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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-Permwata 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-

bandrie 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.