



*Invitation to a state banquet for the United States fleet, Sydney, 1908.*  
BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

## CHAPTER 28

# DEFENCE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

MALCOLM BOOKER, J. E. HOFFMAN AND T. B. MILLAR

AUSTRALIA IS AN ISLAND nation. Simplistic and self-evident as this statement is, it has important consequences upon almost every aspect of economic, social and cultural life. Not the least of these are aspects of administration and government that relate to defence and relations with other countries. These topics—defence and foreign relations—are closely allied and are therefore treated jointly. Although there are two separate essays, the listing of the relevant literature has been combined into one sequence, subdivided into five major groups:

- Historical aspects
- Diplomats and politicians
- Current defence policies and international relations
- Conferences and serials
- Collections of documents

## DEFENCE

In the first half century of settlement in Australia very little attention was given to defence. The newcomers were fully occupied in developing the continent and insofar as there was any thought of an external threat it was assumed that it would be taken care of by the imperial navy. There was also a comfortable feeling that sheer distance from potential enemies meant that there was no need to worry about local defence.

By the middle of the nineteenth century this carefree attitude was replaced among colonial leaders by a concern that the Australian settlements might come under attack as a result of the intensifying imperial rivalries in the Pacific—between Britain on the one hand, and France, Russia and the United States on the other. There was a feeling not only that the colonies had become a valuable prize but that the day might come when Britain would be under such pressure that it would be unable to protect them.

The debate that developed at that time embraces themes remarkably similar to those being argued in the 1980s. The Crimean War (1854–56) had been a defeat for Russia but paradoxically had created an impression in the Australian colonies of massive Russian power. For a time Russia was regarded as the most likely source of danger, although there was also fear about a revival of French imperial ambitions and even suspicion of the expansionary activities of the United States of America. There was also in the background a vague worry about the possibly hostile intentions of the mysterious empires of China and Japan.

Public argument revolved mainly around two alternatives: should the colonies develop local forces so that they could provide for their own defence and contribute to the British Empire's fighting strength; or should they seek security in disengagement from Britain's quarrels?

One of the most vehement contributors to this debate was John Dunmore Lang (1860). He gave a strongly affirmative answer to the second proposition, arguing that the greatest danger lay in involvement in European wars, during which it was likely to prove physically impossible for Great Britain to defend its colonies. He believed that the best way for the Australian colonies to ensure their safety would be to gain their independence from Britain and to adopt an attitude of neutrality towards that country's present and future enemies. In this situation there would be no other power whom the Australian colonies need fear. He dismissed scornfully the idea that the Chinese and Japanese would invade Australia, and said that the 'civilised' European nations would respect its neutrality. He commended the policy of neutrality adopted by the United States during the war with France, arguing that this had enabled the country to 'prosper amazingly' and urging that in any future European conflict the Australians should seek to do likewise. If an independent Australia adopted such a policy but nevertheless needed protection for its trade routes, the United States would no doubt be glad to step in and give it.

In spite of his strenuous advocacy Lang lost the argument. The colonies remained loyal to the British Empire. In the following decades they moved haphazardly towards providing themselves with an incongruous mixture of local defence forces, which were largely seen by the authorities as intended to be more than supplementary to the protection given by the Royal Navy.

As the movement towards federation gathered momentum in the last decades of the century a more serious public interest developed in defence issues, and there was some debate about the type of defence forces a united nation should acquire. An early contribution to this debate was a report submitted by Captain W.F.D. Jervois to the colonial government of New South Wales in 1877. This is available only as a parliamentary paper but it is worth searching out because in a brief conspectus it raises the issues which were important in the period leading to federation.

Jervois's starting point was the same as that of John Dunmore Lang: there was no likelihood of a major attack on Australia. But both his reasons and his conclusions were very different. He believed that because of its wealth and prosperity the country would be an increasingly tempting target, but since it could be assumed that the naval supremacy of the British Empire would be maintained, the most that need be feared were raids on the major ports and on maritime commerce. These could nevertheless be damaging and local defences were needed against them.

The two most likely enemies Jervois discerned were the same as Lang's, namely the Russians and the French. The naval forces of these countries, operating respectively out of Vladivostok and Saigon, were seen as capable of evading the Royal Navy and mounting raids against Australia and elsewhere in the south Pacific.

Jervois's recommendations were in the end modest. He called for the installation of more effective land batteries to protect Sydney and Newcastle; the raising of a field force of two battalions; and the purchase of an 'ironclad' vessel for the general defence of the harbours along the coast.

The collaborator in this report was Lieutenant-Colonel, later Major-General, Peter Scratchley. His attitude was substantially the same as Jervois's and he too had an important influence on the debate. The collection of his papers compiled by C.K. Cooke (1887) describes Australia's basic strategic dilemma in a way that has a strikingly modern ring. Scratchley found many people who believed, then as now, that no expenditure was necessary. Some based their view on the belief that there was no likely enemy in sight, while others were confident that even if there were, Great Britain would take care of them. Yet others believed that the financial cost of self-defence would ruin the economy and therefore should not be attempted. Finally there were those who argued that, if war came, the Australian colonies should stay out of it even if this meant submitting to the wishes of the enemy power.

By the 1880s, however, a consensus emerged on the lines that, while Australia must continue to rely on the support of another power for its overall security, it was nevertheless desirable that



it provided itself with sufficient forces to defend the continent and its immediate environment. It was also accepted that the local forces should be comparable with those of Britain so that in time of war they could fight side by side.

The first serious attempt to provide for local defence began, naturally enough, with the navy. Admiral George Tyron commanded the Royal Navy on the Australian station from 1884 to 1887 and sought to weld the miscellaneous collection of small ships under the control of the colonies into a usable auxiliary to the Royal Navy. Little progress was made however because of wrangling over costs between the colonial governments and the British Admiralty. The colonies agreed that more should be done, and that the Royal Navy should maintain a more powerful squadron on the Australian station, but they were divided as to whether they should help pay part of the cost or insist that it all be borne by the British government.

In Australia in the 1880s, as earlier in the 1850s and again in the 1980s, the Russians were much talked about publicly as the likely enemies. There were recurrent alarms that war between Britain and Russia was imminent. There were also reports that the Germans were preparing to seize New Guinea and the French the New Hebrides. The degree of public concern aroused by these reports eventually stirred the colonial politicians into looking more seriously at the need for local defence forces.

As a result of intercolonial consultations, it was generally agreed that the force maintained by the Royal Navy in the area was inadequate and it was widely feared that it would be withdrawn from Australian waters when most needed. The British government was urged to strengthen the Royal Navy squadron and some assurance was sought that it would in fact be used for the defence of Australia in time of war. The colonies went so far as to indicate that they might be prepared to contribute to the cost.

At the conference in 1887 an agreement was reached between the imperial and colonial governments under which the squadron was to be significantly strengthened. A clause was included regarding its use which was later to arouse considerable discussion. This provided that 'the ships were to be under the sole control and orders of the British commander-in-chief on the Australian station, but to be retained within the limits of that station, and only otherwise employed by the consent of the colonial governments'.

