CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Overview

Australia is an island continent, with a pacific location but with Atlantic ethnology and outlook. It was considered an outpost, an offshoot and transplanted version of Britain, a white nation on the other side of the world with strong ties with London. Its territory is not only vast but also harsh. Australian continent has vast oceans to the south, east and west. Papua New Guinea, its nearest neighbor is 100 miles away from the Australia mainland. Next is Indonesia, about 250 miles away from its nearest point. The mainland of Asia is almost 2000 miles away.\(^1\)

Great distances separate its coastline expanding more than 19000 kilometers with equally big fishing and resources zones, offshore territories, from mother England and other European countries. The area of its operation stretches over 4000 nautical miles from the Cocos islands in the West to New Zealand and the islands of the South Pacific in the East, and over 3000 nautical miles from archipelago and island in the North to the Southern Sea-representing about 10% of earth surface. Australia’s geographical area almost equals to that of continental United States of America (USA), not including Alaska.

Australia is a settler society. Its first settlers came from Southeast Asia between 50,000 and 120,000 years ago and over time built a civilization with over 200 distinct languages and hundreds of dialects, in something like 500 different groupings. When white settlers arrived in 1788, the Aborigines probably numbered about 750,000, although this can be only an estimate.\(^2\) It was first established as a miserable penal settlement where men were flogged and hanged almost out of hand and aborigines were sometimes hunted

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like animals or poisoned like dogs. In Tasmania, they were exterminated. Australians are not far removed from barbarisms.\(^3\)

Main ethnic groups consist of Caucasian 95%, Asian 4%, aboriginal (including mixed) 1%, principal languages are English which is official, aboriginal languages also are there. Chief religions are Anglican 26%, Roman Catholic 26%, other Christian 24%. Population is 1,861,087. Population density is 6 per square miles.\(^4\) There are now 600,000 Australians of Asian descent: that is 3.5% of the population, and the figure is expected to grow to seven percent in the next 20 years.\(^5\) Australia, as observed by Prime Minister Bob Hawke, is and essentially, remains a 'nation of immigrants -- a nation drawn from 130 nationalities. In Australia, there is no hierarchy of descent; there must be no privilege of origin. The commitment is all. The commitment to Australia is the only thing needful to be a true Australian.\(^6\)

Foreign and defense policies of Australia evolved as a corollary of the White Australia policy. Racial mixing was taken as 'racial contamination'. When Australia did not get enough immigrants from Britain, they went to Nordic countries to find congenial and preferably fair haired new Australians. Then they opened their gates to the Southern and Eastern Europeans. There are still powerful voices within Australia that want 'the basis of immigration should be from Britain, Ireland and Europe in that order.' It was guided by the 'paternal wisdom' and initiative of British statesman in her relations with other countries. Australian representation was secondary on the British delegation.

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\(^5\) Gareth Evans, *Speech on Australia in Asia, to the Foreign Correspondents Club of Thailand*, (Bangkok: 9 September 1992).

Australians talk of Asia as if they were still living in Europe, reflects the ambiguities and ambivalence of Australian nation. Australians never had a revolution for change. Expelled from the mother England, they remained separated in a far off place in an island. Australia has an access to two worlds. Two worlds for Australia are Anglo-American world of Australia’s nineteenth century origin, and the twentieth century development and the Asia-Pacific world, where Australia becomes conscious of neighborhood in the rising economies. Law, custom, convention and ceremonials tie it to Western nation, more specifically to mother England. By physical location, it is in Asia-Pacific. The institutions of the community, political, economic, social, educational, religious, cultural, sporting have their roots in imperial centers, they have over the time acquired local characteristics. This makes Australia face double dilemma, as has been argued by Bruce Grant. He says,

The dilemma of Australian nationhood is the desire to be a nation, while lacking the will and the capacity to defend the national territory. The dilemma of Australian civilization is that Australia is white, capitalist and Christian in a part of the world subject to ancient and powerful Asian influences. Cherishing western values, Australians have become intellectually and materially dependent on the power centers of the western world to protect them from Asia, thus inhibiting the growth of an Australian nation. While the situation is slowly changing, the double dilemma remains. Until Australians seek for themselves a new form of western civilization, their nationhood is crippled.8

Britain remained the source of Australia’s culture, education, exports, supplier of labor, capital as well as consumer goods. When Britain’s influence, power and prestige started declining, Australia suffered from an acute lack of self-identity. However, realism and idealism figured in Australia’s approaches in its external relations since the 1970s. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam identified Australia more with smaller and middle powers as a practicing decoloniser. Since then, Australia was seen growing as a distinctive, tolerant, cooperative and well-regarded nation not only in the Asia and Pacific region but in the world at large. He thought that Australia had to throw off the psychological baggage

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7 Donald Horne, The Lucky Country, n.3, p.93.
8 Bruce Grant, The Australian Dilemma: A New Kind of Western Society, (MacDonald Futura Australia: 1993), p.5.
of the past, not to be regarded as some transplanted European outpost, rather a helpful and cooperative member of an Asian region which is growing in economic strength and stability. 9 Australia recognized the aspirations of the developing countries and a willingness to contribute to the building of a stable and equitable international economic structure. 10

The chapter presents an overview of Australian engagement with Southeast Asia. It seeks to throw light on the nature and character of the evolution of events and discusses the concepts and general framework of the study.

1.2 Changing Perceptions

1.2.1 Strategic

Changes in the direction of American and British policies have been central to the shifts in Australian policies. Australia fought because its friends fought. This policy not only deprived itself of a distinctive role, but also felt itself deficient in the distinctive interpretation of the external developments. British inability to fulfil her responsibilities in the Pacific, its decision to join the European Economic Community and termination of its military commitment in the East of Suez spelled the end of Australia’s obsessive London centered diplomacy. Emotional attachment to the mother England and British crown, nonetheless, continued even after that.

Australia saw the whole communist world as enemy. Its security policy was guided by fear – firstly of Japan and then of Asian communist or nationalist movements. The rise of red star in China combined durable fear in Australian minds of its advancement and potential threats seeking to reach the whole of Southeast Asia as its intended area of predominance and much more besides. This gave rise to the emergence of a new dimension of ideological division between communism and anti-communism. Communist


threat was seen as seeking to swallow up other countries one by one and subordinate them to control from a world center of communism.\textsuperscript{11} Stable governments in Southeast Asia were considered cushions against any social and economic upheavals there. The threat emanating from them if not checked was feared to spread communism on the pattern of Russia's Eastern Empire, and eventually reach Australia. Australia therefore, sought to cooperate with other democratic forces in these theatres of war.\textsuperscript{12} Chinese actions over Tibet and India posed a threat to the world.\textsuperscript{13} The phrases like free world, the threat from Asia, aggressive communism and loyalty to our ally became widely accepted generalities. Australia's rich mineral deposits, vast food resources, wide space for settlement were natural attractions for Asian imperialism. Australia's contributions of an infantry battalion to support the American war effort to contain \textsuperscript{14} the possibility of an Asian threat to White Australia, which had been feared for much longer\textsuperscript{14} were seen in this background.

Australia looked to United States as the only power capable of ensuring its defense in crisis. Southeast Asia, Australia's gateway to the world, then remained the house of bitter and protracted conflicts between great powers, seat of colonial wars, disorders, fear of communism, military takeovers, and guerilla activities. The rising populist, pervasive poverty, ethnic tensions, rise of religious feelings, sectarian strife, and existence of competing territorial claims in the region made it unstable, frail and shaky impacting on world peace and stability, more so for Australia.

Australia could not just ignore these problems in isolation. This prompted the External Affairs Minister, R. G. Casey comment "instead of living in a tranquil corner of


the globe we are now on the verge of the most unsettled region of the world." Seeking safety through a sound system of collective defense, he argued that Australia needed to depend upon the strength of the most powerful democratic nation in the world, the United States of America. Alliance with the United States thus came to be of crucial importance in the foreign policy of Australia and was seen as an instrument for justice, peace, and political and social development. In 1966 Prime Minister Robert Menzies said that Australia ‘will in the next twenty years become more involved in international affairs, especially Asia. She will, until somebody discovers a magical peace formula, need to sustain large and growing defense commitments.’

Fear of Asia was the dominant theme in the utterances of politicians as well as in the writings of journalists. There will be no future of Australia, Calwell told the Australian Parliament, unless it has a population prepared to defend it when a militarized Asia, not a militarized Japan, moves South at a time when Europe probably have settled its many quarrels and when America may be disinclined to give us any further assistance.

In 1974, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam said, “Australia seeks to establish her own identity in Asia. Our history and our geography have afforded us an opportunity to build lasting friendship with the neighboring countries of Asia and the Pacific notwithstanding our ethnic, cultural and historical differences.” This was considered the reverberations of words of Foreign Minister Evatt in 1944 to develop ‘Australian point of view and a mind of their own...’ and the notion that, “we owe it to ourselves and to other countries to express.... clearly and firmly... a positive Australians.”

