

Contents

Preface	IX		
Introduction	1		
1. Patterns of Australian Foreign Policy	5		
1.1. Determinants of Australian Foreign Policy	6		
1.1.1. Australia's geographic location	6		
1.1.2. The British heritage	8		
1.2. Australia's Foreign Policy before World War II	10		
1.2.1. Factors responsible for its limited scope	10		
1.2.2. The Labor Party's view	12		
1.2.3. The Liberal Party's view	14		
1.3. Australia's Foreign Policy after World War II	16		
1.3.1. The Labor and Liberal Party's approaches to foreign affairs after 1945	17		
1.3.1.1. The differences of approach on some issues	18		
2. Australia's Involvement in the Indonesian Problem	25		
2.1. The Period before the First Dutch Military Action	26		
2.1.1. The setting	26		
2.1.2. Australia's initial response to the Indonesian problem : The official attitude	27		
2.1.3. Opposing the official attitude : the Liberal Party, the press and public opinion	31		
2.1.4. The origins of the dilemma	32		
2.1.5. The problem of the strikes for the Australian Government	35		
2.2. The Period after the First Dutch Military Action	40		
2.2.1. The failure of the Linggadjati Agreement and the outbreak of hostilities	40		
2.2.2. The reaction in Australia towards the Dutch action	42		
2.2.3. Australia's role in the Security Council	46		
2.2.4. Australia's role in the Consular Commission and in the GOC	49		
2.3. The Second Dutch Military Action	58		
2.3.1. The international situation and the narrowing gap between Australian and American objectives	58		
2.3.2. The debate in the Security Council	62		
2.3.3. The debate in Australia	66		
2.3.4. The New Delhi Conference on Indonesia	69		
2.3.5. The final stages of the Indonesian problem	73		
2.4. Concluding Remarks	75		
3. Security Problems I : The Significance of the West Irian Problem	93		
3.1. The Conceptualization of the Problem	93		
3.1.1. The strategic-military aspect	94		
3.1.2. The international political aspect	96		
3.1.3. The internal political aspect	97		
3.2. The Ambivalence in Australian Policies	98		
3.3. The Labor Government's Position on West Irian before 1949	100		
3.4. The Liberal-Country Government's Position on West Irian after 1949	102		
3.4.1. The essentials of the Indonesian and Australian position	104		
3.4.2. Factors influencing Australia's policies in the 1950's	105		
3.4.2.1. The emergence of a threatening Indonesian behaviour pattern as perceived by Australia	105		
3.4.2.2. The role of Spender as Minister for External Affairs	108		
3.4.2.3. The quest for closer relations with the Netherlands after the failure of bilateral negotiations	109		

4. Security Problems II : Civil Strife and some Related Problems	121
4.1. The Indonesian Political Setting	121
4.2. The Quest for Alternative Policies	122
4.3. Australia's Position : The Government, the Opposition and the Press	123
4.3.1. The issue of arms supply	128
4.4. The Issue of Military Arrangements in the Joint Cooperation Plans	130
5. The Dynamics of Confrontation	139
5.1. The Incompatibility between Support of Dutch Control over West Irian and a Good-Neighbour Policy	139
5.1.1. Exchange of visits	140
5.2. Prelude to Confrontation	145
5.3. On Collision Course	150
5.3.1. The purchase of Russian heavy arms	150
5.3.2. Nasution's mission to Australia	152
5.3.3. The debate in Australia	153
5.3.4. The Kennedy Administration's views	154
5.3.5. The proceedings in the U.N. General Assembly	155
5.3.6. The avoidance of conflict	156
5.3.7. The Australian position during the crisis	157
5.3.7.1. The change in the Australian position	158
5.3.7.2. The debate in Australia : The pros and cons of a change of policy	160
5.3.8. The final stage of the West Irian conflict	162
6. Conclusion	175
Samenvatting	183
Bibliography	187

Introduction

This study will describe and analyse Australia's relations with Indonesia from 1945 to 1962, and will pay special attention to the impact of security considerations on Australia's foreign policy. The relations between the two countries during this time span may be divided into four phases. The first phase, which covers the period from Indonesia's declaration of independence in 1945 until July 1947, saw a sympathetic but reluctant Australian Government become deeply involved in the Indonesian problem. The second phase began with the first Dutch military action on July 21, 1947, and lasted till December 1948. The Australian Government, although still cautious, made its presence increasingly felt through its participation in the Good Offices Committee and its policies in the Security Council, which now reflected a more pronounced pro-Indonesian stand. The third phase began after the second Dutch military action in December 1948. In this period, Australia was more vocal in her opposition towards the Dutch and demanded a speedy transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia, which was finally granted on December 27, 1949. The fourth phase covers the period between 1950 and mid-1962. It is treated as a single period, because neither Australia's attitude towards Indonesia nor her involvement in the West Irian dispute changed much during these years. By the end of this period, the Australian Government became convinced that a strongly armed Indonesia had to be viewed as a real threat to Australia's security. The New York Agreement of 1962 provided a solution to the West Irian problem which, although it was accepted as inevitable, was received with great apprehension by the Australian Government.

It is clear that any classification of history in periods cannot avoid being somewhat arbitrary, but it should be based on chronological and practical considerations as much as possible. We have chosen the year 1945 as the starting point of our study because in that year Indonesia proclaimed her independence, which was followed by the beginning of her external relations with the outside world, including Australia.

Plan of the Study

This study is divided into six chapters. The first chapter places Australia's policy in the international context. It describes Australia's approach to inter-

national affairs, her objectives, the methods to achieve these ends, and the influence of her historical background on foreign policy issues. Australia's geographical location and her historical background will be emphasized in the discussion since they have created prevailing attitudes in the Australian community, which in turn had a conditioning effect on the course of Australia's foreign policy. This chapter further analyses the factors which were responsible for the limited scope of Australia's foreign policy during the inter-war years and the approaches of the Labor Party and the Liberal Party towards foreign affairs before and after World War II. Finally, the discussion will focus on a comparison between Evatt's and Menzies' views on foreign affairs.

Chapter II analyses Australia's policy towards Indonesia in the period between 1945 and 1949. It brings into focus the main issues involving Indonesia and the Netherlands in the initial period after the proclamation of Indonesian independence, the two Dutch military actions, and the final process of obtaining a settlement. The impact of Australia's involvement will be set against the background of the internal situation in Indonesia, the role of the U.N. Committee of Good Offices (GOC), and the debates in the United Nations. This will bring out a number of contrasts and nuances of Australia's foreign policy which will also reveal her motivations.

Chapter III deals specifically with security problems. Strategic and military considerations will be discussed since they provided the context of Australia's foreign policy. The remainder of the chapter will focus on West Irian as a contentious issue, first in its bilateral Indonesian-Dutch phase, and secondly, in the international phase of the dispute when Indonesia raised the problem in the U.N. General Assembly in 1954. In the latter phase, Australia's opposition to Indonesia's claim became more pronounced. The extent and the intensity of this opposition already gave some clues about the pattern of subsequent Australian moves.

Chapter IV pays attention to the evolution of Indonesia's foreign policy, which was characterised increasingly by policies of confrontation. For example, the worsening situation around the West Irian dispute, the subsequent closer co-operation between Australia and the Netherlands which was formalised in the joint statement of 1957, and the internal political crisis in Indonesia (i.e. the PRRI-Permesta rebellion). These developments placed the issues related to Australia's relations with Indonesia into sharper focus. In this chapter, the role of the United States which was the crucial element in these developments, is also examined.

Chapter V deals specifically with Australia's policy towards Indonesia after 1958. The attempts to establish security barriers to block Indonesia's claim on West Irian were combined with cautious probes for better relations. The general picture of Australia's policy during the height of the West Irian crisis showed a certain rigidity of approach. One exception to this, however, was the Australian Government's invitation to Indonesia's Foreign Minister Su-

bandrio to visit Australia in early 1959, Prime Minister Menzies' visit to Djakarta at the end of 1959, and General Nasution's visit to Australia in early 1961. The developments around these visits are examined. The remainder of the chapter deals with the explosive situation around West Irian in the early 1960's, in which a shooting-war between Indonesia and the Netherlands could only be narrowly averted.

Chapter VI as a concluding chapter summarises the major findings of the study.

The Sources

With regard to both Australian general foreign policy and her policy towards Indonesia, we have to use primarily Australian official sources. These will include speeches, relevant to the period under study, by the chief spokesmen on foreign policy of the Labor and Liberal Parties in Parliament as well as outside Parliament; and speeches and statements by other Australians responsible for foreign policy.

Next in importance are the documents published by the Australian Government and information agencies, in particular those of the Department for External Affairs.

The day-to-day actions of Australia with regard to Indonesia can be gleaned from Australian official or non-official periodical publications and from the daily newspapers. They will enable us to read between the lines of Australia's official pronouncements and to look at Australia's policy critically, and thus gain a better insight into Australia's motivations.

An important official non-Australian source is the Records of the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council. They will give us information on Australian attitudes with regard to certain specific issues, such as the Dutch military actions before 1949 and the West Irian dispute after 1949.