As the movement towards federation gathered pace there was growing dissatisfaction with the ambiguities of this agreement. In spite of its apparently firm wording, many believed it meant that in time of war the squadron would be taken by its commander-in-chief to fight in another theatre. Public opinion therefore turned more and more to the creation of defence forces fully under local control. At the National Australasian Convention held in Sydney in 1891 Henry Parkes moved a resolution calling for the establishment of federal military and naval forces under one command and amenable only to the 'national government of Australia'. The resolution was adopted and this remained the ostensible objective until federation was finally achieved.

The new naval agreement negotiated after the commonwealth was established fell, however, a good deal short of this objective. The squadron remained a component of the Royal Navy and the agreement gave even less assurance that it would not be withdrawn in time of danger. By 1903 W.M. Hughes had established himself in federal politics as the most forceful proponent of adequate Australian defence forces and argued that the Australian government would be unable to do anything because 'on matters of Imperial policy we have absolutely no voice'. For an account of Hughes's role in the creation of the Australian defence forces see M. Booker (1980). The defence debates in the commonwealth parliament are also worth reading for the light they throw on attitudes towards security in the early years of federation.

Meanwhile, outside the parliament, Captain William Creswell was campaigning for an independent Australian navy. In September 1901, while naval commandant of Queensland, he submitted a report to the federal government which proposed the creation of 'an Australian fleet serving in its own waters' and a step-by-step creation of an Australian navy which would be manned and paid for by Australians.

Creswell's proposal was not accepted by the Barton government but at the end of 1904, under



proposals for an administrative structure for defence drawn up by the shortlived Watson Labor government, he became federal director of naval forces. From this position he was able, with the support of Hughes from the Labor party and of Deakin from the conservative side of parliament, to carry his campaign to eventual success. A separate Australian navy was established under the Naval Defence Act of 1910, which was passed through parliament while Hughes was acting prime minister. These developments are detailed in G.L. Macandie (1949) and Creswell (1965).

The history of the development of the Australian land forces followed a somewhat different course. From the earliest days of the commonwealth parliament W.M. Hughes argued for compulsory military service and, in the teeth of the pacifist instincts of his own party, was able to have this adopted as Labor policy. The responsibility for creating the Australian army rested however with Major-General E.T.H. Hutton, a British officer who had been appointed in the early days of federation as general officer commanding the commonwealth forces. His views differed markedly from Hughes's and indeed from Creswell's. His objective was to construct the new Australian forces on lines which in time of war would enable them most readily to be absorbed into the British forces. Hutton had little of the scepticism shown by Creswell towards the British defence authorities and remained throughout his time in Australia a loyal servant of the British government. Particularly objectionable from Hughes's point of view was the emphasis he placed on building up a permanent professional army, which Hughes feared would lead to the creation of a military elite.

In the end however they both had their way. Hughes secured the passage of a Defence Act embodying compulsory military training concurrently with the Act establishing the navy. Hutton's early influence in moulding the Australian army on British lines was reflected in the ease with which the Australian forces were absorbed into the British when war broke out in 1914. Although he was the subject of considerable controversy, the only readily accessible material concerning Hutton's attitudes is the collection of his speeches made during the period 1894-98 (1902).

With the outbreak of World War I the defence debate focused on two separate but related issues: whether the country's security could be best served by sending its forces to Europe or by keeping them at home; and whether Australians should be conscripted for service outside the country. An overwhelming majority supported the view that the forces should be sent overseas but only a minority (albeit a large one) believed that such service should be compulsory.

It will be noted that in the defence bibliography a remarkable gap exists: there are no publications devoted to defence issues between 1908 and 1964—with the notable exception of the book by W.M. Hughes (1935). This is not because works have been overlooked: none was written. This lack strikingly illustrates the indifference, notwithstanding involvement in two world wars, towards the defence of the nation at all levels of the Australian community, including politicians, academics and the press.

This absence of serious debate may do much to explain why the responses of the Australian people, when World War II broke out, were practically identical with those of 1914. Between the wars Hughes' book might well have stirred some fresh ideas, but debate was stifled by the Lyons government, with the ready acquiescence of the politicians and the press. From the universities nothing was heard.

The end of the war in 1945 was followed quickly in other combatant countries by a spate of publications reviewing the errors and disasters of that war. Since many of the errors had been costly to the Australian forces it might have been expected that a similar public debate would have occurred in Australia. In fact the silence remained unbroken for another twenty years.

In 1964 the floodgates were suddenly opened and two or three dozen serious books have appeared on defence since. It cannot be said however that the ideas presented were entirely new. Although many of the writers seemed unaware of it, their ideas had in essence been thoroughly canvassed over a century before by John Dunmore Lang (1860). The debate in the 1960s was, it is true, conducted in the context of the threat of 'global communism', with which was linked the fear of nuclear war; and these factors were regarded as having transformed international



relations and strategic realities. But as the rhetoric subsided it became apparent that little had changed.

In particular Russia was again seen as the most likely danger; and the proposition that Lang had sought unsuccessfully to counter—that Australia must rely on others for its security—was again unanimously accepted. There had of course been some changes of scene. Germany had been eliminated from the list of enemies and France was regarded as more or less a friend. Japan, which a century ago had been seen as a vague and distant menace, had become a real and then a defeated enemy. China too had emerged abruptly as a threat, although more for ideological reasons than for its military power. The United States Navy had replaced the Royal Navy as Australia's main shield, dependence on the British Empire having been replaced by dependence on America. Australians remained loyal subjects of the Queen but as far as their safety was concerned they relied on the ANZUS treaty.

It was assumed that others would accept the primary responsibility for protecting Australia and the only question was how much Australians need do for their own local defence. As in the last century there were writers who were uneasy at the public's complacency. Commentators, like their forbears, argued that the protective power would have such heavy burdens in time of crisis that Australians must accept some responsibility for taking care of themselves and also be ready to assist their protectors in any wars in which they might become involved.

At the end of the last century the principal exponent of the view that Australia should prepare itself to support the British Empire was G.C. Craig (1897). The introduction to one of the first books to be published after World War II said virtually the same thing, except that the United States had now taken the place of Great Britain. The only difference was that whereas in the 1890s the goodwill of Britain could be taken for granted, there was a feeling in the 1960s that the goodwill of the United States must be earned. Otherwise the message was the same: Australia should provide for its own local defence and also stand ready to support the United States in its global objectives (see Australian Institute of Political Science, 1964).

It is not surprising therefore that during the Korean and Vietnam wars Australian troops were again sent overseas as elements in another country's forces. This was done with very little public opposition and indeed with practically no public debate. In the case of Vietnam it was only after the conflict had gone on for several years and strong opposition to the war had developed in America itself that criticism emerged in Australia. H.G. Gelber (1970) is useful for insight into public attitudes of the time.