The principle of dependency on great and powerful friends came under review with these developments coupled with the declaration of Guam Doctrine by President Nixon indicating that they would come into the picture’ where their interest is involved

15 Quoted in Amry and Mary Belle Vandenbosch, Australia Faces Southeast Asia: The Emergence of a Foreign Policy, (Lexington: 1967, University of Kentucky Press), p.2

16 Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in an interview to the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation, n.9, p. 28.
and makes it a difference'. The independence in foreign and defence matters was gradually widened. This heralded a shift towards notions of self-reliance and independent operations.

The fear of Asia unknown started to figure as a part of the strategic thinking. Richard Woolcott, opined that if Australia failed to build bridges to Asia, "we will wither and just become a small marginalised country." The argument was that Australia should be aware of its Asian neighbors too readily. Australians are more aware than ever before that geography, not history is going to be the determinant. Engagement with Asia Pacific turned out to be central to Australia's security policy in 1993 general elections. The talk of Republic Australia was equated with the affirmation of Australia's nationhood and its identification as an Asia Pacific nation.

Australia has painstakingly built up linkages with Southeast Asia, which seem to have grown out of social, economic, technical, educational, cultural and security components of Australian foreign policy. As has been noted by the Defense White Paper 1994 that," Australia's future security - like our economic prosperity - is linked inextricably to the security and prosperity of Asia and the Pacific" and to it becoming a partner in determining the strategic affairs of the region."

1.2.2 Political

Developments in the countries in Southeast Asia and the Indo-china have been of great influence, shaping Australia's perceptions. Their security and stability are considered important to the security and prosperity of Australia. The continuing Cambodian stalemate was of great concern to Australia. Australia considered the isolation of Vietnam from the mainstream of regional politics as a disturbing factor, for it was thought a convenient way

17 James Button, No Longer the Odd couple, Time, (22 February 1993), p.25. Mr. Woolcott was the head of Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Australian Government.


19 Ibid p.85.
opening for Soviet expansion in Asia-Pacific region. Added to these woes was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which Australia considered as the gravedest crisis since the World War II.

Australia worked out several approaches of ‘moves to Asia’ during the 1970s and 1980s. This changed the quality and direction of Australia’s relations with Southeast Asia initiated since 1975. Its move towards self reliance in defense, cooperative security, pioneering role in the formation of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), proactive role in the settlement of Cambodian problem stand as test cases of Australia’s political involvement in the region.

Australia accorded high priority to its relations and attention to the problems in the region, and stressed the importance of engagement with them. Its interest was to create relationship of mutual trust. Settlement of Cambodian imbroglio was considered a pre-requisite to stability in Southeast Asia as a whole. Australia invested its time, efforts and resources for its solution. It adopted a proactive policy on Cambodian problem and produced ideas for its settlement.

1.2.3 Economic

Colombo Plan appeared to be a valuable demonstration of Australia’s cooperation with Asia. Mainly a by-product of the fear from communism, this was primarily intended to promote Australian political and economic interests. Australia pioneered multilateral aid program in 1950 under the Plan umbrella to provide economic, technical and developmental assistance to underdeveloped Asian countries. It was viewed as furnishing the ideological, philosophical and humanitarian basis of Australia’s subsequent aid policies for Southeast Asia.\(^{20}\) Southeast Asia got appreciable attention for its political and

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military involvement instead of South Asia. Aid and investment were seen as a means of combating communism.\textsuperscript{21}

The aid was channelised through Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB), the Australian Center for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR), and the International Development Program of Australian Universities and Colleges (IDP). After Southeast Asian nations embarked on the path of modernization, development and industrialization, Australia’s interactions widened both within bilateral framework and regional umbrella of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Australia’s status of dialogue partner in ASEAN fostered multiple cooperative linkages both on intra-regional and extra-regional basis in various sectors including finance and banking, food, agriculture and forestry, industry, minerals and energy, transportation and communication, science and technology, social development, culture and information, and drug control. All these linkages have acted to strengthen the regional integrative forces.

Australia provided economic leadership when Japan and the USA had credibility problems. APEC was one such example, which was the brainchild of the Australian leadership. It acted as a force to coalition building in international economic relations. With these developments, enmeshment with Asia came to be a priority of political, economic and cultural life in Australia.

\section*{1.3 Framework for Study}

The evolution of international relations can be tracked through four phases. They are the imperial age, the balance of power, international cooperation and transnational society. Theories to study behavior and conduct of the foreign policy have undergone tremendous transformation in these phases. Realism that was applied to study the international politics of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries recognized the power and self-aggrandizement of the state to advance their security and other purposes. In

\textsuperscript{21} JA Camilleri, \textit{An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy} (Melbourne: Jacaranda Press Pty. Ltd. 1975), p.28.
this, the gains of one state were at the expense of others, and no state could afford to rely on others, for its security and welfare. In an age of nuclear weapons and mass destruction, realists' prescription for action remain questioned. Idealists believe in the universality of the United Nations, as an institution of developing global community, though it is yet to emerge as a body to dictate the enforcement of agreements among countries. Liberalism offers an understanding of economic aspects of the world politics—close to the thinking of Adam Smith, that markets free of government control provide economic benefits for all participants and maximize aggregate economic well being.

Despite the differences in the perspectives of the schools of liberalism and realism, there seems to be a convergence in their perceptions. The actions unilaterally taken on both fronts may provide collective benefits to individual states or producers or consumers. For realists, politics is the realm of states and power. For liberals, economics is the realm of producers, consumers and markets. Thus do realists and liberals easily coexist?

The post Cold War international politics came to be characterized by the liberal democratic internationalism, making it increasingly incompatible to the use of force abroad for control of a foreign nation or people. It limited the use of legitimate force to self-defense and collective defense against aggression and for humanitarian operations. The essence of liberalism remained "the protection of individual freedom, the reduction of state power, and the conviction that power is legitimate only if it is based on consent and respects basic freedoms."

The world has even gone beyond the concept of liberalism with the rise of the transnational society. Its size and weight have curtailed the ability of governments to

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24 Ibid., p. 45.

define their own policies and reorient investments, employment and growth. The economy is made up of an integrated world market of trade, production and distribution, barriers free circulation of capital, goods and services that allows economic growth in all directions. There are national and multinational corporations operating across borders. The free flow of drugs and free circulation of crime has accompanied the growth of the world economy. Government intervention, thought to be a product of the fear for insufficiency, is becoming less effective. In transnational society the diffusion of power has been so far reaching that even the fate of individuals seems no longer under their control.

Evolution of the approaches to the study of international relations shows that history has dumped communism and discredited the tenets of Marxism. The UN has not been able to show consistencies in its actions and be a real symbol of the world power. As Stanely Hoffman says 'Realism promises only the perpetuation of the same old game and is no better equipped to face the politics of chaos. Liberalism remains the only comprehensive and hopeful vision of the world affairs, but it needs to be thoroughly reconstructed - and that task has not (sic) proceeded very far, in either its domestic or its international dimension.26

In the aftermath of the Cold War, trends towards the regionalization of security relationship and commercialization of bilateral relationship accelerated. The world stood in the throes of practical politics, where economic and political interdependence is explicitly recognized both as objective and deepening reality. Preparations for massive military confrontations alone no longer remain relevant, adequate or appropriate to meet the challenges of threats emanating from civil disorders, ethnic clashes, regional tensions, proliferation of destructive technologies etc. In an altered environment, the diffusion of knowledge, technology, internationalization of economic activity paved the way for the evolution of practical collaboration. In such an atmosphere, engagement becomes

26 Ibid, p.86.
constructive, a pledge, obligation or agreement to deeper relationship and containment, isolation and aggression become futile and self-destructive.

Cooperative engagement, thus, emerged as a natural corollary in international relations. was Termed as a strategic principle, cooperative engagement ‘seeks to accomplish its purposes through institutionalized consent rather than through threats of material or physical coercion’. It is seen as changing the rules of the game, seeking to establish collaborative rather than confrontational relationships among nations, though the engagement strategies use both penalties and incentives to entice regimes to change their behavior.

There appears to be an overlapping of realism and liberalism in the emergence of transnational society- the desire to free trade and expansion of national interests and economic power. Countries appear in a bind of cooperative engagement, and at the same time being offensive in intruding the foreign markets to sell their products. North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), Closer Economic Cooperation (CER-between Australia and New Zealand), South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangements (SAPTA), General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and now the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) are some of the forums, where countries are finding a common ground to work for free trade, promote national interests and expand national economic power. Thus, engagement in all spheres of national and international life is the generally accepted framework for the study of present day international relations.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The study has the following objectives:

- To study the changing image of Australia in the Asia Pacific region from a western outpost to an Asia Pacific identity

• To explain and analyze the Australian involvement in Southeast Asia through its contributions to the settlement of Cambodian imbroglio

• To examine Australia’s economic integration into the Asia Pacific region through its role in the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)

• To discuss the changing nature of Australian defense policy and its desire to forge security linkages with Southeast Asia.

