Carnarvon Road, North Caulfield, Vic.

Dr A B Pittock, 38 Yackatoon Avenue, Aspendale, Vic.

Mr R H Mathams, 20 Bavin Street, Curtin, A.C.T.

APPENDIX B

SUBMISSIONS RECEIVED

| 1. | Mr | R | Mathams, | Canberra. | |
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- 2. Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland, Qld.
- 3. Gary Chitty, Mornington, Vic.
- 4. Graham Pamount (Peace Information Exchange) S.A.
- 5. Union of Australian Women, Queensland Branch.
- 6. Australian Quaker Peace Committee, Vic.
- 7. H & J Redner Monash University, Vic.
- Stephanie Jackson Gin Gin, Qld.
- 9. P Sargeant, Nar Nar Goon, Vic.
- 10. George Shenman, Hobart.
- 11. Derwent Valley Peace Group, Tas.
- 12. Teachers for Peace, S.A.
- Dr E Colin, Upney, Vic.
- 14. Mrs I Colin, Upney, Vic.
- 15. N Godfrey, Moranbah, Qld.
- 16. Greenpeace Australia NSW.
- 17. Dr B Pittock, Aspendale, Vic.
- 18. Dr D Ball, ACT.
- 19. Mr A Mack, ACT.
- 20. Mr G Fry, ACT.
- 21. Dr T B Millar, ACT.
- 22. Australian Council of Churches, ACT.
- 23. Messrs L C and W F Teakle, Jondaryan, Qld.
- 24. Australian Conservation Foundation, Melbourne, Vic.

- 25. Mrs B Chandler, Qld.
- 26. K Maylon, Maleny, Qld.
- 27. K M Kemshead, Brisbane, Qld.
- 28. Gill, Garrad and Carruthers, Qld.
- 29. J Jordan, Maleny, Qld.
- 30. Department of Defence, Canberra.
- 31. S M Smith, Woodford, Qld.
- 32. Friends of the Earth, Manly, Qld.
- 33. Mr P Bear, Old.
- 34. B & B Clements, SA.
- 35. United Nations of Australia SA. Division.
- 36. Bellingen New Clear Awareness Group, NSW.
- 37. People for Peace and a Nuclear Free World, Cairns, Qld.
- .38. Christians for Peace, NSW.
- 39. The Environment Centre, Northern Territory.
- 40. Department of Foreign Affairs, Canberra.
- 41. Socialist Party of Australia, Adelaide, SA.
- 42. Australian Peace Committee, Adelaide, SA.
- 43. Conservation Council of SA.
- 44. Peace Research and Resource Centre, Old.
- 45. Senator Chipp, Camberra, ACT.
- 46. Maple St Co-operative Society Ltd, Maleny, Qld.
- 47. Nambucca Anti-Nuclear Association, NSW.
- 48. G Loftus Hills (Lower Plenty) Vic.
- 49. Bellingen and Plateau Conservation Society, Bellingen,
- 50. A Gallagher, Brisbane, Qld.
- 51. Medical Association for Prevention of War Australian Branch, SA.

- 52. Action for World Development, Sydney, NSW.
- 53. Ms Jan McNicol Brisbane, Qld.
- Quaker Peace Committee Hobart, Tas.
- 55. R Pitty ANU.
- 56. N Hopkins, Lyneham, ACT.
- 57. Uniting Church in Australia, Qld.
- 58. Scientists Against Nuclear Arms, Tas.
- 59. Sunshine Coast Environment Council, Qld.
- 60. Medical Association for Prevention of War, NSW.
- 61. Mr M Paine, Beacon Hill, NSW.
- Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, Dee Why, NSW.
- 63. People for Nuclear Disarmament, Brisbane, Qld.
- 64. Revesby Social Justice Group, Sydney, NSW.
- 65. Clergy for Peace, Melbourne, Vic.
- 66. Camberwell People for Nuclear Disarmament, Melbourne, Vic.
- 67. Mid-North Coast Peace Group, NSW.
- 68. Wollongong University Nuclear Disarmament Association, Wollongong, NSW.
- 69. Campaign Against Nuclear Energy, SA.
- 70. People for Nuclear Disarmament, Diamond Valley.
- 71. Dr C J Hamer, ACT
- National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Australia, NSW.
- People for Nuclear Disarmament, Sydney, NSW.
- 74. Dr J Whitehall, Sydney, NSW.
- 75. People for Nuclear Disarmament, Melbourne, Vic.
- 76. The Nonviolent Action Co-operative, Brisbane, Qld.

- 77. S J Davies, Maleny, Qld.
- 78. Campaign Against Nuclear Power, Qld.
- P F Goodwin, Brisbane, Old.
- 80. Australian Peace Committee, Sydney, NSW
- 81. The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Committee (Qld), Maleny, Qld.
- 82. Department of Resources and Energy, Canberra.
- 83. Collingwood People for Nuclear Disarmament, Melbourne, Vic.
- 84. AWD Australia, Nambour, Qld.
- 85. The Returned Services League of Australia, Canberra.
- 86. Knox People for Nuclear Disarmament, Vic.

DISARMAMENT REPORT



PARLIAMENT OF AUSTRALI CANBERRA, A.C.T.

Forwarded with the Compliments of THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE