



MAPW - Health Professionals Promoting Peace

Public Consultations Team
White Paper Task Force
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
RG Casey Building
John McEwan Crescent
Barton ACT 0221

Tuesday 28 February 2016

Dear Sir/Madam,

Please accept the attached document from the Medical Association for Prevention of War, as our submission to the Foreign Policy White Paper public consultation process.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Margaret Beavis
National President
Medical Association for Prevention of War



MAPW - Health Professionals Promoting Peace

ABOUT MAPW

The Medical Association for Prevention of War (Australia) works for the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and the prevention of armed conflict. We promote peace through research, advocacy, peace education and partnerships.

Our professional not-for-profit organisation has branches across Australia, and works globally through the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

INTRODUCTION: THE COSTS OF WAR

This submission will address all issues raised in the call for submissions, with the exception of issue 5, on trade and investment.

The goal of Australian foreign policy should be to contribute to the security, wellbeing and prosperity of the Australian people, through good international relations. Promoting the welfare of other nations will in turn improve those relationships.

Unfortunately, much of Australia's foreign policy has shifted from building good relationships between countries to preparing for war and going to war.

MAPW is not a pacifist organisation, but recognises the reality of modern warfare, which is that there are rarely any winners; all sides suffer huge losses, most of which are borne by civilian populations. The health and humanitarian impacts include the displacement of millions of people from their homes, which is currently causing an unprecedented refugee crisis. Indeed, many refugees are then refused entry by the very countries that have been engaged in bombing their home countries. Environmental impacts add to war's casualties. The presence of nine nuclear-armed states globally, most of which are either engaged in armed conflict or are in unstable regions of tension, is a further and serious consideration. The risk of nuclear warfare is real and increasing.

For this reason, MAPW believes that the prevention of armed conflict must be an absolute priority for Australia's foreign policy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

MAPW recommends that:

- Australia participate constructively in the UN negotiations in March and June/July this year for a legally binding instrument to prohibit nuclear weapons
- Australia's approach to a rules-based international order be applied impartially in all instances
- Australia develop approaches to global security issues that are independent of those of our major ally the US and that promote:
 - Peace rather than war as a response to conflict
 - Our own and the wider global interests rather than US interests
 - Increased ongoing funding (legislated as a percentage of GDP) for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade enabling greater active diplomacy and diplomatic posts commensurate with our position in the OECD
- The Australian Parliament legislates to provide foreign aid at the OECD recommended level of 0.7% of GNI, and that this aid is explicitly used to further the UN Sustainability Development Goals
- War powers be reformed so that any decision to deploy the ADF into armed conflict can be made only by parliament (with adequate provision for a genuine emergency), and after expert legal and strategic advice
- Any proposal to deploy the ADF into armed conflict be accompanied by estimates of the likely civilian costs in the region concerned, and how the needs of civilians in or fleeing conflict zones will be met
- Civilian deaths, injuries and displacements as a result of military action supported by Australia be officially recorded in all instances
- Australia acts on its commitments to protect health workers and facilities in conflict zones, and supports independent investigation of all such attacks in a non-partisan fashion
- Australia observes the provisions of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees
- A high-level independent inquiry is held into the decision-making process that involved Australia in the 2003 invasion of Iraq
- Australian troops be withdrawn from the Middle East
- Australia adopt a non-partisan approach to the conflict between Israel and Palestine and work with other nations to ensure a just and sustainable settlement
- Australia develops a well-funded national strategy to promote peacemaking, drawing on the experience of past interventions both within DFAT and internationally
- Australia increases DFAT funding to increase peacemaking capacity, staff and missions. Non-government expertise should be identified and used as needed
- Australia establishes a unit for improving capacity and training in mediation conflict resolution skills both here and overseas

- Australia increases engagement with and support for multilateral organisations, non-government organisations and experts that support peace processes
- Australia negotiates in good faith on a fair and permanent maritime border with East Timor
- Australia prioritizes working with other countries through economic relationships and treaties to contribute as much as possible to preventing climate change.
- Australia works with our neighbours by offering assistance with sustainable energy practices, renewable energy technology, land rehabilitation, agricultural methods and water security.
- Australia recognises and takes measures to help prevent the threat of land inundation in many countries in our region.