1.5 Contributions of the Study

The subject of Australia’s engagement with the countries in the region is of recent origin.

The creating of a web of networks in political, security and economic areas is significant in several respects. First, Australia provides classic case of a society that is generally seen ‘betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial’. In politics, such states are between allegiances, marked by ambiguity, ambivalence, and contradiction. Australia that is in the process of transforming itself from a Western outpost to Asian identity in the context of a very rapidly changing regional situation stood as a subject of significant importance. Second, Australia is a developed country with a stable democratic system, located between the Pacific and Indian Ocean in the Southern Hemisphere. Its make up in size, and population sharply contrasts with neighborhood’s size, multiethnic, multicultural, multireligious, and multilingual composition, and thus providing an interesting case for study. Third, the growing importance of growth, trade, investment, the role it played in the formation of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), its growing interactions with the nations in the Asia-Pacific region, and its image as a successful trading nation, are of great importance. Fourth, Australia, which feared from ‘Asian hordes’ and was preoccupied to


insulate from security threats emanating from the Asian continent, is now seeking its security in the region, not against it. Fifth, Australia’s non-colonial profile and non-threatening posture provide compelling and interesting grounds to undertake such a study. This posture has enhanced its credentials in the comity of nations and its ideas were found more receptive and acceptable. Finally, neither extensive studies nor thorough in-depth analysis have been undertaken focusing Australia’s engagement with Southeast Asia through its involvement in APEC, Cambodian settlement and evolution of regional security arrangements.

International cooperation interconnects the domestic, regional, and global affairs on ascending scale. Engagement becomes the most frequently used and applied term in foreign policy to change and influence the behavior of another state, foregoing military options in favor of interactions. They make the conduct of Australia’s foreign policy a matter of great interest and very significant development in international politics. It is hoped that the work will be an original contribution to the study of regional engagement through the examination of evolving linkages. No studies were found available. With the help of three case studies, this work is expected to help understand the motivations, aspirations and growing role of the stable and democratic Australia’s engagement in times of unprecedented changes.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study will focus on Australia’s growing interactions with Southeast Asia after 1975 with a special locus on the linkages established after the adoption of comprehensive engagement policy with the region. The choice of the period from 1975 to 1993 is guided by two important events, which provide the stimulus for Australia’s active interest in the regional affairs. First, Australia’s approach to Southeast Asia underwent a significant change after the end of Vietnam War in 1975. The American military disengagement in the region following the announcement of the Guam Doctrine also enlarged Australia’s interactions with ASEAN countries on all fronts. The Paul Dibb Report of 1986 on the
defence of Australia and the Defence White Paper 1987 mark a watershed in Australia’s security policy. The regional security statement of 1989 was another landmark in the evolution of Australia strategic thinking. Australia played a significant role in mobilizing international support for a UN-managed settlement in Cambodia, marking the exit of great powers from Indo China. Second, the unprecedented performance shown by the Asian economies in the late 1980s and early 1990s lured Australia to join them for market and investment opportunities. The formation of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and Australia’s pioneering role in it further clubbed it with the Asia Pacific nations. The year 1993 marks the first APEC Summit meeting of the leaders from the Asia Pacific region in Seattle demonstrating significant momentum toward an enhanced regional economic integration and opening global markets.

However the present study has limited itself to discussing the changing image of Australia in the region, examine and analyze Australia’s role and contributions in evolving the Paris Peace Accord for the settlement of the Cambodian problem, look into Australia’s economic interactions within the region through the APEC process, and discuss evolving security linkages with the region. The study bases its discussions on the publicized materials. The exercises that were conducted behind the scenes and their linking to cases cited in the study remain outside the boundaries of this work. These limitations could be of more tempting to conduct further research in order to understand the interaction of internal and external policy influences, and growing profile and role of Australia in Southeast Asia. The topic remains in a central stage in the changing landscape of international relations.

1.7 Literature Review

Primary and secondary sources collected were reviewed. The contributions made by a diverse group of experts, including government ministers, former ministers politicians, experienced and senior government officials, political scientists, leading academics, legal scholars, leading economists, industrialists, technical analysts, strategic
thinkers, and regional analysts provided ample information on Australia's interactions with the Southwest Pacific, Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. Their write-ups provide deep insights into the subject and explain the growing significance of changing events in relation to the economic, political and strategic future of Australia. These articles, books, government publications discuss political and economic changes in the region and Australia's perceptions of them.

The review of literature is divided into four parts. First part visits the literature on Australia's place in the region, the linkage phenomenon evolved during the period of study. Scholars have talked of conflicting trends in Australian attitudes towards Britain, towards changes and towards Asia. Secondly, it reviews the status of literature on the security directions of Australia over the years. In the third place, it deals with the initiatives taken to link Australia economically with the region. Finally the review investigates the literature on the diplomatic involvement of Australia in the region.

1.7.1 Australia in Asia: Development of Linkages

Broadly Asia Pacific region stretches from the landmass of Afghanistan and Pakistan to the Pacific Island nations, and from Australia to the eastern coast of Soviet Siberia. A huge area of 2.97 million square miles with a small population, Australian continent faces ten Southeast countries of 1.73 million square miles with over 430 million people. They are multietnic, multicultural, multi-religious and multi-lingual. Southeast Asia has been compared to a Manhattan apartment building in which tenants occupy adjoining flats but rarely speak to each other and their friends are elsewhere. Scholars have made a number of focussed and in-depth studies and analysis of economic, political and strategic agenda from Australian perspectives, in relation with Southeast Asia. They provide significant inputs to Australia's relations with the region.

31 Ibid., p. 200.
Scholars have argued that societies like people are always in a state of ambivalence, even in prevailing behavior and attitudes, 'everyone of us holds beliefs and attitudes that contradict each other, our behavior; in turn, often contradicts our belief and itself'.\textsuperscript{32} Australia was seen as a country ‘dependent, second hand, and second rate’ western nation, that is strategically part of Asia.\textsuperscript{33} Horne suggests that in dealings with Asian countries that ‘Australians might regain a sense of confidence and importance... acceptance of the changes of technology, involvement with Asia, the shock (when it comes) of declaring Australia a republic; these possible events could get things moving again in Australia.’ The Horne agenda of living with Asia, thus, discusses various facets of its life with Asia.\textsuperscript{34}

Some scholars debate that Australia is in Oceania, not Asia, and is civilized like Europe. As early as 1950, Labor theoreticians such as John Burton had advocated Australia’s place in Asia.\textsuperscript{35} Australians for long remain ‘Anglo gripped, Euro-centric, West skewed view of the world’ which were even inherited by well educated Australians and they were seen locked into thinking ... of Asian countries and especially Oceanic countries, as the “white man’s burden “ to be dominated, democratized, developed, defeated or defended’. However in 1990s, the emphasis was on recognizing ‘Australia’s national destiny to ‘becoming ever more closely intertwined with the destinies of various Asian countries in our region.'\textsuperscript{36}

Scholars discuss the dilemma of the Australian nationhood, civilization, and its dependency on outsiders. They contend that these dilemmas are inhibiting the growth of Australian nation. Bruce

\textsuperscript{32} Donald Horne, n.3, p.8.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., p.9.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., pp.109-130.
\textsuperscript{35} Sydney Morning Herald, 24 April 1995.
Grant argues that until Australians seek for themselves a new form of Western civilization, their nationhood is crippled. He sees Australia’s future based on accommodation with Asia, not domination. His thesis is that in nuclear age, accommodation is in any case, the only acceptable form of civilization.\(^{37}\)

Australia’s reclassification, ‘redefinition’ and ‘relocation’ have many proponents. The scholars include from both institutional and elite driven – including political parties, government departments, business corporations, university administration, media organizations, and ministers. Some scholars use the concept of liminality as a tool for describing and analyzing Australia’s contemporary location.\(^{38}\) They examine changes in the context of 1980s and 1990s and look to Australia’s perspectives. These changes have been obvious. Shifts from Britain and Europe have been visible, introducing a significant departure from the traditional path to the growing level of interactions with the countries in the region. These interactions have ranged from collective responses to problem solving, thereby creating new understandings of regional identity among foreign policy elites.