The controversies arising out of the Vietnam War did produce some change in public attitude. Lang's vision of a neutral and independent Australia, which had lived on in what were regarded as the extremist fringes of society, became the subject of respectable debate. Arguments very reminiscent of Lang's were put forward by Max Teichman and David Martin at a conference of the Monash University Political Studies Association in June 1965. Russia was again being discussed as the most likely enemy although now the conflict that was feared was one involving the United States, not Britain. An important difference was that whereas Lang had declared that Australia needed no defences, Teichman and Martin called for a policy of armed neutrality. They believed that the country was economically strong enough to mobilise sufficient resources to defend itself, provided that it avoided involvement in other countries' wars. Teichman's views can be found in the collection of essays on Australian foreign policy which he edited in 1969.

As in Lang's day this point of view appealed only to a small minority of the Australian people. A less radical view that gained some currency was that the alliance with the United States should be retained but that Australia should become more self-reliant not only in defence but also in foreign policy. At the same time doubt increased as to whether the United States would be able to defend Australia in a major conflict even if it wished. It was natural therefore that many of the books published after the mid-1970s called for a more self-reliant posture.

This trend of thought did not greatly affect the policies of successive Australian governments from either side of politics. They remained committed to the belief that Australia could continue to shield under the strategic umbrella of the United States and although some modern equipment was acquired for each of the services there was no serious attempt to weld them into an



integrated and independent fighting force. Nor was a coherent strategic doctrine developed for either low level or global conflict. No doubt the main practical reason for this attitude was that it relieved governments of the necessity for increasing expenditure on defence, coupled with the conviction among politicians that this was what the public wanted.

It is remarkable how little the public attitudes to defence were affected in Australia by the invention of nuclear weapons, in spite of the extensive media attention given to them. Such adjustments as occurred were marginal: some believed that their existence made protection by the United States even more essential, while others saw them as strengthening the case of neutrality.

The effect of the emergence of the Soviet Union as a nuclear superpower was similar. There was an intensification of debate at each end of the spectrum of opinion but effective argument was confined to a small minority. Even though it was widely accepted that the Russians were motivated by an ambition to dominate the world, the majority of Australians regarded this as having little practical relevance to the defence of their own country.

Notwithstanding this general public indifference a number of thoughtful books were written about the wider options open to Australia. The works produced by the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre of the Australian National University, under its first head, T.B. Millar, made it possible, for the first time in Australian history, for the defence debate to take place in the light of balanced and accurate information about the country's defence requirements and the international environment in which they needed to be met. Academics associated with this centre were prominent among those who warned of the dangers of excessive dependence on the United States and who offered realistic suggestions as to ways in which Australia could acquire a more self-reliant defence force structure. The influence of Robert O'Neill (director of the centre 1971–83) in this connection is apparent in the works he edited (1975, 1982).

The question of defence co-operation with the countries of southeast Asia, which had been developed after World War II and then allowed to lapse, was also revived by writers in this group. Several argued for the development of close relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a means of promoting the security of the region.

Desmond Ball (director of the centre since 1984) made a particular contribution to the debate concerning the United States defence communications stations in Australia. The extent to which these installations committed Australia to American strategic policies and exposed the country to the danger of nuclear attack was discussed in a balanced perspective (1980).

Contributions to a more informed public debate on defence issues during this period were made by retired Australian diplomats (M. Booker, A. Renouf and A. Watt). The points of view of these writers were diverse but in each case questions relating to Australia's dependence on the United States were discussed against a background of direct personal involvement in Australia's foreign relations during and after World War II.

Notwithstanding this increased debate, two options theoretically open to Australia remain practically taboo—the acquisition of nuclear weapons and military co-operation with Japan. The arguments for a nuclear capability were presented by I. Bellamy (1972) and D. Martin (1984) but drew little public response. No serious work has been produced on possible co-operation with Japan, and this no doubt reflects the widespread assumption that, in spite of the likely strategic advantages for themselves and for the region, defence co-operation would be unacceptable to the people of both countries. By the middle of the 1980s, however, the acceptance of increasing responsibility by Japan for the defence of its own neighbourhood created a growing awareness in Australia of a close relationship between its own security and that of Japan.

In summary, it is fair to say that at the end of two hundred years of European settlement in Australia, the nation's basic defence problems remain unresolved. A rich but strategically vulnerable country, Australia is still dependent on the protection of others. It is true that as they become better informed about the outside world a considerable section of the public is increasingly uneasy about the reliability of this protection, and in some cases this is reflected among political leaders. But no consensus has been reached on the remedies that should be sought



and in the 1980s Australia seems no closer to having a credible capability for independent defence than in the days of John Dunmore Lang.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS

During the nineteenth century, the six British colonies that comprised Australia gradually developed attitudes and even policies towards the outside world. Their formal external relations were wholly with the government in London, but they were directly concerned with events in the region and from time to time with the activities of other powers, notably France, Russia, Germany and, for a brief period during the Civil War, the United States. Their involvement in policy-making was limited to urging or forcing the British government to take action, as with the annexation of Papua in 1883. There was also concern about immigration from Asia following the gold rush, and this led to restrictive legislation in the colonies. The Commonwealth Restricted Immigration Act of 1903 was mainly aimed at excluding non-Europeans, and was popularly known as the 'White Australia' policy.

Most of the research on the pre-federation period is of recent origin, as can be seen in Roger C. Thompson (1980), in the early chapters of Neville Meaney (1976) and in T.B. Millar (1978). There are a few comments in contemporary journals, but most information will be found in articles written since 1945 and can be identified by reference to the *Australian public affairs information service* (AP AIS), for details of which see chapter 8 of this volume.

The main sources for Australia's earlier external policies are in official records, including parliamentary debates and printed papers of colonial legislatures, formal despatches and correspondence between the Colonial Office in London and colonial secretaries or governors, archival records of colonial administrations, and records of the colonial conferences held in London from 1887 onwards. Primary sources also include contemporary press reports, the surviving records of business firms involved in island trade, such as Burns Philp, and the personal papers of individual politicians, public servants and others. Most of these are housed in state archives or in special collections of the state libraries, which also hold microfilm copies of relevant records from overseas, listed in the *Australian Joint Copying Project handbooks*; for source materials in the British Isles, the Mander-Jones guide (1972) is invaluable (see chapter 8).

The Commonwealth of Australia which came into existence on 1 January 1901 was not immediately an independent nation but a federated British colony with evolving desires, first for a greater say in imperial policy and eventually for a role in world affairs which would reflect Australia's national interests rather than those of Britain. Fear of Japanese naval power was aroused by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 and led Deakin to seek assurances in 1908 from the United States, foreshadowing the later alliance sealed by the ANZUS treaty (J. La Nauze, *Alfred Deakin*, A & R, 1979). During World War I, Australia sought and obtained a place in the Imperial War Cabinet, and later provided a separate delegation in the British Empire group at the Versailles peace conference. Details of this important first foray into the international diplomatic area have been described by C.E.W. Bean (*The official history of Australia in the war of 1914-1918*, A & R, 1921-42, 11). There are also the sober accounts of W.M. Hughes's participation in the peace conference by W.J. Hudson (1978) and by L.F. Fitzhardinge in the second volume of his biography of Hughes (*The little digger*, A & R, 1979). Hughes also provided in his own inimitable way a broad brush picture of these events (1929).

Australia's main contact with other countries, and its foreign relations (as distinct from imperial relations) during the interwar period, took place at the League of Nations. This period is dealt with by E.M. Andrews (1970) and W.J. Hudson (1980), and there are several revealing biographical studies which are discussed below. An overview of Australia's changing attitudes to the world in the 1930s is the subject of two conference volumes: H. Dinning and J. Holmes eds, *Australian foreign policy, 1934* (MUP for the Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1935) and W.G.K. Duncan ed, *Australia's foreign policy* (A & R for the Australian Institute of Political Science, 1938).

Distinctive Australian policies developed during World War II when it had become clear that Australian interests were no longer identical with those of Britain and the empire. This period



is covered in the official war histories, especially in the two volumes by Paul Hasluck, *The government and the people* (Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 1952–70). Other useful works are those by Sir Alan Watt (1967) and chapter 9 of T.B. Millar's historical survey (1978).

World War II had far-reaching effects on Australian foreign affairs: in particular a greater involvement with Southeast Asia, lingering doubts about Japan, and heightened fear of other powers in the region, especially China, and the nationalist and communist forces operating throughout this rapidly developing part of the world. The Korean War was one outcome of these regional tensions and essential reading for this period is R.J. O'Neill's official history (1981). The general situation in Asia led Australia to seek two kinds of insurance. The first was a formal security treaty with the United States, which took shape in the ANZUS pact of 1952. Much has been written about this treaty, the first definitive work being J.G. Starke (1965). Two subsequent assessments, from very different viewpoints, were by H.G. Gelber (1968) and J. Camilleri (1980).

The second insurance was an aid policy designed originally to help, and to improve relations with, Asian commonwealth countries which was subsequently extended to non-commonwealth Asian states in a series of bilateral aid programs known as the Colombo Plan.

Fear of China, and a mixture of apprehension towards Japan and a desire to trade with it, played a large part in Australian relations with Asia between the communist assumption of power in Peking in 1949 and the end of Australia's military commitment in Vietnam in 1972. H.S. Albinski, *Australian policies and attitudes towards China* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1965), and Gregory Clark, *In fear of China* (Melbourne, Lansdowne, 1967) record different assessments of China's role as perceived during the 1960s, while chapters in Ian Wilson ed, *China and the world community* (A & R, 1973) indicate Australia's greater acceptance of the People's Republic by the early 1970s.

Acceptance of Japan was much quicker because it was more profitable. This is demonstrated in the successive writings of W. Macmahon Ball (1948) and a later volume of documents and readings edited by him under the title *Australia and Japan* (Nelson, 1969). Relations with Japan are also dealt with by R.N. Rosecrance in *Australian diplomacy and Japan 1945–1951* (MUP, 1962), by J.G. Crawford (1968) and by J.A.A. Stockwin in his (at the time) forward-looking *Japan and Australia in the seventies* (A & R, 1972).

Australia's participation in the Vietnam War and other regional conflicts has also been documented, and the official history of the involvement in the Malayan emergency and the war in Vietnam is in preparation under the direction of P.G. Edwards. Public reactions to the Vietnam War are catalogued in H.S. Albinski, *Politics and foreign policy in Australia: the impact of Vietnam and conscription* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1970) and he followed that survey with an analysis of the foreign policy of the Whitlam Labor government (1977).

In recent years a 'revisionist' view of Australian foreign policy has emerged more strongly following the writings of Max Teichmann (1969), Bruce Grant, *The crisis of loyalty: a study of Australian foreign policy* (A & R, 1972) and Camilleri (1980). The strongest advocate of this view is David Martin (1984). Although based on Australian nationalism and touching chords in the Australian character, these works still represent minority viewpoints. There has also been a spate of books prompted by fear of nuclear war and generally directed against policies which (as with the American alliance) might make Australia a more probable target for nuclear weapons.

The only history covering the whole period of Australian foreign affairs is by T.B. Millar (1978), but there are many works dealing with specific areas, either by period or by geography, the more important of which can be found in the following bibliography. By far the largest sponsor of writing on Australian foreign affairs has been the Australian Institute of International Affairs (AIIA), founded as a national body in 1933, and a good proportion of the works mentioned have been published under its auspices or with its assistance. The institute's most significant continuing publication is the multivolume series, *Australia in world affairs*, published at five-yearly intervals since 1950 and edited successively by Gordon Greenwood and Norman Harper (the first four volumes), W.J. Hudson, and P.J. Boyce and J.R. Angel. The institute runs frequent national, and occasional international, conferences, and usually produces a volume from



the conference papers. Its research committee commissions monographs, frequently subsidising research costs and sometimes publication costs. Its journals are discussed below.

Another major contributor is the Australian National University, particularly the Department of International Relations and the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre within the Research School of Pacific Studies. In addition to monographs and conference volumes published commercially, the department sponsors the series, *Canberra studies in world affairs*, and the centre supports the *Canberra papers on strategy and defence* amounting to date to some 50 relatively short volumes. Other ANU centres, notably the Contemporary China Centre and the Australia–Japan Research Centre, sponsor publications in their fields of interest. Other Australian universities also publish papers, including research reports such as those produced by the Centre for the Study of Australian–Asian Relations at Griffith University, Queensland. The Australian Institute of Political Science organises occasional conferences on questions of foreign policy and defence, the papers of which are subsequently published.

A number of Australia's politicians have written on foreign relations, either in their memoirs or more generally, including Alfred Deakin, W.M. Hughes, R.G. Casey, R.G. Menzies, P.C. Spender, Paul Hasluck, Peter Howson and Howard Beale. Hasluck's contribution to the official war history has been mentioned already, and Spender's personal record (1969) is essential reading for understanding the background to the two pillars of Australian foreign policy for most of the period since 1945—the Colombo Plan and the ANZUS treaty. Biographies of politicians, notably those of Deakin, Hughes, S.M. Bruce, H.V. Evatt, F.W. Eggleston, and to a lesser extent John Curtin and J.B. Chifley, include references to and background information on foreign affairs. The best of them have made extensive use of archival sources, both official records and personal papers. Some of R.G. Casey's voluminous personal papers have been published (1962); his correspondence with Bruce, written from London during the 1920s, has been edited by W.J. Hudson and J. North (1980), and selections from his diaries have been edited by T.B. Millar (1972). P.G. Edwards (1983) provides the essential continuity for most of this period.

Complementing the works by politicians are those by former diplomats, which include historical and theoretical writings as well as diplomatic reminiscences. Frederick Eggleston's writings have been collected and published (1957), Alan Watt's history (1967) was mentioned above and he also left a personal record (1972), while W.R. Crocker (1971), Alan Renouf (1979) and Malcolm Booker (1976) have produced volumes commenting on Australian foreign policy as seen through their experiences in foreign assignments.