MAPW regards the following as key areas of concern.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Nuclear weapons are the most indiscriminately devastating of all the weapons of mass destruction. Not only do they have massive direct impacts, killing potentially millions of people in an instant, but any use would leave huge numbers of people with injuries in a radioactive wasteland with virtually no humanitarian relief possible. These weapons must never be used again, under any circumstances

Even a “limited” use of nuclear weapons also has the potential to cause a decade long nuclear winter. This winter, caused by large amounts of atmospheric particulate matter, would lead to significant reductions in crop yields and have the potential to cause major global famine. Detailed modelling suggests up to two billion lives would be at risk in food insecure countries.¹

In December 2016 the UN General Assembly voted for negotiations to commence in 2017 on a legally binding instrument to prohibit nuclear weapons. The majority of Australians support nuclear disarmament, with 84% supporting this approach in a Nielsen poll in 2014.

Australia is a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Under Article VI, Australia is obliged to pursue negotiations in good faith for nuclear disarmament. However, to date Australia has been actively undermining progress towards a nuclear weapons ban treaty, which is the most promising initiative towards fulfilling the NPT that there has been for decades. Australia’s approach is in stark contrast to our participation in negotiations to ban chemical weapons, biological weapons, land mines and cluster munitions.

Australia has in the past justified its opposition to a nuclear weapons ban treaty by saying we rely on US nuclear weapons for protection; relying on the concept of “extended nuclear deterrence”.

¹ Two Billion lives at Risk. Physicians for Social Responsibility 2013
https://www.google.com.au/search?q=two+billion+lives+at+risk&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&client=firefox-b&gfe_rd=cr&ei=0dW1WL6rMq7M8geY2pqYAw

Australia's position damages efforts towards non-proliferation. How could we condemn nuclear testing by, say, North Korea, when we are not prepared to put all nuclear weapons on the same legal footing, and we continue to support a nuclear apartheid? A nuclear weapons ban treaty would make it politically much harder for other countries to acquire nuclear weapons. By stigmatising these weapons the UN is establishing a frame work for delegitimising of these weapons, leading towards the disarmament of arsenals.

Australia should participate constructively in the nuclear weapons ban treaty negotiations. To do otherwise calls into question our commitment to the NPT, to multilateral institutions and to the United Nations.

THE NEED FOR INDEPENDENT THINKING

MAPW sees Australia's relationships with other nations as increasingly being distorted by our extremely strong support for US military actions.

Australia has always relied on security from without, from a great and powerful ally. In its embryonic years prior to federation, and in its infancy as a nation, Australia relied on Great Britain as the foundation of its defence and foreign policy. After WWII, with the decline of the British Empire and the emergence of American political and military influence, our focus shifted to the USA. Our reliance on the United States has increasingly permeated Australia's thinking, and as a result we have committed to supporting the United States in a number of ways:

- We have supported ill-conceived US wars, with horrific humanitarian impacts and other ongoing disastrous consequences.
- We have engaged in procurement of extremely expensive military hardware (untested in the case of the JSF) driven by the principle of inter- operability, which prepares us for more US-led wars. Commentators have noted that much of this hardware is much more suited to attacking other nations rather than defending Australian territory.
- We have embraced increasing numbers of US troops on the Australian mainland, as a key part of the broader US 'pivot' to Asia.
- We continue to support US bases on the Australian mainland. Pine Gap's functions include assistance with nuclear weapons and drone targeting and the highly destabilising missile defence program; it would be a target in the event of a nuclear exchange between the US and another nuclear armed state.
- There are approximately 40 senior Australian Army officers working in US Pacific Command. This includes an Australian Army Major-General serving as the deputy commanding general – operations, US Army Pacific. This intense enmeshment reinforces Australia's past behaviour; the pattern that when the US goes to war, we follow.

These factors have contributed to destabilisation in the Middle East and in our region, and reduced our standing in the region as an independent player. They are increasing regional tensions and the risks of further major warfare involving Australia.

They significantly impair our ability to work diplomatically and as a mediator in future conflicts, and are not in our interests.

In the South China Sea, where China has constructed artificial islands (as has Vietnam, with Taiwan also suspected of militarising Itu Aba in the Spratly group), Australia has echoed US rhetoric about a Chinese threat to global trade - trade on which China itself, as well as Australia, relies - and takes part in provocative military exercises.² This also is not in our interests.

There is nothing in the ANZUS Treaty (Appendix 1) that compels any of these steps. In fact, the Treaty upholds the necessity of the peaceful resolution of conflict and the pre-eminent role of the UN in maintaining peace and security.

DEALING WITH TERRORISM

It is imperative that our responses to terrorism do not have the opposite effect, and end up entrenching terrorism. The “war on terror” is believed by most observers to have done just that. Australians are more at risk of a terrorist attack now than before the “war on terror”, as a result of our support for US wars in the Middle East. If terrorists are expelled militarily from one area, such as Syria or Iraq, they can regroup elsewhere, such as in Libya. As with any ideology, unless we understand the driving forces, we will not overcome it.

Armed attacks that kill large numbers of innocent people incite hatred, which is the lifeblood of terrorist organisations. In 2015, affiliates of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War published a report “Body Count: Casualty figures after 10 years of the “War on Terror”.³ The study concluded that the “war on terror” in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan had killed, directly or indirectly, around 1 million people in Iraq, 220,000 in Afghanistan and 80,000 in Pakistan, making a total of 1.3 million people.

In his preface to the report, former UN Humanitarian Coordinator for Iraq (1998 – 2000) Hans Von Sponeck stated that civilian casualties are deliberately omitted from official statistics. It is hardly surprising therefore that there is little understanding in Western governments of the depth of resentment of our military interventions.

The overlooking of civilian deaths, displacements, maiming and injuries from the wars that Australia supports undermines any humanitarian imperatives that are often claimed as we deploy troops into armed conflict.

² <http://thediplomat.com/2016/09/south-china-sea-whats-taiwan-building-on-itu-aba/>

³ **Body Count** Casualty Figures after 10 Years of the “War on Terror” Iraq Afghanistan Pakistan IPPNW 2015 www.psr.org/bodycount accessed 25/2/2017

There is one particular conflict that must be resolved before the Middle East can head towards peace. For decades, the festering sore in the Middle East has been the plight of the Palestinian people. As in South Africa under the apartheid regime, the ongoing political and economic oppression, the daily humiliations and the brazen violation of international law by Israeli settlements on stolen land, with complete impunity, must be addressed. A just resolution to this conflict would do far more to combat terrorism than any military deployments. Australia's stance on this must change, so that both Israelis and Palestinians feel secure.

WAR POWERS

The manner in which decisions to go to war in Australia are made is of serious concern. For a decision that has such far-reaching consequences, it is imperative that there is the most exhaustive scrutiny of proposals for military deployments, informed by truthful assessments of the threat faced by our nation and all other relevant factors. For this reason, MAPW supports calls for war powers reform, so that all of parliament is involved *before, not after*, a decision for ADF deployment has been made. As we have seen repeatedly, a decision-making process that is confined to Cabinet, or, even worse, the Prime Minister alone, is a recipe for disaster.

Of particular concern to MAPW is the fact that humanitarian considerations appear to play little part in decisions to go to war, despite lip service to the contrary. In November 2002, Medact, the UK affiliate of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (with which MAPW is affiliated) released a report "*Collateral Damage: The health and environmental costs of war on Iraq*", which predicted disastrous health and other consequences if the planned invasion of Iraq took place. The report was launched in Australia at Parliament House, with messages of support from General Peter Gration, former chief of the ADF, and others, and received significant media coverage. Other organisations also produced soundly-based and consistent messages that the impending invasion of Iraq was almost certain to cause devastating consequences for innocent populations.

This wealth of authoritative predictions however appeared to carry no weight against the catastrophic decision to go to war. The predictions of Medact and others, tragically, came to pass.

MAPW believes that the costs of a proposed military deployment into armed conflict (including its likely human costs, how they will be managed, and the resources that will be made available to care for the injured, the orphans, and the displaced) must be assessed and declared *before* a decision for war is made.

A RULES-BASED INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Foreign Minister Julie Bishop has frequently referred, correctly, to the need for a rules-based International order. However in practice, our application of rules has been selective. There are

many instances where Australia's actions or silence have in fact undermined international rules and been more consistent with a "might is right" approach to international affairs. They include:

- Australia's consistent and strong opposition to a prohibition on the worst of all weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons, to place them on the same legal footing as other WMDs.
- Australia's involvement in the illegal and catastrophic invasion of Iraq in 2003, which has destabilised the whole region with disastrous effects to this day. Australian governments have refused to examine the decision-making process in 2001-03 that led to our involvement, and to hold those responsible accountable for their actions.
- Australia's failure to condemn both the illegal Israeli settlements on Palestinian land, and the collective punishment of the people of Gaza in the form of the blockade, the latter constituting a war crime.
- Australia's consistent marginalisation of the legal rights of refugees - those fleeing wars and persecution - to seek asylum.

GOOD INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1) Diplomacy

Australia's Foreign Service and diplomatic capabilities have been declining over the last decade, relative to its developed country counterparts.⁴ Resources have been directed into the security and intelligence agencies, with little making it into the diplomatic service. The Lowy Institute's Global Diplomacy Index ranks countries by their diplomatic networks in the world: by city, country, and type of diplomatic mission.⁵ Australia is currently languishing at second lowest out of the G20 countries - only doing better than Saudi Arabia. It is difficult to have significant impact in any diplomatic preventative action when there are so few overseas diplomats, and very limited resources.

Last year's Defence White Paper REF stresses the need for:

"... a stable, rules-based global order which supports the peaceful resolution of disputes, facilitates free and open trade and enables unfettered access to the global commons to support economic development."

If the government is serious about the peaceful resolution of disputes, then it needs to recognise the importance of the Australian foreign service which has had steadily declining capabilities when compared with other developed nations.

⁴ http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australian_outlook/rethinking-australias-foreign-policy/accessed accessed 10th January 2017

⁵ <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/lowy-institute-global-diplomacy-index> accessed 4th February 2017

In 2014 the National Commission of Audit reviewed resourcing diplomacy and consular activities.⁶

It commented that the overall poor level of DFAT resourcing has been a focus of attention, raised by the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade report *Australia's Overseas Representation – Punching Below Our Weight?* (2012) and the Lowy Institute for International Policy report *Australia's Diplomatic Deficit* (2009).

The Parliamentary Committee recommended increased Budget priority for overseas representation, with a substantial (at least 20) increase in the number of DFAT's diplomatic posts to bring it to a level commensurate with its position in the G20 and OECD economies. The Committee also recommended that DFAT's funding be increased in the long-term to a set percentage of gross domestic product.

The overall resourcing position of DFAT was obscured by its merger with AusAID. Even with the reduction in aid spending, AusAID resourcing was the majority and DFAT left without adequate resources. Broadly the argument about resourcing has centred on four issues:

- DFAT funding has been largely constant in real terms since 1995-96
- DFAT staffing is lower than it was in 1996 and the number of overseas Australia-Based (A-Based) staff is notably lower.
- DFAT has a smaller diplomatic footprint (i.e. number of overseas posts) than any similar sized G20 or OECD country.
- Growing numbers of Australians travelling overseas are placing increasing pressures on consular services and DFAT workloads.

However little weight has been given to the need for Australia to be active and effective in shoring up the multilateral systems we are so dependent upon for a “stable rules-based order”. With the election of US President Donald Trump, and the subsequent deep uncertainty and highly erratic approach he has brought to US foreign policy. It is all the more urgent that Australian decisions are made independently, and that multilateral systems are strengthened.

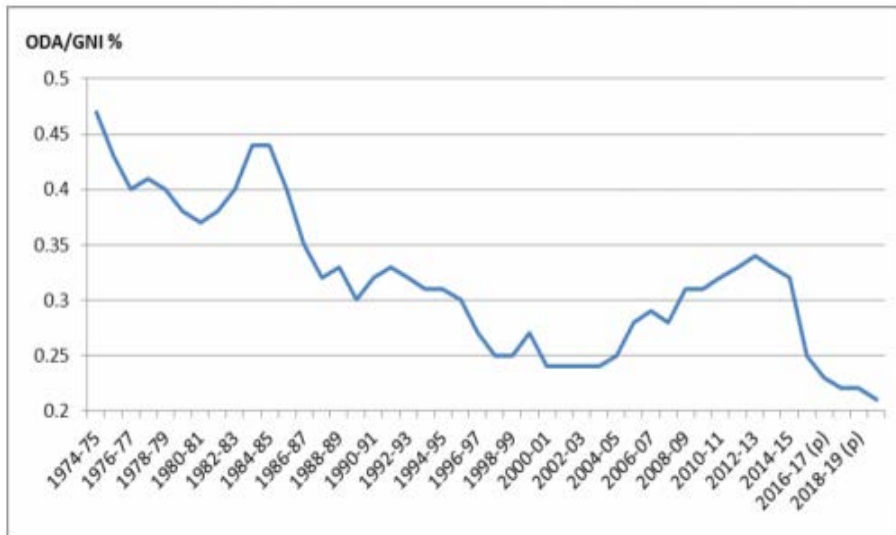
Indeed, recent changes to the US National Security Council (NSC) are of great concern. With the demotion of the highest ranking military officer, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the highest ranking intelligence officer, the Director of National Intelligence, and the appointment of political adviser Stephen Bannon as a permanent member of the NSC, Donald Trump has significantly escalated the risk of the US launching again into ill-advised conflicts.

In this environment it is absolutely essential that Australia has a well-funded, more widely located and highly skilled diplomatic service.

⁶ <http://www.ncoa.gov.au/report/appendix-vol-2/10-4-resourcing-diplomacy-and-consular-activities.html> accessed 4th February 2017

2) Foreign aid

Australian government spending on Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) has been cut drastically. Peak levels were \$5.6 billion in 2012 -13.⁷ Aid was reduced by over a billion dollars in 2015 -16, to approximately \$4 billion, and this year will be reduced again to an estimated \$3.8 billion.^{8 9} It will drop to its lowest levels ever, 0.22% of GDP, by 2017 -18.



Australian foreign aid as a percentage of Gross National Income 1974-2019

The target set by the UN for ODA from developed countries is 0.7% GDP. This humane level of foreign aid has been reached in the UK and enshrined into law, with legislation passed by the UK parliament. The then Prime Minister Gordon Brown commented that he would not make cuts “on the back of the world’s poorest”.

In 2014 the government ceased all humanitarian aid to Iraq; some has since been restored. Our humanitarian response to the Syrian crisis has totalled \$213 million since 2011. In 2015, Australian aid cuts of 82% to the Middle East and North Africa, and 70% for sub-Saharan Africa, were announced.¹⁰ The 2016 federal budget announced a further \$220 million over the next three years to address humanitarian needs in Syria and neighbouring countries.¹¹

Australia’s current military expenditure of \$32.4 billion annually equals \$88.7 million spent every day on preparing for and fighting wars. This means that Australia spends more on our military each day than we spend each *year* to help displaced people in Syria and elsewhere in the Middle East.

⁷ Lowy Institute. <http://www.lowyinstitute.org/issues/australian-foreign-aid>

⁸ Australian Strategic Policy Institute. The Cost of Defence: ASPI Defence Budget Brief 2016 – 2017, p 226

⁹ DFAT media release 3 May 2016

¹⁰ The Guardian. 14 May 2015

¹¹ DFAT Media release. 3 May 2016. 2016 Foreign Affairs Budget

At the COP21 Climate Change summit in Paris in December 2015, Australia pledged AUD 1 billion over the next five years for climate change mitigation. This was to be drawn from our existing aid program. Whilst addressing the threat of climate change is an essential component in Australia's international and national policies, taking further monies from an already depleted aid budget causes major further damage to Australia's international humanitarian assistance.

Former UN Human Rights Commissioner Mary Robinson has said: "You cannot fight a war on terror without also fighting a war on disadvantage, discrimination and despair. Security, development and human rights are inextricably linked."

BUILDING AUSTRALIA'S REPUTATION AS A PEACEMAKER

For Australia to be secure, the countries in our region must also be stable and secure. For this to be the case, it is critical that Australia actively promotes peace and justice internationally, both in our region and further afield. We need to develop ways of increasing capacity for conflict resolution both inside countries and between countries.

In September 2015, Australia joined with all UN member states to support the UN Sustainable Development Goals. Number 16 of these goals includes taking responsibility for promoting "peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development". The first of the priorities under this goal is to "Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related deaths everywhere". Australia has evidently committed to reducing conflict, and developing ways to act as a peacemaker.

Australia has a history of acting as a peacemaker. We have made positive contributions to peace processes in Cambodia, the Solomon Islands, East Timor and to a lesser extent in Bougainville.

The UN has conducted three reviews of peace processes since 2014. Indeed, in 2015 Australia partnered with Angola in reviewing expert recommendations and preparing and negotiating the resolution for *The Review of the UN Peace-building Architecture*. In the 2016 Defence White Paper it was stated that "Australia's security and prosperity relies on a stable, rules based global order which supports the peaceful resolution of disputes"

Taking action to resolve disputes early is much more cost effective than intervening later when armed conflict has already commenced. For Australia to act as an intermediary, not only does Australia need to be seen as independent from the dispute in question, but also needs to be seen as independent from the influence of larger world powers. Once again developing a more independent foreign policy focusing on Australia's interests and the interests of our region should be a priority. Australia has in the past been described as the US government's "deputy sheriff" in the Pacific. Ongoing subservience to US foreign policy reduces Australia's ability to act as an independent mediator and to be seen as an "honest broker".

There is not a single officer in DFAT working full time on peace processes such as mediation.

DFAT needs a significant increase in funding. There would be great value in strengthening DFAT's policies, procedures and institutional structures with regard to peacemaking. Increasing resources for Australia's diplomatic missions and their staff would enable better intelligence and engagement in both prevention of conflict and conflict resolution. Having a professional and well-resourced mediation team and the capacity to facilitate and support other processes that work towards peaceful resolution would be invaluable. Creation of a departmental section would enable advice, reporting and accountability for all these actions.

In addition to increased peacemaking focus and capacity in DFAT, it is important to recognise expert non-government capacity both here and in Australians living abroad. It would be very useful to establish a national mediation/peacemaking group of individuals, who members can be called upon to act quickly as disputes arise.

THE NEED FOR JUSTICE – THE CASE OF EAST TIMOR

Justice is an essential foundation in building good relations between countries. It is especially important that Australia treats impoverished nations in our region fairly, in accordance with international law, and in a manner that promotes their financial capacity to develop good health care, education and other essential infrastructure.

Australia's treatment of our immediate neighbour and young nation of East Timor has been a source of shame for many Australians, with a history of bullying, spying and attempting to take East Timorese resources.

MAPW urges that the Australian Government negotiate in good faith on a fair and permanent maritime border with East Timor, so that the East Timorese can develop the facilities and services that we take for granted in Australia.

ADDRESSING THREAT MULTIPLIERS: THE NEED FOR CLIMATE ACTION

War and the Environment

The recent Defence Policy White Papers briefly acknowledged the threat of climate change to security. But the language used has been uncertain and the space allocated minimal, dismissing the likelihood of problems arising before 2030. However the effects of climate change are being felt all around the globe already, and are set to escalate exponentially unless very strong action is taken.

Climate change is causing more conflict.

Food and water insecurity are already high but they will increase with the impact of further global temperature rises. On average global temperatures have increased one degree Celsius and the incidence of natural weather related disasters has more than doubled in the last 2 decades.¹²

Annual global deaths directly related to climate change have been reported by WHO to be approximately 250,000.¹³ If the increase of global temperatures goes beyond 2 degrees Celsius, climate change has been forecast to threaten billions of lives.^{14 15} Rising sea levels, reduced fish stocks, reduced growing seasons, and overall lower rainfalls in most regions will all contribute to steadily worsening food and water shortages.

Increased competition for resources between individuals and communities leads to conflict, and potentially civil war as well as the mass exodus of people within and across borders leading to more suffering and further conflict. Infectious diseases such as dengue fever and malaria will flourish in these circumstances.¹⁶

A 2013 study published in the journal *Science* reported an analysis of “45 different conflict data sets” and “strong causal evidence linking climatic events to human conflict”.¹⁷

A high profile example of this is Syria. A paper published in 2015 demonstrates that the severe drought of 2007-2010, which drove people from the land to the cities triggering conflict, was much more severe than natural variability would predict and this was worse because of long term drying due to climate change.¹⁸

Our region of the Pacific and South East Asia is likely to be particularly hard hit, due to the number of people living in low-lying coastal areas. Australia will be under increasing pressure to deal with those seeking refuge from land inundated by rising sea levels.

Conflict is worsening climate change and environmental damage

In 2010 the carbon footprint of the US military operation in Iraq alone was 160-500 million tonnes of CO₂, not including 80 million tonnes produced by provision of health care to the troops.

¹² NASA (2016), *Global Climate Change- Vital Signs of the Planet: 2016 Had Hottest March On Record*, Viewed 13 June, 2016, <http://climate.nasa.gov/news/2432/>

¹³ World Health Organisation (WHO)(2015), viewed 16 June 2016, (2015)

¹⁴ Costello, A, et al. 2009, ‘Managing the health effects of climate change: Lancet and University College London Institute for Global Health Commission’

¹⁵ Watts, N. et al 2015, ‘Health and climate change: policy responses to protect public health’,

¹⁶ Hanley, P. 2014, *Eleven*, Friesen Press. Victoria : British Columbia

¹⁷ Quantifying the Influence of Climate on Human Conflict: Solomon M. Hsiang, Marshall Burke, Edward Miguel. *Science* 01 Aug 2013:

¹⁸ Climate change in the Fertile Crescent and implications of the recent Syrian drought, Kelly et al. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*.

Deliberate targeting of oil wells caused enormous amounts of CO₂ to be released. Every damaged building that must be rebuilt involves a significant amount of embedded energy that would otherwise have been saved.

Many countries are still devastated by the presence of both unexploded munitions, in particular cluster bombs (for example large tracts of land in Cambodia since the American War) in Asia) and landmines (12% of Libya's arable land is uninhabitable) which puts further pressure on food production.

The world's military consumes 25% of all jet fuel and occupies land the size of the UK and France combined. Six percent of the world's resources are consumed by military activity. Both production and consumption of resources produces greenhouse gas and increases global warming.