In numerous speeches, Australian government ministers have argued that Asia is Australia’s future, that is ‘where we live. Our future lies inevitably, in the Asia-Pacific region. This is where we must live, must survive strategically and economically, and find a place and a role if we are to develop our full potential as a nation.'\(^{39}\) The attempt to turn Australia from an ‘odd man out’ in Asia ‘to odd man in’ involves a series of attempts from all sides. These attempts involve redefinition, relocation and push into Asia strategies. Foreign Minister links Australia’s Asian journey to abandon the 200 years of

\(^{37}\) Bruce Grant, n.8, p.23.


struggle against 'the reality of its own geography,'\textsuperscript{40} where Australia would no longer be an Anglo-American outpost, a transplanted European nation in Asia. This demonstrates the change of Australian minds to come to terms with their geography and admit that they were a part of the Asian region. The Prime Minister, Mr. Paul Keating put Australia in the Asia-Pacific region, favored severing of links to Britain and closing the 'Australian branch office of the empire. He stated that, "unless we succeed in Asia, we succeed nowhere."\textsuperscript{41}

Australian Government has brought together the materials on its increasing engagement with the Asian region. Through a package of information, Government has discussed more sharply Australia’s engagement with Asia and added to it greater quality and depth of information. The information kit deals with Australia in Asia, Australia’s trade with Asia, economics growing together, Australia’s engagement with the Asia Pacific region and Australia’s involvement with Asia.\textsuperscript{42} It also deals with exchanging information among regional partners on key issues, and to strengthen networking between Australian business and their regional counterparts, bringing together opinion makers – business leaders and senior economic editors and commentators who can contribute to or influence Australia’s expanding trade and investment links with the region. Introducing the package, Prime Minister Paul Keating mentioned four areas, which need to take full advantages of opportunities. They include the need to: develop more business oriented information on and analysis of Asian economies, build more extensive business networks with Asia, give further momentum to updating Australia’s image in Asia, and improve knowledge and awareness of Asia in Australia. This package of initiatives was expected to make a vital contribution to the process of Australian economic integration with Asia.\textsuperscript{43} His saying that 'everything else we do in this country depends on our success as a trading nation'

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{41} Prime Minister Paul Keating’s Address to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Australia and Asia: The Next Steps (Perth: 15 February 1995), p.1

\textsuperscript{42} See for details: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Overseas Information Branch, Australia in Asia: Background Information (Canberra: August 1993).

\textsuperscript{43} Prime Minister Paul Keating, Introducing the Package, n.42, p. 2.
highlights the importance Australia attached to the economic content in its integration with Asia Pacific region.

Annual Reports of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade articulate Australia’s interests in Southeast and South Asia. The objectives of Australia’s involvement are stated to:

inform and advise the Government on the advancement of Australia’s political, economic and security interests in Southeast Asia and South Asia, enhance trade and investment opportunities, maintain and expand high level consultations, exchanges and mechanisms for dialogue to promote Australia’s interests in the security and economic development, project an accurate, contemporary image of Australia in these regions and inform debate within Australia in support of Australia’s interests there, particularly economic integration.44

These reports are the voices of the Government, and provide insights on Government’s minds and motivations. Similarly, ministers’ speeches discuss the various facets of Australia’s commitment to the region through economic liberalization, regional cooperative security, human and principled approach.

Given its unique history and distance from countries of cultural affinity, Australia looked to external powers for its protection. Australians used to refer to “tyranny of distance” to Britain. Two scholars Robert Hughes and Geoffrey Blainey discuss in depth Australia’s past and its perception of place.45 After two centuries of lamenting their latitude and longitude they are finding that the grass is looking greener on their own side of the world.46 Scholars focus on Australia’s relations with Britain and discuss its too much dependency on London for long, like Canberra’s wait for the clearance of the critical matters from London. Labor government under Curtin opposed the heavy reliance on British power and demanded equal footing in the framing of policy. The Curtin-Evatt team developed an entirely new and startling relationship toward Great Britain and the rest of the Empire. The Australian government of the day regarded the Pacific struggle as

primarily one in which the United States and Australia must have the fullest say in the
direction of the fighting plan.  

Southeast Asian region remained a political hotbed where the world struggle for
democracy and communism was played out. It remained a prime focus of contention for
the main actors in the global balance of power. The economic dynamism of the Asia
Pacific region, military retreat by the USA from the Southeast Asia following the
declaration of Nixon Doctrine in 1969, declining fortunes of world communism, Sino-US
rapprochement of 1970s introduced new trends in global and regional politics. These
developments compelled for reassessing Australia’s political, cultural, economic and
strategic approach to Southeast Asia. Under the Nixon Doctrine, Asian allies were to be
more self-reliant for their defense needs. Its central thesis was, the United States will
participate in the defense of its allies and friends, but... America cannot – and will not –
conceive all the plans, design all the programs, execute all the decisions and undertake all
the defense of the free nations of the world. We will help where it makes a difference and
is considered in our interest.

In the 1980s, scholars and government leaders alike in their studies of Australia
centered their attention on the interactions of economic, political and strategic factors in
Australia’s external relations, and its position in these components. Prime Minister’s stand
that ‘the critically important task my Government has set itself is to establish a nationally
coordinated relationship between our political, defence security and trading objectives...’
charted map towards that direction. A conference to discuss these strands brought
together a group of senior people from the private sector, government departments,
politicians, Australian academic life and the press at the Australian University in 1983.

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49 Speech by the Prime Minister Mr. R.J.Hawke, at the 50th Anniversary Conference of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, (Canberra: 26 August 1983).
Their debates over a wide range of very important policy issues made clear by reasoning the need for greater harmonization and compatibility in the policy approach to our economic, political and defense interests overseas in the national interests.\textsuperscript{50}

Studies in Asia have viewed the emergence of China with grave concerns. Scholars centered their studies on: the role of great powers in Southeast Asia, prospect for a form of common security cooperation, and problem of national security. The 1990s further witnessed the juxtapositioning of economic, political and strategic elements with cultural factors. The idea of multiculturalism promoted in 1970s and 1980s was made to appear more comprehensive. Prime Minister spoke of Australians ‘finding our true place in Asia.’\textsuperscript{51} Foreign Minister Gareth Evans urged fellow Australians to think of themselves as living in an East Asian Hemisphere nation’ and spoke of the need ‘to move beyond comprehensive engagement to a new plane of partnership and integration.\textsuperscript{52}

The much desired Asia-Pacific incarnation of Australia confronts with the policy of reconciling history with geography. However, Foreign Minister Gareth Evans argued that the most important achievement of the past decade (1980s) has been to give real substance to the concept of engagement with Asia, to get this basic shift of focus from historical connections to geographical connections and to realize that this reality is where the future is, especially economically.\textsuperscript{53}

1.7.2 Strategic interests

Government issued strategic reviews and defence white papers serve as basic documents outlining official strategic and security policies. They consider Southeast Asia region as the front yard of Australia. Defence White Papers include the region as


\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Canberra Times}, 8 May 1995.

Australia’s ‘area of primary strategic interests, besides South Pacific and eastern reaches of the Indian Ocean’. The statement by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans on ‘Australia’s Regional Security’ remains the most substantial official statement of the regional security perspectives adopted by Australia. This statement lays down the elements of comprehensive engagement and establishes the need to maintain close linkages among various components of the broader security region. He referred to multidimensional strategy for the defense of Australia and laid down four main priorities of Australian foreign policy namely: protecting Australia’s security through the maintenance of a positive security and strategic environment in our region, pursuing trade, investment and economic cooperation, contributing to global security; and contributing to the cause of good international citizenship. The expanding capability of Australia’s armed forces was linked to the defense of the region as well. It would contribute to the strategic stability of Australia’s neighboring regions, providing a secure south for Southeast Asian countries and secure west for South Pacific nations. He put forward the concepts of common security of multidimensional in character including factors such as ‘economic development, trade disputes, unregulated population flows, environmental degradation, drug trafficking, terrorism and human rights abuses. The key strategies discussed include peace building, peace maintenance, peace restoration and peace enforcement.

Several strategic studies highlight the importance of the region for Australia. They are of the view that Australia can no longer remain ‘a white island in an Asian Ocean’. R.G. Casey Australian Foreign Minister in 1954 said, ‘one hundred and seventy million Asian people live within a radius of 2000 miles from Darwin. It is in these Asian countries to the northwest of Australia that the largest share of the world’s supply of tin, rubber, rice

56 Gareth Evans, Cooperating for Peace, (Paper delivered to Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Bonn: July, 1994), pp.6-11.
and other important commodities is produced. This area also provides route for potential aggression against Australia. They advocate a sense of self-dependence and maturity in Australia’s national behavior and content that it is not likely to succeed in working out its own national identity crisis, as long as it remains in the cocoon of its great and powerful friends and achieves ‘a much more satisfactory and satisfying set of relationship with the various peoples around it’. Scholars have a word of advice to Australia to ‘lift its eyes to the distant hills in order to maintain its sense of direction and perspective in the pilgrimage toward national maturity.\(^57\)

Several strategic studies along with the government policies have traced the evolution of Australia’s strategic thinking. They present the changing perspectives of the various defense strategies adopted by Australia in different periods and their assessments, which include empire defense, forward defense/external guarantee, alliance relationships of South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), Australia, New Zealand and the United States (ANZUS), Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA), evolution of self reliance or defense in depth, and its strategy in post-Cold War.\(^58\)

Desmond Ball and Pauline Kerr have discussed various aspects of security developments in the Asia-Pacific region and Australian engagement in the region in the late 1980s and early 1990s. They contend how a onetime isolated and protected country Australia from the fear of Asia gets engaged with it as a national priority. Their studies detail the transformation and enunciation of self reliance policy in defence, Australia’s


comprehensive and constructive engagement with the region and several initiatives in pursuit of multilateral security dialogue to enhance security.\(^5^9\)

Australia’s role and place in regional strategic scenario gradually evolved in the region and beyond. Through a policy of regional engagement, Australia seeks to advance its strategic and economic interests in Asia.\(^6^0\) Bringing China into APEC with the USA and other regional powers to borrow the words of Prime Minster Keating was a ‘primary piece of political architecture’ built by Australia. China’s involvement in these multilateral forums like ASEAN, ARF, GATT and WTO was ‘changing the whole strategic environment.’\(^6^1\) Australia’s possible role as a referee assumes special significance in the context of its trying to bind China into a complex web of multilateral interactions. Its shifts to Asia and great adventure with APEC appear as byproducts of its Asian engagement policy.

Strategic thinkers like Paul Dibb examine the changes occurring in Asia’s strategic outlook, following the demonstration of nuclear capability by India and Pakistan in May 1998, the Asian financial crisis, the collapse of Soeharto regime in Indonesia, the crisis in East Timor and its fallout. The multiple crises have revealed the ineffectiveness of ASEAN, ARF and APEC in addressing these problems. Against this background, Paul

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59 Desmond Ball and Pauline Kerr, Presumptive Engagement, Australia’s Asia-Pacific Security Policy in the 1990s, (Canberra: Allen and Unwin in association with the Australian Foreign Policy Publications Programme and the Department of International Relations, RSPAS, Australian National University 1996).

60 Gareth Evans, Australia and the Emerging Asia Pacific Community, the Edward ‘Weary’ Astalink Lecture, (Melbourne: 14 October 1994); Gareth Evans, Cooperating for Peace: The Global Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond (Australia: Allen and Unwin, 1993); Gareth Evans and Paul Dibb, Australian Paper on Practical Proposals for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies (Canberra: Australian National University,1994); Also United Nations Secretary General, An Agenda for Peace-Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping, (New York : United Nations, June 1972).

Dibb projects future strategic scenarios and their implications for the geopolitical stability of the region.62

Political, economic and strategic strands are inextricably linked in any policy. To Coral Bell, tendency to separate out these three strands seems to be the root cause of maladroitness in dealing with them. Security problems, he says, cannot be solved by strategic means alone if their origins are in economic and political relationships or doctrines. So, to concentrate on remedies for Australian strategic difficulties in isolation may be analogous to concentrating attention on one minor symptom of a very complex malaise, and working up remedies for it alone.63 Like in politics, there exists an inherent tension between global and regional threats. Bell suggests making this tension creative rather than dysfunctional. For long an Australian aversion for forward planning and penchant for ad-hoc-ery64 is cited to be one of the reasons not having a coherent way.

1.7.3 Economic interests

Geo-economics occupies a front seat in the post-Cold War international relations. The literature dealing with the economic content of its foreign policy can broadly be divided into two categories: the literature dealing with Australia’s cultivating its economic fortunes in the growing economies of the Southeast Asian region, and the literature focusing on Australia acting as a bridge or serving as a link between the West and the East. Both sets of literature analyze the linkage between Australia’s internal and external forces and their roles in the transformation of Australia.

Most scholars and Government leaders alike contend that Australia’s location in the Asia-Pacific region makes it an important partner for the West. With a secured social, political and economic system, Australia pumped its money into some of the countries of


64 Paul Dibb, (ed.), n.50, p.11
the region to cultivate linkages in security, economic and political fields. Prime Minister Keating showed personal commitment to link Australia's destiny even more comprehensively with that of the Asia-Pacific region in which we live. Europe also showed interests in trade in Asia Pacific. Prime Minister Keating promoted the idea of Australia being utilized by European businesses as a base in the Asia-Pacific region.

Professor Garnaut of the Australian National University examined Australia's economic relations with Southeast Asia, and argued that the improving of international competitiveness of Australia, as such, are equally relevant to Australia's relations with Southeast Asia. Michael Byrnes, one of the Australia's longest-serving correspondents in Asia and stationed in Tokyo, Jakarta, Manila and Hong Kong, who wrote primarily for the Australian Financial Review and contributed to the Financial Times and the Asian Wall Street Journal and other publications, was of the opinion that Asia's rising money power motivated Australia towards Asia. Scholars and journalists alike cite the rise of Japan on the basis of economic power and its stunning achievement in the economic sector. The possibility of China becoming as one of the most powerful countries on earth was linked to its economic might. Studies focus on the competition between China and Japan in an attempt to supersede each other in making money. Several political developments in Southeast Asia have been attributed to the mixing of money and power, with money complementing the power. Authority has been cited as an essential part of Asia's money mill.

Some scholars analyzed Australia's confrontation with the dimensions of globalization and regionalism. Its company was seen in Western alliance, where as its priorities were also seen lying in the region. Like pressures between regional and global

65 Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, n.39, p.31
approaches to foreign policy, it was also confronted in economics with the dimensions of
globalism and regionalism. Ross Garnaut discusses the nexus between economics, politics
and strategic factors, and suggests an appropriate balance between regional and global
interests.\textsuperscript{68} Some studies have examined Australia's relations with East Asia in the
context of major powers balance in the region, Australia's position on the issue and
economic factors and their relationship to Australia's national development.\textsuperscript{69}

In 1988, the United States Pacific Command, based in Honolulu, Hawaii,
published a study report \textit{Economic Importance of the Asia-Pacific Region} \textsuperscript{70}, which
mentioned that Asia surpassed Europe as the largest regional trade partner with the United
States. It predicted that economic strength will not only continued but also will increase,
leading to believe that the US ties to Asia were critical and would serve the country's
prosperity, freedom, and security in the years ahead.\textsuperscript{71}

A paper presented at a Pacific Symposium believed that economic dynamism in
Asia constitute a threat to regional security. The paper categorically advocated that no
nation can adopt the view that "trade is trade and foreign policy is foreign policy'. He
declared, "Economics is politics.... And trade is security."\textsuperscript{72} Similar studies underlined the
importance of economic issues as the driving forces for shaping strategic relationships in
the Pacific with the decline of military factors in relative importance.\textsuperscript{73}

The above review demonstrates that several scholars viewed the bilateral
mechanism of cooperation found wanting to address all the problems, ' for overlap of

\textsuperscript{68} Ross Garnaut, The Nexus between Economics, Politics and Strategy in Paul Dibb (ed.), n.50, pp. 208.

\textsuperscript{69} H.G. Gelber, Australia and East Asia in Paul Dibb, (ed.), n.50, p.105-119.

\textsuperscript{70} United States Pacific Command, \textit{The Economic Importance of the Asia-Pacific Region to the
United States, Document No. 2-88} (Hawaii: Research and Analysis Division, October 1988)

\textsuperscript{71} David G. Bradford, Asia-Pacific Policy: A Review of the Literature, The Center for Strategic

University Press, December 1988).

\textsuperscript{73} U. Alexis Johnson, \textit{Strategic Stability, Economic Performance and Political Leadership in the
interests'. There is found an ample reference to the growing number of numerous arrangements in different parts of the globe. The emergence of APEC and Australia’s pioneering role in it remains significant in the evolution of Australia’s desire to change the course of its foreign policy. The exclusion of the USA in the original members of the APEC reflected Canberra’s desire to establish a new source of leverage against Washington, which Foreign Minister Evans later admitted, despite Hawke’s unconvincing attempts at denial. Several studies thereafter deal with approaches to advance global trade liberalization and launch concrete programs to move towards these goals.

The presentations made by people from various walks of life including government, business and academia at the Australian Institute of International Affairs examine the implications of Australia’s role as aid donor, as trading partner and as a source of foreign investment; and they discuss the political and social ramifications of these role. These papers outline, analyze and express attitudes towards issues of immediate relevance to Australian foreign policy makers.