Economic aspects of foreign relations are dealt with mainly in journals and can be located through *APAIS* and university theses; surprisingly little has been published in book form on these topics. Besides John Crawford's study (1968) already referred to, the following books are relevant exceptions: H.W. Arndt, *A small rich industrial country: studies in Australian development, aid and trade* (Melbourne, Cheshire, 1968) and *Resources diplomacy* (Canberra, Australian National University, 1974); J.D.B. Miller ed, *Australia's economic relations* (A & R, 1975); Peter Hastings and Andrew Farran eds, *Australia's resources future: threats, myths and realities in the 1980s* (Melbourne, Nelson, 1978); and Greg Crough and Ted Wheelwright, *Australia: a client state* (Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1982). All of these, as their titles indicate, examine foreign relations in terms of economics and trade. There are also three units at the Australian National University—the Development Studies Centre, the ASEAN–Australia Project, and the Indonesia Project within the Department of Economics, Research School of Pacific Studies—which publish monographs in their respective fields. A seminal document with strong economic content, *Australia and the third world*, edited by Owen Harries, was produced by a government-sponsored committee (AGPS, 1979).

An important source for the study of Australia's external relations is the official series, *Documents on Australian foreign policy 1937–1949*, produced by the Editor of Historical Documents in the Department of Foreign Affairs and published by the AGPS. The rate of publication of the volumes is, unfortunately, rather slow, the first seven volumes having reached only the end of 1944. Other documentary publications include *Australia and the world: a documentary history from*



*the 1870s to the 1970s*, edited by N.K. Meaney (Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1984), and Greenwood and Grimshaw (1977).

The two main academic journals on foreign affairs are *Australian outlook* (formerly known as the *Austral-Asiatic bulletin* published by the Australian Institute of International Affairs, and *Dyason house papers* (formerly *Australia's neighbours*) published quarterly by its Victorian branch. Occasional articles on foreign affairs are found in such journals as *Australian J of politics and history*, *Australian quarterly*, *Historical studies* and *Quadrant*, while the *Current affairs bulletin* published by the University of Sydney frequently carries articles in this field.

The Department of Foreign Affairs publishes two journals of note: *Australian foreign affairs record* (formerly *Current notes on international affairs*), issued monthly since 1936, and *Backgrounder*, in reduced format, published fortnightly since 1975. The department also publishes occasional *Select documents on international affairs* (from 1954) and an Australian treaty series (from 1948), as well as frequent press statements.

The commonwealth parliamentary debates are rich sources of both information and opinion on international questions, although poorly indexed. The parliamentary research staff helps to prepare papers which contain source materials since 1970 while joint and Senate committees on foreign affairs and defence have produced a number of valuable reports, based on public and in-camera evidence, on Australia's concern with Japan, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, the south Pacific, ASEAN, Antarctica, the Horn of Africa, disarmament and other subjects.

As in all areas of Australian studies, researchers should be aware of the *Australian national bibliography* and other bibliographies produced by the National Library of Australia, and of the cumulative *Union list of higher degree theses in Australian libraries* published by the University of Tasmania Library. For details see chapter 8 of this volume. Specific bibliographies maintained or issued by the National Library include 'Australian foreign aid: a bibliography', an unpublished bibliography of Australian foreign relations with countries of the Southern Hemisphere; and *The Indian Ocean: a select bibliography of resources for study in the National Library of Australia* (1979). Bibliographies of journal articles on foreign affairs appeared in *Australian outlook* 24, 3, 1970, 238-45; 25, 1, 1971, 69-93; 30, 3, 1976, 414-31; and 31, 1, 1977, 38-51, while records relating to the Pacific are listed in the *J of Pacific history* 11, 4, 1976, 217-20. Bibliographical commentaries are given by P.G. Edwards in *Australian outlook* 29, 3, 1975, 335-40, and by Paul Hasluck in *Australian outlook* 32, 1, 1978, 101-06.

Primary sources for the colonial period of Australian foreign policy have already been mentioned. The external affairs function has belonged to the commonwealth since 1901, so most official records in this area are to be found in the Australian Archives in Canberra, among the records of the governor-general's office, federal cabinet, the Prime Minister's Department and the Department of External Affairs, renamed Foreign Affairs in 1971. It should also be borne in mind that Australian policies on immigration, trade, defence and external territories are closely bound up with foreign policy, and that archival sources are to be found among the records of departments responsible for all those functions.

In addition to the large quantities of departmental and parliamentary records, there exist a number of collections of private or semiofficial papers kept by ministers, senior public servants and other persons involved in foreign relations. These are to be found mainly in the National Library, which houses papers of Lord Novar, Deakin, Fisher, Hughes, Menzies, Atlee Hunt and Littleton Groom, among others, or in the Australian Archives, which holds records of Bruce, Casey, Snedden, Hasluck and Beale, as well as those of later politicians, such as Whitlam and Fraser. Important exceptions include the Evatt papers, located at Flinders University and those of G.F. Pearce, held by the Australian War Memorial.





## HISTORICAL ASPECTS

ANDREWS, E. M. *A history of Australian foreign policy: from dependence to independence*. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1979. 236 p.

A useful overview of foreign policy-making in Australia. Aimed at high school students.

ANDREWS, E. M. *Isolationism and appeasement in Australia: reactions to the European crises, 1935–1939*. ANUP, 1970. 236 p, illus.

Covers the period when Australia's main foreign relations, as distinct from imperial relations, were conducted through its participation in the League of Nations.

AUSTIN, M. *The army in Australia, 1840–50: prelude to the golden years*. Canberra, AGPS, 1979. 290 p, illus, maps.

The author's principal concern is with the use of British troops to maintain internal security but there are sidelights on attitudes in this early period to the possibility of external attack.

BALL, W. M. *Japan, enemy or ally?* Melbourne, Cassell, 1948. 240 p.

Comments by Australia's political representative on the Allied Control Council for Japan just after World War II.

BELL, C. *Dependent ally: a study of Australia's relations with the United States and the United Kingdom since the fall of Singapore*. Canberra, Dept of International Relations, Australian National University, 1984. 296 p.

Examines Australia's connections with great and powerful friends and traces the maturing of Australian foreign policy.

BURNETT, A. *The Australia and New Zealand nexus*. Canberra, AIIA and New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1978. 289 p.

The first definitive study of relations between Australia and New Zealand. A loose-leaf volume of annotated documents to accompany the above work was issued in 1980, and is updated through the Australian and New Zealand institutes.

CLUNIES ROSS, I. ed, *Australia and the Far East: diplomatic and trade relations*. A & R in conjunction with the AIIF, NSW Branch, 1936. 310 p, illus.

Essays by distinguished contributors on Australia's relations with countries in its geographic region.

COOKE, C.K. *Australian defences and New Guinea: compiled from the papers of the late Major-General Sir Peter Scratchley*. London, Macmillan, 1887. 413 p, illus, maps.

Scratchley was defence adviser to several Australian colonies, and in 1884 became special commissioner for New Guinea. These papers contain a survey of Australia's defence problems.

CRAIG, G.C. *The federal defence of Australasia*. Sydney, Robertson, 1897. 356 p, illus.

A program for the defence of the new Federation, including an account of the debates of the time and of the state of the colonial defence forces.

CRAWFORD, J.G. *Australian trade policy, 1942–1966: a documentary history*. By J.G. Crawford assisted by N. Anderson and M.G.N. Morris. ANUP, 1968. 641 p.

Australia's foreign policy for this period was very closely linked to, although not identical with, its overseas trade.

CRESWELL, W. *Close to the wind: the early memoirs (1886–1879) of Admiral Sir William Creswell*. Ed by P. Thompson. London, Heinemann, 1965. 210 p, illus, maps. Creswell helped to found the Australian navy and greatly influenced its development. The epilogue gives insight into the defence controversies of the pre-federation period in Australia.

EDWARDS, P.G. *Prime ministers and diplomats: the making of Australian foreign policy 1901–1949*. Melbourne, OUP, in

association with AIIA, 1983. 240 p, illus.

Asks why prime ministers have usually dominated decision-making in Australian foreign policy, and why establishment of a diplomatic service was long delayed until World War II, offering evidence in answer.

ESTHUS, R.A. *From enmity to alliance: U.S.–Australian relations, 1931–1941*. Melbourne, MUP, 1965. 180 p.

A survey of Australian–United States relations written from an orthodox American viewpoint.

EVANS, W.P. *Deeds not words*. Melbourne, Hawthorn, 1971. 200 p, illus.

Gives an account of the perceptions of overseas threats and the formation of a Victorian navy, which led to the creation of an Australian navy.

FITZGERALD, C.C.P. *Life of Vice-Admiral Sir George Tryon*, K.C.G. London, Blackwood, 1897. 402 p, illus.

Tryon commanded the Royal Navy on the Australian station from 1884 to 1887. His views on the defence of the Australian colonies, influential at the time, are set out in chapter XI.

FOSTER, H.J. *The defence of the empire in Australia*. Melbourne, Rankine, Dobbie and Co, 1908. 52 p.

This pamphlet by the director of military science at the University of Sydney (1906–19) summarises the views he contributed to the defence discussions of the time.

HARPER, N.D. AND SISSONS, D. *Australia and the United Nations*. New York, Manhattan, 1959. 423 p.

Traces Australia's attitudes to and involvement in the United Nations from the beginnings in 1946 up to 1957, covering aspects such as national security, trusteeship, and economic and social co-operation.

HUDSON, W.J. *Australia and the League of Nations*. Sydney, SUP in association with the AIIA, 1980. 224 p, illus.

Examines Australia's introduction into international politics outside the British Empire, and consequent Australian policy expressions about radical questions.

HUDSON, W.J. *Australian diplomacy*. Melbourne, Macmillan, 1970. 102 p, illus.

HUDSON, W.J. *Billy Hughes in Paris: the birth of Australian diplomacy*. Melbourne, Nelson in association with AIIA, 1978. 147 p.

Two important introductions to Australia's first participation in foreign diplomacy and the role of W.M. Hughes in shaping it.

HUTTON, E.T.H. *The defence and defensive power of Australia*. Melbourne, A & R, 1902. 100 p.

The most interesting of this collection of papers is the last, which relates the scheme drawn up in 1894 for the federal defence of Australia to the wider defence of the British Empire.

HYSLOP, R. *Australian naval administration, 1900–1939*. Melbourne, Hawthorn, 1973. 254 p.

Contains useful information on tensions between the British Admiralty and the Australian authorities, and also within the Australian system.

JAUNCEY, L.C. *The story of conscription in Australia*. London, Allen and Unwin, 1935. 365 p, illus.

Although concerned with internal political issues, the debate regarding the defence requirements for compulsory military training is usefully reviewed. New edition, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1968.

JERVOIS, W.F.D. *Defences: preliminary report, June 4, 1877*. Sydney, Government Printer, 1877. (In NSW Parliament. Legislative Assembly. Votes & Proceedings 1876/77, 3, 85–109).

This report, prepared with the assistance of Scratchley (see Cooke, C.K.), is available only in the NSW Parliamentary Papers,



but was seminal in regard to the defence debate leading up to federation.

JOHNSON, D.H. *Volunteers at heart: the Queensland defence forces, 1860–1901*. UQP, 1974. 248 p, illus.

The author discusses the defence issues argued in most Australian colonies in the second half of the nineteenth century, with special emphasis on the evolution of citizen military forces.

LANG, J.D. *How to defend the colony: being the substance of a speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales on Tuesday, 20th December, 1859*. Sydney, J.L. Sherriff, 1860. 24 p.

Lang argued that defences were not needed since the colony could avoid involvement in wars between European powers by gaining its independence.

MCCARTHY, J.M. *Australia and imperial defence 1918–39: a study in air and sea power*. UQP, 1976. 227 p, illus.

Besides its defence orientation, the work illustrates the changing relevance to Australia of the close imperial connection.

MEANEY, N.K. *A history of Australian defence and foreign policy, 1901–23*. Vol 1. *The search for security in the Pacific, 1901–14*. SUP, 1976. 306 p.

Argues that when Australia was still constitutionally a dependent part of the British Empire, it was evolving a distinctive view of its position in the world.

MILLAR, T.B. *Australia in peace and war: external relations 1788–1977*. ANUP, 1978. 578 p.

A history of Australian foreign policy and relations, especially since Federation.

O'NEILL, R.J. *Australia in the Korean War 1950–1953*. Vol 1. *Strategy and diplomacy*. Canberra, Australian War Memorial and AGPS, 1981. 548 p, illus, maps.

Examines, as background to Australia's involvement in Korea, the wider sphere of regional alliances and strategies.

REESE, T.R. *Australia, New Zealand, and the United States: a survey of international relations 1941–1968*. London, OUP, 1969. 376 p.

Documents the origins and development of the Australian and New Zealand alliance with the United States, in the context of international affairs.

SPARTALIS, P.J. *The diplomatic battles of Billy Hughes*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1983. 309 p, illus, maps.

A study of Hughes's foreign policy with emphasis on an identified determination to place Australian interests ahead of those of Great Britain.

SWAN, R.A. *Australia in the Antarctic: interest, activity and endeavour*. MUP, 1961. 432 p, illus, maps.

Covers the history of Australian involvement in Antarctica which has affected its foreign policy in the postwar period.

THOMPSON, R.C. *Australian imperialism in the Pacific: the expansionist era, 1820–1920*. MUP, 1980. 289 p, maps.

Describes the defence preoccupations which inspired public interest in gaining control over New Guinea and islands of the Pacific.

WARD, J.M. *British policy in the south Pacific 1786–1895: a study in British policy towards the south Pacific islands prior to the establishment of governments by the great powers*. Sydney, Australasian Publishing Co, 1948. 364 p, maps.

Includes a useful account of the fears in the Australian colonies from the 1820s onwards of American and later French expansion in the Pacific.

## POLITICIANS AND DIPLOMATS

BEALE, O.H. *This inch of time: memoirs of politics and diplomacy*. MUP, 1977. 233 p.

Memoirs of a Menzies government minister and ambassador to Washington who was involved in salient international questions of the 1950s.

BOOKER, M. *The great professional: a study of W.M.H. Hughes*. Sydney, McGraw-Hill, 1980. 292 p, illus.

A professional diplomat commenting on a professional politician.

BOOKER, M. *The last domino: aspects of Australia's foreign relations*. Sydney, Collins, 1976. 254 p.

BOOKER, M. *Last quarter: the next twenty-five years in Asia and the Pacific*. MUP, 1978. 228 p, maps.

A senior former diplomat reviews the stance taken from 1939 to 1975 and canvasses likely developments in the region during the remainder of the twentieth century.

CASEY, R.G. *Australian foreign minister: the diaries of R.G. Casey, 1951–60*. Ed by T.B. Millar. London, Collins, 1972. 352 p, illus, map.

CASEY, R.G. *My dear P.M.: R.G. Casey's letters to S.M. Bruce, 1924–1929*. Ed by W.J. Hudson and J. North. AGPS, 1980. 578 p, illus.

CASEY, R.G. *Personal experience, 1939–1946*. London, Constable, 1962. 256 p, illus, maps.

Letters and reminiscences of Australia's first career diplomat overseas, containing candid and informative comments on international issues and Australia's reactions to them.

CROCKER, W.R. *Australian ambassador: international relations at first hand*. MUP, 1971. 211 p.

A practitioner's account of Australian participation in international relations since World War II, with regard to the creation of the United Nations, the founding of Israel and the Soekarno era in Indonesia.

EGGLESTON, F.W. *Reflections on Australian foreign policy*. Ed by N.D. Harper. Melbourne, Cheshire for AIIA, 1957. 216 p, illus.

A theorist and practitioner in Australian foreign relations before and during World War II examines the principles and problems of that seminal period.

HASLUCK, P.M.C. *Diplomatic witness: Australian foreign affairs, 1941–1947*. MUP, 1980. 306 p, illus.

A testamentary account by a diplomat, statesman and historian of a period during which Australia faced a concentration of external problems.

HUGHES, W.M. *Australia and war today: the price of peace*. A & R, 1935. 168 p.

This book, calling for new defence policies and showing remarkable prescience regarding the use of air power in World War II, resulted in Hughes' dismissal from the Lyons government.

HUGHES, W.M. *The splendid adventure: a review of empire relations within and without the commonwealth of Britannic nations*. London, Benn, 1929. 455 p.

Hughes' own description of his activities overseas during and after World War I.

MENZIES, R.G. *Afternoon light: some memories of men and events*. Melbourne, Cassell, 1967. 384 p, illus.

MENZIES, R.G. *The measure of the years*. Melbourne, Cassell, 1970. 300 p.

Essays and reminiscences by Australia's longest serving prime minister including consideration of foreign policy issues and world affairs.

RENOUF, A.P. *The frightened country*. Melbourne, Macmillan, 1979. 555 p.

A former diplomat argues that Australian foreign policy has been obsessed by a concern for security that has jeopardised its



relations with Asian and Pacific neighbours and compromised its standing in world affairs.

SPENDER, P.C. *Exercise in diplomacy: the ANZUS treaty and the Colombo Plan*. SUP, 1969. 303 p.

A politician's account of his own role in regard to defence and foreign policy.

STIRLING, A.T. *Lord Bruce: the London years*. Melbourne, Hawthorn, 1974. 509 p, illus.

A critical period in Australian-imperial relations as seen by a former diplomat and associate of Lord Bruce when he was high commissioner in London.

WATT, A. S. *Australian defence policy 1951-63: major international aspects*. Canberra, Dept of International Relations, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1964. 92 p.

WATT, A.S. *Australian diplomat: memoirs of Sir Alan Watt*. Sydney, A & R in association with AIIA, 1972. 329 p, illus.

WATT, A. S. *The evolution of Australian foreign policy, 1938-1965*. Cambridge, CUP, 1967. 387 p.

Three volumes of reminiscences and reflections by a long-serving diplomat. The books throw light on Australian defence attitudes and foreign relations.

WHITLAM, E.G. 'Australia and her region', in J.D. McLaren ed, *Towards a new Australia*. Melbourne, Cheshire for the Victorian Fabian Society, 1972, 1-19.

A statement of regional priorities with particular reference to Papua New Guinea and Indonesia.

## DEFENCE AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ALBINSKI, H.S. *The Australian-American security relationship: a regional and international perspective*. UQP, 1982. 257 p.

Reviews Australian and American security interests from an American perspective, with reference to the Carter administration.

ALBINSKI, H.S. *Australian external policy under Labor: content, process, and the national debate*. UQP, 1977. 373 p.

An analysis of the external policy trends preceding Labor's term of office in the 1970s, the subsequent dimensions of change and the implications.

BABBAGE, R.E. *Rethinking Australia's defence*. UQP, 1980. 312 p, illus.

An expanded doctoral thesis which argues that Australia's altered strategic environment calls for revised defence policies.

BALL, D.J. *A suitable piece of real estate: American installations in Australia*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1980. 180 p, illus.

A review of the issues relating to United States' defence communications installations in Australia, with a call for informed debate.

BELL, C. ed, *Agenda for the eighties: contexts of Australian choices in foreign and defence policy*. ANUP, 1980. 256 p.

Essays on topics likely to confront Australian policymakers with difficult decisions during the 1980s.

BELLANY, I. *Australia in the nuclear age: national defence and national development*. SUP, 1972. 144 p, illus.

A summary of the arguments regarding the possible acquisition by Australia of nuclear weapons.

BOYCE, P.J. AND ANGEL, J.R. eds, *Independence and alliance: Australia in world affairs, 1976-80*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin and AIIA, 1983. 368 p.

Articles on Australia's quest for an independent identity in international affairs.

CAIRNS, J.F. *Living with Asia*. Melbourne, Lansdowne, 1965. 179 p.

Passionate advocacy by a Labor leader that Australia's foreign policy towards Asia must change, written at a time when opposition to the United States' actions in Vietnam, and to Australia's involvement, was growing.

CAMILLERI, J.A. *Australian-American relations: the web of dependence*. Melbourne, Macmillan, 1980. 167 p.

A revisionist analysis of the alliance with the United States and its effect on internal and external politics.

DIBB, P. ed, *Australia's external relations in the 1980s: the interaction of economic, political and strategic factors*. Canberra, Croom Helm, 1983. 227 p.

Suggests guidelines for an integrated, nationally co-ordinated foreign policy.

GELBER, H.G. *The Australian-American alliance: costs and benefits*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1968. 160 p.

GELBER, H.G. ed, *Problems of Australian defence*. OUP, 1970. 359 p.