CONCLUSION

MAPW believes there are many opportunities for promoting more peaceful outcomes in Australia's foreign policy. Positive actions would include:

- participating constructively in the UN nuclear disarmament negotiations
- developing an independent foreign policy
- improved funding for DFAT and a dedicated mediation unit
- improved funding for foreign aid
- war powers reform
- greater support for multilateral peacemaking institutions
- recognition of the clear links between climate change and conflict, and the need for urgent action at a national and international level.

Appendix 1

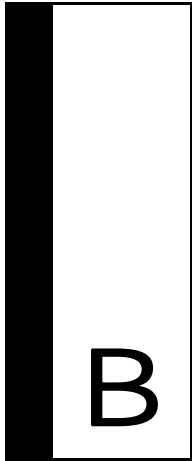
ANZUS Treaty

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Appendix B – The ANZUS Treaty

Australian Treaty Series 1952 No 2
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

CANBERRA

**Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of
America [ANZUS]**

(San Francisco, 1 September 1951)

Entry into force generally: 29 April 1952

AUSTRALIAN TREATY SERIES

1952 No. 2

Australian Government Publishing Service

Canberra

(c) Commonwealth of Australia 1997

SECURITY TREATY BETWEEN AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE PARTIES TO THIS TREATY,

REAFFIRMING their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments, and desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace in the Pacific Area,

NOTING that the United States already has arrangements pursuant to which its armed forces are stationed in the Philippines, and has armed forces and administrative responsibilities in the Ryukyus, and upon the coming into force of the Japanese Peace Treaty may also station armed forces in and about Japan to assist in the preservation of peace and security in the Japan Area,

RECOGNIZING that Australia and New Zealand as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations have military obligations outside as well as within the Pacific Area,

DESIRING to declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that no potential aggressor could be under the illusion that any of them stand alone in the Pacific Area, and

DESIRING further to coordinate their efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and security pending the development of a more comprehensive system of regional security in the Pacific Area,

THEREFORE DECLARE AND AGREE as follows:

Article I

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

Article II

In order more effectively to achieve the objective of this Treaty the Parties separately and jointly by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article III

The Parties will consult together whenever in the opinion of any of them the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened in the Pacific.

Article IV

Each Party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on any of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Article V

For the purpose of Article IV, an armed attack on any of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack on the metropolitan territory of any of the Parties, or on the island territories under its jurisdiction in the Pacific or on its armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific.

Article VI

This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article VII

The Parties hereby establish a Council, consisting of their Foreign Ministers or their Deputies, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council should be so organized as to be able to meet at any time.

Article VIII

Pending the development of a more comprehensive system of regional security in the Pacific Area and the development by the United Nations of more effective means to maintain international peace and security, the Council, established by Article VII, is authorized to maintain a consultative relationship with States, Regional Organizations, Associations of States or other authorities in the Pacific Area in a position to further the purposes of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of that Area.

Article IX

This Treaty shall be ratified by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of Australia, which will notify each of the other signatories of such deposit. The Treaty shall enter into force as soon as the ratifications of the signatories have been deposited.[\[1\]](#)

Article X

This Treaty shall remain in force indefinitely. Any Party may cease to be a member of the Council established by Article VII one year after notice has been given to the Government of Australia, which will inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of such notice.

Article XI

This Treaty in the English language shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of Australia. Duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of each of the other signatories.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty.

DONE at the city of San Francisco this first day of September, 1951.

FOR AUSTRALIA:

[Signed:]

PERCY C SPENDER

FOR NEW ZEALAND:

[Signed:]

C A BERENDSEN

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

[Signed:]

DEAN ACHESON

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

ALEXANDER WILEY

JOHN J SPARKMAN

[\[1\]](#) Instruments of ratification were deposited for Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America 29 April 1952, on which date the Treaty entered into force.