1.7.4 Political Perspectives

Scholars have argued that political interests derive from ideological, nationalistic and other sources and with the quest for security and independence – can frequently supersede economic interests to the great costs of all concerned, that is ultimately through


75 Quoted in Australia’s engagement with Asia in James Cotton and John Ravenhill, n.61, p. 9


77 Edward P. Wolfers, *Introduction: Australia’s Northern Neighbours: Independent or Dependent*, *Looking North to South-East Asia: The View from Australia* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, in association with The Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1976), p.1. Also see Lim Chong Yah, South-East Asia: The Challenges of Economic Independence, Herbert Feith, South-East Asia and Neo-Colonialism, J.B. Reid, Australian Investment in South-East Asia, Peter Cross, Foreign Aid to South-East Asia in the same.
war and armed conflict. These problems ultimately affect the prosperity of nation and endanger security interests. Political tensions will have spill over effects in strategic and economic relations. Australia’s mishandling of its economic relationships with countries in the ASEAN region and the Southwest Pacific could have long-term implications for its political acceptability in the area. These scholars maintain that security approaches alone cannot guarantee the stability of the developing countries to the north and east of Australia and in the future Australian policy will have to operate in a more comprehensive framework involving economic, political, social and cultural aspects. Given its geographical location, though it is seen in the company of the West, it might be expected that its policies will have to take into account increasingly of such issues as the North-South debate from as Asia Pacific point of view, rather than as a member of the Western Alliance. In this context Prof. Harris Stuart argues that the politics/economics nexus has become more explicit for Australia in this regard. All these factors come into play in determining nation’s long-term interests.

The fallout of the Nixon Doctrine on the region was the replacement of Anglo-Malaysian Defense Agreement (AMDA) by Five Power Defense Agreements between Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand and Britain. ASEAN came with an indigenous formulation such as the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOFAN). Australia supported ASEAN in the hope that it will work as a bulwark against the spread of communism in the region. The Paul Dibb edited book deals with Australia’s external relations in the 1980s in the context of political, economic and strategic factors interacting together. Since the formation of ASEAN, a whole new era in Australian development

79 Paul Dibb, (ed.), n.50, p.12.
80 Ibid.
81 Stuart Harris, The Separation of Economics and Politics: A Luxury We Can No Longer Afford’ in Coral Bell (ed.), Academic Studies and International Politics, Studies in World Affairs No.6 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1982), p. 81
assistance and economic cooperation opened in conformity with changing political, economic and security trends in the Asia-Pacific region.  

Studies on Southeast Asia from the Australian perspectives maintain that Australia’s paramount interest in Southeast Asian politics was to keep the Americans and/or Britain committed to an active military or political role. Regional stability mattered a lot for Australia’s security. Scholars have identified conflict and instability in the region as sources of potential dangers to Australia. Their contention is that any upsets to the great power equilibrium are more likely to pose threats to Australia’s security than Southeast Asia. There was also a school saying that if only great powers, not Southeast Asia constitute threats, why do give importance to it. Other school thinks that Indonesia is the most powerful country in the region. It is concerned with law and orders problem, highly explosive potential of ethnic and communal rivalries in most of the countries in the region and tensions between modernity and tradition. As Bull put it regions are important to Australia, not in connection with the objectives of security or with that of prosperity, but in connection with our need to recognize purposes beyond ourselves.

Government argues that Australia, as a middle ranking power has to play a proactive role in the region. Secretary in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Michael Costello said, “We are not big enough to threaten many countries, we are not rich enough to bribe many countries, we have got to persuade them. Persuasion is called diplomacy.” Apart from traditional diplomacy that is exercised at the government to government contacts, in newer public diplomacy both government and private individual


83 See for details, Hedley Bull, Foreign Policy options for Australia in Gordon McCarthy (Ed), Foreign Policy for Australia: Choices for Seventies, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson for the Australian Institute of Political Science, 1973).

84 Hedley Bull, Foreign Policy options for Australia in Gordon McCarthy (Ed), Foreign Policy for Australia: Choices for Seventies, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson for the Australian Institute of Political Science 1973), p.275

and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear
directly on another government's foreign policy decisions. 86 To Gareth Evans - the
essence of public diplomacy is the shaping of attitudes in other countries in a way, which
is favorable to our national interests.87

Australia has used a number of tools and mechanisms to spread its message in
Southeast Asia. This is being managed by international Cultural Relations Branch of the
Public Affairs Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). And
also there is an Overseas Information Branch of the same DFAT Division. They work for
the pursuit of political and economic objectives and do image projection and the
promotion of mutual understanding between people in different countries.88

Australia has been active at multilateral forums and supported mechanisms for
dispute settlement and peacekeeping. Its involvement in Korean War, Southeast Asia,
Vietnam and Southwest Pacific are well known. Australia was successful as a peace
broker in Cambodian settlement. Australian initiatives in Cambodia present a good case
for examining its political role in Southeast Asia. Its proactive diplomacy was exhibited
during bilateral visits, international and regional conferences, and passage of UN
resolutions. Its proposals and ideas seized the historic momentum, worked as a blueprint,
which pushed the concerned parties in an unprecedented cooperation and understanding
towards the settlement of the problem. Its creative and pragmatic thinking secured China's
involvement in regional trouble spots such as Cambodia. United Nations came into sharp


87 Gareth Evans, Australia and Asia: Role of Public Diplomacy, address by the Minister for
Foreign Affairs and Trade to the Australia–Asia Association (Melbourne: March 15, 1990).

88 Stuart Harris, Review of Australia Overseas Representation (Canberra: Australian Government
(London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), p.19-21, Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, Australia’s
Foreign Relations in the World of the 1990s (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press 1991),
p.69; Ross Garnaut, Australia and the Northeast Asian Ascendancy, (Canberra: Australian
government Publishing Service 1989); National Image is an Art in Itself, Australian, (January
19, 1993); Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates (CPD), House of Representatives (May
focus in Australian pursuit. Paris Peace Accords to end the Cambodian imbroglio were concluded on the basis of a set of proposals put forward by Australia. These proposals are contained in a book that is widely known as *Red Book*. Scholars maintain that Australian interests in the Cambodian peace process were linked to its involvement in Indo-china affairs since 1960s. An official of the Department of Foreign Affairs discusses in greater details of Australian involvement in Cambodia in a book called *From Red to Blue*. The book traces the Australian journey through the travails of the Cambodian stalemate.

Biographies of political personalities, provide access to confidential documents of the time. They are incisive, narrative and are based on documentary records, recollections and experiences, of the happenings of different periods. These deeply researched, revealing, and thoughtful works examine leaders’ contribution to domestic and international stature and affairs and their diplomatic initiatives. These works discuss a new role for Australia in world affairs and making Australia internationally competitive. These works elevate the burning issues to the national agenda. An account of immediate and intimate workings of the government is found in these works.

The 1990s further witnessed the shift towards Asia gathering momentum. Fitzgerald Report on immigration (1988), the Garnaut Report on Australia’s relations with Northeast Asia (1989), and the Foreign Minister’s statement Australia’s Regional Security (1989) were part of this journey taking Australia into extensive travel of the region.

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90 Ken Berry, *Cambodia: From Red to Blue, Australian’s Initiative for Peace*, (Canberra: Allen and Unwin in association with the Department of International Relations, RSPAS, Australian National University 1997).


1.8 Conceptualization of the meanings of identity, comprehensive engagement and 'linkage'

Identity, comprehensive engagement, and linkages are the terms frequently used throughout the study. Identity has been major debate in Australia. It has been defined as the sense of belonging together, sharing common interest, a common history, and a common destiny. The search for an identity in this sense is a major political motive. Australia’s identity was seen as a rich, high cost, hedonistic, and largely empty European Outpost off the coast of Asia. Some scholars saw it as an extension of the cultural boundaries of the Empire. Australians during the First World War, remained among those ‘lesser breeds without the law’. The sense of being insignificant, threw Australians on the lap of Britain for identity, outlawry and for every walks of life. London’s definition of problems became their own. Australia saw what British saw. They had psychological shock of being dumped and hastened that dramatic reorientation, of admitting where in the world Australia really is and doing something about it, that may be a necessary condition for Australia’s survival.

Considered to be a half-sovereign state, a weird survival of the colonial age, a cunningly contrived British satellite with some freedoms, was an irritating and dangerous reputation to bear.

Australian attitudes for long were not seen separate from interests, history, and future of Britain. Paul Keating saw the surge of independent and republican thinking in Australia as equal to the Australian independence from British tradition. His argument was that ‘the country which decided not to defend the Malayan peninsula, not to worry about Singapore and not to give us our troops back to keep ourselves free from Japanese

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96 Donald Horne, n.3, p.98.
98 Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Backgrounder (24 April 1992), p.2.
domination. This was the country, he charged the opposition that they 'are wedded to, and even as it walked out on you and joined the Common Market, you were still looking for your MBEs and your Knighthoods, and all the rest of the regalia that comes with it.\textsuperscript{99} The break with the British monarchy was a question of only when? Prime Minister Bob Hawke preferred the break with the British crown, for reasons of national identity.

Few countries have as self-consciously sought to 'relocate' themselves in international politics economically, diplomatically and militarily-as Australia did in the 1980s and 1990s.\textsuperscript{100} Liminality is a useful concept to analyze shifts in Australia’s contemporary location. Liminality describes that threshold experienced by those undergoing rites of passage, when as individual essentially experiences two kinds of existence at the same time. They are called liminal entities that are neither here nor there, but rather in a transitional phase “betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonials.”\textsuperscript{101}

In this approach there is a possibility that one can get stuck ‘in liminal location between the two worlds unable either to move forward to the new or retreat to the old. The concept of liminal phase is twined with the \textit{rites of passage} to explain shifts in Australia’s policy. Rites of passage have been defined as 'rites, which accompany every change of place, state, social position, and age'\textsuperscript{102}. Liminar in politics are between allegiances. Australia is projected as liminal entity. Ambiguity, ambivalence, and contradiction mark its thinking. The existence of the liminal indicates the presence of difference: order and disorder, structure and anti-structure, the comprehended and the incomprehensible.\textsuperscript{103}


\textsuperscript{103} Anne Norton, n.95 p. 53.
The term comprehensive engagement figures in the Regional Security statement of 1989. It outlines the long-term goals of Australia in Southeast Asia. Engagement is a mutual commitment between equals and comprehensive in the sense that it has many elements in the relationship. And the concept seeks to advance Australia’s interests through policies that develop and reinforce a diverse array of linkages. The common message is 'our desire to be a full fledged partner, and the value of interaction with us.'\(^{104}\) It was a recommended path for Australia to follow. The question was on how to engage more actively, more regularly and more substantially with the neighbors to be the ‘odd man in’ rather than ‘odd man out’ in this part of the world.\(^{105}\) For a real success in comprehensively engaging Australia with the region would require some moderation of our own instinctive behavior, which is characteristically direct, blunt, straight down to tacks.\(^{106}\) The essential elements of the concept of comprehensive engagement has been stated as including the building of a more diverse and substantive array of linkages with the countries of Southeast Asia, so that they have an important national interest in the maintenance of a positive relationship with Australia; continuing to support the major existing regional association, ASEAN, and working with the countries of the region to shape additional regional organizations or arrangements, such as APEC, which can contribute to social and economic evolution of the region; participating actively in the gradual development of a regional security community based on a sense of shared security interests; working for the involvement of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar in the cooperative framework of regional affairs; and recognizing that Australia, in vigorously pursuing its national interests in the region, should do as a confident and natural partner in


a common neighborhood of remarkable diversity, rather than as a cultural misfit trapped by geography.\footnote{Gareth Evans n.104, pp.44-45.}

The economic, political, military and other links have been seen as networks of connective tissue binding the nations of each region together. Linkage has been defined as 'any recurrent sequence of behavior that originates in one system and is reacted to in another.'\footnote{James N. Rosenau, \textit{Linkage Politics: Essays on the Convergence of National and International Systems} (New York: The Free Press 1969), p.45.} Safire describes linkage as a global negotiating strategy that progress on one front is necessary to, progress on other fronts.\footnote{William Safire, Safire's \textit{New Political Dictionary: The Definitive Guide to the New Language of Politics} (New York: Random House 1993), p. 413.} Dr. Henry Kissinger, as President Nixon's National Security Adviser in 1969 expressed the desire of the administration not to dissociate arms control from political issues – i.e. the question of linkage between the political and strategic environment.

During Cold War, though the term was intended to describe a tie between nuclear arms talks and discussions of political tensions, it has also come to mean a 'package deal' in geographic terms. US agreeing to reduce tensions in one area was chained to Soviet reciprocating in conflict areas of Super power interests. Zbigniew Brzezinski had sought to establish linkage between Soviet desire for arms control with the Soviet support of Cuban troops in Africa.

Australia has made a very substantial and vigorous series of attempts to build a broad ranging relationship with the region. Its policy of comprehensive engagement with the region is attributed to have created layers of links and contacts across a wide range of activities including trade, commerce, industry, science and technology, culture, sports, arts, media, defence, education, private individuals and groups. Links are created in regular government to government talks, participation in joint planning and policy
committees, combined exercises and operations, personal exchanges and attendance at respective staff colleges and other training institutions.\textsuperscript{110}

Linkage phenomena have appeared too plentiful and too influential to be ignored.\textsuperscript{111} The early proponent of linkage theory James Rosenau used the term 'linkage' to tie foreign affairs with domestic concerns. The linkage analysis not only considers the internal sources of the policy, but also its consequences for the environment. The sequences of behavior have their origins on one side of the boundary with links to the phenomenon across the border. They are categorized in terms of their occurrence — whether in external environment i.e. international system or within a polity.

Polities and environments are interdependent. No society is immune from stresses and strains of changes. These stresses include the demands of neighbors and cross pressures, from shifts of trade and the emergence of supranational organization, from the surge toward development of the new states and the restructuring of their historic relationships. Technological revolution is linking all of them more firmly. These actors are overlapping and form interactive relationships, so cannot be understood without reference to the existence and characters of the boundaries. Coup d’etas, military interventions in other countries invite reactions bilaterally, regionally and globally. Thus the linkage concept becomes central to the study of foreign policy actions in economic, political and strategic areas to determine the next phase of the sequence of action.

Prof. Rosenau has identified three basic types of linkage processes. They are penetrative, the reactive, and the emulative. Penetrative process is often seen in the presence of foreign aid missions, subversive cadres, the staffs of international organizations, the representatives of private corporations, the workers of certain transitional political parties, and a variety of other actors establishing linkages through


\textsuperscript{111} James N. Rosenau, n.108, p.2.
such a process. Penetrated political system has been defined as ' one in which non-
members of a national society participate directly and authoritatively, through actions
taken jointly with the society's members, in either the allocation of its values or the
mobilization of support on behalf of its goals.\textsuperscript{112} In an interdependent world, the role of
external variables has become all the more pervasive. The global problems like rapid
population growth, the spread of HIV-AIDS, military build up, trade, environmental
degradation and green house effect have been increasingly becoming parts of foreign
policy issues. No country is self sufficient to remain invulnerable to outside influences.
The interdependence and the technological advancement have made the geographical
boundaries between nation-states and their external environment increasingly porous.
Irrespective of the type of governments, all are subject to infiltration. Rosenau identifies
the location of the most penetrated systems developing countries with poor economic
development, low technological know-how, lack of skilled human resources, internal
deficiencies, military weakness and so on.

A reactive process has been categorized as the contrary of a penetrative one. They
are the most frequent forms of linkage, often reflected in a foreign aid program and local
election campaigns being centered on outsiders’ involvement. The emulative process is
mostly seen as a special form of the reactive type, and corresponds to the so-called
diffusion or demonstration effect. The post war spread of violence, nationalism, and
aspirations to rapid industrialization, political modernization and pluralism have been cited
as striking examples of linkages established through emulative processes.

National- international linkages occur in six environments among nations, which
have been identified as contiguous environment (like boundary disputes, historical
rivalries, traditional friendships, and many other distinctive features of relations among
immediate neighbors.), regional environment (the scope is extended to include the entire
region), Cold War environment (questions of disarmament, foreign aid, space exploration

\textsuperscript{112} James N. Rosenau, \textit{The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy} (New York: Nicholas Publishing
and cultural exchange), racial environment (expectations, trends and conflicts related to between racial and ethnic groups.), resources environment (all goods and services, human and non-human resources of all kinds and their utilization, also trade and fiscal relations, development programs, acquiring of nuclear capability etc), and organizational environment (proliferation of international organizations). They have both integrative and disintegrative tendencies.

This framework of linkage analysis is expected to put things in proper prospective, identify non-governmental actors, attitudes, institutions and process to explain how external behavior serves the internal working of polities. It is also expected to prevent the perpetuation of the analytical gap between comparative and international politics. Linkage framework has been found to be responsive to the need for more genuine comparisons in the study of foreign policy. These are found to be moving back and forth casually, helping to compare the origins, duration, flexibility, stability, and functions of linkages.

Three most significant points of intersections have been identified to study Australia’s political, economic and strategic linkages with Southeast Asia. They are Australia’s role in Cambodian settlement, formation of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and evolution of institutional security arrangements with the countries in the region. In political linkages, the study will concentrate on how Australia mobilized support for its moves from the countries that displayed intense rivalry and differences culminating in the signing of Paris Peace Agreement. In economic sector, APEC will be studied as the central tool to study trade, foreign aid and investment. Effects of economic cooperation have been assigned to the highest spillover potential to cooperation because its effects are felt by all sectors of the society. For security linkages, Australia’s military cooperation with the countries in the region and its contributions in the evolution of regional institutional security arrangements will be

114 Ibid., pp.55-56.
studied as linkages. These linkages are to advance the profile of Australia’s national interests in economic, political and strategic sectors. The connections built in each of these fronts are considered as antidotes to Australia being seen as an outsider in the region.

Australia, which has an image problem in the region, has given highest importance to the intensification of these links. It wants to be seen as ‘a stable, democratic, multicultural, technologically advanced displaying excellence and innovation across the broad spectrum of artistic and intellectual activity’ has ingrained public diplomacy as a tool in the pursuit of foreign policy objectives. Bilateral foundations, Councils and NGOs have been its strategies. Links in one tiers and sectors contribute to their further building, expanding and spreading. The proliferation of the contacts at various levels and spheres of action has resulted in historic and geographic shifts for Australia.