Two analyses of the significance of the American alliance in Australian defence and security policies, and of foreign policy as a whole, along with costs and benefits for both parties.

HYDE, J. *Australia: the Asian connection*. Malmesbury, Vic, Kibble Books, 1978. 140 p.

Examines changes in foreign policy during the Whitlam era, 1972-75, and explains the new approach.

LINDEMAN, N. *Japan threat: Australia and New Zealand in the coming world crisis* (enlarged edn). Armidale, NSW, The Author, 1978. 151 p.

The author canvasses the possibility of a renewal of a military threat, perhaps at a nuclear level, from Japan.

MACANDIE, G.L. *The genesis of the Royal Australian Navy: a compilation*. Sydney, Government Printer, 1949. 349 p, illus, maps.

Valuable for its balanced survey of the strategic background to the creation of the navy.

MCCARTHY, J.M. *Australia and imperial defence 1918-1939: a study in air and sea power*. UQP, 1976. 227 p, illus.

Discusses some aspects of the debate between World Wars I and II about the use of air and sea power.

MACKIE, J.A.C. ed, *Australia in the new world order: foreign policy in the 1970s*. Melbourne, Nelson in association with AIIA, 1976. 156 p.

Essays assessing changes in the world order which will influence the determination of Australia's foreign policy.

MARTIN, D. *Armed neutrality for Australia*. Melbourne, Dove Communications, 1984. 294 p.

Expands rather incoherently the arguments that he and Teichmann put forward at the Political Studies Association conference at Monash University in 1965.

MEDIANSKY, F.A. ed, *The military and Australia's defence*. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1979. 165 p.

Enlightening essays on the changing role of the military profession in developing Australia's defence capability.

MILLER, J.D.B. *The EEC and Australia*. Melbourne, Nelson in association with AIIA, 1976. 137 p.

Deals with the EEC's importance to Australia and its possible future influence.

PHILLIPS, D.H. *Cold war two and Australia*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1983. 122 p.

Examines the so-called 'new cold war', the rise of neo-conservatism in American foreign policy, and its impact on ANZUS relationships and Australian disarmament policies.



ROSS, A.C. AND KING, P. *Australia and nuclear weapons: the case for a non-nuclear region in South East Asia*. SUP, 1966. 111 p.

In addition to presenting the arguments for a nuclear-free zone the authors make specific proposals for an Australian initiative in bringing it about.

SANTAMARIA, B.A. *The defence of Australia*. Melbourne, Hawthorn, 1970. 147 p, maps.

The author sees possible threats to Australia from the Soviet Union, China and Japan. Believing that dependence on the United States is an insufficient response, he calls for a self-reliant Australian defence policy.

SEXTON, M. *War for the asking: Australia's Vietnam secrets*. Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1981. 212 p, illus.

An arguable interpretation of the development of Australian policy in regard to participation in the Vietnam War.

STARKE, J.G. *The ANZUS treaty alliance*. MUP, 1965. 315 p. An analysis of the ANZUS treaty which accepts its central importance for Australian security.

TEICHMANN, M. ed, *New directions in Australian foreign policy: ally, satellite or neutral*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969. 211 p.

Includes examination from diverse points of view of defence options open to Australia.

TIE, J.V. et al, *Australia's defence resources: a compendium of data*. Canberra, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1978. 147 p.

Provides information regarding not only the armed services but also non-military resources.

VANDENBOSCH, A. AND VANDENBOSCH, M.B. *Australia faces south-east Asia: the emergence of a foreign policy*. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1967. 175 p.

Case studies showing Australia's changing relations with its near Asian neighbourhood in the two decades after World War II.

## JOURNALS AND CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

AUSTRALIA. Dept of Foreign Affairs. *Select documents on international affairs*, 1955–. AGPS.

Annual publication which contain texts of international treaties and conventions in whose preparation Australia participated but to which it did not become a party.

AUSTRALIA. Dept of Foreign Affairs. *Treaty series*, 1948–. AGPS.

Collection of agreements and treaties entered into by the Australian government with foreign governments.

AUSTRALIA in world affairs, 1950/55–. Melbourne, Cheshire for the Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1957–.

Quinquennial surveys containing numerous essays analysing and reviewing Australia's responses to international problems.

AUSTRALIAN foreign affairs record, 1936–. Canberra, Dept of Foreign Affairs.

The major periodical dealing with current Australian policy on foreign affairs and defence. To 1972 titled *Current notes on international affairs*.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. 4th Annual Conference, Adelaide 1974. *Advance Australia*,

where? Ed by B.D. Beddie. OUP, 1975. 222 p.

Nine papers about internal and external pressures upon Australian foreign policy formation in the 1970s by contributors who were involved in its analysis and implementation.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE. 39th Summer School, Canberra 1973. *Foreign policy for Australia: choice for the seventies*. A & R, 1973. 198 p.

Papers on Asian-Pacific options for Australia in diplomatic, defence, and economic policies, argued by Australian, American and Indonesian academics, with an opening address by E.G. Whitlam.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, 30th Summer School, Canberra 1964. *Australian defence and foreign policy*. Ed by J. Wilkes. A & R, 1964. 172 p.

A conspectus of Australian attitudes in the period before the Vietnam War.

BACKGROUND, Aug 1975–. Canberra, Dept of Foreign Affairs.

Background information on Australia's role and interests in foreign affairs. Preceded by *Background 1–12 (July 1971–Mar 1974)*.

MILLAR, T.B. ed, *Australian New Zealand defence co-operation*. ANUP, 1968. 125 p.

These edited proceedings of a conference in Wellington in February 1968 give a conspectus of the common defence problems faced by Australia and New Zealand.

O'NEILL, R. ed, *The strategic nuclear balance; an Australian perspective*. Canberra, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1975. 233 p.

These papers from a conference held by the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre of the ANU explore Australia's situation in a world dominated by the nuclear superpowers.

O'NEILL, R. AND HORNER, D.M. ed, *Australian defence policies for the 1980s*. UQP, 1982. 308 p.

Based on papers presented at a conference at the ANU which examined from diverse viewpoints the need for new defence policies. The contributors included politicians, academics and journalists.

## PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENTS on Australian foreign policy 1937–49. AGPS, 1975–

Six volumes have been published to 1983, covering the period to December 1943, showing the formation of distinct foreign policies under challenges to national security and Australians' perception of their place in the world.

GREENWOOD, G. AND GRIMSHAW, C. eds, *Documents on Australian international affairs 1901–1918*. Melbourne, Nelson in association with AIIA and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1977. 779 p, illus, maps.

A collection of mainly non-government documents showing the growth of Australian nationalism in external relations before the postwar shift in the world balance of power.

PETTIT, D. AND HALL, A. eds, *Selected readings in Australian foreign policy* (3rd edn). Melbourne, Sorrett, 1978. 376 p.

Articles and official statements grouped in sections on Australia in the Asian-Pacific region and foreign policy since 1945. First published in 1973.