1.9 Methodology

The study uses both primary and secondary source materials, and analyses them from historical and comparative perspectives. The policy documents of the Australian Government, ministerial speeches, government press releases and publications will form the core of the materials. The study uses three critical case studies, Australia’s roles in: the settlement of the Cambodian problem, the formation of APEC and weaving a web of linkages through APEC process, and the evolution of security arrangements like ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), and defense cooperation activities with the countries in the region. These are the areas in which Australia has conducted proactive diplomacy. These cases have helped bridge the gulf between Australia and the countries in the region, and erect a bridge of understanding. They illustrate and provide insights into Australia’s proactive foreign policy, underscore a connection between its perceptions of changes.

1.10 Hypotheses

Considering the growing interactions of Australia with Southeast Asia in the 1980s and 1990s, the present study makes the following hypotheses:
Australia, by establishing networks of linkage in economic, political, and strategic sectors with Southeast Asian countries, is trying to enmesh itself with the region, secure a safe place for itself, and be counted as a strategic factor in conflict management in the region.

Linkage is package deal where the parties agree to work in one area for return in another area where interests converge or are in conflict.

With a stable and confident Southeast Asia at its side, Australia will be able to contribute to the cause of global peace and security.

The study makes the following assumptions in order to support the hypotheses mentioned above:

- Comprehensive engagement with Asia is the national consensus in Australia.
- Engagement in various ways helps to create a favorable environment for the security of Australia.
- The cultivation of linkages is facilitated through extensive economic, cultural and political interactions.
- The location of Australia makes it imperative for her to seek security in and with the region.
- The changes elsewhere particularly after the post Cold War era has quickened the pace of Australia's integrating itself with the region.

1.11 Methods of data collection

The study makes use of information both from primary and secondary sources collected in Nepal, India and the United States. The study used two different methods to gather information.

1.11.1 Primary sources

Primary sources include the publications of the Australian Government on various issues from time to time, interviews and statements of the Prime Minister, other
government ministers, opposition leaders at national, regional and international forums, manifestos of the political parties, press releases of the government and parties, parliamentary proceedings on various issues, the constitution of Australia, experts' reports on Australian economy and security matters, publications of international agencies on Australia. *Australian Foreign Affairs Record* and its predecessor *Current Notes on International Affairs*, *Insight, Backgrounder* and the *Monthly Record* of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade provided an invaluable historical record of Australian foreign policy and its gradual evolution over the years. They were excellent sources of official speeches, parliamentary debates, questions and answers and policy statements, interviews of Prime Ministers, Government ministers and officials, and also articles penned by them. Also the scholarly such as *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, (its predecessor *Australian Outlook*) and the *Australian Journal of Politics and History* regularly published ‘problems in Australian Foreign Policy’ were highly useful. These have been collected from the Australian Embassies in Kathmandu, New Delhi and Washington D.C. Direct correspondences were also made with the Australian Parliament Secretariat, various agencies of the Australian Government particularly with the Overseas Information Branch of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Canberra requesting them to help with the primary information. Wherever possible, attempts were also made to meet the Australian Ambassadors and other high ranking Australian diplomats in these capitals to elicit their opinions and views on the subject. Also the perspectives based on private discussions with politicians, diplomats, civil servants, business people and academics in New Delhi, Kathmandu and Washington D.C. are included.

The Internet provided an easy access to several important official websites of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade to obtain information for Australia's foreign policy, economic policy, security policy and its regional engagement. These websites further connected with several links to media releases, ministerial speeches and statements of the government.
1.11.2 Secondary sources

Secondary sources cover published and unpublished government reports, books, journals, articles, and newspaper coverage. Different libraries located in New Delhi, Washington D.C. were the excellent sources of information. Libraries of the Australian Embassies in New Delhi, Kathmandu, Washington D.C., the central library of the Jawahar Lal Nehru University and Nehru Memorial Library (Teen Murti), Library of Congress in Washington D.C., and Virginia Government Depository Libraries, Libraries of Georgetown University, George Washington University, American University, Marymount University, George Mason University, United States Institute of Peace including the local counties' libraries were useful in collecting such information. Internet connections were equally useful in obtaining secondary sources of information.

1.12 Data Analysis

The work uses mostly analytical and descriptive analysis of the information collected. Both primary and secondary sources of information provide the basis for such analysis. The investigative framework developed by James N. Rosenau has been applied to the analysis of the study. His pre-theory of foreign policy making,\textsuperscript{116} contends that factors like the societal environment of the nation, the governmental structure, the individual characteristics of the foreign policy making elites, the role performance of decision makers, and the influence of the international system, are capable of influencing the making of foreign policy across a number of different circumstances. These factors are found to have influenced the degree of Australia's engagement with Southeast Asia.

Rosenau refers to societal sources of foreign policy as 'those non-governmental aspects of a society which influence its external behavior. The major value orientations of a society, its degree of national unity, and the extent of its industrialization are but a few of the societal variables which can contribute to the contents of a nation's external aspirations

\textsuperscript{116} James N. Rosenau, n.112, p.115.
and policies. These variables include the political culture, geographical size, degree of economic development, and other salient changeable societal variables such as the press, public opinion, and interest groups, to name a few. Australia, being a large, open, democratic and industrialized country will be more influenced by these variables than in small, closed, and economically weak states where the political process is more authoritarian.

Governmental variable apply to 'those aspects of a government's structure that limit or enhance the foreign policy choices made by decision-makers.' Constitutional provisions, divisions of powers between the executive and legislative branches of government come to limit the ability and speed of foreign direction. The roles of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Parliament, Prime Minister's office, Department of Defense and other governmental departments come into play in this process.

Role variable becomes a single most important variable because it acts as a blend of individual, governmental, societal and systemic. Rosenau defines role as 'any aspect of the actor derived from his policy making responsibilities and which is expected to characterize any person who fills the same position.' The role will be affected by the nature of the office and the manner its occupant behaves. Individuals have a variety of roles. The occupants of high offices of the country like the heads of state and government, Foreign Minister, Defense Minister and their attitudes shape the role they play in policy making.

Individual variable includes the characteristics of an individual like individual's upbringing, personality, training, values, skills, talents, experiences and belief systems. Rosenau defined individual factors as including 'all those aspects of a decision maker –

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117 Ibid., p.129.
118 Ibid.
119 Ibid, p.128.
121 James N. Rosenau, n.112, p.129.
his values, talents and prior experiences – that distinguishes his foreign policy choices or behavior from those of every other decision maker.\textsuperscript{122} The personalities of leaders in governments, their party affiliations, their experiences, skills, values and training as political activists have influenced the shaping of the contents of foreign policy.

Rosenau has explained external variable as including the ‘nonhuman aspects of a society’s external environment or any actions occurring abroad that condition or otherwise influence the choices made by its officials.’\textsuperscript{123} In an interdependent world, the role of external variables has become all the more pervasive. The global problems like rapid population growth, the spread of HIV-AIDS, military build up, trade, environmental degradation and green house effect have been increasingly becoming parts of foreign policy issues. External determinants that affect Australia’s foreign policy include America, Britain, East Timor crisis, Asian financial crisis, chaotic condition in Indonesia, ASEAN member countries and ASEAN as a regional organization, ARF, EU, China, and India. There are several hotspots and few of them are in the region. Australia’s dependence on Whitehall also shaped its perceptions and policies. Any foreign policy study can make use of these variables, and Australia’s engagement with the region will be discussed within the framework of these variables.

1.13 Chapters’ organization

The work has been divided into six chapters. Chapter one provides an overview of the dissertation, while chapter two describes the background of Australian foreign policy in historical perspectives and its evolving engagement with Southeast Asia. This chapter also discusses the nature of Australia’s interactions with the region and on how Australia can contribute to the security of the region through several means. Chapter three is about the Australian efforts to bring a solution to the Cambodian problem. It describes how the warring factions driven by mutual suspicion, mutual contempt, and mutual hatred and

\textsuperscript{122} Ibid, p.128.

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., p.129.
pursuing personal and factional interests are persuaded to come together to share common nationalist aspirations. Chapter four is about Australia’s contributions to the emergence of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). It discusses how Australia tries to advance its economic and security interests through economic forums and how APEC has been able to facilitate the pursuit of these interests. Chapter five describes the strategic significance of Southeast Asia for Australia and discusses the changing perceptions of Australian security strategies. The regional security environment and bilateral cooperative activities are also presented in the chapter. It also discusses the strategic linkages of Australia with the region. Chapter six makes the concluding observations of the study and makes a case of Australia’s place in the region. A postscript on changing Australia, its response to the East Asian Financial Crisis and East Timor as a factor in Australian foreign policy has also been added towards the end of this chapter.